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 μερικά 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 Δρυοπικής 1 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').

Από το τελευταίο τέταρτο του 20ού αιώνα αιώνα μια σειρά επιφανειακών ερευνών, μελέτες των παλαιών ευρημάτων και πρόσφατες σωστικές εργασίες στην πόλη της Καρύστου και την καρυστική 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 καινούρια δεδομένα και μας δίνουν τη δυνατότητα να σκεφτούμε κάποιες από τις μεθόδους αξιοποίησης τόσο του λατρευτικού όσο και του οικονομικού τοπίου, καθώς και τα συστηματικά διαχείρισης των πόρων που εποχιακά είχαν χρησιμοποιούσε οι αρχαίοι πληθυσμοί. Κατά τις συστηματικές επιφανειακές έρευνες, την πρώτη από της οποίες πραγματοποίησε o Donald Keller το 1980, εντοπίστηκε και χαρτογραφήθηκε μεγάλος αριθμός αρχαίων καταλοίπων στην περιοχή γύρω από τον κόλπο της Καρύστου και πλέον είναι δυνατή μια πρώτη αποκατάσταση του αρχαίου λατρευτικού τοπίου.

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.
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). Research on Euboean sites began in the early 19th century with a number of scholarly visitors travelling to the island. 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. 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.

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. 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.

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. In developed city-states or in poleis under the rule of a dominant power, cult remained linked to politics, as well as to trade. 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

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

Early cults and foundation myths

Karystos is mentioned in the ‘Catalogue of Ships’ in the Iliad. The city is also connected through myth, literary sources and epigraphic finds to the early cult networks of Apollo in the Aegean region, Miletos and Delphi. 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. Myths of origin and descent are important in tracing polis identities and connection networks that are based on religion. Although many of these references to a Dryopian community with its errant kings are late, they indicate, together with other finds, 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, the building remains of which have been located during recent surveys. 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).
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. 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. 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 ΗΙ, often interpreted as ἱ(ερὸν) or ἱ(ερός), i.e. 'sacred'. 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 ΑΠ (Fig. 3) can be interpreted in various ways. Given the context, one possible interpretation would be that the abbreviation AP stands for Apollo Ἀπ(όλλωνος)—Ap(ollo’s)—as the deity that received ex-votos and libations at this site. 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.

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. 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 Maliac Bay, and it is followed by Tenos. 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. Although it has been suggested that the offerings were first fruits, swan eggs, honey or amber beads, their true nature remains unknown. 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...
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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{36} Cases like these that combine religious aspects with economic issues are useful indicators of the close relations trade and cult had in antiquity.\textsuperscript{37}

\textbf{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.\textsuperscript{38} In ancient Greece, city and cho-ra 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 cho-ra\textsuperscript{39}—that is, the hinterland that belonged to the ancient city-state of Karystos.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{41} Fishing and animal husbandry are some of the main occupations of its inhabitants, together with quarrying local stones, even today.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{44} A surface find from Paximadi, the western peninsula of the Karystos Bay, attests

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{34} Mineur 1984, 227; Parke 1967, 285-286.
  \item \textsuperscript{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 Karystos 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.
  \item \textsuperscript{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.
  \item \textsuperscript{37} See, for instance, Strabo 10.5.4.
  \item \textsuperscript{38} Horden and Purcell 2000, 406-407.
  \item \textsuperscript{39} The Karystian cho-ra 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. Euboia, 658.
  \item \textsuperscript{40} Catalogues of sites in: Chidiroglou 2012; Keller 1985; Tankošić and Chidiroglou 2010; Wickens 2007.
  \item \textsuperscript{41} See Horden and Purcell 2000, 45-49, 77-122; Morley 2007, 17-34.
  \item \textsuperscript{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.
  \item \textsuperscript{44} Cybele: Chidiroglou 2006, 1058-1059, 1065-1066, fig. 2. Also, a small marble naïskos 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 Aristeonikos, a local ball-player who campaigned with Alexander the Great, would have been held at a shrine to this athlete. Aristeonikos 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 Amphiaras 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 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-
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. The sanctuary is probably located at or near the small promontory in this location (Fig. 4). 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. The feast of Geraistia was celebrated in Geraistos. A cult of Artemis with the rare epithet Bolosia is also attested in Geraistos. 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). 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, 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. 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.

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. Participation in feasts that transcend the boundaries of one city-state empowers group solidarity, especially in times of political unrest. 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. 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. 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-Demetrieia, which were celebrated in Eretria, Chalkis, Oreos and Karystos in rotating order.

