Consumption Behaviors and Economic Mentalities of Migrants in Hellenistic Etruria

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Consumption is a frequently neglected aspect of the economic role of migrants.[1] However, the socio-economic personal and familial statement resulting from consumption behaviors plays a relevant role in the integration and self-positioning of migrants in ancient societies.[2] The general model of social integration of migrants in ancient communities, the so called "two worlds of migrants", suggests two opposite trends: the conservation of the traditional economic mentalities of the homeland on one hand, and the achievement of social status through integration in the new economic space on the other.[3] The balance between these two possible trends constitutes the main research question addressed in this paper, which is dedicated to two case studies from Hellenistic Northern Etruria.

Methodological Frame

The study confronts two methodological challenges: the individuation of (im)migrants in the Etruscan local communities, and the analysis of their consumption within the general consumption patterns of the region.

The detection of migrant identities within the archaeological record is only possible in cases where these identities have left specific visible markers in the material culture. Personal identities are not innate or genetically determined, but are rather dynamic, negotiated and shaped by environment, interaction, and education.[4] Their material traces are a consequence of specific choices regarding social positioning.[5] The analysis of the archaeological record of migrant identities needs to mediate between the rejection of identity labelling on the basis of the material culture, widely used in postcolonial and post-processual archaeology, and the comprehension of the communicative codes adopted by ancient actors to express their belonging.

A strong perception or ideologizing of ethnic belonging and the emergence of related narratives is attested in Etruria by epigraphic sources, where some of the onomastic record is modelled on toponyms and ethnonyms.[6] It is also attested in the iconographic sources, which demonstrate the oppositional use of stereotypes to represent strangers,[7] and in the literary and iconographic sources showing the existence of Etruscan myths of foundation.[8] The material assemblages, their contexts, and their semantic systems are the main sources used in the present analysis.[9] The expression of migrants' identities in funerary contexts is visible in the choice of grave goods, as well as in the adoption of non-local funerary rituals and grave architecture.[10] The capacity to express personal identities as outsiders was shaped by the cultural attitude of the related local

communities.[11] A recent analysis of the Hellenistic necropoleis of Spina shows a clear tendency toward a hypercultural societal model in Etruria.[12] The public expression and acceptance of differences however did not imply equal political and civil rights.[13]

In the present study, funerary contexts have been related to (im)migrants, based on the presence of one or more of these parameters: a part of the grave goods is an intentional expression of distinctive ethnic identity, funerary rituals are uncommon for the local community but traditional in other cultural-geographic contexts, and the epigraphic record attests allogenous onomastics.

The second methodological challenge consists of our capacity to assume that funerary assemblages are representative of consumption patterns. Funerary consumption during the Hellenistic period was not always consistent with ordinary, daily consumption in the settlements.[14] Therefore in Etruria, the association of the richest grave assemblages with other status indicators, such as literacy or monumentality, shows a correspondence between the economic value of grave goods and the ostentatious display of economic power by families.[15] This assumption is also possible in necropoleis with a low degree of differentiation.[16] Moreover, although the expression of status through taste and life-style may have been limited by sumptuary laws, a synchronic, comparative approach to Etruscan necropoleis shows the maintenance of social segmentation in funerary contexts.[17] The consumption behaviors of migrants, as evaluated from observation of their funerary expressions, have been related and compared to local, regional, and supra-regional patterns of consumption in a two-mode semantic network.

The Case Studies: Identification of Migrants

The two selected case studies are Castiglioncello, on the coast, and Balena, in the inland (fig. 1). Both locations present graves with identity markers belonging to immigrants, as well as graves with traditional identity markers.

Castiglioncello is located on the coast between the harbors of Volterra (Vada Volater-rana), and Quercianella. The local necropoleis revealed about 300 Hellenistic inciner-ation graves.[18] The pottery assemblages can be dated between the end of the 4th and the first half of the 2nd century BC.[19] Ligurian identity markers at Castiglioncello have been examined by Adriano Maggiani,[20] by taking into account funerary ritual, as well as grave architecture and grave goods. Five individuals (7/97, 13/97, 15/97, 16/97, 17/97) present a combination of markers, the majority of which refer to Ligurian identity.[21]

