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THE AGE OF SPECIALIZATION. DIONYSUS AND THE PRODUCTION OF WINE IN LATE ANTIQUITY: A VIEW FROM SAGALASSOS (SW TURKEY)

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ÖZ

Uzmanlaşma Çağı. Dionysus ve Geç Antik Dönemde Şarap Üretimi: Sagalassos'tan Bir Örnek (Güneybatı Türkiye)

Şarap ve bereket tanrısı Dionysos, Roma İmparatorluk Döneminde, bir Pisidia kenti olan Sagalassos'ta (Türkiye'nin güneybatısında) yerel anıtsal mimaride ve günlük kullanım eşyalarında izlerini gördüğümüz önemli bir tanrıydı. Bununla beraber, Doğu İmparatorluğun Yunanca kunuşulan birçok çağdaş kentinde olduğu gibi, Sagalassos'ta da Geç Antik Dönemde Dionysos betimleri maddesel kültüre hakim ikonografik bir konu hâlini aldı. O zamanlarda artık paganizm ile özdeşleşmeyen bu Yunan kültürel mirası, kentsel alanlarda da oldukça sık görünür. Bu makâle, Dionysos kültünün betimlerinin ve eserlerinin bu Pisidia kentinin nasıl ve neden her yerinde bulunduğunu sorguluyor. Maddesel kültürün çeşitli alanlarında Dionysos betimlerinin yoğun olması, dini bir anlaşmazlık döneminde Dionysos'u İsa'nın muhalifi yerine koyan, bir çeşit henoteizmin - çok tanrıcılık ve tek tanrıcılık arasında olan, tek tanrının öne çıktığı fakat özel olarak tapınılmadığı bir inanç dönemi- bir sonucu muydu veya bunun aksine, tanrı sadece vita *felix*'in veya "iyi hayatın" bir alegorisi hâlini mi aldı ve tanrının genel betimlemeleri bir içki şöleni için uygun bir süsleme mi sağladı? Ya da burada rol oynayan diğer faktörler mi var? Tarımda bir alanda uzmanlaşmanın gelişmesiyle nitelenen, zamanın ekonomik alanlarını anlama yanıtın bir kısmını verebilir. Özellikle yerel bağcılığa ve şarap yapımına yapılan yatırımların artmasının, amphoralar, *oinophoroi* veya şarap şişeleri gibi maddesel kültür kategorilerinde yeni yerel üretimlere yol açması çok önemli görünüyor. Bu girişimin başarısı, malların özellikle bölge içine ve bazen bölge dışına ihraç edilmesi, Dionysos'un devam eden varlığında önemli bir

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rol oynamış olabilir. Dionysos, tarım faaliyetlerindeki bu uzmanlaşmanın bir sembolü olarak, kent merkezindeki halka açık alanlarda ve onun maddesel kültüründe uzun bir zaman yer aldı. Ta ki, Hıristiyanlığın 'özgürleşmesi' ile birlikte, pagan betimlemelerinin tüm kalıntıları yok edilene kadar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Dionysos, bağcılık, maddesel kültür , Geç Antik Dönem , ekonomik uzmanlaşma, Sagalassos, Pisidia.

ABSTRACT

Dionysus, the god of wine and fertility, was already a deity of importance in the Pisidian town of Sagalassos (SW Turkey) during the Roman Imperial period, one who left his mark on the local monumental landscape as well as on the accoutrements of daily life. Yet, in Late Antiquity Dionysiac imagery at Sagalassos, as in many other contemporary cities of the Greek speaking Eastern Empire, became the predominant iconographic subject in material culture while also remaining highly visible in the cityscape, reflecting a Hellenic cultural heritage that was no longer identified exclusively with paganism at the time. This paper questions how and why the images and vestiges of the cult of Dionysus remained omnipresent in this Pisidian city. Was this predominance of Dionysiac imagery on various elements of material culture the result of a form of henotheism - a stage of belief between polytheism and monotheism when a single deity achieves prominence but not exclusive worship - which established Dionysus as an opponent of Christ in an age of religious conflict? Or, conversely, had the god simply become an allegory of the vita *felix* or "the good life", whose generic representations provided a suitable adornment for a drinking party? Or were there yet other factors at play? Insights into the contemporary economic landscape, which was characterized by a growing degree of specialization, may provide part of the answer. Especially an increasing investment in local viticulture and the production of wine, which sparked off new locally manufactured categories of material culture in the shape of amphorae and *oinophoroi* or wine flasks, appears to have been crucial. The success of this endeavour, mainly in intra-regional terms and occasionally beyond, may well have played an important role in the continued presence of Dionysus, as the symbol of this specialized branch of farming activities, on the public stage of the urban centre and its material culture for an extended period of time, until the 'emancipation' of Christianity finally did away with all residual pagan imagery.

Keywords: Dionysus, viticulture, material culture, Late Antiquity, economic specialization, Sagalassos, Pisidia.

Introduction

Dionysus, the god of wine and fertility, was a deity of importance in the Pisidian town of Sagalassos (SW Turkey) during the Roman Imperial period, as publicly attested by a civic priesthood and a temple serving his cult, a monumental fountain dedicated to him, and several civic bronze issues featuring his effigy. Also in the private sphere the god was well represented, featuring on items of *instrumentum domesticum*

together with several other deities who were worshipped in the city[1].

During Late Antiquity, the god attained a quasi-monopoly among the deities represented on locally produced mould-made pottery. In this sense, Sagalassos seems to fall in line with the rest of the Eastern Mediterranean at this time. The dominant presence of Dionysus in different categories of contemporary material culture throughout the Late Roman East has been traditionally linked to a widespread popularity of his cult and even his promotion as a pagan counterpart for Christ[2]. Yet, even when his public cult became abolished as the city of Sagalassos converted to Christianity from the turn of the 5th century onwards, Dionysiac imagery remained prominently present in the cityscape and continued to be depicted on items of pottery, often in combination with explicitly Christian symbols. While a continuing cultic importance of the deity among some groups of a community in religious flux cannot be excluded, the god cannot possibly have been worshipped to such an extent as to cause a significant material output and justify a public presence in what were now officially Christian times. On the other hand, a mere decorative function, devoid of any meaning, also seems unlikely as, through time, the imagery on the pottery of Sagalassos had always been closely related to the *Gedankenwelt* of its users[3].

We intend to reveal possible causes of this continuing popularity of Dionysus by examining the categories of material culture featuring his image and relating it to wider socio-economic developments at Late Antique Sagalassos. Developments in the contemporary economic landscape in particular will be presented here as an alternative to the traditional explanatory models of henotheism and religious competition.

