

The northernmost Cycladic island?

Insularity and the case of prehistoric southern Euboea (the Karystia)

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Περίληψη

Το παρόν άρθρο χρησιμοποιώντας ως μελέτη περίπτωσης την περιοχή της Νότιας Εύβοιας (γνωστή και ως Καρυστία) διερευνά εν συντομία τις έννοιες των κοινωνικά ορισμένων ορίων, την κατασκευή κοινωνικό-πολιτικών οντοτήτων, και τον καθορισμό συλλογικών και ατομικών ταυτοτήτων στο Προϊστορικό Αιγαίο. Αναμφίβολα, οι εγγενείς περιορισμοί που διέπουν το αρχαιολογικό αρχείο, καθιστούν συχνά δύσκολη την μελέτη αυτών των αντικειμένων. Ωστόσο, η προσπάθεια διερεύνησης αυτών των όψεων της κοινωνικής ζωής, όχι μόνο δεν είναι αδύνατη, αλλά θα μπορούσε να είναι και εξαιρετικά εποικοδομητική, λόγω της βαρύνουσας επιρροής που ασκούν οι παραπάνω έννοιες, στον τρόπο που προσεγγίζουμε τα αρχαιολογικά δεδομένα και διαμορφώνουμε τις ερμηνείες του παρελθόντος. Αφετηρία του άρθρου αποτελεί ο προσδιορισμός και η ερμηνεία της Καρυστίας, για την οποία υποστηρίζω πως θα πρέπει να ιδωθεί αυτοδίκαια ως ‘νησί’, τουλάχιστον σε ότι αφορά την ένταξη της στην ευρύτερη ζώνη των Κυκλάδων. Μετα την διεξοδική αναφορά στα κριτήρια νησιωτικότητας που χαρακτηρίζουν το παράδειγμα της Καρυστίας, το άρθρο συνεχίζει με την διερεύνηση των τρόπων με τους οποίους η νησιωτικότητα και τα θαλάσσια δίκτυα επικοινωνίας διαμόρφωσαν τις ατομικές και συλλογικές ταυτότητες των προϊστορικών Καρυστίων και πως επηρέασαν την κοινωνικό-πολιτική ζωή και τους θεσμούς τους.

*Introduction*¹

The Karystia is a section of the southern portion of the second largest Aegean island, Euboea. Although the basic meaning of the word ‘Karystia’ is ‘area around Karystos’, its borders are ephemeral. As an entity, its boundaries are dependent on our perceptions and which criteria are used to define it. The map in Figure 1 shows at least three Karystias: the largest is defined by the regional-political division of the Greek State that includes almost all of the southern half of Euboea;² there is a slightly smaller Karystia defined colloquially by at least some of the people living in the Karystia today that places the boundary of the Karystia at the Dystos Plain/Lake, whence central Euboea begins; finally, there is the

1. Many people and institutions have supported my work in southern Euboea over the years, and I thank them all here. I particularly wish to thank my friends and co-editors, Fanis Mavridis and the late Maria Kosma, for their help, the E. A. Schrader Endowment Fund from Indiana University for its long-term financial support of my research, Donald Keller and the Southern Euboea Exploration Project (SEEP), as well as the Norwegian Institute at Athens and the Ephorate of Antiquities for Euboea. All errors in this paper remain my own.

2. This division was abolished in the 2006 reforms.

possible boundary of the Karystia that would coincide with the city limits of the Classical *polis* of Karystos, somewhere south of the modern town of Styra.

One point from the map in Fig. 1 is apparent: how one defines spatial boundaries depends on the set of criteria one chooses to apply, e.g. socio-economic connectedness, geomorphological features or historical data. The question is, how applicable are all these Euboean geographical divisions in prehistoric contexts? I think that the prehistoric Karystia was defined somewhat differently to how we usually consider it today, in our world of ubiquitous roads, roadmaps, GPS navigation and Google Earth, all of which (in one form or another) provide a bird's-eye view of the terrain that was almost completely absent in prehistory. Even during the more recent past, in comparison to prehistory at least, i.e. during Roman or Hellenistic times, there were organized, state-sponsored road networks and well-established, ever-present pack animals such as donkeys and horses, all of which were either completely absent during the Neolithic and the Early Bronze Age (EBA), the periods under discussion here, or were very scarce.

