

Karystos revisited: Interaction networks of an Aegean island polity (sources and finds)

Maria CHIDIROGLOU

Περίληψη

Οι αρχαιολογικές πληροφορίες για τη νότια Εύβοια ήταν μέχρι πρόσφατα αρκετά περιορισμένες. Το 1852 ο Έλληνας διπλωμάτης και αρχαιολόγος από την Κωνσταντινούπολη Αλέξανδρος Ρίζος Ραγκαβής που είχε τολμήσει μια δια ξηράς επίσκεψη στη νότια Εύβοια από τη Χαλκίδα σκέφτηκε ότι κάποια από τα σωζόμενα αρχαία αρχιτεκτονικά κατάλοιπα στα Στύρα, την Κάρυστο και την Αρχάμπολη καθώς και μαρτυρίες σχετικές με τη λατρεία συνδέονταν με πληθυσμούς Δρυοπικής¹ καταγωγής. Περισσότερο από έναν αιώνα αργότερα, το 1972, ο Denis Knoepfler μελέτησε μορφές των λατρευτικών σχέσεων μεταξύ της Ερέτριας και της Καρύστου, παραπονούμενος για το γεγονός ότι το καρυστινό πάνθεο παρέμενε σε μεγάλο βαθμό άγνωστο (*le panthéon carystien échappant en grande partie à notre connaissance*)².

Από το τελευταίο τέταρτο του 20ού αιώνα μια σειρά επιφανειακών ερευνών, μελέτες των παλαιών ευρημάτων και πρόσφατες σωστικές εργασίες στην πόλη της Καρύστου και την καρυστία χώρα έχουν αποδώσει αρκετά νέα δεδομένα και έχουν τονίσει την ανάγκη για μια πιο εκσυγχρονισμένη έρευνα σχεδόν όλων των ζητημάτων της νότιας Εύβοιας. Στις φιλολογικές και επιγραφικές πηγές υπάρχουν άφθονες πληροφορίες σχετικά με τους θεούς που λατρεύτηκαν στην Κάρυστο, κυρίως για τον Απόλλωνα, την Άρτεμη και τον Ποσειδώνα. Άλλοι θεοί και θεές, όπως ο Δίας, η Αθηνά, η Αφροδίτη και η Κυβέλη απαντώνται σε γλυπτά, νομίσματα και ευρήματα κοροπλαστικής παλιά (ορισμένα από τα οποία είναι αδημοσίευτα) και νέα. Τα νέα ευρήματα επιβεβαιώνουν ή ανατρέπουν παλιές απόψεις, παρουσιάζουν καινούργια δεδομένα και μας δίνουν τη δυνατότητα να σκεφτούμε κάποιες από τις μεθόδους αξιοποίησης τόσο του λατρευτικού όσο και του οικονομικού τοπίου, καθώς και τα συστήματα διαχείρισης των πόρων που ενδεχομένως είχαν χρησιμοποιήσει οι αρχαίοι πληθυσμοί. Κατά τις συστηματικές επιφανειακές έρευνες, την πρώτη από τις οποίες πραγματοποίησε ο Donald Keller τη δεκαετία του 1980, εντοπίστηκε και χαρτογραφήθηκε μεγάλος αριθμός αρχαίων καταλοίπων στην περιοχή γύρω από τον κόλπο της Καρύστου και πλέον είναι δυνατή μια προκαταρκτική προσπάθεια για μια πρώτη αποκατάσταση του αρχαίου λατρευτικού τοπίου.³

Επιγραμματικά, με αυτό το άρθρο επιχειρείται μια φρέσκια ματιά στα παλιά και νέα δεδομένα σχετικά με τις θεότητες και τους ήρωες που λατρεύτηκαν στην αρχαία πόλη-κράτος της Καρύστου από τη Γεωμετρική μέχρι τη Ρωμαϊκή Αυτοκρατορική περίοδο, σύμφωνα με τις πληροφορίες που θα συγκεντρωθούν από την μελέτη των ευρημάτων της Καρύστου που βρίσκονται στο Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Καρύστου και στο Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Αθηνών. Επίσης το άρθρο περιλαμβάνει

1. Rangabé 1852, 31, 39, 45.

2. Knoepfler 1972, 292.

3. Keller 1985.

έναν μικρό αριθμό ευρημάτων από την Κάρυστο, σήμερα σε άλλα μουσεία της Ελλάδας ή του εξωτερικού, καθώς και επιγραφές που σχετίζονται με την πόλη και έχουν βρεθεί στη Δήλο, στους Δελφούς και στην περιοχή του Αιγαίου.

Introduction

Of the cities attested in our sources, four formed the core of Euboean political power in antiquity: Chalkis and Eretria in the centre of the island, Karystos in the south and Histiaia-Oreos in the north (Fig. 1).⁴ Research on Euboean sites began in the early 19th century with a number of scholarly visitors travelling to the island.⁵ Excavations were first undertaken in Eretria and its surrounding region near the end of the 19th century by C. Tsountas, K. Kourouniotis, G. Papavassileiou and the American School of Classical Studies in Athens and were continued by the Greek Archaeological Service, and the Swiss and the British Archaeological Schools.⁶ In other parts of the island, surveys and salvage excavations by the Greek Archaeological Service and various foreign archaeological schools began in the early 1960s.⁷ Little information on archaeological remains in the region of Karystos, the main city-state of southern Euboea, had been gathered before the 1980s. Beginning in the late 1990s, a number of research projects have been undertaken in this region and many new finds brought to light as a result.⁸ Based on literary and epigraphic references and taking into consideration new data, we will seek to trace political and economic affiliations of the city-state of Karystos, as these are attested in the cultic and other networks in which Karystos participated from the Archaic to the Early Roman Imperial period.⁹

From a methodological point of view, this paper attempts a reconnaissance of the ancient city of Karystos through the lens of its network connections in Euboea as well as beyond its immediate surroundings, in the Aegean. Connectivity and isolation, both found in the cultic and political agenda of ancient Karystos, are just two of a large number of lenses one can use to explore aspects of life in an ancient city through the study of relevant finds. It is well known that cult is connected to *polis* identity since the religious and the political sphere were never quite separated in the ancient Greek world.¹⁰ In developed city-states or in *poleis* under the rule of a dominant power, cult remained linked to politics, as well as to trade.¹¹ Ever since their emergence in the Early Archaic period, Greek *poleis* sought to establish various systems of values, such as religious, economic and political. An attempt to trace religious relations between ancient cities, through the study of literary and epigraphic data, leads

4. Bakhuizen and Kreulen 1976; Boardman 1957, 1-29; Cawkwell 1978, 42-67; Day 1951, 209-235; Fousaras 1964, 5-135; Geyer 1903; Hansen and Nielsen, s.v. Euboea, 643-663; Walker 2004.

5. e.g. visitors to southern Euboea: Girard 1851; 1852; Hawkins 1820; Rangabé 1852; Ross 1851, 25-32; Ulrichs 1842; 1863; Welcker 1850; 1856.

6. Synopsis in Ducrey et al. 2004, 64-65; Gex 1993, 12-13. See also Chidiroglou 2012, chapter I.

7. Reports on excavations, surveys and finds: see the *ArchDelt* series 16 to 56-59 (1960 to 2001-2004). Sackett et al. 1966, 33-112.

8. Survey and excavation projects in: Crielaard et al. 2012, 83-106; 2013, 35-56; Cullen et al. 2013; Keller 1985; Moutsopoulos 1982; Panagopoulou 1995; Tankosić and Chidiroglou 2010, 11-17; Wickens 2007. Overview until 2005, see Chidiroglou 2012.

9. For a thorough study of religious responses to the Mediterranean environment, including periods of institutional change, see Collar 2009, 144-157; Horden and Purcell 2000, 401-460; Malkin 2011, 20-21, 25-48, 205-224, passim (also on the Euboean colonization network in which Karystos is not attested to have participated, unless we dubiously claim that ancient references to 'colonists from Euboea' may have also included Karystos, as well as Chalkis and Eretria); Malkin et al. 2011; Rutherford 2009, 24-38. For a sociological approach to ancient religion(s), see also Durkheim ([1915]2008). Lucien Febvre and Fernand Braudel, representatives of the *Annales* School, are important figures in studies of sociological historiography of the Mediterranean. See also Abulafia 2011.

10. Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, 295-322; 2000, 38-55. Also, see, for instance, Laidlaw 1933, 45.

11. See, for instance, Wickersham 1991, 16-31.

therefore to the discovery of more tangible networks, such as networks of trade and finance, politics and diplomacy. The religion of any given region interacts with its economy, principles, ideas, myths and traditions, which transcend space.¹² *Polis* institutions such as *proxenies*, *koinon* and amphictyonic representations, together with civic dedications in Panhellenic sanctuaries, can be useful in tracing extended networks of connectivity. Shrines located or testified can in theory be united to form a network that constitutes a landscape of an ancient city and makes this fragmented micro-region meaningful.¹³ These data, together with testimonia on the political and economic bonding systems (in the form of reciprocal and *xyngeneia* ties), which the *polis* participated in, help us move towards a better reconnaissance of a given polity.

Early cults and foundation myths

Karystos is mentioned in the ‘Catalogue of Ships’ in the *Iliad*.¹⁴ The city is also connected through myth, literary sources and epigraphic finds to the early cult networks of Apollo in the Aegean region, Miletos¹⁵ and Delphi.¹⁶ According to the literary sources, the early inhabitants of Karystos were Dryopes, a population group that is also related to Apollonian mythic contexts. Dryopian kings who insulted Apollo at Delphi are killed by Herakles in myths that also refer to feasting and to an early local economy based on cattle. In these myths emphasis is placed on what is represented as a non-civilized or unlawful community group about to be chastised by the hero. Theft of cattle, feasts and itinerancy are often the main *topoi* and motifs of these stories.¹⁷ Myths of origin and descent are important in tracing *polis* identities and connection networks that are based on religion.¹⁸ Although many of these references to a Dryopian community with its errant kings are late, they indicate, together with other finds,¹⁹ that a locus of an early agrarian, cattle-raising community existed in southern Euboea. This locus may have been in the form of small, dispersed settlements, such as *komai* or hamlets,²⁰ the building remains of which have been located during recent surveys.²¹ Epigraphic and architectural finds in Kokkaloi and Palaiochora to the north of the modern town and to the south of the medieval Castel Rosso, indicate that a main civic, administrative, political and religious centre existed in this area from the Early Classical to the Late Hellenistic period (Fig. 2).²²

12. See Horden and Purcell 2000, 401-460. This ‘kaleidoscopic’ approach to the study of cult and the *polis* based on literary and epigraphical evidence, as well as finds, is explored in Sourvinou-Inwood 2007, 357-389.

13. Horden and Purcell 2000, 422.

14. *Iliad* 2.539.

15. Conon, *FGrHist* 26, F 1.44. Nicolaus of Damascus, *FGrHist* 90, F 52, 53. P. Oxy. 2508, line 6. Phot. 140 a. See also: Chapman et al. 1993, 17.

16. Testimonies and related finds summarized in Chidiroglou 1996-1997, 176-179.

17. Dryopes: Diodorus Siculus 4.37; Herodotos 8.46.4 and 8.43.1; Thucydides 7.57.4. Dryopian Kings Phylas, Laogoras, Theiodamas: Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautika* 1.1207-1.1220; Callimachus, *Hymn to Artemis* 3.160-161; *Aetia* 6; Diodorus Siculus 4.37.1-2; Mnaseas Patreus, *FGrHist*, 4, F 131 a; Pseudo-Apollodorus 2.6.7. For Hylas, see also Antoninus Liberalis, *Metamorphoses*, 26. Sources and myths connected to Dryopes are collected in Fourgous 1989, 5-32. Theft of cattle as a typical myth motif and Herakles: Burkert 1997, 130-132. The rest of the large Euboean city-states, such as Eretria and Chalkis, claimed Ionian origin, as did the Athenians: Euripides, *Ion* 1575-1588; Thucydides 7.57.4.