Dionysus during the Roman Imperial period

At the beginning of the 4th century CE, the cult of Dionysus had been established in Sagalassos for a considerable period of time. Having said that, the god does not appear to have been worshipped in the town during the Hellenistic period, and elsewhere in the ancient region of Pisidia material manifestations of his cult were also relatively rare at this time[4]. This situation persisted during the Early Roman Imperial period. For example, Dionysus was not present among the series of gods represented on the frieze of a terrace wall at the NE entrance to the Lower Agora of Sagalassos, dating to the late 1st – early 2nd century CE, which are held to represent the *theoi patrioi* (poliad deities) at the time[5]. Nor does he feature on civic coinage prior to the reign of Nerva[6]. All this suggests a low public profile for the deity, at most.

His cult witnessed a spectacular rise in popularity in the course of the 2nd century

1 Talloen 2015, 187-189 and 322-323.

2 See recently Hernandez de la Fuente 2013.

3 Talloen – Poblome 2005.

4 See Talloen 2015, 90-91 for an overview of the evidence.

5 Waelkens et al. 2011a, 41.

6 Levante – Weiss 1994, n° 1761-1762.

CE at Sagalassos, as elsewhere in the region. Its widespread nature during the middle Imperial period, with a total of twenty-two Pisidian cities yielding evidence compared to only three in the Hellenistic period, indicates a major development in religious life[7]. This increase has been related to a renaissance of the Dionysiac cult throughout the Greco-Roman world under the Nerva-Antonine dynasty: emperors like Trajan, Hadrian, and Commodus, who were named the *neos Dionysos*, played a major role in the official promotion of the cult, while a general idea of well-being linked to the sense of prosperity and a growing interest in the afterlife also stimulated his cult[8].

At Sagalassos, the rise of the god to prominence in official religious practice materialized in the construction of a Corinthian *distylos* in antis temple, which was possibly erected near the theatre during the first half of the 2nd century CE, and completed early in the reign of Antoninus Pius[9]. This was followed by the construction of the Antonine Nymphaeum, a monumental fountain on the north side of the town's Upper Agora dating to the reign of Marcus Aurelius and consisting of a single-story aediculated façade above a tall podium with a large basin in front, flanked by two lateral *aediculae* (fig. 1). Previous research established that the two marble statue groups, imported from Aphrodisias and representing a drunken Dionysus supported by a satyr erected in the corner-*aediculae*, belonged to the original furnishing[10]. The eastern statue group of Dionysus and satyr (fig. 2) was depicted on a civic coin type minted during the reign of Marcus Aurelius[11], probably issued on the occasion of the monument's inauguration and identifying it as an essential element for the identity of the community. That these sculptures were not purely decorative is further demonstrated by the architectural decoration of the monument, including representations of *thyrsoi* – the fennel staff of Dionysus – on the pillars of the back wall, as well as theatre masks, bunches of grapes and *kantharoi* on the cassettes of the *aediculae*, substantiating its dedication to the god. The dedication of the nymphaeum suggests a quality of the deity as protector of the water-sources, something which is corroborated by civic coinage. It depicts the god leading a bull which can be identified as a theriomorphic representation of the river Kestros[12]. This stance of the god was known as Dionysus Taurus[13].

The willingness of the Roman senator Claudius Dometillianus Proclus to accept the priesthood and commit resources to the cult of Dionysus during the early 3rd century CE, as proclaimed on an honorific statue base set up to Proclus by his hometown on the Upper Agora[14], speaks strongly for its status at Sagalassos. Moreover, the fact

7 Talloen 2015, 187-189.

8 Bru – Demirer 2007, 28-35.

9 Vandeput 1997, 83-88 and 207-209.

10 Waelkens et al. 1997, 136-162; Waelkens et al. 2000, 268-279.

11 Levante – Weiss 1994, n° 1774.

12 The association of river and bull is a generally attested feature in ancient iconography: see Cahn 1992, 39.

13 Talloen 2015, 220 n. 427.

14 Lanckoronski 1892, 229 n° 212.

that the god was designated as *Patroos* ("the ancestral") in this inscription indicated that his cult had become firmly established in the city. This is corroborated further by the issue of several other civic coin types at this time[15].

The rise of Dionysus in the pantheon of Sagalassos was also reflected in private settings through objects of daily use carrying his imagery. Items with Dionysiac imagery proved popular among the decorated pottery produced by the Sagalassos potters. Sagalassos Red Slip Ware was intended for use on the dining table, a focal point for sociability where Dionysus – the deity of the symposium – was naturally at home. Decoration generally included scenes of dancing and feasting in narrative sequences, but Dionysus himself and other members of his ecstatic party, like Pan and the satyrs, were also present. This is demonstrated by the relief decoration of a 2nd century CE serving tray with a central medallion depicting the god reclining on a krater which was filled by a satyr pouring from a wineskin. Additionally, the godhead was represented in the same fashion as the statue-group displayed in the Antonine Nymphaeum on the Upper Agora (fig. 3), which suggests that the scenes appearing on the locally produced pottery were based on local images present in the cityscape[16]. All this constitutes something deviant from the mostly geometric decoration on locally produced ceramic vessels. The references to specific statues and local deities known from other sources indicate that the decoration of the locally produced pottery was – at least partly – inspired by endemic religious life, and can therefore be held to reflect the ideological world of its users[17].

Dionysus in Late Antiquity

As outlined above, Dionysiac iconography already featured on some pottery of Sagalassos during the Roman Imperial period, but in the course of the 4th century CE, Dionysus came to dominate the religiously inspired decoration of material culture. While other deities did occur, they were secondary to the figure of Dionysus, who took central stage, especially on a newly appearing type of decorated pottery, the *oinophoroi* or wine flasks. This dominance is illustrated by such a flask featuring the god centrally placed in an architectural setting consisting of fluted columns carrying pediments and arches with a conch, a scene perhaps evoking the aediculated façade of the nymphaeum that was dedicated to him, flanked by Ares and Aphrodite (fig. 4). Or by the example depicting two busts of Dionysus wearing wreaths with corymbus (the fruit of ivy) and bunches of grapes, that were crowned by the goddess of victory, Nike (fig. 5). The most frequent subject is the *thiasos*, a celebration scene of Dionysus and his mythological band of Pan, satyrs, maenads, and *flagalantes*, all set within a scene of vines and grapes, playing music and dancing to the rhythm of bells, roptra, and cymbals (fig. 6).