The 'Karystian island'

Although the Karystia is part of an island, the island in question—Euboea—is very large; in fact, it is the second largest in Greece after Crete. Euboea encompasses 3680 km², which is several times larger than Kea (128 km²) or Andros (380 km²), its closest Cycladic neighbours. Of this 3680 km², the Karystia, as defined here, takes up only the very small southernmost portion, less than 7% of the area of the entire island. Therefore, although Euboea taken as a whole is an island, the Karystia as part of a larger landmass, is not. Moreover, the insularity of the whole of Euboea is often contested not only because of the size of the island but also because of its proximity to the mainland. Over the course of its long north-west to south-east extension, Euboea is almost never more than 15 km away from the nearest mainland coast and, at the town of Chalkida is separated only by a narrow c.40-m-wide channel. Hence, to treat the Karystia as an island in its own right, we should provide empirical support rather than assume its 'insular credentials'.

The definition of an island is not as simple as it seems.³ Although the most common image of an island is of a small piece of land surrounded by water,⁴ this is not always the case. There are places that are effectively insular although they are not surrounded by water, such as inhabited portions of Antarctica, desert oases or isolated mountain valleys. Even Classical Greece provides an analogy, with its numerous *poleis* with local identities, laws, dialects and customs that formed, at least partly, because of the effective separation of these *poleis* from other areas caused by the difficult-to-pass terrain.

I define the Karystia as the area south of the large and difficult-to-pass mountain ranges of Ochi, Gresmi, Giannitsi-Figias, Pyrgos and Koukouvayia.⁵ The Karystia defined in such a way includes the Paximadi and Bouros-Kastri Peninsulas, the area around the modern town of Marmari, the Karystian Plain (Kampos), the southern slopes and summit of Mount Ochi, and the Katsaronio Plain north of Lykorema and west of Ochi. The mountain ranges located north of this area effectively disconnect it from the rest of Euboea, as far as prehistoric overland traffic is concerned. The same is valid for the mountainous portion of southern Euboea between the Ochi and the Cape Kafireas to the north-east.

These mountainous barriers, although they do not represent a completely impassable obstacle, make land-based communication between the Karystia and the rest of the island difficult. In the winter

3. e.g. Broodbank 2000, 16-21.

4. Also the most basic dictionary definition of an island ("1: a tract of land surrounded by water and smaller than a continent;" from Merriam-Webster Dictionary iPhone application accessed on September 4, 2016).

5. For additional elaboration see Tankosić and Katsianis, Forthcoming.

months the mountains and the existing passes are covered with snow, making them even more of a challenge for land-based communication. Pack animals such as donkeys were probably more easily available to post-prehistoric inhabitants of the Karystia than they were to prehistoric inhabitants. Although a systematic study of faunal remains from Final Neolithic (FN)/EBA Karystian contexts is lacking, most of the osteological material I inspected belongs to smaller ovicaprids. It is, therefore, safe to assume that land transport depended largely on human portage. Under such conditions land distances would appear greater than they really are. Hence, during the time periods under discussion here, I think that this narrower definition, which is essentially based on the ease of access and overland communication, is more pertinent.

On all other sides the Karystia is bounded by water. To the west of the Karystia lies the southern end of the Euboean Channel. The Euboean Channel is at its widest between the Karystia and Attica and, combined with currents and often strong winds, it creates there a much more significant obstacle to travel than elsewhere along its roughly north-west to south-east extent. With this in mind, in prehistoric times it was probably easier to reach central Euboea from the Karystia by boat than by land.

From the perspective of geomorphology, geology and vegetation, the Karystia also differs from the rest of Euboea. It shares the same geological composition with the closest Cycladic islands of Andros and Kea and with south-eastern Attica.⁶ Most of the Karystian landscape resembles more its Cycladic counterparts in its arid appearance dominated by *phrygana* than it does the *paysage* of the areas immediately north of its surrounding mountain ranges, which is much richer in terms of water and, as a result, vegetation.