18. Smith 1999, 15. cf. Athenian Ionianism and its ties of *xyngeneia* (claimed origin or colonial-type bonds) with Chalkis, Eretria and Styra, in Fragoulaki 2013, 214-220.

19. For instance, Karystos is mentioned in Linear B tablets from Thebes: Aravantinos 1987, 33-40.

20. In the Karystian *chora*, habitation loci, such as Kyrnos, Orchomenos and Geraistos, are attested by the sources: Kyrnos: Herodotos 9.105. Orchomenos: Strabo 9.2.42. For Geraistos, see among many other literary references: *Odyssey* 3.176-3.179; Thucydides 3.3.5. For a synopsis of sources and finds, see Chidiroglou 2009, 1085-1105.

21. e.g. Keller 1985, 153-157; Keller and Schneider 2011, 96-105, figs. 1 and 2. Apart from the main *poleis*, over 100 nucleated settlements are attested for the whole of Euboea: see Hansen and Nielsen 2004, s.v. Euboea, 644-647.

22. Decrees of the Karystian demos found in Palaiochora: *IG* XII.9.2, 7-9, 17, 18. Finds from Kokkaloi, Palaiochora,

An early sanctuary was located on the Plakari hill to the west of the modern town. Recent research at this site has demonstrated that cultic activities which were performed there, such as ritual meals, span from the 10th to the late 4th century BC.²³ A fragmentary stele containing religious regulations of the 4th century BC with mention of a contest (ἀγών) was found built in a sheep-shed at this site in the mid-1980s.²⁴ An *apothetes* with Protogeometric to Late Geometric finds and a building complex in use from the Early Archaic to the Late Classical period are some of the main features of the site. A number of black-glazed and plain vases of the 5th and 4th centuries BC came to light in one excavated building. Some had graffiti, such as HI,²⁵ often interpreted as $\text{HI}(\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\nu)$ or $\text{HI}(\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma)$, i.e. 'sacred'.²⁶ This type of graffiti, together with other excavation data, helps us confirm cultic activities at Plakari. Other graffiti on vases from Plakari, such as the ligature AΠ²⁷ (Fig. 3) can be interpreted in various ways. Given the context, one possible interpretation would be that the abbreviation AP stands for Apollo Ἄπ(όλλωνος)—Ἀρ(όλλο's)—as the deity that received *ex-votos* and libations at this site.²⁸ In the same context, a clay fragment bearing the incised letters AR from Plakari could perhaps indicate that both Apollo and Artemis were worshipped in this sanctuary. Other restorations of these abbreviated graffiti, such as owners' or dedicators' names could, however, also be valid.²⁹

The existence of a cult site or sites dedicated to Apollo, in both his Delian and Pythian form, as well as to Artemis, is attested for many periods in Karystos.³⁰ One tale that stands on the limit between myth and historical reality is useful in exploring this cult. According to Herodotos, Karystos is one of the cities on the route of the mythic Hyperborean people making offerings to Apollo on Delos. Following this itinerary, Karystos is situated after Scythia, the Adriatic, Dodona and the Maliaic Bay, and it is followed by Tenos.³¹ This story of offerings to the Delian Apollo from some northern region, together with another of this god's sojourns in the north in winter, is found in a number of ancient sources.³² Although it has been suggested that the offerings were first fruits, swan eggs, honey or amber beads, their true nature remains unknown.³³ The tale is considered to incorporate ancient pilgrimage as well as trade routes, and apparently includes one stopover in southern Euboea. A later version of this tale which

Castel Rosso and Drymonia include walls *in situ*, marble column capitals and bases, fragments of sculpture and sherds in Karystos Museum, overviewed in: Keller 1985, 123-125, 127-128, 131-148, 201-202, 205 (including cited Byzantine chapels inv. nos. 92, 93, 96-98 in Palaiochora built almost entirely of ancient blocks). See also Chidiroglou 2012, chapter II.

23. Crielaard et al. 2012, 83-106.

24. Keller 1985, 104-105, no. 41, fig. 39. Keller and Schneider 2011, 98, fig. 3a-b. *SEG* LVI, 1037.

25. The graffito HI is found on the black-glazed handleless bowl (salt cellar) MK 2531, of the last quarter of the 5th century BC, on the black-glazed base fragments of cup MK 2573 and possibly on the fragmentary black-glazed cup MK 1968, both of the Classical period, as well as on a bronze collar that may represent a piece of armour. All were found in the same square building at Plakari, which was probably used for the preparation and consumption of ritual meals, i.e. it was a *hestiatorion*. Chidiroglou 2014, 57, 59, 67, fig. 2: 12; Crielaard et al. 2013, 40-47.

26. cf. for instance, for Euboea, Chatzidimitriou 2004-2009, 525, 526, 532, figs. and drawings 5, 7, 20 (sherds of black-glazed pots with the graffiti HI, H and IE found in a sanctuary of Apollo Delios in Zarakes in central Euboea).

27. The graffito AΠ or ΠA, as a ligature, was inscribed on the small, black-glazed, two-handled, stemless cup MK 1914 and on the black-glazed handleless bowl MK 1915. Based on their Attic and local parallels, the cup is dated from the second quarter of the 5th to the end of this century and the bowl also in the 5th century BC. See Chidiroglou 2014, 56-60, 63, 66, figs. 2: 8, 10.

28. For the abbreviation Ἄπ(όλλωνος), cf. *SEG* XXXI, 776.

29. Sherd from Plakari with graffito AR: Ἄρ[τεμῖς] or Ἄρ[τέμιδος]: Chidiroglou 2005, 79, n. 43. This graffito can be reconstructed in various other ways, as for instance: [K]ἀρ[υστος] or [K]αρ[ύστου].

30. Inscribed statue base of the 1st century AD from Karystos with dedication to Apollo and Artemis: *IG* XII 9, 14. Overviews of relevant data in: Chidiroglou 1996-1997, 176-179; Chatzidimitriou 2006, 1082-1088. Constantakopoulou 2007, 52-53.

31. Herodotos 4.33.2.

32. Other sources: Cicero, *De natura deorum* 3.23; Diodorus Siculus 2.47; Mela 3.5; Pausanias 5.7.8; Pindar, *Pythian* 10.30; Strabo 15.1.57; Virgil, *Georgics* 3.196. See also Bouzek 2000, 57-62; Homolle 1890, 500-501; Laidlaw 1933, 40-45, 53-54; Tréheux 1953, 758-774; De Santerre-Gallet 1958, 165-173.

33. Pausanias 1.31.2; Tréheux 1953, 764-766.

includes the Athenian colony of Sinope and a partial route change, so as to reach the Attic harbour of Prasiai, probably contained aspects of Athenian political propaganda related to its trade expansion.³⁴

An *oikos* of the Karystians, a female *neokoros*, Karystian *hieragogoi*, *theoroi* and *lampades* are epigraphically attested in Delos from the late 4th to the 2nd century BC, as are other cult and political connections between the two *poleis*.³⁵ The city of Karystos, as well as a number of its citizens, received loans from the sanctuary of Apollo at Delos in the early to mid-4th century and around the mid-2nd century BC.³⁶ Cases like these that combine religious aspects with economic issues are useful indicators of the close relations trade and cult had in antiquity.³⁷

Cultic geography of a rural polis

As well as origins and identities, ancient cult is also closely connected to geography. Previous research has acknowledged that the geography of religion is meaningful in definitions of various micro-regions, in tracing relations between them and the outside world.³⁸ In ancient Greece, city and *chora* landscapes, including areas with manifest resource output or those situated within limits or borders, are often consecrated to deities with appropriate military, civic, maritime or agricultural character.

A large number of sites were found during surveys and salvage work in the Karystian *chora*³⁹—that is, the hinterland that belonged to the ancient city-state of Karystos.⁴⁰ As part of Euboea and the Aegean world, the Karystian region corresponds to the typical Mediterranean environmental resource base: it has the Mediterranean triad of crops such as wheat, vines and olives.⁴¹ Fishing and animal husbandry are some of the main occupations of its inhabitants, together with quarrying local stones, even today.⁴²

Sanctuaries dedicated to Poseidon, Dionysos, probably Demeter and Kore, and to Herakles are epigraphically attested for ancient Karystos, and Zeus appears on coins of the local mint.⁴³ With the exception of the cultic site of Poseidon Geraistios, located in modern Kastri, and maybe of Apollo at Plakari, the locations of the other deities remain unknown or can only be hypothesized on the basis of chance finds. Worship of Cybele, Hermes and Isis is only sporadically attested, but it is likely that these cults were practised.⁴⁴ A surface find from Paximadi, the western peninsula of the Karystos Bay, attests

34. Mineur 1984, 227; Parke 1967, 285-286.

35. *Oikos* of Karystians at Delos: *IG XI 2*, 144, A.1, 88 (shortly before 301 BC); *IG XI 2*, 145, 9-10 (302 BC); *IG XI 2*, 287, A.1, 78 (250 BC); *ID 1401*, e.1, 10 (after 166 BC). See also Chapman et al. 1993, 4; De Santerre-Gallet 1958, 298. Karystian *neokoros*: *IG XI 2*, 287, A.1, 78. Karystian *hieragogoi*: *ID Comptes 291*, b.1, 8 (shortly after 248 BC). Karystian *theoroi* and *lampades*: *IG XI 2*, 287 A.1, 73 (250 BC). Davis 1937, 109; Laidlaw 1933, 49; Tréheux 1953, 771, 772; Vallois 1944, 63, n. 4, 423. For Karystios and Geryllos used as personal names for Delian residents, see Vial 1984, 270, 289, 298, 310-312. For theoric networks, see Rutherford 2009, 24-38.

36. *IG II 814*. *ID 98*. *IG II² 1635* and Roberts and Gardner 1905, 122; *ID 104* (28). *IG XII 9*, 159. Laidlaw 1933, 79; Reger 1994, 60, 160-161. Tod 1985, 72-82, no. 125.

37. See, for instance, Strabo 10.5.4.

38. Horden and Purcell 2000, 406-407.

39. The Karystian *chora* is bordered by coastline on all sides, apart from the north-west. For this border between the Karystian territory and the ancient demos of Styra, which was incorporated into the Eretrian territory in the late 5th to early 4th century BC, see Knoepfler 1971, 223-244; Reber 2002, 40-53. See also Hansen and Nielsen 2004, s.v. Euboea, 658.

40. Catalogues of sites in: Chidiroglou 2012; Keller 1985; Tankosić and Chidiroglou 2010; Wickens 2007.

41. See Horden and Purcell 2000, 45-49, 77-122; Morley 2007, 17-34.

42. Ancient sources mention Karystian cereal, fish and marbles. Cereal: Theophrastus, *Historia Plantarum*, 8.4. Fish: Athenaios 7.68, 295c, 302a, 304d. Marble quarries, see e.g. Strabo 10.1.6.

43. Cult attested in inscriptions from Karystos: Poseidon: *IG XII 9*, 44; Jacobsen and Smith 1968, 184-199. See also Schumacher 1993, 62-87. Dionysos: *IG XII 9*, 20. Demeter or Kore or other female deity: *IG XII 9*, 25. Herakles: *IG XII 9*, 15. Cult of Zeus and possibly of Hera attested on bronze coins of the Karystian mint: Tsourti 2006, 202-203, figs. 23 and 24.

