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Insularity in a Religious Context in the Sanctuaries of in Western Thrace

Entre o Local e o Regional no Egeu do Norte: A Insularidade em Contexto Religioso nos Santuários da *Peraia* de Tasos na Trácia Ocidental

Entre lo Local y lo Regional en el Norte: La Insularidad en un Contexto Religioso en los Santuarios de Peraia de Tasos en Tracia Occidental

Juliana Figueira da Hora [α] & Claudio Walter Gomez Duarte [σ]

Abstract- The region of Thrace in the Aegean is an example of the dynamics of contact between Greeks and local populations. The region was chosen because of the need to understand the social, cultural, and religious dynamics in the hybrid sanctuaries sphere in the Northern Aegean through material culture. We will present preliminary reflections on the issue of insularity in cult contexts in the formation of a regional and/or local *koiné* in the Northern Aegean of the Archaic period, in the sphere of the Northern Aegean *peraíai*. The so-called "glocalism", immersed in contact networks, creates a bond of isolation and non-isolation between the islands and mainland. For this proposal, will be present specifically the sanctuaries of hybrid deities founded by Greek Thassos Island.

Keywords: thrace, northern aegean, insularity, globalization, female hybrid sanctuaries.

Résumé- A região da Trácia, no Egeu, é um exemplo da dinâmica de contato entre gregos e populações locais. A escolha da região devido à necessidade de compreender as dinâmicas sociais, culturais e religiosas na esfera dos santuários híbridos no Egeu do Norte por meio da cultura material. Apresentaremos reflexões preliminares sobre a questão da insularidade em contextos de culto na formação de uma *koiné* regional e/ou local no Egeu Setentrional do período Arcaico, mais precisamente na esfera das *peraíai*[1] do Egeu Setentrional. O chamado "glocalismo", imerso em redes de contato, cria um vínculo de isolamento e não-isolamento entre as ilhas e continente. Apresentaremos especificamente os santuários de divindades híbridas fundados por gregos da Ilha de Tasos.

Palavras-chave: trácia, norte do egeu, insularidade, globalização, santuários híbridos femininos.

Résumé- La región de Tracia, en el Egeo, es un ejemplo de la dinámica de contacto entre los griegos y las poblaciones locales. La elección de la región está relacionada con la necesidad de comprender la dinámica social, cultural y religiosa en el ámbito de los santuarios híbridos en el norte del Egeo a través de la cultura material. Presentaremos reflexiones preliminares sobre la cuestión de la insularidad en contextos de culto en la formación de una *koiné* regional y/o local en el norte del Egeo del período Arcaico, en el ámbito de las *peraíai*[2] de la parte Norte del Egeo. El llamado "glocalismo", inmerso en redes de contactos, crea un vínculo de aislamiento y no aislamiento entre las islas y continente. Para este artículo, se presentarán específicamente los santuarios de deidades híbridas fundados por griegos de la isla de Tasos.

Palabras clave: tracia, egeo septentrional, insularidad, globalización, santuarios híbridos femeninos.

I. Introduction

This paper is a research proposal under development.[3] In this sense, our main objective is to understand the dynamics of contact relations between Greeks and local populations in Archaic Thrace through the materiality excavated in certain poleis in the *peraia* region and through the existing documentation in the excavation reports (TIVERIOS, 2008, p. 74). In this sense, we pay attention to the local traces both in the structures of the sanctuaries there and in the artifacts from the excavations. We have tried to use a relational contextual methodology and the database as a tool to create regional comparative tables (HORA, 2018, p. 88-105). As specific objectives, we aim to understand the relationships between these poleis, both in terms of the context of networks in the Northern Aegean, and the local specificities present in sanctuaries of hybrid deities (Greek and Thracian), within the discussions of so-called localism and glocalism, to seek a direction of contextual view of the polis to understand the external and internal influences of cult habits. The applicability of local theories, in line with methodologies designed for archaeological contexts, is still in its infancy in archaeological studies in foreign universities, and in the case of Brazil, it is almost non-existent. In this way, this paper aims to bring originality in terms of theory applied

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[1] *Peraía* (ἡ περαία) uma posse continental por um Estado insular. Ver: Liddell; Scott; Stuart-Jones, (1996). Para o plural *peraíai* (αἱ περαίαι) Ver: Welwei, (2006). De acordo com Constantakopoulou (2007) *peraíai*: partes do continente por um Estado insular.

