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The rock inscriptions, graffiti and crosses from Quarry GO3C at Göktepe, Muğla district (Turkey)

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Abstract

This paper discusses some of the results of a geo-archaeological survey conducted in 2014 in the marble quarries at Göktepe near Muğla (the ancient region of Caria). During the survey we examined a dossier of both already known and newly recorded rock inscriptions and textual and pictorial graffiti (prominently including crosses) from District 3, Quarry C (= Quarry GO3C). Here, we aim to explore the contents and spatial contexts of these texts and images, and consider them in relation to the pottery finds and literary sources, in order to throw new light on the history of the quarry. The texts and images suggest that at some point the site was abandoned as a quarry and, probably already in late antiquity, resettled by hermits.

Özet

Bu makalede antik Karia Bölgesi'nde, Muğla Göktepe'de yer alan mermer ocaklarında 2014 yılında yürütülen jeoarkeolojik araştırmadan elde edilen sonuçların bir kısmı ele alınmaktadır. Araştırmada 3. Bölge, C Ocağı'nda (Ocak GO3C) hem bu zamana kadar bilinen hem de yeni tespit edilmiş bir grup kaya yazıtı ve graffiti yazı ile çoğunlukla haç figürleri içeren graffiti resimler incelenmiştir. Çalışmada, bu yazılar ve resimlerin içeriklerinin ve mekânsal bağlamlarının irdelenmesiyle mermer ocağının tarihini aydınlatacak yeni bilgilere ulaşılması amaçlanmaktadır. Bu yazı ve resimler, alanın belli bir noktada terk edildiğine ve muhtemelen Geç Antik Dönem'de münzevi keşişler tarafından yeniden iskân edildiğine işaret etmektedir.

The quarries of Göktepe lie ca 27km as the crow flies to the northeast of Muğla (ancient Mobolla) (fig. 1). The nearest ancient city was Kys/Kanebion/Kyon (modern Çamlıbel). This was, however, a minor settlement, eclipsed by Hyllarima (corresponding to the modern villages of Kapraklar and Derebağ), sited 15km further to the northwest (fig. 2). It seems that in late antiquity it was the bishop of Hyllarima who exercised ecclesiastical authority over this region (for Kys, see recently Blümel 2018: 219–28; also Debord, Varinlioğlu 2011: 352; for Hyllarima, see Debord, Varinlioğlu 2018).

The quarries of Göktepe were discovered over a decade ago and first explored by Donato Attanasio, Mathias Bruno and Ali Bahadır Yavuz (Attanasio et al. 2009; Yavuz et al. 2009). To date, several archaeometrical articles have been published, mainly concerning the identification and characteristics of the Göktepe white and black marbles (e.g. Lapuente et al. 2012; Attanasio et al. 2015a; Brilli et al. 2018; Prochaska et al. 2018; Wielgosz-Rondolino et al. 2020; see also below for bibliographical references). It has been suggested that the quarries of Göktepe provided marble widely across the Mediterranean basin (Bruno et al. 2015: 461; cf. Herrmann 2017: 613), perhaps as the favoured material of the renowned sculptors of the so-called School of Aphrodisias (see also Bruno et al. 2013: 109–10; Attanasio et al. 2015b: 582–83; 2019: 185–86, 193, 217, 222–23), but such interpretations have been questioned by various scholars (Lazzarini 2010; 2011; Columbu et al. 2014; Antonelli et al. 2016; Sinn et al. 2018; Wielgosz-Rondolino et al. 2020), who have noted the visible indications of a modest volume of marble having been extracted, not exceeding 17,030m^3 (Wielgosz-Rondolino et al. 2020), and the fact that ancient literary sources are surprisingly silent about marble from Göktepe. The chronological time frame of the quarries' exploitation extends from as early as the beginning of the first century

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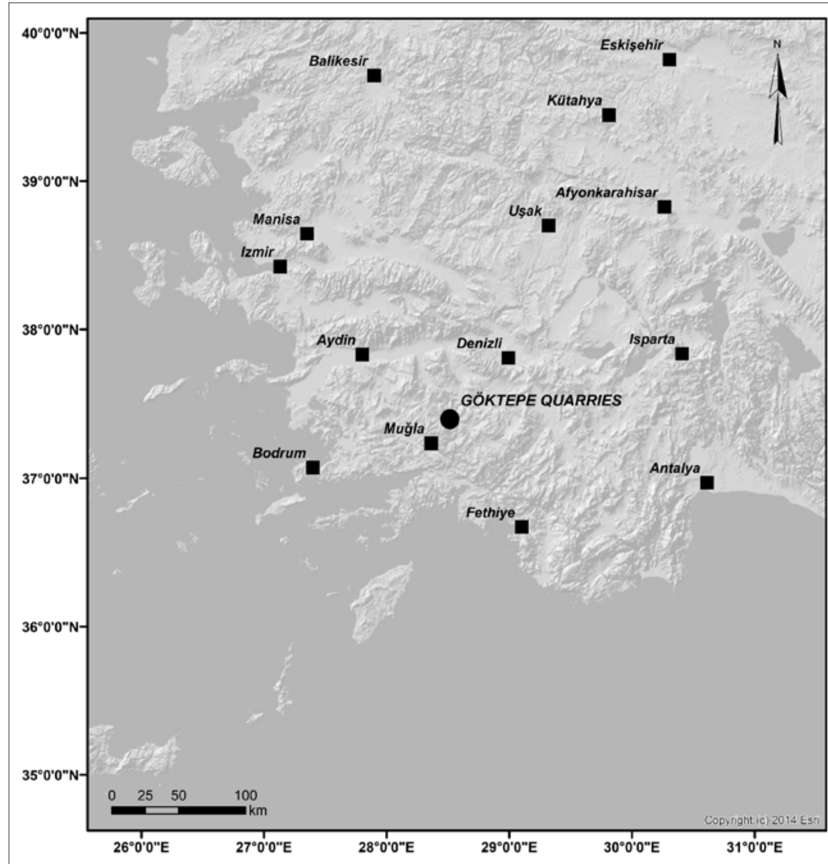

Fig. 1. Location of the Göktepe quarries (M. Gładki).

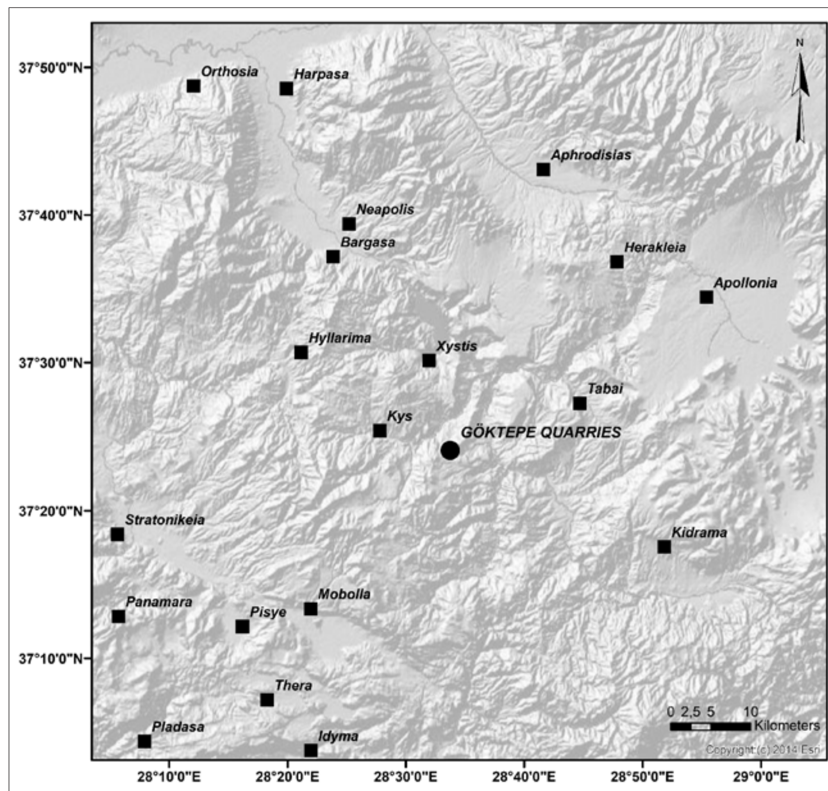

Fig. 2. Location of the Göktepe quarries in relation to nearby ancient cities of central Caria (M. Gładki).

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AD, with marble extraction reaching its zenith from the Hadrianic period onwards, in particular during the Severan period. A second peak of activity occurred in the late Roman period and lasted until the early fifth century (e.g. Attanasio et al. 2009: 339–43; 2014: 112, 123–24; 2015a: 218; 2019: 177, 179, 187–217, 221; Bruno et al. 2015: 462–66). The question of the quarries' tenure has also been disputed. Imperial ownership has been suggested, based on scarce epigraphical evidence found in the quarries (Attanasio et al. 2009: 323–25, 344–45; 2012: 74; Bruno et al. 2015: 462), while mixed – i.e. private and/or imperial – ownership has been suggested by Ben Russell (2013: 57–61). Possible local ownership of the quarries (Russell 2013: 61; Long 2017) and local use of the Göktepe marbles for fine sculpture in nearby cities such as Kys, Xystis or Hyllarima should be taken into consideration as well (Wielgosz-Ronodolino et al. 2020).

The Göktepe quarries occupy an area densely covered by vegetation, situated approximately 900m above sea level on the Çağillar plateau. So far, 20 quarries (11 of white marble and nine of black marble) have been discovered and documented (19 in Attanasio et al. 2009; Wielgosz-Rondolino et al. 2020). The quarries are clustered into four districts, labelled after Attanasio et al. 2009 as GO1 to GO4 with suffixed capital letters marking a quarry within a given district (fig. 3), and are situated at a very short distance from each other. The sizes of the quarries varies from small to medium. We have adopted the systematics of quarries proposed by Leah Long (2012: 169), which she developed for the quarries in the vicinity of Aphrodisias. This systematisation is based on her survey of the sizes of quarries at nine sites around the city (1 Yazır, 2 Ören, 3 Hanaçam, 4 Çamatası, 5 Kızıl Çağıl, 6 Nargedik, 7 Baba Dağı, 8 Çamova, 9 City [Northern]). A small-sized quarry is identified as one where the volume of material extracted in antiquity did not exceed 3,000m^3; in a medium-sized one, up to 10,000m^3 of marble was quarried, while large-sized quarries produced greater volumes of stone.

The marble-quarrying techniques were determined mostly by the geological structure of the rocks: i.e. on their natural cracks, veining and fraction orientation, and the spacing between them, which might significantly limit the dimensions of the blocks extracted. Usually, marble folds were followed to extract as much as possible of the stone of the desired quality, especially of the white marble. This is the case in Quarry GO3C, the focus of this study, where the white marble layers were covered by carbonate breccia approximately 6–8m thick. In the southwestern sector of this quarry, marble could be extracted in an open-air area. Towards the northeast, however, it had to be extracted as small blocks by undercutting the breccia. Therefore, the

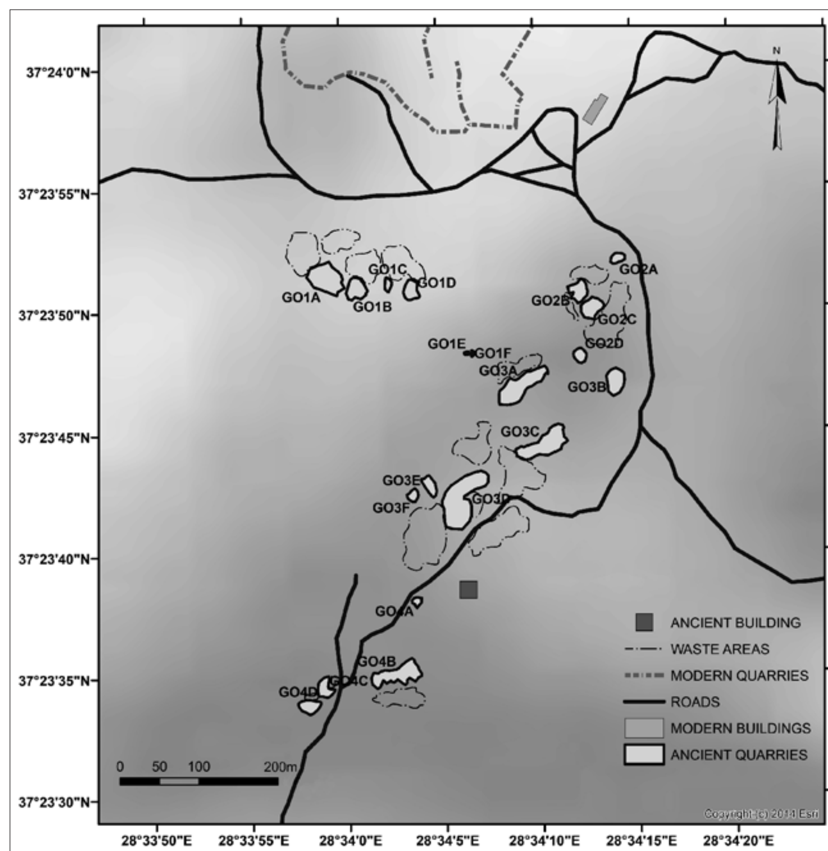

Fig. 3. Plan of the Göktepe quarries: sites GO1–G04 (M. Gładki).

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ancient quarrymen had to cut small chambers into the rock leaving walls to support the undercut breccia. Five such chambers, possibly adapted by hermits in later times, are still visible on the eastern quarry face (fig. 4).

The site has been owned recently by a private company which has resumed the extraction of marble from the quarries exploited in antiquity. This intensive modern exploitation has obliterated many of the remains of the ancient industry, especially those in the black-marble quarries. A guardian of the Göktepe quarries informed us that the quarries in our area of focus were abandoned in the 1990s, but extraction has been resumed in more recent years. Therefore, the importance of surveying and, in particular, conducting three-dimensional scanning of this area are all the more crucial, given that much of the evidence from Quarry GO3C will be lost as a result of present-day intensive exploitation.

Focus, methods, terminology and aims

This paper discusses the inscriptions recorded during a geo-archaeological survey conducted in 2014 as part of the 'Marmora Asiatica: Towards Archaeopetrology in Poland' project funded by the National Science Centre, Poland (grant agreement number 2012/07/E/HS3/03971; see http://marmoraasiatica.uw.edu.pl), and with the permission of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey. The survey covered the entire complex of the quarries of Göktepe and is described in detail in Wielgosz-Rondolino et al. 2020. Our contribution to this project, presented here, is a detailed study of one of the quarries: Quarry GO3C. We were able to examine this in great detail, at a level of scrutiny that would not have been practicable for the whole complex. Within this space, our focus was very specifically on the inscriptions. We recorded the presence of crosses and pictorial and figural graffiti only within a limited space in Quarry GO3C (coordinates UTM 35N E 638931.814 N 4139924.548; fig. 5), and this prompted us to subject the area to further epigraphical examination, which allowed us to distinguish five areas of rock inscriptions and graffiti.

Two isolated, interconnected chambers documented during the fieldwork – Area 05 and Area 06 – appeared to be particularly interesting since they contained high numbers of clustered pictorial graffiti and rock inscriptions covering the opposing faces of the same dividing 'supporting wall'. The ceilings and portions of the inner walls of these chambers show evidence of smoke. The soot on the walls could have been produced by oil lamps used for lighting. Some of the ancient pictorial graffiti were scratched into this black, smokey surface (e.g. PG19 in Area 06). We cannot exclude the possibility, however, that at least some of the preserved soot is related to the presence of local shepherds in more recent times or fires lit by present-day youths. The chambers are filled with stone rubble and/or earth, which covers the original ground level.

An interesting rock structure, resembling a narrow bench with a pillow-like protruding element, is clearly visible along the southern face of the 'supporting wall' and below a rock inscription, our RI2, in one of the two chambers (Area 05). However, archaeological investigation is required in order to provide further and more precise information about this. During the survey we also examined vestiges of a building located between District 3 and District 4, along with fragments of pottery found on site.

Fig. 4. Exploited quarry chambers at Göktepe, Quarry GO3C, Areas 05 and 06, possibly later adapted as hermit cells (photo: M. Gładki).

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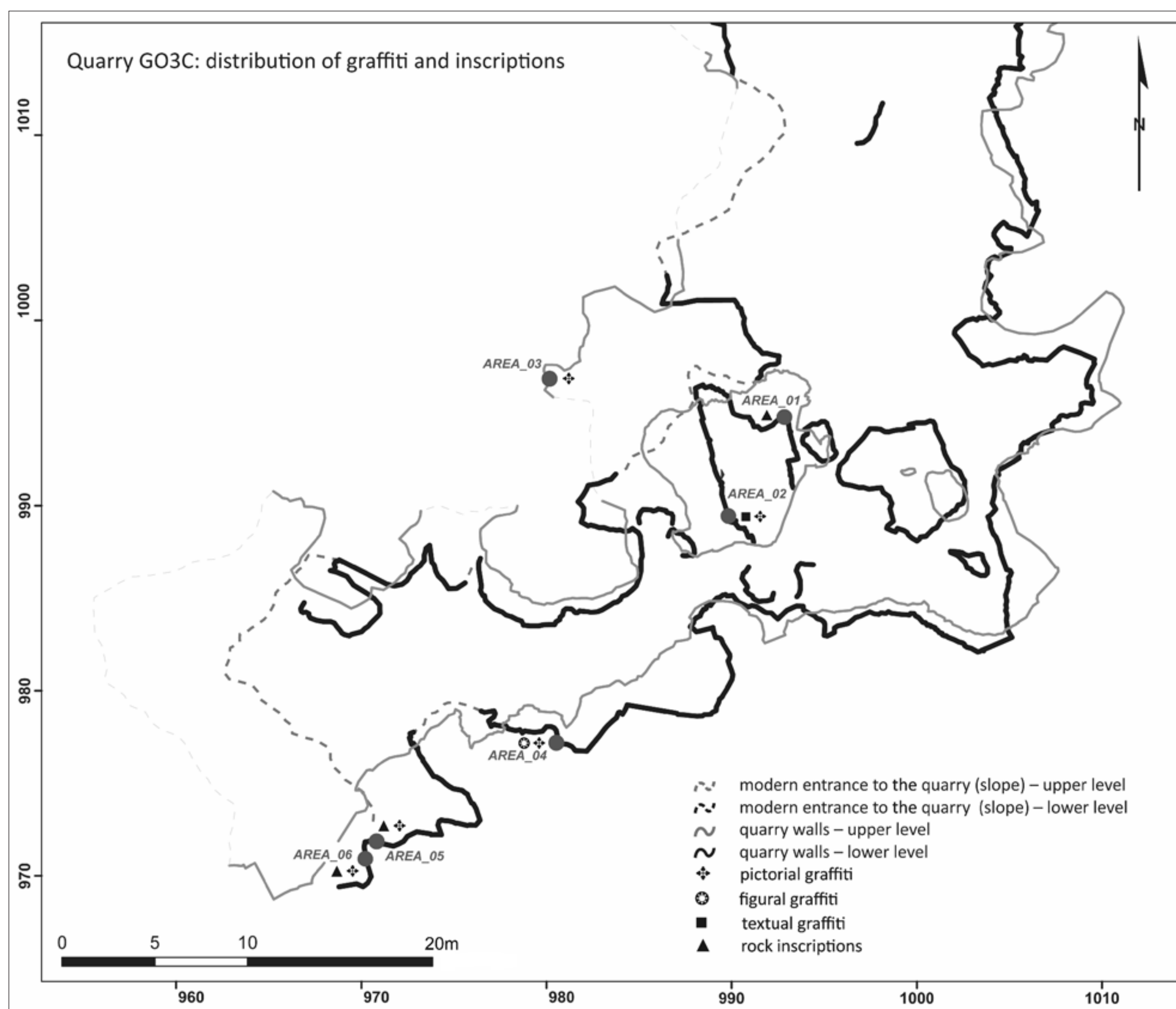

Fig. 5. Plan of Quarry GO3C (M. Gładki).