44. Cybele: Chidiroglou 2006, 1058-1059, 1065-1066, fig. 2. Also, a small marble *naiskos* of Cybele is in Karystos Museum: Chidiroglou 2012, chapter IV. Isis and Hermes: *IG XII 9 Suppl.* 530; Chatzidimitriou 1999, 226; Gager 1992, 86, no. 19,

to the worship of Pan.⁴⁵ The local founding heroes Cheiron and Karystos⁴⁶ as well as the heroized local Olympic victor Glaukos⁴⁷ are most likely to have had shrines of their own. Also, a feast in honour of Aristonikos, a local ball-player who campaigned with Alexander the Great, would have been held at a shrine to this athlete. Aristonikos may have also acted as a political agent, as an interpretation of a much-restored inscription would have him.⁴⁸

A number of offerings were dedicated by the *polis* of Karystos and by some of its citizens to sanctuaries in other regions, such as to the sanctuary of Apollo in Delos around the mid-2nd century BC and to that in Delphi in the 4th-3rd century BC.⁴⁹ Votives by Karystians are also attested from the late 4th to late 3rd century BC in inventories of the sanctuary of the healing god Amphiaraos at Oropos.⁵⁰ Around 479 BC, at the end of the Persian Wars, the city of Karystos dedicated a bronze bull at Delphi in thanksgiving for having regained the freedom to cultivate their land,⁵¹ and two crowns in the Athenian Acropolis were inventoried in 370/369 BC and 368/367 BC.⁵² Dedications by a *polis* to an outside sanctuary of fame are often connected to periods of economic regrowth, to victories, or even to periods of political unrest.

Cult attested inside the urban space is best connected to *polis* identity in the form of community bonding. Priests of Dionysos, from an elite Karystian *genos*, are attested in two inscriptions of the 2nd century AD.⁵³ The cult was, however, established earlier in Karystos, as another fragmentary inscription of the late 4th-early 3rd century BC proves.⁵⁴ Based on survey results, a sanctuary of this god could be located in the well-watered site of Drymonia—that is, the western section of Palaiochora—at a short distance from excavated cemeteries of the Archaic and Classical periods.⁵⁵ In the later inscription the god's epithet—Demoteles (good and resourceful for the people)—points to civic qualities, such as the welfare of the local community that was attributed to Dionysos in Karystos. Dionysos was, therefore, connected in this case to contexts closely related to the local *polis* and its communal identity. Based on local myths, the worship of this god in southern Euboea also contained elements of his chthonic aspect and powers of epiphany.⁵⁶ Other cults were certainly located in the urban area, as chance finds indicate.⁵⁷

Sources and inscriptional finds also offer data for the Karystian *chora* or rural space.⁵⁸ In the Kar-

fig. 11; Guarducci 1978, 248-249; Robert 1936, 17-18, no. 13, pl. 8; Wallace 1972, 304, no. 49. Isolated examples of theophoric names connected to Mithras and Serapis are attested in Karystos and its region and they do not constitute proof of local cults: *IG XII 9*, 33 (of uncertain date); Wallace 1972, 305, no. 54. *IG XII 9*, 11 (mid-2nd century AD, with provenance from Karystos disputed; Cairns 2001, 121-136).

45. Keller 1985, 102, 269-270, fig. 35 (bronze Pan figurine dated at the end of the 4th century BC).

46. *Scholia ad Lycophron* 580. *Hellenic Anthology* 14.68.

47. Pausanias, 6.10.1-3. Simonides, frag. 23 Diehl (8 Bergk). Rose 1933, 165-167.

48. Athenaios 1.19 a. *IG XII 9*, 207, 41. *IG II²* 385 A+B. *SEG XXI*, 341. Dow 1963, 77-92.

49. Dedications by Karystians at Delos: *ID* 1416, 1417, 1452. *Aparchai* offered by Karystians and other Euboeans to the Delphic sanctuary: *CID II*, 1, 4, 24, 120. *FD III* 5, 3, 92.

50. Dedications by Karystians in the Amphiareion at Oropos: *IG VII* 303. Petrakos 1997, 313, 324, 394. *SEG XXXI*, 445.

51. Bronze bull at Delphi: Pausanias 10.16.6. The base of this dedication was identified in Delphi: Gauer 1968, 111-115.

52. *IG II²* 1425, lines 123-124. In this period of Theban ascendancy, the Euboean cities were allied to Thebes and Athens: Xenophon, *Hellenika* 6.5.23. *CAH VI²*, 188-189.

53. 1) *IG XII 9*, 20 (MK 83). *SEG LVI*, 1036. See also Bursian 1856, 34; Girard 1878, 275-276, no. 2; Papavasileiou 1910, 101-102, no. 29; Young 1930, 10. The relocation of the inscribed stone and its subsequent transfer to Karystos Museum was accomplished by A. Choremis: see Choremis 1971, 261, no. 3; Wallace 1972, 299-300, no. 32. 2) *IG XII 9*, 21 (the word Dionysos is a reconstruction). See also Wallace 1972, 296, no. 18.

54. Wallace 1972, 312, no. 3 (MK 26).

55. This hypothetical site identification is briefly outlined in Chidiroglou 2011, 154-155.

56. *Dionysos Demoteles*: *IG XII 9*, 20. For a contextual interpretation of *Demoteles* as an epithet of a god or goddess, see Pirenne-Delforge 2005, 55-68. Cave with *xoanon* of Dionysos in southern Euboea: Pausanias, 2.23.1.

57. An inscribed block of local schist stone with the word *hieron* was found *in situ* in a garden in Palaiochora: Chidiroglou 2012, chapter III.

58. For the Karystian *chora* and Styra at its north-eastern border, see Hansen and Nielsen 2004, s.v. Euboea, 658; Knoepfler 1971, 223-244; Reber 2002, 40-53.

ystian cultic geography the sanctuary and refugee resort of Poseidon Geraistios at Kastri, to the east of Karystos, was an important sacred site. This ancient harbour site of Geraistos has been securely located at Kastri on the basis of epigraphic finds.⁵⁹ The sanctuary is probably located at or near the small promontory in this location (Fig. 4).⁶⁰ The first mention of this long-lived sanctuary appears in the *Odyssey* and many later sources refer to it.⁶¹ Its official character and fame were renowned among the island polities of the Aegean, as is demonstrated by the dissemination of the theophoric names that developed out of the god's epithet.⁶² The feast of Geraistia was celebrated in Geraistos.⁶³ A cult of Artemis with the rare epithet Bolosia is also attested in Geraistos.⁶⁴ Coastal cultic sites were included in the Karystian religious topography and they corroborate the maritime orientation of Karystian interests.

Cultic sites are, however, also found further inland. Building remains of a sanctuary of the 5th century BC, which was probably dedicated to Athena, are located in Platanistos to the north of Kastri (Fig. 5).⁶⁵ The plan to construct an imposing building of this type in honour of the patron deity of Athens has been theoretically connected to the ways Athenian expansionist politics sought to manifest themselves in southern Euboea,⁶⁶ although a local interest in investing in a religious site in Platanistos, a natural plateau near woodland, cannot be dismissed. Also, a cult of Aphrodite is attested by an inscription of the 5th century BC found in Platanistos.⁶⁷ An ancient sacred site is located on the top of Mount Ochi, where Zeus and Hera may have been worshipped and the so-called 'Dragon House' was also constructed.⁶⁸

Outside the limits of their city-state, Karystians are known to have participated in the feast of Artemis Amarynthia at her temple, which was located somewhere in Amarynthos in the Eretrian *chora*.⁶⁹ Participation in feasts that transcend the boundaries of one city-state empowers group solidarity, especially in times of political unrest.⁷⁰ A typical pan-Euboean platform of solidarity for the *poleis* of the island is the formation of the Euboean *Koinon*, with coin types shared by all cities, including Karystos.⁷¹ The occasional use of a long year of 384 days with an inserted month of 30 days is attested in the Karystian calendar for the period from the late 4th to the 2nd century BC.⁷² The insertion of a month into the local calendar may be attributed to the task of the Karystian *archons* to organize participation of Karystos in pan-Euboean feasts, such as the Artemisia in Amarynthos and the feast of Dionysia-Demetria, which were celebrated in Eretria, Chalkis, Oreos and Karystos in rotating order.⁷³

59. *IG XII 9*, 44. Jacobson and Smith 1968, 184-199; *SEG XLIV*, 710.

60. For a synopsis of data, see Schumacher 1993, 62-87; Chidiroglou 2009, 1085-1105.

61. Aristophanes, *Knights* 561; Arrian, *Anabasis*, 2.1.2; Demosthenes 4.34; Euripides, *Cyclops* 295; Euripides, *Orestes* 990-994; *Odyssey* 3.177-3.179; Livy 31.45.10; Lucian, *Jupiter trageodeus* 25; *Scholia ad Pindar, Olympian* 13.159 b; Strabo 10.1.2, 7; Thucydides 3.3.5; Xenophon, *Hellenika*, 3.4.4; Stephanus Byzantios, s.v. Γεραιστός.

62. Chidiroglou 2012, chapter III. The word *Geraistios*, Poseidon's proonym in Karystia, comes from *geras*, prize of honour, so a more general interpretation of some of the theophoric names is also possible.

63. *Scholia ad Pindar Olympian* 3.159. Ringwood 1929, 386.

64. *IG XII 9*, 1258; Prokopios, *De Bellis*, 8.22.27-9; Wallace 1972, 332-334.

65. Goette 2000, 399-403; 2007, 284. *Inscriptions in situ*: 1) Rangabé 1852, 46. *IG XII 9*, 42 and 2) Goette 2007, 287-288, fig. 4.

66. Goette 2007, 288.

67. *IG XII 9*, 43; Bursian 1856, 36-37; Jeffery [1961]1990, 89, no. 28; Wallace 1972, 302. Another inscription preserving only the word *hieros* was found in the same region: *IG XII 9*, 49.

68. Baumeister 1864, 29-30; Hawkins 1820, 285-293; Lolling 1989, 421-426; Moutsopoulos 1982, 281-325; Powell 1899, 31-32; Rangabé 1852, 34-35; Ross 1851, 30-31; Sackett et al. 1966, 81, no. 91; Ulrichs 1842, 5-11; 1863, 252-259; Welcker 1850, 376-392; 1856, 611-617. See also: Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1989, 29-31.

69. Livy 35.38.3; Knoepfler 1972, 283-301.

70. Chankowski 2005, 192-196.

71. *IG XII 9*, 898, 899 B; Wallace 1972, 227, 230-233; Picard 1979.

72. *IG XII 9*, 8; Papsliotis 1856, 267-269; Papavasileiou 1910, 102-103, no. 30; Wallace 1972, 269, 292, 313-314, no. 8.

73. *IG XII 9*, 207. *SEG XXXIV*, 896; Aneziri 2007, 80-81. The feast of Δημήτριά(ι)α, as it is spelled on the inscription, was joined to a most probably older feast of Dionysia. These Demetria were celebrated in honour of the Macedonian king Demetrius Poliorketes.

