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Analysis of Using Modern Primate Analogies

Confronting Racism Within Archaeology

Beyond Theory: Queer Theory in Practice

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The Post Hole was shortlisted for 'The Best Public Presentation of Archaeology' and the journal's efforts and growth over the past 6 years were 'Highly Commended' by the British Archaeological Awards in July 2014.

Editorial team

Who's who at *The Post Hole*.

Issue 50 contents

What's in this issue of *The Post Hole*?

Editorial

Gronow, D.

Unfortunately, it has been a number of months since the last issue of *The Post Hole* was published, and for that I can only apologise. My tenure as editor-in-chief has been a slow and disappointing one, and the guilt hangs heavy in my mind. I could insist that I wrote countless emails to students, or that my studies took up all of my time, but I know, when push comes to shove, that I ought to have done more. The lack of issues is a reflection of my own unjustifiable negligence, and should in no way discredit the efforts of my team. Everyone has worked incredibly hard, and their patience is something to be commended. I only hope that they can find it in their hearts to forgive me.

The 'Editor's Choice' for this issue is an important piece of work by Sophie Jorgensen-Rideout, whose article constitutes an engaging and sensitively written exploration of queer theory. It promotes the active engagement of the LGBTQ community in the study of the past, by subverting biological essentialism and censuring the tendency, within archaeology, to exotify those individuals and groups who do not conform to the binary structures perpetuated in the west. Sophie's article also steps beyond the theoretical, outlining a number of practical considerations which ought to be afforded LGBTQ people working within our discipline. Archaeology needs to be self-aware if it is to accurately and sympathetically apprehend the complexities of human society, and this article provides precisely that critical self-reflection.

In terms of the other articles, I myself co-write a piece with Tabitha Kabora, on racism within archaeology. Izzy Wisher has explored the connections that can be made between modern primates and early humans, while Rachel Liu has passed a critical eye over the life and work of archaeologist Dorothy Garrod. Last, but by no means least, Hannah Szapary has analysed, in a fascinating article, the issue of prostitution across the ancient Mediterranean.

As always, if you would like to share any of your thoughts, research or experiences with the archaeology community, then please submit your work to submissions@theposthole.org. We are always looking for interesting articles to publish, and accept pieces on a wide range of archaeological topics, from prehistory to the present day. For guidance on submission, please visit our website at www.theposthole.org/authors.

Kindest regards,
Daniel Gronow
Editor-in-Chief
editor@theposthole.org

Challenging Racism in Archaeology

Gronow, S. and Kabora, T.

On the 17th of May, Tabitha Kabora chaired a seminar on the issue of racism within archaeology. This is a short article based on the points discussed during that session, written by the editor with the permission and cooperation of Tabitha.

It ought to be acknowledged, first and foremost, that the issue of racism is a complex one, encompassing much more than those overtly racist acts which the majority of people find reprehensible, and which are denounced accordingly. Racial discrimination can be based on internalised prejudices, which are both harder to identify in others, and more difficult to accept and confront in ourselves. Implicit and institutional discrimination are insidious, and require meaningful dialogue and critical reflection if they are to be tackled effectively. That is not to say that the required arguments cannot be made, nor that the issues should be tiptoed around, but rather that the highly sensitive nature of the topic can deter people from engaging with it, especially if the discussion is not navigated with a certain degree of thought and subtlety.

Racism, in its simplest form, is an ideology which gives expression to myths regarding other racial and ethnic groups, devaluing those groups and resulting in negative perceptions and imposed racial hierarchies. It reflects, and is perpetuated by, deeply rooted historical, social and cultural inequalities, and therefore is linked very much to ideas of power. In postcolonial theory, for example, the term ‘subaltern’ is used to define those populations which were socially, politically and geographically outside of the hegemonic power structure imposed by the colonial authority. Colonialism was a very direct and often very violent imposition of foreign control, its discrimination and exploitation of native populations driven by the West’s misplaced belief in a moral obligation to gentrify the ‘ruder’ nations (see Kipling’s poem ‘The White Man’s Burden’, published in 1899). However, racism does not presuppose violence, nor does it necessarily emerge from a feeling of superiority. Xenophobia, the fear or mistrust of that which is foreign, can be a result of insecurities regarding one’s personal and national identity and, if prevalent at a governmental level, can inform policy decisions concerning immigration. Xenophobia can thus engender a lack of diversity, which in turn reinforces, or rather fails to correct, those stereotypes held of the ‘other’. To complicate the issue even further, implicit racial bias refers to unconscious prejudices which belie sincere claims to non-discriminatory behaviour. In such cases, individuals may adopt defensive positions, from which discussions of racism can be perceived as accusatory rather than discursive.

With regards to racism within archaeology, it is worth making the distinction between representation and archaeological practice, although the two are undeniably intertwined. In terms of the former, it is of enormous concern that only 1% of professional archaeologists

working in 2012/13 were of BME (Black and Minority Ethnic) heritage. This statistic is even more alarming when one also considers the limited number of BME students pursuing archaeology as a first degree, as well as the strikingly few BME individuals volunteering in the field. Can this lack of diversity be attributed purely to racist attitudes, eitherthrough explicit discrimination or implicit racial bias? It would not be controversial to suggest that there are, in fact, wider societal issues at play. Although sweeping generalisations are unhelpful (and potentially counter-productive), it may be useful to acknowledge the socioeconomic issues that many BME families face, and the role this plays when it comes to higher education. For example, a BME student raised in a poor urban area is likely to have worked harder than others to earn a place at university. Having fought that fight, it is perhaps unsurprising that archaeology, which rarely leads to highly paid employment (and often requires working outdoors in less than perfect conditions), loses out to higher paying, career-driven courses such as medicine or law. The choices of BME students need to be taken into account.

In terms of archaeological practice, there are a number of elements which serve to discourage minority students from engaging with the discipline. Firstly, there is a tendency, certainly at a university level, to teach Roman,Viking, and Anglo-Saxon archaeology at the expense of non-Western histories. This can be attributed, in part, to the European origins of the subject, and yet it also betrays archaeology's inherent Eurocentrism, which developed out of a belief that Europeans were evolutionary frontrunners, socially and intellectually predisposed to conquer, educate and gentrify. This subjugated non-Western epistemologies and has implicitly entrusted Europe with the role of arbiter when it comes to historical 'truth'. Moreover, Eurocentrism provided colonialists with justification for their presence in foreign countries, their claims to legitimacy bolstered by judiciously chosen archaeological projects. The French in Algeria, for example, excavated and politicised Roman remains, professing themselves the heirs of imperial Rome. Local heritage was either ignored or, as in the case of early studies of Great Zimbabwe, interpreted in such a way as to conform with racist notions of native incompetence. Fortunately, postcolonial theory has improved the situation to a degree. The entanglement of cultures and identities and academic disciplines within archaeology is now subject to critical interrogation. History is no longer thought of as a progressive expansion of the West, nor is the rest of the world as romanticised as it once was (on this last point, see Edward Said's 'Orientalism', published in 1978). Archaeology is beginning to understand its imperialist heritage, although work still needs to be done to transcend its European biases.