[2] Peraía (ἡ περαία) una posesión continental por un estado insular. Ver: Liddell; Scott; Stuart-Jones, (1996). Para el plural peraíai (αἱ περαίαι) Ver: Welwei, (2006). Según Constantakopoulou (2007) peraíai: partes del continente por un estado insular.

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to a methodology that includes excavation reports in specific archaeological contexts in the Northern Aegean and seeks to understand the dynamics of relations at the local and regional levels in the Archaic period.

II. Discussing Identities: Insularity, Localism, and Globalization in the Mediterranean

Scholarship within Mediterranean Archaeology has explored local dynamics, aiming to comprehend how the incorporation of Greek elements unfolded across diverse Mediterranean locales, introducing a material culture that transcended mere imitation of Greek techniques, motifs, and aesthetics. The reception of these elements can be interpreted through the lens of network theory, a prominent discourse in understanding Hellenistic phenomena and the plurality of discourses, as well as within the framework of local contextual processes. In this regard, we posit that hyper-connectivity does not negate locality but rather complements it dialectically. These theories converge harmoniously, as argued by Vlassopoulos, as local approaches enable us to contemplate the transformations wrought by connectivity (VLASSOPOULOS, p. 2013).

The utilization of network concepts, according to I. Malkin, provides insight into the intricate web of interconnections within the Greek world, wherein micro-regions form part of broader networks engaging in both short-term and long-term interactions, rather than conforming to spatial or temporal hierarchies centered on notions of centrality or origins (MALKIN, 2003 passim). A novel perspective on this interplay between connectivity and strong communal ties emerges from studies on cult practices, festivals, and communal rituals that fostered profound social bonds rooted in shared memories and experiences (WILLIAMSON, 2022). The application of "small-world networks" theory in archaeology is a burgeoning field, currently under discussion within specific Mediterranean contexts. Anna Collar introduces the notion of external innovations and connections, which may occur randomly and be represented by "weak ties," or successfully diffuse through "connectivity nodes" established by "strong ties," characterized by mutual reliability, shared experiences, and reciprocal memories (COLLAR, 2022).

Considering micro-regions within networks, contemporary research revisits a discourse centered on regionalism, viewing local contexts through the lens of indigenous traditions, elite structures, and local historical narratives. This discourse underscores the significance of the local as an ontological force shaping everyday interactions. However, the discursive impact of locality on society remains largely unexplored. Conceptual dialogues that have greatly informed the understanding of related concepts, such as ethnic or national identities, are on the cusp of emerging. According to Hans Beck, locality encompasses all manifestations of local culture, knowledge production, and communal beliefs, each rooted in the local context that informs it (BECK, 2018, p. 26).

Local and regional dynamics form part of a broader system that incorporates practices of local significance while remaining receptive to external influences. This system illuminates the transformative nature of cultural exchange, as votive practices assimilate diverse elements, thereby reflecting a nuanced cultural amalgamation rather than outright denial of variations. The comprehension of relationships and their fluid systems, encapsulated within the concept of "glocalism," is intertwined with networks that interconnect insular communities and mainland territories, manifesting in material culture that reflects globalizing trends (MÜLLER, 2016, p. 2).

The discourse on insularity encompasses diverse perspectives, drawing from the works of scholars such as B. Knapp (2007), Broodbank (2002), Hall (1997), Horden and Purcell (2000), and Cherry (2004). Broodbank, for instance, explores island dynamics and the notion of "islandscapes" in the Cyclades, examining how living on islands shapes communal identity (BROODBANK, 2000). Knapp expands the scope of insularity beyond physical boundaries, emphasizing its regional dimensions, as exemplified by peraia's regional interactions (KNAPP, 2007, p. 39). The multifaceted nature of insularity and its impact on cultural identities extends to diverse contexts, including desert oases (ERIKSEN, 1993).

The Archaic period offers fertile ground for exploring the intersection of insularity and identity. Key questions include the role of insularity in shaping ethnic, cultural, and social identities, as well as the mechanisms of connectivity between islands and the mainland. Did interactions between islands foster cultural hybridizations, and were distinct identities evident within the peraia? These inquiries underscore the need for deeper exploration of insularity to better understand the re-signification of cultural practices and religious artifacts.