Cult and politics—an astygeiton and his neighbours

Karystos maintained political, trade and religious bonds with the other large Euboean cities, chiefly with Eretria, its friendly city-neighbour according to Herodotos.⁷⁴ For the greater part of the 5th and 4th centuries BC, when Karystos was a member of the First and the Second Athenian League, and until the signing of separate peace treaties of the Euboean cities with Athens in 357/356 BC, the city must have been under democratic rule (Fig. 6). A more-or-less temporary change to oligarchy probably occurred when a number of Karystians participated in the oligarchic coup that took place in Athens in 411 BC.⁷⁵ During the late 5th to early 4th century BC, Karystos, as was the case with many other Greek cities, was drawn for brief periods into the sphere of Spartan and Theban dominance, which in the second half of the 4th century BC was followed by the expansion of Macedonia.⁷⁶

With regard to local administration and politics, a Karystian *boule* is attested from the Late Classical to the Hellenistic period.⁷⁷ *Archon* and other officials' names are attested in decrees and coins of the city.⁷⁸ The controversial existence of the official body of *probouloi* in Karystos has been suggested (doubtfully) for both the Roman and earlier periods.⁷⁹ The political, military, trade and religious bonds of Karystos with Athens involved many aspects of ancient city life. One example of this relation is the large number of funerary stelai and columns of Karystians⁸⁰ who were buried in Athens as *xenoi* or metics. These tombstones date from the Late Classical period to the end of Hellenistic times.⁸¹ A few stelai of Karystian *xenoi* of Hellenistic to Roman Imperial date have been also found in Eretria, Kos and Cyprus.⁸²

Aegean and mainland trade networks

Aside from cultic connections, ancient cities formed multiple political and economic bonds with other city-states, such as those attested in proxeny decrees.⁸³ Greek *proxenoi* represented their city of origin in political, military, trade, entertainment and religious activities in host cities.⁸⁴ Stelai with honorary or proxeny decrees were set up in important sanctuaries of the city conferring the honours and other stelai in the city of the honoured person.⁸⁵ The honours were usually diplomatic immunity, exemption from taxes, and safety during war.⁸⁶ Decrees issued by Greek cities with honours conferred on Karystian *proxenoi* can be used to investigate the political, trade and cult networks in which the city

74. Herodotos 6.99.2.

75. Karystos in the Tribute Lists: *IG* I³ 259, 262-265, 269-271, 279, 280, 71, 289, 100. See Hansen and Nielsen 2004, s.v. Euboeia, 658. Participation of Karystian soldiers in the oligarchic coup in 411 BC: Thucydides 8.69.3. See also Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 1058-1060. Meiggs 1972, 569; Wallace 1972, 190.

76. Karystos allied to Sparta in 405 BC: Pausanias 10.9.10. Euboean cities allied to Thebes from 371 to 362/361 BC: Xenophon, *Hellenika* 6.5.23. Karystos allied to Athens in the Lamian War in 323-322 BC: e.g. Pausanias, 1.25.4; Diodorus Siculus 28.11.2 and 17.8. See also: Wallace 1972, 59-69, 259-266.

77. A Karystian *boule* is mentioned for instance in the inscriptions: *IG* XII 9, 17. *IG* XII *Suppl.* 174.

78. Karystian *archons* are mentioned, for instance, in the inscriptions: *IG* XII 9, 7-9. *IG* XII 9 *Suppl.* 174, 7, 11. *SEG* XXV, 1041. *SEG* LVI, 516. For *archons'* names on coins, see for instance Waggoner 1980, 5. Synopsis in: Chidiroglou 2012, chapter III.vi.

79. *IG* XII 9, 2 and 11; Cairns 2001, 121-136.

80. For an overview on ethnics as *polis* identity, see Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 58-69.

81. Overviews of these finds: Osborne and Byrne 1996, 115-119. See also Chidiroglou 2012, chapter III, B.V.a.

82. Funerary stones of Karystians in Eretria: *IG* XII 9, 254 (ethnicity? partly reconstructed), *IG* XII 9, 793, 823; Karaschalidou 1985, 111, fig. 8. In Kos: Segre 2007, EF 345. In Cyprus: Mitford 1950, 44, 22.

83. Mack 2015. See also: Marek 1984, 333-337, 339-343, 350-351, 355, 357-367, 371-374, 376-377.

84. Gauthier 1972, 17-33; Mack 2015; Marek 1984, 333-391.

85. See, for instance, Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 98-102.

86. See, for instance, Herodotos 1.69.3-1.70.1 and 6.21.1-2; Euripides, *Elektra* 394-395, 404-405. Gauthier 1972, 21-23.

of Karystos was involved. Most Karystian *proxenoi* (Fig. 7, nos. 1-17) are in decrees that date from the late 3rd to the 1st century BC, a period of Macedonian dominion and Athenian resistance to their rule, and, as of the mid-2nd century BC, of Roman ascendancy in Greece.

The city of Athens represented a major centre in the political affiliation network of Karystos in all periods.⁸⁷ The Karystian *proxenoi* mentioned in Athenian decrees of the Late Classical and Hellenistic times are the largest group. The political activities of the Karystian *proxenoi* Timosthenes I and II cover the period from the end of the 4th to the third quarter of the 3rd century BC. Timosthenes I was honoured as *proxenos* and *synedros* of the Athenians in 306/305 BC. He appears to have offered help to the Athenians during the Lamian (323-322 BC) or the Four-Year War (315-311 BC), as well as during the campaign of the Macedonian Kassandros in Attica.⁸⁸ Timosthenes' homonymous great-grandson or grandson was honoured by the Athenians in similar fashion in 229/228 BC.⁸⁹ The Karystian Prytanis, son of Astykleides, a peripatetic philosopher from the School of Aristotle and law-giver to the Arcadian Megalopolis, is another political figure who was honoured by the Athenians with a proxeny decree in 226/225 BC.⁹⁰ The Karystian Eunomos, son of Kephesios, was honoured as *proxenos* by the demos of Eretria in the early 3rd century BC⁹¹ (Fig. 8) and between 240 and 180 BC six Karystian *proxenoi* were honoured by the city of Oropos, situated on the mainland coast opposite Eretria.⁹²

In the Cyclades, the Karystian Ainesias, son of Epainetos, was honoured as *proxenos* of Ios in the 4th century BC.⁹³ Three Karystians were honoured as *proxenoi* of Delos during the first half of the 3rd century BC.⁹⁴ The city of Karthaia on Kea honoured six local men who sailed to Karystos after 273 BC, apparently on some business involving both cities.⁹⁵ Kimolos issued a decree that honoured the Karystian Charianthos as a foreign judge assigned by a Macedonian king (Antigonos Gonatas or Antigonos Doson) to solve private disputes in this island, in the years 250-221 BC.⁹⁶ According to the inscription, the stele was erected in the sanctuary of Poseidon Geraistios in southern Euboea and a second one in that of Athena Polias in Kimolos.⁹⁷ Andros honoured an unknown number of Karystian men in the early 2nd century BC probably for similar reasons.⁹⁸

In the north-eastern Aegean, two Karystian men, probably brothers, named [M]antis and [..] ophron, sons of Aristokrates, were honoured as *proxenoi* of the city of Eressos in Lesbos, in the 3rd century BC.⁹⁹ Karystian *proxenoi* or mercenaries or slaves are mentioned in a partly preserved decree of Chios dated to the 3rd century BC.¹⁰⁰

Some cities of the Greek mainland may be added to this list. A proxeny decree dated to 277/276 or 275/274 referring to honours given to a Karystian or Cyrenean Diok[les], son of Socrates, was found

87. One of the earliest is an Athenian decree honouring a *naukleros* or sea-merchant named Pythophanes of the city of ---tion, dated in the late 5th-early 4th century BC: *IG* II² 12. *IG* I³ 98. *SEG* III, 71. *IG* XII 9, 150, 116; Monceaux 1886, 322; Reed 2003, 125, no. 48, n. 74; Walbank 1978, 389-390. The city ethnicity, however, of the honoured person is better reconstructed as that of Φαιστίων, instead of Καρυστίων: Meiggs and Lewis [1969]1988, 80. See also Wallace 1972, 216-217, n. 34.

88. *IG* II² 467 = *SIG*³ 327; *IG* XII *Suppl.* 200, 1.

89. *IG* II² 832 = *Syll.*³ 496.

90. *IG* II² 443 and Tracy 1990, 52-53; *IG* XII 9 *Suppl.* 200-201, no. 2; *SEG* XXV, 106; Woodhead 1997, no. 224, pl. 23.

91. *IG* XII 9, 211; Knoepfler 2001, 212-218, no. XII. See also Chapman et al. 1993, 48, 82; Geyer 1930, 177; Rhodes and Lewis 1997, 247.

92. *IG* VII 239-240, 242, 284, 324, 391; Petrakos 1997, nos. 60, 122, 124, 150, 157, 189, figs. 8, 34, 57, 66, pls. 10, 11.

93. *IG* XII 5, 2, B.1.

94. *IG* XI 4, 516, 605, 673. *IG* XII, pp. 159-160. *SEG* III, 653. Laidlaw 1933, 142.

95. *IG* XII 5, 1, 537.

96. Two fragments of this decree have been found: *IG* XII 9, 44 and Jacobsen and Smith 1968, 184-199; *SEG* XLIV, 710.

97. The discovery of the stele in Kastri to the east of Karystos therefore led to the confirmation of the identification of this site as the ancient *polisma* of Geraistos.

98. *IG* XII *Suppl.* 248; Petrocheilos 2010, 90-93, no. 26.

99. *IG* XII *Suppl.* 127; *SEG* XXVI, 919; Hodot 1990, 299, ERE 017; Cairns 2001, 132.

100. *SGDI* 5691; *InscrChios* 51; Sarikakis 1986, 121-131; 1998, 198-199; Vanseveren 1937, 325-332, no. 6.

partly preserved on a corner stone of the Treasure of Cyrene in Delphi.¹⁰¹ In 146 BC Karystos, along with Eretria, was able to claim membership in the Delphic Amphictyony, a typical cult network that incorporated financial transactions in the form of first-fruit donations.¹⁰² Two Karystians, Aristophilos and Amphikles, acted as foreign judges in a Thessalian city, possibly Larissa or Kranon, and were honoured by it in the late 2nd-1st century BC.¹⁰³ In the 3rd century BC the remote city of Stratos in Acarnania honoured as *proxenoi* the Karystians Pedieus, son of Hippokles and Aristippos, son of Ari[stokr]ates.¹⁰⁴ The Karystian Philopolis, son of Telestos, is mentioned among others in an inscribed catalogue of *proxenoi* and loan guarantors from Thermon in Aetolia, dated to 262-236 BC.¹⁰⁵ In the Peloponnese, an Eretrian and a Karystian named Kossos were *proxenoi* of Laconian Geronthrai a little after 195 BC.¹⁰⁶ A fragmentary inscription from Messene dated to the late 2nd-early 1st century BC is considered to mention honours given by the city of Karystos to local judges.¹⁰⁷

In Asia Minor, the city of Alabanda honoured Karystian men in the 1st century BC or the 2nd century AD.¹⁰⁸ A mention in the inscription of similar laws (συγγενικά δίκαια) shared by Alabanda and Karystos corroborates cultic as well as polity-organizational bonds between them.¹⁰⁹ In the same inscription, Karystos is referred to as πατρὶς Καρυστίων ('homeland of the Karystians'), a not-uncommon term that underscores civic unity in ancient population groups.¹¹⁰ A decree of the Roman Senate honouring the Karystian Polystratos, son of Polyarkos, together with two other men that helped Rome at sea campaigns during the Italian war in 78 BC is the latest of the honorary decrees that mention Karystians.¹¹¹

Karystios is found as a personal name in Athens and Delos¹¹² and as both personal name and patronym on inscriptions of the 2nd-1st century BC from the city of Maroneia in Thrace.¹¹³ Demosthenes refers to a Karystian Nausikrates who, with an Athenian, loaned money to two men from Phaselis in south Asia Minor and invested around the mid-4th century BC in a ship with a cargo of wine that would sail from a port of Athens to the harbour of Mende or that of Skione in the Chalcidice Peninsula in Macedonia, or, if the Phaselitan sea merchants were so willing, to sail as far as Pontic Borysthena in the Black Sea.¹¹⁴ Mentions of Karystian traders in locations far away from Euboea and central Greece offer insights into the extent of the commercial connections of Karystos.