In the first instance, educating archaeologists and engaging minority groups are important steps which need to be taken to diversify archaeological discourse. Western universities need to set their sights beyond Europe, exploring African, South American and Asian archaeologies, and examining them above and beyond their relations with Europe. History does not begin at the point of contact between Europe and other cultures, and archaeological research and education should reflect this. Research should not only incorporate native epistemologies as a means of countering Eurocentrism, but publications should be accessible to those indigenous communities. It is *their* history, and should be allowed to inform their narratives. Of course, the idea that European academics are the best qualified to record indigenous histories is absurd, as is the notion that such histories are neglected in the absence of Western intervention. On an administrative level, funding and resources should be diversified to better represent the interests of minority groups, which would encourage enthusiasts from those groups to study and volunteer in greater numbers. Racism should also be discussed openly, to remove the burden of that

discussion from the shoulders of BME students and academics. If all of these suggestions were embraced by Western archaeologists, the discipline would attract not only a multiplicity of people, but a multiplicity of ideas, improving our understanding of diverse cultures in both the past and the present.

Thanks again to Tabitha Kabora for chairing her seminar on racism within archaeology, and for her invaluable assistance when it came to writing this article.

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Monkeying Around: An Evaluation of How Analogies with Modern Primates Can Help Make Inferences About Early Human Behaviour

Wisher, I.

Introduction

The behaviour of the closest living relatives to modern humans can give a tentative insight into how early humans may have behaved. Through observing primates' cognitive abilities, social structure, cultural behaviour and expression of compassion and morality, one can begin to understand the behaviour of early humans and perhaps suggest behavioural parallels in human evolution to that of modern primates. However, there are limitations to using primate analogies; despite being the closest *living* relatives to modern humans, at least 6 million years of evolution separates both modern humans and modern primates from the last common ancestor (Figure 1), and both species diverged in vastly different paths. Thus, it cannot be assumed that modern primates have not evolved from the last common ancestor, and consequently this limits the extent to which modern primate behaviour can be applied to early modern human behaviour.

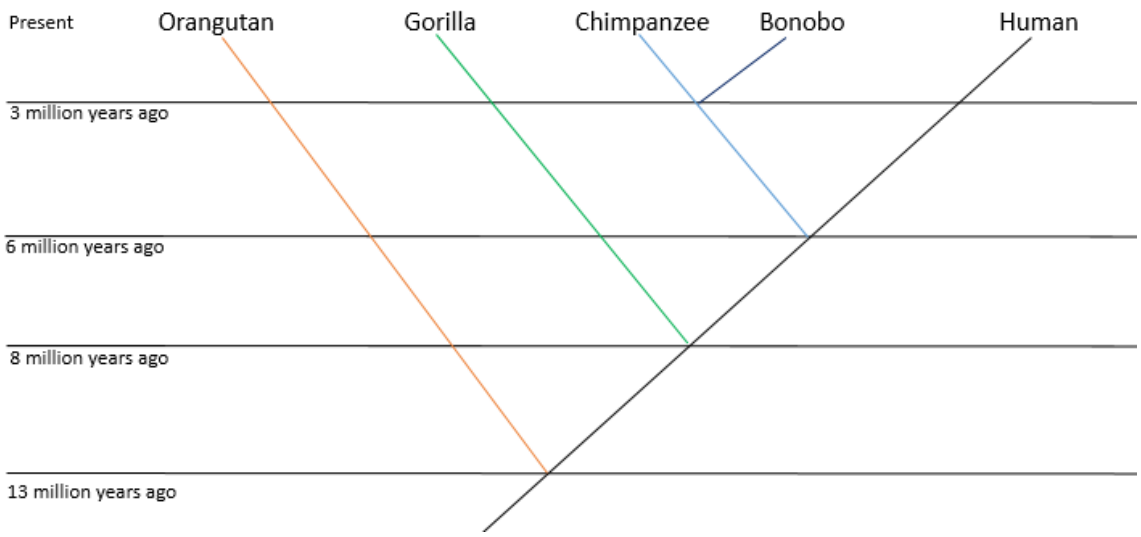

Figure 1: Human and primate evolution, demonstrating around 6 million years separates modern humans from our closest living ancestor, the chimpanzee. Image: Author.

Cognition

Figure 2: Example of a conchoidal flake produced by capuchin stone-on-stone percussion. Image: Proffitt et al. *2016, 2.*

Advanced cognitive capacity is perceived as being a unique characteristic of hominins, as a consequence of the evolution of a large brain. However, in order to understand the evolution of modern human cognition and the cognitive capacities of our ancestors, one must distinguish between artefacts which reflect complex cognition, and those which reflect a more primitive cognition. Achieving this will allow an insight into the complexity of early hominins' cognition, through a better understanding of the cognitive processes required to produce certain artefacts. Recently, observations of the behaviours of capuchins has called into question the attribution of two/three-million-year-old stone flakes to hominins (Proffitt *et al.* 2016, 1). Through stone-on-stone percussion, capuchins were able to produce stone flakes remarkably similar to those from the archaeological record (Figure 2), which are considered to be the earliest evidence of hominins producing tools (Proffitt *et al.* 2016, 2). These observations of primate behaviour have provided further support for the paradigm shift away from presuming the genus *Homo* is unique in creating sharp-edged flakes and tools (Proffitt *et al.* 2016, 3). Certainly, the earliest tool culture (Oldowan) demonstrates spatial coordination and planning, suggesting the Oldowan culture had evolved from earlier tool use (Haslam *et al.* 2009, 339). Further evidence for early tool use is derived from the observations of modern primates using a diverse range of tools habitually (McGrew 2010, 579). McGrew (2010) describes how chimpanzees are capable of using tool 'sets', such as five objects used in sequence to obtain honey. In addition, he outlines how chimpanzees use tool composites, such as a stone and anvil, and compound tools (several components combined into one working unit), such as inserting a wedge stone under an anvil. These types of tools were thought to be produced only by *Homo*, due to their relative complexity. The observations of primates producing tools may indicate that the common ancestor of modern humans and primates used tools (Haslam *et al.* 2009, 339).