Balena is located in the inland, at the crossroads of the communication routes be-tween Volsinii, Chiusi, and Perugia.[22] Here six tombs in the form of parallel *dromoi* with more graves disposed on both sides in niches (*loculi*), closed by tiles, have been pre-served. This form of funerary architecture is widespread in the territory around Lake Trasimeno, in the context of a newly formed rural society emerging during the period following the Punic Wars, after the middle of the 2nd century BC.[23] *Loculi* graves without
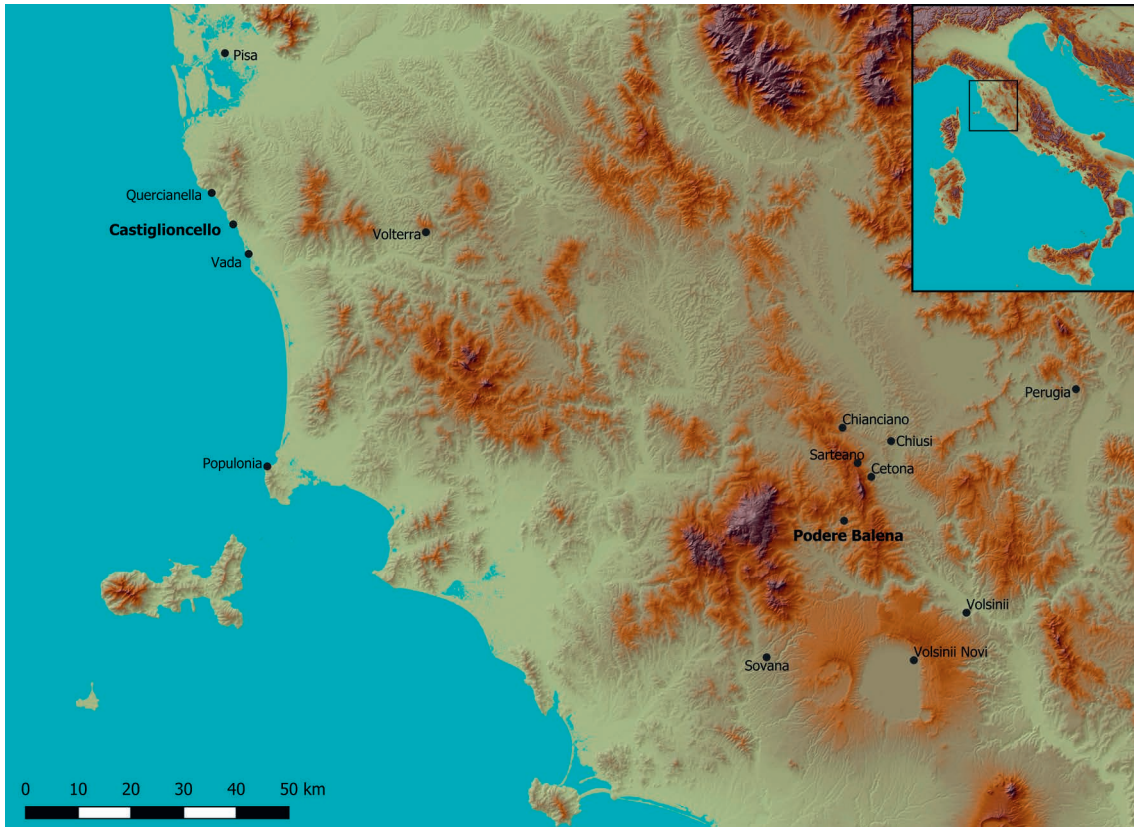
Fig. 1: Geographic position of the two case studies: Castiglioncello (Livorno) and Podere Balena (Siena)

main funerary chambers mark a breakdown in the Etruscan tradition of family tombs, since the epigraphic record indicates that the depositions are not pertinent to a family group.[24] Based on the ceramic assemblages, the tombs of Balena can be dated to between the first half of the 2nd and the second half of the 1st century BC.[25] The late chronology provides a possible explanation for the change in funerary rituals. Nevertheless, six graves (12, 24, 25, 33, 36, 82) have very traditional forms of cinerary containers: clay urns with a case molded in relief, and lids showing reclining banqueters, or bell-shaped urns. Traditional forms of urns were adopted by persons bearing local names, while the cinerary *ollae* are associated with non-local names, mostly referring to families from other Etruscan cities or sub-regions.[26] The epigraphic record attests to an internal or sub-regional migration, frequently associated with marriages, and demonstrating both male and female mobility.

The Consumerism of Migrants

Consumption choices are dependent on two factors: the commodity chain, and the need to affirm social status. During the Hellenistic period, the wide occurrence of commercial pottery such as black-glazed ceramic, *lagynoi,* and *unguentaria* is homogeneous in both Apuanic Ligurian, Umbrian and Etruscan settlements and necropoleis.[27] Nevertheless, there are some subtle distinctive features in local consumption patterns.[28] For this reason, the data-set has been analyzed in both cases as a two-mode semantic network based on a sample of graves representative of local and regional consumption areas (fig. 2).

The graves in Castiglioncello displaying Ligurian identity markers are completely integrated into the consumption patterns of the local community, as well as that of other Etruscan coastal centers, such as the nearby Vada Volterrana (fig. 3). Any form of economic segregation can be excluded. 'Ligurian' graves present different trends and quantities of grave goods, attesting to a social differentiation of migrants within the same local community.