Some inscriptions also indicate occasions when relations among island populations were far from peaceful. An inscription from the Cycladic island of Tenos with a mention of Karystos is interesting in the context of piracy, which was a common phenomenon in island and coastal regions during many

101. *FD III 3*, 161 (Delphi Museum 3877) and Bousquet 1940, 80, 88 (Bousquet maintained that *sans trop de peine*, he read Karystian as the ethnicity preserved on the stone).

102. *FD III 1*, 578 (2954, 2955, 2958) and Bousquet 1940, 113-120 (6384). At an earlier period Eretria, Chalkis, Histiaia were also connected through their citizens to Delphic networking systems, see: *CID IV 121*, 122 (end of 4th-early 3rd century BC). Ager 1996, 480-482, no. 166.

103. *IG XII Suppl.* 201, 3 (Archaeological Museum of Larissa inv. no. 15); *SEG LIII*, 539. Ager 1996, 517, no. 15; Béquignon 1935, 71-73, no. 4; Crowther 2006, 33, 38 (n. 31), 41, 46 (A4); McDevitt 1970, 46, no. 338.

104. *IG IX 1*, 443, 444; *IG IX 1²*, 2, 392.

105. *IG IX 1²*, 1, 17; *IG XII 9*, p. 202.

106. *IG V 1*, 4; *SEG XI*, 911; *SEG III*, 321; Ager 1996, 223-226, no. 81.

107. *IG V 1*, 1428 and Addenda p. 311; Knoepfler 2001, 414.

108. *IG XII 9*, 4; Wallace 1972, 306-307; Wilhelm 1901, 147-158. See also Ager 1996, 517, no. 15.

109. Curty 1995, 65-67, no. 31; Wilhelm 1901, 152.

110. Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 1308-1309.

111. *IGUR I 1*; *IG XIV 951*; *CIL I² 588*; Rostovtzeff [1941]1998, 748-749.

112. *LGPN I*, 107, 253; *LGPN II*, 256; Reger 1994, 62; Vial 1984, 145, 213, 246, 270-272, stemma XXIII, 289, 298, 309, 334-335.

113. Loukopoulou et al. 2005, E212, line 46; Parissaki 2007, 72-73.

114. Demosthenes 35.10; Migeotte 2007, 154, 166; Osborne and Byrne 1996, 117, no. 2736.

periods.¹¹⁵ The Tenian Kalliphantos, son of Kalliphon and resident of Karystos, is honoured for having saved a group of his compatriots who were also residing in Karystos from some danger. Kalliphantos was honoured by Tenos probably in the last quarter of the 3rd century BC.¹¹⁶ Another incident involving a Karystian *proxenos* is from a time of unrest. A Karystian *proxenos* of Athens was, according to pseudo-Demosthenes, killed by the Macedonians in the episodes of war in 342 BC.¹¹⁷

As we have seen, proxeny decrees and other epigraphic and literary sources constitute a virtual map of the diplomatic, political and trade relations that a city-state was involved in during a particular period. In the case of Karystos, our map is focused mainly on the Aegean, with Attica and the Cyclades as its major components during the 3rd century BC. As for sites in mainland Greece, Karystos had a long-standing relationship with the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi and with other mainland sites in the 2nd century BC— a period mainly of Macedonian dominance in central Greece.

Sources also contain references to Karystian mercenaries and slaves on Chios, Rhodes and Cyprus in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, to citizenship rights that a number of Karystians earned in Miletos in the late 3rd century BC, and to Karystian contractors in sanctuary projects in Athens, Delos and Delphi in the 4th and early 3rd centuries BC.¹¹⁸ All these references indicate types of social and group mobility often present in developed Greek city-states during the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods. Occasionally, as in the case of Karystos, this mobility evolved in connection to a cultic context meaningful for the city, as regards origins or another bonding system. Mobility and connectivity may be also related to a Panhellenic cultic centre. Relations between *poleis* were usually sanctioned by rituals, such as libations, sacrifices, oaths and other forms of bonding.

Karystos in the Roman Mediterranean

The commercial role of Karystos was elevated during the Roman Imperial period, when intensive and systematic exploitation of the quarry complexes of ‘Karystia lithos’ by Roman Imperial delegates, officials and tradesmen (*negotiatores*) who worked together with local freedmen in southern Euboea was set in progress.¹¹⁹ A cult of Herakles is attested for Karystos from the 4th century BC to the 2nd century AD. A Roman Imperial inscribed slab found in Drymonia, mentions, according to one reconstruction, a *heroon* to Herakles, constructed by Damokleia of Pheidippos at her father’s expense.¹²⁰ Herakles is represented on coins of the Karystian mint from the 4th to the 1st century BC¹²¹ (Fig. 9 a, b). Theophoric names associated with this hero are found in local funerary stelai of the late 4th to the early 3rd centuries BC, as well as on a later one of a Karystian *xenos*.¹²² A small dedicatory or decorative relief in Karystos Museum (MK 5) with a representation of reclining Herakles as *symposiast*, in the

115. For an overview on the subject of ancient piracy, see: De Souza 1999.

116. *IG XII 9*, 6 (dated in the 1st century BC). Bielman 1994, 224–226, no. 66 (dated to the last quarter of the 3rd century BC).

117. Pseudo-Demosthenes, 7.38. See also Gauthier 1985, 134–149; Pritchett 1974, 125.

118. A Karystian is mentioned in Plautus, *Pseudolus*, 725–730. In the late 4th and 3rd centuries BC, Karystian mercenaries are epigraphically attested in Athens, Rhodes and Cyprus and mercenaries or slaves in Chios: *IG II² 1956*; *InscrChios 51*; Maiuri and Jacopi 1932, 169; Yon 2004, 2073. At some time after 229 BC, a Karystian Menestratos served in the fortress of Rhamnous on the coast of Attica opposite Euboea: *SEG XLIII*, 36; Petrakos 1999, 30. Karystians earned citizenship rights in Miletos in 216/215 BC: *InscrMiletos 129*, 144. Karystian contractors are attested as having worked on a number of construction projects: In Athens: *IG II² 1669* (after the mid-4th century BC). In Delos: *IG XI 2*, 156, 161 (shortly before 282 and in 278 BC). In Delphi: *CID II 79 A* (in 334/333 BC).

119. Overviews of quarry sites and relevant data in Lambraki 1980, 31–62. See also Chidiroglou 2010, 48–56.

120. *IG XII 9*, 15.

121. Kraay 1976, 234–235; Kroll and Walker 1993, 214, no. 636. Gold Karystian drachma with head of Herakles: Jones 1980, 28–32.

122. Ἡρακλείδης in *IG XII 9*, 30. Ἡρακλ--- in *IG XII 9*, 47. See also Chapman et al. 1993, 85. A Karystian, daughter of one Ἡρακλείδης, was resident in Athens in the 1st century AD: *IG II² 8985*.

company of a partly preserved satyr, dates to the first half of the 2nd century BC. The relief belongs to a well-known and widely distributed sculptural type, derivative of the statue of Herakles Epitrapezios by Lysippos. Its best parallels are identical, albeit larger, reliefs in Eleusis and Delos, indicating artistic networking.¹²³

A much later find is a sacred niche with an inscribed Latin dedication to Herakles by the centurion T. Sergius Longus. The niche is located in the area of a quarry complex to the north of Karystos and it is dated to the first half of the 2nd century AD.¹²⁴ This find serves as an indication of the popularity of the hero's cult among the mixed Italian and Greek men employed in the quarries during the Roman Imperial period.¹²⁵ Worship of Herakles, a popular hero, albeit a hero adverse to Dryopes, according to the mythological tradition, survived for a long period in the Karystia. In the Roman Imperial period, cult politics helped transform this hero into a symbol of human toil appropriate for *epiklesis* in the local Imperial marble quarries, but also elsewhere as well.¹²⁶

During the Roman period, Chalkis, like other Greek cities, is known to have celebrated the periodic festival of Romaea and participated in that of Caesareia-Sebasteia, festivals established by Rome, which sought to promote Roman political and religious propaganda. The similar involvement of Karystos in this type of festival networking cannot be excluded.¹²⁷

Conclusions

In this paper I have attempted to demonstrate that Karystos, as one of the main Euboean city-states, participated in a number of religious, political and trade networks that expanded over a large part of the Aegean region, but centred on Athens and Delos, as well as on Delphi in mainland Greece. As is often the case, many of the religious ties and routes coincided with the economic ones. A kaleidoscopic viewing of such religious and pragmatic networking is possible, as we saw, depending on the criteria we use in attempts to trace aspects of *polis* identity. Some of the ways to view and study materialistic evidence could focus either on the microcosm of Karystian *polis*-autonomy, as indicated for instance in the local worship of Dionysos Demoteles or of Poseidon Geraistios and the local Geraistia feast. On the other hand, one could focus on a wider view, such as the Euboean *poleis'* attempts at some form of unity. In the case of Karystos, these attempts are represented by the participation of this city in the Euboean *koinon* and in Pan-Euboean feasts. Major Euboean cities participated in local feasts such as the Artemisia at Amarynthos or the rotating celebration of Dionysia-Demetrieia.

Sacred places were created at conspicuous locations in southern Euboea. Two of these, at Plakari and Kastri, were identified at coastal sites that are connected to navigation networks, and one, at Platanistos, in the mountainous hinterland. The same Panhellenic deities are shown to have been incorporated in introvert as well as extrovert *polis* contexts. One could also analyse data based on Athenian, Macedonian or Roman Imperialistic politics or even on popular cult dissemination in the Mediterranean, such as that of Herakles which is present at the Imperial Roman quarries in Karystos, with relevant cultic testimonia.

As a matter of fact, the geographic location of Karystos, a coastal city with agricultural, cattle,

123. cf. Scharmer 1971, 1-51; Wolf 1998, 49-64, figs. 1-3. See Chidiroglou 2003, 26-28; 2012, chapter IV.

124. *CIL* III *Suppl.* II 12286.

125. See, for example, on Hymenaeus Thamyrianus, epigraphically attested freedman and *lapicidinis Carystiis* of the 1st century BC: Hirt 2010, 157-159.

126. cf. the cult of Herakles in quarries in Thasos: Waelkens et al. 1988, 115.

127. Inscribed stele, possibly but not certainly from Karystos, in the Epigraphic Museum (EM 11551) with mention of Hadrian's priest, dated in 140-160 AD: *IG* XII 9, 11; *IG* XII 9, *Suppl.* 174, 11; *SEG* LVI, 516. But see Cairns 2001, 121-136. Feasts of Romaea and Caesareia Sebasteia for Chalkis: *IG* XII 9, 899, 946; Ringwood 1929, 390.

stone and ore resources, part of a large island situated between the Greek mainland and the Aegean, best explains the role Karystos played in antiquity. The city's cultic connections also underscore its realpolitik. Karystos remained for long periods of time an ally of Athens, and sought to affiliate itself with the occasional dominant religious and group-bonding networks of all periods. This is proved by its connection to Apollo in his many variable forms during the Archaic period and, as of the 5th century BC, to Athens, Delos and the Cyclades, as well as Delphi. Karystian loyalty to Macedon is also expressed through participation in cult, feasts, as well as in judicial and proxeny networking. In Roman Imperial times, extensive quarrying of the local marble made the region more conspicuous in Mediterranean trade networks and markets. Roman supervising officials together with local elite groups played key roles in this process. The study of extant testimonia in combination with old and recent archaeological finds has helped us sketch the dynamic and multilayered picture of the cultic and political connections of Karystos from the early 5th century BC to the Roman Imperial period. Cases of religious adjustment, such as a Karystian long year, and instances of long-lived channels of connectivity, such as with Delos, are indicative of some of the communal and political aspirations of this *polis*. Nevertheless, the fact that the literary sources seem to outweigh archaeological finds (so far) proves that the archaeological research of Karystos through systematic excavation has only begun.