It has often been argued that by the Late Antique period, mythological subjects

15 For an overview of the coin types see Talloen 2015, 187 n. 219.

16 Talloen – Poblome 2005, 62-63.

17 Talloen – Poblome 2005.

such as the Dionysiac scenes had largely lost their pagan meaning. Popular deities had become personifications of natural forces or human qualities: Aphrodite, for example, personified beauty, while Dionysus represented earthly fertility. In this way, Dionysus was no more than a neutralized mythological subject that made an appropriate adornment for a drinking party[18]. To a degree, the evidence from Sagalassos might support this view. Yet, one could also argue that the Dionysiac imagery of the ceramics drew upon and reinforced rituals and propriety in honour of the god, and that this continued in the 4th century in direct, if not always explicit, competition with the rise of Christianity. One scholar even sees such Dionysiac scenery on Sagalassos pottery as evidence for the organization of Late Antique Dionysiac festivals[19]. Also elsewhere, the traditional festival culture shows signs of being dominated by Dionysiac celebrations by the mid-4th century[20]. Even if mythological references in artistic expressions were by the Late Antique period no longer regarded as manifestations of an idolatrous polytheistic religion but as elements of a common cultural background[21], how such scenes on decorated pottery were interpreted by their individual users can no longer be ascertained. In any case, it would be inaccurate to consider these motifs as mere decoration, with no function other than to provide visual delight to the beholder. Dionysiac representations were not simply part of a visual tradition that lived on without any real knowledge of the meaning of the motifs[22]. Just as imagery on objects of daily use during Classical Antiquity was not completely innocent or without meaning, but reflected the *Gedankenwelt* of its users, the same can be held for religious-inspired imagery – traditional or Christian – during the Late Antique period.

An alternative to Christ?

The Dionysiac imagery on the Sagalassos pottery attests to the flourishing production of pagan imagery in the town well into the 6th century[23]. This accords with the evidence from elsewhere in the Mediterranean world and with the popularity of Dionysus in particular. The god featured prominently in literary sources, most notably the 5th century *Dionysiaca* by Nonnus of Panopolis - a voluminous epic devoted to the life of Dionysus - and in material culture of the elite, where his image occurred on many different media, from mosaics and textiles[24], to silver and bronze plate[25]. At a more ordinary level of material culture, he was a prominent figure on tableware, lamps and other types of decorated pottery. Dionysus was, for example, the pagan god who endured longest in the iconographical repertoire of African Red Slip Ware, the most

18 Buckton 1994, 39.

19 Laflı 2004, 125-135.

20 Soler 2006, 77-90.

21 Busine 2015, 6.

22 See also Kirstensen 2016, 463.

23 Talloen 2011, 575-607.

24 Parrish 1995; Dunbabin 2008; Kirstensen 2016, 460-478.

25 Mundell-Mango – Bennett 1994; Leader-Newby 2004, 141-144.

widely distributed tableware of Late Antiquity[26]. This illustrates that the consumption of this sphere of mythology was not limited to the elite but rather had spread to different social strata.

All this is held by some scholars to reflect his rising position in the pagan pantheon at that time[27]. Pagan monotheistic tendencies had been developing in earnest since the Roman Imperial period[28]. Confronted with the wide variety of deities on the one hand, and with the monotheistic religions of Jews and Christians on the other, a persistent effort emerged among pagans to integrate the members of the polytheistic pantheon into a system governed by a single guiding principle or a supreme god, a phenomenon termed henotheism − a stage of belief between polytheism and monotheism when a single deity achieves prominence but not exclusive worship[29]. The writer Macrobius (c. 400 CE), for example, considered Dionysus as the god who combined in himself other deities such as Helios and Apollo[30]. Indeed, according to scholars like Daszewski, Seaford, Hernandez de la Fuente, and Olszewski[31], Dionysus may even have been promoted as an alternative to Christ, facilitated by their shared characteristics of miraculous birth, mystery cult, and divine resurrection.

Whether the Dionysiac and other polytheistic imagery of the Late Antique period actually indicated continuing cultic devotion is impossible to determine without more explicit evidence, as many pagan deities had become domesticated in Christian households. Yet, it is clear that in public monuments, and above all in private circles, paganism survived far longer and more extensively than our Christian sources would have us believe[32].

Judging by the decorated pottery and his continued presence in the urban landscape, Dionysus certainly remained a popular figure at Christian Sagalassos, but a general pagan alternative to Christ he was almost certainly not. This is indicated by the 'peaceful' combination of symbols representing both ideologies on local material culture, excluding a context of (hostile) religious competition which would normally have arisen from a confrontation of two religions. Rather than becoming obvious religious opponents, Dionysus and his imagery apparently became recuperated by Christianity at Sagalassos, a process we have coined elsewhere as residual iconography[33].

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26 Hayes 1972, 261-263.

27 Bowersock 1990, 41-53; Huskinson 2004, 140; Hernandez de la Fuente 2013.

28 On this topic see Mitchell – Van Nuffelen 2010.

29 Versnel 1990, 35-38.

30 Macrob., Sat., I, 18.

31 Daszewski 1985, 35-45; Seaford 2006, 128-129; Hernandez de la Fuente 2013, 465-468; Olszewski 2013, 207-240.

32 Mulryan 2011, 41-86 ; Hernandez de la Fuente 2013, 468-469.

33 Talloen 2011.

The positive Christian attitude towards Dionysus

When Sagalassos was officially becoming a Christian city at the turn of the 5th century CE and its pagan sanctuaries were closed down, converted, or dismantled[34], there was a continuing dominating presence of Dionysus on the public stage as exemplified by the Antonine Nymphaeum on the Upper Agora where the two statue groups of the god remained present in the corner *aediculae* of the monumental fountain. Although the Antonine Nymphaeum was obviously not a cultic installation, it was not a neutral edifice either. Both the sculptural and architectural decoration of the structure clearly indicated that it was dedicated to Dionysus. Perhaps surprisingly, it was allowed to retain these features into the Late Antique period when the city officially became Christian. Although it has been claimed that the statues of the god were hidden from sight by Christians who built walls of blocks decorated with crosses between the columns of the *aediculae* because the images could not have been removed without dismantling the *aediculae*[35], this was not the common way that pagan statues were dealt with; threatening images were simply destroyed or removed from the cityscape[36]. Moreover, closer examination of the excavated contexts revealed no conclusive evidence to this extent, as no traces of actual walls were found on the podia of the aediculae. The mentioned blocks may simply have belonged to structures above the Nymphaeum which collapsed together with the fountain as a result of a 7th century CE earthquake[37]. Like many other elements of pagan sculpture then, the images of Dionysus from the Nymphaeum continued to function as decoration of the townscape, after having been 'updated'. In this case, it meant that they were ritually mutilated by removing the genitals. This type of disfigurement, which was widespread in the Late Antique period for re-used naked pagan statues, was responding to a new set of Christian ideas about the body, sex, and morals[38]. Such minor interventions rendered them objects that could be appreciated by Christians for their historical and artistic value. But unlike most other pagan statues, the Dionysus groups retained their original emplacement, within their original architectural setting, and were not ritually neutralized through decapitation or the carving of crosses, leaving the ideology of fertility and abundance which they represented pretty much intact.

