The Ethnograph

Journal of Anthropological Studies

The University of British Columbia

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Dear Reader,

What you are perusing is the culmination of nearly 8 months of work reviewing, selecting, editing, and reading (so, so much reading) done by the exceptional *Ethnograph* Team. Creating the 2023 edition took many hours of hard work from our editors, authours, and artists. *The Ethnograph* is an annual, student-run publication, sponsored by the UBC Anthropology Students' Association. The Journal seeks to publish thoughtful, intersectional works that reflect the dynamic field of anthropology. We look to provide students with the opportunity to both publish, and discover student papers relevant to the field. This is the 7th edition of our publication.

We would like to thank everyone involved in the creation of this edition, and the teams before ours for establishing this avenue of creativity. We would especially like to thank the students of UBC Anthropology and the support of the Anthropology Students Association. We would also like to thank the faculty of the Department who took special interest in our work and their generous support in reinstating the Journal for the student body. Lastly, we would like to thank you, the reader, and the dedication of our anthropology community, without whom *The Ethnograph* would not exist.

Importantly, we would like to recognize the unceded lands of the xʷməθkʷəy̓əm (Musqueam) on which we gathered to create this edition. The University of British Columbia as an institution maintains and continues the legacy of colonialism on these lands. We ask that you reflect on whose lands you are currently on, and the gift it is to be there.

We encourage all who are reading to become involved in the publication in the future. The student-led journal provides an avenue to be heard, and to lift the voices of our peers. Your involvement, be it through submissions or as a part of the editorial team, will help this publication flourish. We look forward to the future editions of this journal, and hope you do as well.

High kicks,

Laura Derby
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Artist's Statement

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Painting this piece, I hoped to capture the power of anthropology to bring us closer to the world around us— no matter how physically distant some of it may be. Of course, Machu Picchu, the Parthenon, and the Pyramids of Giza are not visible from the UBC Rose Garden, but in a way, we forge this proximity by learning about them.

I also wanted to include our own positionality and what we have around us, so in the foreground you can see some BC iconography like "Big Lonely Doug"— an old growth Douglas Fir that stands in a clearcut on Vancouver Island. Anthropology as a discipline gives us a unique perspective on the world, which emphasizes both local and global contexts, and conceptualizes specific times and places as moving parts in a bigger picture. By playing with the conventions of reality in this painting, I intended to represent how our studies make us familiar with otherwise unknown concepts, while also conveying the vastness of this field where we will always have more to learn.

Join the Brotherhood!: How "Alpha Male" Podcasts are Targeting Men

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Abstract

A recent upsurge of all-male hosted podcasts in North America has brought to the foreground an extreme type of content that focuses mainly on spreading misogynistic rhetoric based on contrived constructions of the gender binary. This paper explores the language used in the trending genre of podcasting, dubbed "alpha male" podcasts, to demonstrate how a "hegemonic masculinity" is constructed in (heterosexual) adolescent boys and young men, taking explicit advantage of a lack of positive male culture. Two trending "alpha male" podcasts– *Good Bro Bad Bro* and *Fresh and Fit Podcast*– reveal a campaign of sexist and bigoted content aimed towards teenage boys who are struggling to contextualize the world and their role in it. In utilizing "hegemonic masculinity," these podcasts emphasize a practice that legitimizes men's dominant position in society and justifies the subordination of the "common" male population and women. In revealing these hegemonic practices, this paper aims to emphasize the alarming ferocity with which this content is targeted at young men with low confidence, and highlight the need for more online resources for men.

Introduction

In the continued rise of social media content, there has been an upsurge in all-male hosted podcasts in North America, whose content focuses mainly on spreading misogynistic rhetoric based on contrived constructions of the gender binary. Dozens of male-dominated lifestyle and self-help podcasts have emerged in the past few years, parroting toxic and misogynistic beliefs. This rhetoric includes positing men as the dominant gender, as well as passing derogatory remarks about women's appearances, actions, and relationships. These men have carved out a misogynistic niche for themselves within podcasting and are currently being referred to on social media as "alpha male podcast hosts" (Brennan). For the most part, they attract backlash from the larger audience and only receive listeners from the "alpha male" subculture. However, the audience they are targeting is primarily made up of adolescent boys and young men— age groups that are in the process of forming their social identities. Podcast producers target younger age ranges so that they may guide them to the path of achieving true "alpha-male status" by teaching them to be the "natural leaders of the world" (Avetisyan). In this paper, I will explore the language used in this trending genre of the "alpha male" podcast to demonstrate how a "hegemonic masculinity" is constructed in (heterosexual) adolescent boys and young men. I will

argue that “alpha male” hosts are taking explicit advantage of a lack of positive male culture to create their own definition of what ‘manhood’ is to sell to young men and boys.

Two “alpha male” podcasts will be examined in this paper: *Good Bro Bad Bro* and *Fresh and Fit Podcast*. These podcasts are currently the most popular on the internet, “trending” on multiple social media platforms, with many people jumping in to criticize or defend the hosts’ ideologies. Within these podcasts, I will focus on how the hosts talk about men and critique certain forms of masculinity. This will involve examining the language used by the hosts and how they purposefully exclude certain men from the status of “alpha male,” inflicting hate and shame in order to influence them to change their behaviour to mirror that of the “alphas”. In the second part of the paper I will discuss these podcasts alongside academic publications on misogynist rhetoric in online spaces to further exemplify the negative space created by these podcast hosts, and the effects they have on young men. This paper concludes with suggestions of creating a defense against the derogatory “alpha male” mindset, and a positive outlook on the future.

Notes on Jargon and Definitions

The hosts of the chosen podcasts refer to gender as a strict binary of men and women. The scope of my research focuses primarily on the way the hosts speak to and about men, however, I am keen for future research to be undertaken on the numerous other problematic and derogatory views presented in these podcasts.

There is specific jargon used amongst “alpha male” communities that I use in this paper. For clarity, this jargon will be briefly defined here:

“*Alpha*” and “*Beta*” are pseudoscientific terms for men derived from the designation for alpha and beta animals in ethology—alpha being top of the hierarchy, with beta falling below. Another commonly used phrase, “*high/low-value male/female*” refers to a mindset that asserts that men and women can have high or low societal worth. Finally, “*simp*” is slang for a person (typically a man) who is called out for being desperate for the attention and affection of someone else (typically a woman).

The individual episodes of each podcast were chosen because they were the most outstanding examples of malicious language towards men.

Good Bro Bad Bro Podcast - Hosted by Jack Denmo

The following short paragraph is pasted in the description box of every single episode of *Good Bro Bad Bro*:

> *A podcast about dating and self improvement for men. We help young men improve their dating/game, business and social life. Improving your confidence. Improving your lifestyle. Building status and creating social circles. Getting higher quality girls. Getting multiple girls. Becoming high value. Starting a business. A no-BS approach to being a man in your 20s. Are you a good bro or a bad bro? Welcome to the brotherhood.* (Denmo)

Immediately we know the target audience: men in their 20s. With the guarantee of "no bullshit," this podcast promises self-improvement in every facet of a man's life. For young men and boys with low confidence and low self-esteem, the promise of becoming a "high value man" becomes irresistible. The question, *"[a]re you a good bro or a bad bro?"* directly implies that not following the logic laid out by this podcast makes one a "bad bro," a bad friend, or just overall a bad, weak, and unaccomplished man — a direct insult to the listener's masculinity. Furthermore, "*[w]elcome to the brotherhood"* brings together the idea that men can feel like part of a group here— they can find comradery, solidarity, and support.

These phrases and buzzwords are used to draw an audience in, as they are specific to online forums primarily used by men. Using language that is common in all misogynist platforms connects men together in a digital world of manhood, a so-called "manosphere", allowing young men to find even more of this content when they use these buzzwords. If someone is curious as to what a "high value man" is, a Google search yields forums and articles listing off "21 Traits of a High Value Man", or "How to Become a High Value Man in 2022". It also pulls up recommended YouTube videos linking to YouTubers and Podcasters who follow the "alpha male" mindset.

The Rise of Lonely Single Men - Good Bro Bad Bro

In an episode titled *The Rise of Lonely Single Men*, Jack Denmo explains why "lonely men" have terrible luck on dating apps and are bad at meeting women. This episode targets men who have trouble speaking to women in social settings by highlighting how *sad* it is that these men have to turn to the internet and dating apps to find social connections. Denmo first states that men who swipe right more on dating apps are "simps," trying to get "girls out of their league" and embarrassing themselves (Denmo, 8:40). One can imagine how listeners who actively use dating apps may identify with this description, and thus, feel awful and embarrassed about themselves. Most likely they would want to keep listening to learn how to "fix themselves" and become a "high quality man."

Denmo speaks down to "lonely" men who find communities online to engage with and to share their passions and interests. He calls this "artificial stimulation," stating that only low status men with no self-confidence disengage from society and retreat into "computerworld" where they are assumed to just play video games and spend time online (Denmo, 13:00). This is an interesting point, as the community Jack is creating with his podcast is also an online community where men can interact and engage with himself and other men. Furthermore, he refers to men who use the Internet as lazy and as being skill deficient. He says, "Most guys can't even call a dentist to book an appointment because it's too much work for them. They become absolute suckers" (Denmo, 15:00).

By the end of the episode, Denmo somberly concludes: "It makes sense why so many men are single and lonely, and it's really depressing" (Denmo, 17:05). His tone throughout the entire episode has been somber and matter-of-fact, making this topic feel like a very serious issue, and establishing himself as an "authority" on this issue. Leaving his listeners on this sad note, feeling hopeless that they are doomed to be lonely forever, Denmo closes the last few

seconds of the episode by bringing them some hope: “If you would like to learn how to completely transform your social skills make sure you check out more episodes of this podcast. And make sure to share this podcast because the more guys see this means less guys are lonely and single” (Denmo, 17:20). Denmo has given these lonely men a solution! Listening to all his other episodes will fix them, and sharing the podcast with their friends will help even more people. This leaves men feeling supported, so of course they will come back for more.

You Are A 3/10, Stop Lying To Yourself About Your Looks - Good Bro Bad Bro

In this second episode, Denmo focuses on men whose physical looks or attractiveness are thought to be only a 3 out of 10 (Denmo). To begin, the audience is very bluntly told that they are not attractive, and what’s worse, they are not self-aware enough to realize it. What follows is Denmo positioning himself as being the generous soul who is here to open mens eyes, make them aware of their faults, and give them tips on how to “improve themselves as a product or source of value” (Denmo, 02:30). He speaks about how men of certain races will have a harder time on dating apps because they are statistically less attractive than white men (Denmo, 3:50). This brings up racial dynamics that place white men at the top of the hierarchy when it comes to attractiveness, and posits that socially perceived physical attractiveness is unequally distributed across racial and ethnic groups. This point is justified as a statistical fact, therefore presenting Denmo’s opinion as an ultimate truth provided by scientific findings (Denmo, 4:35). Race is an uncontrollable aspect of these men's lives, and encouraging race to be an insecurity for non-white men increases their sense of need for advice from people like Denmo.

This episode constructs the “ideal man” as someone who goes to the gym two hours a day, has a perfectly clean diet, is never on their phone, and is never playing video games (Denmo, 6:35). Denmo mocks men for buying cheaper, more affordable clothing, while also telling them that they cannot get away with expensive clothing because they do not have the aura of being successful or skilleds (Denmo, 7:25). The entire episode bluntly berates men for their appearance while also reassuring them that it can be fixed if they listen to Denmo. He breaks them down, and then promises to help build them back up, even better than they were before.

Fresh and Fit Podcast - Hosted by Walter Weekes and Myron Gaines

In comparison to *Good Bro, Bad Bro*, this podcast takes a much more aggressive tone when telling men how to be successful “alphas”. In a short description, Weekes and Gaines describe their podcast as being a resource for providing the “truth” in fitness and dating with an “experienced and evidence-based approach”. They close the description by promising to teach “NO BS tactics that the fitness industry REFUSES to tell you” (Weekes and Gaines). With this tone and choice of words, Weekes and Gaines are presenting themselves as having the true secrets to success; they are making themselves desirable. Most of Weekes and Gaines’ content focuses on dating advice, which primarily involves dominating and disrespecting women, which will be highlighted in the following section.

STOP Giving Girls FREE ATTENTION - Rest In POWER - Fresh and Fit Podcast

In this episode, Gaines and guest Alan Roger Currie speak about how men should not give women “free attention”. They argue that if a man is spending a lot of time with a woman but is not having sex with her, he is wasting his time, money, and resources (Gaines & Currie, 45.23). Gaines and Currie describe this type of man as a “simp”, asking why a proper man would choose to spend time with a girl if they are not going to get something (usually sex) in return. They are teaching men that sex and relationships are transactional, and that sex is always the main goal of any relationship with women. Much of the content of this podcast focuses on putting men down for certain actions, while stating how obvious it is that these men are “betas” or “losers”.

Short Clips - Fresh and Fit Podcast

Fresh and Fit Podcast also has a TikTok account, and in a short clip posted on the app, Weekes and Gaines state that men who let their girlfriends go out to parties or clubs, and use Instagram are “beta” males who have no control in their relationships . In addition to calling men “simps,” Weekes and Gaines also use “beta” to emasculate their listeners, pressuring them to re-evaluate and change their behaviour to be “alphas”. They mock men who do not fit what they say is the golden standard, and continuously call them stupid. Another TikTok clip features Gains telling the audience that they must never let a woman pay for a date. If a man pays for a date it shows that he is dominant, assertive, and decisive; a true leader of men. If a man listens to this podcast and has let his female partner pay for a date, he would then start feeling like he is inadequate as a man (Gains, 00:00-00:29).

Discussion

Online male-dominated communities centered around issues like relationships, physical attractiveness, or status tend to attract men who feel disenfranchised and crave a sense of power. The podcasts analyzed here claim to feature self-help or self-improvement techniques specifically for men, drawing in young men with low confidence who are looking for a role model. “Alpha male podcasts” are utilizing “hegemonic masculinity,” that is, they emphasize a practice that legitimizes men's dominant position in society and justifies the subordination of the “common” male population and women. In the hierarchy of masculinity, hegemonic masculinity is at the top (Pascoe, 7). This opposes “subordinated masculinity” which refers to men who do not fit into the construction of hegemonic masculinity and are therefore treated as lower on the gender hierarchy. These would be the “beta” males that the hosts speak about; the man every young boy needs to avoid being.

An adherence to hegemonic masculinity in these podcasts creates an expectation of certain behaviors in men, such as workplace success and sexual dominance. Additionally, perceived threats to a man’s hegemonic masculine identity can result in negative responses and behavior, including threats of violence, aggression, sexism and subordination of other identities. As a result of threatening or stressful events, men engage in negative behaviors, such as using degrading language towards women and other men as a way to reaffirm their masculinity (Bennett, 1). Online spaces enable “beta” males to weaponize misogyny in a bid to increase and

maintain their social, cultural, or economic capital (Ging & Siapera, 517). In other words, beta males are encouraged to use this misogynist rhetoric and behaviour to become “alphas.” The violent language and insults used towards women, effeminate men, or other "abject identities" such as “beta” males, is often used to construct their hegemonic masculinity; putting down others they see as weak makes them feel more dominant, hegemonic, or “alpha.”

The attitude of men towards other men in these “alpha male” podcasts highlights a lack of positive male culture. Jack Denmo, Walter Weekes, and Myron Gaines each use insulting language when referring to other men, bullying them into altering their ideas of what proper manhood is. These hosts normalize the use of harassing, insulting, and violent language towards women, other men, and themselves. By employing misogynistic and homophobic language and imagery, these “alpha men” create a space that discourages women, as well as “lower” forms of masculinities from being respected, and keeps “beta” men in line in terms of their proscribed actions and attitudes (Moloney & Love, 7).

This violent language and attitude is then advertised as “self-help” or “self-improvement”, presenting it as something healthy for men to participate in. Looking at some reviews for this podcast, we can see how young men are grateful for having this podcast to turn to for advice. One example is:

Content is incredible and life changing from the perspective of a young male. Plus, seeing all these beta males or mindless females coming straight from tiktok having never actually listened to a full episode, leaving 1-star reviews, compelled me even more to give this show a 5-star rating. Good stuff lads keep it up (Anonymous Reviewer).

The felt disenfranchisement of this anonymous viewer led them to view women and “betas” as enemies, and increased his appreciation of the podcast. While young men express gratitude for these podcasts, many women (partners, friends, siblings) seem to worry about their male loved ones who listen to these podcasts. For instance, a BuzzFeed News post highlights a story of loved ones embracing deeply hateful and misogynistic worldviews since listening to “alpha male” influencers. A woman's young brother became infatuated with “alpha male” podcasts, making insinuations about needing to change the way he was because he was a “beta”. He became unhappy with himself after hearing how the hosts of these types of podcasts describe what the “ideal high-value male” looks like (Onibada). Similarly, on dating apps, interviewed women report a notable increase of men regurgitating messaging from these “alpha-male” content creators. Women noted that these men include phrasings in profiles such as: “seeking a feminine woman,” and “I am a high-value man” (Onibada).

Conclusion

“Alpha male” podcasts suggest that heterosexual men can learn the skills to appear or perform hegemonic masculinity. These podcasts teach men values like assertiveness, dominance and self- confidence with the promise that if they follow the advice, they can convince women to sleep with them (Johanssen, 60). With this intense focus on attracting and controlling women, these podcasts also assume, naturalize, and promote heterosexuality as the only acceptable and

valued form of sexuality, which is also a central feature of hegemonic masculinity: they need to be heterosexual before anything else.

Young, impressionable men have access to very little positive male influence, especially online. These outlets are filled with ideas about what the "perfect man" looks like, highlighting ideals that are not only unachievable but also harmful both to the listeners and everyone around them. What these "alpha male" podcast hosts are offering young men is the opportunity to become the perfect, high value man that allegedly every woman wants and that every man is jealous of. They are offering the perfect guide to being the most dominant, logical, masculine pack leader. Follow the steps they lay out and you'll have swarms of virtuous, young women, untainted by the stains of feminism, ready to follow your every command and fall at your feet, as well the utmost respect from every other crypto-obsessed gym-bro (Avetisyan). These podcasts are a troubling response to the current political climate, which tends to grant a platform to alt-right voices that campaign for bigotry under the defense of free speech. In addition, teenage boys who are struggling to contextualize the world and their role in it, are more receptive to this type of sexist content. They might not even immediately realize that what they're consuming is harmful. All they see are men that look like them, or what they want to look like, in this "brotherhood," promising to give them advice on how to succeed in life. To create a defense against this derogatory mindset, perhaps an increase in positive male culture is a place to start, especially for young boys.