The Karystia is an island in phenomenological and sensory terms, too. The mountains surrounding it form a visual barrier for the people who live in the Karystia, as they block not only passage but also create an impenetrable horizon to the north. Contrary to this, the view to the south is mostly uninhibited (depending on the vantage point and meteorological conditions) and on clear days stretches as far into the Cycladic islands as Kythnos and Tinos and, from higher vantage points, even further afield. This results in a particular psychological effect:⁷ one feels one's back is turned to the north and that one is facing the south.

Therefore, given the means of transport suitable for traversing the relatively short stretches of open sea between the Karystia and its immediate island/coastal neighbours, it would have been easier and faster for the prehistoric population of the Karystia to maintain relations with the islanders to the south than with other Euboean co-inhabitants to the north. This is not to say that some form of overland contact between southern and central Euboea did not exist; however, its frequency is difficult to assess with the evidence at hand.

Support for the separation of the southern Karystia from the rest of Euboea is also found in the archaeological data. Based on currently available evidence, the earliest habitation in the Karystia can be dated to the later Neolithic,⁸ which is akin to the situation in the Cyclades, where earlier habitation seems to have been only intermittently present.⁹ The evidence for human habitation in the central parts of Euboea stretches back at least a millennium earlier, to the beginning of the Neolithic period, making the rest of Euboea, indeed, more similar in this respect to the Greek mainland.¹⁰

6. De Paepe 1982.

7. Affecting this author, at least.

8. e.g. Mavridis and Tankosić 2009, 52-53; 2016b.

9. Evans and Renfrew 1968; Sampson 2008.

10. Sampson 2006, 145-146.

Karystian insular identities

Why is establishing the Karystia's insularity important? The prehistoric Aegean, especially during the EBA and, if finds from Strofilas on Andros¹¹ are anything to go by, during the FN as well, was a space inhabited by very thoroughly entangled communities and individuals. Goods, people and ideas changed place frequently and in different contexts. It is more than likely that networks based on kinship, friendship, commercial interest, raw material acquisition, piracy, prestige and all kinds of other grounds criss-crossed the Aegean. It is unlikely, however, that this web of interactions removed local identities and affiliations. It may have shaped them and influenced them to incorporate the cosmopolitanism of frequent contacts but, in prehistory, as is very much the case today in many if not most places in the world, we are first and foremost locals of a particular place and then everything else. Thus, for the Karystia to participate as a full member of an inter-island network and for it to be examined against other similar participants, it must be demonstrated that it is in fact an island or at least an 'island'. Of course, it would be erroneous to think of prehistoric Aegean maritime interactions as an islands-only club. It involved both island and coastal communities directly¹² as well as many landlocked areas indirectly.¹³ Still, insular identities are often different, even in the modern world and even in those cases where islands in question are very large, from those possessed by individuals/communities inhabiting terrestrial landscapes.

Identity is a personal matter. Even in cases when we can speak of a collective identity (e.g. group, communal or national), we are still dealing with a group of individuals who chose to identify with a specific set of values or the shared history of a larger group. The 'choice' of identity is not always conscious: most of the time identification with a group is acquired subliminally during childhood and adolescent development and socialization. Identities can also be ascribed.¹⁴ Above all, identity is multi-layered and we should, in fact, speak of personal identities rather than *an* identity.

One individual can identify with more than one group of people or set of values and common myths and histories, and on different levels. Which of those levels is more important can also vary and depends on many factors. These different levels of individual identity are in fact bases for imagined (e.g. religion) or real (e.g. village, family group) communities to which one individual can choose to belong. The structure of these different identities can be altered and perceived differently based on gender, sex and age group, and the importance of each of them for an individual depends on the social context and can vary widely from one individual to another, even individuals within the same group.¹⁵ With each of those identities, an individual chooses to belong to a certain *community* that has its own internal rules, regardless of how implicit or ephemeral. The 'community' defined in this way is not necessarily a 'natural' community, i.e. it is not always a physically bounded entity, such as a settlement or a household.¹⁶ According to Gerritsen, 'communities are constructed through social interaction and agency'.¹⁷

I argue here that the FN/EB Karystians had the choice of identifying with at least four 'communities' defined in this way: (1) as members of a kin-based group or lineage, (2) as members of a settlement-based community, (3) as inhabitants of a region (i.e. the Karystia), and (4) as participants in one (or more) of the Aegean interaction networks.