Furthermore, the building blocks of the dismantled sanctuary of Dionysus mentioned above were systematically incorporated into the eastern part of the city's largest basilica (E1) during the late 5th – early 6th century CE. The frieze of theatre masks, depicting maenads and sileni on the exterior, and dancing satyrs on the interior, were visibly reused, the only known mythological imagery to feature in a church building at Sagalassos (fig. 7)[39] . The location of the frieze of dancing satyrs, on the north side

34 Talloen – Vercauteren 2011, 347-387.

35 Waelkens et al. 1997, 151 and 162.

36 Kristensen 2013, 85-106.

37 Waelkens et al. 1997, 173.

38 Smith 2012, 283-326.

39 Talloen – Vercauteren 2011, 366-368.

of the apse, is especially remarkable. If Christians were occasionally unsure about the suitability of personifications and pagan deities as decoration for their houses, one may assume that they would be even more reluctant to admit such images to their places of worship if these represented religious competition. However, the repertoire of images from nature that had expressed well-being became increasingly at home in churches. Although Christians generally avoided explicit portrayals of pagan myth, minor pagan deities such as Pan also occasionally slipped into church decorations[40]. The respectful reuse of earlier blocks can even be described as a conscious referential process. According to Carruthers[41], including pagan *spolia* in Christian churches involves remembering, with a new set of associations. It represents both an homage to the past (antiquarianism/heritage) and the creation of something new by refocusing the past for the benefit of the present. The selection and placement of these reused fragments are therefore the result of positive, deliberate choices rather than a display of Christian triumphalism[42].

Such a positive Christian interpretation of Dionysiac imagery was also portrayed on the local pottery. Images that combined attributes of the Dionysiac cult such as vessels of the *kantharos* shape, grape or ivy vines became extremely popular in the Late Antique period. Birds and animals approached cantharoid craters, vines grew from them, and grapes growing from cantharoid craters nourished animals and birds or were harvested by cupids. In a pagan context, these themes expressed the power, pleasure, and prosperity that emanated from Dionysus. With only the slightest editing, the same images evoked biblical vine metaphors, baptism or salvation[43]. The frequent appearance of vine scrolls in Christian art, for example, recalled the words of Christ, 'I am the true vine'[44]. A late 5th - early 6th century hexagonal flask from Sagalassos, featuring a stylized depiction of the Eucharist with a cross on top of a globe placed underneath the *ciborium* and surrounded by vines, is a fine example of the adoption of such imagery (fig. 8). Dionysus himself even appeared together with Christian symbols and scenes. The bust of the god is depicted, for example, on a flask beside an *adoratio* scene of the seated Virgin with child approached by one of the magi carrying a gift (fig. 9)[45] , while scenes of vine harvesting on *oinophoroi* have both his busts and Christian crosses present (fig. 10).

In the evocation of plenty and abundance through images drawn from nature, there was a supporting role for the old pagan deities. The domestication of pagan gods in Christian households can be seen in both art and in literature. The appearance of pagan deities on domestic furnishings from Early Byzantium should not, therefore, necessarily be taken as evidence of outright paganism on the part of their owners. Rather,

40 Maguire 2001, 249.

41 Carruthers 1998, 46-57.

42 Papalexandrou 2003, 56-79.

43 Van den hoek – Hermann 2013, 42-43.

44 John, 15.1.

45 Talloen 2011, 590-591.

the pagan motif should be read as embodying ideas of plenty and good fortune. This imagery was a common frame of reference for pagans and Christians alike, but it was not completely neutral as it was sufficiently powerful to provoke opposition[46].

The pagan concepts of abundance and fertility which Dionysus and his circle embodied were thus not irreconcilable with Christian religion when they were made explicitly Christian by adding Christian symbols. The explicit use of crosses, or Christian scenes, can possibly be seen as a type of ritual neutralization, comparable to the treatment of pagan pieces of sculpture. By desecrating the divine representations through decapitation or carving crosses into them, people made sure that the gods or demons would have no means of harming them[47]. Such evocations of the powers of nature in the context of Christianity also became possible because a new way of thinking saw them as subjects rather than as rivals of Christ[48]. The continuing underlying message, however, was always one of well-being and prosperity.

What made Christians at Sagalassos look so favourably upon Dionysus in particular? The material trappings of the good life in Late Antiquity displayed a rich imagery of personifications and motifs drawn from nature and mythology that evoked well-being, beauty, virtue, and prosperity, as also illustrated by other figures than Dionysus, like Aphrodite and Herakles[49]. Why then were the messages of well-being and prosperity that Dionysus embodied so prominently present in the town and in private settings, while other pagan motifs that were generally popular were far less present or even completely absent? This high regard suggests that other developments may also have played a role in the selection and promotion of Dionysiac imagery in the Pisidian city.

The god of wine

Traditionally, Dionysus was the god of wine. Wine drinking was considered part of his realm, as was nature, vegetation, water, fertility, and entertainment[50]. Dionysus and his retinue played an important role in suggesting an environment of pleasure connected with dining, drinking, entertainment, and nature. The evocation of the god of wine may therefore have been a commonplace of the imagery of pleasure and refreshment, rather than a serious religious statement[51]. That said, his image and cult were also invested in association with important wine producing regions[52].

Wine production is attested in the southern parts of the ancient region of Pisidia since Late Hellenistic times. Vineyards are reported by Strabo at Selge, and the author

46 Maguire 2001.

47 Smith 2012; Kristensen 2013.

48 Maguire 2001, 250.

49 Maguire 2001.

50 Seaford 2006, 15-18; Cole 2007, 327-341.

51 Van den hoek – Hermann 2013, 41.

52 E.g. Kacharava – Kvirkvelia 2008, 113-125; Katsari – Lightfoot – Özme 2012, 41-42.

also mentions the production of wine with medicinal characteristics at Amblada[53]. Part of the citizen body of the latter city was even named after Ambrosia, the drink of the gods and the nurse and festival of Dionysus, as attested by an inscription put up by *dekanoi*, officials belonging to the civic body of the Ambrosia of the tribe of Herakles[54]. The god also features on local coinage during the Roman Imperial period[55], and surveys in the city of Amblada and its vicinity have recorded several basins and press weights which have been linked to the production of wine[56]. Furthermore, the presence of *ampeloi* or vineyards are epigraphically attested in the territories of Ariassos and Termessos during the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries CE when the urban elite donated these to the city for the provision of the gymnasium (Ariassos) and the organization of games (Termessos)[57].