Abbreviations

- ArchDelt* = *Archaiologikon Deltion*
CAH = *Cambridge Ancient History*
CID II = Bousquet, J. (1989) *Les Comptes du quatrième et du troisième siècle*, Paris.
CID IV = Lefèvre, F., D. Laroche, and O. Masson (2002) *Documents Amphictyoniques*, Paris.
CIL I² = Lommatzsch, E. (1918) *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum, Inscriptiones Latinae Antiquissimae ad C. Caesaris mortem*, Berlin.
CIL III = Mommsen, T. (1873) *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, Vol. 3, Parts 1-2, *Inscriptiones Asiae, provinciarum Europae Graecarum, Illyrici Latinae*, Berlin.
CIL III Suppl. = Hirschfeld, O. and A. von Domaszewski (1889-1902) *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum, Inscriptionum Orientis et Illyrici latinarum supplementum*, Berlin.
FD III 1 = Bourguet, É. (1929) *Fouilles de Delphes, III, Épigraphie Fasc. 1, Épigraphie, Inscriptions de l'entrée du sanctuaire au trésor des Athéniens*, Paris.
FD III 3 = Daux, G. and A. Salać (1932-1943) *Fouilles de Delphes, III, Épigraphie Fasc. 3, Vols. 1-2, Inscriptions depuis le trésor des Athéniens jusqu'aux bases de Gélon*, Paris.
FD III 5 = Bourguet, É. (1932) *Fouilles de Delphes, III, Épigraphie Fasc. 5, Les Comptes du IV^e siècle*, Paris [Replaced by *CID II* (1989)].
FGrHist = *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*
ID = Coupry, J. (1972) *Inscriptions de Délos Vol. 7 [2], nos. 89-104 (33)*, Paris.
ID Comptes = Durrbach, F. (1926) *Inscriptions de Délos, Comptes des Hiéropes (nos. 290-371)*, Paris.
ID = Durrbach, F. and P. Roussel (1935) *Inscriptions de Délos, (nos 1400-1496)*, Paris.
IG I³ = Lewis, D. (1981) *Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno anteriores, I, Decreta et Tabulae Magistratuum*, Berlin.
IG II = Koehler, U. (1877-1895) *Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis quae est inter Euclidis annum et Augusti tempora*, Parts I-V, Berlin.
IG II² = Kirchner, I. (1927) *Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores. Tabulas Magistratuum, Catalogos Nominum, Instrumenta Iuris Privati*, Berlin.
IG V 1 = Kolbe, W. (1913) *Inscriptiones Graecae, V,1. Inscriptiones Laconiae et Messeniae*, Berlin.
IG VII = Dittenberger, W. (1892) *Inscriptiones Graecae, VII. Inscriptiones Megaridis, Oropiae, Boeotiae*, Berlin.
IG IX 1 = Dittenberger, W. (1897) *Inscriptiones Graecae IX 1. Inscriptiones Phocidis, Locridis, Aetoliae, Acarnaniae, insularum maris Ionii*, Berlin.
IG IX 1² = Klaffenbach, G. (1932-1968) *Inscriptiones Graecae IX,1. 2nd edn.*, Berlin 1932-1968: Fasc. 1, *Inscriptiones Aetoliae* (1932); fasc. 2, *Inscriptiones Acarnaniae* (1957); fasc. 3, *Inscriptiones Locridis occidentalis* (1968).
IG XI 2 = Durrbach, F. (1912) *Inscriptiones Graecae, XI.2*. Berlin.
IG XI 4 = Roussel, P. (1914) *Inscriptiones Graecae, XI. Inscriptiones Deli*, fasc. 4, Nos. 510-1349, Berlin.
IG XII 5 = von Gaertringen Hiller, F. (1903-1909) *Inscriptiones Graecae XII, 5. Inscriptiones Cycladum*, 2 vols.: Ios, Sikinos, Naxos, Paros, OIiaros, Siphnos, Seriphos, Kythnos, Keos, Gyaros, Syros, Andros and Tenos, Berlin.
IG XII 9 = Ziebarth, E. (1915) *Inscriptiones Graecae, XII 9*. Berlin.
IG XII Suppl. = Ziebarth, E. (1939) *Inscriptiones Graecae, XII 9, Supplementum*, Berlin.
IG XIV = Kaibel, G. (1890) *Inscriptiones Graecae, XIV. Inscriptiones Siciliae et Italiae, additis Galliae, Hispaniae, Britanniae, Germaniae inscriptionibus*, Berlin.
IGUR = Moretti, L. (1968-1990) *Inscriptiones Graecae urbis Romae*, vols. 1-4, Rome.
InscrChios = McCabe, D. F. (1991[1986]) *Chios Inscriptions. Texts and List. The Princeton Project on the Inscriptions of Anatolia, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey* (1986). Packard Humanities Institute.
InscrMiletos = McCabe, D. F. (1991 [1984]) *Miletos Inscriptions. Texts and List. The Princeton Project on the*

- Inscriptions of Anatolia, The Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey 1984. Packard Humanities Institute.*
- LGPN I = Fraser, P. M., E. Matthews, M. J. Osborne, and S. G. Byrne (eds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, I, The Aegean Islands, Cyprus, Cyrenaica*, Oxford, 1987.
- LGPN II = Fraser P. M., Matthews E., Osborne M. J., Byrne S. G., eds. (1994) *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, II, Attica*, Oxford.
- MK = Archaeological Museum of Karystos, (inv. no.)
- OpArch = *Opuscula Archaeologica*, Lund.
- SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
- SGDI = Collitz, H., A. Bezzenger, and F. Bechtel (1884-1915) *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften, I-IV*, Gottingen.
- SIG³ = Dittenberger, W. (1915-1924) *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum*, 3rd ed., 4 vols. Leipzig.
- Syll.³ = Dittenberger, W., F. von Gaertringen Hiller, J. Kirchner, H. R. Pomtow, and E. Ziebarth (1915-1924) *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum*, 3rd edn., 4 vols., Leipzig.

Bibliography

- Abulafia, D. (2011) *The Great Sea: a human history of the Mediterranean*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ager, S. L. (1996) *Interstate Arbitrations in the Greek world, 337-90 B.C.* Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press.
- Aneziri, S. (2007) 'The Organisation of Music Contests in the Hellenistic Period and Artists' Participation. An Attempt at Classification'. In *The Greek Theatre and Festivals*, edited by P. Wilson, 67-84. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Aravantinos, V. L. (1987) 'Mycenaean place-names from Thebes: The new evidence'. *Minos* 20-22 and 33-40.
- Bakhuizen, S. C. and R. Kreulen (1976) *Chalkis in Euboea. Iron and Chalcidians abroad*. Leiden: Brill.
- Baumeister, A. (1864) *Topographische Skizze der Insel Euboea*. Lübeck.
- Béquinon, Y. (1935) 'Études thessaliennes: 4. Fragment de décret pour des juges de Karystos'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 59, 71-73.
- Bielman, A. (1994) *Retour à la liberté. Libération et sauvetage des prisonniers en Grèce ancienne. Recueil d'inscriptions honorant des sauveteurs et analyse critique*. Lausanne: Université de Lausanne.
- Boardman, J. (1957) 'Early Euboean pottery and history'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 52, 1-30.
- Bousquet, J. (1940) 'Inscriptions de Delphes II'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 64, 76-120.
- Bouzek, J. (2000) 'Apollon Hyperboréen, le héros solaire et l'âme humaine'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique Supplement* 38 [Αγαθός δαίμων, Mythes et Cultes. Études d'iconographie en l'Honneur de Lilly Kahil], 57-62.
- Burkert, W. (1997²) *Ελληνική μυθολογία και τελετουργία. Δομή και ιστορία* [trans. E. Andreadi]. Athens: Μορφωτικό Ίδρυμα Εθνικής Τραπέζης.
- Bursian, C. (1856) *Questionum Euboicarum Capita Selecta*. Lipsiae: Breitkopfii et Haertelii.
- Cairns, F. (2001) 'IG XII.9 11: An inscription of Karystos?'. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 134, 121-136.
- Cawkwell, G. L. (1978) 'Euboea in the late 340's'. *Phoenix* 32, 42-67.
- Chankowski, A. S. (2005) 'Processions et cérémonies d'accueil: une image de la cité de la basse époque hellénistique?'. In *Citoyenneté et Participation à la basse époque hellénistique, Actes de la table ronde des 22 et 23 mai 2004, Paris, BNF*, edited by P. Fröhlich and C. Müller, 185-206. Geneva: Droz.
- Chapman, W. P., R. M. Schneider and H. Schneider, eds. (1993) *Karystos: City-state and Country Town*. Baltimore: Uptown Press.
- Chatzidimitriou, A. (1999) 'Μολύβδινο ανάγλυφο έλασμα με παράσταση Ηρακλή. Η χρήση του μολύβδου στην Εύβοια'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 54, 215-228.
- Chatzidimitriou, A. (2004-2009) 'Ενεπίγραφα όστρακα από τους Ζάρακες Καρυστίας'. *Horos* 17-21, 521-540.