Analogies with modern primates can also enable researchers to understand the process by which a characteristic evolved in modern humans. Although research has shown the gene mutation required for language (FOXP2) stabilised only 200,000 years ago (Enard *et al.* 2002, 871), this length of time is insufficient to explain the evolution of the complex cognitive apparatus which allows for spoken language (Zuberbühler 2003, 266). Modern primates have been shown to understand spoken English, use gestures to communicate (thus attaching meaning to gestures) (Savage-Rumbaugh *et al.*1986, 211; Matuzawa 2010, 5), and distinguish between different languages (Ramus *et al.* 2000, 351). This suggests that cognitive precursors to language were present in the last common ancestor (Zuberbühler 2003, 298), and thus resolves the inconsistency with the insufficient length of time for the evolution of language. Therefore, it is likely early hominins were able to use some form of language before the ability for spoken language was acquired (Zuberbühler 2003, 299).

In addition, observations of modern primate social behaviour have given rise to the social brain theory (Dunbar 2003), which argues the evolution of abnormally large brains in primates and hominins was driven by increased social interactions. Dunbar (2003, 171) has shown the

level of intentionality among modern primates and modern humans, with regard to theory of mind, correlates linearly with absolute frontal lobe volume. This implies that as brain size increased in hominins, the ability to socialise successfully with more individuals also increased (Figure 3). Therefore, through the comparison of modern primate and modern human behaviours, an insight into the maximum group sizes of hominins was achieved. Although this is not strictly an example of the use of primate analogies, it demonstrates how modern primate behaviour can enrich our understanding of early humans.

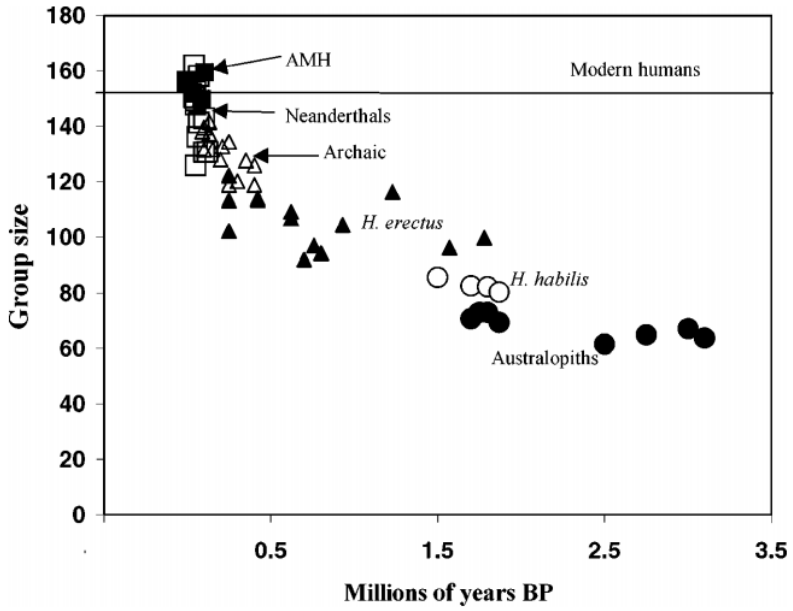

Figure 3: The correlation between individual population group size and hominins, based on the derived frontal lobe volume from total cranial volume. Image: Dunbar 2003, 173.

Social Structure

Evidence for early hominin social structure is elusive, therefore the use of primate analogies can provide an insight into the structure of these societies and how they evolved. Chimpanzees demonstrate intricate social behaviours, such as developing and reinforcing relationships (grooming with both non- and related individuals), hierarchical systems and an understanding of social (or cultural) 'norms' (Whiten *et al.* 1999, 685; Mitani *et al.* 2002, 10; Malone *et al.* 2012, 1264). These social behaviours appear to be integral to day-to-day life, for example grooming ensures social cohesion amongst primate groups (Aiello and Dunbar 1993, 185). Through observations of social grooming among modern primates, Aiello and Dunbar (1993, 185) suggest that early humans would have had to devote around 30 – 45% of their time to social grooming, in order to maintain large social group sizes (proposed in Figure 3). This significant proportion of time highlights the importance of social grooming to hominins. In addition, the capacity of modern primates to engage in these complex social interactions suggests the last common ancestor of hominins and great apes lived in groups consisting of numerous individuals (Malone *et al.* 2012, 1251).

Furthermore, the morphological adaptations to social life amongst modern primates can be used to make inferences about aspects of hominin morphology. Modern primates, for example, have sexually dimorphic canines (Figure 4) which are used in displays of aggression

and dominance, usually toward predators (Leutenegger and Kelly 1977, 126). Human evolution demonstrates a reduction in these canines; one can make inferences about the role of sexually dimorphic canines in early hominins and the factors which resulted in this reduction, through observing the role of these canines in modern primates. In addition, sexual dimorphism in body mass can also allow an insight into hominin lives. In modern primates, sexual dimorphism reflects social relationships; gorillas and orangutans have extreme sexual dimorphism, as a result of intense male-male competition to have control of females (Foley and Lee 1989, 904; Larsen 2003, 9103), whereas gibbons have little sexual dimorphism as the males are not in competition for mates. This can be used to understand sexual dimorphism (or lack of) in early humans. Sexual dimorphism in *Australopithecus afarensis* has been demonstrated to be similar to modern humans, suggesting there was little competition between males and that early hominin social behaviour may have been more like modern humans than previously thought (Larsen 2003, 9104; Reno *et al.* 2003, 9404).

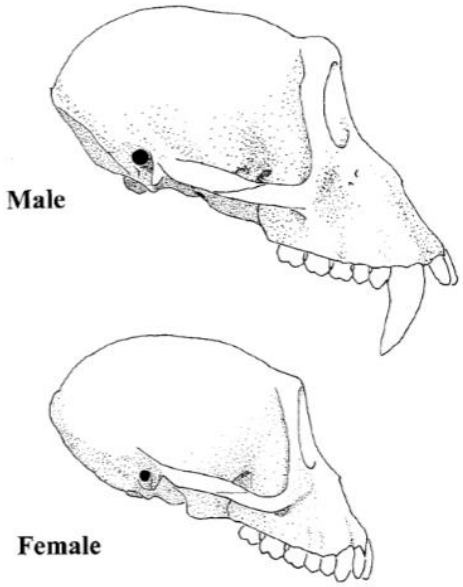

Figure 4: An example of sexually dimorphic canines in Macaques. Image: Plavcan 2001, 27.

Although modern primate behaviours are useful when it comes to understanding the diversity and intricacy of social behaviours among hominoids, one must tentatively use these comparisons. Interpretations of hominin social behaviour have previously been heavily reliant on chimpanzee models, and have thus led to assumptions involving closed male-dominant social networks with a lack of female alliances. However, as demonstrated by Parish and de Waal (2006) these assumptions are inappropriate and dismiss observations of another closely related primate, the bonobo. Amongst bonobos, females claim and control feeding, are violent toward males, and hunt and possess meat (Parish and de Waal 2006, 100). These activities in hominin behavioural models are usually attributed to males, without considering the possibility that females were the dominant sex. Thus, perceptions of hominin behaviour are inherently biased, which inevitably has had a negative impact on the understanding of human ancestors.