In the case of Sagalassos, evidence for grape cultivation is available from the palynological analysis of a core drilling in the Eastern Suburbium of the city. In the lower parts of the core, which were dated to Late Hellenistic and Early Roman Imperial times, pollen of *Vitis vinifera* was recorded[58]. Vine pollen is produced in small quantities and is dispersed very locally. Its presence in any quantities in a pollen sample means that vine was growing relatively close to the coring site: no more than 2-3 km away, probably even less. This could be wild vine pollen, but when certain other anthropogenic plants are present, then they should be seen as representing viticulture[59]. In the case of Sagalassos their presence indicates the cultivation of grapes in the immediate vicinity of the city, probably on the terraces of the Eastern Suburbium. It is unclear, however, whether this pollen indicates grape cultivation geared towards the production of wine, and in any case, the chronology is not Late Antique. Yet, in the Ağlasun valley, immediately to the south of the city, pollen analysis of core drillings also revealed a presence of *vitis* in the area during the Late Antique period[60]. Nowadays, the vine is still being cultivated in and around the town of Ağlasun albeit on a small scale[61].

Additional and perhaps more convincing evidence for the presence of a considerable Late Antique grape cultivation in the territory of Sagalassos is provided by two categories of material culture.

53 Selge: Str., 12.7.3; Amblada: Str., 12.7.2.

54 Hall 1968, 79 n° 26.

55 Talloen 2015, 188 n. 220.

56 Baldıran 2010, 309-310.

57 For Ariassos: Horsley – Mitchell 2000, 124 n° 114; for Termessos: İplikçioğlu et al. 1998, 374-377.

58 Vermoere et al. 2003, 161-173.

59 Izdebski 2013, 368.

60 Vermoere 2004, 74-114.

61 Bes – Vanhecke 2015, 123.

Amphorae

During the third quarter of the 4th century CE, the area of Sagalassos saw the beginning of the production of amphorae[62]. The associated workshop(s) and/or estate(s) have not yet been located, but archaeometrical analysis determined that the clay raw materials – so-called Fabric 4 – can be provenanced to the central parts of the Ağlasun valley[63]. As amphorae primarily served to pack and transport agricultural produce, their production is often associated with rural estates, suggesting in this case that the amphorae were made in or near the Ağlasun valley. The pottery collected during survey campaigns in the nearby Bereket valley included similar amphora sherds with more fabric variation, however, suggesting that other workshops/estates, possibly not located in the Ağlasun valley, were also engaged in this line of production[64]. In that case, the amphorae form part of wider regional economic initiatives. Four main types of amphora have so far been documented, all of which share a morphological concept: the body is ovoid with its largest diameter in the upper half, the base is mostly flat or slightly concave, the neck is fairly short and constricted, while the handles are short between the neck and shoulder (fig. 11)[65]. This small type of amphora, with a capacity of 12.5 to 15.5 litres[66], was also convenient for land transport by cart, mule or donkey, and therefore well suited for a site situated more than 100 kilometres inland. They were produced into the 7th century CE.

The 4th century CE landholders in the region of Sagalassos thus conceived to begin packaging part of their agricultural produce in amphorae. This resulted from decision-making processes and investment policies aimed at specialization in the productive landscape, representing Late Antique economic strategies[67]. The producers shared typological inspiration in creating their amphorae, within and presumably also beyond the Ağlasun valley. The landholders will have taken into account the presumed typical (meaning region-specific) content, the technicalities of making a container to store and transport this typical content and, to a certain degree, the recognition and association of the amphorae by third parties with the presumed typical type of content and/or region of provenance. As it can be expected that the amphorae were made on the farming estates where they would also be filled, their content can be considered to reflect agricultural production choices in the Ağlasun valley and possibly the wider region. Considering the typology of the local vessels in comparison to other contemporary and popular amphora series in the Late Roman East, their original functioning as wine containers was suggested. A program of residue analysis on an Late Antique collection of Sagalassos amphorae did not indicate Dionysus' favourite drink as the sole content,

62 Poblome et al. 2008, 1001-1011.

63 Neyt et al. 2012, 1296-1305.

64 Kaptijn et al. 2013, 75-95.

65 Poblome et al. 2008.

66 Bes – Vanhecke 2015, 110.

67 Poblome 2015a.

however, with both olive oil and walnut oil as additional packed produce[68]. So far, olive cultivation was not attributed an important role in the Ağlasun valley based on pollen analysis, while walnut cultivation is commonly represented in palynological and macro-botanical results. In any case, the addition of amphora production in the course of the 4th century CE in a region where pottery manufacturing was endemic is a sign of specialization in craft production and possibly the diversity of its content implies as much in terms of agricultural production. Vine cultivation and wine making, packaging, and transporting formed part of the new, Late Antique agricultural strategies. The discovery of leaf impressions of *vitis vinifera* as well as *styrax officinalis* on Sagalassos amphorae as part of the production process offers further tentative, albeit inconclusive indications for the use of these vessels[69].

These amphorae have so far not been recognized beyond the study region of Sagalassos, so it is difficult to gauge the success of the local landholders. Having said that, there are further indicators for the contribution of viticulture to the regional economy in the shape of another locally produced wine container.

Oinophoroi

During the second half of the 4th century, a new line of Sagalassos Red Slip Ware was launched, forming part of the Late Roman D tableware koine[70]. Not only a new typological set of tableware was introduced into the market, but the local potting industry also aimed at further product diversification with the launching of mould-made wares, again signalling shifting economic strategies boosting regional specialization[71]. The new range of mould-made wares included the production of *oinophoroi* or wine flasks. Petrological analysis of the fabric and slip of these flasks indicated that the clay raw materials are identical to those of Sagalassos Red Slip Ware[72]. Unlike the amphorae of Sagalassos, these flasks were not produced in the countryside but in (sub)urban workshops. In the last decade, a range of workshops specialized in the production of such mould-made wares was excavated in Sagalassos' Eastern Suburbium[73]. Another, very well preserved workshop was recently discovered in a re-arranged public building, to the east of the former Neon Library[74]. Numerous complete moulds and stamps for the manufacturing of these vessels have been retrieved there, alongside ranges of tools and raw materials, providing a unique view of the production process, circumstances and *chaîne opératoire* of mould-made wares.