Thankfully, a large part of the online world is not receptive to this "alpha male" content, and many podcasts and video series have been created in response to this content. These creators aim to show their audiences of all ages that these "alpha male" ideals are toxic and harmful, and currently, these creators have been garnering thousands of viewers and listeners. The future looks hopeful.

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Who's Agency? A Study of Burial Murals in Ancient China

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Abstract

After Chinese tombs shifted from vertical shaft tombs to horizontal chamber tombs, murals became popular to decorate burial chambers. The subjects of these murals usually include portraits of the living, as well as the universe, gardens, and landscapes of imaginary spaces. Past studies of tomb murals have been limited to the dualism of the living and the dead, suggesting that mural paintings were a reflection of wealth and status. This paper, however, proposes that Chinese tomb murals should not be limited to a single perspective of living or deceased, but should be restored in conjunction with the theme of the murals and the construction process of the tomb.

Introduction:

Burials are special spaces that build a bridge between the living and dead, connecting the past and future. Mural painting is one form of burial art that emerged in Chinese mortuary culture, reflecting how early humans transformed the concept of the afterlife from abstract to concrete. Previous studies interpreting these murals have focused on the perspectives of the living viewers and the builders of the chambers, or on the interaction between the deceased and the painted world (Wu "The Art" 64; Hay 17). Scholars suggest that these mortuary paintings, especially the ones that directly depict the deceased, were a connection with ancestry (Hong 237).

This paper will focus on the concept of agency, which can be conceived as the intentionality and structure of human interactions with social institutions and their material surroundings (Giddens 8). I argue the living and dead have equal agency in relation to the murals and should not be analyzed independently. Mural painting signifies how the elite population's understanding of the real world reflects into death. Therefore, this article will first introduce Chinese mortuary tradition, explain the mural themes in different burial spaces, and then critically analyze existing research to demonstrate the agency of the living and the dead in mortuary context.

The Developing Mortuary Tradition

The structure of ancient Chinese graves underwent a major transformation from vertical shaft tombs to horizontal chamber tombs during the Warring States period (Lai 2). The shaft pit tombs developed before the Shang dynasty were dug directly from the ground, using wooden coffins and chamber boards to create a confined space that isolated the deceased. The waist pit at the bottom of shaft tombs is commonly interpreted as the entrance to the afterlife (Liu 58), demonstrating an attempt to connect with the netherworld. The development of the horizontal chamber not only complicated the structure of the tomb, but also increased the types of artifacts and decorations inside them. Generally, horizontal tombs have an access passage that allows humans to walk into the tombs, allowing the burial spaces to become the platform for the murals.

By the end of the Western Han Dynasty, horizontal burials had dominated the burial structure in ancient China. A rise in burial art began, as artifacts with no practical purpose called "*mingqi*明器" and terracotta figurines gradually replaced sacrifices (Wu “The Art” 92). Painting figures on the tomb walls also became a popular tradition, usually found in the tombs of royal kin or non-literati elites, the social class who gained their power through hereditary privileges or military prowess (Hong 206). The specific content of the murals in each tomb differ, but the subject matter is similar, including landscapes and figure paintings, religious motifs, and more (Wu “The Art” 31-63). Although the tradition of painting on tomb walls was abolished multiple times due to changes in social customs, the long history of development from the Han Dynasty to the Qing Dynasty highlights the importance of murals in elite burials.

The diversity and complexity of tomb murals portray the emergence of burial arts, detailing concepts of the afterlife, making human’s imagination more vivid and realistic. In pre-Han burials, although the boundary between life and death was physically distinguished through burial spaces, archaeologists were unable to fully portray the landscape and symbolism of the netherworld in one culture. The emergence of tomb murals has filled the gap, allowing scholars to learn about the religious beliefs, lifestyle, landscape, hierarchy, and identities of the period, and build a complete image of their afterlife.

Spatiality and Content of Mural Paintings

The contents of tomb murals were usually carefully laid out according to the size of the "canvas" and the status of the tomb owner. From the entrance to the passage and chamber room, the content of the murals in each tomb flowed with its space, aiming to create an immersive experience of the afterlife. Though some burials were built as an imitation of actual living spaces, the layout of the murals did not always correspond to the internal and external scenes of the living rooms (Li “A Study” 21). In the tomb of Princess Linhe of the Eastern Wei dynasty (see Figure 1), when walking into the entrance and long passage, a ceremonial procession of warriors and attendants equivalent to the princess’s status are illustrated on both walls (Li “A Study” 21-22). Above the chamber door are the botanical symbols and four animals of Chinese myths: the Azure Dragon, the White Tiger, the Vermilion Bird, and the Black Tortoise, signifying that the visitor has now entered the imaginative realm. Such ceremonial scenes can also be found in other burials, such as the tombs of Prince Li Xian and Princess Xincheng, as well as other middle-class noble burials.

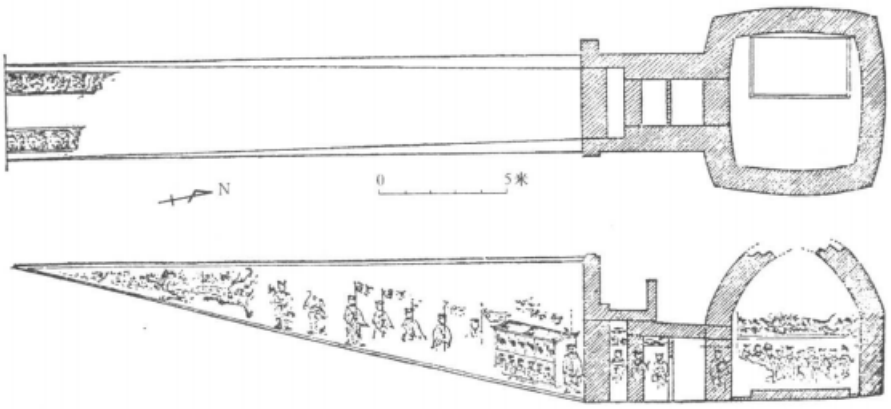

Figure 1: Multi-view diagram of the burial of Princess Linhe in Ci County (Li "A Study" 22)

Many ancient Chinese tombs contain the imaginative motif called a "half-open door" on the back wall facing the entrance, with a character standing between the door, guiding the visitor inside (Goldin 539). This mural separates the "outer space" from the "inner chamber", creating the effect that the tomb has not yet reached its end, breaking the confines of the tombs' physical space. The character that opens the door is usually a young woman, but is sometimes a monk or an immortal, with a symbolic meaning of luring or guiding the deceased to the afterlife (Zheng 18).

The images in the interior of the chamber room are arranged in a particular order, and can be categorized into vertical or horizontal compositions. In the case of horizontal compositions, the tomb walls are divided into three spaces: upper, middle, and lower. Scenes that portray everyday life are usually placed in the lower parts, with storytelling images in the middle, and religious and divine themes in the upper parts (Li "A Study" 22, 26, 30-31). On the ceiling, motifs such as the cosmos and the galaxy are painted, forming a clear contrast between the heavenly and human realms. Vertical compositions are often used for large landscapes or portraits, sometimes drawing a scene in its entire form, and at times with a deliberate border to separate it into different frames, transforming burials into exhibition halls (Wu "Simulated" 8).

Chamber room murals have a variety of subjects, often including feasting, drama, chariot and horse travel, buildings, landscapes, and portraits of the deceased (Li "A Study" 21). For example, the tombs of Prince Li Xian and Princess Xincheng of the Tang dynasty contain a large number of paintings of both male and female attendants, and leisure activities including polo and hunting (Eckfeld 39, 118-120). One corner of Prince Li Xian's burial chamber is depicted as a secluded garden, with a dignified woman relaxing in this intimate space surrounded by her maids and eunuchs. In non-literati elite burials, the tomb occupants, usually a couple, are often drawn. They are typically seated facing each other with calm expressions, and are served by their attendants. The scene appears situated in their lifetime residence, with furniture, screens, and tableware (see Figure 2). Overall, the themes of the tomb murals are usually similar and change with the status of the tomb owner, but the artistic approach and expression are usually different.

Figure 2: Tomb occupants and their attendants, in Baisha Tomb No. 1 (Hong 222).

Afterlife and its United Experience

By restoring the process of tomb and mural creation, we see that both the living and the dead are the audience of the murals. First, it is the living who think and imagine, depicting and creating an ideal afterlife. Then, the tomb is built, followed by the funeral, then the closure of the burial. Finally, the soul of the deceased travels and experiences everything in the painted world. Thus, a complete afterlife experience should start from the construction of the tomb to the funeral, and extend into the afterlife. Early studies, however, often overlooked this point, approaching mural paintings from two discrete perspectives: 1. understanding mural paintings as a symbol to demonstrate hierarchy of the living community; and 2. only focusing on the living's agency in mural paintings.

This first focus emphasizes the role that mural paintings play in a community, and its ritual or cultural significance to the living. Wu Hung emphasizes the concealment of the inner world of the tomb from the living, as well as how burial decorations, such as murals, evoke the imagination about the afterlife. He suggests that murals in early Chinese graves "focus on private life and entertainment" (Wu "The Art" 42), as well as the "dead person's public image and social status" (Wu "The Art" 42). Hong believes that the portraits of the tomb owners express ancestor worship and "developed their own channels of pursuing genealogical

interests and consolidating lineages" (Hong 206). Lian proposes that the primary audience for the murals in the tombs was not the deceased, but the living who were shown in terms of economic power and social status, although the display may have been very brief (Lian 69).

The above ideas ignore how the living considered the interaction between the dead and the murals. Ancient Chinese tombs would be completely closed after the funeral, and the family of the deceased would never enter again if not necessary. Thus, the original meaning of the mural images was not the presence or absence of a living "spectator" but the creation of an intimate space for the dead. According to the complete process of the funeral, Wu and Lian's analysis of murals on living agency can only be applied to the construction of the tomb, up to the completion of the funeral, as the living only interacted with the murals for a short period of time. When the funeral was finished and the burial was closed, the living were no longer allowed to participate in the development of the afterlife. Hence, focusing solely on the perspective of the living ignores the experiences of the true protagonist of the tomb, equating funerals with secular events, and ignoring their symbolic connotations.

When studying the use of space after a tomb is closed, we must consider how the spirits of the deceased interact with the murals. In Hay's research, he chooses a completely different perspective that explores the ability of the dead to use the grave, that is, how "painting implied a more actively participatory viewer" (Hay 53). For the deceased, their agency began with the funeral and reached the most active state after the chamber door was closed. According to the imaginations of the living, the souls of the deceased would slowly enter the passage along with the procession, and the image of the "opening of the gates" marked their formal entry into the otherworld, where the chamber was a space entirely devoted to their enjoyment. They were surrounded by many servants and roamed around in different scenes, just as they did during their lifetimes. As a result, the mural is not only spatial, but also temporal, as its audience changes throughout the funeral process.

When analyzing the tomb murals, the variation of themes becomes very important as the sacred animals, scenery, and galaxies depicted are not seen in the human world. Since these imaginary creatures and places are not real but in the netherworld, the murals are for the dead, as their final destination. Thus, I argue that the living and deceased are equally participating in the funeral, and that the mural is an imaginary world created by the living and inhabited by the dead.

Limitation of Mural Paintings

However, burial art cannot fully address the human understanding of the post-mortem world. Due to cost and labour, mural painting is a joint product of society, culture, and class. When society was unstable or a simplified burial culture was revered instead, the mural tradition would be briefly abolished. The elements and motifs highlighted in the murals, including clothing, religious symbols, and social activities in which different populations participated, were expressions of the local, contemporary culture. This is the reason why a high degree of diversity is reflected in the murals of different dynasties and regions. At the same time, the expensive cost of the murals led to their presence in the tombs of only a small group of people, suggesting that this art was embedded in a social hierarchy. Existing studies on the use of murals sometimes overemphasize the role of murals in shaping the world view of ancient Chinese peoples, while ignoring the importance of socio-cultural influence and

hierarchy. I would therefore like to mention that the murals reflect only the elite population's perception of death rather than that of the society as a whole.

Murals depict the elite population's rosy vision of life after death, with a joyful journey that was built on their wealth and status. This understanding may have been different among the civilian population, that is, those who did not have access to chamber tombs. These populations, who were attendants and servants during their lifetimes, would not have wanted to continue their suffering in the afterlife. Unlike the elite population who enjoyed a joyful post-mortem experience, the netherworld where commoners lived could be happy or miserable, full of great randomness. The post-mortem world, as understood by these civilians, was likely different from the elite population, perhaps gruesome, perhaps more ideal, but these cannot be explored through murals. Thus, archaeologists are unable to get a glimpse of the overall population's view of death because art was limited to rich populations.

Conclusion

Under the influence of animism, where everything is considered spiritual and the soul is believed to be immortal, elite populations in ancient China persistently sought immortality and strived to prolong their lives. The afterlife represented their spiritual quest, which intensified and externalized itself along with the development of society. The first priority of the people during this period was to complete this quest through tomb murals and other decorations. The large, lavish chambers were filled with images that depicted the owners' prestige in life, preserved all their previous social relationships, and depicted the imaginary realm of the afterlife.

Despite the limitations of murals, we can see the figuration of the afterlife in the tomb, not only in the shift from vague concepts to detailed depictions, but also in the shift from material to spiritual. The murals shape space, establish a hierarchy of areas within the tomb, and share a developed cosmology between the living and the dead. By holding funerals, the living convert material culture into spiritual culture, allowing the deceased to continue living in fantasy. Both the ancestry worship and social structure represented by the living, and the journey of the soul of the deceased, can be found in the same mural. Its complexity and immersion require scholars to reconsider its symbolic meaning from multiple perspectives, linking life and death. Through this article, we re-investigated the equal contribution of human agency in funerary art and how murals act as a medium. A deeper understanding of the cosmology behind funerary culture in terms of temporality was gained, suggesting the lens of "created by the living and experienced by the dead" when interpreting ancient Chinese burial murals.

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Restitution of Human Remains in Museum Practice: A Need for Collaboration with Communities

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Abstract

Over the past few decades, the discourse around museums and museum practice has surrounded repatriation and restitution. The presence of stolen and unprovenanced human remains within the collections of museums and institutions is part of this ongoing discourse. Here, I argue that restitution of human remains is necessary to the decolonization of museums and museum practice. Additionally, the restitution process requires continuous community engagement and collaboration.

Introduction

A pertinent problem within museums and institutions is the presence of stolen and unprovenanced human remains. Through the process of restitution, many museums and institutions have made moves towards establishing and building better relationships with Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities. Despite this, there are still individuals within academia who do not see the necessity for the restitution of these human remains, or the repatriation of other materials. In this paper, I argue that restitution of human remains is necessary to the decolonization of museums and institutions, and requires community engagement and collaboration throughout the entire process. To support this argument, I will first provide background information on restitution and repatriation. I will then discuss the relationship between human remains and scientific research, specifically looking at the reasons against restitution from the perspective of researchers and institutions. I will then explore instances where scientific research was necessary as a means to facilitate and aid restitution of human remains by drawing on examples within museum practice and community engagement. Finally, I will question the pursuit of scientific knowledge within the context of restitution and repatriation.

Background

The Oxford English Dictionary defines restitution as returning something to its proper and/or original owner (“restitution, n.” 2022), and repatriation as returning a person, money, or artifact to the country of origin (“repatriation, n.” 2022). These definitions all centre around the returning of something to its original owners, whether that be a country or a cultural group.

Restitution and repatriation are prevalent issues that Western institutions are facing today — specifically, as political subjects caught between the political relationships of countries (Tythacott and Arvanitis 2). Many view the process of restitution as a “transformative work for

all who are involved" (Atalay et al. 88) that transcends the binary lens often portrayed in academic discourse. Restitution occupies a contested space where binaries such as "Indigenous versus Western, "sacred versus secular", "science versus religion", or "colonial control versus cultural survival" oppose each other (Peers, Reinius and Shannon 1). These binary portrayals and understandings neglect the nuances and complexities surrounding restitution practices within museums and how they affect source communities.

As Belcastro and Mariotti write, restitution as a concept arose from a post-colonial and post-modern theoretical framework that was present in archaeology and anthropology during the 1960s and 1970s (230). In the 1980s and 1990s, legislation surrounding the right for Indigenous peoples to control the narratives of their heritage and cultural identities was put into practice by 'post-colonial countries' such as the United States, Canada, and Australia (230). Within this 'post-colonial' context, the process of restitution and repatriation is often perceived "as a means of reconciliation with previously oppressed and discriminated groups, and a strategy in which the communities of origin regain the right to define themselves, their history and identity" (Belcastro and Mariotti 230). In other words, 'post-colonial' countries and institutions consider the returning of stolen materials to their original homes as a means to apologize and reconcile with communities they have historically oppressed and discriminated against. However, restitution and repatriation has allowed for Indigenous communities to control the narrative of their histories and identities within these 'post-colonial' institutions.

The Argument Against Restitution: The Pursuit of Scientific Knowledge

Despite the tumultuous history of restitution and repatriation, there are still academics who believe that restitution and repatriation greatly limits scientific research opportunities, and therefore should not be encouraged. This type of attitude is especially prevalent in archaeology and anthropology (Krmpotich 145). Strictly speaking, a wealth of knowledge can be gained from archaeological human remains. Some examples of the knowledge obtainable from these remains include broadening our understanding of biological and cultural evolution, diets, diseases, ancestry, mobility, population demography, and changes in cultural beliefs and practices of past peoples (Belcastro and Mariotti 229; Stumpe 137).

Recognizing the potential benefits of scientific research on archaeological human remains can coexist with the understanding that the most meaningful research would only be possible through partnerships and collaborations between institutions, researchers, and communities (Stumpe 2005). However, there is still significant pushback from certain groups within academia due to the fear of a loss in scientific research opportunities. This, in turn, brings up questions surrounding the purpose of pursuing scientific knowledge and whether or not this knowledge can exist within a vacuum outside of its political and ethical context.

For some individuals, there is a perception that "academic study is under threat" due to the freedoms of scholarly pursuits being "gradually replaced by a repatriation agenda" (Anarui 23-24). This perspective of the 'repatriation agenda' is one that is viewed through a binary lens,

losing all nuance. By neglecting to see the bigger picture and the benefits and drawbacks of restitution and repatriation for all participants – institutions and source communities – it only serves to diminish the ethical and political nature of these processes. As Krmpotich describes, "[r]epatriation is not an obstacle to knowledge", but a process that is able to "articulate people's values of death and life" through its "oratory and material culture" (158). These processes become "potent symbols of identity, continuity and adaptability" of marginalized communities (Krmpotich 158).