Some of the pictorial graffiti (crosses) from Areas 02 and 03 have previously been described briefly and published as drawings by Attanasio, Bruno and Yavuz (2009: 318–21). They also offer basic transcriptions of one rock inscription and one textual graffito, our RI1 (Area 01) and TG1 (Area 02), respectively. The presence of graffiti at Quarry GO3C is also mentioned in passing in other works (Attanasio et al. 2015a: 218; Bruno et al. 2015: 462, where 'two late-Greek fragmentary inscriptions' are mentioned, 'one of which starts appealing to the help of God (ΚΥΡΙΕ ΒΟΗΘΙ)', and ascribed to Quarry GO3B; it is possible that our rock inscriptions RI2 and RI3 were meant but their location mistaken).

For metric documentation we used GPS and HDS (high definition surveying or three-dimensional laser scanning). Geographic positions of the ancient traces of exploitation or of human activity in general were captured with GPS receivers. Additionally, the quarry was laser-scanned with a survey-grade pulse-based scanner providing an accuracy of single-point position no less than 6mm over a 100m distance. This allowed us to estimate the volume of stone extracted and to make an accurate three-dimensional model of GO3C. All the archaeological and epigraphic evidence, such as inscriptions and graffiti, was recorded with the use of photogrammetry. We took high-resolution photographs at different angles and with the use of raking light. The photographs also underwent digital processing. All the areas were documented with orthophotographic scans.

While processing the finds, we realised that we needed to apply consistent terminology throughout the study regarding the different types of inscriptions recorded. The term 'graffito' is, however, used with a wide range of meanings by different authors, and, when it comes to the contents of these inscibed features, it is often not possible to distinguish 'graffiti' from so-called 'formal inscriptions', especially those from late antiquity (see Roueché 1984: 185, 199; Baird, Taylor 2011: 6–7, 11; Jacobs 2017:

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178). We therefore decided to categorise our examples based on a number of criteria. The first distinguishes physical aspects of their execution: 'rock inscriptions' (RI) were executed with a hammer and chisel (as in the case of, e.g., the collection of inscriptions from Grammata, Tenos, or the 'Cave of Elijah', Mount Carmel: Kiourtzian 2000: 135–200; Feissel 1980; Ovadiah, Pierrie 2015, respectively), while 'graffiti' were scratched with any available sharp or pointed tool (as those from Basilica A in Resafa: Römer 1986). This latter group is subdivided, based on content, into 'textual graffiti' (TG), 'figural graffiti' (FG) and 'pictorial graffiti' (PG), in which we include crosses. This is a division subjectively tailored to the needs of this study. For a recent detailed attempt at a typology of 'graffiti', see Van Belle, Brun 2020 (an ambitious study of graffiti from ancient times via the early modern and modern periods to contemporary virtual graffiti); for types of 'pictorial graffiti', see Langner 2001.

Ancient graffiti and rock inscriptions tend to appear in clusters (Jacobs 2017: 204–07; Macdonald 2018: 79–80), and the same is true of their medieval, early modern and modern counterparts. Throughout the ages people have tended to add their own to already existing graffiti; they may also modify or simply deride existing examples, and so engage in a kind of conversation or exchange of views. The accumulation of graffiti in particular spaces and the way they actively change urban landscapes are also enduring phenomena, which have been noted and well documented by scholars pursuing modern graffiti studies (e.g. Papen 2012 on texts from Prenzlauer Berg, Berlin; Krauthausen et al. 2017 on clusters or 'hotspots' of graffiti and sprayed texts by modern football fans). Such clustering is also true of our collection. For this reason, we determined that the best way to present them was to produce a study of the entire writing/drawing areas of the rock faces; this allows an understanding of the spatial relationships of the various texts and images, rather than dividing them according to their shapes or categories. In Quarry GO3C, six such 'areas' are distinguishable, which we numbered according to the order one passes them when entering the quarry via the eastern pathway. The images are mostly scratched onto rock faces of the quarry. The rock inscriptions from Areas 01, 05 and 06 were probably executed with the use of a chisel, punch or a similar tool.

Below, we offer descriptions, high-resolution photographs and line drawings, transcriptions, translations and interpretations of our finds. Their digital versions, as well as other materials that could not be included in this paper, are downloadable from the project's website: http://marmoraasiatica.uw.edu.pl. We then examine the contents and contexts of these texts/images and consider them in relation to the pottery finds and literary sources, in order to throw new light on the history of the quarry. We argue that the texts and images suggest that at some point the site was abandoned as a quarry and, probably already in late antiquity, resettled by hermits who might have adapted the chambers cut into the quarry wall (fig. 4). The inscriptions and graffiti may come from a hermitage, whereas the building identified nearby could belong to a monastic establishment.

Useful comparanda

With one exception (Area 01, RI1) all our texts and most of the depictions have a religious character and date probably from the fifth to the eighth century AD. Therefore, a natural frame of reference for this collection is other quarries where Christian inscriptions and symbols have been found. One must, however, remember that 'graffiti in quarries' is actually a very diverse category, and only some of the examples are directly relevant to their context (e.g. masons' marks). Comparanda can also be found elsewhere, and, accordingly, we will also cite examples from cities such as Aphrodisias and Sagalassos, where people used graffiti to organise the urban space in similar ways. This short discussion of the comparative evidence is also biased by whether or not discoverers of grafitti have decided to record and publish them. It is certain that many collections of graffiti have, sadly, been ignored in rich archaeological environments that have distracted attention away from these short, supposedly 'meaningless', texts and crosses.

A convenient overview of marble quarries active in late antiquity is offered by Jean-Pierre Sodini (2002). Among the examples that he enumerates, of particular importance are the rich dossiers of graffiti from Dokimeion-İscehisar in Phrygia, from a number of quarries on the island of Prokonnesos and from Aliki on Thasos. The Dokimeion-İscehisar collection is surely the best known of the three and is usually cited through the comprehensive paper by Josef Röder (1971). An overview of the history of the epigraphical exploration of Dokimeion is presented in a recent paper by Matthias Bruno (2017: 470). Such explorations, however, have tended to focus on administrative inscriptions, graffiti and dipinti documenting activity at the quarry. Thus Röder's paper remains the most comprehensive overview of the informal Christian graffiti at this site.

The Dokimeion quarries have a long history of scholarship going back to their initial discovery by the de Laborde family in 1823 and then independently by Charles Texier in 1834 (see Robert 1962). The cornerstone for Dokimeian epigraphy, however, is the work of William Ramsay conducted half a century later (1882; 1887; see also *CIL* 3 supplement 7005–40, 12231–33, 12235, 13653, 14192, 14192[1]), followed by detailed studies on the interpretation of abbreviated signs and markings by Paul Monceaux (1900) and Charles Dubois (1908: 83–93).

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These finds are also revisited in Hirschfeld 1905: 167–68 and Calder 1912. In more recent years, the control marks on blocks from Dokimeion have been studied by Aurelio Padilla Monge (2000–2001; see also *SEG* 56.1496), J. Clayton Fant (1989), Michel Christol and Thomas Drew-Bear (Christol, Drew-Bear 1987: 83–137; 1991: 113–74; Drew-Bear 1994: 747–844), Patrizio Pensabene (2010: 71–134) and Matthias Bruno (2017: 469–89). Not surprisingly, these authors tend to focus on Latin administrative inscriptions; nonetheless, Ramsay was the first to mention in passing the presence of some Christian texts (1882: 295). Elsewhere, he also published the famous 'graffito of Mousionos' depicting a female in the gesture of orant (Ramsay 1897: 745–46, no. 690 = Röder 1971: 288 no. J7, 290 Abb. 28–29; cf. Robert 1962: 39–40). Perhaps somewhat naively, Ramsay believed this to have been a product of the iconodule opposition. Louis Robert (1962: 40) was also aware of the Christian textual graffiti and crosses at Dokimeion, and at other quarries, such as those around Aphrodisias, and intended to produce a study of the latter. The Christian graffiti of Dokimeion are also mentioned in passing by Pensabene (2010: 74, 76, 130–31). In 2014 we also visited the site, but most of the inscriptions had been lost by that time, again as a result of modern exploitation of the quarry for marble extraction. All in all, however, the study of the Greek and Christian inscriptions of Dokimeion has been rather limited compared with the efforts to read and understand the Latin texts.

Thus, present-day scholars remain reliant on Röder's work, which is primarily an archaeological publication and offers only a very limited epigraphical commentary and virtually no apparatus. The inscriptions lack full lemmas and specific references to former editions (for the shortcomings and omissions of Röder's paper, see Drew-Bear, Eck 1976: 313 n. 83). The Christian inscriptions and textual graffiti collected by Röder include mainly invocations of God as the Lord (1971: 287–88 nos J7, J8, J10), the letters A and Ω (1971: 288 no. J8) and single letters (perhaps initials of names; see 1971: 291, 293 Abb. 37). One can find there also figural graffiti (the orant figure noted above and the so-called 'Pantokrator'-graffito: 1971: 290 Abb. 30) and pictorial graffiti (the 'Labyrinthdarstellung': 1971: 293 Abb. 37), including two pairs of peacocks (1971: 292 Abb. 33, 34). A further notable pictorial graffito is a seven-armed candelabra/menorah (1971: 293–94, 289 Abb. 27 no. I2). The quarries of Dokimeion also abounded in dozens of crosses, christograms and staurograms of very different shapes. Röder, with the aid of Josef Engemann, stylistically dated them to the sixth to eighth century, but offers no detailed parallels (1971: 294). He also hints that their style was much dependant on the skills and predilections of the individual carvers. A systematic description or typology of these crosses is, however, lacking. In the context of Dokimeion, Sodini (2002: 130 n. 6) mentions an inscription on a quarry wall with the name of the emperor Justinian, which Drew-Bear has been given permission to publish.

The inscriptions of the quarries of Prokonnesos were published in 2002 by Nuşin Asgari and Drew-Bear (2002). Some readings and interpretations are revised in *Bulletin épigraphique* (2004) 53, *L'Annee épigraphique* (2002) 1369–82 and *SEG* 53.1388–407. Together, this body of material offers colour photographs, transcriptions, translations and commentaries on 45 texts, both Latin and Greek. Their method of execution was diverse. The editors observe that both Greek and Latin texts were painted (2002: 6), but that the Latin ones were all incised whereas the Greek ones could also be scratched (graffiti) or just painted (dipinti). Hence, they assume that 'the main purpose of incising letters must have been to preserve paint' (but we did not notice any vestiges of paint in Quarry GO3C at Göktepe). Linguistic correlations are also noticeable regarding the medium: Latin inscriptions are found only on objects scattered throughout the quarry (e.g. capitals and column bases and shafts) and do not appear on rock faces (2002: 17). Interestingly, there are texts in cursive script (2002: 12, no. 35 at Doğu Çamlık, Aksoy quarry area), which we have not recorded at Göktepe. In addition to the administrative and ownership inscriptions, there are also religious graffiti at Prokonnesos: the famous formula IC XC NI KA, 'Jesus Christ conquers!' (2002: 4, no. 5 = *SEG* 53.1392A); 'The light of Christ shines to all' (2002: 4, no. 5 = *SEG* 53.1392C); a church or monastery named after Mary the Theotokos, or the 'God-bearer', in an ownership inscription (2002: 4, no. 7 = *SEG* 53.1395); a XMΓ symbol (2002: 3, no. 2 = *SEG* 53.1391); an inscription invoking the protection of the Cross (2002: 3, no. 2 = *SEG* 53.1391) to which we will return below; probably ownership inscriptions with the names of clerics (2002: 3, no. 6, 14, no. 39 = SEG 53.1399, 1394); single letters; and the A and Ω symbol. Crosses were also found, notably at Salta Tepesi, Gekçin quarry area (2002: 3, no. 5). These include crosses superimposed on an orb and two steps, with triangles or semicircles at the ends of their arms, and crosses with two horizontal bars, but they are fewer in number than and different in shape from those at Göktepe and Dokimeion. There is no doubt that this dossier was created when the quarries of Prokonnesos were still operating and it includes examples related to the process of production, such as marking the recipients of worked objects or the owners of quarry faces.

The third collection, from Aliki on the island of Thasos, is discussed by Sodini, Anna Lambraki and Tony Kozelj (1980). It is notable for the 54 crosses, figural and animal depictions, and engraved numbers found at the site. These quarries were apparently abandoned around AD 615–620 (Sodini et al. 1980: 79–137; see also Sodini 2002: 131, 136).

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In addition, two crosses on a rock face have been found at Karystos (Euboia), on a quarry wall (Lambraki 1980: 51, 57; note that Sodini 2002: 131 mentions one cross at Karystos). A single Christian inscription has been reported at the quarries of Chemtou (Simitthus) in North Africa (Rakob et al. 1993: 27, 56, Taf. 41a–b).

Beyond the context of quarries, just Caria and Pisidia alone offer rich dossiers of textual graffiti and inscribed crosses from urban contexts. A major study of these was undertaken recently by Ine Jacobs (2017), building upon earlier work by Angelos Chaniotis (2008a; 2008b; 2011) and Charlotte Roueché (1984; 1999) at Aphrodisias in Caria and by Luke Lavan (2015a; 2015b) at Sagalassos in Pisidia. Jacobs also touches upon the ubiquitous graffiti of late antique Stratonikeia in Caria discussed earlier in Ruggieri et al. 2005: 98; Ruggieri 2009: 215. These studies focus, however, on the functions, purposes and meanings of textual graffiti and crosses, rather than producing a typology of their shapes and styles; nor do they provide the reader with a systematic publication of all the finds.

In the early part of the 20th century, an attempt to produce a stylistic typology of crosses for the entire Mediterranean was made by E.L. Butcher and W.M.F. Petrie (1916), but their results are questionable (see below, 'Interpretations'). A study of middle Byzantine processional crosses by John Cotsonis also includes passages on their forms (1994: 40–42) and their liturgical use, drawing upon the literary sources and manuscript illuminations (1994: 8–38). A more systematic typology of crosses is offered by Brigitte Pitarakis in her book on reliquary crosses (2006: 30–39). Although it is limited, naturally, to the shapes of reliquary containers, some of them closely match crosses known from iconography and small objects. Pitarakis distinguishes ten types of cross, but only her Type II, a cross with two knobs at the end of each arm, appears in our collection (see PG22). Crosses also commonly appear on sarcophagi, architectural elements and coins. More attention has been drawn to studies of the general history of the cross as a Christian sign, references to it in pre-Constantinian literary sources and its links with the tau-shaped cross, staurogram and christogram. A convenient overview of reference works is offered in Breytenbach, Zimmermann 2017: 13–20 (see also Aland 1967; Dinkler, Dinkler-von Schubert 1995; Hurtado 2006).

The rich dossier of crosses found on the walls of the quarried chambers at Göktepe prompts the question of whether they are in any way informative regarding the dating of the site. Here, however, caution is required. In 1971 Maurice Martin attempted to attribute the crosses of Dayr al-Dik, a *laura* established in an abandoned quarry near Antinoopolis in Egypt (now al-Shayk 'Ibada), to a specific century on stylistic grounds, and extrapolated the conclusions to the dating of the entire site. Although later pottery studies partly confirmed the date reached by Martin (see van Loon, Delattre 2014: 240; cf. Coli et al. 2011: 2699), dating by the style of crosses is an unreliable method. His reasoning drew mainly on the much earlier work of Butcher and Petrie (1916: 97–109), in which the authors wished to establish a linear, evolutionary typology of dated types of 'Egyptian and Byzantine' crosses. By 1971 this was already outdated and needed revision. Furthermore, the basis of Butcher and Petrie's study (the linear developmental model) was wrong, as, even if a specific type of cross occurs at a certain date and place, it cannot be taken for granted that it was not in use both earlier and later on, and in different locations. It also illustrates, at best, just one occupational phase of the site where such a cross is recorded.

More recently, Cilliers Breytenbach and Christiane Zimmermann (2017: 18–20) asked if different types of the Christian cross could be used as a basis for dating Anatolian (primarily Lycaonian) inscriptions. Understandably, no systematic typology is presented and the authors admit that, although they would like to see some crosses in Lycaonia as dating even from the second century AD, their dating usually depends on the approximate dates of the formulae in these inscriptions (which is already a very tentative method) and other criteria (see also Pilhofer 2018: 135, n. 185 doubting such an early occurrence of the cross in Anatolian Christian iconography).

Conversely, recent studies on Carian crosses and graffiti (Lavan 2015a: 335; Jacobs 2017: 207–13; Talloen 2019: 185–86) stress that the only certain method for dating them is to establish the *terminus post quem* and *terminus ante quem*, which are often determined by the archaeological context of the find: the markings must postdate the construction of buildings or surfaces where they were found (unless these are made of spolia) and must predate the deposition of small objects used as a medium, etc. The complexes where crosses and other graffiti are found are therefore typically more useful for dating the markings themselves, not vice versa. Jacobs, Lavan and Peter Talloen also note that the practice of inscribing crosses in Caria is generally characteristic of the fifth and sixth centuries, at least in urban spaces.

The rock inscriptions and graffiti

Underlined letters indicate doubtful readings. Double underlines mark ligatures.

Area 01

The northeastern rock face of a 'supporting wall'. Flat surface with cracks on the sides, the central part of the area is preserved intact. Smooth reddish surface in the centre, rough greyish to light-pink surface at sides. One rock inscription (RI1) has been recorded in this area.

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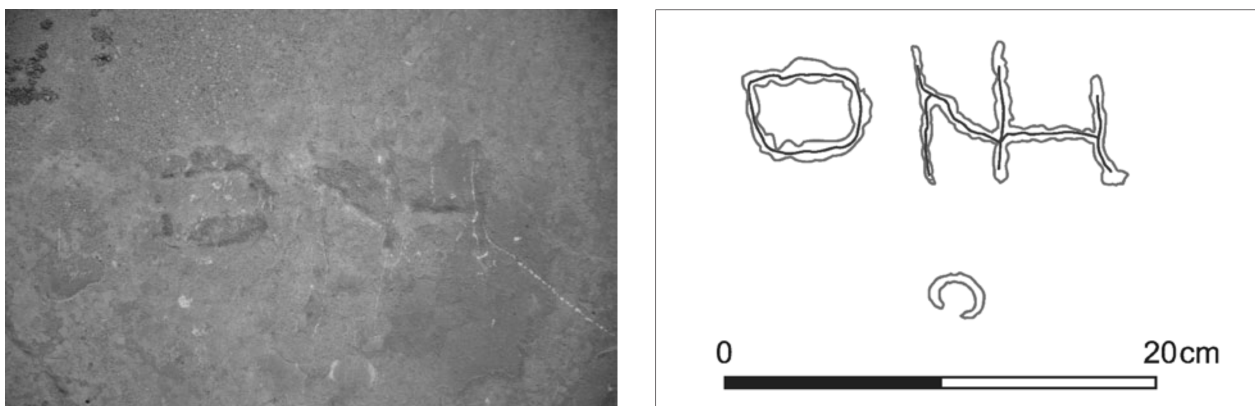

Fig. 6. Area 01: rock inscription RI1 from the northern rock face of the 'supporting wall' (photo: authors; drawing: M. Puszkarski).

Textual graffiti and rock inscriptions

RI1 (fig. 6). Located in the centre of the flat reddish surface. W. 16.5cm. Max. letter height 5.5cm. Round omicron. Ligature NH. Probably made with a punch; deep and clear lettering.

Editio princeps: Attanasio et al. 2009: 320–21, no. 3.Gr.4, fig. 15 (drawing).

Diplomatic edition: ONH

Possible interpretation: Ὀνη(- - -)

Probably Ὀνη(σίμου) || ONH (without spacing and no mention of FG1 below) *ed. pr.*

Perhaps: 'Of One(- - -)' or '(Belonging) to One(- - -)'.