The expression of identity can take many forms that are not necessarily articulated in materially (and consequently, archaeologically) observable ways. Therefore, for example, participation in a kin-

11. e.g. Televantou 2001; 2008.

12. e.g. Pantelidou-Gkofa 2005; Tzavella-Evjen 1984; 1985.

13. For example, through the acquisitions of objects made from raw materials not found in the Aegean islands and coastal areas (e.g. honey flint).

14. Insoll 2007, 4.

15. e.g. Brumfiel 1998.

16. cf. Gerritsen 2004, 145-146.

17. Gerritsen 2004, 145, referring to Canuto and Yaeger 2000, 5-9.

ship- and settlement-based community may not leave any traces, as it is usually a given and is reaffirmed by everyday interactions with other members of that community as well as being mutually implicitly acknowledged by all of its members. The need to express this type of identity in more material and observable ways can arise when there is the need to emphasize it in opposition to something else. Although no archaeological correlates point to the existence of kinship- or settlement-based communal identity in the Karystia, I think we can presume it since it seems to be virtually ubiquitous among human societies.¹⁸

How many communities of this type existed in the Karystia is difficult to tell, however. There are at least four (Akri Rozos, Pelagitissa, Plakari, Agios Georgios; Fig. 3) substantial habitation sites dating to the FN, EBA or both,¹⁹ with the caveat that most of the eastern half of the Karystia has been subject to very little detailed research. These sites are different in size but share the common feature that they were likely not inhabited by only one extended family or a kinship group. Hence, some form of location-based (i.e. non-kinship-based) communal identity could have existed in some of them.

Some tentative evidence, however, supports the existence of a regional identity in the FN and EBA Karystia.²⁰ Unlike the previous two instances, this type of community cannot simply be assumed, since people sharing the same region can identify with different regional or supra-regional communities. The regional identities, when they exist, 'do not come about automatically through co-residence, but ... are constructed through social practices taking place in shared localities.'²¹

In the Karystian case, the evidence in question is, admittedly, *argumentum ex silentio*. Within a restricted region such as the Karystia, if inhabitants of a particular settlement wished to express their separate identity from inhabitants of (an)other settlement(s) in the same area (i.e. if they wished to contest the regional community), one of the ways they would likely do it is through the style of the material culture, which is one of the vehicles for the visual expression of separateness. There is currently no evidence for any kind of stylistic differentiation of material culture within the Karystia. During both the FN and the EBA the style of the material culture, primarily expressed in pottery, remains uniform throughout the area.²²

Moreover, other tentative signs of the existence of a regional community based on shared resources can be glimpsed from the lack of habitation in the Karystian Plain or the Kampos. It is known that 'the inhabited landscape can be one of the elements constituting one's identity.'²³ For example, based on data from a recent survey project in the Kampos as well as data from D. Keller's dissertation survey in southern Euboea,²⁴ I argue that the Karystian Plain, as a large section of agriculturally suitable land in southern Euboea, was deliberately left free of substantial habitation during the FN/EB phases to maximize the agricultural yields from one of the most productive types of soil in the area.²⁵ This indicates a regional cooperation based on resource-sharing that would enforce the sense of community. Of course, this raises a number of different questions with regards to land ownership, political organization, property rights and so on, which are a topic for a separate paper.²⁶

18. e.g. Feldman 1990, and references therein.

19. Agios Georgios, Akri Rozos, Pelagitissa and Plakari.

20. The issue is moot for preceding and succeeding chronological phases, at least at this stage of research. Late Neolithic is at the moment only evidenced at one site in the area (the Agia Triada Cave), which does not seem to have been a habitation site (Mavridis and Tankosić 2009; 2016a; 2016b). Only one Middle Bronze Age site is known in the Karystia (Agios Nikolaos), although this is clearly a small settlement (Tankosić and Mathioudaki 2011). Finally, no known Late Bronze Age sites exist in the Karystia.