There are a multitude of reasons why restitution of human remains is necessary and does not hinder scientific research opportunities. First of all, despite the cultural differences when perceiving and dealing with human remains, what stays the same across all cultures is that human remains are "not neutral and never ignored" (Belcastro and Mariotti 229). There will always be ethical problems and questions surrounding the study of these materials. These questions include asking if it is necessary to study these human remains, and if studied, who do they benefit and how? Is it benefitting the researcher or the descendent/source communities? Furthermore, arguments surrounding the constant pursuit of scientific knowledge will also be asked. For example, questions such as: what is the purpose of the pursuit of scientific knowledge? And how does this knowledge fit into the wider academic rhetoric? The pursuit of scientific knowledge at the expense of Indigenous communities has been perceived by many Indigenous peoples as a form of "'exploitation' of their past by archaeologists and anthropologists" and is understood as "a second wave of colonialism, in which science has been viewed as just another vehicle of oppression" (Belcastro and Mariotti 230).

Restitution: Collaboration Between Researchers and Communities

In some cases, restitution cannot occur without the explicit confirmation that those remains belong to a certain community. An example would be the famous case of the Kennewick Man, which brought the discussion of using biomolecular archaeological techniques, such as ancient DNA (aDNA) analysis, to the forefront of the conversation in the late 90s to early 2000s (Belastro and Mariotti 232). This discussion around the use of biomolecular archaeological techniques and methods persists today between researchers and source communities.

The Kennewick Man is a male skeleton that was discovered in Kennewick, Washington, U.S.A in 1996 (Rasmussen et al. 455). Through bioanthropological analyses, such as morphometrics, the remains were determined to not be of Native American descent (specifically, "those of Northwestern U.S. Anthroposcopy" (Chatters 305). Therefore, the remains did not need to be dealt with in compliance with the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in their restitution (Rasmussen et al. 455). Given this outcome, additional scientific studies on the remains were allowed (Rasmussen et al. 455). In order to aid the restitution of the Kennewick Man to its proper place, there was a need to determine the ancestry and affiliations of the Kennewick Man. Through biomolecular archaeological methods such as aDNA analysis, Kennewick Man's genome was compared against worldwide genomic data, which demonstrated

that it was consistent with the genomes of Native North Americans (Rasmussen et al. 455). The outcome of this study supported the claims that the Indigenous communities (the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation + Umatilla) within the Kennewick area have been making since the discovery of the Kennewick Man.

The goal of aDNA techniques in relation to restitution is to be able to "reliably repatriate ancient unprovenanced remains to the correct Place and Country" (Wright et al. 6). However, despite the good intentions of researchers and institutions to aid in the restitution process, there are many conflicting views towards the use of biomolecular archeological methods to attribute remains to a specific group. As seen in Stumpe's article on the restitution of Māori remains, there were "a variety of Māori views on the subject" (132), with some finding it entirely inappropriate. This example highlights the nuances and complexities of the restitution process. Not only is it crucial for institutions and researchers to create a dialogue with communities, but it is also absolutely necessary to ensure the proper restitution of remains. Institutions and researchers are not neutral agents within this conversation. The intention for mutual benefits to arise from working together (Anarui 24) when it comes to communication, collaborating, and understanding each other before, during, and after the restitution process is one that should be explored more frequently.

Restitution: Museum Practice and Community Engagement

The belief that museums can take a neutral position is one that is entirely false. As Tythacott and Arvanitis write, "[m]useums are, and have always been, political instruments" (2). The claims of the British Museum to have a neutral stance on restitution (Harris 143), is one that does not make any sense. To take a neutral stance on restitution and repatriation is to actually admit that the institution is against the act itself. As mentioned, museums and researchers can never be neutral parties when it comes to the conversation surrounding repatriation and restitution. In both cases, these agents are historically participating in unethical, or borderline unethical practices by making decisions and conducting scientific research without the permission of source communities. There needs to be reflection from these institutions in who this benefits the most by re-evaluating the power imbalances that are present within these relationships between institutions, researchers, and source communities. As Curtis discusses, restitution should be done on the terms of both the source communities and the institutions (2006).

As museums continue to decolonize their practices, the power relations between institutions and source communities have shifted (Tythacott and Arvanitis 5). They have gone from institutions "representing indigenous communities to [one of] dialogue, listening and the incorporation of voices" within museum spaces (Tythacott and Arvanitis 5). Through restitution and repatriation, museums and institutions reflect the continuous efforts in decolonization (Aranui 22).

Restitution is "not just about regaining ownership of [Indigenous communities'] ancestors but is about making people whole again through the receiving of remains that were taken against their ancestors' wills" (Harris 139). This process is one that is powerful and transformative, thus, affecting each source community differently. For the Haida, the process of restitution and repatriation involves demonstrating yahgudangang, which is understood as respect (Krmpotich 147). This is done during the "emotional and physical journey to repatriate their ancestors' remains" (Krmpotich 146). This respect is "expressed through adherence to cultural protocol involving actions and objects, property and ownership, and lineage and moiety relationships" (Krmpotich 146). Restitution and repatriation are seen as a form of mortuary practice for the Haida. These practices are "built upon cultural systems and protocol already in place" (Krmpotich 146). For the Māori, restitution has always been part of their culture and is not a new concept or process (Aranui 21). Moreover, through restitution and repatriation, it "reconnects the living and the dead with the whenua (land)" (Aranui 2020, 21). This demonstrates the importance, value, and significance of restitution of their ancestors in Western institutions for descendent/source communities.

Conclusion

To conclude, this paper argued that restitution of human remains is necessary and requires community engagement and collaboration. This paper discussed how museums, institutions, and researchers are not apolitical agents in the restitution narrative. These agents must evaluate their positions when embarking on the restitution process, or on new scientific research endeavours. Only through understanding, communication, collaboration, and partnership can meaningful restitution and research be conducted between institutions, researchers, and descendent/source communities. At the end of the day, the pursuit of scientific knowledge is not more important than human decency and respectful attitudes towards the dead of other communities.

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The Trouble with Tar: Collagen Preservation in Asphalt Impregnated Bones

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Abstract

The Rancho LaBrea (RLB) tar sand in Los Angeles California is known for its highly preserved megafauna.Researchers have been attempting collagen extraction on RLB faunal assemblages for over 50 years for the purpose of isotope and radiocarbon analyses. There has yet to be extensive research on the applications of Zoo-archaeology by Mass Spectrometry (ZooMS) to these materials. This research fills this gap, as a pilot attempt of ZooMS analysis on LaBrea Tar Sand faunal material. The project aims to answer if ZooMS taxonomic identification is possible on RLB materials. Analysis will be conducted on bone samples which have had tar removed, as well as on untreated bones, aiming to assess the relationship between visible asphalt saturation and total MALDI-TOF spectra peaks. As DNA analysis is costly and has not yet seen success in RLB materials, this research could provide great additional insight to fauna populations of RLB, as well as tar saturated faunal assemblages around the world.

Introduction

The Rancho LaBrea (RLB) tar sand in Los Angeles, California is a site known for its highly preserved megafauna. Archaeologists, paleontologists, and other researchers have been attempting collagen extraction on RLB faunal assemblages for over 50 years for the purpose of isotope and radiocarbon analyses (Wyckoff et al., 1963, Ho et al., 1969). However, no studies have conducted collagen extraction for the purpose of Zooarchaeology by Mass Spectrometry (ZooMS). ZooMS has proven potential to be highly useful in species identification of fragmentary remains, which may be difficult or impossible to identify based on morphological characteristics (Buckley et al., 2009, 2018). This paper seeks to fill this niche, as the first attempt of ZooMS analysis on LaBrea Tar Sand faunal material. This research aims to answer if a ZooMS taxonomic identification on RLB materials is possible.

Analysis will be conducted on bone samples which have had tar removed, as well as on untreated bones, aiming to assess the relationship between visible asphalt saturation and total Matrix Assisted Laser Desorption Ionization-Time of Flight Mass Spectrometry (MALDI-TOF) spectra peaks. As DNA analysis is costly and has not yet been successful on any RLB materials, this research could provide additional insight to fauna populations of RLB, as well as tar saturated faunal assemblages around the world (Cuba, Ecuador, Trinidad and Tobago etc.).

Background

Rancho LaBrea is a late Pleistocene site, with significant faunal and floral preservation. Millions of remains have been extracted in the last century with over 100 excavations having

occurred (La Brea Tar Pits and Hancock Park, LaBrea Tar Pit, 2022). Biomolecular researchers working on collagen extraction on tar saturated bones such as those at RLB face a complex challenge. Conditions must be carefully controlled in order to avoid destroying surviving collagen during the tar removal processes. If tar removal is not successful, ZooMS spectrum results may be impossible to analyze. Since there is such significant preservation seen at RLB, a good estimate of possible fauna can be drawn from its associated materials.

Animals found to have been preserved within these tar sands include a wide variety of mammals, invertebrates, fish, amphibians, reptiles, and birds (Mammal Collection, LaBrea Tar Pit, 2022). The most plentiful species found in RLB thus far have been Dire wolves, saber tooth cats, and coyotes (La Brea Tar Pits and Hancock Park, LaBrea Tar Pit, 2022). Working on old, tar saturated bones can lead to difficulties reviewing data, as collagen degrades over time and results will be blurred by tar. However, given the size of the bones selected for this analysis (Figure 1), it is possible to reduce anticipated species to those from orders Primate (humans), Xenarthra (ground sloths), Carnivora (dogs, wolves, etc.), Proboscidea (elephantids), Perissodactyla (horses and tapirs), and Artiodactyla (even toed ungulates). This means that despite the potential within this site for significant degradation of collagen that might shift ZooMS spectra results, realistic interpretations of data could still be conducted.

Materials and Methods

Sampling

A total of 11 mammal bones (Fig. 1) were selected from the UBC Lab of Archaeology faunal collection for sampling. Samples are labelled following the UBC ADαPT Laboratory COCR form. Samples are fragmentary and predominantly unidentifiable, though C180 and C181 are each suspected to be a “part of a carnivore rib”, and C178 is a suspected “fragmentary sloth vertebra” (Dr. E. Lindsey, personal communication, September 30, 2022).

Bones were selected based on size, as well as visible tar saturations. A range of 3 visible saturations were targeted, categorized as light tar, moderate tar, and significant tar saturation (Fig. 1, Fig. 2). Bones with light tar saturation have very little visible tar, if any, and are a dark brown colour. Moderate tar describes bones with a visible tar coating (black in colour) without excess sections of tar attached to fragments. Significant tar is described as black bones with excess saturations of tar, including sections of tar attached to fragments. This range of samples was selected to assess the possible relationship between a bone's visible asphalt saturation and the success of collagen extraction. Using bone clippers, 104-308 mg of bone was removed from each sample for detarring treatment (Fig. 3). Between samples, bone clippers were cleaned in order to avoid cross sample contamination. Pre- detarring treatment weight can be seen in figure 2. C172 and C174 were sampled twice, once for ZooMS following de-tar treatment, and the second time to attempt ZooMS without de-tar treatment. As such, these samples have separate numbers, with the secondary sample of C172 labelled C183, and the secondary sample of C174 labelled C185.

Figure 1. Bones pre-sampling

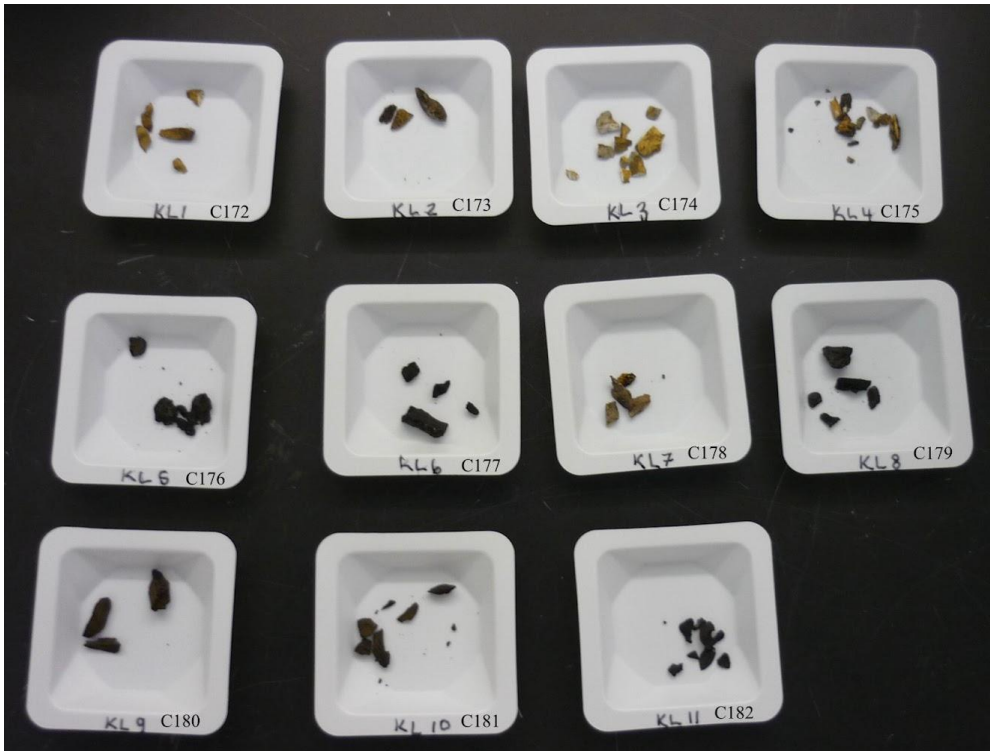
.

Figure 2. *Tar Saturation, Sampling and Subsampling Weight Table*

ADαPT #	Tar Saturation	Pre-treatment Sample Weight (mg)	Pre-ZooMS Subsample weight (mg)	Possible Morphologic ID
C172	Light	**103**	NA	NA
C173	Light	**127**	**37**	NA
C174	Light	**218**	**27**	NA
C175	Moderate	**111**	**14**	NA
C176	Moderate	**130**	**14**	NA
C177	Moderate	**308**	NA	NA
C178	Moderate	**134**	**35**	Sloth Vertebra
C179	Significant	**166**	**23**	NA
C180	Significant	**280**	N/A	Carnivore Rib

C181	Significant	**131**	N/A	Carnivore Rib
C182	Moderate	**108**	**30**	NA
C183	Light	N/A	**23**	NA
C185	Light	N/A	**30**	NA

Figure 3. *Samples in weigh boats prior to de-tarring*



Pre-treatment De-tarring

Due to the high asphalt saturations seen in materials from RLB, detarring treatment is required prior to collagen extraction. As tar is a hydrocarbon, biodiesel and alcohols are adequate solvents for its removal. For this project, 2:1 toluene/methanol solution was utilized as methods adapted from Fuller et al. (2014). Since these methods were formulated for the purpose of isotopic analyses, and not for ZooMS, ZooMS collagen extraction methods from Richter et al., (2020) and Buckley et al., (2009) will replace those within Fuller et al., (2014). De-tarring steps used are as follows:

1. Crush bones to 1 mm fragments
2. Sonicate bone fragments repeatedly in 2:1 toluene: methanol solution until supernatant runs clear; or until 5 toluene: methanol rinses have been run.
3. Sonicate in methanol (1h)
4. Sonicate in Milli-Q water (1h)

Bone samples were crushed to 1 mm fragments using a mortar and pestle, and weighed in labelled weigh boats. Crushed bones were then poured into 12x75mm borosilicate glass vials. Approximately 2.5mL of 2:1 toluene: methanol solution (hereafter referred to as T:M) was added to each glass vial using clean glass Pasteur pipettes. Both glass vials and Pasteur pipettes were individually labelled to associate with dedicated sample numbers. Sonication was conducted a total of 7 rounds.

Sonication 1: Supernatant became quite dark following the initial addition of T:M all samples, as seen in figure 4. c). All samples (C172-C182) were then sonicated 60 minutes in T:M. After the first round of sonication, samples displayed varying degrees of tar concentration within T:M solution.
Sonication 2: All samples (C172-C182) supernatant were removed using pipettes dedicated to waste removal. Before the second round of sonication, some variation in colouration was seen, the range of which can be seen in figure 5. C172-C175 supernatant ran clear, as seen in figure 4. a).
Sonication 3: Supernatant was removed from C172-C175, and ~2.5mL of methanol was added under the principle that 'like dissolves like' to dissolve remaining toluene. Samples C176-C182 repeated step 1, while C172-C175 were sonicated in methanol for 1 hour.
Sonication 4: Methanol was removed from C172-C175 and MilliQ water added to cover the sample, then sonicated for 1 hour. C176-C182 had varying stages of opacity, none of which were clear, and were run through another round of step 1. Following sonication 4, all samples' supernatants were removed, replaced with MilliQ water and left in a fume hood overnight due to time constraints.
Sonication 5: MilliQ water in samples C172-C175 was replaced with new MilliQ water, and samples C176-C182 water was replaced by T:M. C172 dissolved almost completely overnight. Sample C181 dissolved completely overnight. C172-C175 developed a cloudy substance above bone pellets as seen in figure 4. b). This cloud is suspected to be fat, though there is low certainty regarding this, and no data of this occurring in Fuller et al. (2014). A fifth round of T:M sonication was run on C176-C182, while C173-C175 remained in MilliQ water. The majority of samples softened marginally in colour but remained dark, as seen in figure 4. d). Some samples' supernatant ran clear but with large, suspected fat distributions resting above bone pellets as seen in figure 4. b) and figure 4. e). These suspected fat clouds resting above the pellets were easily removed by pipettes, and difficult to avoid removing.
Sonication 6: Samples C176-C180 and C182 had varying levels of supernatant colouring, due to residual asphalt contamination not having been fully removed by the solvent, none of which ran clear. Despite this, all remaining samples (C176-C180 and C182) proceeded to step 2 in methanol in order to limit further sample loss.
Sonication 7: Methanol was removed from C176-C180 and C182, and MilliQ water was added to cover bone pellets. Samples C173-C180 and C182 were placed into labelled 1.5mL Eppendorf tubes using glass Pasteur pipettes with water in order to facilitate transfer.