Attanasio, Bruno and Yavuz consider this rock inscription to be three letters of one word and suggest this was probably an acronym. The ligature suggests that these are indeed letters, rather than digits (70, 58), belonging to one word, such as an abbreviated name – perhaps Onesimos, Onesandros, Onesidoros, Onesiklas, Onesilaos, Onesippos, etc. Of these, the name Onesimos was by far the most popular in Caria (*LGPN* 5B.328, s.v., with seven occurrences at Aphrodisias, five at Stratonikeia and 52 in the entire volume). Christians associated it with a disciple of the Apostle Paul (see the Epistle to Philemon 1:10; the Epistle to the Colossians 4:9) who was presented as a bishop of Ephesos in his hagiography. For an inscription probably naming a saint Onesimos at the city walls of Miletos, see *Milet* 6.3.1578.

This is certainly a mason's mark, examples of which are scattered on pavement slabs, columns and other stone blocks in Aphrodisias, but not in the city quarries. A dossier of these signs will be edited and commented on by Angelos Chaniotis who kindly shared with us an early draft of the tenth volume of the *Aphrodisias* series, focusing on the marks from the Place of Palms (formerly the South Agora). The marks occur in three areas of the city: in the Place of Palms (mainly in the West Stoa, but also elsewhere), at the Tetrastoon and in the North Avenue (between the Tetrapylon of the sanctuary of Aphrodite and the Place of Palms). Such marks are usually formed of one to three letters which denote abbreviated names, with about 20 different types recorded in the Place of Palms alone: for example, ΕΙΩ (Εἰωάννης), ΕΥΤ (e.g. Εὐτύχης), etc. Among them one finds combinations of ΑΛΕ with a number of other abbreviations, including ONH, at the Tetrastoon. Chaniotis suggests that, among other possibilities, these may have been marks of 'presumably, Ἀλέ(ξανδρος), the owner of the workshop or the leaseholder of the quarry and ... masons or team leaders', including one Ὀνή(σιμος).

Close parallels are the 'owners' inscriptions' from the quarries of Prokonnesos. There, in the rocky ridge of Mandıra, we find the sequence ΑΥΦ on a rock face (Asgari, Drew-Bear 2002: 5 no. 8 = *SEG* 53.1400), which almost certainly stands for Auphidios. That it was meant to be read in the genitive, Αὐφ(ιδίου), is suggested by what is probably an expanded ownership inscription from another rock at Mandıra: Ἀπολλοδώρου, 'of Apollodoros' (Asgari, Drew Bear 2002: 5–6 no. 10 = *SEG* 53.1393: Ἀπολλοδώρου). Russell views these inscriptions as indications of a 'multiple ownership system' at Prokonnesos (Russell 2013: 59): Auphidios and Apollodoros were private entrepreneurs who owned or worked on specific rock faces in the quarries and extracted marble, though we cannot be certain if these individuals were outright owners or just workmen who tagged their worksites. A private ownership model has, however, also been suggested for Dokimeion: see Pensabene 2010: 131. Alfred Hirt (2010: 294–95, cf. 315–16 for the Carrara quarries) and Fant (1989: 29–31) convincingly argue that names occurring without any indication of social status at Dokimeion refer

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to 'private' entrepreneurs rather than imperial freedmen, contrary to the opinion of Drew-Bear (1994: 806–07). Similarly, interpreted names also occur at the Mons Claudianus quarry (e.g. 'Opellius' in Quarry 19.8, 'the quarry of Myrsimos' in Quarry 22.15, 'Harpokration' in Quarry 109.1, 'Cochlax' in Quarry 120.1; see Peacock, Maxfield 1997: 217, 221–23, 225–26).

It is, therefore, possible that at some point when the quarries of Göktepe were still active, a similar system was introduced there too and our inscription names the owner of the rock face in Area 01 or a member of a team of stonemasons that was going to exploit this site. Of course, such a hypothesis has to be reconciled with the commonly assumed view that Göktepe was an imperial property; but the quarries need not have belonged to the emperor at all times.

The inscription dates to a late period of activity of the quarry, since the rock face was left intact. If the expanded name does read Onesimos, we can note that it becomes increasingly popular in the region only from the second century onwards (*LGPN* 5B.328, s.v.). It is tempting to associate this mark with that of Onesimos from Aphrodisias. If this is the same person, it could mean that the stonemasons of Aphrodisias intended to source some marble from Göktepe for the city (cf. Bruno et al. 2015: 462–63), and our inscription is roughly contemporary with the refurbishment of the Tetrastoon in the 360s. This is, however, a very tentative hypothesis, since the two marks have different shapes (the one from Aphrodisias shows three separate letters instead of the ligature NH).

Pictorial graffiti

Below RI1 there may be traces of a small circle, but it is not clear whether this is a carved sign (and if so, dating from antiquity) or a crack in the rock. It is not mentioned by Attanasio, Bruno and Yavuz in their description of this surface. Accordingly, we have not included it in the list of pictorial graffiti.

Area 02 (fig. 7)

The southeastern rock face of the same 'supporting wall' where Area 01 is located. Rough, greyish surface with brown intrusions in the middle and in the upper right-hand quarter. The area accommodates one textual graffito (TG1) and three pictorial graffiti (crosses PG1–PG3). There are horizontal ancient pick marks in the centre of the wall.

Textual graffiti and rock inscriptions

TG1. Located in the upper right-hand quarter. W. 19cm. Letter height 7cm (K), 4cm (other letters). Cross H. 8.01cm; W. 5.35cm. Rectangular epsilon. Faint, scratched and elongated letters.

Editio princeps: Attanasio et al. 2009: 320–21, no. 3.Gr.3, fig. 14 (drawing).

† Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ

KC IY = Κ(υριο)ς Ι(ησο)υ (without diacritics) *ed. pr.*

'† Oh Lord, Jesus (help)!'

The authors of the *editio princeps* read the second letter as a sigma and hence expand the abbreviation to Κ(υριο)ς Ι(ησο)υ, although a combination of nominative and genitive/dative/vocative makes little sense. In fact, a closer examination of the rock face reveals that the second letter is an epsilon and that we have here a sequence of two vocatives: Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ, 'Oh Lord, Jesus!'. The cross at the beginning of the text is an integral part of the inscription, opening the invocation (which is also common in monumental inscriptions), not an independent pictorial graffito.

The invocation is an altered version of the formula Κύριε βοήθει. For comments, see RI2 below. The word Κύριε was commonly abbreviated as KE and is also attested as such at Dokimeion, in inscription J10 (Röder 1971: 288).

Pictorial graffiti

PG1. Situated below and slightly to the right of TG1. H. 16.7cm; W. 9.49cm. Scratched, deeper and thicker line than TG1.

Editio princeps: Attanasio et al. 2009: 320–21, no. 3.Gr.3, fig. 14 (drawing).

Large staurogram (a combination of the letters tau and rho forming a cross and referring to the crucifixion of Jesus) with the loop of the letter rho unusually pointed to the left. The left-hand end of the horizontal arm expands into a triangle.

Attanasio, Bruno and Yavuz interpret this and the two other crosses (those of TG1 and PG2) as complimentary to the invocation in TG1. But the technique of execution of PG1 and PG2 (as well as PG3 which they do not delineate properly) is different from that of TG1. Their layout also suggests no coherent programme (in fact, PG3 is quite remote from the others). It is, therefore, difficult to say whether the three crosses come from the same hand. There is no parallel for this type of staurogram among the crosses from the quarries of Dokimeion published by Röder (1971). An unpublished graffito from the temple of Hekate at Lagina might be a good parallel. It differs, however, in having a much shorter hasta of the rho. Unfortunately, no comprehensive study of the numerous graffiti from the sanctuary has been offered to date. Some important notes are provided by Vincenzo Ruggieri and colleagues in their studies on Byzantine Caria (Ruggieri

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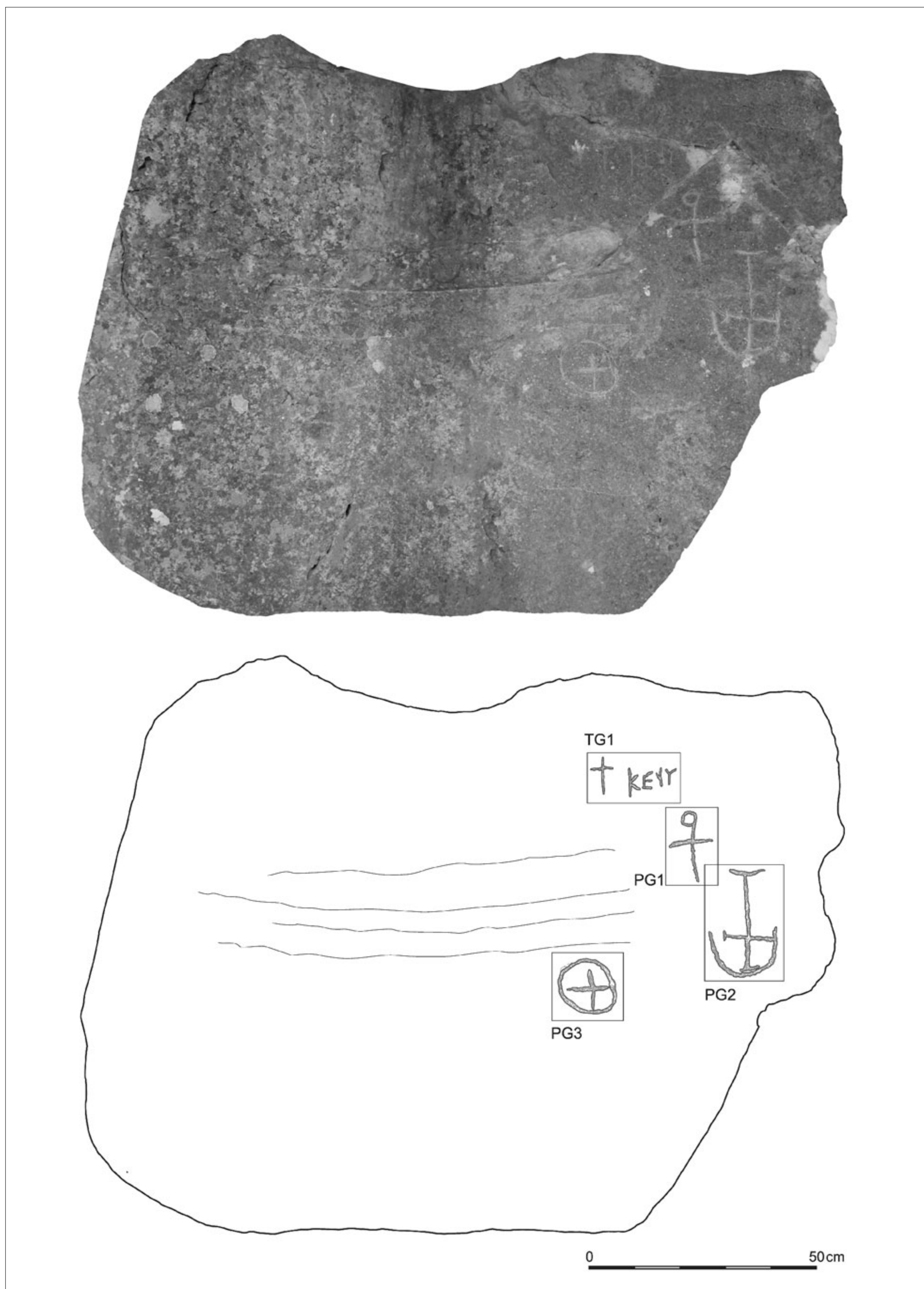

Fig. 7. Area 02: southern rock face of the 'supporting wall' with textual graffito TG1 and pictorial graffiti PG1–PG3 (orthoimage: M. Gładki; drawing: M. Puszkarski).

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et al. 2005: 100–04; Ruggieri 2009: 215), where they briefly describe crosses of very different shapes, unfinished crosses and christograms, with some examples published as photographs. For a revision of these views, see Sitz 2019: 216. Lavan reports a cross from Sagalassos 'with its head turned into a *rho*' on a column of the west portico of the Lower Agora, but the direction is not specified (2015a: 339).

The staurogram was used as a Christian symbol in Christian literary papyri from at least the late second century; for an account of recent discussions, see Breytenbach, Zimmermann 2017: 15. The staurogram with the loop of the rho pointed to the left occurs sporadically on small objects, such as oil lamps (fourth/fifth century: Bubić 2012: 254–57, nos 22–24, 27) and coins (sixth-century coins of Anastasius I, Justin I and Justin II from the Constantinople mint: https://www.cngcoins.com/ inv. nos 885459, 915179, 871054, 871053, 871048, 871052, 859224, 859223; see also Bellinger 1992: 7, nos 6b, 7h.2, 8.1, pl. I, 35, no. 1a, pl. VII, 74, no. 17.6, pl. XII, 201, no. 11, 12.1, 12.3, pl. XLIX, 260, no. 210c). Rare examples of stone artefacts with reversed staurogram are known as well (e.g. Dresken-Weiland et al. 1998: 100–01, pl. 95, no. 291).

PG2. Situated below and to the right of PG1. H. 24.6cm; W. 15.7cm. Scratched, deep and thick line, similar to that of PG1.

Editio princeps: Attanasio et al. 2009: 320–21, no. 3.Gr.3, fig. 14 (partial drawing).

> Large 'inverted' Latin cross with all four arms terminating in short perpendicular bars. The lower part of the cross is inscribed within a half-circle (certainly not a laurel wreath; see also PG6). Similar to the cross of PG18.

The *editio princeps* reports that the cross is 'lacking the upper extremity, which was probably tapered like the other two on the horizontal shaft' and that a 'slightly arched horizontal incision' visible above it is 'probably not deliberate'. Conversely, our photographs show a connection between the arched incision and the main body of the cross. It seems that this is one complete image of a cross with an elongated upper arm (thus a kind of inverted Latin cross). Furthermore, it may actually be an inverted image of a regular cross superimposed by an arch. A very similar, but much better-executed, slender, large Latin cross under an arch, fitted with triangles at its extremities, is shown on a parapet at the Roman Baths of Sagalassos (Lavan 2015a: 340, fig. 14a). Such a cross graffito is also recorded among the Christian graffiti at the quarries of Dokimeion (Röder 1971: 293 Abb 37, 295 Abb. 41 no. D2). Röder terms this type 'ein Kreuz mit baldachinförmigen Bogen' (1971: 291). He also compares it with images of a cross under an arch in Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, at the middle doorway to the exonarthex (1971: 294). They very probably depict the great golden cross mounted over the pulpit of the Hagia Sophia, which had a golden ciborium or a kind of a baldachin: ὁλόχρυσα δὲ πετάσια ἀντὶ στηθέων εἶχεν ἄνω ὁ ἄμβων ('above the pulpit there were baldachins of solid gold, opposite the ballustrade': *Patria Konstaninoupoleos, Diegesis peri tes Hagias Sophias* 21 = Preger 1901: 1.98). Hence, the cross-under-an-arch motif may refer to crosses under a ciborium. Röder, however, draws yet another parallel – with images of crosses on sixth-century pilgrim ampullae from the Holy Land. He offers no references, but must have meant the three main types of such crosses on the ampullae from the collections of Monza and Bobbio listed in Grabar 1958. His nos 1, 6–11 and 14–16 (from the collection of Monza, pls II, III, XII–XIX, XXVI–XXIX, XLV, LIV) show this type of cross on their necks. Nos 4 and 13 (pls X, LIV) from Monza and no. 8 from Bobbio show a larger cross framed by a rectangle with an arched top, made of triangles or small arrowheads on the reverse of the bodies of the ampullae. Ampullae nos 12 and 13 from Monza (pls XXII, XXIII) depict a cross under an arch, inside a church, and so do ampullae nos 3–5 (pls XXXIV–XXXVI) from Bobbio. An association of the cross-under-an-arch motif on pilgrim ampullae with the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, housing the relics of the True Cross (which this image can represent), is also made by Cotsonis (1994: 40–42). Thus, could it be a depiction of a cross inside a sanctuary?

In early Christian art, the motif of the cross/or staurogram under an arch/or pediment supported by two columns was frequently reproduced on sarcophagi (e.g. Deichmann 1967: Taf. 16 no. 49, Taf. 19 no. 59, columnar sarcophagi; Dresken-Weiland et al. 1998: 93–94, pl. 88, no. 264, 100, pl. 94, no. 290, 100–01, pl. 95, no. 291). It was common in the middle Byzantine period, especially on architectural elements, both as an independent motif and placed in a sequence of other ornamental patterns, such as in the intercolumnium of arcades (see, e.g., Evans, Wixom 1997: 37, no. 2a [T.N.P.]; Niewöhner 2008: 333, no. 42, Abb. 46, 334, no. 45, Abb. 49; 2017a: 324, fig. 185). As in the case of the Hellenic naiskos motif, frequently enclosing a deity, this may be a symbolic depiction of a church or a chapel. Nonetheless, we find the hypothesis of the cross-under-a-ciborium motif more compelling. Why, in this case, the cross and the arch are shown upside down is rather obscure.

Small perpendicular bars decorating the extremities of PG2 are a common detail. We also find them, for example, on crosses at Stratonikeia, in the graffiti cluster at the Severan Gate (Jacobs 2017: 205, fig. 6.9), and at Sagalassos on a column from the Lower Agora Nymphaeum (Lavan

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2015a: 338, fig. 13), on a wall of the North-East Gate passage of the Upper Agora (Lavan 2015a: 340, fig. 14a) and on the base of a stepped monument in the Upper Agora (Lavan 2015a: 319, fig. 10a).

PG3. Below and to the left of PG2. Cross: H. 7cm; W. 6cm. Circle diameter: ca 13cm. Scratched, deep and thick line, albeit fainter than in PG1 and PG2.

Probably mentioned by Attanasio et al. 2009: 321 (not shown in fig. 14).

> Middle-sized plain Greek cross within an irregular circle.

This graffito should probably be equated with illegible signs reported by Attanasio, Bruno and Yavuz: 'some barely visible signs on the left ... an arched segment that might refer to the motif present in the second cross' (Attanasio et al. 2009: 321, no. 3.Gr.3). Contrary to this supposition, a closer examination of the wall reveals not 'an arched segment' but a full circle enclosing the cross (cf. Röder 1971: 289, Abb. 27, no. III 2; Monna, Pensabene 1977: 90, 94, fig. 30, a very similar graffito with a cross within a circle from the quarries of Aphrodisias, with a reference to Robert 1962: 40 where more crosses from the site are signalled). A professionally carved Latin cross within a circle is also to be seen on a column shaft at the Severan Gate-Nymphaeum at Stratonikeia (Jacobs 2017: 199, fig. 6.6).

The cross or monogram enclosed within a medallion or wreath was widely reproduced in various artistic media from the early Byzantine period. Suffice it to mention red Egyptian porphyry sarcophagi from the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul (Vasiliev 1948: 1–26, figs 7–9) or Ravenna and other sarcophagi (Dresken-Weiland et al. 1998: 111, pl. 103, no. 325, 111, pl. 106, no. 324, 112, pl. 102, nos 330–31, pl. 103, no. 334, 121, pl. 113, no. 391, 124–25, pl. 114, nos 408–09) and mosaics (e.g. Habas 2015). It was a recurring motif on architectural elements also, especially on door lintels, architraves, capitals, etc. (see, e.g., Neccache 1992; Strube 1993; 2002; Niewöhner 2017a: 291–92, fig. 123), and on coins predominantly from the fifth century (see, e.g., coins struck during the reign of Theodosius II: Grierson, Mays 1992: pl. 13, nos 333–38, 341–45).

Area 03 (fig. 8)

The southeastern side of a supporting block with three rock faces, positioned at different angles to one another. The upper part is reddish with white intrusions, mostly smooth, similar to that of Area 01; the lower is grey and rough. The area accommodates three pictorial graffiti (PG4–PG6, crosses).