21. Gerritsen 2004, 147.

22. Tankosić 2011, 105-131.

23. Gerritsen 2004, 147.

24. Keller 1985.

25. Tankosić 2011; Forthcoming.

26. See Relaki and Catapoti 2013 for a recent discussion of these and related issues.

A word of caution is needed, however. It is possible to have outward material expressions of belonging to or separation from another group that do not survive in the archaeologically observable record, e.g. in cloth designs, symbols made of or on perishable materials (e.g. banners, shields made of animal skins, wooden totems), symbolism painted on leather or on the human body, specific attire or a particular way of wearing the common attire. This symbolism can also be expressed in the landscape in ways that are difficult to notice or interpret or that can be ambiguous. For example, the site of Akri Rozos appears to have been fortified with a wall containing semicircular bastions, which are a common type of fortification in the Aegean during both the FN and the EBA.²⁷ Although one of the purposes of this wall was certainly defensive, it is unclear from whom this wall was defending the inhabitants. It is possible that the site represents a settlement in a state of conflict with one or more of the other major communities in the Karystia (all of them currently without evidence for fortification). At the same time, Akri Rozos is coastal and well positioned to control and participate in maritime interactions, especially in those that went through the southern section of the Euboean Channel. As such, it could have been exposed to the detrimental aspects of that interaction, such as piracy and occasional raids. Even without the fortification walls, the site's very location was surely chosen with defence in mind, as it is founded on a promontory surrounded by sea on three sides and connected to the rest of the Karystia only by a narrow isthmus. Potentially telling is the fact that the extant section of the wall stands above a part of the site that is difficult to access even in its natural form (unlike at Strofilas, for example), indicating perhaps that the wall's purpose transcends mere defence.

Similar reasoning can be applied when arguing for the Karystians' membership in the community of individuals involved in the Aegean interaction networks. If Karystians wished to contest the identity-based community founded upon interaction networks,²⁸ they might have expressed that in an overtly stylistic manner, clearly advertising their distinctiveness and an identity separate from other participants in the same interaction networks. Notwithstanding chronological differences, the material during both the FN and the EBA is stylistically uniform throughout the Karystia and more or less identical to that found in the adjacent Aegean regions, particularly in Attica, central Euboea and on Kea. Evidence from the Ayia Triada Cave also suggests contacts with the central Cycladic zone (e.g. Syros²⁹), increasing the geographical extent of the Karystian interaction sphere.³⁰ Based solely on the stylistic similarity of the extant material culture, I suggest that, on one level at least, the people from the Karystia identified themselves as part of a larger community based on interaction and on connections and personal/communal relationships established in the process. The record shows no attempt to emphasize local versus any wider regional identity by the people of the Karystia. On the contrary, the material culture is deliberately made in a way that openly and outwardly emphasizes participation in a common cultural circle.

This state of affairs could have come to an end at the very end of the EBA, during a phase of Anatolianizing stylistic influence in the central and western Aegean usually termed *Kastri* or *Lefkandi I* phase.³¹ Currently there is no evidence in the Karystia (as I define it here) to demonstrate the existence of this phase, usually defined by characteristic pottery shapes, which are either imported or made of local clays. An incidence of sudden depopulation cannot be entirely discounted since, as was the case in the rest of the Cyclades, the following EB III phase is also completely absent from the Karystia. I

27. The site is not excavated and surface finds consist of both FN and EBA material. Hence, it is difficult to date the walls with any degree of certainty; see Cullen et al. 2013, 62-67; Talalay et al., this volume.

28. Or, indeed, display their participation in a different interaction network, such as one not involving the Cycladic islands.

29. Rambach 2000.

30. Mavridis and Tankosić 2016a.

31. e.g. Renfrew 2010, 89; Rutter 1984; Wilson 1999, 95-97.

think, however, that a more likely explanation lies in the domain of the social, namely in the processes involving the acceptance or rejection of new interaction paradigms and networks and with them the associated material culture. There is no evidence for a cataclysmic event that would have wiped out the entire thriving Karystian EB II community nor a clear reason for widespread abandonment and a mass exodus of any kind.³² It is tempting to view, on the other hand, the lack of Kastri/Lefkandi I shapes in the area as a result of the agency of local actors deciding to persist in using and maintaining the networks of their predecessors, as well as the social institutions associated with them and the supralocal communities which they had made, rather than give in to novelty and (social) disruption. Therefore, I think that the Karystia continued to be inhabited during at least a part of the final EB phase without its population accepting the novel shapes and social customs that likely went with them.³³