Cultural Behaviour

The cognitive ability to display culture is considered to be a decisively human characteristic, and debates exist regarding whether recent hominins, such as Neanderthals, were capable of cultural behaviours (Hayden 2012, 1). As defined by Freeman (2002), culture is:

"The total configuration of patterned activities performed by a society, including the materials used in or produced by those activities and the social units responsible for activity performance."

Using this definition, certain behaviours indicate many modern primates are cognitively capable of culture. Culture allows for a group of individuals to work cohesively, and distinguish themselves from other such groups. Therefore, it requires advanced cognition to be able to create a set of behaviours which are shared with other individuals and considered unique to the group. Studies by Whiten *et al.* (1999) have observed variations in cultural behaviours in chimpanzees across Africa. Whiten *et al.* (1999, 685) argues that the variation in cultural

behaviours observed in chimpanzees resembles that of human societies; the ability to produce culture is, therefore, no longer restricted to modern humans, opening up the possibility that early hominin ancestors exhibited cultural behaviours (Whiten *et al.*2011, 939).

In addition, studies conducted by Lycett *et al.* (2009) have determined the prevailing method of cultural transmission among chimpanzee in order to understand how early hominins may have transmitted information. Similarities and differences in behaviour among chimpanzee groups studied appear to be consistent with the divergence of western and eastern subspecies, indicating that vertical cultural transmission (from one generation to the next) is the dominant process (Lycett *et al.* 2009, 344). Further, they demonstrated that females are more likely to pass on their genes if they adopt the cultural behaviours of a new group, restricting the success of horizontal transmission and suggesting that an affinity to conformist behaviour is not unique to modern humans (Whiten *et al.* 2005, 739; Lycett *et al.* 2009, 345).

Compassion and Morality

Through observing the moral behaviour of modern primates, one can understand how moral behaviour evolved in modern humans and the driving forces behind the emergence of this behaviour (Brosnan 2011, 23). Modern primates appear to display compassionate and moral behaviours to an extent; however they will also display behaviours which would be considered 'selfish' in a modern human context.

It has been demonstrated that primates have behavioural indicators for empathy. Behavioural copying (such as yawning when another yawns), is prevalent in modern humans and is considered vital to modern human's ability to empathise. Higher-order primates also exhibit behavioural copying, which has been used to argue that they have the capacity to empathise with others, to some extent (De Waal 2008, 288). De Waal (2008, 284) uses the example of chimpanzees who upon hearing distress of another individual, will often feel distressed themselves (emotional contagion) and may even make efforts to comfort the individual in distress. The numerous parallels with primate empathetic behaviour with that of modern humans supports the notion that early hominins must have also been capable of these behaviours. In addition, Brosnan (2011) outlines how in certain experimental settings, primates appear to have a concept of inequity and fairness, for example a primate may refuse a reward for a task if their social partner does not receive an equal reward for the same task. This was used to suggest how the concept of inequity evolved in hominins; inequity has to be recognised, have a negative response in an individual, and be acted upon to rectify the inequity (Brosnan 2011, 28).

Adoption of orphaned juveniles amongst chimpanzees is another behaviour which suggests primates are capable of compassionate and moral behaviour (Spikins 2015, 86). Boesch *et al.* (2010) found that despite being a costly endeavour, with no apparent benefit to the adoptive parent nor any additional motivation behind doing so, chimpanzees would adopt both related and unrelated juveniles. This led to the conclusion that welfare for others is integral to chimpanzee groups (particularly the ones observed in the study, who had an increased risk of predators), and the tentative suggestion that the evolution of altruistic behaviour may have been a result of increased socio-ecological pressures.

To suggest primates are capable of altruistic and moral behaviours implies they are capable of a theory of mind not too dissimilar to that of modern humans. This has been a topic of debate since Premack and Woodruff's (1978) paper, which speculated about a theory of mind in chimpanzees. It has been recently argued that primates are capable of a theory of mind (Krupenye *et al.* 2016), which may open up the possibility that early hominins (and perhaps the last common ancestor) were capable of this advanced level of cognition. With consideration of the numerous debates surrounding this topic, the implications of altruistic behaviours for a theory of mind in primates, and consequently the implications for the same capabilities in early hominins should be considered.

There are issues that arise with attributing primate behaviour as 'altruistic' or 'moral'. One cannot understand the level of intentionality behind a primates' actions, and so labelling actions in the same manner as human actions causes issues with distinguishing between the outcome of the action and the motivation. Primate A's actions may have had positive repercussions for primate B, but this does not necessarily mean primate A *intended* to help primate B. Assuming that an intention to benefit other individuals exists in primates, and using this to further suggest hominins were capable of this level of altruism bases the behaviour of past hominins on too many assumptions and inherently causes issues in understanding early human behaviour. There is compelling evidence to suggest that perhaps higher-order primates can exhibit a level of altruism (which may have been similar to hominins), but one must use this evidence with caution particularly when using this as an analogy with early humans.

Conclusion

Primate analogies are inevitably useful to gain an insight into hominin behaviours, particularly when the material evidence is lacking. With regard to understanding the cognitive capacities of early humans, primate analogies are particularly beneficial to work by some researchers such as Dunbar (2003), Zuberbühler (2003) and Proffitt *et al.* (2016), and similarly can enrich the understanding of past social and cultural behaviours. However, these analogies must be used tentatively. Although useful, dependency on primate analogies with little additional evidence inevitably causes issues, and may lead to assumptions being drawn regarding early human behaviour which are inappropriate. Furthermore, in the past the use of primate analogies has caused issues with suggestions that hominin ancestors exhibited the 'brutish' and 'primitive' behaviour of apes (a particular prominent example of this is the depiction of Neanderthals in the early 20th century). Although these depictions of early humans may seem trivial, they are important in highlighting the extent one should apply primate analogies to the past, in order to prevent skewed interpretations of early humans. Therefore, it must be stressed that primate analogies should only provide an *insight* into early human behaviour, and it is unrealistic to assume that the observations of primate behaviour can be absolutely paralleled with hominin behaviour.

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Archaeological Heroes: Dorothy Garrod

Liu, R.

Dorothy Annie Elizabeth Garrod (1892 – 1968) was the first female archaeologist to receive a professorship at the University of Cambridge, in 1932. She was known for her Palaeolithic studies in Britain and the Near East and was especially lauded for her contribution to the excavations at Mount Carmel, Palestine, between 1929 and 1934. These excavations unearthed skeletal remains, possibly originating from the Mesolithic/'Epipalaeolithic' era, which became important elements in Garrod's later interpretations of the 'Natufian Culture' and the broader debate surrounding human evolution.