Two main morphological varieties were made at Sagalassos: round and polygonal

68 Romanus et al. 2009, 900-909.

69 Bes – Vanhecke 2015.

70 Poblome – Fırat 2011, 49-55.

71 Poblome 2015a.

72 Poblome 1998; Degryse – Poblome 2008.

73 Murphy – Poblome 2016, 185-199.

74 Poblome et al. 2015.

flasks. The round bottles were composed of two halves, each half made separately in a terracotta mould (fig. 12). Wet clay was pressed into the moulds and allowed to dry. When leather-hard, the shrunken halves were removed from the moulds. A wet clay sausage was applied to the inner edge of both halves, after which they were joined. A round hole was cut in the top part of flask, through which the potter could finish the joint from the inside. After arranging the joint, the separately turned neck of the flask was mounted into the hole and the handles were attached to the shoulder and the rim of the flask. Upon some additional drying, the flask was submerged in a clay suspension to cover it with slip. The diameter of the body of the circular type of *oinophoroi* ranges between 0.12 and 0.32 m. Their production spans from the 4th into the 7th century CE.

The less common polygonal flasks are mainly square but hexagonal flasks occur as well, each type made in double, fitting moulds (fig.13). A single handle was attached to the shoulder and the rim of the flask. The potter either attached small and simple pointed feet from each bottom corner of the flask or attached a more elaborate base to the lower part of the body. They were equally produced during the 4th to 7th centuries CE.

Oinophoroi of the pilgrim flask type have a tradition in the Roman Empire. While the emergence of this form in Asia Minor remains unclear, during the Early and Middle Roman Imperial periods, such flasks and related cylindrical vessels were produced at Pergamum, Knidos, and Iasos[75]. Their iconography is mostly Dionysiac, which is considered to imply that the function of these flasks was related to the storage, serving, and consumption of wine[76]. At least in the case of Knidos this line of products would fit in the long-standing regional tradition of viticulture[77]. It is possible that the Pergamene, Knidian, and Iasian *oinophoroi*, which were distributed to some degree throughout the Eastern Mediterranean, served as morphological and decorative models for the Sagalassos workshops. Yet, it is unclear how direct such links need to be interpreted, or whether the potters/initiative-takers at Sagalassos were referring to some tradition at a more general level. Remarkable, however, is that Sagalassos picked up the production of *oinophoroi* where the other attested production centres left off. Pergamene *oinophoroi*, for instance, are attested until the early 4th century CE[78].

A large variety of motifs were used to compose the decoration patterns of this mould-made ware. In many cases the central panel is figurative and surrounded by one or more concentric circles of dots, lines, chevrons, rosettes, lozenges, and others. The key decoration theme of the Sagalassos *oinophoroi* is clearly Dionysiac in nature and mainly the *thiasos*, an ecstatic Dionysiac party, is represented: often in the presence of the god, men and women are depicted dancing to the rhythm of bells, roptra, and cymbals, with Pan playing music on the syrinx, *erotes* holding a laurel wreath, and hares, leopards, goats, cocks, and grapevines associated with craters. Arcades often form the architectural backdrop. Scenes of grape harvesting with *erotes* picking grapes

75 Pergamum: Mandel 1988; Knidos: Mandel 2000; Iasos: Baldoni 2003.

76 Mandel 1988, 23, 96-98.

77 Jefremow 1995.

78 Mandel 1988, 28-30.

and carrying baskets with grapes, of animals eating grapes, and of hunting were equally frequent. The scenes of revelling maenads and *flagalantes* dancing to the tunes of Pan's pipes recall the performance of Dionysiac dances in Late Antique banquets described by Nonnus and Sidonius Apollinarius in which real dancers personified Dionysiac figures[79]. Traditionally, dramatic performances belonged to the religious and communal festivals of the public sphere in which mythology and cult were interwoven[80]. As entertainment for the upper classes became more and more private, dramatic performances moved into the comfort of the home, often as part of dinner party entertainment[81]. It is likely that what we see on *oinophoroi* are visualizations of such performances. The presence of crosses or other Christian elements, like the *adoratio* scene mentioned above, rule out a depiction of a pagan cultic celebration but suggest a Christianized festive re-enactment of the *thiasos*, with Dionysus present as a symbol of "the good life".

Contrary to the contemporary amphorae, we can reconstruct some degree of distribution for the Sagalassos *oinophoroi*. They are attested at several sites in the Eastern Mediterranean (fig. 14) although rarely recognized and published as such. In most cases the distinctive relief decoration is recognizable, albeit that there are indications for the production of similar flasks in the area of Pednelissos, another Pisidian city[82]. Their distribution is characterized by a presence especially within Pisidia and the adjacent regions of Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia, but also as far away as Palestine, Egypt, and North Africa. In Pisidia, Sagalassos' wine flasks have been found at Pisidian Antioch as demonstrated by a sherd kept at the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, at Bindaios, and especially at Seleukeia Sidera where some 130 fragments of such vessels were found[83]. In Lycia, *oinophoroi* are attested at Limyra, at Myra, where fragments were discovered at the church of saint Nicholas, and at Patara[84]. In Pamphylia, several fragments were found in the South Baths of Perge[85], which were erroneously identified as Alexandrian products. In Cilicia, vessels have been recorded at Anemurium and at Selinous[86]. In Palestine, they have been found at Caesarea Maritima and Kapharnaon[87]. Sagalassian flasks were notably present in Egypt, namely at Alexandreia, the Fayoum, Kanopos, and the monastic community of

79 Nonnus, *Dion*., 18.90ss; Sid. Apoll., *Epist.*, 9.13.

80 Dunbabin 2008, 207.

81 Rossiter 1991, 203.

82 Jackson et al. 2012, 95.

83 Pisidian Antioch: Kelsey Museum of Archaeology inv. n° 0000.09.3898 (http://quod.lib.umich.edu/k/kelsey/x-0000.09.3898/0000_09_3898?from=index;lasttype=boolean;lastview=thumbnail;resnum=44;size=20;start=41;subview=detail;view=entry;rgn1=ic_all;q1=Pisidia; last visited dd. 25/10/2018); Bindaios: Özsait 1999, 86 Fig. 7; Seleukeia Sidera: Laflı 2004, 125.

84 Limyra: Borchhardt 1990, 209; Myra: Ötüken 2003, 239 and fig. 6; Patara: Korkut 2007, n° 44.

85 Atik 1995, 176-180 n° 391-399.

86 Anemurium: Williams 1989, 58 n° 335 pl. 8 and 90 n° 546 pl. 15; Selinous: Laflı 2004, 125 n. 11.

87 Caesarea Maritima: Johnson 2008, 65 n° 749 and 163; Kapharnaon: Loffreda 1974, 235 n° c.2198.

Kellia in the Nitrian Desert[88]. Finally, an example is known from Carthage in North Africa[89].

A sign of specialization?