The connections with Ligurian Apuanic graves are demonstrated by strongly symbolic, connotative objects such as weapons, elements of the dress,[29] and cinerary urns, more than by similar consumption mentalities (fig. 4).
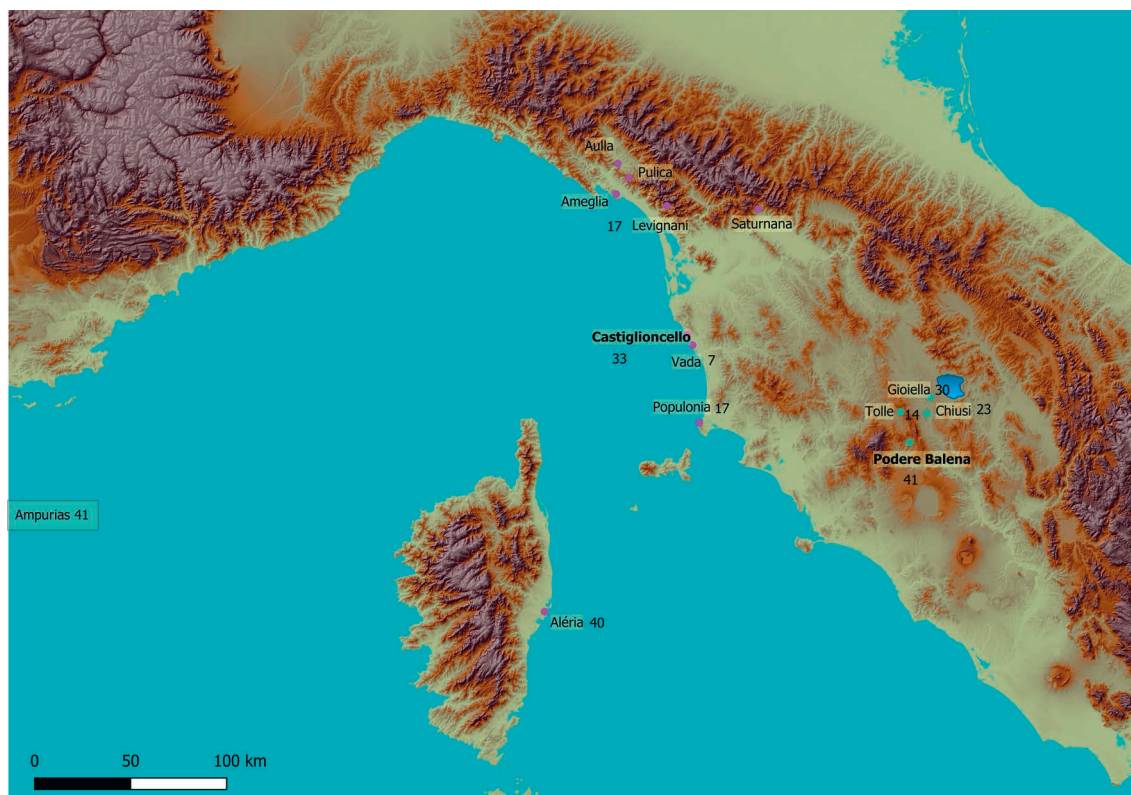

Fig. 2: Necropoleis of the data set of the affiliation network with the number of graves.
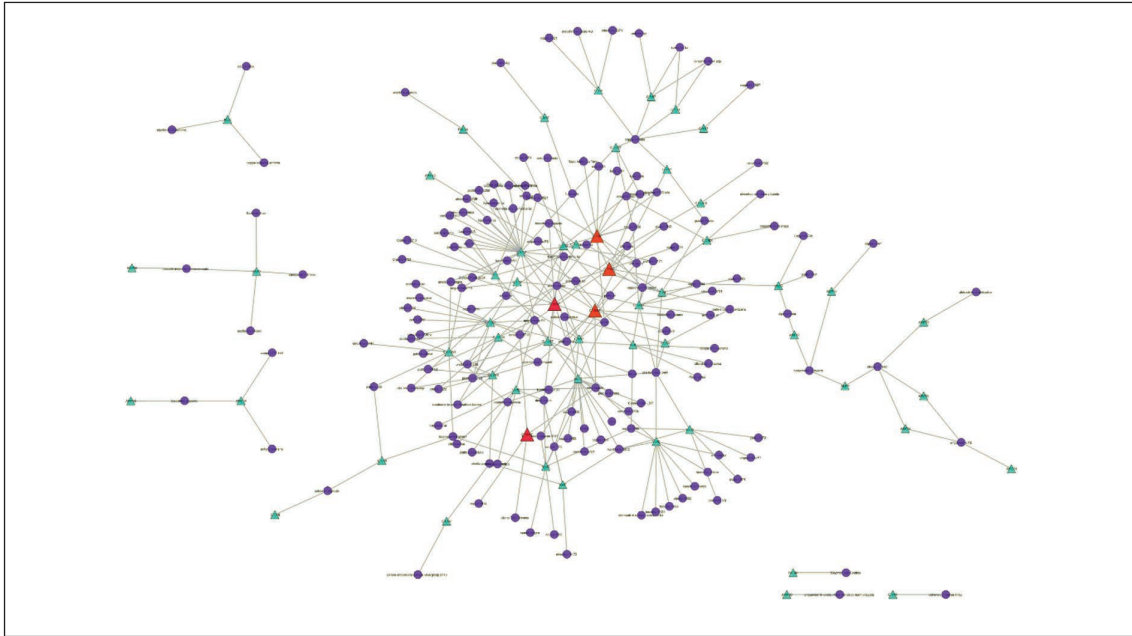
Fig. 3: Consumption patterns of migrants (whose graves are indicated with red triangles) within the necropolis of Castiglioncello.
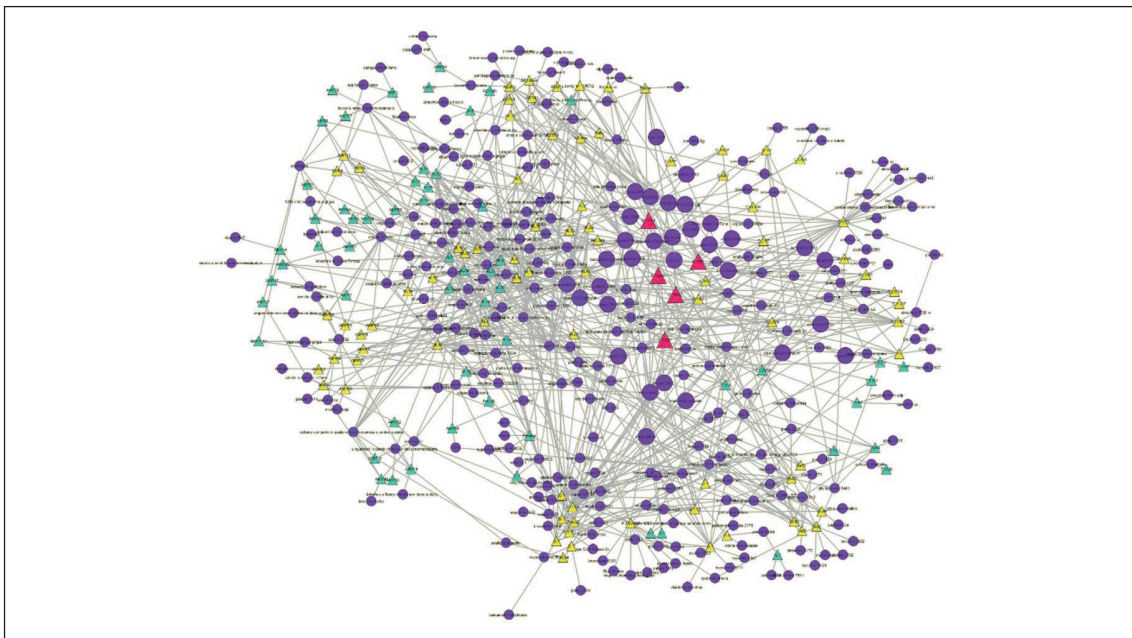