The region of Thrace in the Northern Aegean epitomizes the dynamics of contact between Greeks and local populations. Dating back to the 7th century B.C., Thrace exhibits signs of early polis development, characterized by urban centers, demarcated territories, and abundant archaeological finds. Despite extensive excavation efforts by French and American scholars, archaeological research on this region during the Greek Archaic period remains scarce in Brazil. This knowledge gap presents an opportunity to contribute to the understanding of ancient history in Brazil and Mediterranean archaeology, while also enriching research on interregional contacts in the ancient Mediterranean. Moreover, our unique vantage point in

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Brazil, with its distinct historical experiences, enables us to contribute to discussions on contact relations, identity formation, and religious practices, considering local contexts and their interconnectedness with broader patterns of interregional connectivity.

III. Constructing and Deconstructing Parameters of Interpretation: Theorizing the Local

At any given time, a place consists of various parameters that allow for meaningful analysis. In this approach, place has a dual meaning and can be both a physical domain and a metaphorical domain. As a physical domain, place is the accessible and manageable space that individuals experience as they navigate their daily lives. The meaning of the term is close to the concept of neighborhood, a place where social relations take place. In the metaphorical sphere, place is a relational or contextual category. It becomes a point of reference for those who share a common place (MÜLLER, 2016, p. 1).

Hans Beck points out that it is difficult to maintain a binary logic between the local and the global, as one category is fused with the other. According to the historian, studies on cultural globalization show that the local and the global are constantly subject to adaptation and change, in other words, these relationships are never static or watertight (BECK, 2018, p. 26). According to Roland Robertson, the terms "glocal" and "glocalization" enter the debate based on the need to break the idea of binarism, bringing into the debate the new localism that inserts social and cultural practices of the need for internal communal production to external stimuli and vice versa, encompassing the complexity of the "global-local" (ROBERTSON, 1995, p. 27).

In terms of cultural practices and social meaning, the local is invoked as a figure that unites contexts in their imagined community. Locality denotes the long-standing patterns that emerge from association with place. The term encompasses all expressions of local culture, knowledge production, and community belief, each concerning the local horizon that inspires them. Localism is the mindset that prioritizes the sum of these expressions from within over alternative and competing sources of social meaning from outside the community (MÜLLER, 2016, p. 17). In the debate on globalization, then, the local is above all a space for negotiating and adapting to the global, in which it deals with various strategies of aversion and also seclusion to the external. At the same time, connectivity and globalization—or glocalization—lead to new political challenges and cultural patterns of meaning, which as such are larger, more effective, and more successful categories of order than those of the local (BECK, 2017, p. 37). In the case of the Greek polis, it is no longer possible to study individual communities, according to Vlassopoulos, because the whole process of understanding local events implies seeking answers to supra- or trans-political transformations and processes within the polis's communities (VLASSOPOULOS, 2013, p. 21).

Ancient Greece was a world of accelerating change. From the Archaic to the Hellenistic period, the Greeks experienced expansion as a significant movement of relations. In short, from the 8th century BC onward, the Greek world became larger and larger. As their world expanded, communication within it intensified. The growth of exchange networks facilitated new forms of connectivity. In almost every generation, people, goods, and ideas have moved faster. New transportation arteries have further increased communication, bringing everything closer together. As the mental map of the world expanded, the societies of the Greek polity grew closer together culturally, politically, economically, and religiously (Hodos, 2016, *passim*).

IV. Hyperconnectivity and Local Studies: Converging Concepts

The investigation of interconnectivity within the ancient Greek world is currently in vogue. The recent surge in interest in network theories, propelled by the prevalence of social media communication on the Internet, significantly contributes to this approach. Vlassopoulos posits that local approaches unveil a post-hyperconnectivity dimension, enabling contemplation of the local transformations and consequences engendered by networks (VLASSOPOULOS, 2013, p. 21). The central query pertains to how political entities have reacted to shifts in the global landscape. It appears that the polis predominantly exhibited a self-referential and socio-centric outlook: self-referential due to its traditions revolving around itself, with citizens and their ancestors as the exclusive focal points of its worldview; and socio-centric because its perspectives were rooted in inherently introspective interpretations, conceived and validated by the prevailing understanding within the community itself (MÜLLER, 2016, p. 28).