Pictorial graffiti

PG4. In the lower left-hand quarter, on a greyish rock. H. 21.49cm; W. 19.9cm. Scratched. Slightly oblique position, leaning to the left.

Unpublished. Not mentioned by Attanasio et al. 2009 in their description of this rock face.

> Short vertical line crossed by a symmetrical U-shape with curved endings. Probably an unfinished Latin cross with a laurel or ribbon; similar to that of PG5.

PG5. In the upper sector of the area, on a reddish rock. H. 26.4 m; W. 26.1cm. Scratched. According to the *editio princeps*: 'engraved on the rock using a punch'.

Editio princeps: Attanasio et al. 2009: 320–21, no. 3.Gr.1, fig. 12 (drawing).

> Thin Latin cross with a long lower arm. The horizontal bar and the upper arm terminate with a perpendicular bar. The lower arm is in its bottom section crossed by an asymmetrical U-shape with extremities curved downwards.

Butcher and Petrie record crosses with perpendicular bars at the extremities dating to AD 557 (1916: 106, no. 100).

PG6. To the right and slightly below PG5, on an adjacent reddish rock face. H. 24.7cm; W. 23.1cm. According to the *editio princeps*, executed 'with a series of close vertical punch strokes'. Broad lines. White traces of scratching inside the engraved grooves.

Editio princeps: Attanasio et al. 2009: 320–21, no. 3.Gr.2, fig. 13 (drawing).

> Large cross with irregularly expanding endings. The right-hand horizontal arm resembles that of a cross patée, the left-hand arm terminates with a V-shaped ornament and the upper one with a perpendicular bar. This is probably due to the engraver having limited skills, as all the arms were designed to be decorated in the same way. From the lower arm spring two foliated anthemia or branches with leaves (acanthus?), creating a U-shape flanking the cross on both sides. The left-hand branch is longer, reaching above the horizontal bar, but not crossing it. The right-hand bar ends just above the horizontal bar.

The cross bears similarity to one of the crosses from Dokimeion in terms of the method of execution (see Röder 1971: 295, Abb. 41E3: this is, however, not a cross with a wreath, but one with orbs in four sectors delimited by its arms). In the *editio princeps*, Attanasio, Bruno and Yavuz suggest that the two stems of foliage

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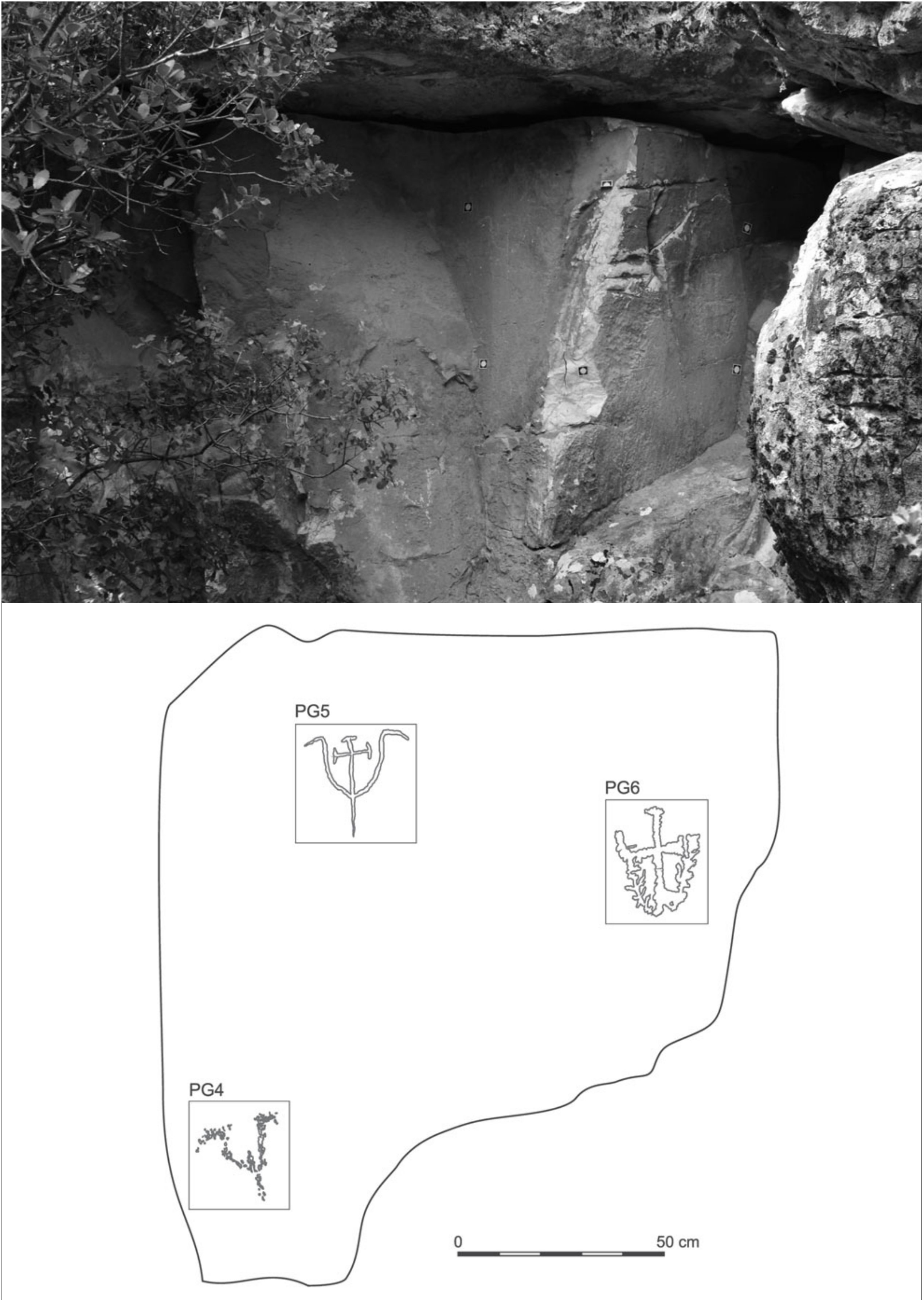

Fig. 8. Area 03 with pictorial graffiti PG4–PG6 (photo: authors; drawing: M. Puszkarski).

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may be palm branches (in early Christian art and writings these were commonly associated with martyrdom, as a reward for suffering). They also note that this type may be inspired by the cross-and-anchor motif, present in PG4 and PG5. Based on a remark by John Herrmann, who hints at a similar depiction on an Ionic capital in the garden of the Archaeological Museum at Istanbul (no reference or inv. no.), ca AD 630–650, they date this cross to the early seventh century and suppose that it is later than PG4 and PG5.

In fact, vegetal motifs, mainly acanthus leaves, enclosing or flanking a cross were commonly reproduced in architectural elements, such as entablatures, capitals and imposts, in the early Byzantine period (see, e.g., Niewöhner 2006: 432, no. 20 Abb. 13, 433, no. 21 Abb. 14, 438, no. 41 Abb. 19; 2017a: 248, fig. 20, 269–70, fig. 67, 277–78, fig. 91); the cross between two palm fronds is known from small finds such as seventh-century coins struck during the reign of Phokas (Grierson 1968: pl. II no. 21). Similar to palm fronds in their general appearance are the cypress trees flanking the cross on sculptural monuments from the early Byzantine period; they continued to be placed on architectural elements and other artistic media in middle Byzantine times (see Evans, Wixom 1997: 37, no. 2a [T.N.P.], described as a 'variation on the tree of life' and dated to the 10th–11th century, and 133–34, no. 80 [I.K.], on the back of the Harbaville Triptych, mid-11th century; Vanderheyde 1997: 705–06). For a broad Latin cross with expanding extremities, flanked by two plants with ivy leaves from the church on the island of Küçük Tavşan in western Caria, see Ruggieri 1990: 395, fig. 5.

Area 04 (fig. 9)
Northeastern rock face of the southern wall of the quarry. Grey stone with two holes for wedges for the extraction of marble in its upper part (the graffiti, therefore, certainly postdate the abandonment of the quarry). A yellowish rock face conjoins to the left of the inscribed area. Two graffiti, one figural (FG1) and one pictorial (PG7), were found here. They are certainly unconnected.

Figural graffiti
FG1 (fig. 10). In the upper left-hand corner of the inscribed area. H. 16cm; max. W. 5cm. Crude, angular lines, probably executed with a chisel.

> Standing human figure, possibly a woman. Clearly marked head contours with no anatomical features recorded. Traces of a circular shape around the head. The chest is asymmetrical, protruding to the right. Two curved bars are meant to represent the legs with the left foot pointed outwards (or, alternatively, this is meant to be the hem of the figure's robe). The right foot is scarcely visible. The figure is leaning to the left. Small letter M carved to the right of the figure's left foot.

This is the only figural graffito from Quarry GO3C recorded so far. It is not clear whether it is contemporary with other carvings and the identity of the figure is far from being clear. Despite the religious character of most of the graffiti found on other rock faces, this need not be the case here, as another graffito on this wall (PG7) has no religious character. However, the female shape, the letter M engraved next to the left foot of the figure and the round shape over the head (nimbus?) make it tempting to hypothesise that this is a depiction of the Virgin Mary. The quarries of Dokimeion have yielded three figural graffiti. The first is a standing figure, probably female, in the posture of an orant, shown *en face*, with wide hips and legs pointed inwards (Röder 1971: 290, Abb. 28, 29). This figure is flanked by two trees with birds on their branches. The complimentary textual graffito invokes God as the Lord on behalf of the author of the image, termed with a feminine pronoun: ποιήσαντος αὐτήν ('the one who made it'), with αὐτήν probably denoting the graffito as an εἰκών ('image') or γραφή ('written/drawn thing'). Although the figure has no nimbus and is not labelled, Röder tentatively supposes that this could be the Virgin Mary. The second is a crudely executed bust, crossed out with two bars (Röder 1971: 290, Abb. 30). This is apparently a failed attempt to depict a male figure; presumably it was disliked and so deleted by its author. The third is a very crude image of a man seated on a rock or throne with a codex; his left hand is raised and he has a disproportionally large neck and bald head (Röder 1971: 290, Abb. 30). Röder notes that it used to be understood as a mocking image of a supervisor of the quarry, but, in his opinion, it may be a very clumsy 'folk' depiction of Christ, imitating the Pantokrator type. This is a very tempting hypothesis, although one must note that the Christ Pantokrator is, unlike here, usually shown with his right hand raised in the gesture of blessing.

Pictorial graffiti
PG7 (fig. 11). In the lower middle sector of the grey rock face, to the right and below FG1. H. 12cm; W. 44cm. Shallow and wide line produced by consecutive scratching.

> A flat, horizontal oblong shape with its left-hand end curved and raised. A faint line protrudes upwards from the left-hand part of the object, slightly leaning to the right.

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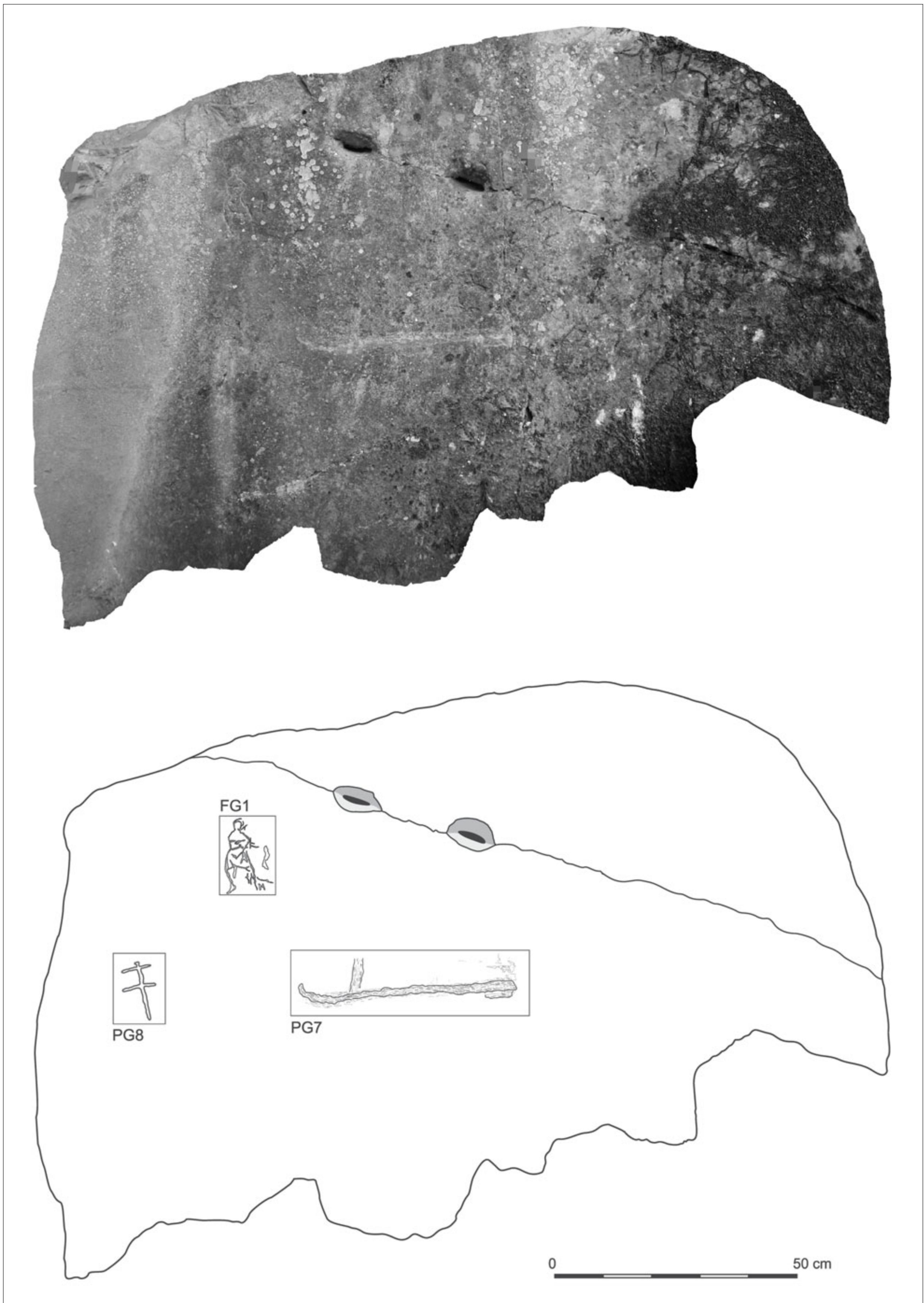

Fig. 9. Area 04 with figural graffito FG1 and pictorial graffiti PG7–PG8 (orthoimage: M. Gładki; drawing: M. Puszkarski).

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This is probably an image of a ship or a raft. Ships are often found among pictorial graffiti, although mainly in harbours, important trade centres accessible by seafaring and on rock faces on seashores. It is, therefore, quite surprising to see such a graffito in the Carian interior. Since it has been scratched in a quarry, we can imagine that it possibly relates to the transport of the marble blocks. The image looks like a flat-bottomed boat with a slightly curved prow or a raft used for the transport of heavy loads on a river. The short-looking 'mast' might actually be a pole for tying the ropes used to harness animals to pull the raft. On the other hand, this graffito might simply represent a sledge, used for transporting blocks on rolling timbers.

Fig. 10. Figural graffito (FG1) possibly depicting a standing female figure (photo: authors).

Good examples of ship graffiti are found in the assemblage of the civic basilica of the agora of Smyrna (Bagnall et al. 2016; this type of graffito was also the subject of the conference 'Karavoi: Methodology, Interpretation and Typology of Maritime Graffiti in the Mediterranean' organised by the University of Cyprus, Nicosia, in 2016) and in the galleries of the Hagia Sophia in Istanbul. Often, it is possible to identify the type of ship depicted, as the level of detail is usually high. In this case, however, we have been unable to reach any reliable conclusions as to which type of vessel is represented here. The graffito may date from the period when the quarry was still being exploited and was perhaps authored by a workman.

PG8. In the left-hand part of the area, on a yellowish-brown rock face, to the left of PG7 and to the left of and below FG1. H. 15cm; W. 7cm. Shallow line. Carved obliquely, leaning to the left.

> Two superimposed crosses, made of three bars. The upper horizontal bar is shorter than the lower one. No ornamentation of the arms' extremities.

This type of cross resembles the so-called 'patriarchal cross' known from coins struck under Justinian II and Theodosius III, where it occurs on the *globus cruciger* (Grierson 1968: pl. XLIV nos 22.1–2, pl. XLVI no. 1b.1). Philip Grierson (1973: 131, 139) points out that it disappeared from coins during the reign of the Isaurian emperors and returned in the first half of the ninth century, on those issued by the mint of Constantinople

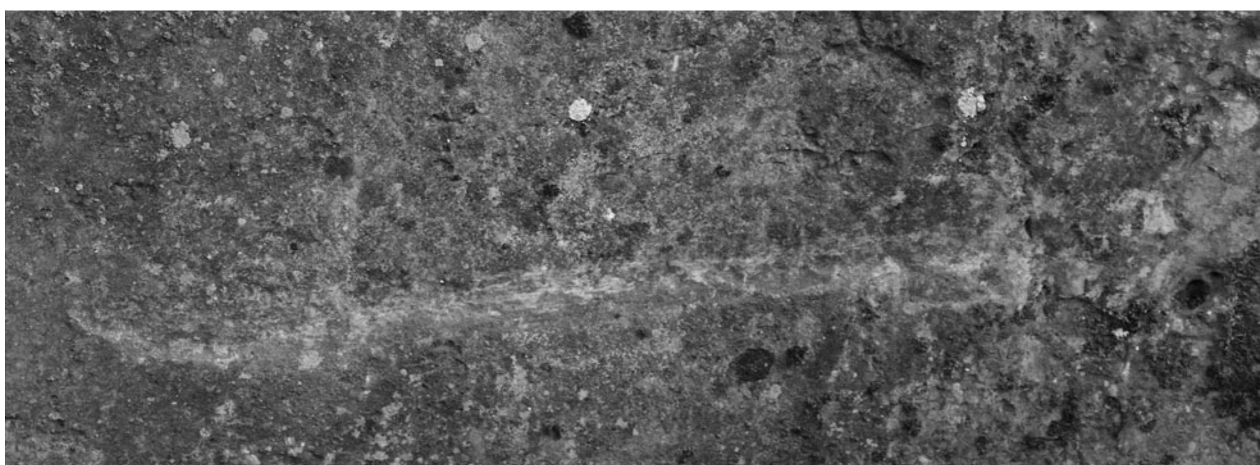

Fig. 11. Pictorial graffito (PG7) possibly depicting a raft (photo: authors).

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by Theophilos (Grierson 1973: 411–12, pl. XXII nos 1a.2, 1a.3, 1b.1, 1b.2, 1c.2, 2a, 3a, 3b, 3c.2, 3d.5, 3d.8, 3e.1, 3e.3, 3e.4, 3e.6, 3e.7, 5, 6, pl. XXIII nos 13.2, 13.3, 13.4, 13.9). It was particularly common from the middle Byzantine period, for example on architectural elements (Evans, Wixom 1997: 37, no. 2a [T.N.P.]; Sodini 2008: 11, 27, fig. 1). Butcher and Petrie argue that crosses with double horizontal arms derive from the tablet reportedly fixed on the cross of Jesus on the order of Pilate, and they produce examples from the ninth century (1916: 109).

Area 05 (fig. 12)
The northeastern rock face of a wall dividing the cavity into two compartments, to the right of the niche with a 'bench'. Rough, grey-brownish surface with several hollows and white intrusions. The area accommodates one rock inscription (RI2) and at least six pictorial graffiti (crosses PG9–PG14 and an unidentified shape, PG15).