Fig. 4: Affiliation network of consumption in coastal necropoleis: graves are indicated with a triangle, consumption goods with a circle. Larger symbols belong to Ligurian migrants at Castiglioncello. Yellow triangles indicate graves sharing consumption choices with Ligurian migrants.
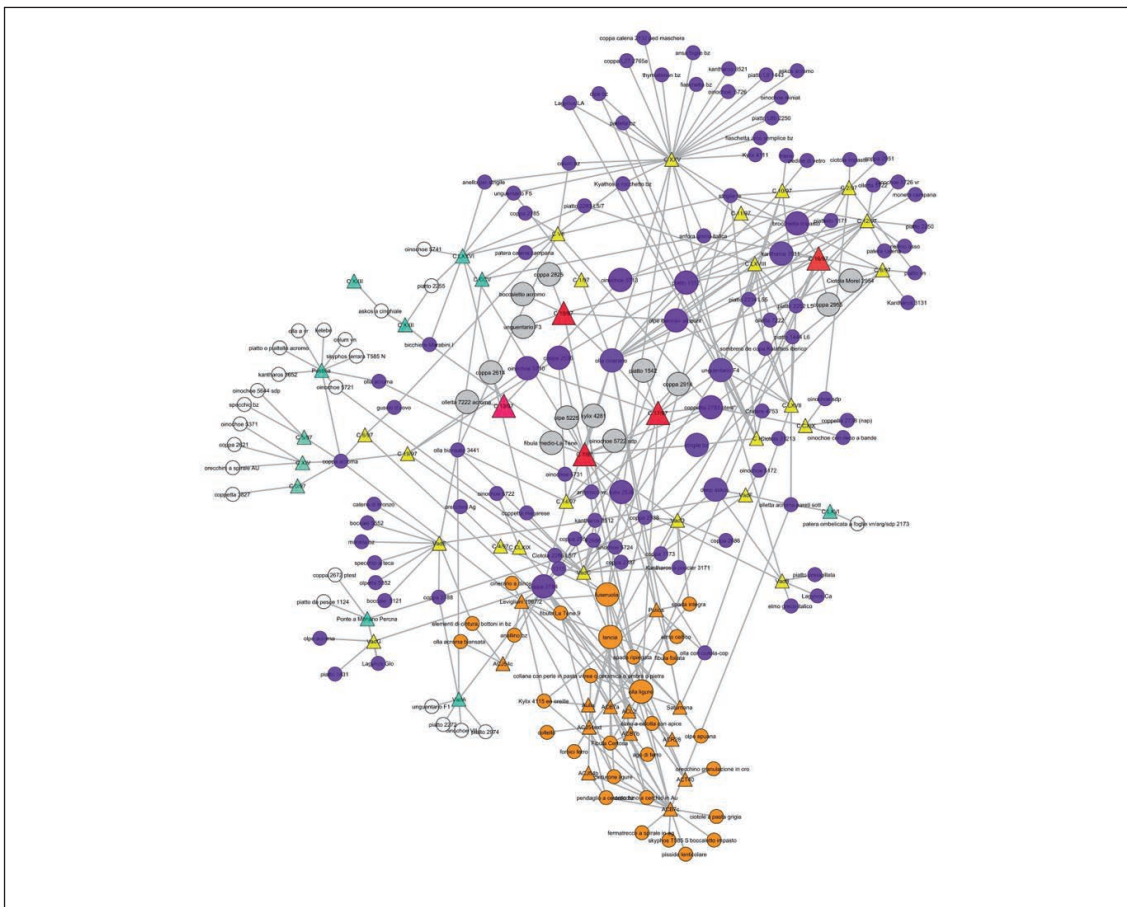
Fig. 5: Comparison of funerary consumption behaviors of Ligurian migrants in Castiglioncello (red triangles), of other graves in Vada and Castiglioncello, and of Ligurian necropoleis (orange triangles).