Garrod's knowledge of archaeological science originated in the academic background of her family. Her father, Sir Archibald Garrod, was a physician and a biochemist, and her grandfather, Sir Alfred Garrod, was also a physician (Bar-Yosef and Callander: 2004, 381). The scientific milieu in which Garrod was raised may have influenced her decision to specialise in the subject of cultural evolution later in her career, the framework of analytical thinking leading her to explore the scientific approaches of Processual archaeology. Garrod initially studied History and Classics at Newham College in 1913; at this point a degree in archaeology was non-existent at Oxford and Cambridge (Bar-Yosef and Callander: 2004, 381). However, her studies were interrupted by the events of World War One when her three brothers died in action, Garrod serving briefly in the Ministry of Munitions in 1916 (Bar-Yosef and Callander: 2004, 382). Following this, Garrod decided to study Prehistory at Oxford under the direction of R.R. Marret. She was encouraged in this by her father, who 'in his wisdom distracted her mind towards interest in the antiquities' (Weinstein-Evron: 2009, 1). Garrod successfully obtained her Diploma with distinction in 1921. Her father's decision to divert her interest towards antiquities became a turning-point in Garrod's career.

To 'perfect her knowledge on Prehistory' (Weinstein-Evron: 2009, 1), Garrod set out to explore Palaeolithic caves in France. She worked under the supervision of Abbé Henri Breuil, whose methods she described as 'unorthodox' (Bar-Yosef and Callander: 2004, 384). For example, Abbé Henri Breuil taught Garrod how to identify flint tool-types in a bag by 'feel alone' (Copeland: 1999, 164); he wanted his pupils to use their initiative and think for themselves when assessing finds, which was an inventive, if unusual, approach to typology (Bar-Yosef and Callander: 2004, 384). Abbé also encouraged Garrod to publish her book, *'The Upper Palaeolithic Age in Britain'* (1926), which included an evaluation of artefacts including Middle Aurignacian flint tool-types in Kent's Cavern (Garrod: 1926, 34). However, Roberts (1999, 19) questioned Garrod's work, as she did not conduct any of her excavations in Britain. Nevertheless, *'The Upper Palaeolithic Age in Britain'* received positive reviews due to her extensive records on the stratigraphy of cave sites in North-western and Central Britain

(including North Wales) (Roberts: 1999, 25), lending Garrod a strong reputation in the field. Garrod's subsequent decision to excavate in Gibraltar in 1925 became a huge turning-point not only in the study of prehistory, but also for Garrod's archaeological career (Roberts: 1999, 29).

In addition to her studies in the Upper Palaeolithic era, Garrod developed some ingenious theories concerning her findings from the 1929-1930 excavations at El-Wad. Here, Garrod uncovered the 'Natufian', a late 'Epipalaeolithic' culture on the threshold of agricultural revolution in the Near East (Bar-Yosef and Callander:2004, 380). The term 'Epipalaeolithic' was coined by Jean Perrot, a pupil of René Neuville; he wanted to replace the term 'Mesolithic', which did not adequately represent the 'essential continuity of the economic and technological base from the preceding Upper Palaeolithic period' (Boyd: 1999, 219). There appears to have been a comprehensive approach towards the 'Natufian Culture' by Garrod, as this definition was refined and revised through an assessment of the 'homogeneity of its lithic, stone and bone industries, art objects and funerary practices' (Boyd: 1999, 219). Questions were raised about the culture itself, such as its origins and relationship to the Neolithic (Boyd: 1999, 219). It is clear that Garrod shared these concerns about the Natufian, and so she sought to undertake 'new analytical, interpretative journeys' (Boyd: 1999, 221 – 222). Her new approach encouraged archaeologists to use their initiative to construct a new perspective on the principle areas of archaeological enquiry, such as environment, settlement pattern and artefact industries (Boyd: 1999, 221). This draws very clearly from the teachings of Abbé Henri Breuil.

It can be argued that Garrod also had an influence on female archaeologists, as evidenced by the 1932 excavations at Mount Carmel, where her team consisted of mostly women (Bar-Yosef and Callander:2004, 399). Her legacy was set in place when she became the Disney Professor of Archaeology at Cambridge, despite initially being denied full status because of her gender (Bar-Yosef and Callander:2004, 404-405). This undermined the biases of archaeological practice, which traditionally saw men as more successful in excavations and fieldwork, while women were offered more passive roles such as pottery and small finds analysis (Johnson:2010, 128). Furthermore, Bar-Yosef and Callander (2004, 414) argue that Garrod, as a woman, 'was not quite unique' despite her significance in the study of prehistory. Perhaps the authors wished to base Garrod's achievements solely on her skill and competence as an archaeologist and prehistorian, rather than evaluating her contributions based on her gender alone.

Various issues arose in Garrod's archaeological career as she faced the possible problems of the hypothetico-deductive method linked to archaeological science. The most well-known contention was the Glozel Affair in 1924-1938, when a total of 3,000 artefacts ranging from a medieval glass furnace to a Neolithic axe-head were discovered by seventeen-year-old, Émile Fradin, in a ploughed field in Glozel, France (Bar-Yosef and Callander:2004, 389). It was later suggested that the artefacts were subjected to 'suspected interference' (Bar-Yosef and Callander:2004, 389). Garrod, who was a member of the committee set up to determine the authenticity of the artefacts, was accused of having used "fraudulent manoeuvres' to cast suspicion on the site' (Bahn and Renfrew:1999, 78 – 79). Although Garrod did admit to her actions in Glozel, the results obtained from thermos-luminescence dating suggested that the artefacts (the 'inscribed clay tablets') were in fact forged in the 20th Century and were not of Medieval or Iron Age origin (Bahn and Renfrew:1999, 82). This act of falsifying data to

purposefully validate a site demonstrates the importance of the hypothetico-deductive method when it comes to proving the authenticity of artefacts.

Bahn and Renfrew (1999, 83) suggest that the principle of 'Occam's Razor' could be applied to this scenario 'because this [extremely] heterogenous collection of disparate material does not belong to any known culture…it is self-evident that the whole thing is a hoax or an imposture'. This creates a boundary between science and other kinds of knowledge because the synopsis of science is based on problem solving, stating that one must start with the initial problem as the data produced by observations are theory-laden. In addition, this phenomenon shows that the more assumptions one must make about the available evidence, the explanations become more unlikely, thus creating a false perception of that knowledge. Although the Glozel Affair had a minor impact on Garrod's archaeological career, the overall controversy does highlight the issues in the scientific discipline, therefore creating a circular argument on what is considered genuine or falsified in relation to the subject of material culture.