Textual graffiti and rock inscriptions
RI2 (fig. 13). Located in the lower central sector of the area. Lines 1–2 are written above a large elliptical hollow. Lines 3–8 are placed directly below the hollow. Slightly oblique lines of text, with right-hand ends of lines 4 and 5 rising up and lines 6–8 sloping down from left to right. Total dimensions of the text field: H. ca 22cm; W. ca 16cm. Letter height 2–2.5cm (lines 1–2); ca 1.8–2cm (lines 3–7); ca 3cm (visible traces of alpha in line 8). Lunar epsilon, sigma, wide lunar omega. Alpha with a broken bar. Beta with a large lower loop. Ligature OY. Clear, deeply carved lettering in lines 1–2, probably executed with a chisel. Lines 3–8 also of good-quality carving but now partly illegible due to fragments flaking off the rock face or different, white, type of bedrock. The text is preceded by a Latin cross with perpendicular bars at the ends of its four arms. Cross H. ca 2.5cm.

Unpublished. Cf. Bruno et al. 2015: 462, where it is probably mentioned: 'In the Göktepe quarry 3B two late-Greek fragmentary inscriptions were discovered, one of which starts appealing to the help of God (ΚΥΡΙΕ ΒΟΗΘΙ).' The present inscription was, however, found in Quarry 3C.

Diplomatic edition:

† ΚΥΡΙΕ ΒΟΗΘΙ
ΤΟΙϹ Δ[Ο]ΥΛΟΙϹΟΥ

Κ
4. ΒΟΥ[- - -]ΓΕΝΙΩ
Κ..Κ ΟΥΛ . ΙΩ
ΑΓΑϹ . . .
ΠΔ . . ΦΟΙϹ
8. Α [.]

Possible interpretation:

† Κύριε, βοήθ<ε>ι
τοῖς δ[ο]ύλοις <σ>ου

4. `κ(αὶ)´ βού[θη Εὐ]γενίῳ
κ(αὶ) ..Κ ΟΥΛ . ΙΩ
ἀγαθοῖς
ἀδελφοῖς
8. Α [Ω]

Line 3: single superimposed letter kappa forms this line.
Line 5: faint traces between KK; it is not clear if these are letters.

'† Oh Lord, help your servants, [and help] Eugenios(?) and ... (?), the good brethren! Α Ω'

The graffito is a very common invocation of God or Jesus as the Lord, followed by the names of the supplicants. Invocations opening with Κύριε, βοήθει have been found also at Dokimeion (Röder 1971: 288 no. J8: ΚΥΡ, interpreted as an abbreviation for Κύρ(ιε, βοήθει), 288 no. J10: Κ(ύρι)ε, βοήθι, 288 no. J7: Κύριε, βο|ήθι, without abbreviation, as in our case) and at Lagina, on the crepidoma of the temple of Hecate (Ruggieri et al. 2005: 105, II/79; Ruggieri 2009: 215, fig. 2; Sitz 2019: 216, fig. 8.7; cf. our TG1 and RI2).

Line 2: one sigma is clearly missing from the phrase δούλοις σου. This is a common error, haplography, resulting from the placement of the two identical neighbouring consonants.

Lines 3–4: line 4 certainly begins with a superimposed kappa from line 3, which should be understood as an integral part of this passage. Perhaps this kappa was added later when the author realised their omission. The following letters are very unclear: perhaps beta or delta followed by a circular letter and an upsilon, probably ΒΟΥ. Hence, we suggest that the imperative βοήθει here takes the form βούθη. This spelling, although not very common, is well attested in Anatolia, the Aegean islands and, perhaps, Athens. Note the following examples. (1) *MAMA* 1.250 (*ICG* 393; *PH* 275015) from Laodikeia Katakekaumene (fifth to eighth century): Κ(ύ)ρ(ι)ε βούθυ το δ(ού)λο σ(ου) Λέον. (2) Haspels 1971: no. 81 (*ICG* 1679; *PH* 271538) from Sülin Kaya/Metropolis in Phrygia (fifth to mid-sixth century): Κ(ύρι)ε βοῦθ<ι> τὸ δοῦλό σου. (3) Mitchell 2019: no. 381 (*ICG* 3731) from Ankyra, pronaos of the temple of Augustus (sixth century): Κύ<ριε>, βούθει Ἀνθύσας Λουνγείνου πρεσβυτέ+ρω. (4) *IG* II^2 13311 = Sironen 1997: no. 332 (*ICG* 1889; *PH* 345540) from Athens, Roman agora (fifth or sixth century): Κ(υρί)α βοῦθη τ[οῦ - - -] | καλου το[ῦ - - -] (but in *ICG* 1889 Ulrich Huttner proposes a different reading: καλοῦ Τα …). (5) Seven cases from the

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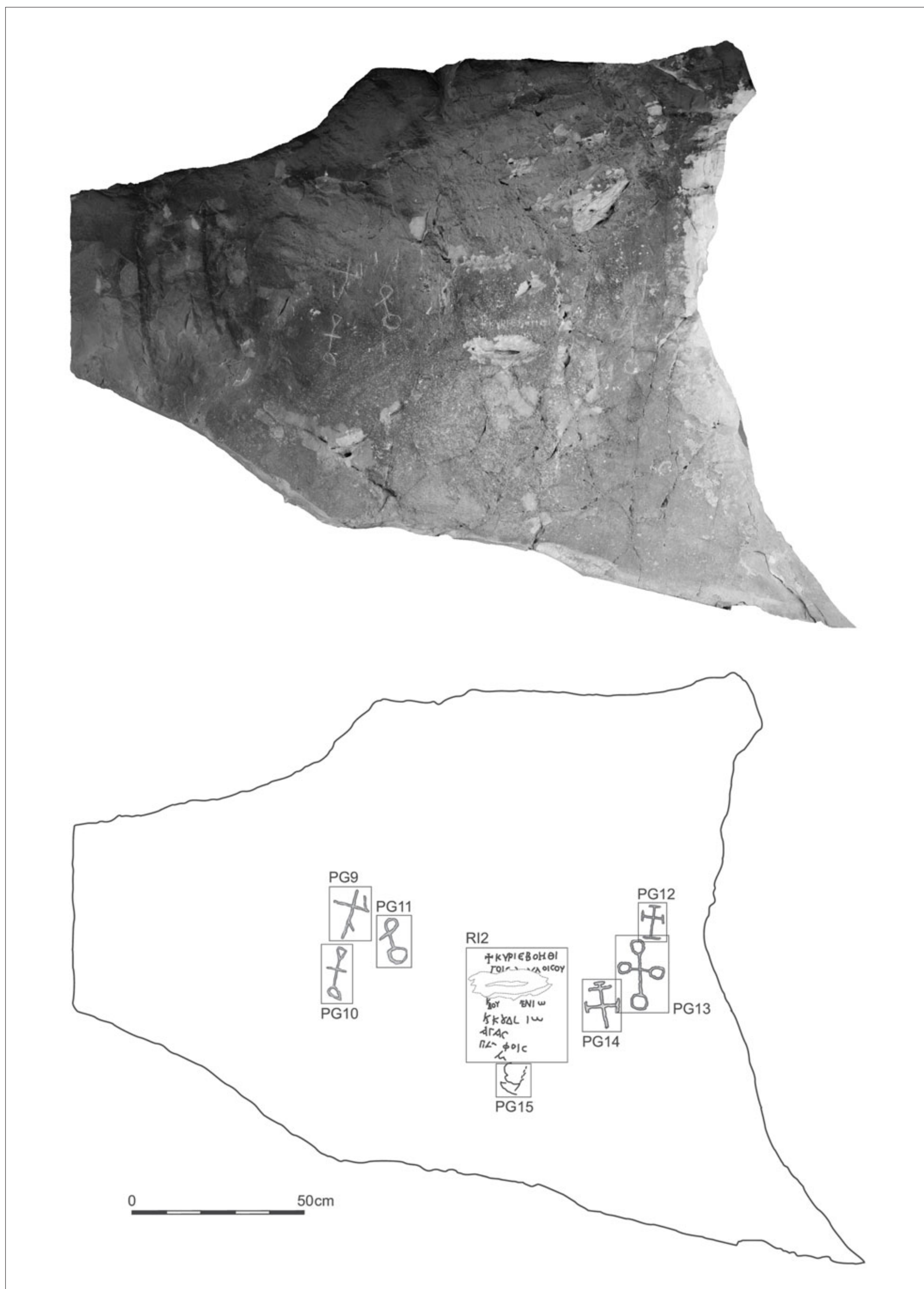

Fig. 12. Area 05: the northeastern rock face of the 'supporting wall' with rock inscription RI2 and pictorial graffiti PG9–PG15 (orthoimage: M. Gładki; drawing: M. Puszkarski).

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Fig. 13. Rock inscription RI2 from Area 05 (photo: authors).

island of Tinos, among the graffiti from the so-called Cave of Saint Stephen at Gastria/Kionia: Feissel 1980: no. 8: Κήρη βούθη ᾿Υοάνου, no. 15: Κ(ύρι)ε ΡΕ βούθη τοῦ δούλου σου Ῥομανο(ῦ) κ.τ.λ., no. 20: Κ(ύρι)ε βούθη τοῦ δούλο(υ) σου Στεφάνου δηακόνου κ.τ.λ., no. 27: ἅγιε Στέ[φαν]ε, βούθη τὸν δοῦλό σου Λάζαρο, no. 28: Κ(ύρι)ε, βούθη τ[οῦ δούλου σ]ου Νηκολάου πρ(εσβυτέρου) κ.τ.λ., no. 32: Κ(ύρι)ε βούθη τοῦ δούλου σου ᾿Υοάνη κ.τ.λ., no. 42: ἅγηε Στέφανε, βούθη τ(ο)ῦ δούλου σου κ.τ.λ.

The right-hand end of line 4 leaves no doubt that we have here a name in the dative case, ending with ΕΝΙΩ and (despite difficult reading) filling the entire line. If gamma is really present before epsilon, the name must be Eugenios. Otherwise, it might be, for example, Parthenios or Arsenios. These names were popular among Christians.

Line 5: again, the line begins with the conjunction καί followed by the name of another supplicant. This time, kappa and a ligature of omicron and upsilon (ου) are clear. There follows probably a triangular letter (alpha, delta or lambda) and two or three dubious signs, and the line ends with either a vertical stroke (iota or part of a damaged letter) and wide omega or kappa and omega, thus Ι̲Ω or ΚΩ. The name could be interpreted as Oikoumenios: κ(αὶ) Οἰκουμενίῳ. This is if we consider very faint traces between the two initial kappas as a small omicron followed by an iota and the triangular letter not as Δ or Α, but the

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left-hand part of M. Other possible interpretations include Kouadratos and Kyrikos.

Line 6: ΑΓΑ followed by a damaged circular letter (probably theta, omicron or sigma). There is no kappa at the beginning of this line, so we should expect here something other than a name (Agathon, Agathias, Agathokleus, etc.). The restoration of the word as ἀγαθοῖς depends on the reading of line 7.

Line 7: the final letters in this line, ΦΟΙϹ, and a triangular letter seen before them, strongly suggest that this line contained the word ἀδελφοῖς, 'brethren', in the dative. The first sign is, however, troubling, looking more like pi (Π) or a combination of the letters gamma and iota (ΓΙ). Nonetheless, a different interpretation of this line in this context is virtually impossible, and the reading points to the presence of hermits in the quarry (for more on this, see 'Interpretations' below).

Line 8: the extant vestiges suggest the letter alpha in the middle of the line. This should be followed normally by Ω, forming a common Christian symbol. One finds it also at Dokimeion (Röder 1971: 288, no. J8: Α [Ω]) and at Prokonnesos (Asgari, Drew-Bear 2002: 3–4, no. 5 = *SEG* 53.1392D: Α and Ω inscribed on both sides of a cross on a rock at Salta Tepesi).

Dating: the shapes of the letters and the correct use of the dative case used with the imperative βοήθει (later superseded by the genitive) point to a date in the late fifth to sixth century. This is coherent with our knowledge of the chronology of western Anatolian and specifically Carian monasticism. The sources are generally scarce, but they draw a reliable image of the first monastic establishments being founded in the late fifth century, with the majority of attestations dating from the sixth and seventh centuries (Destephen 2010: 214, cf. 208). This is also coherent with the preliminary dating of Carian rock-cut crosses similar to those appearing in Area 05 (Ruggieri et al. 2005: 115, n. 192).

Pictorial graffiti

PG9. Situated in the upper left-hand quarter of Area 05. H. 14.2cm; W. 9.72cm. Scratched, narrow but clearly visible line.

> Plain Latin cross, presented in an oblique position, with its lower arm bent to the left.

PG10. Situated in the upper left-hand quarter of Area 05. H. 14.7cm; W. 5.99cm. Below and slightly to the left of PG9. Scratched, multiple lines, thicker than in PG9.

> Cross, with almost equal upper and lower vertical arms and much shorter horizontal arms. Triangular loops on the top and bottom of the vertical arms.

The graffito probably shows a peculiar cross with loops on both sides of its vertical bar or it is an unfinished image of a cross meant to have loops/medallions at the end of each bar. One can find similarly shaped crosses in the quarry of Dokimeion, where Röder dates them to the sixth century or later (Röder 1971: 294). At Sagalassos we find a Latin cross with orbs/medallions at the ends of three of its four arms on a surface slab of the Upper Agora (Lavan 2015a: 335, cross B). But here the orb-less arm is the supporting arm protruding from the base. This type of cross also resembles the so-called 'ring letters' from magical papyri and *defixiones*.

PG11. Between and to the right of PG9 and PG10, and between these two crosses and RI2 (but not midway between the crosses and the inscription). H. 13.99cm; W. 6.58cm. Scratched with multiple, energetic strokes.

> Slightly irregular circle with a line protruding from its upper part, at a slightly oblique angle. The line turns right and forms a loop with a loose end pointed to the left.

Probably an unfinished cross with medallions/loops at the ends of its arms, similar to that of PG10.

PG12 (fig. 14). In the upper right-hand quarter of the area. H. 9.66cm; W. 6.73cm. Scratched, deep lines.

> Small Latin cross with perpendicular bars at the ends of its arms.

This is the smallest cross in this area (save for the cross opening RI2). There are comparable examples at Lagina (engraved on the crepidoma of the temple of Hekate: Ruggieri et al. 2005: 104, fig. II/77) and at Stratonikeia (on the walls of the bouleuterion: Ruggieri 2009: 215). Although their dating requires further study, Ruggieri places the graffiti from Lagina in a period later than the fifth to sixth century (2005: 115, n. 192). Regrettably, an overarching study of graffiti from the region of Caria is still awaited; the only comprehensive studies concern the graffiti from Aphrodisias: see, primarily, the pivotal works of Roueché (1993; 2007: 100–05; see also relevant entries in the corpus of inscriptions *IAph2007*) and Chaniotis (2008a; 2011).

The cross with bars at the end of each arm is already well known from coins of the fifth century (see the coins of Theodosius II: Grierson, Mays 1992: 13, nos 335, 342, 345). Referred to as *cross potent* (on the typology, archetype and literary sources, see Grierson 1968: 95–98), this cross took its definitive form in the sixth century during the reign of Tiberius II Constantine and persisted until the early tenth

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Fig. 14. Pictorial graffito (PG12) of a cross from Area 05 (photo: authors).

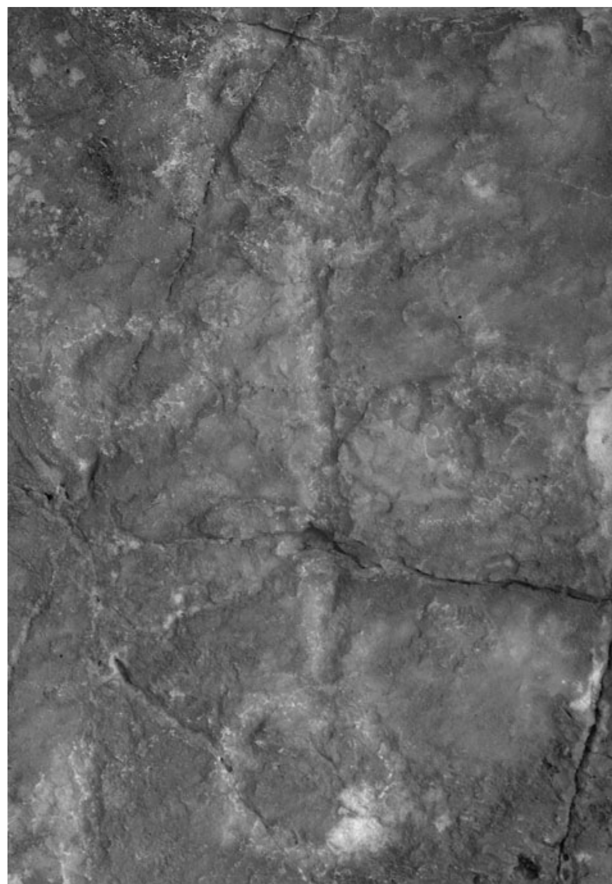

Fig. 15. Pictorial graffito (PG13) of a cross with large loops/medallions from Area 05 (photo: authors).

century (see, e.g., the coins of Leo VI and those from the time of Constantine VII: Grierson 1973: pl. XXXIV nos 3.1, 3.2, 4.3, pl. XXXVII nos 16.1, 17.2, 17.3, 18.3, 18.6, 19), although sometimes slightly differing in shape.

PG13 (fig. 15). Directly below PG12, to the right of RI2. H. 19.9cm; W. 13.3cm. Scratched or cut, deep lines.

> Latin cross with large loops/medallions at the ends of its arms.

The closest parallels for this cross are provided by the *staurothekai*. It is sufficient to mention the early ninth-century Fieschi Morgan Staurotheke, in the Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts, New York, and the staurotheke from the Procuratoria di San Marco in Venice dated to 975–1025 (Evans, Wixom 1997: 74, no. 34 [T.F.M], 79, no. 37 [J.C.A.]). The reverse of both reliquaries present the cross with globular ends. Similar in form, although much more elaborate in ornamental detail, is a cross decorating the back of the staurotheke from the State Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg, dated to the late tenth to early 11th century (Evans, Wixom 1997: 79–80, no. 38 [D.K.]). Cross-shaped *enkolpia* offer another significant comparable artefact for the period between the ninth and 11th centuries (Evans, Wixom 1997: 171, no. 122 [S.A.B.], 174–75, no. 124 [N.Z.]). We should also mention a graffito carved on the crepidoma of the temple of Hekate in Lagina depicting a cross with two arms ending with loops/medallions and two others with perpendicular bars.

PG14. Directly to the right of RI2 and to the left and slightly below PG13. H. 12.5cm; W. 9.6cm. Scratched or cut, deep lines.

> Two superimposed crosses, made of three bars. The upper horizontal bar is shorter than the lower one. No ornamentation of the arms' extremities.

This is another occurrence of the so-called 'patriarchal cross' (cf. PG8 above). Here, however, the distance between the two vertical arms is bigger and the cross is more pronouncedly executed.

PG15. Immediately below RI2. Scratched.

> An unidentified shape made of several curved lines, resembling an inverted epsilon on the left and an oblique bar crossed by two curves on the right-hand side, or a wide and open, rotated '8'.

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Area 06 (fig. 16)

The western rock face of the same wall where Area 05 is located. Rough, grey-brownish surface with several hollows, white intrusions and layers of rock flaking off. The upper part of the wall and the ceiling of this part of the chamber show evidence of smoke, certainly from modern bonfires still visible on the ground. Without further examination of the soot, it is impossible to say whether at least some of the smokey smudges may come from ancient clay lamps, but one of the crosses was executed on the sooty surface. The area accommodates one rock inscription (RI3) and seven pictorial graffiti (crosses PG16–PG22). Twentieth- and 21st-century graffiti of an erotic character can be seen in the upper part of the wall, one dated 2002.