Conclusions

A salient characteristic of Karystian identities on all observable levels is their inclusiveness. What the extant material culture tells us, in my opinion, is that people living in the Karystia emphasized their participation and membership in layered, embedded and identity-based communities rather than their separateness from them. The deliberate and careful reproduction of shared style and symbolism shows that. I think that this strongly indicates that to the producers and users of this material culture, easily recognizable participation and membership in a wider community was an important goal. The community that was based on maritime interactions, at least, was almost pan-Aegean in character, including at least some of the Cycladic islands and the coastal areas of southern and central Greece. It lasted, it seems, from the FN until at least the end of the EBA II, when some differentiation in interaction networks and identity-based communities can be noted in the form of the difference between areas that have incorporated the Kastri/Lefkandi I shapes into their pottery repertoire and those, like the Karystia, that did not. Finally, the Karystia follows the Cyclades in one other important matter: the EB III material³⁴ is completely absent from southern Euboea, a feature that has still not been satisfactorily explained, not only in relation to the Karystia but also to in the Cycladic Aegean as a whole.³⁵

To summarize, there are many characteristics that connect prehistoric Karystia more with the Cycladic islands to the south than with the rest of Euboea to the north or the Greek mainland to the west. Geomorphologically and climatologically, the area is more akin to the neighbouring Cycladic islands. The same is true of vegetation and the Karystia's general appearance. Separation and insularity (broadly defined), as part of the definition of what an island is, are also relevant, since the sea borders the Karystia on three of its sides and rugged mountains separate it from the rest of Euboea to the north. In sensory terms, anywhere in the Karystia one always feels as if once faces the south (Cyclades) with a wall of mountains (primarily Ochi) blocking the horizon to the north. Speaking in archaeological terms, although many details are still fuzzy despite years of research, the Karystia 'behaves' more like the Cyclades than mainland Greece. Based on the current state of research, the area does not seem to

32. This is another *argumentum ex silentio* since no EBA cemeteries have to date been found in the Karystia, excluding the Ayia Triada Cave, which seems to have been a very special case (Mavridis and Tankosić 2016a). The few excavated sites there exhibit no large-scale destruction associated with the end of EB II. A reliable series of radiocarbon dates from excavated EBA habitation sites would go a long way towards resolving this issue.

33. The common Kastri/Lefkandi I shapes—depos cup, wheelmade plates, one-handed tankards, bell cups and lentoid jugs (e.g. Rutter 1979, figs. 1 and 4; Wilson 1999, 95)—are usually understood to represent a drinking assemblage, indicating a change in consumption of (possibly alcoholic) liquids associated with new customs of social interaction.

34. Rutter 1995.

35. e.g. Broodbank 2000, 320-349.

have been settled until the LN or later.³⁶ Stylistically, the FN and EBA material culture combines elements of both Cycladic and Helladic cultural circles, which is not uncommon for the northern Cycladic islands (e.g. Kea and Andros), exhibiting strong connections to both. Moreover, some features of the material culture, as glimpsed from the very limited number of EBA burials from the Karystia, indicate even deeper connections to the central Cycladic circle.³⁷ Finally, the Karystia also follows Cycladic trends when it comes to the end of the EBA: the last phase (EB III) is completely absent with only one identified Middle Bronze Age settlement in the entire region.³⁸

The importance of the Karystian case for our general understanding of how prehistoric individual and group identities are formed and expressed should not be underestimated. Perceived insularity, even in modern times and with practically continental-sized entities (e.g. the British Isles, Australia or Taiwan), is an important formative factor for the identity of the people inhabiting them. This insular identity was likely much more easily propagated and maintained at a time when settlements were small and information exchange was personal and frequent. After all, insularity is, above all, a matter of perception.