The extension of the multivariate analysis of Hellenistic graves in the coastal necropoleis of the north-western Mediterranean shows shared consumption patterns between the graves of Ligurian migrants, and the Etruscan graves of the region. This is indicated by the presence of more broadly distributed wares, such as the black-glazed pottery from the workshop of the 'Petites Estampilles' (fig. 5).[30]

In the inland necropolis of Balena, the consumption tends towards standardization. The assemblages are comprised of *unguentaria,* jars, and *strigiles* hanging on decorated bronze rings, and more seldom by black- or red-glazed bowls.[31] The recurrence of iron *strigiles* denotes a trend towards social elevation, since bronze and silver versions of these objects were displayed in elite graves of 3rd century BC of the same region.[32] In grave contexts of the 2nd century BC, the deposition of iron *strigiles* in graves of *lautni*[33] confirms this 'trickledown effect'.[34] The pattern of consumption that emerges from these grave assemblages with few objects, and with lower differentiation, therefore shows
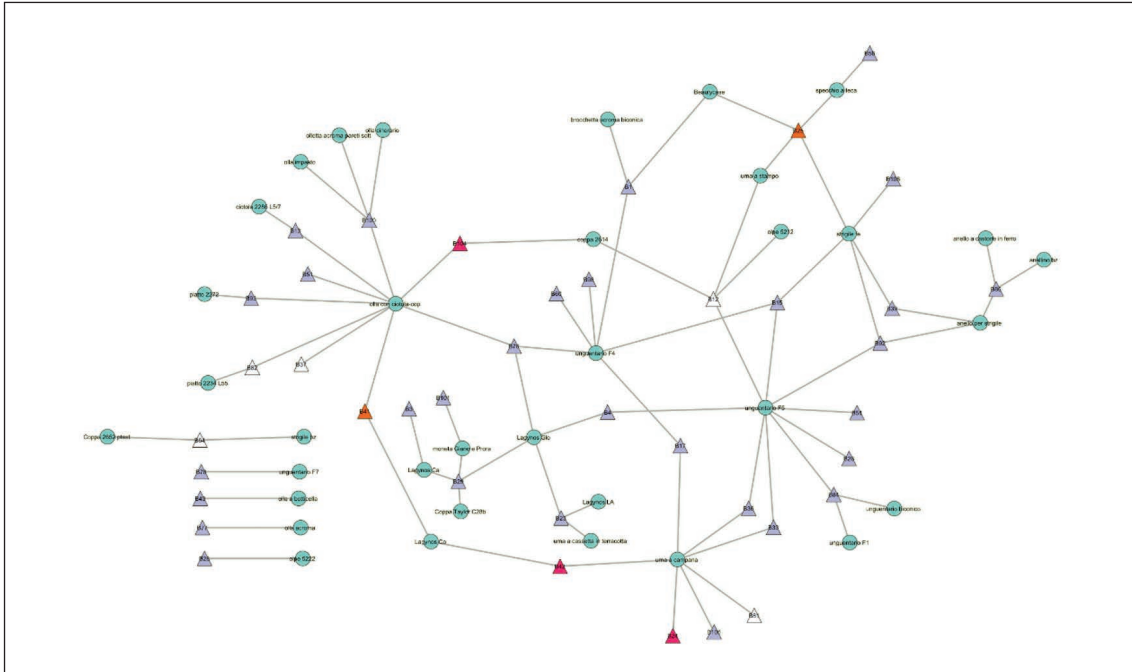
Fig. 6: Consumption choices of migrants (red/orange triangles) and their integration within the necropolis of Balena. Grave goods are represented with a circle, other graves with grey and white triangles.
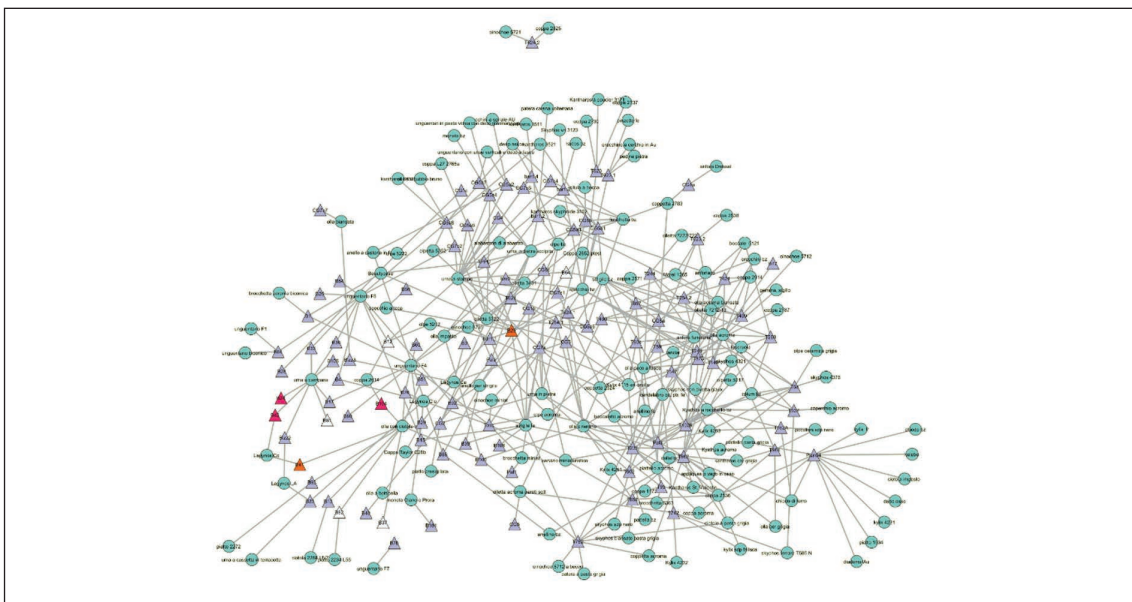