It was evident that Garrod was heavily influenced by Abbé Henri Breuil 's unorthodox teachings, in the earlier phases of her career in the late 1930s (Copeland: 1999, 164). Garrod was taught by Abbé Henri Breuil to use her initiative by identifying various Palaeolithic artefacts through the sense of touch. This demonstrates how typology can sometimes have its flaws, as Garrod believed that it was a poor indicator of determining the chronology of the artefacts, and that typology 'should be used in conjunction with absolute dating techniques' (Davies:1999, 272). This archaeological practice was also adopted by Garrod in stratigraphic recording because absolute dating techniques were vital in determining the sequences and chronology of the artefacts based on the physical/chemical attributes of the archaeological evidence. This could be a more scientific approach towards typology in comparison to Abbé Henri Breuil 's techniques, as the interpretation and identification of the items are more likely to be supported by the scientific data.

Overall, Garrod played a crucial role in the study of prehistory, and her impact on archaeological thought has changed our perceptions of the Palaeolithic era, thus providing a new insight on theories about the evolution of modern humans, such as the transition of the Neanderthal population from Europe to the East Mediterranean (Bar-Yosef and Callander: 2004, 388). Similarly, the excavations at El-Wad in 1929 sparked some epistemic thought on the 'Natufian Culture' which underwent various re-definitions throughout the late 1950s-1960s, thus shedding further light on its indigenous origins as revised by Garrod's perspective on the theory (Boyd: 1999, 219). It was also agreed that 'Garrod's ideas rarely remained fixed' (Davies: 1999, 269) which indicates how archaeological thought remains fluid and can only be set in place once it was supported with the available evidence.

It is clear that Garrod was concerned with the taxonomic rigidity of the Palaeolithic attributions, believing that the typology of artefacts should only be used as '*temporal* indicators' (Davies:1999, 269). This thought is reinforced in archaeological practice today as absolute dating techniques are used to support the taxonomy of the archaeological evidence instead of relying solely on the morphology of the artefacts for information on sequencing and chronology. Garrod relied on Abbé Henri Breuil 's methods in the late 1930s as most of her references in her seminal paper about the Aurignacian Culture in 1938 originated from his personal communications; she started to diverge from his teachings in 1953, implying that she had more

confidence in constructing her own thoughts and ideas about the Upper Palaeolithic Age (Davies:1999, 269), despite the fact that she had her own biases on assessing artefacts in comparison to Abbé Henri Breuil.

However, it is evident that there were some issues relating to the scientific discipline which were highlighted in the Glozel Affair (Bahn and Renfrew: 1999, 78 – 79). This demonstrated how suspected interference of archaeological evidence can lead to discourse. Despite this event having a minor negative impact on the scientific discipline as well as Garrod's career, her excavations at Mount Carmel in 1932 had an immense influence on women's involvement in archaeology. As a result of Garrod's work, more women were encouraged to take an active role in archaeology, such as participating in the field of archaeological science and conducting excavations, thus reducing the gender bias that was previously criticised in archaeological practice and in the academic field. Nevertheless, Garrod's intuition and perceptive wisdom (Copeland:1999, 164) catalysed a more 'scientific approach', not only towards Palaeolithic studies, but also towards prehistory and archaeological practice and remains one of the major influences in archaeology.

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Excavating Exploitation: An Analysis of the Archaeology of Exploitation in the Ancient Mediterranean

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Although prostitution was a ubiquitous institution, which thrived across the Mediterranean region, this report focuses on its existence in ancient Rome. Using books and journal articles written by scholars J.A Baird, Ray Laurence, Thomas McGinn, and Anise Strong as a guide, one can examine prostitution through the lenses of several literary sources, as well as through art, building remnants and reconstructed maps. This report has three distinct objectives: first, it outlines the ways in which Roman literary sources discussed prostitution and considers what this indicates about its social implications; secondly, specific locales in which prostitution was conducted are introduced with attention to the character of each; and finally, the debate on moral zoning is explored.

Ancient texts from Roman authors offer strong opinions on prostitution. This is illustrated by the famous translation of Cato the Younger's quote regarding two young men he saw exiting from a brothel: "Blessed be they as virtuous, who when they feel their virile members swollen with lust, visit a brothel rather than grind at some husband's private mill" (Horace, *Satires*, 1.1). This supports the argument that Ray Laurence proposes with respect to social implications: engaging a prostitute was not considered disgraceful for a man. In fact, he notes that prostitution was seen as a means to preserve a family's wellbeing, an appropriate sexual outlet for men whose wives "would die from repeated child bearing" (*Roman Pompeii: Space and Society*, 84) if the pair had more frequent sexual relations. To this end, prostitution was considered legal and was a legitimate source of income during the imperial period, as women were registered by an aedile if their income was earned solely through prostitution and they were subsequently taxed.

Though the act was condoned for men, the prostitute herself was shamed. Martial's description of a prostitute as "a girl of none too good a reputation, such as those that sit in the middle of Subura" (*Epigrams*, 6.66) reinforces the view that the prostitute was a *meretrix,* in direct opposition to a Roman matron (*matrona*). According to Lawrence, she wore a short, brightly coloured dress and elaborate hairstyle and makeup that made her immediately distinguishable, possibly enforced by a dress code introduced in the Augustinian Adultery Law (*Roman Pompeii: Space and Society*, 86). However, it is interesting to note that the relationship between matrons and prostitutes was not hostile by any means. Anise Strong writes: "While *meretrices* certainly did not share the same social status or respect as married women, they formed a ubiquitous part of the urban landscape… Not only men but *matronae* view and are viewed by *meretrices*; this gaze is not morally corrupting for the matron, nor does it humiliate the prostitute" (*Prostitutes and Matrons in the Roman World*, 142-143). The *lenones* were on the other side of the profession, "pimps" who facilitated prostitution as either a main or side business.

Much of what is known about prostitution in ancient Rome comes from reading literary sources, but interpreting archaeological finds is just as crucial in the consideration of theories promoted in literature, as well as to consider new ones. Goals for archaeologists include formulating a picture to accurately characterise the locales in which prostitution took place, while devising the standards upon which their conclusions are based. McGinn outlines Wallace-Hadrill's criteria as an example: "1) the structural evidence of a masonry bed set in a small cell of ready access to the public… 2) the presence of paintings of explicit sexual scenes…3) the cluster of [erotic] graffiti" (*Pompeian Brothels and Social History*, 8). However, these yardsticks are particularly limiting and may restrict prostitution to sites only identified as *cellae* and *lupanar*. *Cellae* were considered "cribs"; single rooms opening onto back alleyways or attached to taverns and houses. A single prostitute worked out of them and they often had lamps placed outside as a calling sign to those who were in the know. The *lupanar* was the permanent brothel, a site which allowed two or more prostitutes to work simultaneously, and where sex was the primary business. There is only one structure definitely identified as a Roman *lupanar*, the Purpose-Built Brothel in Pompeii. Located on a winding street not far from the Forum, the brothel possessed a corridor opening to five rooms, each with a masonry bed and erotic paintings above its doorway. There were five additional rooms on a second floor, postulated to perhaps function as sleeping quarters for the prostitutes employed there. With over a hundred examples of erotic graffiti visible, including prices for sexual acts, this space offers the clearest data on Roman brothels, but by no means can one conclude that it was the largest or busiest location in which prostitution occurred.