Textual graffiti and rock inscriptions

RI3 (fig. 17). Located in the lower left-hand sector of the area, on a light-brown strip of the stone surface, broken and lost on both sides. Total dimensions of the text field: H. 13cm; max. W. 12cm. Letter heights: 4cm (line 1: iota), 3cm (line 1: other letters), 1.8–2.2cm (lines 2–4). Small, broad and rounded letters. Remarkably different lettering from that in RI2. Lunar epsilon and probably lunar omega. Ligature OY. Probably executed with a chisel.

Unpublished, but see Bruno et al. 2015: 462, where it is probably mentioned: 'In the Göktepe quarry 3B two late-Greek fragmentary inscriptions were discovered, one of which starts appealing to the help of God (ΚΥΡΙΕ ΒΟΗΘΙ).' The present inscription, however, was found in Quarry 3C.

Diplomatic edition:

ΚΥΡΙΕ Ο
ΓΙΟΥ ΓΕΩ
ΙΤΟΙC ΔΟΥ
4. CO

Possible interpretation:

[†] Κύριε, ὁ [Θεὸς]
[τοῦ ἁ]γίου Γεω[ργίου],
[βοήθε]ι τοῖς δού[λοις]
4. σο[υ]

Line 3: [βοήθε]ι or perhaps [βοήθ]ι, as the verb is spelt in RI2. Line 4: scarcely visible vestiges of letters, possibly sigma and omicron or sigma and ligature OY. Lines 5–6: (?). It is difficult to say if the faint markings below the legible lines are accidental damage to the rock face or letters. If so, one could read there Ι[- - -] | Π[- - -]Ι.

'[†] Oh Lord, God of Saint George, help your servants!'

This is another example of a common invocation of God or Christ, this time as the 'God of Saint George'. This type of expression was patterned on the biblical designation of God as the 'God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob' (e.g. Exodus 3:15). For an overview of inscriptions invoking God defined through the names of later saints and martyrs, see Nowakowski 2018: 79–80. The expression indicates a local devotion to the saint mentioned. No parallel invocation of a saint of any kind has been recorded in Dokimeion, but Mary as the Theotokos, God-Bearer, is recorded on the rocks of the Prokonnesos quarries, to name a church or monastery that owned that part of the quarry (Asgari, Drew-Bear 2002: 3–5, no. 7 = *SEG* 53.1395). On the formula Κύριε ..., see the comments on RI2 and TG1. For another case of an invocation of the God of Saint George, see an inscription carved on a lintel from Sammā' near Bostra (Roman Arabia) dating from the mid-sixth century: Κύ(ριε) ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου, φύλαξε τὼν ἐνδοξ(ότατον) φύλαρχ(ον) κ.τ.λ., 'O Lord, God of Saint George, protect the most glorious phylarch, etc.' (*IGLS* 13.9843 = *SEG* 43.1089; *L'Annee épigraphique* 1993: 1638; *Bulletin épigraphique* 1994: 662; *CSLA* E02246).

St George was one of the most popular middle Byzantine saints, venerated as a holy warrior and protector of the Empire (see Walter 1995; White 2013: 13–31). The origins of his cult are, however, obscure. He might be identified with an unnamed martyr buried at Diospolis/Lydda in Palestine, whose tomb attracted the attention of pilgrims to the Holy Land (e.g. the so-called Pilgrim of Piacenza who travelled in the 570s: see his *Itinerarium* 25). Another tradition, however, associates George and his family with Cappadocia, which may explain the rapid spread of his cult in the region. In his paper on martyrs venerated in Anatolia, Sylvain Destephen (2015: 87–88) records no fixed place of the cult of George in Caria (such as a church, monastery, etc.). The closest attested shrines he records are those at Plenion near Myra in Lycia (mid-sixth century: *Life of Nicholas of Holy Sion* 57, *BHG* 1347), at Estya (Baris in Pisidia: Nowakowski 2018: 442–45, no. PSD/04/01), at Tacina near Apamea in Pisidia (an early seventh-century monastery of George: John Moschus *Pratum spirituale* supplement 1.1, *BHG* 1441; Canart 1966: 18, line 4) and at Tabala/Başıbüyük in Lydia (a martyr shrine: Nowakowski 2018: 371, no. LYD/02/01; *TAM* 5/1.229, 5/3.1530 = *PH* 349126; *CSLA* E00802); all are located a considerable distance from Göktepe. There are, however, places in Caria where George appears in short invocations or paintings. For example, he is invoked with a number of other figures in an extensive prayer inscribed on a slab at Kasossos near Mylasa (Nowakowski 2018: 397–99, no. CAR/05/04; *I.Mylasa* 946 = *PH* 261339; *CSLA* E00720; cf. Ruggieri et al. 2005: 91–93; the date is uncertain, but not earlier than the sixth century).

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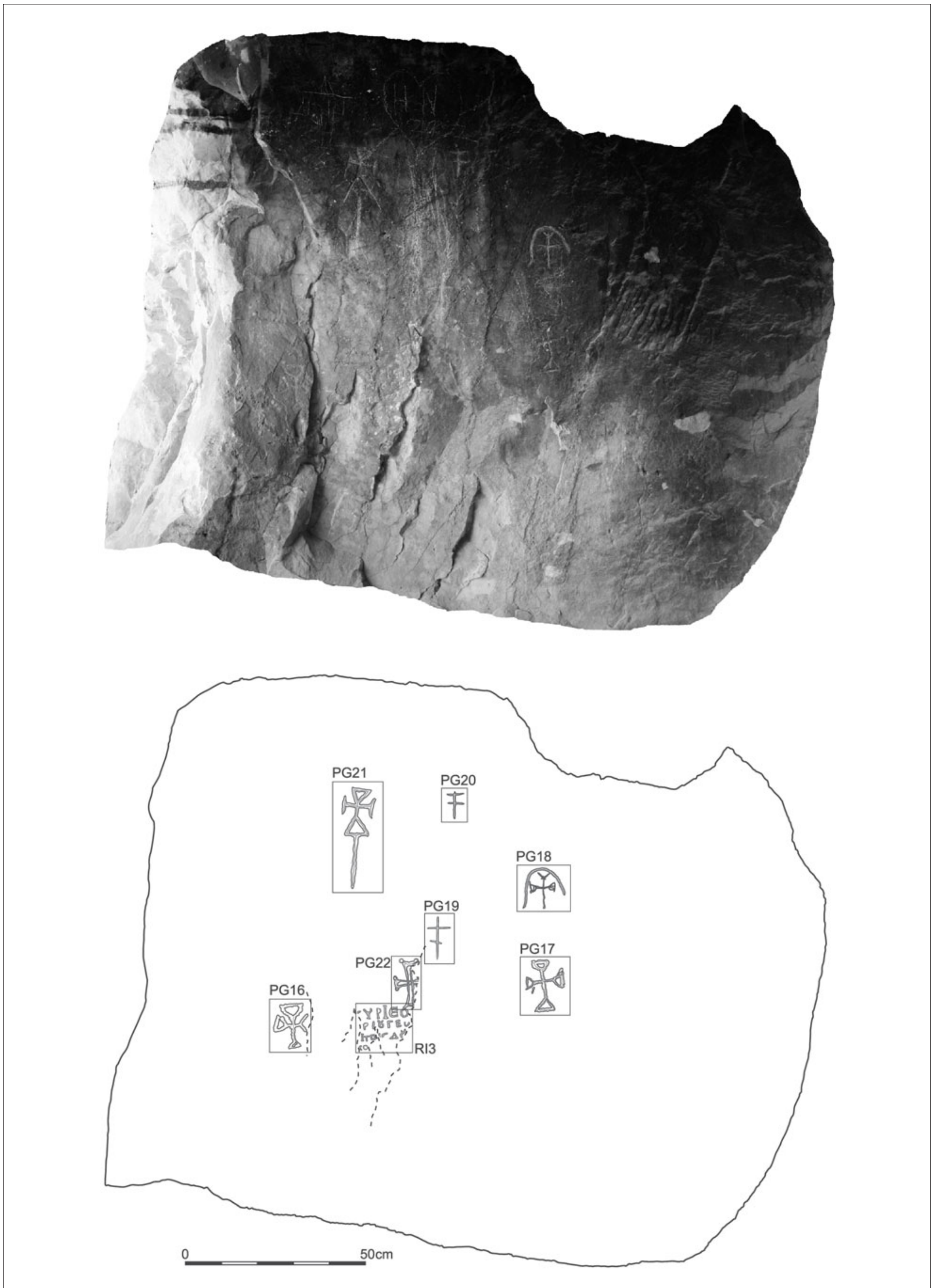

Fig. 16. Area 06: the western rock face of the 'supporting wall' with rock inscription RI3 and pictorial graffiti PG16–PG22 (orthoimage: M. Gładki; drawing: M. Puszkarski).

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Fig. 17. Rock inscription RI3 from Area 06 (photo: authors).

Ruggieri refers to a church dedicated to St George Tropaiophoros at Mylasa, but this is attested only by an early 20th-century geographical work by Ioannes Koukoules (1905: 462–63). Therefore, although George Tropaiophoros seems to be a reference to the famous foundation of St George the Trophy Bearer at Mangana in Constantinople (ca 1042–1047: see Oikonomides 1980–1981: 241–42), we cannot be certain about the date of the church at Mylasa; perhaps it was a modern dedication. George is also shown in a pre-Iconoclastic wall painting in the southern aisle of a church on the island of Küçük Tavşan near Halikarnassos (Andaloro 1998; Ruggieri et al. 2005: 183–87; and see below). Paintings of George have also been recorded at the vaulted church at Kahve Asar Ada on Mount Latmos (probably middle Byzantine: Andaloro 2005: 44–45) and at Alakışla near ancient Keramos, in the so-called *sacello-mausoleo* (Ruggieri, Giordano 2003: 214 = *SEG* 53.1187).

The cult of St George is a relatively late phenomenon (Destephen 2015: 77) and this may be used as a basis on which to date the inscription and the period of occupation of the chamber at Göktepe. The earliest confidently dated inscription recording a church of George comes from Izra/Zorava in the province of Arabia: AD 515 (*IGLS* 15/1.176; *CSLA* E01754). The *Legend of Saint George*, a fictitious work written in a highly unbelievable manner and describing the saint's martyrdom and miracles, was probably drafted in the later fifth century, as the two earliest extant manuscripts come from the fifth or sixth (from the so-called Vienna palimpsest, Codex vindobonensis Lat. 954; see Krumbacher 1911: 1–3, 106–09, N. Kälviäinen; *CSLA* E06147) and the early seventh centuries (a papyrus from the Nessana dossier: *P.Nessana* 6; *CSLA* E04385). As for Anatolia, the *Life of Theodore of Sykeon* (*BHG* 1748) documents a vibrant cult of George in the Galatian countryside in the early seventh century; George is present throughout the work as a personal protector of the protagonist, the abbot Theodore, and a patron and supporter of his ascetic ventures (chapters 8–22). In chapter 55 Theodore dedicates a splendid church to St George and extends a monastic complex next to his martyrion (see Ruggieri 1991a: 170–71). In the environs

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of Constantinople and Chalcedon the cult of George also appears to have spread only in the last decades of the sixth century. The emperor Maurice built a shrine to him at Constantinople and the patriarch Sergius one at Chalcedon, under Heraclius (for references, see Ruggieri 1991b: 191 no. 16, 200 no. 50).

Sadly, the Anatolian inscriptions that mention George are not dated, but they all seem to be rather late (dating from the sixth century onwards). An inscription from Yanıkhan in Cilicia records a martyr shrine dedicated to a St George (almost certainly our famous George) and other martyrs. Its precise date is, however, disputed. If Ralf Scharf is right, it could be even earlier than the inscription of Zorava, commonly recognised as the earliest epigraphic testimony to the cult of George, and may date to ca AD 470–484. But this dating is based on a rather tentative identification of the founder as a *comes* and member of the family of the Matronianoi (see Scharf 1990: 147–52 with the comments in *CEByz* 517; Nowakowski 2018: 571–73, no. CIL/02/01 = *PH* 287006; *CLSA* E01076). Even if the fifth-century date is correct (which we now doubt), it need not mean that the cult of George was at that time popular in western Anatolia. Assuming that it spread from the Middle East, we can expect it, quite logically, to have appeared in Cilicia, part of the Diocese of Oriens, earlier than in other regions of Asia Minor. Therefore, it is very likely that RI3 comes from the period when the cult of George was fully developed in the area, probably the sixth to seventh century or perhaps even later. It almost certainly indicates a different phase of occupation of the chamber from that related to RI2.

Pictorial graffiti

PG16 (fig. 18). To the left of RI3. H. 12.3cm; W. 9.35cm. Broad lines, probably executed with a chisel.

> Latin cross with a long vertical bar and much shorter horizontal arms. The ends of the arms are fitted with irregular triangles, of which the uppermost is by far the largest, while the smallest is on the bottom.

The large upper triangle is definitely the most interesting feature of this cross. Whilst there are no exact parallels among the crosses from Dokimeion, there are some crosses with a triangular ending on top of the upper arm, but lacking any ornamentation on the other arms (see Röder 1971: 298, Abb. 27Di, 292, Abb. 35). Once again, Stratonikeia provides us with comparative material. Almost identical crosses with triangular-shaped ends were inscribed in the bouleuterion of the city. The prototype of the shape for this cross is possibly to be found in sculpture. For example, a fragment of a pulpit slab from Stratonikeia shows a cross with triangular-like ends

Fig. 18. Pictorial graffito (PG16) of a cross from Area 06 (photo: authors).

(Ruggieri et al. 2005: 98, fig. II.68) and at Sagalassos the motif appears on a wall at the Northeast Gate (three crosses: Jacobs 2017: 203, fig. 6.8) and on a parapet at the Roman Baths (with triangles at the terminations of the arms of a large Latin cross: Lavan 2015a: 340, fig. 14a). This type of decoration is also found on sarcophagi (e.g. Dresken-Weiland et al. 1998: 94, pl. 88, no. 266, 98, pl. 92, no. 283, 99, pl. 93, no. 287, 100–01, pl. 95, no. 291, 110–12, pl. 102, nos 315–16, 327, 116, pl. 107, no. 365, 124–25, pl. 114, nos 407, 409, 129, pl. 117, fig. 5, no. 418). Close parallels can also be found elsewhere on architectural elements and on other pieces of sculpture of the early and middle Byzantine periods (see, e.g., Niewöhner 2006: nos 15–16, Abb. 8–9, nos 18–21, Abb. 11–14, no. 68, Abb. 33–34, no. 70, Abb. 35–36; Vanderheyde 2004: 456–60, figs 3–4, 7).

PG17. Above and to the right of RI3. H. 14.7cm; W. 10.8cm. Broad lines, probably executed with a chisel. Oblique position, leaning to the left.

> Latin cross with a long vertical bar and much shorter horizontal arms. The ends of the arms are fitted with irregular triangles, similar to those of PG16. The cross is, however, larger and the triangles smaller than in PG16. Here the largest triangle is also positioned at the end of the bottom arm and the smallest at the end of the left-hand one.

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PG18. Above PG17. H. 12cm; W. 11.7cm. Probably scratched. Lines are thinner than in PG16 and PG17.

> Latin cross under an arch, similar to PG2, but positioned correctly. The top arm is crossed by two small bars forming an asymmetrical X. The horizontal bar of the cross is slightly waved and U-shaped. The horizontal ends of the arms are fitted with irregular triangles. The arch over the cross is asymmetrical; the left-hand side is longer and terminated with a slightly curved line.

The upper arm of the cross ends with either an unfinished, carelessly incised triangle or a decorative motif known from crosses with two short bars forming an angle at the end of each arm that was very popular throughout Asia Minor and the Middle East (e.g., on a column of the North–South Colonnaded Street at Sagalassos: Jacobs 2017: 202, fig. 6.7; on a piece of marble from the Roman Baths at Sagalassos: Lavan 2015a: 340, fig. 14a; placed centrally on a tombstone of one Symeonios, son of Ioannes, dated AD 535, from Palmyra: Ruprechtsberger 1993: 152, Abb. 2 = *IGLS* 17/1.498).

PG19. Above and to the right of RI3, closer than PG17 and PG18. H. 11.6cm; W. 6.1cm. Thin, scratched lines.

> Small and plain Latin cross with two horizontal bars. The upper bar is longer than the lower one.

PG20. In the upper sector of the area, above PG19. H. 7.43cm; W. 4.97cm. Scratched.

> Small Latin cross, similar to that of PG19, but even thinner and with two horizontal bars. The upper bar is shorter than the lower one.

PG21. In the upper sector of the area, to the left of PG20. H. 28.4cm (including the extension of the lower vertical arm); W. 9.22cm. Probably executed with a chisel; scratchings in the grooves. Leaning to the right.

> Irregular cross on top of a pole, with lines of considerable thickness. The horizontal arms terminate with perpendicular bars. The upper vertical arm is virtually non-existent. The lower vertical arm is short and terminates with an even larger triangle.

Perhaps an image of a processional cross on a pole was intended. Processions formed an important part of the spectacle of the manifestation of Christian identity in late antique cities and were often held to celebrate important events as well as to secure public space against evil powers. Processional crosses could therefore be associated easily with this rite, and gained prominence as symbols to be inscribed on various surfaces including architectural elements and tombstones (Jacobs 2017: 202–04; Niewöhner 2017c: 256). For a processional cross on a column from the western portico of the Lower Agora at Sagalassos, see Lavan 2015a: 339, 340, fig. 14. For examples of middle Byzantine processional crosses, see Cotsonis 1994; Evans, Wixom 1997: 58–60, nos 22–23 (D.K.), 60–67, nos 24–27 (H.C.E.); Stiegemann 2001: 150–52. Butcher and Petrie present examples of processional crosses from the ninth century (1916: 109).

PG22 (fig. 19). Immediately below and to the right of RI3. H. 13.8cm; W. 7.25cm. Carved with a chisel. Slightly leaning to the left.

> Carefully carved large Latin cross with slightly flaring arms. Two knobs at the end of each arm. The lines form a square at the crossing point of the horizontal and vertical bars.

This shape closely corresponds to Type II crosses, as classified by Pitarakis (2006: 31–32). She argues that the *Patria Konstantinoupoleos, Diegesis peri tes Hagias Sophias* 21 describes exactly this form, the same as that of a golden cross mounted over the pulpit of the Hagia Sophia Church of Justinian (Preger 1901: 1.98). This can only be the case if we accept her identification of the knobs as 'pear-shape extensions', which could be the *Patria*'s λυχνῖται σὺν μαργαριταρίων ἀπιδωτῶν; but this description is of 'small red-shining stones with pear-shaped small pearls', so the association is not certain. Cotsonis (1994: 40–42) rightly notes that this type of cross is described elsewhere in the *Patria*, in the *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai* 16 (Preger 1901: 31; cf. Niewöhner 2017c: 256): σταυρὸς ἀργυρέμπλαστος ἐν τοῖς ἀκρωτηριακοῖς στρογγύλοις μήλοις, 'a silver-plated cross with spherical "apples" at the pointed corners'. This was a silver cross from the Forum of Constantine in Constantinople, dating probably from the reign of Theodosius I (AD 379–395), but in the eight century believed to have been the cross of Constantine. This description corresponds far better to the shape discussed here. Pitarakis also notes that the cross with flaring arms and knobs (or 'apples') was a widely known shape, and can be seen at various sanctuaries (e.g. St Catherine's Monastery at Mount Sinai, at Salamis on Cyprus, among Syrian treasure finds of liturgical vessels and elsewhere; for references, see Pitarakis 2006: 31, n. 97). Cotsonis sees a similarity with crosses on pilgrim ampullae from Jerusalem (an association with the True Cross and the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre is again possible).

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Fig. 19. Pictorial graffito (PG22) of a cross from Area 06 (photo: authors).