In the case of Roman Imperial Sagalassos, fertile lands, generating cash crops such as grain and olives, and livestock appear to have been the mainstays of the local economy[90]. Yet, the Late Antique period saw some changes to this traditional constitution. From the middle of the 3rd century CE onwards, pollen analysis indicates that in two parts of the territory the cultivation of cereals and olives decreased, while marshes and wetlands expanded[91]. There, the intensification of cereal crop cultivation that characterized the Roman Imperial period came to a halt and subsistence appears to have shifted to pastoralism. New choices were made under changing circumstances, making the most from the new ecological constellation[92]. But there was more at play in Late Antiquity: more sites of whichever nature are identified throughout the study region, indicating demographic stability and possibly even some degree of growth in the countryside[93]. Under changing climatic conditions, noticed in some parts of the territory, such could unlock Malthusian scenarios of pressure on growth and productivity, especially when the existing economic system was quite dependent on integration with distant markets. Not that the latter necessarily failed in the Late Antique period, but Sagalassos and our study region seem to have bolstered resilience by placing comparatively more weight on intra-regional exchange patterns resulting from a higher degree of product specialization and diversification. Urban, artisanal producers as well as rural, agricultural producers noticeably engaged in these scenarios, providing the framework for the initiation of the production of, for instance, *oinophoroi* or amphorae as signs of the specialization of the productive landscape[94].

In the case of Sagalassos, amphora production was not historically endemic to the region, as there is no evidence for such production at or near the city before the middle of the 4th century CE. Indeed, considering the general mountainous nature of the region and its relative distance to the sea or navigable rivers – the natural habitats of amphorae – the production of such vessels in the area of Sagalassos was not straightforward. This implies that the landholders behind the local amphora initiative carefully contemplated their options, rationalizing part of the agriculture in the area of Sagalassos.

The initiation of the production of *oinophoroi* at Sagalassos can perhaps be seen as

88 Alexandreia: Pagenstecher 1913, 206-207 Taf. 30; the Fayoum: Grimm 1975, n° 76; Kanopos: Seif el-Din 2006, 6, 208 FL1 and Taf. 43.1; Kellia: Egloff 1977, 41-42; Kasser 1983, 457 n° 154.

89 Freed 1993, 78-79 n° 22.

90 De Cupere et al. 2017, 4-17.

91 Bakker et al. 2013, 57-87.

92 Kaptijn et al. 2013.

93 Poblome 2015b.

94 Poblome 2015a.

not only an indicator for specialization in artisanal production, but also for specialization in agricultural produce, providing further support for the interpretation behind the appearance of the local amphorae. Their relatively reduced content, ranging between 0.33 litres (diameter of 0.12m) and 4.5 litres (diameter of 0.32m), would argue against an identification as a container for export purposes, at least for the smaller vessels. This would mean that part of the Sagalassos wine flasks were portable wine containers or decanters, exported as part of the trade in Sagalassos Red Slip Ware, rather than as part of the wine trade. However, while the smallest examples were surely not more than canteens for personal use, possibly the larger ones, which were substantially bigger than *oinophoroi* from other centres (with an average diameter of ca. 0.20m)[95], could have served as containers for the export of wine. Although we cannot state with any degree of certainty that these wine flasks actually contained wine when they were traded, the simultaneous start of production of both *oinophoroi* and local amphorae in the second half of the 4th century suggests that these were linked to a growing production of wine, forming part of the general change of regional economic strategies aimed at specialization of the productive landscape.

Moreover, the Sagalassos amphorae and *oinophoroi* emerged together in the second half of the 4th century against a background of geopolitical changes resulting from the foundation of Constantinople as the new capital of the Roman Empire in 330 CE. This not only caused a reorientation of existing exchange patterns in the eastern Mediterranean, but also created new incentives for agro-economic exploitation. The accompanying expansion of the *annona* system, which ensured the supply of goods from designated areas to the capital and the armies, expanded the parameters of production in the contributing cities by encouraging specialization and investment, guaranteeing demand and sustaining the requisite infrastructural support[96]. The addition of Constantinople as a pole of attraction to the many options of regional connectivity, and the increased potential for answering to direct or indirect incentives emanating from the new imperial capital and its associated civic and military apparatus, may therefore have provided further temptation to some landholders in the area of Sagalassos to specialize and intensify part of their agricultural production[97].

How does Dionysus now fit into this picture of economic specialization? The community of Sagalassos was not blind to the contributions of certain sectors to the local economy and to the prestige of the city, something which was properly recognized in official documents such as civic coinage. Metallurgy, for example, saw its increased importance in the 3rd century CE, when Sagalassos became a supplier of arms to the Roman army, translated into the issuing of civic coin types depicting the tutelary deity of metallurgy, Hephaistos[98]. Similarly, the promotion of Demeter, reflected by civic bronze issues, can probably be seen as the result of the growing importance of

95 Mandel 1988, 225, 264-266.

96 Loseby 2012, 339.

97 Poblome – Bes – Willet 2012, 397.

98 Talloen – Stroobants – Degryse 2015.

cereal cultivation during the late 2nd - early 3rd century when the city, like others in the region, became involved in the *annona* (*militaris*)[99]. We contend that the image of Dionysus experienced a similar increase in popularity as signboard of regional viticulture in the Late Antique period.

While elements such as abundance, fertility, and reference to *paideia* will undoubtedly have played a role in his continuing popularity, the people of Late Antique Sagalassos may have had a particular reason to uphold Dionysus, namely as symbol of an increasingly important branch of the local economy. The importance of Dionysus for viticulture continuing into the Early Byzantine period is hinted at by the Council of Trullo in AD 691-692. The 62nd canon of this council condemned the invocation of Dionysus at the time of the *Brumalia*, a calendar event associated with the pouring of fermented wine into bottles[100]. As the former god continued to be connected to wine production into the 7th century, we may assume that his image also continued to refer to this economic activity, and was not reduced to merely a generic symbol of fertility. To find *Dionysiaca* represented on wine flasks would only seem natural when one wanted to evoke festive occasions such as drinking parties or *symposia*. Yet, the prominent presence of the pagan god and his associates in the townscape is less easy to explain; especially the visible incorporation of the Dionysiac reliefs into the basilica, as well as his association with explicit Christian scenes, such as the *adoratio* scene mentioned above. We therefore consider the success of the endeavour and its contribution to the socio-economic well-being of the community to have prompted a positive attitude of the local Christian community towards the former god, allowing the age-old symbol of viticulture to remain on the public stage and assume a role in the identity of Christian Sagalassos.