Fig. 7: Affiliation network of consumption in inland necropoleis: graves are indicated with a triangle, consumption goods with a circle. Red triangles represent graves with non-local onomastic at Balena.
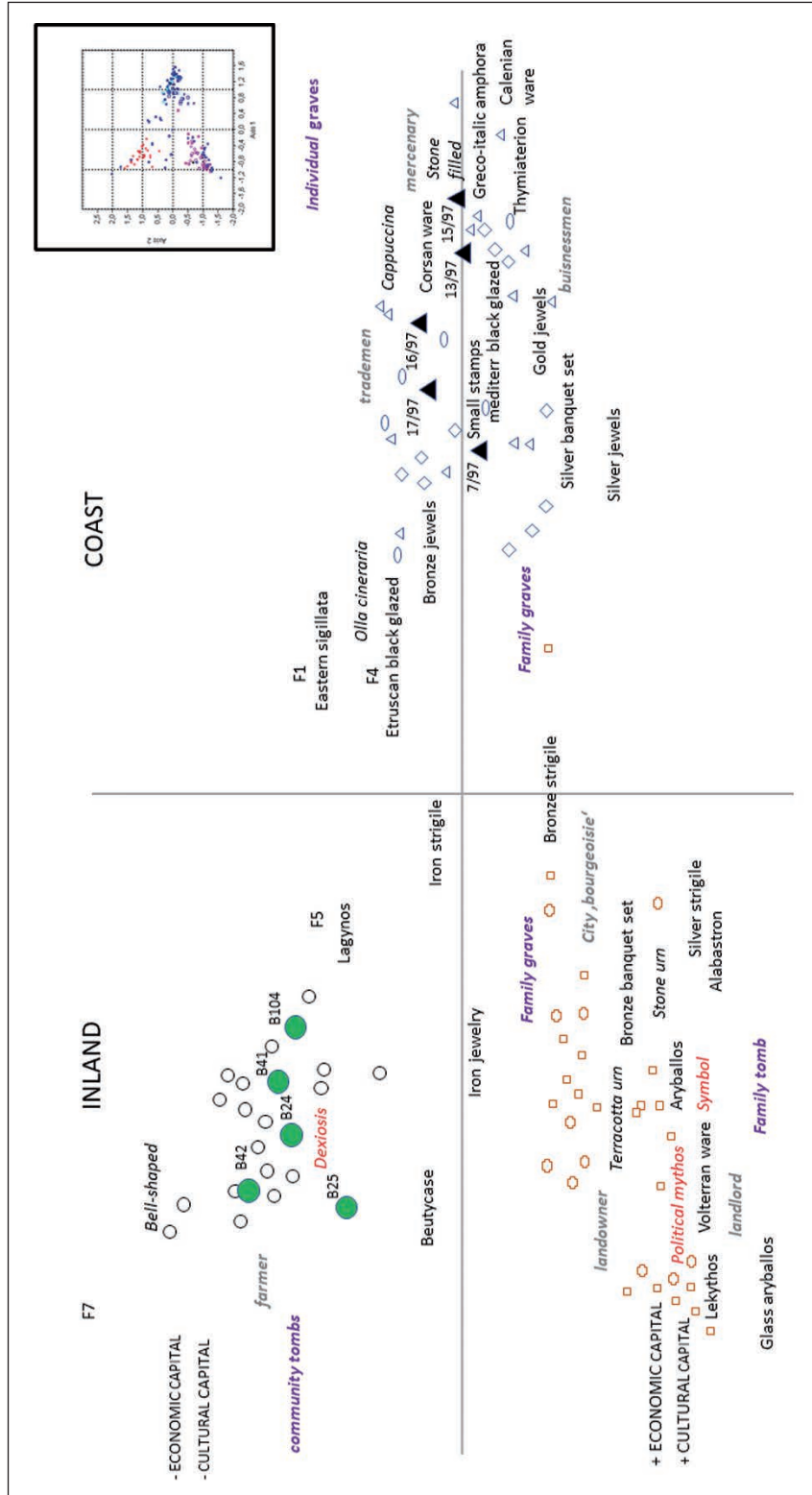
Fig. 8: Adaptation of the distinction diagram of Bourdieu. Habitus of migrants at Balena (green dots) and of migrants at Castiglioncello (dark triangles).

specific choices linked to the use of perfumed oils, metal jewelry, and black- and red-glazed imports. There is no detectable difference in the consumerism of persons with local and non-local names (fig. 6). On the regional scale, the graves of the necropolis at Balena have been compared with other inland necropoleis in the territories of Chiusi (fig. 7).[35] The network diagram shows a clear grouping of the overall population at Balena in one unique cluster, with a few exceptions (*loculi* 25 and 64), mostly connected with the Trasimenic site of Gioiella.

Conclusions

Adapting Pierre Bourdieu's distinction diagram, the consumption behavior of migrants in these case studies can be labelled as 'middle-class progressive' for Ligurians in the coastal commercial settlements of Castiglioncello, and as 'low-class social climbing' in the agricultural inland settlement of Balena (fig. 8)[36].