It is noteworthy, as Hans Beck emphasizes, that the theory of networks in the Mediterranean does not nullify the embeddedness of local studies within hyper-connectivity. According to Collar, connectivity constitutes a multifaceted phenomenon that both influences and is influenced by social relationships and bonds of trust (BECK, 2021; COLLAR, 2022). In the realm of globalization studies, the local assumes significance as the sphere where connectivity links manifest the real-life dynamics of social relations. This translation finds resonance in the glocal sphere, within the framework of globalization, from a micro perspective, accentuating both diachronic and

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synchronic processes (BECK, 2021; DANIELS, 2022). The authors contend that network theory neither can nor should overshadow studies of localism; rather, it underscores the complexity of the so-called "globalethic" (NGUGI WA THIONG'O, 2012, p. 27). Contrary to the common perception that attributes to the local the sole ability to formulate defensive counterstrategies against global advancements, archaeological studies refute this fallacy by highlighting discursive environments and spaces, such as cult markers, which are not confined to a specific place but are "related to" it, encapsulating elements of strong ties that are symbolically significant and adaptable in the context of contact relations (COLLAR, 2022).

Anna Collar's notion of "small world networks" elucidates the role of trusting contacts in fostering successful relationships within the "nodes" of networks, facilitating broader and richer flows of information at regional and local levels (COLLAR, 2022). The profound impacts, novel ideas, trust compacts, and other mnemonic elements exert a profound influence on local narratives, facilitating broader systemic changes (COLLAR, 2022).

Author Megan Daniels (2022) employs the concept of "strong ties" to underscore that the connections forged within local spheres transcend cultural transmission between Greece and other Mediterranean regions. In the context of Thrace, this concept of strong ties also encompasses both synchronic and diachronic dimensions inherent in socio-political relations (DANIELS, 2022). Thrace's hybrid sanctuaries epitomize this interaction, materializing in cult relationships within contact zones, forged through strong ties of trust, exchange, memory, and interaction.

Therefore, the study of localism transcends mere local history. The parochialism of the polis permeates the communicative landscape of societies confined within their socio-cultural domains, a phenomenon observable in the intersection of network and local studies. Collar's concept of "small world networks" enables comprehension of flows in both macro and micro spheres, broadening our understanding of the local process. The notion of localism permeates various facets of human experience. Though often intertwined with notions of ethnic identity and belief, it is distinct from them and holds implications for society at large. From this standpoint, comprehending history and politics, both locally codified and reinforcing the bond between people and land, is a logical progression (MÜLLER, 2016, p. 22). Conversely, Collar sheds light on the bonds of trust and memories forged within the "nodes" of connectivity, which facilitated the configuration of local spaces and narratives enacted and materialized in contact zones (COLLAR, 2022).

V. Religion, Hyperconnectivity, and Glocality: Sanctuaries and Cults in Local and Regional Relations

According to Vlassopoulos, religion and community were deeply intertwined in ancient Greece, especially in the archaic period. On the one hand, Greek religion was communal to a very significant extent; the overwhelming majority of cultic and ritual acts took place in various communal contexts (VLASSOPOULOS, 2015, p. 257). Public and private religious communities were not static, self-proclaimed entities; they were involved in a continuous process of formation, transformation, and dissolution. On the other hand, almost all forms of Greek community had a religious basis in addition to other characteristics. Religion was a powerful means of creating social cohesion and articulating communal identities; but it also constituted an arena in which conflicting visions of relations between humans and between humans and gods were constantly expressed and contested (HANSEN; NIELSEN, 2004, p. 130-133).

Considering the discussions on glocalism and the relationship between Thracians and Greeks in sanctuaries considered hybrids, we base our discussions on relational archaeological data using the contextual method of analysis[4]. In this way, we will attempt to list only those poleis in *peraia* that have sanctuaries with material remains associated with female hybrid deities identified as such. Our goal is to think about the relationships that exist in a particular sanctuary in a particular polis based on what the material allows us to infer.