Locally, perhaps the best parallel is provided by an image of the processional cross engraved on a wall of the cella of the temple of Zeus at Aizanoi (a Christian inscription on a wall of the temple is dated AD 1005: *MAMA* 9.557 = *PH* 270810; *ICG* 1307; cf. *CEByz* 114/361; but the crosses from the temple walls need not be contemporary, see Mergen 2013). Both crosses share a similar shape with circular finials and careful sculptural handling. The Göktepe example is missing, however, the cuneiform lower section designed to embed the cross in its base/handle. The present cross is more slender and more elegant than that of Aizanoi, which has four almost equally long arms. Sagalassos offers us two similar images of crosses: one standing on an orb with knobs at the ends of its flaring arms, carved on an architectural element from the Roman Baths (Lavan 2015a: 340, fig 14a), and another with widely flaring arms but lacking knobs, on a gameboard (Lavan 2015a: 334, Gam11).

Several processional crosses from the middle Byzantine period can be cited as comparable material (Evans, Wixom 1997: 58–60, nos 22–23 [D.K.], 60–67, nos 24–27 [H.C.E.]). Similar crosses can also be found on sculptural monuments (see, e.g., Vanderheyde 1997: 703, fig. 12). Butcher and Petrie record this type in AD 472 on the coins of Olybrios and in the sixth century (1916: 99 no. 23, 105 no. 79). Stiegemann 2001 presents middle Byzantine parallels and variations of this model, such as a much more slender Latin cross with knobs and flowers at the ends of all four of its arms on an ivory diptych from Constantinople, which is dated to the second half of the tenth century and is now in the Kestner-Museum, Hannover (inv. no. WM XXIa 44b; Stiegemann 2001: 114–15, no. I.27). Another very slender Latin cross from an ivory stands on an orb and steps, with elongated knobs at the ends of its arms and a disk at the junction point of the arms. This too is from Constantinople and dated to the second half of the tenth century; it is now in Munich's Sammlung C.S. (inv. no. 1711; Stiegemann 2001: 126–27, no. I.31).

Interpretations

We are inclined to suggest that this collection of material from Göktepe, especially the rock inscriptions, documents at least three different phases in the history of Quarry GO3C.

Phase 1: a late period of activity at the quarry, which at this time was perhaps operating according to the principles of a 'multiple ownership system' or with teams of private entrepreneurs exploiting designated rock faces (Area 02: RI1; Area 04: PG7, just possibly second half of the fourth century).

Phase 2: an early period of the occupation of the abandoned quarry, perhaps by about three to four people (Area 05: RI2, probably late fifth to sixth century).

Phase 3: a later period of fuller and more formalised occupation of the quarry (Area 06: RI3, probably sixth to seventh century or much later, to which some of the crosses may also belong).

We think that the collection of Christian inscriptions at Göktepe is significantly different from those of other quarries, for example Dokimeion and Prokonnesos. This is because all the local Göktepe Christian inscriptions seem to come from periods of occupancy for purposes other than quarrying, whereas it seems that at least some texts from the other two quarries were made by workmen who were producing marble blocks to order (Röder 1971: 294; accepted by, e.g., Huttner 2017: 158; Zimmermann 2017: 502, who also wonders if these could be 'Christianized stonemasons' marks', not just signs of workmen's piety). On the contrary, the people who settled in Quarry GO3C at Göktepe in phase 2 appear to have been hermits who were followed by a better-organised monastic group in phase 3. Several arguments can been put forward to support this theory.

First, the editors of Christian inscriptions from other quarries, especially Röder, argue for an intriguing spatial correlation between the occurrence of these graffiti and the presence of pendular saws for cutting marble (for Dokimeion, see Röder 1971: 303–11; repeated in Sodini 2002: 130, and at 132 Sodini also connects the Christian inscription from Chemtou with a pendular saw operating in that quarry). However, no device of this type has been found at Quarry GO3C.

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As for the authorship and purpose of the crosses commonly executed on quarry walls and architectural elements, Röder hypothesises (1971: 294) that these were also the work of stonecutters, and that this habit can be elucidated by a passage from the *Martyrdom of the Four Crowned Martyrs* (*BHL* 1836–37; *AASS* Nov. 3.765–79). This fictitious and very late martyrdom account, presumably written down in the late sixth or early seventh century, is connected with a church on the Caelian Hill in Rome (see Lanéry 2010: 290–91; Lapidge 2018: 448–67; see also M. Pignot, *CSLA* E02508). It tells the story of four martyrs of Pannonia under Diocletian. The protagonists were secretly Christians and highly skilled stonemasons in a quarry; they were masters of their craft and quite willing to work for the emperor, despite his openly hostile attitude towards their religion. In chapter eight, the hagiographer records that they employed the sign of the Cross to ease their work, which led them to being accused of magical trickery by the quarry's senior artisan:

> And they began to carve the conchs from porphyrian marble, with acanthus patterns. And the very same hour in which they put their hands to the task, they were working in the name of Jesus Christ (by making) the sign of the Cross. One of the engineers, observing and seeing how without the sign of the Cross they accomplished nothing, but that they employed the sign of the Cross all the time in their work, was profoundly saddened and said, filled with anger: 'This is a kind of magic art, because this kind of sign pertains to (Christian) belief and through it all your satisfactory achievements are accomplished.' (tr. Lapidge 2018: 459–60)

This martyrdom account is, understandably, a favourite of scholars researching ancient quarries. It is cited, for example, by Lambraki to illustrate the presence of Christians condemned *ad metalla* in stone quarries who 'engraved crosses on the walls to invoke God's help' (1980: 57, n. 34). One must stress, however, that the Four Crowned Martyrs were professional workmen or slaves, not Christian convicts, so this reasoning has no basis (for their status, see Lapidge 2018: 450, n. 2). Röder (1971: 294) prudently notes that the story tells us more of the habits familiar to its seventh-century author than those of the early fourth-century protagonists. However, he apparently took this passage as evidence not just for Christian workmen blessing stone by making the sign of the Cross, but also for the engraving of crosses on stone blocks and rock faces to speed up the work through divine aid. As a matter of fact, the passage says nothing about engraving crosses; it records the habit of making the sign of the Cross before work was undertaken.

It has been convincingly demonstrated (Jacobs 2017: 175–76, 181, 184) that inscribed crosses served many and very different purposes in late antique cities and should be explained on the grounds of 'behavioural epigraphy' (Lavan 2015b: 63–67). They could be mere 'markers of territory and claims of ownership' in the rivalry between pagans, Jews and Christians (Huttner 2013: 298; 2017: 155–57; Deligiannakis 2018: 337–44; Sitz 2019: 210–18), but could also ensure protection against supernatural entities through visual 'evocations of divine or saintly presence' and 'good fortune' (Jacobs 2017: 181). That the Christian Cross was primarily considered as a powerful protective sign is also illustrated by a rock inscription from Prokonnesos: 'When the Cross stands in front, envy (i.e. evil) has no power' († σταυ|ροῦ προ|κειμέν|ου <οὐ>δὲν | ἰσχύη φ|θόνος †: Asgari, Drew-Bear 2002: 3, no. 2 = *SEG* 53.1391; cf. Huttner 2017: 158). The protective power of the Cross was equally welcomed by monks (who were particularly exposed to the incursions of demons and sought protection from them), as it certainly was by artisans and ordinary people in daily life. For example, the thaumaturgical aspects of the cross, used as an instrument to control and contain evil, as well as the raging powers of nature (e.g. flooding), are stressed by Michael Psellus in his *Oration on the Archangel Michael* (Fisher 1994: 240–41, lines 227–50; see also Fisher 1988: 180–81; Cotsonis 1994: 40; Belke 2017: 72–73). Psellus tells the story of a cross removed from a village church, probably at Sykeon in Galatia, and placed by the villagers (τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀγρογειτόνων) at a bridge endangered by the flooding river Sybaris. He also records that crosses were often decorated with the names of martyrs and archangels, and invocations, in order to boost their power (Fisher 1994: 237, 142–46). Philipp Niewöhner wonders whether some crosses, for example those carved on wine and oil presses, could simply have had decorative functions (Niewöhner 2017c: 261–62). This is, of course, possible, but again we cannot exclude the possibility that these signs were meant to ensure, miraculously, flawless and productive functioning of the presses.

In the case of Göktepe, the remote location of the site in the wilderness implies no factional rivalry, and therefore we can assume that the crosses of Areas 05 and 06 either visibly marked the appropriation of the chamber by hermits or safely enclosed the hermitage within a perimeter protected against omnipresent evil spirits. The most important evidence for the presence of hermits is inscription RI2, which mentions a number of people who styled themselves as the 'good brethren', ἀγαθοὶ ἀδελφοί (see Destephen 2010: 200–02 for the main criteria for the identification of a site as a monastic establishment). The terms ἀδελφός and ἀδελφή were commonly used to denote fellow Christians and, more specifically, monks and nuns;

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see *PGL* s.v. ἀδελφός (1. of one's fellow Christian; 3. of members of a religious community), ἀδελφή (1. in general, of Christian women; 2. of nuns), ἀδελφίς (of Christian women, of nuns). Accordingly, here we expect the phrase to denote the 'good brethren (in Christ)', ἀγαθοὶ ἀδελφοὶ (ἐν Χριστῷ). A Χριστοαδελφότης or Χριστονύμος ἀδελφότης, certainly a monastic community, appears in a sixth- or seventh-century inscription from Afyonkarahisar, ancient Akroinon, recording a donation and an invocation by one monk Nikolaos on behalf of himself and his fellow monks. The invocation reads: [- - -] βωήθι | Νικολάῳ μοναχõ | κ(αὶ) τῖς | χ(ριστ)οαδελφ[ότη]|τος | αὐτοῦ, 'help Nikolaos the monk and his company of brethren-in-Christ!' (*MAMA* 4.37; Weitzmann, Ševčenko 1963: 394, n. 1; Nowakowski 2018: 594, no. D/PHR/05/01 = *PH* 269469; *ICG* 1089; *CSLA* E00898). A female ascetic may also be termed ἀδελφή by a fellow nun in an epitaph from Laodikeia Katakekaumene: + Μελανίππη ἀσ|κητρία τῆς ἁγίας| τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκλησίας | ἀνέστησα τῇ εὐ|λαβεστάτῃ ἀδελ|φῇ μου Δόξῃ | τῇ σεμνῇ ἀσ|κητρίῃ | τὸν τίτλον τοῦ|τον μνήμης | χάριν, '+ Melanippe, ascetic of the holy Church of God set up this inscription to my most pious sister, Doxa, the reverend ascetic. In memory' (*MAMA* 1.174 = *PH* 274939; *ICG* 373). A dedicatory inscription on a mosaic from a Christian basilica at Sinuri (Kalın Ağıl) near Mylasa documents the use of the word ἀδελφός in the spiritual sense in Caria through the phrase ἀδελφὴ κατὰ πίστιν, 'sister-in-faith' (see Devambez, Haspels 1959: 45, pl. XIX 2; Greek text in Ruggieri et al. 2005: 97; cf. *Bulletin épigraphique* 1960: 366). Similar invocations on behalf of monks and nuns are also recorded in inscriptions from the Church of Saint John at Ephesos, on the columns of the nave: Κ(ύρι)ε, βοήθη τοῦ δού|λου σου Θεοδούλου μοναχοῦ, 'O Lord, help your servant Theodoulos, the monk!' (*I.Ephesos* 4312b = *PH* 250777); Κ(ύρι)ε, βοήθη τοῦ δούλου σου Πέτρου | μοναχοῦ ἀπὸ Σκάφης κ(αὶ) T, 'O Lord, help your servant Petros, the monk, from Skaphe, and T(- - -)!' (*I.Ephesos* 4312c = *PH* 250778); and in the north corridor: Κ(ύρι)ε, βόηθη κ(αὶ) τ(ὴν) δ(ο)ύλ(ην) σου Μάρθαν μοναχήν, 'O Lord, also help your servant Martha, the nun!' (*I.Ephesos* 4319h = *PH* 250787).

Further arguments for the presence of hermits at Quarry GO3C rest on the fact that the graffiti and inscriptions are located in a very limited area; workmen would surely have left them also in Quarries A, B and D, and those of other districts. They are, however, found in only one portion of the quarry, in proximity to an exploited chamber suitable for founding a hermitage (Areas 05 and 06). Furthermore, these graffiti and rock inscriptions were executed exclusively on quarry walls and rock faces, not on worked architectural elements; the latter is characteristic of artisans' graffiti in Dokimenion and Prokonnesos.

The monastic hypothesis and the dating of RI3 also closely concur with the evidence yielded by pottery from a pit (dug during illegal exploration of the site) near the foundations of a building situated between Quarry GO3D and Quarry GO4A (E638830.117; N4139740.821). Attanasio, Bruno and Yavuz note:

> dry-stone walling, preserved no more than 30 cm, [which] could belong to living quarters of the labourers. The walls are about 1 m thick and enclose an area of *c.*21 x 20 m, containing at least 4 rooms, three of which are arranged along the W side, while the fourth, opposite, has an irregular polygonal shape. This is a building probably covering an area of 600 m^2 which housed the quarrymen (2009: 322–23).

They add that a latrine seat (fig. 20) was unearthed in the western corner (max. L. 120cm; W. 95cm; Th. 20cm), which recently fell victim to illegal excavations. There are, however, several problems with this description. First, the walls seem too imposing for a dwelling designed to house the ordinary workmen of such small quarries. It can be observed that these structural walls were diligently constructed, possibly with the use of a dry-stone technique. Similar building methods, although often including clay and organic material, were common in much larger quarries, such as Mons Claudianus (Peacock, Maxfield 1997: 26–29). In fact, stones of varying sizes together with regularly squared blocks were used to construct the faces of both sides, whereas the core of the wall was apparently made of smaller fragments of rock, rather than quarry rubble. This guaranteed the stability and solidity of the whole construction. Since the walls survive up to a height of just 34cm, it is surprising that we found hardly any stone rubble from the collapsed parts of the walls. To this structure might belong some rectangular blocks dressed with a punch, as well as rectangular flat slabs possibly used

Fig. 20. Rectangular plaque with a large hole, supposedly a 'latrine seat' (photo: authors).

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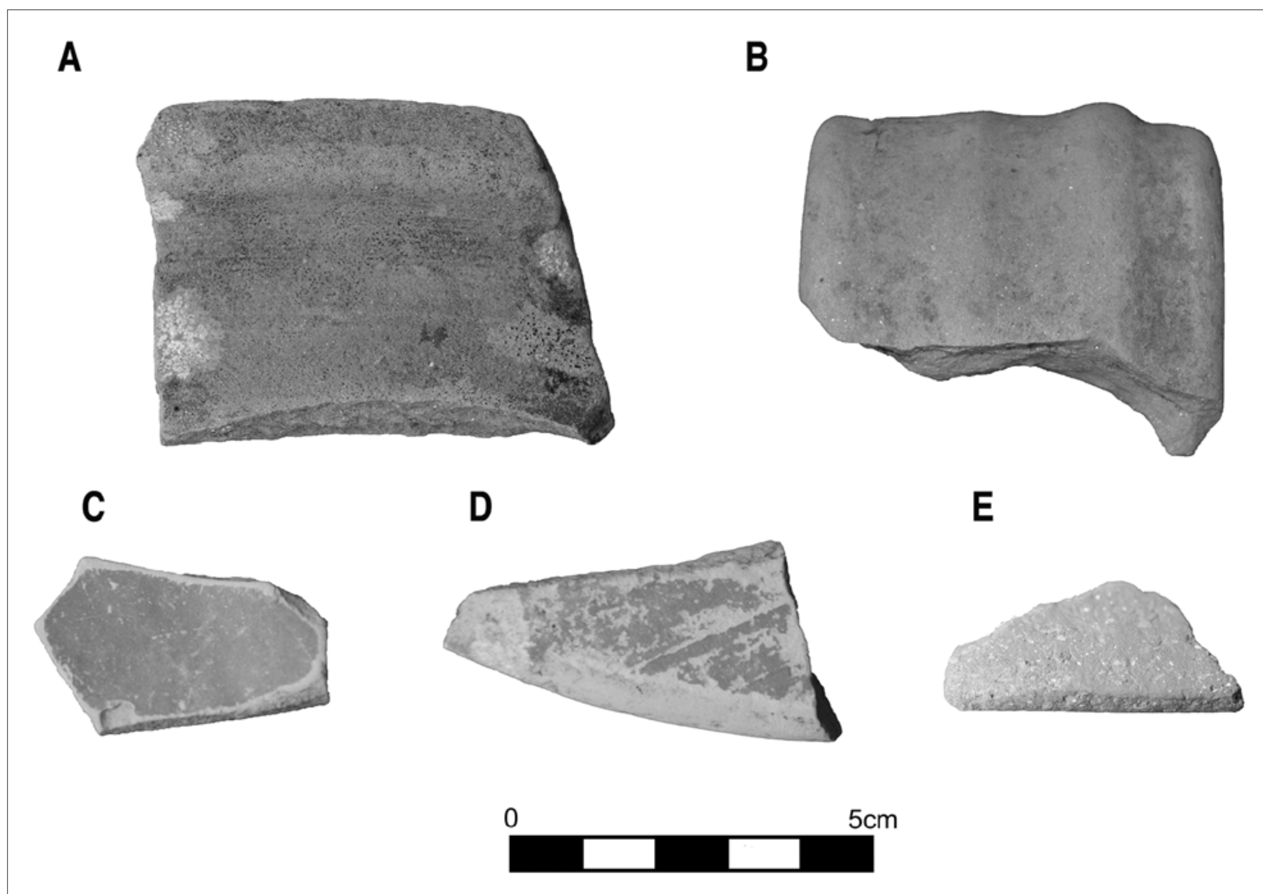

Fig. 21. Fragments of pottery found in the clandestine excavation pit: (a) rim of a basin, (b) amphora handle, (c and d) two body sherds of Late Roman D Ware, (e) fragment of coarse ware (photo: authors).

for roofing; all were found at the outer ridge of the pit. A closer examination of the presumed 'latrine' shows that the diameter of the seat hole is far too large compared with known latrines from sites in the area (47cm × 39cm at Göktepe against a standard diameter of ca 15.5–20cm: see Jansen et al. 2011: 53). Finally, although we were unable to conduct a systematic ceramic study, the pottery finds from the illegally dug pit suggest that the building was occupied in the sixth or seventh century (fig. 21a–e). The rim of a flat basin, judging from the form and the texture of the clay, is of a type that was very common in the sixth and seventh centuries (cf. Hudson 2008: 343, fig. 22, no. 5.12). A handle, which might be from a rather small amphora (or even jar), was common in late antiquity, including at Aphrodisias (De Staebler 2010: 63, fig. 4, no. 2). Two body sherds, which seem to be late variants of regionally made late Roman red-slip ware, should also date from the sixth and/or seventh century (Late Roman D Ware: cf. Hayes 1972: 371–86). A small fragment of coarse cooking ware with lime inclusions is perhaps later, possibly middle Byzantine or even later (De Staebler 2010: 72, fig. 15). It is, therefore, very tempting to suggest that the pottery documents one of the last occupational phases of the building. At some point it could have been adopted by a monastic community as a hermit cell, and may, in due course, have become the centre of a proper monastic settlement. It is possible that this presumed monastery still delegated some of its more 'advanced' monks to practise ascesis in hermitages like that of Quarry GO3C. Any definite conclusions must, however, wait until proper excavations of the building can be conducted.