Different causes and forms of migration played a role in the construction of migrant *habitus:* the presence of Apuanic Ligurians in Etruria before the 2nd century BC was a consequence of agreements between the Etruscan and Ligurian elites,[37] while the inland settlers were called on as rural workers in the depopulated countryside.[38] A confirmation of their different attitudes can be found in the choices of grave architecture in the two case studies: individual, in the form of traditional Ligurian stone-filled pits at Castiglioncello, and collegial, in the form of *loculi* tombs, at Balena.

In both case studies, the graves with migration markers were topographically embedded in the necropolis, just as the consumption behaviors of their owners were embedded in that of the local community. Any limitation due to social segregation is apparently absent, and the diacritic use of markers of 'ethnic identity' does not imply a different consumption behaviors. The maintenance of traditional consumption mentalities is not attested. Moreover, specific needs of self-representation affected the consumption behaviors of migrants, with a trend toward the differentiation of taste, and expression of a negotiated construction of their new social space within the local communities.[39]

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Notes

[1] More attention is paid to their role in production (e.g. sculptors: Maggiani 2004, 167–170; potters: Bruni 2013, 258. 300–305) or in trade (e.g. in the harbors: Bruni 2004, 233–242; Torelli 2004, 129–132; Krämer 2016, 82–88). The aspect of consumption is frequently considered in studies on the cultural impact of colonial encounters (see Dietler 2005, 57–62).

[2] For the impact of consumption studies in archaeology, with reference to colonial encounters: Mullins 2011, 135–142; Dietler 2015, 153–159.

[3] This model (Burmeister 2017, 61–63) suggests a behavioral adaptation of migrants to local codes in public, and a conservation of their own traditions in the private sphere. A clear division between public and private is frequently impossible, since funerary practices and devotion in sanctuaries played a huge role in the affirmation of personal or family social status within the community, and referred to specific socio-economic groups or corporations (Barther 2010, 25–31; Parker 2008, 207–209) while simultaneously carrying public and private value (Wallensten 2008, 146; Bottiglieri 2016, 14).

[4] Dietler 2010, 215 f.

[5] The term 'ethnicity' is intentionally avoided here, not just because an ethnic approach is not necessary to study migration in archaeology (Burmeister 2017, 61), but also because the research question deals with the collective identities of local communities and eventually with the personal cultural identities of migrants within them (Barther 2010, 28–31; Knapp – van Dommelen 2010, 4). As 'migrants identity' is here understood as the whole sum of the codes and values shared by migrants in the homeland and carried on when moving into a new group, which does not share or only partially shares these codes and values (host community).

[6] Pallottino 1984, 404 f.; Cherici 2004, 222–224; Colonna 2013, 10–15.

[7] In the Hellenistic period, Barbarian or Celtic warriors were represented with specific armors and red hair. The transmission of stereotypes from Greece and their use as functionalized images (Kistler 2009, 15–19. 247–256) does not exclude their socio-political use (Pirson 2005, 178; Pirson 2014, 190). The Etruscan consumers decoded images based on an ethnic stereotype, reached by a reduction and generalization of the strangers' habits.

[8] Recently: Biella – Michetti 2018, 439–466. These myths are more often linked to local representations of elite and poleis as to an Etruscan identity.

[9] The material records from open contexts such as sanctuaries and settlements have been excluded by the present analysis.

[10] Single 'special objects', untypical in a context can be an intentional evocation of a particular belonging (see Van Oyen 2017, 56) and constitute a reference to another group (see Müller-Scheeßel – Burmeister 2006, 9). When more allogenous identity markers are concentrated in one grave or in a group of graves

and display references to a specific geographic area, the iteration of these references indicates a cultural affiliation to this area: Da Vela 2016; Hallenkamp-Lumpe – Spiong 2018, 91–95.

[11] This attitude is nuanced, ranging from 'cultural essentialist' to 'hypercultural': Oswald 2017, 14.

[12] The analysis is based on the typology and distribution of both the archaeological and epigraphic record within the topographic context of the necropolis: Govi 2004, 117–120.

[13] Colonna 2013, 8 f. with further references to literary and epigraphic sources. In particular on the status of Greek potters working in Etruria during the Orientalizing period, see Camporeale 2004, 51; and on the status of Greek worshipers in *emporia,* see Colonna 2004, 71.

[14] This research question has been analyzed e.g. in Olynth; Fless 2002, 28–30.

[15] At Spina these elements are present in graves with topographic centrality (Govi 2004, 125). Socio-economic reasons are not covering the whole symbolic potential of the grave goods, which implicated as well personal and religious motivations. Their impact on the assemblages seems not to be very relevant in Etruria, were economic and political power of families with funerary representation is remarkable (see Govi 2004, 127 f.; Berrendonner 2007, 67; Maggiani 2013, 57). In general, the presence of containers and vases for the preparation and presentation of food can be considered expression of the 'commensal economy', resulting in an incorporated social habitus and in a theatrical disposition of goods in a 'politico-symbolic drama' (Dietler 1996, 89. 104).

[16] For the expression of differences in materially poor graves poor of materials: Maggiani 2014, 53.

[17] A similar form of juridical limitation of luxury at Chiusi has been proposed by Enrico Benelli: Benelli 2009, 136 s. Therefore, the sources on Roman *leges sunctuaria* suggest an ineffectiveness of such measures, which were more frequently politically, rather than ethically, directed: Zecchini 2016, 21–27.