Conjectures about archaeological material previously observed as Greek or considered Thracian should be evaluated very carefully because the historiographical tradition is accustomed to immediately identifying an object found in a Thracian context as Greek (the product of pure and simple imitation). And in a second moment, on the contrary, the tendency was to conclude that the locally made object had ignored all the external origins and influences that had produced it. In this sense, Alicia Jiménez refers us to the concept of emulation[5] of objects resulting from contacts between founders and locals (JIMÉNEZ, 2017, p. 29). Potolsky also tells us that the transformation of a repeated "imitation" into an original model (in which a set of characteristics can be recognized in each context and create traditions) occurs through the difference and discontinuity of what was tradition, transformed into something new in the present (POTOLSKY, 2006, p. 54-57).

[4] Contextual methodology for archaeological analysis allowed us to cross-reference data from artifacts found in specific contexts.

[5] Emulation (*aemulatio*) is not mere imitation (*imitatatio*), but the emergence of something new brought about by the meeting of two or more cultures.

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This discussion of tradition and imitation allows us to reflect on the use of the very contemporary concepts of "small worlds networks" presented by Anna Collar (2022) and "strong ties" developed by Megan Daniels (2022). These concepts draw our attention to the practices and synchronic and diachronic dimensions of socio-political networks—closely linked to religion as experienced in hybrid sanctuaries—in regions of intense contact between Greeks and natives, as is the case in Thrace. For example, we can highlight the ties expressed in the dedications of Greek sanctuaries, where "temporary communities" were created. In this sense, according to John Mooring, members of the local elite transmitted innovations in materiality horizontally and vertically (MOORING, 2022, p. 80). In another example, Sandra Blakely and Joanna Mundy draw attention to the hybrid cults of Samothrace and the mediation of connective "nodes" that functioned as bottlenecks or points of information, innovation, and adaptation of local cult needs. “Strong ties” are deeply articulated in symbolic and identity processes that facilitate the diffusion of rites, local variability, and hybridity (BLAKELY; MUNDY, 2022, p. 101).

In this way, we seek to observe the transformation that certain materials have undergone locally by understanding what the archaeological context offers. This transformation occurred, on the one hand, within a dynamic and fluid system of continuous exchange and, on the other hand, through the preservation of traditions.

VI. Hybrid Sanctuaries and New Theoretical Assumptions

To think about contact zones and the formation of identities outside the polis, as in the case of the hybrid sanctuaries of *peraia*, a new interpretive look at the data and sources is necessary. For Jan Boulzek, the notion of multiculturalism in the study of Greek foundations in Thrace and the Black Sea brings a clear complexity to the data presented in the excavations. In this sense, local female deities such as Bendis at Abdera, and Parthenos at Neapolis, have been identified and associated with Greek deities of the Archaic period. In this continuum, they appear as local deities associated with the Greek Artemis, with mixed offerings and possibly very close features of divine association and cult (BOUZEK, 1999, p. 16). Identity issues were fluid, and the local naming of deities from the metropolis meant more than just a generalized appropriation of nomenclature from one culture to another, aimed purely at the needs of the founding polis, in this specific case. It is therefore possible to think in terms of situational identity (REBILLARD, 2012). Social identity theory, according to Henri Tajfel, has shown that collective identities are part of individual intergroup actions with externally defined roles, with defined and situational choices (TAJFEL, 1974).

For Rüpke, the vast amount of material evidence available for the study of ancient religions shaped by the material elements surrounding the deity, from the sanctuary to the objects offered, favors research focused on intergroup studies. The social conditions and individual social agency surrounding the local contact networks at the contextual level of the find should be viewed from the cultural and situationally imbricated elements of specific groups of worshippers, who may be founding Greek women and men who worshipped the goddess Artemis, as well as local people who worshipped Bendis or Parthenos, or two groups situationally integrated into the religious entanglement.