Figure 4. *Samples at varying stages of detarring treatment*

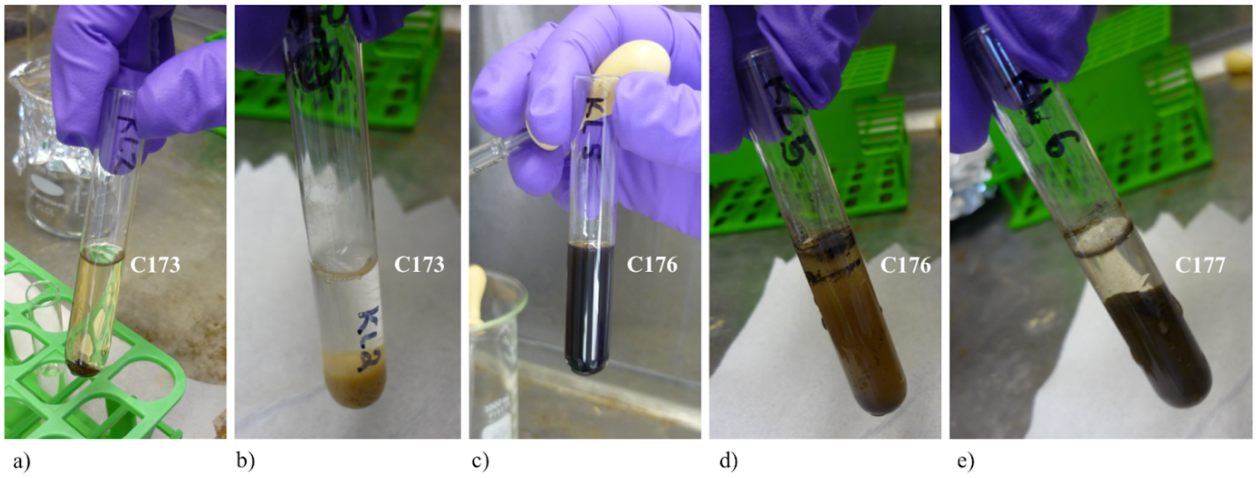


Figure 5. *Test tubes between sonication baths 2 and 3*

ZooMS

ZooMS procedures according to Buckley et al. (2009) were followed. De-tarred samples were placed into a centrifuge for 1 minute before excess water was removed from Eppendorf tubes using a micropipette. In samples C172, C177 and C180, the suspected fat did not condense to the bottom of the Eppendorf tube, and as a result the entirety of the tube's contents was removed by micropipette, with no bone fragments remaining at the bottom of the tube. C173-176, C178 and C182 were centrifuged, and the supernatant was removed. Ionized water was added to the samples. Samples were centrifuged again and the supernatant removed. Using a clean, metal spatula, 14-37 mg of bone was subsampled, with the pellet placed into a new labelled 1.5mL Eppendorf tube, as well as the addition of an extraction blank. Individual

sample weight can be seen in figure 2. These samples included both gritty pellet fractions as well as fine powdered bone.

For bones C183 and C185, which were not de-tarred, 500μL of hydrogen peroxide was added to degrease samples. Samples were left for 1 hour at room temperature. Hydrogen peroxide was removed and an additional 500 μL of hydrogen peroxide was added to each and left at room temperature for ~30 mins. The supernatant was removed, and samples were rinsed 5x with ionized water. Samples C183 and C185 had 250 μL of HCl added to them and were left in the fridge overnight. Subsequently, C183, C185, and extraction blank eBK1 were checked with a metal needle, removed from acid, and placed into water. Then, 250 μL of NaOH was added to C183 and C185, which were then vortexed and centrifuged. The supernatant was discarded.

Remaining samples (C173-C176, C178, C179, C182, C183 and C185) were rinsed three times with 200 μL AmBic. Samples were then placed into a heating block at 65℃ for 1 hour. Following this, 50 μL was removed from second extraction and placed into EXT-tubes, to each of which 1 μL of trypsin was added and left in the heating block overnight at 37℃. After, samples were placed into the centrifuge and 1 μL 5% TFA was added to deactivate trypsin. Sample collagen was purified using C18S ZipTips. Samples were then spotted onto a MALDI plate using 1 μL of sample and 1 μL of α-Cyano-4-hydroxycinnamic acid. The plate was run using MALDI-TOF-MS at the University of York, UK. Results were averaged, peak picked using mMass software (Niedermeyer and Strohalm, 2012), and analyzed using the ADαPT facility ZooMS reference database.

Results

ZooMS

Level of success between samples varied (Figure 6, Figure 7). A total of four samples (C172, C177, C180, C181) were lost during pre-ZooMS de-tar treatment due to bone dissolution in supernatant. Three samples (C175, C183, C185) that underwent ZooMS yielded 0 peaks. Four samples which underwent ZooMS yielded unidentifiable peaks, with C174, C176, and C179 peak values being lower than any in the database, while C173 peak values were higher but did not align with any markers. The extraction blank had no peaks corresponding with any markers, confirming contamination was not a factor within these results. Samples C182 and C178 had potentially positive identifications.

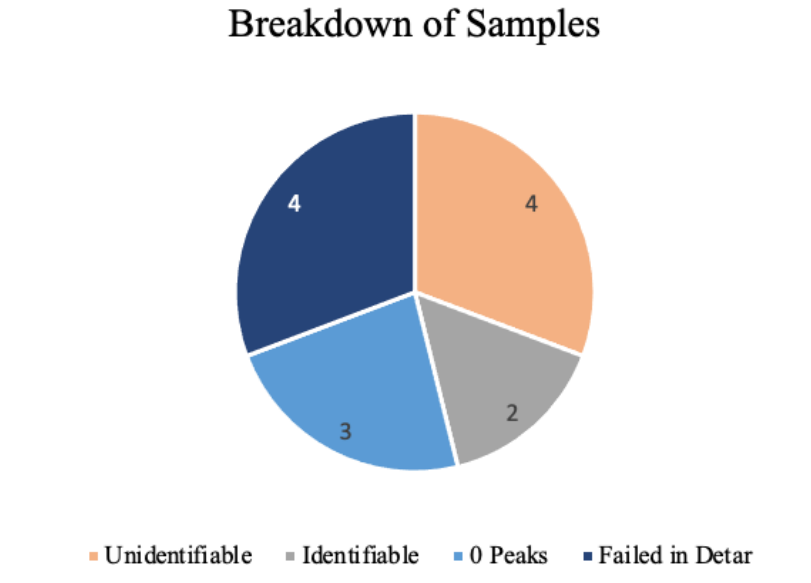
Sample C182 (Figure 8) had a total of 6 peaks, 1 of which (2807.45) could align with marker E_ α2 454 (COL1α2 454 - 483) at value 2808.4 (Buckley, Larkin and Collins 2011; Buckley and Collins 2011; Welker et al 2016; Buckley, Harvey and Chamberlain 2017). Due to sample degradation, a degree of latitude regarding association of results to markers must be taken. This would suggest, based on the context of this site, the possibility of sample C182 being of the family Elephantidae or Mammutidae. Although, because this is the only peak marker remotely comparable to other markers, it is hard to say with any certainty.

Sample C178 had 26 peaks, significantly more than the other samples. Two of these peaks could indicate this bone as a carnivore. The peaks seen in Sample C178 (Figure 9) are 1107, which could align with P1 _ α1 508 (COL1α1 508 - 519) at marker 1105; as well as 1453, which matches to B _ α2 484 (COL1α2 484 - 498) marker 1453.7 (Buckley, Larkin and Collins 2011; Buckley and Collins 2011; Welker et al 2016; Buckley, Harvey and Chamberlain 2017; Kirby et al 2013). These two markers, based on site context, suggest this bone to be a possible Carnivora or Elephantidae, but again, not enough markers were present for a preferred degree of certainty.

Figure 6. *Success of Samples Table*

ADαPT #	# of Spectra Peaks	Identifiable?	Possible ZooMS ID
C173	2	No	Unknown
C174	6	No, peaks <910	NA
C175	0	NA	NA
C176	3	No, peaks <820	NA
C178	26	Yes?	Carnivora (Sloth?)
C179	7	No, peaks <1100	NA
C182	6	Yes?	Elephantid
C183	0	NA	NA
C185	0	NA	NA

Figure 7. *Breakdown of Results*



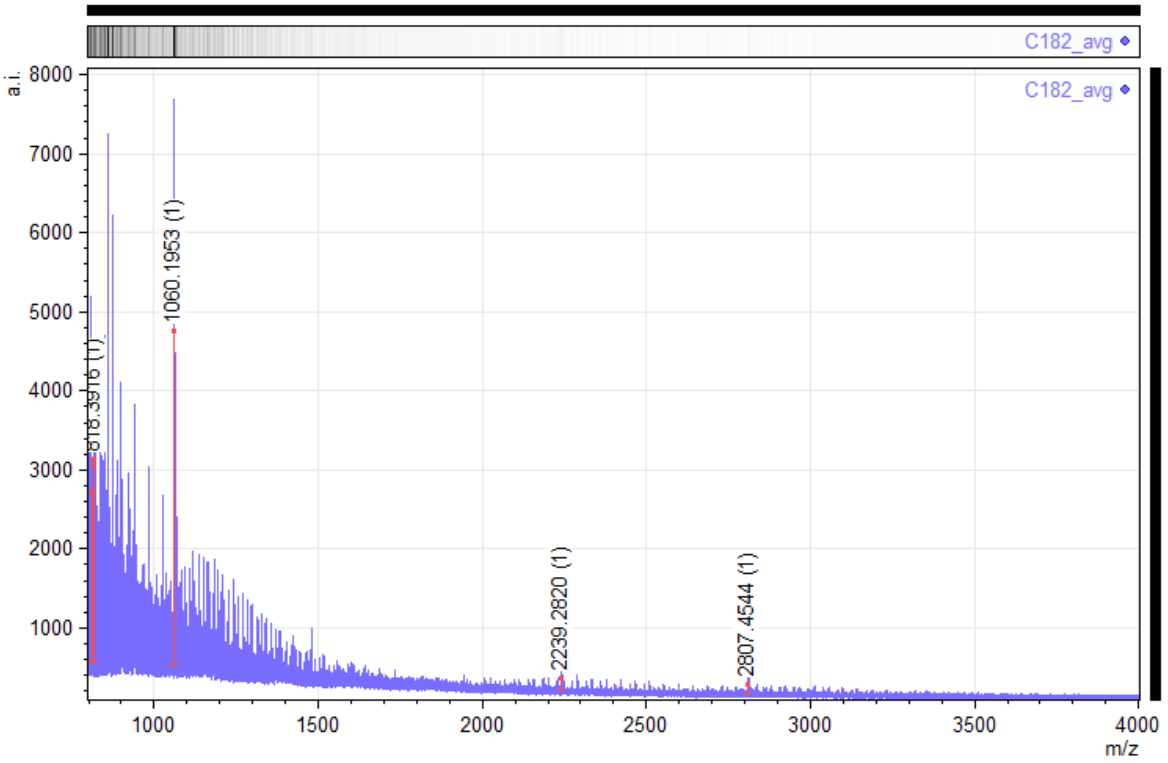
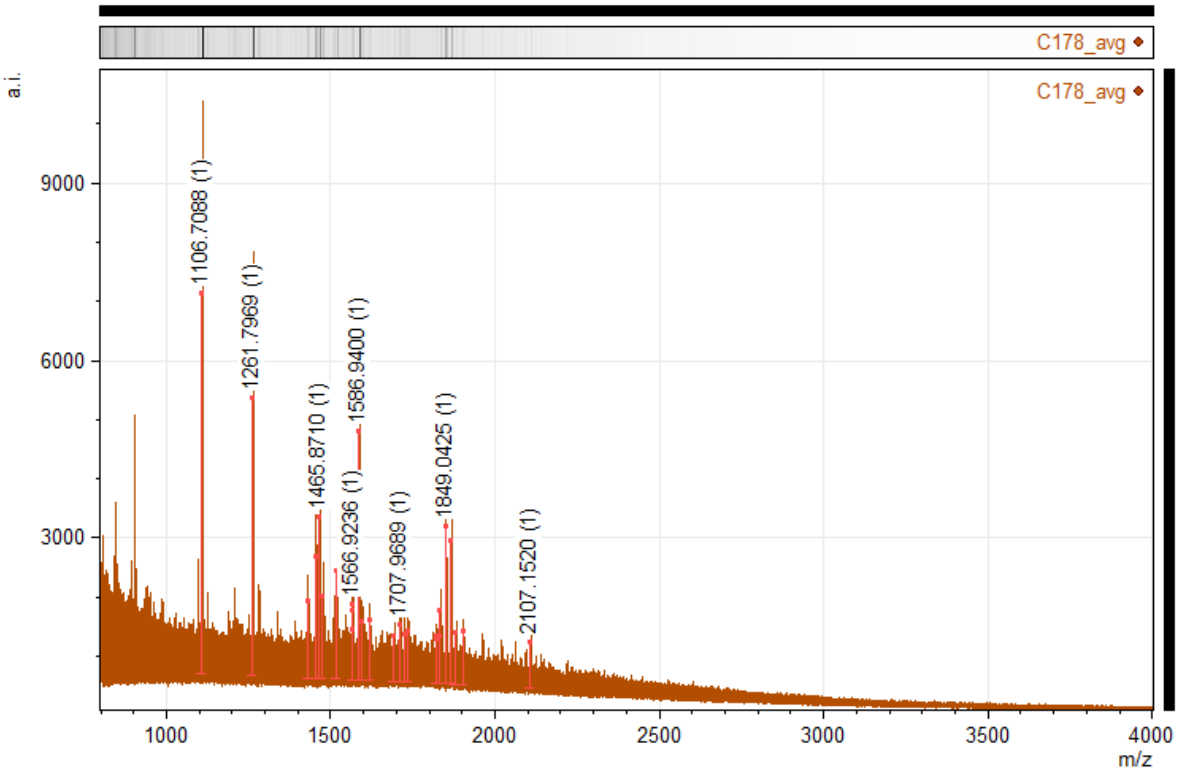


Figure 9. *C178 Spectra*



Discussion

De-Tarring

Though there was no direct correlation seen here between visible tar saturation and quantity of MALDI peaks, both samples C183 and C185, which were analyzed without a de-tar treatment, yielded 0 peaks. This supports the necessity for de-tarring procedures even on these bones with minimal visible tar saturation. De-tar treatment necessity on less saturated bones could further be explored using a larger sample size.

Samples C172, C177, C180 and C181 were lost prior to ZooMS due to the toluene and methanol solution, despite methanol and MilliQ sonication baths. More thorough rinsing procedures following T:M could prevent extended bone reactions within this solution, which was seen in Figure 4. b., and reduce bone loss in the de-tarring process. Future testing on the cause of suspected fat deposits, which developed during T:M rinse, may also assist in the reduction of sample loss.

There is a high possibility that the samples which had not been run in methanol yet to dissolve toluene, which were left overnight in MilliQ water, faced extended toluene exposure. This is likely what caused the damage of both the bone pellets and the collagen, explaining the loss of samples. The application of a centrifuge between sonication baths may also reduce this suspected fat condensation to a smaller pellet, also allowing for reduction of sample loss.

Database

The ZooMS database is a partially limiting factor to this research, particularly in relation to sample C178, the suspected sloth vertebra. The RLB fauna record contains the Harlan's ground sloth, Jefferson's ground sloth, and Shasta ground sloth (Mammal Collection, LaBrea Tar Pit, 2022). Since no ZooMS data has been published using sloths, or any closely related animals at the point of this project, sample C178 cannot be positively or negatively identified as such. The sample is then limited to an identification of a possible carnivore based on 2 of 26 peaks. The addition of a sloth database could impact the results seen within this paper. This lack of spectra also leaves room for consideration regarding non-identifiable peaks of sample C173, which could align with a species similar to these ground sloths which are not yet recorded in the ZooMS database.

Conclusion

The Rancho LaBrea Tar Pits are a complicated location to undertake any kind of biomolecular research at, which is evident in the results of this paper. However, the limited positive sample identification aligns with suspected animals in this area, which affirms the potential for ZooMS applications on this site, and other tar saturated faunal assemblages. Overall, procedures utilized in this research could also be refined with modified processing of suspected fat saturated supernatant, in order to preserve greater bone mass for further ZooMS analyses.

Acknowledgments

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Paleopathology in Pamdom, Patakfalva: A Case Study of Cribra Orbitalia in a Non-Adult From The Székelyföld

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Abstract

This research represents a case study of a single non-adult skeleton (SIR 542) recovered from Pamdom, Patakfalkva. The Papdomb (Romanian: Văleni) archeological site denotes a medieval church and its associated cemetery in Văleni, Hagrita County, Romania.(See Fig. 1 in Appendix). This research represents a case study of one of over 661 graves excavated at this site. (Zeidlik et al.). SIR 542 is a non-adult,[1] 2-3-year-old skeleton from the associated graveyard with cribra orbitalia, a recognized paleopathology. Understanding this paleopathology (the physical or mental conditions observed in the skeletal record) deepens our understanding of the interactions between the biological and social realities of past peoples. This research uses modern American bioarchaeological methods in excavation and analysis to shed light on the biocultural lives of historical Székely peoples. This case study aims to add a complementary paleopathological perspective to the rich historical record maintained by historians and keepers of oral Székely narratives.

Acknowledgements

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Location

SIR 542 and was found beneath another skeleton (SIR 533) in Trench 23 (See Fig. 2) from a site called “Pamdom” in the town of Patakfalva.

Historically and contemporarily, the graveyard where SIR 542 was interred is located at the Pamdom site in the Székelyföld (Székely Land), the tradiational home of the Székely people. The Székelyföld has been highly contested since the Late Medieval period, existing as an

[1] The term “non-adult” is used in this paper rather than “child” or “baby” because those are socially constructed categories that may not have been applied in the same way to this individual or the Szekley community at that time.

independent nation, as a part of the Hungarian Kingdom, the vassal state of Transylvania, and contemporarily as a part of the country of Romania. The site was first mentioned in 12th century text, but Székely historians believe that the site had been in use at least a century prior (Fejérpataky, 133).

The church and the associated graveyard were used through the High and Late Medieval period (1000CE- 1500CE) and into the Early Modern Period (1500CE-1700CE). The site, and the surrounding village of Patakfalva, was the site to important political events during the 800 years it was in use. (Fejérpataky, 135). The political upheavals during this period caused the loss of many documents describing daily lofe, leaving researchers to fill in information that can be gleaned from the skeletal record about the lives of non-adults in this region, such as SIR 542.

Methods

Age-at-death estimation was performed via dental estimation using AlQahtani's London Atlas (AlQahtani) and placed the SIR 542's age at the time of death between 2 and 3 years. Due to the extremely well-preserved mandible and maxilla and the relative reliability of dental analysis (Roberts), researchers felt comfortable with this relatively narrow age range. Sex estimation using established methods was not possible for this skeleton due to its relatively young age.

Upon visual analysis of skeletal remains, researchers noted porosity on the right super-orbital roof. Under pi-illumination microscopy (See Fig. 3), this porosity was noted as the distinctive pin-prick marks of cribra orbitalia (CO). This discovery directed researchers to consider the cause of this specific pathology and the implications CO could have had on the lives of historical Székely non-adults and their wider community.