Among the Christians there was an undercurrent of unease at the assimilation of pagan imagery[101], and at Sagalassos Dionysiac imagery also started to disappear from the material culture in the course of the 6th century[102]. *Oinophoroi* continued to be produced into the next century, but now with explicitly Christian imagery, including crosses, or religiously neutral scenes such as hunting parties or a krater flanked by peacocks, a classical motif in early Christian art which alluded to the Paradise that will be enjoyed by those who partake of the Eucharist[103]. This can probably be linked to the establishment of a more purely Christian imagery, at a time when city officials appear to have taken a tougher stance against pagan imagery in general, resulting in the removal of statuary from public spaces[104].

99 Talloen 2015, 169, 184-186.

100 Joannou 1962, 198-200.

101 Maguire 2001, 253.

102 Talloen 2011.

103 Jensen 2000, 59, 159.

104 Talloen forthcoming.

Conclusion

Late Antiquity provided a fluid context in which pagan, Christian, and secular imagery and practices competed, coexisted and intermingled. The figure of Dionysus especially was recuperated in Late Antique iconography but the interpretations of the message(s) conveyed by the Dionysiac images are still controversial. The popularity of iconographical themes related to the god in different categories of Late Antique material culture was such that he has been identified by some as a pagan counterpart for Christ. Generally, though, a loss of the original religious and cultic significance in the course of continuous copying and trading over a long period is assumed. This was allegedly replaced by the attraction of neutral and generic representations that created an atmosphere of joy and tranquillity, of well-being and eternal peace, with vine and wine as an allegory of the *vita felix* or "the good life".

Whether these images had any cultic significance or simply point to the coexistence of Classical and Christian narratives in the visual arts are fundamental questions without universal answers, but depend entirely on local context. In the case of Sagalassos, a widespread veneration of Dionysus as antipode to monotheistic Christianity can be excluded on the basis of the benevolent Christian attitude towards his iconography. But even when he was stripped of his divine status as a result of Christianization, the figure of Dionysus retained its importance for the local community, manifested in the reuse of former monuments and the production of new utensils for daily use. As a symbol of fertility and the good life, he also personified a branch of the local economy that became increasingly important for the locals at this time. The specialization discernible in the religiously inspired decorative imagery during the Late Roman Imperial period coincided with a contemporary specialization in economic terms, amongst others translated into the production of wine that prompted the local production of amphorae, as well as that of wine flasks which typically featured the image of the god of wine. The intensification of viticulture at Sagalassos and the success of this endeavour, mainly in intra-regional terms and occasionally beyond, may well have played an important role in the continued presence of the symbol of this specialized branch of farming activities, Dionysus, on the public stage of the urban centre and its material culture for an extended period of time, until the 'emancipation' of Christianity finally did away with all residual pagan images.

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Fig. 1 The Antonine Nymphaeum dedicated to Dionysus on the north side of the Upper Agora of Sagalassos (© Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project).



Fig. 2 Marble statue group of Dionysus and satyr from the eastern corner *aedicula* of the Antonine Nymphaeum (© Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project).

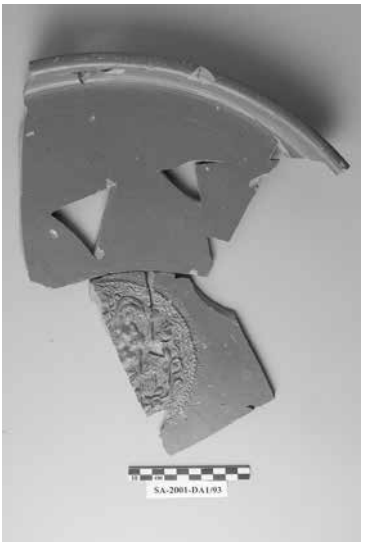

Fig. 3 Ceramic serving tray with a central medallion representing a drunken Dionysus supported by a satyr and accompanied by Pan, dating to the 2nd century CE and found at the Urban Mansion (inv. n° SA2001DA-93; © Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project).



Fig. 4 Round, relief decorated flask (diameter: 0.26m) representing Dionysus standing between Ares and Aphrodite, with rabbits feeding on vines emanating from a cantharoid crater underneath, dated to the 5th century CE and found at the potters' workshop east of the Neon Library (inv. n° SA2013LE-129-210; © Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project).



Fig. 5 Round, relief decorated flask (diameter: 0.24m) representing two busts of Dionysus, one of which is crowned by a centrally standing Nike holding a palm branch, with dogs and lion running towards the right underneath, dated to the 5th century CE and found at the Roman Baths (inv. n° SA1999RB2-64; (© Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project).



Fig. 6 Round, relief decorated flask (diameter: 0.25m) representing three busts of Dionysus set within arcades, preceded by members of the thiasos dancing to the tunes of Pan playing the syrinx, dating to the 5th century CE and said to have been found in the Fayoum, now kept at the Museum for Egyptian Antiquities at Cairo (inv. n° JE89081; Poblome 1998, 215 pl. 1.1).



Fig. 7 Frieze of dancing satyrs, incorporated into the north wall of the polygonal apse of Basilica E1 (© Peter Talloen).



Fig. 8 Hexagonal, relief decorated flask with a stylized representation of the Eucharist, dated to the late 5th – early 6th century CE and found on the Lower Agora (inv. n° SA2003LA1-72; © Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project).



Fig. 9 Round relief decorated flask (diameter: 0.17m) with an *adoratio* scene set within arches and accompanied by a bust of Dionysus to the right; dated to the late 5th century CE and originating from an unknown location in Asia Minor; kept at the British Museum (inv. n° MLA 1882.1-9.1; Hayes 1997, 88 pl. 36).



Fig. 10 Reverse of the round, relief decorated flask said to have been found in the Fayoum (see Fig. 6), depicting a vine harvesting scene and four crosses (Poblome 1998, 215 pl. 1.2).



Fig. 11 Locally produced amphora, dating to the late 6th CE century and found on the Lower Agora (inv. n° SA2000LA-117; © Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project).



Fig. 12 Terracotta mould for a round oinophoros, depicting the thiasos with a bust of Dionysus above, dated to the 5th century CE and found at the potters'workshop east of the Neon Library (inv. n° SA2013LE-144-246; ©Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project).



Fig. 13 Terracotta mould for a square oinophoros depicting an inhabited vine with animals feeding on grapes, dated to the 5th century CE and found at the potters' workshop east of the Neon Library (inv. n° SA2013LE-104-196; © Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project).



Fig. 14 Map of the Eastern Mediterranean indicating the known distribution of oinophoroi produced in Sagalassos (© Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project). 1: Sagalassos, 2: Pisidian Antioch, 3: Bindaios, 4: Seleukeia Sidera, 5: Limyra, 6: Myra, 7: Patara, 8: Perge, 9: Anemurium, 10: Selinous, 11: Caesarea Maritima, 12: Kapharnaon, 13: Alexandria, 14: Fayoum, 15: Kanopos, 16: Kellia, 17: Carthage.