- Chatzidimitriou, A. (2006) 'Χάλκινο ενεπίγραφο σταθμίο από τους Ζάρακες Καρυστίας'. In Vol. I of *Proceedings of Αρχαιολογικό έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας, Volos 27-2 to 2-3-2003*, 1077-1092. Thessaly: University of Thessaly & Greek Ministry of Culture.
- Chidiroglou, M. (1996-1997) 'Οι λατρείες της αρχαίας Καρύστου'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 32, 175-191.
- Chidiroglou, M. (2003) 'Ανάγλυφο ανακεκλιμένου Ηρακλή από την Κάρυστο'. In *Πρακτικά Ημερίδας εις μνήμην Αγγελου Χωρέμη, Chalkis 22-6-2003*. Chalkis.
- Chidiroglou, M. (2005) 'Η Κάρυστος κατά τους πρώτους ιστορικούς χρόνους: Πορίσματα της ανασκαφικής έρευνας στην Πλακαρή'. *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 35, 69-80.
- Chidiroglou, M. (2006) 'Κοροπλαστική από την Κάρυστο Ευβοίας. Στοιχεία για την κοινωνική και θρησκευτική ζωή μέσα από τη μελέτη ταφικών συνόλων πήλινων ειδωλίων'. In Vol. I of *Proceedings of Αρχαιολογικό έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας, Volos 27-2 to 2-3-2003*, 1057-1076. Thessaly: University of Thessaly & Greek Ministry of Culture.
- Chidiroglou, M. (2009) 'Γεραίστιοί τε καταφυγαί. Ευριπίδης, Κύκλωψ, 295. Γεραίστος Καρυστίας. Τα πρώτα πορίσματα των ανασκαφών'. In Vol. 2 of *Proceedings of Αρχαιολογικό έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας, Volos, 16 to 19-3-2006*, 1085-1105. Thessaly: University of Thessaly & Greek Ministry of Culture.
- Chidiroglou, M. (2010) 'Karystian marble trade in Roman Mediterranean region. An overview of old and new data'. *Bollettino di Archeologia online* I, 48-56.
- Chidiroglou, M. (2011) 'Attic Black Figure Vases from the Ancient Cemeteries of Karystos'. In *Euboea and Athens: Proceedings of a Colloquium in Memory of Malcolm B. Wallace, Athens 26-27 June, 2009*, edited by D. W. Rupp and J. E. Tomlinson, 149-170. Publications of the Canadian Institute in Greece.
- Chidiroglou, M. (2012) 'Ancient Karystia. A Contribution to the History and Archaeology of the Region from the Geometric to the Roman Imperial Period'. PhD thesis. University of Athens, Greece.
- Chidiroglou, M. (2014) 'Classical and late Classical pottery from the sanctuary at Plakari, Karystos: First Report'. *Pharos* 20(2), 53-77.
- Choremis, A. K. (1971) 'Κάρυστος'. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 26, 261-263.
- Collar, A. (2009) 'Network Theory and Religious Innovation'. In *Greek and Roman Networks in the Mediterranean*, edited by I. Malkin, C. Constantakopoulou and K. Panagopoulou, 144-157. Oxon; New York: Routledge.
- Constantakopoulou, C. (2007) *The Dance of the Islands: Insularity, Networks, the Athenian Empire and the Aegean World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Crielaard, J. P., F. Songu, M. Chidiroglou and M. Kosma (2012) 'The Plakari Archaeological Project, Project outline and preliminary report of the first field season (2010)'. *Pharos* 18(2), 83-106.
- Crielaard, J. P., E. Barbetsea, X. Charalambidou, M. Chidiroglou, M. Groenhuijzen, M. Kosma and F. Songu (2013) 'The Plakari Archaeological Project, Preliminary report of the second field season (2011)'. *Pharos* 19(2), 35-56.
- Crowther, C. (2006) 'Foreign judges in Thessaly in the Hellenistic Period: A second century phenomenon?' In *Inscriptions and History of Thessaly. New Evidence. Proceedings of the International Symposium in honor of Professor Christian Habicht, Volos 7 to 8-4-2006*, edited by G. A. Pikoulas, 31-48. Volos: University of Thessaly.
- Cullen, T., L. Karimali, D. R. Keller, L. E. Talalay and W. R. Ferrand (2013) *The Prehistory of the Paximadi Peninsula, Euboea*. Philadelphia: INSTAP.
- Curty, O. (1995) *Les parentés légendaires entre cités grecques: catalogue raisonné des inscriptions contenant le terme syngeneia et analyse critique*. Geneva: Droz.
- Davis, P. H. (1937) 'The Accounts of the Theatre on Delos, Summary of paper presented at the 38th General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America'. *American Journal of Archaeology* 41, 109.
- Day, J. (1951) 'The Value of Dio Chrysostom's Euboean Discourse for the Economic Historian'. In *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honour of Allan Chester Johnson*, edited by P. R. Coleman Norton, 209-235. Princeton; New Jersey: Books for Library Press.
- Dow, S. (1963) 'The Athenian Honors for Aristonikos of Karystos, "Alexander's ΣΦΑΙΡΙΣΤΗΣ"'. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 67, 77-92.
- Ducrey, P., S. Verdan, G. Delley, D. Knoepfler, B. Demierre Prikhodkhine, F. Pajor, J.-P. Descoedres, S. Schmid, S. Fachard (2004) *Ερέτρια, Οδηγός της αρχαίας πόλης*. Fribourg: Swiss School of Archaeology at Athens.

- Durkheim, É. ([1915]2008) *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Fourgous, D. (1989) 'Les Dryopes: Peuple sauvage ou divin?' *Metis* 4, 5-32.
- Fousaras, G. (1964) 'Η ιστορία της αρχαίας Εύβοιας του J. Girard'. *Αρχαίο Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 11, 5-135.
- Fragoulaki, M. (2013) *Kinship in Thucydides. Intercommunal Ties and Historical Narrative*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gager, J. G. (1992) *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gauer, W. (1968) 'Weihgeschenke aus den Perserkriegen'. Vol. 2 of *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*. Tübingen: E. Wasmuth.
- Gauthier, P. (1972) *Symbola. Les étrangers et la justice dans les cités grecques*. Nancy: Université de Nancy II.
- Gauthier, P. (1985) 'Les cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique Supplement* 12.
- Gex, K. (1993) 'Rotfigurige und weissgrundige Keramik'. Vol. IX of *Eretria [Ausgrabungen und Forschungen]*. Lausanne: Editions Payot.
- Geyer, F. (1903) 'Bis zum peloponnesischen Krieg'. Vol. I of *Topographie und Geschichte der Insel Euböia*. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.
- Geyer, F. (1930) 'Euböia in den Wirren der Diadochenzeit'. *Philologus* 85, 175-191.
- Girard, J. (1851) 'Mémoire sur l'île d'Eubée'. Vol. 2 of *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale.
- Girard, J. (1852) *Mémoire sur l'île d'Eubée*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale.
- Girard, P. F. (1878) 'Inscriptions d'Eubée'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 2, 275-279.
- Goette, H. R. (2000) 'Parian Marble in Southern Euböia'. In *Παρία Λίθος, Λατομεία, μάρμαρο και εργαστήρια γλυπτικής*, edited by D. U. Schilardi and D. Katsonopoulou, 399-403. Paros; Athens: The Paros and Cyclades Institute of Archaeology.
- Goette, H. R. (2007) 'Lolling in Elliniko bei Platanistos (Karystia)'. In *Historische Landeskunde und Epigraphik in Griechenland, Akten des Symposiums veranstaltet aus Anlaß des 100. Todestages von H. G. Lolling (1848-1894), Athen, 28-30.9.1994*, edited by K. Fittschen, 283-291. Münster: Scriptorium.
- Guarducci, M. (1978) Vol. IV of *Epigrafia Greca*. Rome: Instituto poligrafico dello stato.
- Hansen, M. H. and T. H. Nielsen (2004) *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis, An Investigation Conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre for the Danish National Research Foundation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hawkins, J. (1820) 'An account of the Discovery of a very Ancient Temple on Mount Ocha, in Euböia'. In *Travels in Various Countries of the East*, edited by R. Walpole, 285-293. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orne, and Brown.
- Hirt, A. M. (2010) *Imperial Mines and Quarries in the Roman World. Organizational Aspects, 27 BC – AD 235*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hodot, R. (1990) *Le dialecte éolien d'Asie. La langue d'inscriptions VIIe s.a.C. – IVe s.p.C.*, Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilisations.
- Homolle, T. (1890) 'Comptes et inventaires des temples déliens en l'année 279 av. J.C.'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 14, 389-511.
- Horden, P. and N. Purcell (2000) *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Jacobsen, T. W. and P. M. Smith (1968) 'Two Kimolian dikast decrees from Geraistos in Euböia'. *Hesperia* 37, 184-199.
- Jeffery, L. H. ([1961]1990) *The local scripts of Archaic Greece, A Study of the Origin of the Greek Alphabet and its Development from the eighth to the fifth centuries B.C.*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jones, M. J. R. (1980) 'The date of the gold drachma of Carystus'. *Numismatic Chronicle* 1980, 28-32.
- Karapaschalidou, A. (1985) 'Τάφοι στους Αμπελώνες Ερέτριας'. *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 18, 105-114.
- Keller, D. R. (1985) *Archaeological Survey in Southern Euböia, Greece: A Reconstruction of Human Activity from Neolithic Times through the Byzantine Period*. PhD thesis. University of Indiana, USA.
- Keller, D. and R. Schneider (2011) 'The Classical-Hellenistic period at the Palio Pithari Farm Site and the Cape Mnima Emborio Site in the Context of Contemporary Sites and Findspots on the Paximadi Peninsula'. In *Euböia and Athens: Proceedings of a Colloquium in Memory of Malcolm B. Wallace, Athens 26-27 June 2009*, edited by D. W. Rupp and J. E. Tomlinson, 95-111. Athens: Publications of the Canadian Institute in Greece

- Knoepfler, D. (1971) 'La date d'annexion de Styra par Eretrie'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 95, 223-244.
- Knoepfler, D. (1972) 'Carystos et les Artémisia d'Amarnthos'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 96, 283-301.
- Knoepfler, D. (2001) 'Décrets érétriens de proxénie et de citoyenneté, Eretria'. Vol. XI of *Ausgrabungen und Forschungen*. Lausanne: Payot.
- Kraay, C. M. (1976) *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins*. London: Methuen.
- Kroll, J. H. and A. S. Walker (1993) 'The Greek Coins'. Vol. XXVI of *The Athenian Agora*. Princeton; New Jersey: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Laidlaw, W. A. (1933) *A History of Delos*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lambraki, A. (1980) 'Le cipolin de la Karystie. Contribution à l'étude des marbres de la Grèce exploités aux époques romaine et paléochrétienne'. *Revue Archéologique* 1, 31-62.
- Lolling, H. G. (1989) *Reisenotizen aus Griechenland 1876 und 1877*. Berlin: D. Reimer.
- Loukopoulou, L. D., M. G. Parissaki, S. Psoma and A. Zournatzi (2005) *Επιγραφές της Θράκης του Αιγαίου μεταξύ των ποταμών Νέστου και Έβρου (Νομοί Ξάνθης, Ροδόπης και Έβρου)*. Athens: Εθνικόν Ίδρυμα Ερευνών.
- Mack, W. (2015) *Proxeny and Polis. Institutional Networks in the Ancient Greek World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Maiuri, A. and G. Jacopi (1932) *Monumenti di Scultura del Museo Archeologico di Rodi*, Vol. 2 of *Clara Rhodos*. Rhodes: Istituto storico-archeologico.
- Malkin, I. (2011) *A Small Greek World: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Malkin, I., C. Constantakopoulou and K. Panagopoulou, eds. (2009) *Greek and Roman Networks in the Mediterranean*. London: Routledge.
- Malkin, I., C. Constantakopoulou and K. Panagopoulou, eds. (2011) *Greek and Roman Networks in the Mediterranean*. London: Routledge.
- Marek, C. (1984) *Die Proxenie*. Frankfurt: P. Lang, cop.
- McDevitt, A. S. (1970) *Inscriptions from Thessaly. An analytical handlist and bibliography*. Hildesheim: Olms.
- Meiggs, R. (1972) *The Athenian Empire*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Meiggs, R. and D. Lewis ([1969]1988) *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the end of the fifth century BC*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Migeotte, L. (2007) *Η οικονομία των ελληνικών πόλεων. Από την αρχαϊκή περίοδο μέχρι τους πρώιμους αυτοκρατορικούς χρόνους* [trans. M. Papathomopoulos]. Athens: Papadimas.
- Mineur, W. H. (1984) 'Callimachus, Hymn to Delos'. *Mnemosyne Supplement* 83.
- Mitford, T. B. (1950) 'New Inscriptions from Roman Cyprus'. *Opuscula Archaeologica* 6, 1-95.
- Monceaux, P. (1886) *Les proxénies grecques*. Paris: E. Thorin.
- Morley, N. (2007) *Trade in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Moutsopoulos, N. K. (1982) 'Τα Δρακόσπιτα της ΝΔ Εύβοιας'. *Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα Πολυτεχνικής Σχολής, Η', Τμήμα Αρχιτεκτόνων*. Thessaloniki: University of Thessaloniki.
- Osborne, M. J. and S. G. Byrne (1996) *The Foreign Residents of Athens. An Annex to the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names: Attica*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Panagopoulou, M. (1995) *Αρχάμπολη*. Athens.
- Papasiotis, G. (1856) 'Drei griechische Inschriften'. *Archäologische Zeitung* 267-270.
- Papavasileiou, G. A. (1910) *Περί τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ τάφων*. Athens.
- Parissak, M. G. (2007) 'Prosopography and Onomastikon of Aegean Thrace'. Vol. 49 of *Meletemata*. Athens: Ινστιτούτο Ελληνικής και Ρωμαϊκής Αρχαιότητας (ΚΕΡΑ)/Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών (ΕΙΕ).
- Parke, H. W. (1967) *The Oracles of Zeus, Dodona - Olympia - Ammon*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Petrakos, B. (1999) Vol. II of *Ο Δήμος του Ραμνούντος, Σύνοψη των Ανασκαφών και των Ερευνών (1813-1998)*. Athens: Η εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία.
- Petrakos, V. Ch. (1997) 'Οί ἐπιγραφαι τοῦ Ὁρωποῦ'. Vol. 170 of *Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας*. Athens: Η εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία.
- Petrocheilos, N. (2010) 'Συμβολή στην ιστορία και προσωπογραφία της αρχαίας Ἀνδρου. Επιγραφικές και φιλολογικές μαρτυρίες'. Vol. 42 of *Andriaka Chronika*. Andros: Kaireios Vivliothiki.