[18] A small part of the necropolis had already been excavated at the end of the 19th century, and at the beginning of the following century, Adriano Milani recorded all that contextual associations of the graves, while less information is available about the topographic distribution of the graves: Massa 1974, 25; Gambogi 1999, 17–25; About 20 graves were excavated in 1997, recording all available data: Regoli 1999, 26–29.

[19] The chronology is mostly based on the presence of black glazed ceramic and few coins: Gambogi 2000, 60 f.

[20] Maggiani 2013, 205.

[21] Their architecture with a lithic case is a strong Ligurian marker: Armanini 2015, 141 f. The graves in the necropoleis of Cafaggio, Ameglia, e.g. at the estuary of river Magra, about 100 km away from Castiglioncello, are the nearest comparison: Durante 1982, 149.

[22] Some inscribed tiles or tile fragments had been already found in 1979 (Tamburini 1979). On the following excavation in 2007: Tuci 2014, 21–26.

[23] For the socio-economic status of the peoples buried at Balena on the basis of the inscriptions and of the grave goods: Maggiani 2014, 57; based on comparison with other *loculi* graves in the region: Salvadori 2014, 70.

[24] The inscriptions on the tile coverings or on the cinerary cases present a non-linear adoption of the Latin language and alphabet: Maggiani 2014, 54–57.

[25] Da Vela 2014, 27–35.

[26] See Maggiani 2014, 54–57. With the only exception of a freewoman: *Thana veinei crespesa numsis* (loc. 82) Ibid. n. 24, 55.

[27] On the coast in particular, the evidence of a 'mixed culture' (Denti 2016, 13) and common membership to the western Mediterranean *koinè* ('circuito dei porti': Martelli 1981, 171. 426) results in a strong interlocked use of ceramic forms, redistributed along the commercial sea routes. For Genua and Apuanic Liguria: Milanese 1982; Milanese 1993, 279–332; Melli 2004, 172 f.; Ciampoltrini 2004, 375 f.). In the inland, the distribution circuits of regional (of Volterra) and supraregional products used the Etruscan and Roman route networks, in particular in the Tiber Valley: see Di Giuseppe 2008, 612.

[28] These 'distinctive features' are consumption choices, directed towards the construction of social differences, and the definition of a social space: see Bourdieu 2010, 223–254.

[29] For these elements, in particular brooches and buttons: Melli 2004, 183 f.

[30] For the methodology s. Knappett 2011, 98–105; Da Vela 2015; 2017. The data-set contains 155 grave contexts: (33) Castiglioncello: Gambogi – Palladino 1999, 81–160; (17) Populonia: Baratti – Mordeglia 2007; Guzzi – Settesoldi 2009, 77–195; Milletti – Pitzalis 2015, 501–516; Apuanic Liguria: Armanini 2015, 236–240. 263–267. 281–290. 309 f. 367–372; Durante 1982, 148–164; Durante 2004, 404–441; (41) Ampurias, Bonjoan: Almagro 1953, 153–247; (40) Aléria: Jehasse – Jehasse 1973, 122–372; (7) Vada: Massa 1974. Older findings have been classified according to Morel (1994) typology, on the basis of photographs and drawings.

[31] Da Vela 2014, 32–35 (ead. Catalog in the e-book).

[32] In the chamber tombs of Chius and Perugia, bronze and silver strigiles are associated with elite status symbols: e.g. at Monteluce: Paoletti 1923, 31 f.; at Chiusi: grave of *Seianti Hanunia Tlesnasa:* Swaddling – Prag 2002; grave of *Fastia Velsi:* De Puma 2008.

[33] For example, in the grave of the *lautni zerapiu* (CIE 475) from a tomb with *loculi* and a chamber near Chiusi: Guardabassi 1880, 78. The world *lautni* indicates a person with lower civil or political rights.

[34] This term is intended to convey the spread of consumption goods and lifestyle into the lower social segments, who used them as a means of acquiring prestige: Dietler 1999, 145; with further literature; Schreg et al. 2013, 105. The same trickledown effect could explain the reduplication of drinking pots in graves of middle class persons at Spina (vs Govi 2004, 124).

[35] The dataset contains 108 graves contexts from the following necropoleis: San Casciano dei Bagni, Balena (41): Da Vela 2014; (23) Gioiella: Ponzi Bonomi 1977, 103–109; (30) Castelluccio La Foce, Tolle: Paolucci – Salvadori 2014, 18–169; (14) further graves in the Territory of Chiusi: Martelli 2007, 424–430; Albani 2010, 63–85.

[36] Bourdieu 2015, 13–23; on the archaeological use of the model: Daveloose 2017; Schreg et al. 2013.

[37] These agreements have been suggested for the *Ligures Apuani* in Norther Etruria (Maggiani 2013, 246 f.), as well in a later period with Romans in Samnium (Pagé 2012, 147–151).

[38] Maggiani 2014, 52 f. with further bibliography.

[39] For the deposition of weapons as marker of a professional identity (mercenary service): Maggiani 2013, 239–241.

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Figg. 1 and 2: author with QGIS 3.8; DEM Copernicus EU-DEM v1.1. – Fig. 3–7: author with Visone 2.17 (Brandes – Wagner 2004). – Fig. 8: Author with Software PAST.

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