Paleopathology

Understanding what diseases or illnesses may have affected this historic population not only offers researchers and descendant community members insight into more information about the distribution and antiquity of a disease; paleopathology also provides a biological perspective on the cultural lives of historical peoples. Due to this being a single skeleton case study, making sweeping statements about the effect of cribra orbitalia on this population is challenging. However, combining this case study with stable isotope analysis done on a culturally similar neighbouring Székely village allows researchers to generate a more informed hypothesis on the causes and possible effects of CO on this population.

Cribra orbitalia (also referred to as porotic hyperostosis) is arguably the most documented paleopathology in the archeological record. (Euber, Spender, Cook, 9-13). Further, CO is not restricted to a specific time period or geographic range. (Nathan, Hass). The prevalence of this condition is likely due to two factors: CO is visible to the naked eye in non-adults and does not require destructive analysis to examine closely. Secondly, many different etiologies cause CO. The direct cause of the porosity is due to massive red blood cell production that leads to the soft marrow inside the compact bone swelling and expanding against and through the super-orbital bone (Walker et al.). This causes the super-orbital bone to have pin-prick marks through it.

In non-adult skeletons, the pin-prick marks are visible, as they have not had time to heal. (Steven). The etiology has been the focus of several studies, and an association with chronic iron deficiency anemia has long been suggested. (Rivera and Lahr). Researchers disregard the anemia hypothesis due to conflicting hematological and archeological research. Iron-deficiency anemia is a distinct lack of red blood cells, and a dramatic increase in red blood cell production causes CO. Hematological research has demonstrated that if an individual is iron deficient, they simply would not have the capacity to sustain massive red blood cell production necessary to create the porosity (Walker).

Further, recent research on current non-adult populations suggests that the majority of individuals living with CO are not iron deficient (Walker). Therefore, the iron deficiency anemia hypothesis was disregarded.

There are many reasons, aside from anemia, why the soft marrow could swell. From complex and rare genetic illnesses that cause overly-large red blood cells (megaloblastic anemia), a localized injury to the area, nutritional deficiencies, to sexually transmitted infections (particularly diseases that pass from mother to child) (Rothschild et al.). The lack of a distinct cause encouraged researchers to posit more than one differential diagnosis, as seen below.

The extreme prevalence and lack of distinct etiology make it challenging to say the exact cause of SIR 542's cribra orbitalia. Researchers felt comfortable ruling out physical trauma to the eyeorbit or surrounding cranium because there was no sign of damage or evidence of healing damage to the cranium. Further, in conversation with the director of lab activities, researchers understood that cribra orbitalia had been observed in many non-adult individuals interred in the same ossuary of the churchyard and in the associated graveyard as SIR 542 who were recognized upon visual exam to have cribra orbitalia (Kelly). For this reason, researchers focused on etiologies affecting more than one person.

There are many possible causes aside from the ones ruled out above. In this case study, researchers posited that SIR 542's cribra orbitalia could be either caused by thalassemia or scurvy.

Thalassemia

Thalassemia is a genetically inherited disease that is relatively uncommon (0.08% of the population) in the modern world. (Chaichun). Specifically, Thalassemia is a blood disorder that causes a decrease in the production of hemoglobin. When there is less hemoglobin in life-sustaining red blood cells, they do not function as well and degrade more rapidly, which means that individuals with thalassemia typically have a lower function red blood cell count than healthy individuals. This deficit in functional red blood cells causes the body to increase red blood cell production, leading to swelling of the eye orbit, causing the porosity recognized as cribra orbitalia.

Due to the rarity of thalassemia and the lack of a sequenced genome, it is impossible to say with certainty that SIR 542 (or any individual in the region) would have experienced this

condition. However, research into the genomes of modern Hungarians and Romanians[2] who have thalassemia suggests that the mutation responsible for the disease[33]is historical, meaning the mutation on the gene did not happen recently and could extend far into the historical record) (Ringalhann). Further, thalassemia is far more common in the Carpathians (Transylvania is located in the Carpathians) and Mediterranean regions than in other places (Horányi, 162). The history of where the Székely people come from needs to be clarified. The Székely people migrated in the 11th century to the Székelyföld (their ancestral land) and consider themselves descended from Atila the Hun, who led their first ancestor to the Székelyföld (Larsen and Jones). Other historians suggest that Székelys branched off from mainland Hungarians (Kristó, 33-34). Either way, it is possible that either one of these ancestral populations carried the mutation for thalassemia into the Székelyföld during migration. This means that historically, there may have been an increased prevalence of the mutation for thalassemia in the Székelyföld. Researchers posited that possible early migrations from the Huns and Turks into Hungary introduced the mutated allele responsible for thalassemia into the gene pool of modern Hungarians and Romanian. (Horányi). This is meaningful because it means historic Székelys could have carried the mutation for thalassemia.

It is more likely than not that SIR 542 did not experience thalassemia in their life. However, this connection between the modern prevalence of thalassemia in adjacent contemporary populations (Romanians and Hungarians) suggests that it is possible. Further research could be done using ancient genome sequencing on skeletons in Patakfalva or other areas of the Székelyföld.

Scurvy

Scurvy is a condition caused by vitamin C (ascorbic acid) deficiency. Humans cannot produce vitamin C independently and must obtain it from their diet. Lack of vitamin C leads to a breakdown in connective tissues in the body, which causes abnormal external bleeding and internal hemorrhaging(Deirawan, 1458). This extensive bleeding causes the body to produce more red blood cells to compensate for losing blood cells to the bleed. . Research has also suggested that because scurvy can weaken the bones, porosity would form quite easily in the orbital bone (Zuckerman et al.). Despite the known pathophysiology of scurvy, researchers could not locate data about the diets of Székelys living in Pamdom, Patakfalva that could elucidate if non-adult Székelys would have experienced scurvy during their lives.

There needs to be more research produced for this specific group of Székelys, particularly regarding the diets of non-adults. This lack of data makes it challenging to determine precisely what SIR 542 would have consumed in their life. Much of the written literature concerning the

[2] The sociocultural identity of modern Székelys is complex, as they are a marginalized group in Romania and have experienced their land changing hands many times. Typically, they do not identify as Romanian and may feel more closely connected to Hungarians.

[3] This description of thalassemia is simplified; in reality, the genetic makeup behind thalassemia is far more complex than described in this paper.

diets of Transylvanians[4]from this period has been destroyed due to sociopolitical upheaval during the period researchers are interested in (Papahangi). However, there has been research into the diets of other Székely people living in other areas of the Székelyföld contemporary to when SIR 542 was estimated to live. Historical Székelyföld laws dictate that the main crops people farmed were cereal grains (wheat, barley, oats, and millet) and animal husbandry of various cows, horses, and goats (Molnár). It is valuable to consider the nutrition of adults because they provide that nutrition to children via breastfeeding. We know that in Western and Central European villages during this time, children typically were weaning during the 1 to 3-year-old period and would supplement breastmilk with pap and pandas (Fulminante). Pap consists of watered-down flour or bread, while pandas are made from meat broth and softened grain, sometimes flavoured with milk or butter (Obladan). Due to their composition, both pap andpandas do not typically contain significant amounts of vitamin C.

Recent stable isotope analysis suggests that non-adults in this region would have been weaning (consuming pap/pandas) between 2 and 3 years old. This data comes from the Telekfalva site, roughly 11km from the Patakfalva site where SIR 542 was interred (Voas). Stable isotope analysis suggests that infants were likely consuming breast milk and were weaned using C_3 and C_4 grain-based pap/pandas (wheat and millet) and animal proteins in the form of milk or butter. SIR 542 would have likely been weaning during the period of death.
Further, SIR 542 had a carry (cavity) on the left maxillary incisor. The presence of a dental carry further strengthens the hypothesis that SIR 542 was not solely consuming breast milk, as sole breast milk consumption can offer some protection against carries (Branger). However, the higher sugar content in wheat and millet-based paps/pandas that SIR 542 would have been consuming could lead to carries similar to the ones observed in SIR 542. This suggests that SIR 542 was likely in the weaning period during their death.

Weaning can lead to nutritional deficiencies (like scurvy) because when infants consume most of their daily calories via breastmilk, they can access most of the nutrients their parent consumes. Adults in this region were likely to consume a wide variety of grains, dairy products, and fruits (domestic and foraged) and thusly are more likely to meet their vitamin C needs (Molnár). Paps and pandas have meager (if any) amounts of vitamin C, as grains do not typically have vitamin C (Carr). Non-adults (such as SIR 542) who get most of their calories from pandas could not access the higher amounts of vitamin C found in adult diets. This lack of vitamin C during the weaning period could have caused SIR 542 to develop scurvy.

Further exploration into the weaning diet of SIR 542, and other non-adult skeletons from the burial site, is warranted and necessary to confirm the scurvy-specific etiology in this case.

Conclusion

Understanding the etiology behind this and other cases of cribra orbitalia allows researchers to add reciprocal knowledge to the oral histories maintained by the Székely people. Thalassemia or scurvy, were they the true causes of SIR 542's cribra orbitalia, offer researchers

[4] Not everyone living in Transylvania, the region that the Székelyföld lies in, was/is Szekely

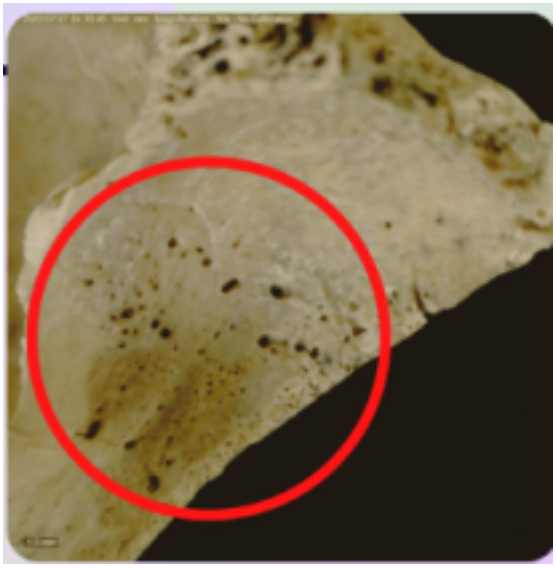
insight into the biocultural lives of non-adults. As a single case study, SIR 542 cannot tell a complete story about the lives of non-adults in the Székelyföld during the Late Medieval and Early Modern Periods. However, the proposed etiologies of scurvy and thalassemia create possible avenues for future research using stable isotope analysis and ancient genome sequencing.

APPENDIX

Figure 1 *Maps showing the location of Văleni village within the Feliceni Commune, Harghita County, and Romania*

Figure 2 *Map showing SIR 542 position under SIR 533 in the graveyard (Pamdom, Patakfalva)*

Figure 3 *Image of SIR 542's Cribra Orbitalia under pi-magnification*



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Comparison of Sandpaper and Polishing Film in Minimally-Invasive ZooMS

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Abstract

Zooarchaeology by Mass Spectrometry (ZooMS) is a rapid, cost-effective and minimally-invasive biomolecular technique that is commonly used in archaeological research of fauna identification. The developing, and minimally-invasive approach uses polishing films to produce bone powder through abrasion, which protects the fragile fauna products preserved in archaeological collections. As an abrasive material with a similar use and principle as polishing film, this experiment tested the possibility of using abrasive paper as an alternative for minimally-invasive ZooMS. Four bones and one antler were selected from previous research were sampled using four grits of sandpaper and one polishing film. The results demonstrate that sandpaper can be used for minimally-invasive sampling, and that different grit sizes affect identification quality, providing new material for ZooMS analysis.

Introduction

Zooarchaeology by Mass Spectrometry (ZooMS) is a Peptide Mass Fingerprinting method that analyzes ancient proteins through measuring the peptide of COL1 (Buckley et al. 3843), which helps archaeologists to discriminate unknown faunal remains. While ancient DNA produce results with high taxonomic resolution, it is expensive and requires a larger sample. ZooMS is cost-effective and rapid, and the developing minimally-invasive approach is able to identify animal species without destroying the bone. Past studies have compared the different minimally-invasive methods and their application on fauna artifacts, revealing that polishing film is the most suitable sampling material (Evans et al. 6). However, sandpaper has never been tested. Therefore, this project is going to test the feasibility of using sandpaper in minimally-invasive ZooMS, and explore the possibility of replacing polishing films with sandpaper. A total of 50 samples were collected from 4 bones and 1 antler. Twenty-five samples were analyzed through Matrix Assisted Laser Desorption/Ionisation Time of Flight Mass Spectrometry (MALDI-TOF-MS), and 6 samples were re-analyzed once to ensure consistency in results.

Research Aims and Objectives

The aim of this research is to examine the possibility of sandpaper use as an alternative sampling material to polishing films in minimally-invasive ZooMS.

- To undertake collagen extraction from bone and antler sample through a minimally-invasive

approach;
- To identify whether sandpaper can produce identifiable spectra;
- To examine sandpaper's performance compared to polishing films;
- To compare the quality of spectra produced by different grit size.

Background

The rapid development of biomolecular methods such as ancient DNA and ZooMS have greatly increased the use of faunal remains in archaeology. Compared to other archaeological materials such as bronze and pottery, archaeofaunal remains are more fragile, less easily preserved, and are smaller in quantities. The material is also unevenly divided between geographic locations and time periods due to preservation, settlement patterns, site history, recovery practices and the focus of the archaeological research (Pálsdóttir et al. 2). The current destructive analysis in aDNA and ZooMS not only leads to varying degrees of sample damage, but also limits subsequent research because of the small quantities of faunal materials. Therefore, scholars have suggested that archaeofaunal remains should be treated as a limited resource, and sampling strategy should be carefully considered before experiment (Pálsdóttir et al. 2).

Minimally-invasive ZooMS can effectively avoid unnecessary destruction of faunal remains, preserving faunal collections. The first minimally-invasive ZooMS study using polishing film sampling sticks was published by Kirby et al. in 2013, demonstrating the particles generated from friction can be identified using Peptide Mass Fingerprinting. A case study conducted by McGrath et al. in 2019 identified archaeological bone via different ZooMS methods (original bag, forced bag, eraser, destructive) and aDNA, and examined how each method performed. A recent study by Evan et al. has further analyzed forced-bag, eraser, and coarse vs. fine grained polishing films, and suggest the coarse grained polishing films produced best results (6). As an abrasive similar to polishing film, sandpaper has never been tested, but the similar properties of the two materials suggest that sandpaper could be used for minimally-invasive ZooMS analysis.

Material and Methods

Sampling Materials

Four bone samples with known species ID were selected from the SFU database project, and one antler was collected from UBC Laboratory of Archaeology (LOA) fauna collection (see Table 1). The antler sample was not given ADaPT lot number. All of the SFU Database samples have been previously analyzed using destructive methods.

Sample	Type	Provenience	Original ZooMS Species ID
A455	Bone	SFU Database	Harbour Seal (*Phoca vitulina*)
A456	Bone	SFU Database	Fur Seal (*Callorhinus ursinus*)
A457	Bone	SFU Database	Canadian beaver (*Castor canadensis*)
A461	Bone	SFU Database	Black-tailed deer/mule deer (*Odocoileus hemionus*)
Antler 174M	Antler	LOA collection	White tailed deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*)

Table 1 Information of the sampling materials

Grit size refers to the size of the particles of abrading materials embedded in the sandpaper/polishing films (Grainger Editorial Staff). However, different standards have been established worldwide, such as CAMI, FEPA, and diameter. In North America, the CAMI standard is used (Grainger Editorial Staff). For this experiment, we chose 40, 240, 600, 1000 grit size sandpapers of CAMI standard, and 30um polishing films to make sampling sticks. According to the grit size chart in Figure 1, 30um polishing films is equivalent to CAMI 360, making it coarser than 600 and 1000 grit but finer than 40 and 240 grit sandpaper. All materials are made of Aluminum Oxide, with PSA adhesive on the back.

Grade	Description	CAMI	FEPA	Diameter	Used for
Ultra Fine	Most delicate abrasives	800 or 1000	P1500, P2000 or P2500	8.4-12.6 micrometers	Final sanding and polishing thick finishes
Super Fine	Slightly wipes away patches/small inconsistencies but not strong enough for removal	400, 500 or 600	P800, P1000 or P1200	15.3 to 23.0 micrometers	Final wood finishing
Extra Fine	Slightly less fine and more abrasive than Super Fine	360 or 320	P400, P500 or P600	25.8 to 36.0 micrometers	Initiative methods for wood polishing
Very Fine	The least fine of the micro abrasives	240	P240, P280, P320 or P360	40.5 to 58.5 micrometers	Sanding finishes between consecutive coats and drywall and wood

Grade	Description	CAMI	FEPA	Diameter	Used for
Very Fine	A coarser material than Very Fine under the micro abrasives	150, 180 or 220	P150, P180 or P220	190 to 265 micrometers	Sanding on bare wood
Fine	Cannot remove varnish or paint on wood	100 or 120	P100 or P120	115 to 162 micrometers	Preparing wood for finishing, cleaning plaster and removing water stains on wood
Medium	Medium to coarse surface texture after sanding	80	P60 or P80	190 to 265 micrometers	Sanding bare wood to prepare it for removing varnish and final finishing
Coarse	Has the ability to remove material rapidly	40, 50 or 60	P40 or P50	336 to 425 micrometers	Wiping away a layer of debris or finish with minimal effort
Extra Coarse	Quickens the removal of most materials rapidly	24, 30 or 36	P12, P16, P30 or P36	530 to 1815 micrometers	Initial efforts in hardwood floor sanding

Figure 1 Sandpaper grit size chart (Grainger Editorial Staff, 2021)

Sampling

Polishing films (grit size 30um) and sandpapers (40, 240, 600, and 1000) were used to make polishing films according to Kirby et al.'s 2013 protocol (237-238). Each bone/antler was

sampled two times using 5 groups of treatments. The label of each sample constituted of three parts: sample name, a/b to indicate the side of the bone that was sampled, and 40/240/600/1000/P indicated the treatment used. For example, A455.b240 suggest the bone A455 was sampled using 240 grit sandpaper on spot b. Extraction blanks were included for each treatment.

To sample a piece of bone or antler, the stick was rubbed against the surface until it had visibly collected bone powder or until scratch marks were created. Sampling sticks were stored in clean tubes after sampling to avoid contamination. Photographs were taken before and after the sampling to document the locations of each treatment (see Figure 2). A total of 50 samples were collected.