One aspect is overlooked by this characterization – namely, prostitution did not always require a specialized building or bed, as can be gleaned from texts and graffiti that illustrate a range of locations for potential sexual transactions, including baths, graveyards, and even Forums. As McGinn notes, *popinae* (bars), and *cauponae* (inns) were likely very popular convenient sites for men to solicit prostitution as well (*Pompeian Brothels and Social History*, 11-12). Wooden beds that have not survived are suspected to have been used in many places, further broadening the variety of locations available. Additionally, erotic art and graffiti have been discovered in many spaces and may suggest a prevalence of sexual behaviour, including paid, that occurred in places with no other signs to indicate the location was a site limited to just prostitution on its own.

Because the stringency of this characterization varies among them, modern scholars have different estimates of how many places of prostitution existed in cities, shaping a debate on whether these spaces were purposefully secluded in an ancient version of a "red-light district." Laurence is a strong proponent for a historical effort toward moral zoning in Pompeii, as he argues that the seven possible brothels in the city (based on stricter criteria) tended to be located apart from areas typically frequented by women and children and near places of stereotypically masculine activities. In effect, the city population would not have come into contact with prostitution unless it was sought out (*Roman Pompeii: Space and Society*, 92). Strong and McGinn oppose this theory, citing a broader range of venues within which prostitution could occur, such as houses and public places, that undermine segregated prostitution districts (*Pompeian Brothels and Social History*, 26). McGinn also contends that some of the textual evidence used in favor of moral zoning come from a post-Christianization perspective of the Roman empire, and thus prioritize Christian, rather than inherently Roman views of behavioural standards (*Economy of Prostitution in the Roman World*, 93).

An examination of the attitudes towards the act of prostitution and its areas in Roman culture are particularly revealing in that they demonstrate the possibility of no segregation between "honourable" and "dishonourable" women in terms of public space. The evidence supporting the likelihood that men solicited prostitutes in public places illustrates that the transaction seems to have been accepted to some degree as a fact of life, and not necessarily deemed immoral as it is in the current era. The debate over moral zoning further reflects a modern stigmatization of prostitution and highlights how the evolution of attitudes over time might have coloured scholarship. Given the variety of sources available, an analysis of all evidence is crucial to most accurately reconstruct Roman positions regarding not just prostitution but also broader analyses in regard to gender and sexuality, as ancient perspectives may have differed greatly from our own.

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Beyond Theory: Queer Theory in Practice

Jorgensen-Rideout, S.

Introduction

Since its introduction, queer theory has found a comfortable niche in archaeology, being used to elucidate elements of identity in archaeological actors and reinforcing post-processual alternatives. It has also created room for queer (see note 1) archaeologists, encouraging a consideration of the identity of the archaeologist in relation to our interpretations. However, despite this development, queer theory remains just that- theory. In comparable groups, such as the feminist critique, we see a practical application in addition to the theoretical, where attempts have been made to increase archaeology's inclusiveness for women. This speaks to a larger problem in archaeology, where the theoretical frameworks that guide archaeology are seen as separate from the practical side of archaeology.

Despite the interest in gender, particularly in prehistory, where work surrounding "third gender" and "ritual" gender burials have made careers, we still see no well-known trans* archaeologists (see note 2). This exclusion is rarely, if ever questioned within the discipline, which seems ironic considering the academic interest. Why are we so interested in trans* people in the past when we make no efforts to include them in our work today?

Perhaps if the exclusion of LGBTQ people from archaeology changed, we would see a subject that is more openly aware of discussions of gender and sexuality in the modern day, and would be more capable of applying these ideas to archaeological evidence.

This article attempts to tackle the separation of archaeology from modern day LGBTQ communities and people, encouraging a change from an archaeology that relies on queer archaeologists to create their own space, to one that encourages and supports LGBTQ participation.

Theory to Practice

This section will focus on identifying some of the major issues that face LGBTQ people and interpretations involving LGBTQ people, and by problematizing them, focus on setting out achievable methods for both individual archaeologists, and wider teams or organisations to foster an inclusive, LGBTQ friendly archaeological practice.

Biological essentialism

Biological essentialism is, in short, the belief that biology overrides all else, that species have an essential behaviour (Devitt 2008, 344). Whilst supporting pillars of biological essentialism such as the "Man the hunter" theory is now falling from the mainstream of archaeology (Sterling 2014, 153), we have still failed to progress further to tackle the seeds of this theory. It is still common to hear the argument that "men" are stronger (repeated by students in every discussion on subsistence strategies), with no critique

as to whether a man automatically means male (Sterling 2014, 152). Deeper questions about the existence of binary genders (and sexes) are overlooked, leading to particular problems in prehistoric archaeology(Geller 2005, 600), and when examining groups who have not traditionally displayed the modern stereotypical western gender identities (Moral 2016, 788).

Recognition that gender is not truly connected to biological sex is essential for accurate portrayals of the past. An attempt to reconstruct the reproductive capacity of a population is never going to be accurate based solely on biological sexing. It must also take into account social role of these bodies. Not all genders may be reproductive for instance, and socialisation may lead to individuals not reproducing (Geller 2005, 601). This is separately (and more acceptably seen and described) in instances of celibacy. Recognising that some individuals may be playing a societal role that does not entail reproduction or does not allow reproduction in a way consistent with their sex is essential for studying past societies. Considering the role reproduction has in creation and maintenance of gender should also be considered (Radha Krishna and Alsuwaigh 2015, 174).

Also falling into the category of biological essentialism is the exclusion of intersex people from archaeological practice and theory. Intersex people represent around 1% of the population (Blackless et al. 2000, 159), however in some areas this may be higher (Blackless et al. 2000, 159). Despite this high rate of occurrence a DNA sexing cannot detect non-XX or XY DNA, and little if any research has been done to resolve this (Fredengren 2013, 62). From a morphological point of view, skeletal sexing can have little use in identifying intersex individuals (Geller 2017, 89). Unfortunately, archaeology still seems trapped by the idea of binary sexes; even if, in some aspects, we have moved past binary genders. Tackling this idea relies on developing some method of identifying intersex individuals in the archaeological record, and developing a theoretical framework (based off queer theory potentially) to include them in archaeological interpretations.