No matter the actual character of the structure between Quarries GO3D and GO4A, the chambers in Quarry GO3C were certainly an attractive place for a hermitage for both monks from an organised monastic establishment and those solitarily devoting themselves to an ascetic life. A very close parallel is, for example, the *laura* at Dayr al-Dik. There the cells were also arranged in exploited chambers, and their walls were covered with numerous dipinti and graffiti (in Greek and Coptic), and images of different types of crosses (see Martin 1971, with an epigraphical appendix by Jacques Jarry; see also a revision of the inscriptions in van Loon, Delattre 2014). And it is not difficult to point to similar sites and behaviours in Anatolia. Cases of cave eremitism, or 'troglodyte eremitism' as it is sometimes termed

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(Destephen 2010: 208), are particularly well documented for Cappadocia (see Arena 2019). We do not know much about the situation in Caria, but the *Life of Theodore of Sykeon* (*BHG* 1748; Festugière 1970; Dawes, Baynes 1996), penned in Galatia in the mid-seventh century, demonstrates that individuals did seek solitude in deserted areas of the mountains of Asia Minor. In chapters 19 and 20 we read that, even as a youth, St Theodore desired to imitate John the Baptist, and so dug a hole, or a kind of cave, beneath a rock high in the mountain range. The entrance was blocked by stones and the saint spent two years there living in extreme conditions. He initiated a single deacon into his ascetic venture, so that the latter could bring him water and vegetables from time to time. After two years, the deacon, fearing that Theodore would die from living in such conditions, disclosed the site of his hermitage to Theodore's family. They recovered the boy, who by that time was unable to walk, was losing consciousness and was suffering from numerous skin afflictions and head wounds (for comments on this passage, see Ruggieri 1991a: 170–71; 1991b: 242–50, no. 44). Among other stories describing western Anatolian hermits, the most notable case is, perhaps, that of St Stephen the Younger, who was a dedicated cave-hermit on Mount Auxentios in Bithynia prior to his martyrdom for the iconodule cause in 765. His *Life* tells us that he guided a group of junior hermits high up the mountain slope, to some sort of hollow where they arranged their cells (unlike the case of Mount Latmos, these people lived in one narrow place).

> Our most blessed Father Stephanos built there a very narrow cell (κελλίον πάνυ βραχύτατον), with respect to both length and width, height and depth of the side cave (τοῦ πλαγιόθεν σπηλαίου), about one and half a cubit of width and about two (cubits) of length and in the eastern part he shaped a small conch/apse (προσευχῆς κογχάριον) for prayer, having such a height that he could only stand there bent, which is still extant to date. (Stephen the Deacon *Vita S. Stephani junioris, monachi et martyris* 20.1.13, ed. Auzépy 1997; cf. *PG* 100, col. 1101A–B; for comments, see Ruggieri 1991a: 171–73)

We can draw several parallels between this establishment and the chambers in GO3C. Although a fully operative coenobium was eventually built at Mount Auxentios, Stephen stayed in his cell, where, according to the hagiographer, he carved a small niche measuring 1.5 cubits by 2 cubits. The ceiling was so low that he could barely stand there and never fully upright. The niche featured a kind of exedra facing east, for the sake of prayer. He spent most of his time in the niche, guiding the other hermits from inside and presented this 'cell' as a kind of tomb for his earthly body. Perhaps it is just a coincidence, but the left-hand chamber at GO3C, where Area 05 is located, also protrudes eastwards into the bedrock. Among the monastic installations in the rock-cut monastery of Mount Auxentios, the *Life of Stephen the Younger* also mentions a κοιμητήριον (*PG* 100, col. 1099A–B). According to Ruggieri (1991a: 171, n. 98), the context leaves no doubt that here the term denotes a 'place for sleeping' rather than a 'tomb', its regular meaning. Now, it is tempting to compare this κοιμητήριον with the 'bench with a pillow-like rock' that we have identified in the eastern chamber in GO3C, but the κοιμητήριον of Stephen seems to have been a building, a kind of *dormitorium*, not a bed-like installation. More plausibly, such a rock bench appears in the description of a cave hermitage sited somewhere between Jerusalem and the Sinai, mentioned by John Moschus: 'Having entered, we did not see anyone, but we heard someone crying. When we carefully searched the place, we found something in the shape of a craddle (ὡς ἐν τάξει φάτνης), and a person lying in it' (John Moschus *Pratum spirituale* 170, *PG* 87/3, col. 2037).

If our identification of the chambers in GO3C as a hermitage is correct, the find is particularly significant as we know very little about solitary monasticism in western Asia Minor. Despite several exemplary reports preserved in monastic narratives, cave eremitism in particular and other types of individual anachoresis in the wilderness were, in general, not the preferred model of monastic life in the region. Destephen (2010: 220–22) argues this based mainly on the scarcity of preserved attestations; beyond the cases of Theodore and Stephen, just a handful of Anatolian ascetics braved the solitary life. The majority of cases are attested for fifth-century Lycia (see Niewöhner 2017b: 128 for the view that late antique Anatolian monks chose isolated sites in proximity to cities and populated areas, whereas the middle Byzantine ones preferred remote sites and holy mountains; cf. Ruggieri 1991a: 170–71 for a similar view). For the lesser hermits discussed by Destephen, the shapes of their hermitages are, however, less specific and need not be closely associated with rock-cut dwellings. In his *Plerophoriae* 35 (= *PO* 8/1.78 [478], line 11) John Rufus recalls a certain Basil (ca 415–430), a deacon of Antioch, who after 35 years in the Thebaid in Egypt departed for southwestern Asia Minor. There he found a cave on the sea shore (šqyp᾽, i.e. a 'steep rock/crag', or a 'caverne' or 'rocher' in François Nau's 1912 French translation) where he spent 12 years before he was discovered by sailors and eventually made by the locals to found two monasteries, one male and one female. The same work names a certain Leontios (476) who was a renowned hermit (mdbry᾽) of Lycia (*Plerophoriae* 83 =

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PO 8/1.138 [538], line 10: ʾbʾ lʾwnṭys mdbryʾ hw dmn lwqyʾ, 'Abba Leontios, the hermit from Lycia'). The *Life of Gerasimos* (Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1897: 175) presents its protagonist as another example of a Lycian ascetic who withdrew to a hermitage in the wilderness, but this time early in his life: 'First, he withdrew to the most desolate places of this land and had there for his food only the plants which nature grows and he distinguished himself through many struggles with the spirits of evil.' Destephen also evokes the case of Kašiš, a monk of Amida (sixth century), who settled as a hermit at the martyr shrine of St Isidore on the island of Chios (John of Ephesus *Lives of the Eastern Saints* 51 = *PO* 19/2.161 [507]–162 [508]) and Prokopios of the island of Rhodes (ca 400), who led a solitary life with a single disciple as recorded in the *Life of Porphyry*, bishop of Gaza, by Mark the Deacon:

> Now there was then in the island [of Rhodes], living solitary in the remote parts thereof (εἰς τὰ ἀπόστροφα αὐτῆς μονάζων), a man named Procopius … [he] lived a blameless life in fasting and watching in utter poverty. He had the gift of prophecy (προφητικὸν χάρισμα) and the power of casting out demons ... he straightway came forth himself and opened to us, albeit he had with him another, a disciple (ἔχων ἄλλον παρ' αὐτῷ μαθητήν). (chapter 34; ed. Societatis Philologae Bonnensis Sodales 1895; tr. Hill 1913)

Thus, anachoresis, when it happened, may have comprised an experienced monk leaving a coenobium in order to ascend to a higher level of spiritual development, but still staying in proximity of the main monastery. Sometimes such a monk was accompanied by a small number of disciples (as Prokopios of Rhodes). Others, however, preferred to begin their monastic 'career' with an entirely unorganised anachoresis (as Gerasimos of Lycia).

Archaeology tells us even less about western Anatolian monasticism. In 2010 Destephen complained about 'la situation déplorable de l'archéologie monastique anatolienne' (Destephen 2010: 202, see also 193 and 198 n. 26, a scant list of excavated or surveyed sites). At that time, very few monastic settlements had been explored thoroughly, and over a decade later the situation does not look much different (for an overview of more recent developments in research on coenobitic monasteries and *laurae*, see Niewöhner 2017b: 119–28). But it is not just the lack of interest from researchers that is to blame. In many cases, the confident identification of a complex as a monastery or hermitage is not a simple task; the 'mute' archaeological evidence may be misleading. Epigraphic evidence does not help either, as monks are rarely mentioned in inscriptions. Even if they are, a single mention of a monk need not mean the presence of a monastery in immediate proximity of the find-spot. More reliable building inscriptions were apparently far more often produced for churches, oratories and martyr shrines than for newly established monasteries (Destephen 2010: 200–02; cf. Niewöhner 2017c for the ambiguous value of stone blocks decorated with just carved crosses as evidence for monastic sites and churches, or their economic infrastructure). Notable comparable evidence from Caria is, however, provided by the eremitical centre at Gündoğan near Myndos, set on a limestone hill, where a small apsed chapel and monastic cells accessed through a rock-cut stairway have been identified. The rock faces there bear a red-painted christogram in a rock-cut tomb and crosses. The complex dates to the tenth to 11th century (Ruggieri et al. 2005: 75–78, 111, n. 88). And we should not forget the late antique communities of Mount Mykale and Mount Latmos (mainly of the 12th–13th century), in particular Grotto VII on Mount Latmos which was turned into a prosperous monastic settlement with worked caves, wall paintings and graffiti (see Ruggieri 2009: 212; Niewöhner 2017b: 126; for Grotto VII, see Ruggieri 1991b: 236, no. 23). The wall paintings are probably late (mid-ninth century), but the inscriptions may date from the seventh or eighth century (Grégoire 1922: 226(11), 226(12): a vow for the salvation of Georgios, subdeacon, who offered funds for the decoration of the ?cave, [σπήλα]ιον, 227bis).

Now, a question arises: can we identify our presumed hermitage at Göktepe with any of the monastic establishment known from the written sources? Sadly, it appears that our quarries escaped the notice of ecclesiastical writers. In his insightful paper on western Anatolian monasticism, Destephen lists 16 references (possibly 17 if the dubious case of Alabanda is included) to monastic institutions in the province, but none of them can be identified with our hermitage (Destephen 2010, 203, 210, n. 49; cf. Ruggieri 2009: 212).

There is, however, a recently published inscription that documents the involvement of a monastic leader in some building activities near or at Kys, just 10km or so to the west of Göktepe (*editio princeps*: Debord, Varinlioğlu 2009: 443; see also Debord, Varinlioğlu 2011: 352, no. 10 with a photograph, fig. 614; *SEG* 59.1209; Blümel 2018: no. 410). The text is carved on a stone lintel, ca 1.42m wide. The stone was reportedly confiscated by the Kavaklıdere Gendarmerie in the modern town of Çamlıbel/ancient Kys and originated from nearby Çamyayla, but there is no published information on its precise find-spot. It is now displayed in the inner courtyard of the Muğla Archaeological Museum, to the left of the main entrance. We give the text after Wolfgang Blümel's edition (2018), with a slight alteration of the first word: + εὐχ(ῇ) κ(ὲ) ἐπημελίᾳ Μεθοδίου ἡγ(ου)μένου, '+ As a vow

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and through the care of the *hegoumenos* (i.e. abbot) Methodios'. The lettering suggests a date in the ninth or tenth century. Of course, there is no justified basis to suggest that the hermits from the quarry had any links with this figure or his institution. Apart from that, the nearest sites where monastic activity has been recorded lie in the territory of Aphrodisias. The city is strongly connected with the very origins of monasticism in Caria, as it was the home city of Paralios, the precursor of the Carian monastic movement. According to a brief account in the *Life of Severus* by Zacharias Rhetor, Paralios reportedly came from a pagan family, but, along with his elder brother Athanasios (a monk at the Enaton monastery), he converted to non-Chalcedonian (miaphysite) Christianity during a stay in Alexandria in Egypt. His two other brothers were educated people – Proklos was a sophist and Demochares a lawyer (*scholastikos*) – and supposedly followed the example of Paralios in adopting the Christian faith. Upon his return from Egypt, probably in the 480s, Paralios founded a male monastery to be guided by his father and one of his brothers (*PO* 2/1.14 [14]–44 [44], particularly 14 [14]–15 [15], 39 [39]–43 [43] = 10–45, especially 10, 12, 42 in the English translation: Ambjörn 2008; cf. Destephen 2010: 210–11, 215, 217; Ruggieri 2009: 212). The reliability of the details of this account, however, is disputed, as it follows the standard principles of a hagiographical work, such as the supposed conversion of the two brothers of Paralios, Proklos and Demochares. The letters of Paralios to his brothers, quoted by Zacharias, are most probably fictitious (see Szabat 2015: 314; also *PLRE* 2 Proclus 5).

According to Destephen, a male monastery at Aphrodisias is recorded even earlier, in the *Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, but the passage he cites (*ACO* 2.1.1 p. 190) mentions only a bishop of Aphrodisias, Kyros: Κῦρος ἐπίσκοπος Ἀφροδισιάδος τῆς Καρίας, 'Kyros, bishop of Aphrodisias of Caria'. Hence, his conclusion may be mistaken. From 571 we have a reference to a monastery where Paulos, non-Chalcedonian bishop of Aphrodisias and metropolitan of Caria, who was first deposed and then reordained as bishop of the nearby Antioch on the Maeander on the order of the patriarch John III, spent his last days. Although it is termed 'his monastery' (dyrh), it need not be his own foundation (John of Ephesus *HE* 1.14, 2.42; cf. Honigmann 1951: 218–20; Ruggieri 2009: 212, n. 34). A monastery named 'of Gordiana' associated with Antioch on the Maeander also appears in the *Lives of the Eastern Saints* by John of Ephesus (chapter 40 = *PO* 18.650 [448]: bdyrʾ dmtqryʾ dgrdynʾ ʿl gnb ʾnṭywk mdyntʾ dqryʾʾ, 'in the monastery called that of Gordiana hard by the city of Antioch in Caria'; tr. Brooks 1924). It is impossible to judge if these could be identified with some of the fifth-century monasteries. Nonetheless, it has been suggested by Roueché that the monastery of Paralios, the monastery where bishop Paulos was detained and the monastery 'of Gordiana' could be one and the same. Roueché hesitates over this possibility and eventually notes, rightly in our opinion, that we cannot be certain about such an identification. She does, however, find it very plausible that the 'monastery of Gordiana' lay somewhere between Aphrodisias and Antioch, probably at the site of Gordiouteichos/Yazır (as previously suggested by Robert, Robert 1954: 18, n. 2 with further references; for this place, see also Drew-Bear 1972: 439–41) and so could be associated with one or the other city by different authors (Roueché 1989: 144; *ala2004* 6.37; also Ruggieri 2009: 212, n. 34, doubting the location of the monastery of Paulos). Destephen considers the monastery of Gordiana to have been a separate institution and argues that it was named after its founder, a certain Gordiana (2010: 236, n. 164).

The point is that the majority of Carian monasteries and hermitages had close ties with non-Chalcedonian (miaphysite) clergy, and it is highly probable that the hermits of Göktepe also adhered to the non-Chalcedonian creed. Flanked by the two influential miaphysite bishoprics, those of Ephesos and Edessa, the region was long believed to have been subject, since 542, to vigorous Christianisation by John of Ephesos, which included the foundation of new, rural monasteries in the Maeander valley and the Messogis mountain range. However, specific numbers of converts and institutions have been disputed and Hartmut Leppin (2017) has now strongly questioned the veracity of this account, producing compelling arguments that it fits the literary purpose of John's writings and is meant to exemplify John's discussion of the ineffective Christianisation of the Chalcedonians and the failed initiatives of pro-Chalcedonian emperors. In all likelihood, this 'mission' was never an official large-scale programme initiated by the emperor and commissioned to a miaphysite. Nonetheless, the presence of non-Chalcedonians in southeastern Asia Minor is beyond doubt and John's accounts of later events show that local monasteries often offered refuge to exiled miaphysite bishops and did so until at least the 570s and 580s (Destephen 2010: 199–200). The Alexandrian links of the family of Paralios also suggest the presence of non-Chalcedonians in the environs of Aphrodisias already in the later fifth century.

The presence of miaphysite hermits at Göktepe is, of course, no more that a hypothesis inferred from the general religious landscape of the region. More specific arguments are currently lacking. In his works focused on Carian monasticism, Ruggieri tentatively suggests that the cult of St George, attested by our RI3, spread in Caria under the influence of the non-Chalcedonians of Edessa (Ruggieri et al. 2005: 185–88), but this is based mainly on a wall

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painting in the southern aisle of the church of Küçük Tavşan, a small island to the north of Bodrum, that shows him being venerated together with the legendary king Abgar of Edessa and St Theodore, whose cult was supported by the non-Chalcedonian emperor Anastasius. The iconographical programme of the church probably ranges from the late sixth to the 12th century. As the painting with Theodore and George was covered by a layer of scialbo, it has been identified by Maria Andaloro as a pre-Iconoclastic work (Andaloro 1998: 183–200; cf. Ruggieri 1990: 383–403). This may, however, be just an insignificant correlation, as the cults of specific saints often transgressed or were indifferent to doctrinal schisms.

Likewise, we can say very little about the possible survival of the presumed hermitage/monastery of Göktepe into the middle Byzantine period. The stylistic dating of crosses is not enough to provide a reliable time frame. One must, however, remember that the seventh century is an important period in the history of southwestern Anatolia which saw the beginning of Arab raids and temporary occupation of the island of Rhodes by an Arab garrison. There are contrary views on the actual impact of these events on Carian and, more broadly, western Anatolian monasticism. Niewöhner argues that many monastic sites show signs of disruption caused probably by Arab raids and that many monasteries were abandoned, with the monastic movement relocated to the 'holy mountains' thereafter (Niewöhner 2017b: 119, 125). This applies especially to coastal and Lycian rural monasteries, but Göktepe lies further in the hinterland. On the other hand, Ruggieri argues that we actually have little direct evidence for the impact of Arab raids (or even the Persian invasion) in Caria. A more important factor of imminent change could be the decline of classical civic institutions, the development of coastal settlements and Byzantine naval bases, and the overwhelming fear of sudden attack (Ruggieri 2009: 210 n. 19, 211).

Conclusions

The Christian graffiti of Göktepe, which have hitherto been considered as evidence for fifth- or sixth-century continuous exploitation of the quarries (Bruno et al. 2015: 462–63), are in our opinion the work of hermits who appropriated the site after it had been abandoned as a quarry and the production of marble had ceased. It is possible that a meagre hermitage, located in two exploited quarry chambers, Areas 05 and 06 in Quarry GO3C, gradually developed into a coenobitic community. The pictorial graffiti found in Areas 05 and 06 illustrate how a small group of settlers organised, delimited and secured their living space with the use of a variety of shapes of crosses. The rock inscriptions document their particular devotion to St George, a saint whose cult is well attested for inland Anatolia from the late fifth century onwards. At the same time, the stonemason's mark left in Area 02, RI1, gives us a tentative *terminus post quem* for the suspension of the extraction of marble in the second half of the fourth century, if its potential links with stonemasons' marks from Aphrodisias are sustainable.

As a complex, Quarry GO3C can be considered as yet another landmark in the Christianisation of the landscape of western Anatolia. Similar places where rocks or architectural elements are covered with Christian symbols often puzzle modern scholars, since the character of their occupation is not clear and the written sources are usually silent about them. In fact, all kinds of locations throughout the countryside received such marks: crosses could be placed on wine or olive presses, statues, loose stone blocks or existing buildings (Niewöhner 2017c; Talloen 2019: 184–86) and at places of former non-Christian cults (Huttner 2013: 14, discussing a nymphaeum at Laodicea converted into a baptistery and marked with crosses). Larger pre-existing complexes, for example strongholds (Marksteiner et al. 2009) and abandoned sanctuaries, could be Christianised by the construction of small religious buildings ('chapels') and, perhaps, one could think of many other reasons why a (former) quarry received such marks (see, e.g., Huttner 2013: 344, 346 for a discussion of a passage from the *Synax. Eccl. Const.* which presents a quarry near Stratonikeia, Caria, as a burial site of two Phrygian martyrs under Diocletian, thereafter possibly venerated). In any case, the example of Göktepe shows that a careful examination of the spatial distribution and archaeological context of these markings may lead us to new theories regarding the purpose of these places and, specifically, the conclusion that graffiti found in quarries need not always be associated with the activities of stonemasons.

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Abbreviations

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