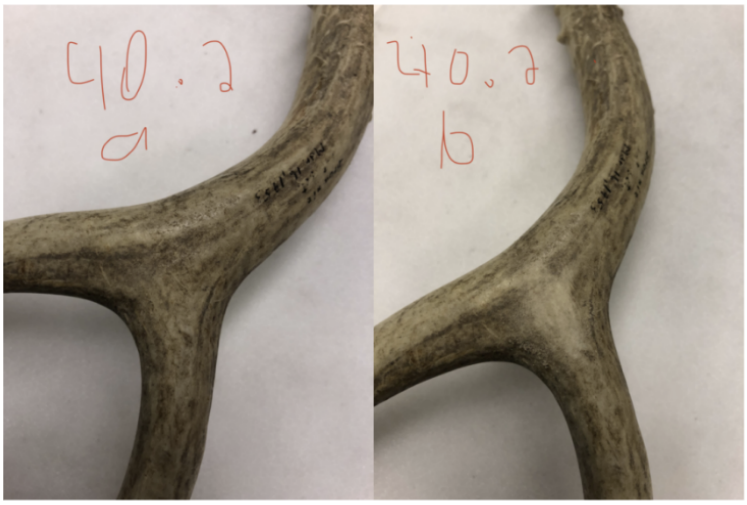

Figure 2 Sampling antler using 40 grit sandpaper, before (left) and after (right)

ZooMS Analysis

The minimally-invasive ZooMS experiment was conducted following ADaPT protocol. After sampling, the sticks were immersed in Ambic to gelatinize the bone collagen. Then, 1ul of trypsin was added to each sample to cut the collagen peptides into fragments. After incubating the samples overnight, 1ul of 5%TFA was added to deactivate the trypsin. The solution was ziptipped using C18S tips to purify the collagen peptides. A total of 25 samples were selected and spotted onto a 384 well MALDI plate, and were run on a MALDI-TOF-MS at University of York in the UK. Samples A455.bP, A461.a240, A461.a600, A461.a1000, A461.aP, and Antler.bP were rerun to test the consistency of the results. All spectra were analyzed and recorded using mMass and Excel (Niedermeyer & Strohalm 1). The ZooMS reference database comes from UBC ADaPT Facility (Buckley et al. “Species Identification by”; Buckley et al. “Distinguishing”; Buckley et al. “Species Identification to”; Buckley et al. “Species Identification and”; Buckley et al. “Species Identification and Decay”; Buckley & Collins; Kirby et al.; McGrath et al.; Welker et al.).

Results

Table 2 provides the taxonomic identifications for all samples analyzed in both runs. In the 1st run, 19 of the total 25 samples could be taxonomically identified to the species level: 12 samples matched with their original species IDs, 7 samples were given identifications that might not match with original IDs. Six samples, including all of the 40 grit sandpaper samples and A461.a1000, could not be identified. All extraction blanks produced empty spectra, suggesting that systematic laboratory contamination was not present. The results in the 2nd run matched with the 1st run, further validating the identifications.

ADaPT #	Original ID	Minimally-invasive ID
A455. b240, 600, 1000, P	Harbour Seal (*Phoca vitulina*)	Grey/Harp/Harbour Seal (*Halichoerus grypus, Pagophilus groenlandicus, Phoca vitulina*)
A457. b240, 600, 1000, P	Beaver (*Castor canadensis*)	Beaver (*Castor canadensis*)
A461. a240, 600, P; b240, 600, 1000, P	Black-tailed deer /mule deer (*Odocoileus hemionus*)	white tail deer, domestic sheep (*Odocoileus virginianus, Ovis aries*)
Antler.b240, 600, 1000, P	white tail deer (*Odocoileus virginianus)*	white tail deer (*Odocoileus virginianus)*

Table 2 Taxonomic Identification for analyzed samples

Discussion

Efficacy of Methods

To assess the quality and performance of each treatment, spectra from the same sample were visually compared.. Although some methods had more noise than another, or had significantly more non-diagnostic peaks, the overall spectra were similar to each other. Therefore, the difference between spectra is not necessarily due to different treatments, but more likely due to other steps of the experiment, such as collagen purification or MALDI-TOF-MS. Figure 3 shows the spectra of A461.b, and it can be seen that there is no significant difference except for the slightly higher noise of 240 and more peaks of P.

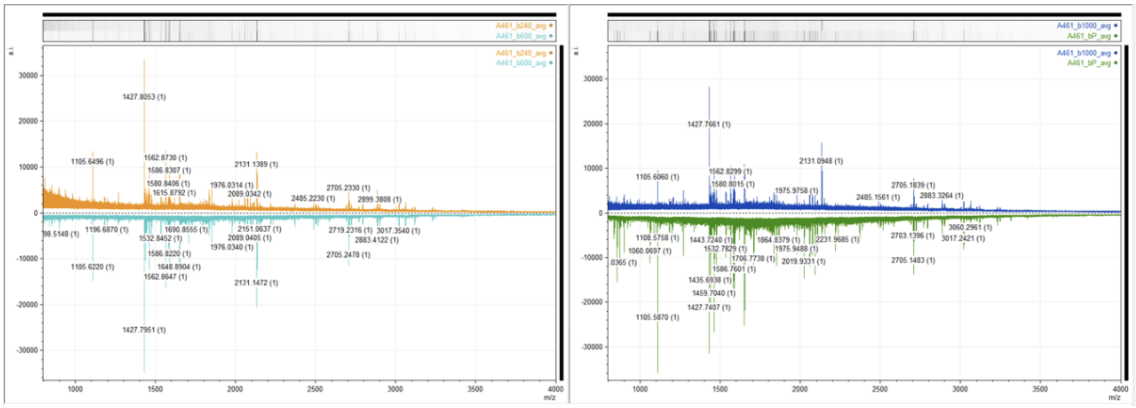

Figure 3 ZooMS spectra for A461.b (Top left: 240; Bottom left: 600; Top right: 1000; Bottom right: P)

The results of SFU Reference Project samples (A455.b, A457.b, A461.a, A461.b) were compared to their original spectra, produced through destructive methods. The destructive A457 generated the same peaks as the minimally-invasive samples. The destructive A461 produced a high 1593 peak (marker C) and 3043.4/3059.4 (marker G1/G2), which are decisive peaks in discriminating *Odocoileus hemionu*s. These missing peaks in the minimally-invasive samples led to the incorrect species ID of white-tailed deer/domestic sheep. A455 demonstrates that destructive methods are not always better than minimally-invasive, as it did not generate marker C or a clear F2 peak (2885.3), the two important peptide markers that are used to differentiate species.

To further explore the quality of spectra for each method, the number of diagnostic peaks were counted and recorded (see Table 3 and Figure 4). In this study, the definition for "diagnostic peaks" are the peaks that are picked by mMass and matched with the twelve peptide markers in the Buckley et al. article (3847) for species identification. Rerun samples and non-picked peaks were not included in the statistical analysis. Although samples A461.a and A461.b do not match with their original IDs, their peaks were still included since they were identified to one species.

Table 3 shows the number of diagnostic peaks for each method on each peptide marker. Polishing film had the best performance in species identification, followed by 600, 240, and 1000. The polishing film method was particularly effective in identifying peptide marker A1 and A2 compared to other methods, a marker that can assist narrowing down the ZooMS ID. In Figure 5, each material is arranged according to their fineness on the x-axis, and the results form a curve. The curve illustrates no positive correlation between the fineness of sampling material and the number of diagnostic peaks. In fact, I hypothesize that fine-grained materials may result in insufficient bone powder being produced and not sticking to the sampling sticks. This hypothesis conforms to the findings of Evans et al. that coarse materials can be used more effectively for minimally-invasive ZooMS analysis (6).

Sandpaper Experiment Total Diagnostic Peak Count by Peptide Markers													
Method	**P1**	**A1**	**A2**	**B**	**C**	**P2**	**D**	**E**	**F1**	**F2**	**G1**	**G2**	**Total**
40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
240	5	0	0	5	5	3	5	3	5	5	2	4	42
600	5	1	2	5	5	3	5	4	5	5	2	4	46
1000	4	1	0	4	4	2	3	3	4	4	1	3	33
P	5	3	3	5	5	3	4	4	5	5	2	4	48

Table 3 Sandpaper experiment total diagnostic peak count by peptide markers

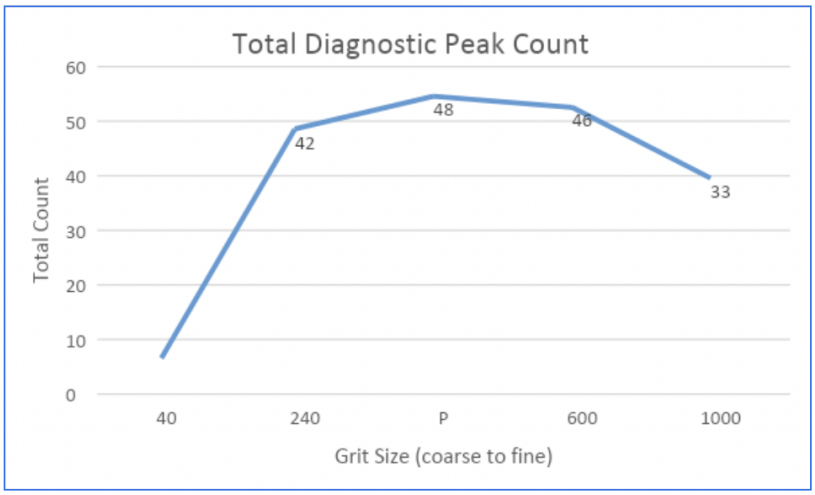

Figure 4 Total diagnostic peak count for each method

Invasiveness of Methods

While all of the methods tested were minimally invasive to the bone or antler, they did create different levels of damage to the surfaces. During the sampling process, 40 grit sandpaper formed a larger amount of bone powder than other grits, but the powder rarely stuck to the sandpaper. It also changed the color of the antler by rubbing off the outer layer (see Figure 2). The 240 grit sandpaper left scratches on the bones, but successfully generated bone powder on the sandpaper (see Figure 5). The 600 grit sandpaper created a pink stain on one of the bone samples, which might damage or contaminate the original sample (see Figure 6). The 1000 grit and polishing films both created minimal marks on surfaces, however more observation is required under the microscope (see Figure 7). In addition, compared to polishing films, the toughness of sandpaper made it difficult to bend, which affected the quality of sampling sticks, and caused the material to easily fall off during peptide extraction.

Figure 5 Sampling antler using 240 grit sandpaper, before (left) and after (right)

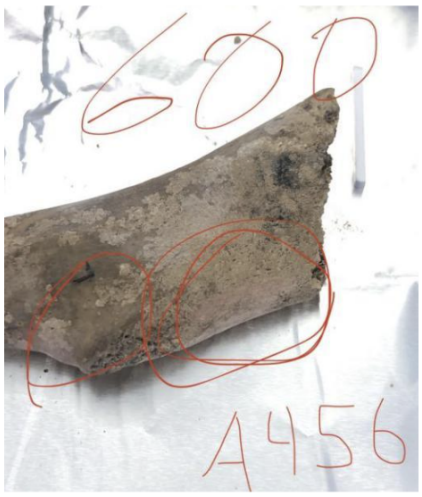

Figure 6 Sampling antler using 600 grit sandpaper, before (left) and after (right)

Figure 7 Sampling antler using 1000 grit sandpaper, before (left) and after (right)

Limitations

When designing this experiment, many variables were not considered, such as the force applied to the sticks when sampling, and the times of rubbing a bone. Since the amount of bone powder produced will directly affect the quality of the ZooMS spectra, future experiments should control the number and intensity of rubs. Other grits of sandpaper (e.g., 400, 800) and polishing films (12, 15um) should be tested to compare the results. In addition, the species of samples selected must not be unknown, so that the similarity between the destructive and minimally-invasive ZooMS results can be compared.

Since sandpapers are tougher than polishing films, large sticks can be difficult to reach the bottom of Eppendorf tubes and require forceful pushing, which could potentially dislodge parts

of the paper inside the tubes. During supernatant transfer to EXT tubes, a number of papers were no longer adhered to the stick, potentially releasing more glue chemicals into solution. This issue could be resolved by firmly pressing the paper/film to the stick to ensure full adhesion. Sandpaper also seems to soak up ~25ul of supernatant, leaving no supernatant in the SE tubes. More AmBic solutions should be added in the future to prevent this issue.

Conclusion

This experiment illustrates that sandpaper can successfully yield identifiable ZooMS spectra, providing a new sampling material for fauna identification in archaeological research. The total diagnostic peak counts show 240 and 600 grit sandpaper and polishing films performed significantly better than 1000 grit sandpaper, suggesting that the grit size is not positively correlated with the spectra quality. Overall, polishing film is the most suitable sampling material for minimally-invasive ZooMS due to its minimal scratches on fauna remains, stability during the experiment, and material features. However, 600 grit sandpaper can also be used as an inexpensive alternative when necessary.

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It's All in the Cards:
Fortuity and Phenomenology in the Art of Tarot

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Abstract

In this paper, I explore the relationship between fortuity and phenomenology in the art of tarot through an autoethnographic analysis. Drawing from contemporary discussions in sociocultural anthropology, I apply my personal experience to further examine my own biases on practices of the occult and how they might instead be applicable in everyday life. In doing so, I argue for the potential integration of such rituals and how scientific methodology need not be separate from the occult. By partaking in a tarot card reading, I came to see how participatory consciousness during the ritual provided me with a newfound clarity and insight in a time of uncertainty and how that has appealed to a larger demographic.

Introduction

As early as the 15th century in Northern Italy, the art of tarot reading has been used as a text-based divination medium for fortune telling and the occult (Drury 24). From the wheel of fortune to the suit of cups, the cards possess the ability to foretell to its questioner anything they may want to know about career aspirations, matters of the heart, best courses of action, or even their creative intuitions. Each card is instilled with meaning, readers drawing from practices such as astrology, numerology, and the Kabbalah to inform their readings (24-25). Participants often assert a number of rationalizations for its validity. For the purpose of this cursory autoethnographic essay, I will partake in a tarot reading to examine the phenomenological issues that arise in me as a doubtful querent during the ritual process. By focusing on the interactions between myself and the reader, I analyze the sources of my skepticism of tarot as an effective method of divination.

Reading Tarot

Tarot decks consist of 78 cards. They are sorted in two categories, the major and the minor arcana. The major arcana consists of the 22 cards, often associated with the visual semiotics of tarot. The minor arcana is made up of 56 cards of four suits: cups, swords, wands, and pentacles (Drury 24). When reading tarot there is no preferred deck to use nor one universal approach to reading. The art of tarot is a "symbolic language based on esoteric themes" (24). Every reading is different; similarly, every reader and the methodologies they choose to implement within their practice is different. The unique process of shuffling the deck, picking out the cards, and the geometry with which they are laid out offers unique perspectives.

The reader, a close friend of mine, recently took up tarot as a method of self-care. For her, the cards and their images help provide insight into her thoughts and feelings, as a way of

seeking them out. Going into the reading, I had to acknowledge that I was not a believer in the powers of divination. For my reading, my friend had decided to employ the two-card reading method to reflect both past and future. While she had experimented with different spreads before, she found it to be the most effective in her own readings. With such numbers, I found it difficult to detach likelihood and felt inclined to ascribe probability to the cards. The math is simple: if two cards are drawn from a deck from a given two-card reading in which the order of their having been flipped matters, then there are 6006 possible combinations.

Going over what I knew to be true of tarot in my mind, I struggled to see its sensibility. Partaking in it felt like undermining my own reliable sense of introspection. How could a deck of cards accurately resolve my personal quandaries? It was an unnerving idea, displacing my understanding of my emotions and thoughts beyond my rationale. In his book, *The Myth of Disenchantment*, Storm challenges traditional definitions of modernity and contradicts the distinction made between disenchantment and secularization, proposing that "reason does not eliminate "superstition" but piggybacks upon it; that mechanism often produces vitalism" (3). Although there may be scientific and statistical explanations for the successes of tarot, the purpose of this brief autoethnography is not to discredit the art of tarot, but rather to gain a better understanding of how it instead offers "prompts for self-reflection, which lead to present clarity that may guide future actions" (Cervantes 115).

The Reading

With their own deck of Rider-Waite tarot, the reader and I decided to conduct a simple reading. The spread was divided into three readings between six cards: two were selected to forecast my academic success, two reflected my career prospects, and two addressed the disposition of my relationships. Using a method of "charging the cards," a way of tuning the tarot to the impulses of the questioner, she shuffled the deck a number of times while focusing their attention to my queries. She did this until the cards no longer dissolved back into the deck.

As I turned one card over, my academic success became personified by the Hermit: an old man bearing a staff in one hand and in the other, a lantern illuminating a six-pointed star against the backdrop of a mountain range. Subsequently, the World: a woman floating above the Earth with a staff in each hand, surrounded by the four living creatures (i.e. a man, an eagle, an ox, and a lion). When I flipped two more cards for my career prospects, the Moon rose from the deck: a night scene, depicting a wolf and a dog howling as a lobster emerges from the water. Then, the King of Wands, reversed: a king, seated upright in his throne, draped with a cape. Finally, the deck offered two more cards for my relationships, the Magician: a man, standing before a table and a flowery setting with a lit candle in his hands. Then, the Ace of Cups: a hand emerging from the clouds bearing a cup as if to offer a drink.

My friend chuckled as she looked at the cards side by side, impressed by how direct the tarot can be in its symbolism. The Hermit, with its image of an old man standing atop a mountain, hit right at the heart of my conjectures about my decision to pursue a degree in English instead of neuroscience. My decision, as the cards suggested, arose from introspection, a time of soul searching. Beside the World, these accomplishments represent change from one

place to another, they impart both the end and the beginning of the journey. The Moon, casting its light, spoke to revelations of how I want to steer my career towards environmental law. Placed next to the reversed King of Wands, it revealed my qualms of law as a convenient way to make money. The Magician, representing a need to reconnect, clarified my readiness to pursue romantic relationships again. Alongside the Ace of Cups, an outpouring of emotions, the card symbolized my attitudes and my intuitive inner voice.

Discussion

Throughout the reading, what shocked me the most was my gradual openness to the suggestions that cards had made. Any initial doubts I had casted upon the validity of the cards prior to the session had subsided by the time I walked away from the table. By positing the constraints of probability with the flexibility of tarot as a method for divination, I had come to embrace tarot, as Greenwood puts it aptly, as "a conceptual space in which all knowledge, including magic, have their existence… express[ing] a language of relationship that incorporates different forms of knowing" (Greenwood 147).

When considering the nature of tarot readings, it is tempting to undermine their authenticity by drawing attention to the need for the questioner to assess their own results, the cards at hand. However, to do so would be dismissive of tarot's proposals for mystery and wonder, of its ability "to summarize discord and… resolve conflict or restore harmony" (Zeitlyn 229). The art of tarot serves as a stepping stone between pondering a problem and acting to resolve it. It is a means of clarifying thought, of answering abstruse questions. As soon as I was able to isolate the need to rationalize everything that was going on, I was able to see the ritual as "similarly vague yet evocative" (Zeitlyn 229).