We can think of the process of "small worlds networks" and "strong ties" when we reflect on the social changes and profound effects of the relationship of trustworthiness that incorporates unofficial religious experiences and creates deep ties of integration (COLLAR, 2022). The narratives constructed in hybrid places of worship depend on elements that go beyond dialogue and mere cultural transmission between Greeks and locals (DANIELS, 2022). Longstanding symbolisms and ideologies involving chthonic practices and unusual offerings to the peculiarly Greek deity, or even a radical change in modes of worship, can be identified through contextual data analysis. These are hypotheses that we can raise and introduce into the discussion of local/regional/global processes of interconnected networks in the Mediterranean. Considering the female sanctuaries of the Northern Aegean, the multiplication of female deities metamorphosed into a specific Greek deity has the typical appropriation of the choice of place, limited to a group specifically focused on and open to this contact coming from the founding island polis, as a network of choices and assumptions that usually fit local interests. There are power relations between specific groups of visitors, clearly hybrid objects in the context that can bring to light Thracian identities erased by the colonialist discourse of historiography, through their local deities. The methodological question is being revised concerning the observation of religious phenomena in antiquity. New studies bring to light important data in religious contexts, new theoretical-conceptual and methodological questions, making it possible to observe phenomena such as the agency of individuals in materiality, situational identities, and transformations of local and contextual cults. For Collar, the relationship of strong ties, even if there is isolation, will be a close relationship and fruitful exchange that will strengthen regional ties focused on local aspects (COLLAR, 2022, p. 5).

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VII. The *Peraia* of Thasos: History, the Main Sanctuaries, and Local Female Deities

Thasos, established by the inhabitants of Paros around 680 BC, played a pivotal role in founding cities on the Thracian mainland during this era. Among these settlements, our attention will be directed towards the most extensively documented archaeological foundations featuring evidence of hybrid sanctuaries, as recorded in excavation reports. These include Neapolis, Oesyme, Galepsos, Antisara, and Pistiros (Figure 1).



Source: Earth Explorer, 2018.

Figure 1: Map of Thrace (Northern Aegean). Credit image: Rodrigo Araújo Lima.

Neapolis was founded by Thasos at the beginning of the 6th century BC. By the end of the 5th century BC, this city had already severed its ties with the metropolis (TIVERIOS, 2008, p. 81). The main local female deity was the so-called Parthenos, whose cult was active at the time the Thasians founded the polis in the region. The settlers of Tasos adopted the cult in an attempt to win over the local population (TIVERIOS, 2008, p. 81). The important sanctuary of Parthenos was located in the district of Panayia, in the historical center of Kavala. All the inscriptions indicate that it was a Greek sanctuary. Many materials such as ceramics and votive objects have been found at this site. Among the hundreds of terracotta figurines found during archaeological excavations at the Parthenos sanctuary, there are no identifiable representations of the deity itself or of specific ritual attributes that indicate its peculiarity or its identification with a great Olympian goddess (PROKOVA, 2015). This phenomenon also occurs in the Artemision of Thasos, where no statuettes of the goddess Artemis were found, or even significant representations on vases of figures of black figures attesting to her identity (HORA, 2018). According to P. Collart, the deity Parthenos is not a direct Hellenized form of Artemis, but a Hellenized form of the goddess Bendis, a Thracian goddess already attributed to Artemis (COLLART, 1937 apud FRANÇOIS, 2010, p. 439). Thus, by the beginning of the 20th century, scholars were already anticipating a hybrid complexity of cults in the region.

The polis of Oesyme was founded by Thasos in the second half of the 7th century BC, according to written sources (Strabo, *Geography*, 7.35; Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, 4.107; Homer, *Iliad*, 8.304; Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 12.68). The oldest remains date back to the second half of the 7th century BC and include mainly local pottery and Thasio-Parthian pottery from eastern Greece (TIVERIOS, 2008,

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p. 82). In fact, recent excavations on the Acropolis have revealed a precolonial level dating back to the Early Iron Age. A cave with prehistoric pottery was investigated north of Oesyme, on a small peninsula towards modern Iraklitsa (LAZARIDIS, 1969, p. 13). The cult of the nymphs was practiced in Oesyme at least since the 6th century B.C., a cult that was also popular in Thasos in the Archaic period. In the *BCH*,[6] vol. 89, there is archaeological and architectural information on sanctuaries dedicated to the nymphs, which may shed light on a cult *koiné* in the *peraia* of Thasos (BRUNEAU, 1965, p. 1008-1015). This connection between the Thracian polis and Thasos can show us close links between peculiar and local cults, especially those practiced by women in the Archaic period.