Viewing prehistoric communities as a collection of overlapping and entangled heterarchical identities, rather than as only equilocal groups of people, changes also our perspective on the social dynamics of prehistoric societies. Instead of limited geographically bounded groups of people trying to assert their separateness against other similar groups, we now have individuals who are part of both their local group and wider social entities with little spatial limitation. This perspective fits better the Aegean FN/EBA archaeological evidence, which indicates a world of profoundly connected people over (what were for those times) significant distances—signalling their inclusion rather than separation through their material culture. Communities based on locality still existed and people, of course, inhabited a place (or more than one, perhaps) during their lifetimes and felt as belonging to a specific place. That is, however, only a part of the story. To come closer to understanding the driving forces behind and consequences of prehistoric maritime interactions, we need to account for as many of these overlapping communities as possible and include them in our explanatory models.

36. So far, LN material has only been found at one location—the Ayia Triada Cave—which was an unlikely habitation site. Research focused on establishing the origins of the Karystian founder population (if possible, since Neolithic skeletal remains are completely absent) would undoubtedly yield interesting results and also shed some light on the cultural connections of their successors. See also Tankosić and Katsianis, *Forthcoming* for a possible explanation for the origin of the LN material in the Karystia.

37. Mavridis and Tankosić 2016a.

38. Tankosić and Mathioudaki 2011.

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Figures

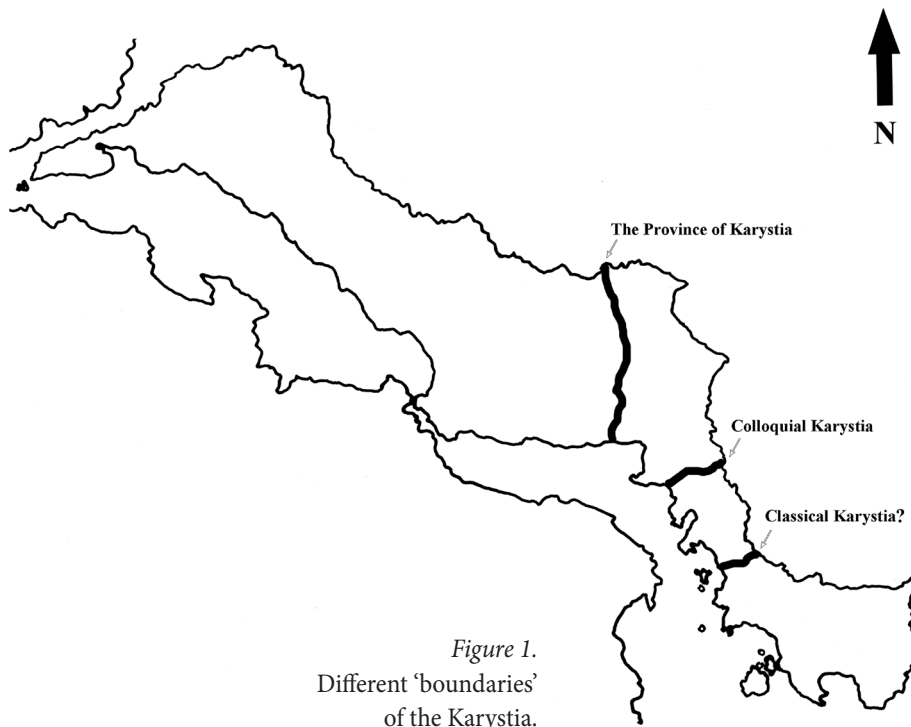


Figure 1.
Different 'boundaries'
of the Karystia.