In recent years, the growing popularity of tarot on social media platforms like TikTok is a fascinating example of the world's documented return to the occult from "the loss of wonder… de-animation… [and] the progressive rationalization of superstition" (Storm 6). With the uncertainties made prevalent during the COVID-19 pandemic, people from all around the world slowly turned to tarot as a form of healing, and even as a possible alternative to therapy (Cervantes 116). The prevalent use of tarot as a way to alleviate stress during the pandemic demonstrated how divinatory practices and rituals may be effective as widespread practice. It was an idea I had initially rejected prior to my own participation; yet the potential for magical consciousness exemplifies the need for tarot and other supernatural practices to be considered. As Susan Greenwood puts it, "Science, like any other human activity, must be understood within its context, and we must question our own assumptions" (146).

Conclusion

The art of tarot yields the power to allow individuals to look within the intrinsic self against the constraints of an extrinsic reality. It provides the opportunity to look beyond a certain set of circumstances or a given situation. Tarot offers instead a dynamic order in which the self-conscious is continually in the process of reflecting then acting, answering questions that would otherwise seem unanswerable. If we choose to detach the art of tarot, along with other

magical and supernatural practices, from whether or not it conforms to the standards of statistical probability akin to the conceptualization of science, it offers new possibilities for amalgamating previously separate traditions of knowledge. For instance, a new, more open attitude within Western clinical psychology could inspire positive innovations to how therapy is conducted. In terms of magical consciousness, tarot readings, for example, could encourage introspection, and "provide an avenue to bring subconscious issues to the fore, in order for the querent to be able to face them" (Cervantes 116). In writing this autoethnographic essay, I have come to approach the art of tarot with a sense of openness, and see that the experience of magic is conterminous with science within the greater canon of knowledge, as "not only, but also" configurations of everyday practice (Greenwood 145).

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Neoliberalism and the Mis(representation) of the Maasai in Kenya and Tanzania

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Abstract

Western colonizers are notorious for employing the normative category of "the Other" against people whom they consider to be inferior, subsequently marginalizing those of different cultural and ethnic origins through Eurocentric discourses and material suppressions. In our so-called "post-colonial" period, this paper argues the violence of colonial legacies persists, with certain colonial aspects transfigured into neoliberalism. I look into the ways neoliberal discourses and narratives jeopardize the representation and benefits of the Maasai people living in Kenya and Tanzania today, and how they aim to marginalize the Maasai from their lands. Nonetheless, the Maasai, as autonomous agents, actively engage in neoliberal practices and participate in Indigenous rights activist movements to increase recognition of their rights as holders of their native lands.

Introduction

More than just economic patterns, the ubiquitous globalization and neoliberalism of the modern era has been reconfiguring our ways of perceiving the world, consequently re-shaping our material world as well. These two global forces, globalization and neoliberalism, are especially effective and "violent" in their homogenizing power which renders everything commodifiable without exceptions (Han 13). This paper looks into the interplay between neoliberal forces, marginalizing narratives, as well as representations, of the Maasai in tourism and conservation discourses in Kenya and Tanzania, where their native Maasailand is located. I argue that such narratives and representations imply the disassociation and displacement of the Maasai from their contemporary socio-political contexts and their tangible land through addressing Maasai in ahistorical/anachronistic or incongruous ways. In a neoliberal economy, Maasai are 'meant' to be consumed as a detached token wiped out of their meanings and identity, removed from a deeply entrenched connection to their lands. While I acknowledge that the Maasai people living in Kenya and Tanzania are bound to policies and geopolitical realities specific to their own countries, discussing them separately in every section is beyond the scope and capacity of this paper. Thus, sections discussing the Western misrepresentation of the Maasai also involve a level of generalization that reflects how Western thought often portrays the Maasai in a homogenizing way.

The Maasai

The Maasai are a Maa-speaking pastoral Indigenous group living in the Maasailand, located in southern Kenya and northern Tanzania (Homewood et al. 239-40; Salazar 56). Since

they do not share the same language and culture as the majority ethnic groups in both Kenya and Tanzania (Igoe "Conservation and Globalisation" 4), the Maasai face similar marginalization and suppression in both countries, being viewed as 'backward'. The Maasai struggle to maintain their traditional livelihoods – in regards to aspects of diet, housing, customs, and being forced to engage in the process of 'modernization' (Bruner and Kirshenblatt Gimblett 437; Gardner 5; Igoe "Conservation and Globalisation" 4; Schneider 104). Despite their engagement in the tourism industry and international Indigenous movements, the Maasai are still seen as an icon of "traditionalism" due to long-lasting stereotypes and suppression (Salazar 56).

Historical marginalization and (mis)representation of the Maasai

Ironically, during the colonial period of the early Twentieth Century, colonizers initially considered the image of a typical Maasai male warrior to be nobler than other African Indigenous males (Schneider 104). The Maasai's representation as the 'noble savage' collapsed, however, as the discordance between the colonizers and the Maasai escalated. The former displaced the Maasai community into reserves, both in Tanzania and Kenya, in order to expropriate their most arable lands (Galaty 352; Hodgson 65; Igoe "Conservation and Globalisation" 5). Colonizers adopted self-contradicting policies to marginalize the Maasai: on the one hand, they diminished the Maasai's access to receive education and healthcare in the name of "preserving" their culture. On the other hand, they implemented radical policies to promote "productivity," "progress" and other aspects of 'modernity' among the Maasai community (Hodgson 65). Despite such attempts, the prototypical image of a male Maasai warrior, as a brave "primitive" African who kills lions simply with a spear, feeding on raw animal blood and milk, was perpetuated in colonial narratives and continues to shape contemporary tourists' expectations of the Maasai (Bruner 882).

For instance, in Mayers Ranch, operated by a British family in Kenya during the postcolonial period of the 1980's, the Maasai were asked to dress as the 'noble savage', as in colonial fantasies, in their warrior attire, holding spears for tourist attraction. This scene took place under the white settlers' roof, serving as part of an imperialist nostalgia channeled by tourist realism in an immersive environment (Bruner 882; 886). It is worth mentioning that the Maasai were not allowed to speak to the tourists face-to-face, display themselves wearing modern attire, or show any industrial goods on their person (Bruner 884-85). By displacing the Maasai in an anachronistic vacuum, away from their contemporaneous contexts, this mode of (mis)representation immobilizes the Maasai as relics of the past who are disassociated from their lands, with no place in the neoliberal present and future aside from acting as 'features' in a tourist landscape.

Connecting tourism, conservation, and neoliberalism, and their impacts

Even after the independence of Tanzania and Kenya, forms of marginalization, notably land appropriation directed at Maasai communities, persist as the most profitable conservation areas of the two countries are concentrated in Maasailand(Gardner 5; Homewood et al. 240). Under the enforcement of national policies for neoliberal economic reform, recent years have seen the extensive encroachment into Maasailand both by states and foreign investors to turn their

lands into tourist spots (Igoe "Conservation and Globalisation" 5). On top of the fact that traditional grazing lands are converted into tourist sites, tourism revenues are mostly misappropriated by local elites without equal distributions, and most Maasai communities still struggle with poverty due to the loss of their pastoralist subsistence (Homewood et al. 246).

In Tanzania, however, the Maasai have come to actively adopt market-oriented conservation land management to reserve their lands for tourism. As a compromise to neoliberal values and markets, they see that direct foreign investments without state interventions would provide them with some advantages to secure property rights and a level of autonomy (Gardner 5-6). As an effort "to harness the narrative of conservation and African nature as a global good and firmly attach it to local histories, resource management, and sustainable land use" (Gardner 24), the Maasai, besides tangible profit, also gain intangible capital against the ongoing marginalization by manifesting their property rights to the state government from tourism contracts they have with a company (Gardner 154).

Globalization and neoliberalism as forces

Mediation of the Maasai people through a homogenizing lens

The flourishing of tourism in Maasailand coincides with the seemingly compelling narratives and representations of the Maasai that render their image and land exploitable. Typically, such images depict young Maasai warriors wearing exotic headdresses, red loincloths, with patterns painted in red ochre on their bodies. This kind of generic image is likely already imprinted by tourists traveling to East Africa, having encountered it several times on travel websites, brochures and souvenir shops (Bruner 884; Mieu 35). Such a homogenized and mediated appearance of an anonymous Maasai individual signifies the collective identity of his ethnic group, that such an image is never about a particular individual. This is enabled by "the tourist gaze" (Galaty 351; Mieu 52) that takes these images out of their specific geopolitical contexts and allows such mediated images to be consumed from a safe distance (Igoe "Spectacle of nature" 378).

It is precisely this 'tourist gaze' that is potent in configuring and commodifying the generic image of Maasai as a brand ready to be consumed. The interchangeability of Maasai-as-a-brand in its commodity form alienates the Maasai identity from Maasai individuals and their lands, as their culture can now be claimed by anyone who looks ostensibly similar to them. The Samburu, another Maa-speaking ethnic group, is known to dress in Maasai clothing and perform impersonations of Maasai warriors to tourists, simply because Maasai identity is more profitable than their own (Mieu 49-50). Like all other brands, Maasai-as-a-brand is "vulnerable to contingency", leaving gaps for the consumers' interpretation and reinterpretation of such a porous representation (Mieu 41).

The Maasai are aware that this vulnerability poses greater challenges to claiming their rights and identity in neoliberal contexts. To protect themselves from being exploited by people who take their pictures and profit off of them, the Maasai copyright their names and images of their ethnic group at an estimated value of $10 million per year (Mieu 49). It seems, the only way

to cope with the exploitation brought on by a neoliberal market is to join the market at the expense of being commoditized.

Similar to how the branding of Maasai identity works, a "spectacular production" and "Disneyfication" of the Maasailand occurs on the same grounds of neoliberalism. These two modes of mediation leave space for interpretation and reinterpretation for its viewers, where, so often, Western viewers reinvent the narratives of other cultures through fragments of another's identity (Igoe "Spectacle of nature" 385-86). For instance, during Jim Igoe's fieldwork at the Tarangire National Park in Tanzania, a part of the *Maasai Steppe Heartland* under the African Wildlife Foundation (AWF), he discovered that sporadic success under the management of AWF was often inflated as the success of the entire region, thereby concealing the real issues faced by people elsewhere. Through aligning these homogenized fragments, a timeless spectacle is produced and celebrated by people who are not in situ (Igoe "Spectacle of nature" 385-88).

Moreover, a spectacle in and of itself, such Disneyfication has to be enabled by the tourist in situ. In an "Out of Africa Sundowner" cocktail party (as described in Bruner) held in an outdoor setting in a Kenyan Maasai reserve, Western tourists encounter their homogenized fantasies of appropriated African culture (as seen in products of Western popular culture, such as, Disney) in its place of origin. The performance of the song "KumBaYa," – that has its origin in Africa – was reinvented in other parts of the world with a "New World Caribbean reggae beat" letting the North American tourist find it "comfortable and safe […] for it is their own" (Bruner 890-94; Igoe "Conservation and Globalisation" 17). The far-reaching potency of globalization is, again, manifested here as an abstracting and alienating force. The solipsistic ideologies of globalization and neoliberalism are in effect only when they extract the subject out of its original context. While such ideologies still allude to the subject's place of origin in its commodity form, it is the illusion of such that is perpetuated. Even when tourists are having direct contact with the Maasai, standing on their land, they are not interacting with the African people and their surroundings, but with the mediated by-product of their fantasies. Within the fantasized realms, the Maasai are rendered as the *Other* despite the fact that they are the ones who are the native.

Demarcated territories of human and wildlife: another mode of mediation

The dissociation of the Maasai from their native environments is further bolstered in narratives and practices of demarcating humans and wildlife as seen in Western media and beyond. Wildlife, such as lions, are presented on one TV channel, while the Maasai on the other. They are very unlikely to be presented on the same channel simultaneously, for Western viewers generally deem that nature should stay intact without the intervention of humans. Without realizing this dichotomy of culture/nature being a construct in itself, the Westerner takes for granted this expectation to be the same for other cultures (Igoe "Conservation and Globalisation" 14). This notion, nonetheless, coincides with and likely gave rise to the 'fortress conservation model' – first seen in the colonial period under German rule of East Africa. Such a model demarcates humans from wildlife through coercive displacement; it eventually leads to ecological unbalance, resulting in unfavorable conditions, such as, "crop-raiding by wildlife" caused by the

depopulation of both humans and livestock (Bluwstein 147-48). Despite this notion, the independence of Tanzania saw a major shift towards wildlife conservation aimed at the protection of wildlife "through sustainable resource use" such that cases like crop-raiding would be prevented (Bluwstein 150). It has been noted by scholars that such fortress conservation had still been practiced in Tanzania and that the wellbeing of wildlife was prioritized over humans (Hodgson 78). This disintegration of the Maasai and wildlife is proved to be profitable for some and will only escalate at the expense of the Maasai people's wellbeing.

How the Maasailand is stolen: governmental discourses and land appropriation in practice

Since the 1990s, and the introduction of neoliberalism, the Tanzanian government has further adopted strategies to appropriate the lands of pastoralists and hunter-gatherers, in order to generate revenue by turning them into profitable enterprises, such as commercial firms and wildlife reserves (Hoodgson 69). Since pastoralists do not use their lands during droughted and dry seasons, the government justifies their act of appropriation by labeling their lands as "unused" and therefore, readily available to be purchased by national and foreign investors (Hoodgson 70). Since pastoralists have also been regarded as "backward" and "unproductive" for their highly mobile way of managing their livestock, the government has attempted to settle the pastoralists and their animals in ranches to "improve their productivity" at the expense of their mobility and decentralization (Hoodgson 70; 75). So as to alienate and disassociate the Maasai from their native lands, the Tanzanian government also uses narratives that condemn and misrepresent the Maasai as people who are either 'total strangers' or as misusing their lands.

In Loliondo, during the 2009 drought, more than ten-thousand Maasai villagers and their livestock were evicted by the state for grazing their cattle near hunting areas during a period they were supposed to avoid them. A foreign company had contracted the area for trophy hunting a few months every year, resulting in more than a hundred homesteads being burned, and several Maasai jailed. Notably, the state failed to mention that the Maasai still have the land rights of the area despite its conditions (Gardner 76-77). After the eviction, two untenable narratives were given by the government: the first was that the eviction only targeted Kenyan Maasai who had illegally crossed the border and intruded on Tanzanian land. After this narrative was discredited by the fact that there had been no Kenyan among the evicted Maasai, the government turned to a secondary narrative in which the Maasai's pastoralist way of grazing livestock "was destroying the nation's natural resources" (Gardner 79-80). Such ungrounded double talk foregrounds two aspects that justify eviction and alienate the Maasai from exercising their legal rights over their lands in the first place. The former narrative promotes xenophobia, from the perspective of the state, and the latter boosts paternalism, from the perspectives of both the state and its economy.

Mobilizing the discourse of the Maasai as the Indigenous

Uprooting the Western misrepresentation could be overwhelmingly challenging, as it is also deeply rooted in the colonial past, but the Maasai can cope with the marginalization that they experience within their country. The Maasai themselves are not passive agents and are, as mentioned in previous sections, actively adopting neoliberal practices, increasing their

international recognition as Indigenous people, and coping with forms of marginalization that subjugate them as "second-class citizens" (Hodgson 6; 37). The speech given by the Maasai activist Moringe ole Paripuny, addressing the Maasai as the Indigenous people of their native land, to the United Nations Working Group, marked the rise and spread of the Indigenous Peoples Movement across Africa (Hodgson 25-7; 37-8). Maasai NGOs have also consciously "appropriated and reconfigured […] the ahistorical" stereotypes of them being backward and primitive and "selling their own marginality" to appeal to Indigenous rights activists, internationally (Hodgson 76; Salazar 60).

In their active participation in transnational movements, the Maasai came to establish connections with foreign NGOs and investors, as well as Tanzanian government agencies to "shift their status within the nation-state" (Gardner 15). Despite the Maasai not necessarily wanting to adopt the practices of a neoliberal mindset, it seems to them that between foreign investors and an arbitrary state government, the former is the lesser of the two evils. With foreign investors, they can still hold their land rights with a rising recognition of Maasai as the land owner, while minimizing the harm being done to their lands through their contract of ecotourism with international investors, without the state-intervention (Gardner 15). Within the ever-expanding realm of globalization and neoliberalism, the Maasai choose to employ "strategies of extraversion" that would allow them to seize resources necessary to cope with existing marginalizations (Igoe "Conservation and Globalisation" 12).

Conclusion

By claiming their status as Indigenous, the Maasai symbolically and materially reclaim their inalienable lands in which their symbolic representations intertwine with their material realities, shaping one another constantly. Through years of suppression and marginalization, the Maasai have come to grasp the violence and potency of neoliberalism, transforming it into a weapon against violence allowed by the state. One question remains unsettled for the Maasai: can the master's tool ever dismantle the master's house? To some extent, they may not intend to dismantle their government through neoliberalism but rather to achieve a state of equilibrium. Yet, as suggested by Alexander Rüsto, the inventor of the term "neoliberalism," it appears neoliberalism only leads to social fragmentation, where the 'antidote' lies in a "politics of vitality" underpinned by "solidarity and community spirit" (Han 14). Perhaps, through the global nexus of the Indigenous movements, the Maasai may be able to dispel the shadow that neoliberalism and colonialism has cast on them.

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The “Death Pits” of Ur: A Tale of Human Sacrifice?

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Abstract

In this paper, I explore the social implications of the findings at the Royal Cemetery of Ur, Mesopotamia. The discovery of mass graves in the Royal Cemetery, although initially sensationalized and dramatized by media and academics alike, can provide valuable insights into the social order of ancient societies, and should not be dismissed or written off as senseless acts of violence. An analysis of the remains found in both the death pits and the royal graves shows that the activity markers on the bones of the individuals in the death pits, compared to those of the individuals in the separate, royal tombs, indicate that these mass graves contained physical labourers as opposed to wealthy rulers. These findings are indicative of the class differences present in Mesopotamian society and provide an insight into how such class differences manifested in burial practices. Ultimately, sensationalizing these kinds of archaeological finds distorts our perceptions of ancient civilizations and limits the knowledge that academia, and the public can gain from studying these sites in a thoughtful and analytical way.