---

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 tragoedus 25; Scholia ad Pindar, Olympian 13.159 b; Strabo 10.1.2, 7; Thucydidides 3.3.5; Xenophon, Hellenika 3.4.4; Stephanus Byzantios, s.v. Ἱερασίτης.
62. Chidiroglou 2012, chapter III. The word Geraistios, Poseidon’s prosonym in Karystia, comes from γέρας, 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.
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 1889, 421-426; Moutsopoulos 1982, 281-325; Powell 1899, 31-32; Rangabê 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.
72. IG XII 9, 8; Papadiotis 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 Δημήτρια, 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 Poliorcetes.
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. 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. 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 dominancy, which in the second half of the 4th century BC was followed by the expansion of Macedonia.

With regard to local administration and politics, a Karystian boule is attested from the Late Classical to the Hellenistic period. Archon and other officials’ names are attested in decrees and coins of the city. The controversial existence of the official body of probouloi in Karystos has been suggested (doubtfully) for both the Roman and earlier periods. 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 Karystians who were buried in Athens as xenoi or metics. These tombstones date from the Late Classical period to the end of Hellenistic times. A few stelai of Karystian xenoi of Hellenistic to Roman Imperial date have been also found in Eretria, Kos and Cyprus.

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. Greek proxenoi represented their city of origin in political, military, trade, entertainment and religious activities in host cities. 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. The honours were usually diplomatic immunity, exemption from taxes, and safety during war. 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

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.
79. IG XII 9, 2 and 11; Cairns 2001, 121-136.
80. For an overview on ethnic 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.
86. See, for instance, Herodotos 1.68.1-1.70.1 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 (Antigonus Gonatas or Antigonus 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 II³ 98. SEG II, 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 = SIG³ 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 πατρίς 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 Polyrkos, 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

Karystos is found as a personal name in Athens and Delos 112 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 Phaselitian sea merchants were so willing, to sail as far as Pontic Borysthe 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.
106. *IG* V 1, 4; *SEG* XI, 911; *SEG* III, 321; Ager 1996, 223-226, no. 81.
108. *IG* XII 9, 4; Wallace 1972, 306-307; Wilhelm 1901, 147-158. See also Ager 1996, 517, no. 15.
111. *IGUR* I 1; *IG* XIV 951; *CIL* I² 588; Rostovtzeff [1941]1998, 748-749.
114. Demosthenes 35.10; Migeotte 2007, 154, 166; Osborne and Byrne 1996, 117, no. 2736.
periods.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{116} Another incident involving a Karystian \textit{proxenos} is from a time of unrest. A Karystian \textit{proxenos} of Athens was, according to pseudo-Demosthenes, killed by the Macedonians in the episodes of war in 342 BC.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{poleis} were usually sanctioned by rituals, such as libations, sacrifices, oaths and other forms of bonding.

\textit{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 (\textit{negotiatores}) who worked together with local freedmen in southern Euboea was set in progress.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{heroon} to Herakles, constructed by Damokleia of Pheidippos at her father’s expense.\textsuperscript{120} Herakles is represented on coins of the Karystian mint from the 4th to the 1st century BC\textsuperscript{121} (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 \textit{xenos}.\textsuperscript{122} A small dedicatory or decorative relief in Karystos Museum (MK 5) with a representation of reclining Herakles as \textit{symposiast}, in the

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{115} For an overview of ancient piracy, see: De Souza 1999.
  \item \textsuperscript{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).
  \item \textsuperscript{117} Pseudo-Demosthenes, 7.38. See also Gauthier 1985, 134-149; Pritchett 1974, 125.
  \item \textsuperscript{118} A Karystian is mentioned in Plautus, \textit{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 II\textsuperscript{2} 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; Petakos 2001, 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 II\textsuperscript{2} 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).
  \item \textsuperscript{119} Overviews of quarry sites and relevant data in Lambraki 1980, 31-62. See also Chidiroglou 2010, 48-56.
  \item \textsuperscript{120} IG XII 9, 15.
  \item \textsuperscript{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 II\textsuperscript{2} 8985.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
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 Caesarea-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 Plataniastos, 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,

---

124. *CIL* III *Suppl.* II 12286.
125. See, for example, on Hymenaeus Thamyrianus, epigraphically attested freedman and *lapicidinis Carystii* of the 1st century BC: Hirt 2010, 157-159.
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 Caesarea 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


FGrHist = *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*


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.


Wilhelm, A. (1901) 'Δύο ψηφίσματα Άλαβανδέων.' *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς* 1901, 147-158.


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 –αo(ollo)– graffito, from Plakari (Archaeological Museum of Karystos).
Figure 4: Kastri at Platanistos (ancient Geraistos), view of the bay from the north.

Figure 5: Platanistos. Building remains of a sanctuary, probably of Athena.

Figure 6: Athenian League Tribute fragment with mention of Karystos (Epigraphical Museum in Athens).
Figure 7:
Distribution map of Karystian proxeny network in the Greek mainland, the Aegean region and Asia Minor.

Figure 8:
Eretrian stele with decree in honour of the Karystian Eunomos, photographed when found.
Maps and photos for Figures 1-5 and 7 are by the author.

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