- Picard, O. (1979) *Chalkis et la confédération eubéenne*. Paris: École française d'Athènes.
- Pirenne-Delforge, V. (2005) 'La cité, les demotèle hiera et les prêtres'. *Kernos Supplement* 15, 55-68.
- Powell, B. (1899) 'Trips in Euboea'. Unpublished papers, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 24-32.
- Pritchett, W. K. (1974) Vol. II of *The Greek States at War*. Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Rangabé, A. (1852) *Mémoire sur la partie Méridionale de l'île d'Eubée, Mémoires présentées par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belle - Lettres, 1^e Série*. Paris: Les belles lettres.
- Reber, K. (2002) 'Die Südgrenze des Territoriums von Eretria (Euböa)'. *Antike Kunst* 45, 40-53.
- Reed, C. M. (2003) *Maritime Traders in the ancient Greek world*. Cambridge, UK; New York, USA: Cambridge University Press.
- Reger, G. (1994) *Regionalism and Change in the Economy of Independent Delos, 314-167 B.C.* Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rhodes, P. J. and D. M. Lewis (1997) *The Decrees of the Greek States*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ringwood, I. (1929) 'Local Festivals of Euboea, chiefly from Inscriptional Evidence'. *American Journal of Archaeology* 33, 385-392.
- Robert, L. (1936) Vol. I of *Collection Froehner [Inscriptions grecques]*. Paris: Editions des Bibliothèques nationales.
- Roberts, E. S. and E. A. Gardner (1905) 'The Inscriptions of Attica'. Vol. II of *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rose, H. J. (1933) 'Simonides and Glaukos'. *The Classical Review* 47, 165-167.
- Ross, L. (1851) Vol. II of *Wanderungen in Griechenland im Gefolge des Königs Otto und der Königin Amalie*. Halle.
- Rostovtzeff, M. ([1941]1998) Vols. I-III of *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rutherford, I. (2009) 'Network Theory and Theoric Networks'. In *Greek and Roman Networks in the Mediterranean*, edited by I. Malkin, C. Constantakopoulou and K. Panagopoulou, 24-38. Oxon; New York: Routledge.
- Sackett, H. L., V. Hankey, R. J. Howell, T. W. Jacobsen and M. R. Popham (1966) 'Prehistoric Euboea: Contributions towards a survey'. *Annual of the British school at Athens* 61, 33-112.
- De Santerre Gallet, H. (1958) *Délos primitive et archaïque*. Paris: E. de Boccard.
- Sapouna-Sakellarakis, E. (1989) 'The Dragon Houses of Mount Ohi'. *The Athenian October*, 29-31.
- Sarikakis, T. (1986) 'Commercial relations between Chios and other Greek cities in antiquity'. In *Chios: A Conference at the Homereion*, edited by J. Boardman and C. Vaphopoulou-Richardson, 121-131. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sarikakis, T. C. (1998) *H Xios στην αρχαιότητα*. Athens: Εκδόσεις Εριφύλη.
- Scharmer, H. (1971) 'Der gelagerte Herakles'. In Vol. 124 of *Winckelmannsprogramm der Archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, 1-51. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.
- Schumacher, R. W. M. (1993) 'Three related sanctuaries of Poseidon: Geraistos, Kalaureia, Tainaron'. In *Greek Sanctuaries - New Approaches*, edited by N. Marinatos and R. Hägg, 62-87. London; New York: Routledge.
- Segre, M. (2007) 'Iscrizioni di Cos'. Vol. VI(2) of *Monografie della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente*. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Smith, A. D. (1999) *Myths and Memories of the Nation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, C. (1990) 'What is Polis Religion?'. In *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander*, edited by O. Murray and S. Price, 295-322. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, C. (2000) 'Further Aspects of Polis Religion'. In *Oxford Readings in Greek Religion*, edited by R. Buxton, 38-55. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, C. (2007) 'Τι είναι θρησκεία της πόλεως?'. In *Η αρχαία ελληνική πόλις από τον Όμηρο ως την εποχή του Μεγάλου Αλεξάνδρου* [trans. S. Kaparis and I. Kralli], edited by O. Murray and S. Price, 357-389. Athens: Εκδόσεις Πατάκη.
- De Souza, P. (1999) *Piracy in the Graeco Roman World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tankosić, Ž. and M. Chidiroglou (2010) 'The Karystian Kampos Survey Project: Methods and Preliminary Results'. *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 10, 11-17.
- Tod, M. N. (1985) Vols. I and II of *Greek historical inscriptions: From the sixth century B.C. to the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C.* Chicago: Ares.

- Tracy, S. V. (1990) Vols. I and II of *Attic Letter-Cutters of the 229 to 86 B.C.* Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Tréheux, J. (1953) 'La réalité historique des offrandes hyperboréennes'. In Vol. II of *Studies presented to D.M. Robinson*, edited by G. Mylonas and D. Raymond. 758-774. St. Louis, Missouri: Washington University.
- Tsourti, E. (2006) 'The ancient mint of Karystos in the light of the economic development of the city'. In *Antiquities of Karystia*, edited by M. Chidiroglou and A. Chatzidimitriou, 187-211. Karystos: Kosmos.
- Ulrichs, H. N. (1842) 'Intorno il tempio di Giunona sul monte Ocha vicino a Carystos'. *Annali dell' Istituto di Correspondenza Archeologica* 14, 5-11.
- Ulrichs, H. N. (1863) 'Über den Tempel der Juno auf dem Berge Ocha bei Carystos'. In *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland 2*, 252-259. Bonn: Friedrich Gottlieb Welker.
- Vallois, R. (1944) *L'architecture hellénique et hellénistique à Délos jusqu'à l'éviction des Déliens (166 av. J.C.), I*. Paris: E. de Bocard.
- Vanseveren, J. (1937) 'Inscriptions d'Amorgos et de Chios'. *Revue de Philologie* 63, 313-347.
- Vial, C. (1984) 'Délos indépendante (314-167 avant J.C.). Étude d'une communauté civique et ses institutions'. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique Supplement X*.
- Waelkens, M., P. de Paepe and L. Moens (1988) 'Patterns of extraction and production in the white marble quarries of the Mediterranean: History, present problems and prospects'. In *Ancient marble quarrying and trade: Papers from a Colloquium held at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, San Antonio, Texas, December 1986*, edited by J. Clayton Fant, 81-116. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Waggoner, N. M. (1980) Coins from the W.P. Wallace Collection, *American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes* 25, 1-15.
- Walbank, M. B. (1978) *Athenian Proxeny of the Fifth Century B.C.* Toronto; Sarasota: Samuel Stevens.
- Walker, K. G. (2004) *Archaic Eretria, A political and social history from the earliest times to 490 BC*. London: Routledge.
- Wallace, M. B. (1972) 'The History of Karystos from the sixth to the fourth centuries BC'. PhD thesis. University of Toronto, Canada.
- Welcker, F. G. (1850) 'Der kleine Tempel auf der Spitze des Berges Ocha in Euböa'. *Kleine Schriften III*, 376-392.
- Welcker, F. G. (1856) 'Andre uralte Tempel auf der Ochagebirge'. *Rheinisches Museum* 10, 611-617.
- Wickens, J. (2007) *SEEP. Karystos East Bay Survey. Catalogue of sites and findspots from archaeological survey of peninsula forming eastern side of Karystos Bay (Metochi, Bouros, Kastri, Livadi, Platanistos region)*. Unpublished report on file at the Ephorate of Antiquities for Euboea, Chalkida.
- Wickersham, J. M. (1991) 'Myth and Identity in the Archaic Polis'. In *Myth and the Polis*, edited by D. C. Pozzi and J. M. Wickersham, 16-31. Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press.
- Wilhelm, A. (1901) 'Δύο ψηφίσματα Ἀλαβανδέων'. *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς* 1901, 147-158.
- Wolf, S. (1998) 'Unter dem Einfluss des Dionysos, Zu einem hellenistischen Weihrelief an Herakles'. *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 113, 49-90.
- Woodhead, A. G. (1997) 'Inscriptions: The decrees'. Vol. XVI of *The Athenian Agora*. Princeton, New Jersey: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Yon, M. (2004) 'Kition dans les textes. Testimonia littéraires et épigraphiques et Corpus des inscriptions'. Vol. V of *Kition-Bamboula*. Paris: Études et Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Young, R. S. (1930) 'A short description of South Euboea'. *Unpublished papers, American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 1-30.

Figures



Figure 1:
Map of Euboea and east Attica, with sites mentioned in text.

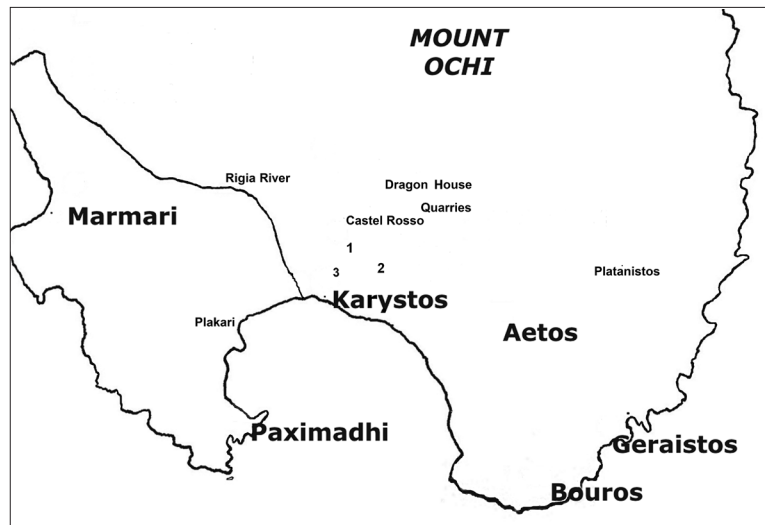


Figure 2:
Map of southern Euboea with sites mentioned in text. 1: Kokkaloi, 2: Palaiochora, 3: Drymonia.



Figure 3:
Black-glazed handleless bowl inv. no. MK 1915 with ΑΠ -Αο(ollo)- graffito, from Plakari (Archaeological Museum of Karystos).



Figure 7:
 Distribution map of Karystian proxy network in the Greek mainland, the Aegean region and Asia Minor.
 1: Athens, 2: Oropos, 3: Eretria, 4: Delos, 5: Ios, 6: Kea, 7: Andros, 8: Tenos, 9: Lesvos, 10: Chios, 11: Delphi, 12: Larissa or Krannon, 13: Stratos, 14: Thermos, 15: Geronthrai, 16: Messene, 17: Alabanda, 18: Kimolos.



Figure 8:
 Eretrian stele with decree in honour of the Karystian Eunomos, photographed when found.



Figure 9 a, b:
Gold Karystian drachma (obverse, reverse).
Numismatic Museum, Athens.