“Exotic” Genders

Whilst tackling the concepts of binary sexes and associated genders is essential, archaeologists must be careful to avoid drifting in to the exotification of certain genders, specifically when considering the link between this and colonialism (Lugones 2007, 188). Terms such as “third gender” can only be described as overused in archaeology, with archaeologists seeming to forget that there are still people belonging to minority groups who identify as third gender (Towle and Morgan 2002, 469). Re-using this term to describe actors in the archaeological record that do not belong to these groups is therefore clearly inappropriate.

Related to this is the conflation of non-binary genders and ritual purpose, particularly shamanism (Hollimon 2017, 54). By looking at this in a critical manner we can deconstruct the “othering” of non-western binary genders. This conflation leads to an unnuanced representation of genders in other cultures. Labelling an entire group of people as “ritual” with no consideration seems an over simplistic leap, and also erases the potential variation within the group. The colonial aspect of this should also be considered, where we label all unknowns (those who do not conform to a western gender binary) as others, or exotic (Towle and Morgan 2002, 469).

Overarching trans*phobia and misogyny

Linking both these previous areas (and a myriad of other factors that for brevity have been excluded) is the pervasive culture of trans*phobia and misogyny, both within archaeology and wider society. Perhaps due to the scarce nature of evidence in archaeology we have retained an overly binary and essentialist way of viewing sex and gender. This does not, however, excuse it. As well as impacting our interpretations (creating simplistic reflections of dominant systems in the modern day), we also

negatively affect our practice. Anecdotal evidence of men hurting themselves in the field whilst trying to prove their "strength" is common, as is the feeling amongst women and trans* people of being excluded and feeling unsafe in fieldwork. Aspects of misogyny such as cat calling and some elements of "men are stronger" biological essentialism are being tackled, yet work to dismantle more pervasive aspects of misogyny and trans*phobia is still in it's infancy.

Summary

This article through exploring and outlining some of the barriers to LGBTQ (particularly trans*) participation in archaeology has shown the need for the application of queer theory to archaeological practice as well. Whilst theoretical articles calling for inclusiveness have their value, I believe that having clear actionable points will allow for a broader move to a practice that includes queer people. Laid out below are some points to exercise that will tackle some of the major barriers faced by LGBTQ people in modern archaeological practice.

Suitable Facilities

Having facilities (namely toilets and showers in the field) that all are able to use is an essential first step. Having your gender identity invalidated every time you need to wee seems an unnecessary attack, and one that can be easily avoided. Especially during field work, having appropriate facilities is essential, and yet it is often over looked.

- Sanitary bins in all bathrooms
    - By recognising that all genders can menstruate (as sex and gender are not connected) it becomes clear that making sanitary bins available for all is essential. In remote field work this becomes especially important, and could be paired with keeping sanitary products (pads and tampons) in an easily accessible place, such as the first aid kit.
- Non-gendered bathroom (both toilet and showers if present)
    - A non-gendered bathroom allows for those who may not identify with the western gender binary to use a bathroom that does not invalidate their gender identity. This facility should not also be the disabled toilet as that should be separately available to allow for accessibility. Simply labelling a bathroom as "toilet" or "W.C" will cover this; there is no need to label bathrooms with a gender. Descriptors such as cubicles or urinals may also be useful.
- Men's and women's areas
    - If camping or in dormitories during fieldwork, considering whether splitting sleeping quarters into men's and women's is essential. Non-binary and trans* individuals may feel excluded and targeted by doing this, especially if they are assigned to an area inconsistent with their identity. Be considerate and thoughtful, and if unsure, ask someone where they are most comfortable sleeping if this division is necessary.

Language

Language includes both the way that systems influence our work and how our work influences external systems. Considering the impact of our language is essential for a responsible archaeology (Bondi 2007, 69) that is aware of the impact we can have on the external world.

- Colonial and imperialist language
    - As discussed above, using language belonging to oppressed groups and minorities should be used extremely cautiously, as to avoid conflating ancient groups and modern

communities, as well as using language that has meaning beyond what archaeologists intend. Defining what the language you're using is intended to mean is essential, and checking whether the language you use has other meanings is equally important.

- Sexist language
    - Whilst overtly sexist language is now frowned upon, "micro aggressions" remain common, especially during field work. Undertones of old thought patterns such as physical differences remain, reinforced by habits of splitting people into men's and women's teams. By having mixed teams the binary gender view can be avoided, and all can be offered equal access to different tasks and areas in site.
- Language and othering
    - Language is a core part of othering, used to create and maintain separation and relationships between groups. By challenging ideas that being cis or binary gendered is the norm we can tackle this othering, allowing trans* and non-binary individual to be included. Whilst the concept of the "deviant" is core to queer theory (Dowson 2000, 163) this does not mean we should force this onto individuals in modern practice.
    - Practices of de-centring cisgender individuals are essential, particularly in learning environments. For seminar leaders and lecturers, introducing yourself with pronouns allows that to become the norm and does not 'other' any individuals who feel they must clearly assert their pronouns. Questioning pronouns is inappropriate, and if someone asks you to use a particular set, it is both polite and validating to use them. Purposefully misusing their pronouns may be a form of discrimination (Pettigrew 2016, 9).

Figure 1: An Example of a pronoun introduction.

Seminar leader: "Welcome class, my name is Alex, and my pronouns are she/hers! Welcome to this module on Theory, please introduce yourselves with pronouns."

Student A: "Hi, I'm Ashley, and I use they/them"

Student B: "I'm Ben and use he/him and I live with Ashley"

Critique

Perhaps the most important element of queer theory to integrate into every day is critique, both of our own practice and wider paradigms of practice. By looking at our practice in a critical manner we can integrate new areas of study, particularly those from sociology and gender studies. We should also look critically at our practice to examine if there are other ways that we can make our discipline more inclusive. Aspects such as application forms and other admin have not been included but are equally important. This article is not intended as an exhaustive guide, but as a start to forge an archaeological practice that utilises queer theory to encourage diversity and inclusiveness.

Conclusion

Altering our practice will make archaeology more inclusive to women and other genders that have been traditionally excluded and marginalised. Through doing this we can make sure that both practical and theoretical sides of archaeology more accurately represent the variety of gender identities present. This can only be a positive thing for archaeology, as by involving a wider variety of people our community will become more representative, and by extension, so will our interpretations and methods. Archaeology is

perhaps most valuable to these marginalised groups, as we represent a way of finding heritage and community. *The value of knowing there have always been people like you and always will be is always understated*. A representative, inclusive archaeology has the potential to present this, increasing our relevance to modern day discussions of identity and other themes.

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Notes

1. Queer and LGBTQ are used somewhat interchangeably here, however both for this work include those who do not simultaneously identify as heterosexual, heteroromantic and cisgender.
2. Trans* broadly means those who do not identify with the gender they were assigned at birth. Cisgender is the opposite of this. Here I have cannibalised the phrase to include archaeological individuals who do not conform to modern western binary-gender, as this is more inclusive than "third gender" and "ritual" descriptors.

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