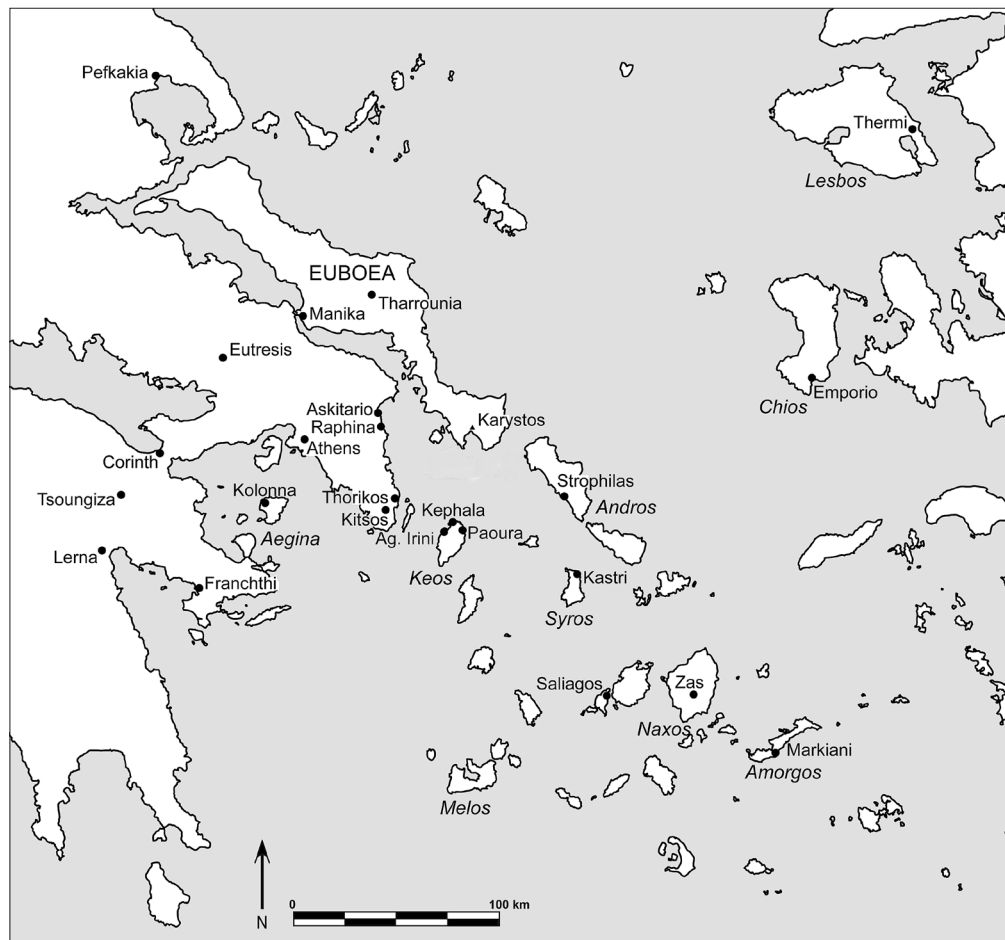


Figure 2.
Karystia and
Euboea in their
geographical
context.
Adapted from
Cullet et al.
2013, fig. 1.

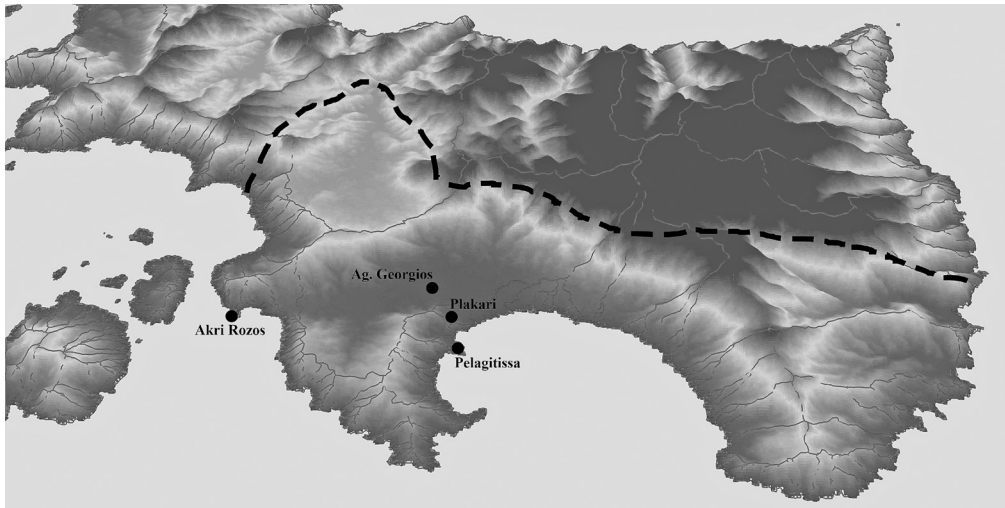


Figure 3. Possible boundaries of the prehistoric Karystia.



Figure 4. An example of the Karystian landscape.



Figure 5. View from the Karystia to the south.