Galepsos was founded by Thasos in the 5th century BC on the site of Gaïdourokastro, as attested by ancient written sources such as Thucydides (*History of the Peloponnesian War*, 4.107). Inscriptions dating back to the 5th century BC have been found, written in a Thasio-Parthian alphabet (ISAAC, 1986, 64). The island was inhabited by Thracians from the region and this presence is marked by archaeological remains, mainly in funerary contexts. There is evidence of the cults of Zeus Ktesios, Patroios, and Herkeios at Galepsos, while a series of Late Archaic inscriptions on *horoi* (boundary stones) written in the Thasio-Parthian alphabet refer to a female sanctuary of Demeter with a *hekatombedos* temple (GIOURI AND KOUKOULI-CHRYSANTHAKI, 1987, p. 372-373). Sanctuaries are important indicators of hybrid cults. The objects in context can shed light on whether there was a regional relationship between Greek deities that could be worshipped alongside local deities.

Antísara was a Thasian foundation, considered an *empórion*[7], founded around the end of the 6th century BC, as well as the initial phase of the houses that have been discovered. A sanctuary of Asclepius was found, indicating that his cult replaced another local cult that had existed since the end of the 6th century BC. The area has also produced pottery with evidence of a Thasio-Parian influx dating back to the 7th century BC (TIVERIOS, 2008, p. 86). For the Greeks, the cult of Asclepius was associated with the figure of Hygeia to represent health through healing cults (SALVIAT, 1980, p. 259-273). The two deities appear associated in many contexts in the Mediterranean (LOWRY, 2010, p. 4).

Pistiros was a Thasian *empórion* founded in the 5th century BC near a site called Vetren, Bulgaria. In 1990, its excavations attracted international attention among Thracian scholars. This important discovery relates to a unique inscription that records a multilateral treaty between three Thracian dynasties—Kersobleptes, Amadokos, and Berisades—and the resident merchants who lived in an *empórion* called Pistiros. The treaty records the rights of resident Greek merchants vis-à-vis other Greek merchants and the local peoples and rulers of Thrace, the rights of Thracian authorities vis-à-vis Greeks residing in Thracian lands, and various economic provisions describing the trade routes used and the inviolability granted to traveling and resident merchants in Pistiros in the 5th century BC (BOUZEK, 1996, p. 221-222; STOYANOV, 2000, p. 55-67). Identifying the site at Vetren as the Pistiros *empórion* is problematic because the finds are atypical for a Greek *empórion*: Most of the pottery found is locally made, while Greek imports are smaller than in other Thracian polis; the number of amphora seals and Greek inscriptions is surprisingly small for a typical Greek *empórion*; and finally, the religious altars found so far, possibly dedicated to female deities, are all considered Thracian, but this issue is still in the early stages of archaeological data collection (ELKOV; DOMARADZKA, 1994, p. 1-15).

VIII. Final Considerations

This paper aimed to demonstrate the applicability of theoretical concepts related to insularity and globalization in antiquity, more specifically global and local issues in the *peraia* of Thrace, through material culture in the context of local hybrid sanctuaries. We observed that the concept of the polis has been reworked from a post-colonialist perspective, with an emphasis on the transformations of materiality present in *apoikias* that were influenced by various intersecting identities. We sought to highlight the importance of theoretical reflection on the concept of the local and the parochial, and on insularity in its broadest sense, including local reality, memories, identities, movement of people and things, perceptions of space and distance. We also sought to highlight the interconnectedness of the perception of strong and weak ties that can be rooted in the local sphere through worship and celebration. The connections built by lived memories and experiences, present in the nodes of hyper-connectivity in the Mediterranean, were also the subject of our observations.

The connectivity and the micro and macro movements are in line with a methodology that focuses on the archaeological contexts of the *peraiai* of Thrace, a region of paramount importance for understanding the dynamics of relations between the islands of the Northern Aegean and the mainland. To this end, we have made a selection of the most important sanctuaries excavated in the region. The *peraia* of Thassos, especially Neapolis, Oisyme, Galepsos, Antísara, and Pistiros, are particularly important, as they

[6] *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*.

[7] Greek term: ἐμπόριον (neutral word in Greek). Definition: Maritime trading post; hence a city on the coast with a large port and a great deal of commercial activity. (Taken from: http://labeca.mae.usp.br/pt-br/glossary/).

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have recorded a lot of archaeological material, especially concerning ceramics and objects considered sites of Greek influence in sanctuaries called hybrid and/or considered Greek.

We conclude by pointing out that Archaeology shows us that the sites considered here as insular demonstrate that the historiographical discourse is not sustainable. There is still much to be studied, but the need for a closer look at locally produced material culture is clear.

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