Introduction

The discovery of the Royal Cemetery at Ur began in 1922 with primary excavations led by Leonard Woolley in what is now Nasiriyah, Iraq, on behalf of the British Museum. The excavation suffered complications from the start, with little to no discoveries in the initial trenches, and workers pocketing finds to sell. However, Woolley would soon stumble on to what became one of the most sensationalized finds of the 20th century. The Royal Cemetery contained more than grave goods and bodies of possible rulers, but also mass graves where the remains of dozens of unidentified people lay. Woolley was quick to label these mass graves as “death pits”, with his accounts quickly winning media attention. The sudden public fascination with ritual mass sacrifice, and the labeling of events that took place several thousands of years prior in Ur, clouded the findings from the site. Such a shocking find, combined with the uncertainty surrounding the identities of the individuals found in the so-called “death pits”, inspired a wide range of scholarly theories and research on the manner of death of the occupants of the burials.

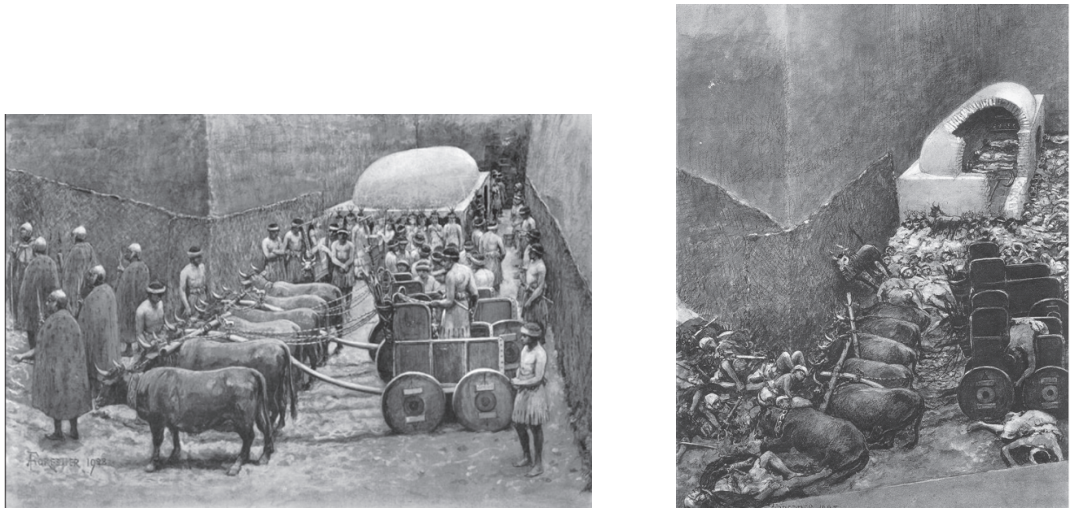

Figure 1: Forestier's drawing of the occupants of the death pit before and after their deaths. (Produced in 1938 by A. Forestier, figure retrieved from Baadsgaard et al.)

Early Theories

As an archaeological site, the cemetery has the potential to provide valuable information and insights into ancient Mesopotamian society. In particular, burial practices and rituals, according to Alekshin et al., can identify six aspects of a society (138). Such aspects include cultural ideas about passage to the underworld, the succession of cultures, social positions of individuals (sex and age, degrees of social stratification, family and community formation), and their demographic factors (Alekshin et al. 137-45). The evidence found at the Cemetery, including human remains, ornamental artifacts, and grave goods, can be used to inform our knowledge of Ur society, specifically of their potential class structure, religious order, and traditions. More broadly, this knowledge could generally be applied to further understandings of ancient Mesopotamia. An informed, analytical perspective of the gravesites could counter sensationalized reports and ideas surrounding the practice of human sacrifice, which would in turn allow for a more thoughtful and scientific study of such a controversial subject.

Leonard Woolley's initial (1922-1934) excavation of the Cemetery found over 2,000 burials dating back to the Early Dynastic Period (Baadsgaard 148). Not all of the burials were the same, with only 16 in particular being of interest to Woolley due to the nature of their contents. These 16 graves were determined to have most likely belonged to various Ur royalty and past rulers, based on the elaborate grave goods and dress of the remains (Baadsgaard 148). Upon finding the burial site known as "the Great Death Pit", the initial theory was that the individuals were unwilling human sacrifices to accompany royals into the afterlife. This theory changed after a large cauldron was found in the center of the pit. This led Woolley to believe the victims may have committed voluntary mass suicide by ingesting a poison (Woolley 41). However, this theory was later dismissed after blunt force trauma was found on the skulls retrieved from the

site. Nevertheless, the discovery of victims of unknown origins in mass graves created a media sensation that furthered the taboo nature of historical human sacrifice.

Analysis of Findings at Ur

While the findings at Ur were not the first evidence of human sacrifice, the mystery surrounding the identities of the buried occupants prompted many theories on how so many people related to noticeably wealthier and hierarchically important individuals, ended up in mass graves. Amongst those theories included the idea that one of the gravesites, which contained only the remains of women, was a ritual offering to the moon god of Ur, Nanna (Marchesi 163). Another theory suggested the individuals in the burials were not kings at all, but rather substitutes appointed to take the king's place to remove a curse from the real king in the wake of a "bad omen" (Frankfurt qtd in Marchesi 163). The general theory behind the existence of the death pits is that it was a custom in ancient Sumerian society, at least for a century during the Early Dynastic Period, for royals and rulers to be buried along with their consorts, to be taken to the afterlife.

While identifying artifacts is more subjective than the identification process of bones in terms of historical information, Gansell argues in her article that the clothing and jewelry found in burial sites can offer significant insight into an individual's social status during their life (29). One of the more substantial and backed theories identifying the occupants of the Cemetery comes from the identification of one grave belonging to a queen of Ur, Queen Pu-abi. Her grave is labelled as 'PG 800' and consists of a separate burial area where her remains were found surrounded by goods. Below this chamber is a "death pit" containing the remains of several individuals and animals, along with more grave goods, including a chariot (see Fig. 2).

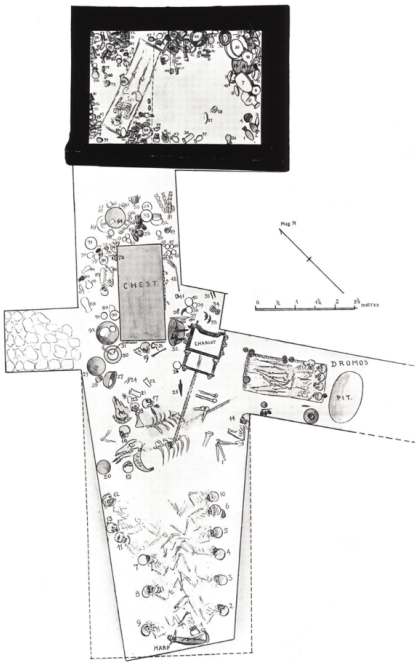

Figure 2: A drawing of Pu-abi's grave. (Retrieved from Baadsgaard)

Queen Pu-abi was identified as more important socially than the individuals found in her death pit, as well as from the nearly 2,000 other burials at the site, by the quality of the jewelry and grave goods she was adorned with. A commonality found between female remains identified as possible royalty was the intricate headdresses worn by the women. In addition, the headdresses were only found on remains buried separately, and were not noted in the general grave areas of the Cemetery. The headdress found on Queen Pu-abi's remains was significantly more decorated than the headdress found on other female remains in the Cemetery, showing that one manifestation of class difference in Ur society between royal and non-royals came in the form of intricacies in clothing (Baadsgaard 150).

Such inferences about the structure of Ur society fall under the category of 'social positions' in the information that burial sites can provide, as stated by Alekshin et al. The clothing differences, even in burial practices, denote a clear difference between an upper and lower class, which continues after death. Additionally, the presence of numerous items of elaborate gold jewelry, including rings, pins, and wreaths, on the (possibly) royal women shows the immense wealth held by these individuals during their lives. In contrast, the remains in the death pits of these women wore only a few pieces of simple jewelry made of copper or stone rather than gold (Gansell 30). According to Gansell and Vidale, the adornment patterns of individuals in death pits with only certain styles of jewelry could have been a way to tie those individuals to the royal figure they were buried in association with, possibly as a way of identifying them in the afterlife (39; 431). The authors also argue that jewelry could have been used as a way to mark the wearer's age and gender, both of which provide additional contextual clues as to the intentions behind each death pit and the significance of its occupants.

Discussion

The artifacts found buried alongside the individuals in the Royal Cemetery have been instrumental in demystifying the conditions under which the mass grave appeared and the identities of the individuals found in them. However, I argue that the remains themselves can provide much greater insight into the individual figures, including the manner in which they died. Woolley's original theory of how the attendants in the death pits died — poisoned, possibly willingly — was disproved when blunt force trauma was identified on the skulls he had preserved and sent to be studied further at the Royal College of Surgeons in London (Molleson 91). The current standing theory is that the individuals found in the pits had been killed violently by a blow to the head with a blunt object, rather than the willing mass-suicide Woolley had initially envisioned (Porter 260).

By using another one of Alekshin et al. 's six informational categories obtained from burial sites and demographic features, we can study the remains found in the Cemetery by looking into the physical characteristics of its individuals. A key finding from the analysis of remains found in the death pits was that many of the individuals had impressions and markings on the bones that are consistent with repetitive, strenuous activities, implying that the individuals found in the pits were familiar with manual labour during their lifetimes, and therefore belonged

to a working-class rather than royal background (Molleson 96). In particular, some individuals were found to have activity markers such as overdeveloped thigh and back muscles, as well as signs of repeated strain to the knee and ankle joints. In this historical context, such indicators of repetitive action most likely resulted from chariot riding (Molleson 99). This finding falls in line with the theory that the occupants of the death pits were part of a 'consort' belonging to the ruler or important figure with whom they were buried. The evidence that the consorts were a working-class group of people, possibly the servants in life of their respective royal figures, further supports the idea that any individuals buried on their own were wealthy and of a separate social class.

An analysis of how the individuals died helps to understand the actual burial practice that the individuals in the Cemetery endured. The revelation that the consorts were killed by blunt force trauma, rather than willing or unwilling suicide by poison, changed the perceptions of the burials entirely. There are many theories as to how this was done, including whether the occupants of the tombs were killed prior or after being positioned in the pits. According to Baadsgaard et al., the damage done to the two preserved skulls happened perimortem, meaning the individuals were killed by the blow to the head. Both skulls, and many other remains found in the death pits, also showed evidence of heat postmortem, indicating that there may have been a practice of heating or smoking the bodies after death but before burial (145). This is consistent with known burial practices in the surrounding area, as a means of offering the deceased to their respective gods (Baadsgaard et al. 146). This implies that the postmortem treatment of the bodies in the Cemetery at Ur may have had religious connotations, further indicating that in Sumerian society, the belief in life after death may have been a feature of their religious beliefs.

Conclusion

There is often a tendency to instantly jump to the most dramatic conclusion upon finding a site like Ur, which, regardless of what theory you apply to it, is quite a gruesome one. The presence of thousands of graves, with bodies piled up in pits at the feet of intricately dressed rulers, can spark the wildest parts of one's imagination. But it is important, particularly when dealing with topics like human sacrifice, to take an analytical approach and step back to examine the historical context in which the events may have taken place. Woolley and the media at the time fell victim to this, and so a shadow was cast for quite some time over the findings at Ur. However, much valuable information can be derived from the findings at Ur, as burial sites can be incredibly helpful in providing clues as to how a society operated and how it progressed. The conclusions derived from the forensic evidence and artifacts found at the Cemetery at Ur can help us form more educated opinions and ideas about ancient Sumerian society and their way of life, not only at Ur, but in the surrounding Near East as well.

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Shedding the Barbaric Stereotype Associated with Cannibalism

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Abstract

Cannibalism, the consumption of human body parts, has been a part of important cultural traditions throughout history. Despite European perceptions of cannibalism as barbaric, it remained a common practice in many communities. In cultures such as the Aghori of India, cannibalism was common, with its members consuming human skulls and flesh. Despite the controversy behind the subject of cannibalism, it is crucial to note that cannibalism has also been observed in religious traditions, such as the Catholic Church's practice of consuming the symbolic body and blood of Christ. The benefits of cannibalism are endless, and cultures that continue to practice it are witnesses. However, the arrival of Europeans in the New World marked a turning point in the perception of cannibalism. European perspectives on cannibalism were instrumental in reshaping the way the practice was perceived and understood. This study seeks to show how various cultures practiced cannibalism and its significance to these cultures. The study also seeks to prove that the over-simplification of cannibalism leads to many misconceptions about it and its cultural significance. Cannibalism was a way of showing love to the dead, maintaining spirituality, protecting the soul, and providing medicinal benefits.

Introduction

In early 2017, Reza Aslan – a TV host attached to CNN – faced explosive backlash after eating parts of a cooked human brain. He was in the company of a Hindu sect (the Aghori of India) that drinks using human skulls and consumes human flesh (Khapaeva 121). The uproar surrounding Reza Aslan's consumption of a human brain ignited a controversial debate around cannibalism. The public discourse surrounding Aslan's act was largely characterized by revulsion, viewing cannibalism not only as a taboo with no underlying value, but also as an "aggressive, barbaric, and degrading act" (Rahn 77). Throughout the late 15th and 16th century, Europeans who were coming to terms with the New World described some Indigenous peoples as engaging in cannibalism in a similar manner (Gutierrez, 2019). The term "barbaric" was often used by Europeans to describe colonized peoples as simple and uncomplicated, validating their own perceived cultural superiority. However, overwhelming anthropological studies clarify that cannibalism is neither an uncommon nor a distant cultural practice. It was, and is still in some cultures, common practice despite the opposition it attracts in contemporary society.

The uproar that followed the TV host is a major form of over-simplification that casts a veil on cannibalism. This paper seeks to re-examine this antiquated view that cannibalism is a barbarous practice of primitive groups, and to shed light on the intricate processes and reasons for cannibalism.

The Context

Europeans used their definitions of primitivism and barbarism to validate their claims to land and people, solidifying cannibalism as a "trait of uncivilized, barbaric, and primitive people" (Burley 11). The 16th and 17th century Europeans promoted certain beliefs about the New World's indigenous groups that portrayed them as bereft of human qualities, making it easy to classify them as uncivilized and crude (Welton 155). The concept of cannibalism was woven into the fabric of the world by Europeans. As European colonization of the Americas continued, the discourse of cannibalism grew to become a critical defining feature of the colonial experience (Lindenbaum 486). Cannibalism was painted to be a savage act beyond the European realm, yet anthropological research reveals different findings.

Cannibalism as a Pathway to Enlightenment

Endocannibalism, the practice of consuming the flesh of a member of one's own group, acts as a pathway to enlightenment for the Aghori. Being part of a Hindu sect, this group is devoted to achieving what they refer to as *moksha* - a higher level of liberation (Mishka, 2016). It is a stage of enlightenment that is adored and cherished among the Aghori regarding their religious background. Indeed, every member's ultimate goal is to attain this supreme enlightenment (Bosmia et al. 1786). Most of the practices that they undertake to achieve this state are abhorred by orthodox Hinduism. However, what is considered taboo by the orthodox Hindu is what the Aghori believe to be the key to unlocking the state of transcendence(Bosmia et al. 1786). Further, they believe that following the proper way can accelerate the progress toward spiritual enlightenment (Kakar, 2018).

The Aghori believe that everything is sacred, including the corpse, while mainstream Hindus may perceive the corpse to be unclean because they act as a link between the worlds of the dead and the living. By interacting with the corpse and eating the flesh, they focus on "transcending all dichotomies, see through the illusory nature of all human categories and attain nirvana by becoming one with ultimate reality" (Thomas). The Aghori believe that only those who follow the right path to enlightenment have the opportunity to detach themselves permanently from the wheel of existence. To escape this permanence, one of the most preferred routes is through the corpse and endocannibalism. They consume the flesh of corpses, either roasted or in raw form, intending to affirm their belief system (Kakar, 2018).

There is also an underlying belief that what locks people away from attaining enlightenment is the fear of death. Therefore, those who are able to overcome this fear are gifted with liberty. They practice cannibalism to break through the wall of spiritual freedom (Kakar, 2018). Through cannibalism, the Aghori also confront and embrace death in its entirety to signify that they have denounced worldly customs and effectively broken the reincarnation cycle (Bosmia et al. 1786).

Attaining Spiritual Sustenance

Besides enlightenment, cannibalism is also practiced symbolically to attain spiritual sustenance in certain religions. The Eucharist is an example of how cannibalism can be used

metaphorically to represent spiritual sustenance. Some Christian denominations, such as Catholics, follow this practice and partake in it, believing that the bread and wine are transformed into the actual body and blood of Christ, bringing them closer to eternal life. The reference is made to the word of Jesus Christ, who stated, "This is my Body, which is given for you. Do thin in remembrance of me." and "This cup that is poured out for you is the new covenant in my blood." (Luke 22:19-20).

In this regard, Christians are taking part in a form of ritual cannibalism by sharing the flesh and blood of Christ. It is a process that is often referred to as Transubstantiation. These sects of Christian faith are built on this practice because it is through it that they will access eternity. Although they do not consume the blood and body of Christ literally, this is a form of cannibalism in its metaphorical sense. The practice is meant to fill that 'spiritual' void that comes with sustenance. According to Cho (2022), the Holy Communion or the Eucharist is also a unique form of cannibalism known as theophagy because it is linked with the 'Eating of Gods'. Just like the Aghoris, Christians consume the body and blood of Christ to achieve a higher level of spiritual sustenance. In this perspective, cannibalism sheds the barbaric and savage trait that it is often associated with, especially in the West.

Demonstrating Love for the Dead

Cannibalism was also practiced out of love for the dead among the Fore people in the past. The Fore people have a distinct process of conducting transumption that involved family members and other designated members in their society. The entire corpse was prepared for a feast, and close relatives were allowed to consume certain parts of the corpse. The daughters of the deceased ate the head; the widow took the genitals and intestines; women who went to grieve with the widow consumed any of the remaining meat, and men consumed the flesh of the arms, legs, and torso.

According to Whitfield et al. (3721), "to ensure that the *kwela (flesh)* departed to *kwelanandamundi* (the home of ancestors) and the deceased became a complete ancestor, the entire body had to be eaten and, for this reason, the women ensured that the brain was all eaten" (p. 3723). The feast signified a deep love for the dead. It was even considered the ultimate expression of respect for the dead. By conducting all these obsequies, the Fore people ensured that the souls of the deceased were reintegrated into the family (Whitfield et al. 3721). Apart from ensuring that the soul returned to its rightful place, the Fore people chose to eat the dead in the belief that it was better than allowing the body to be devoured by worms and insects (Whitfield et al. 3721). There is little to suggest that the practice was based on the beliefs of the Fore people. Instead, the practice of eating the dead was done out of love for the dead and it was cherished.

Protecting the Soul

Cannibalism is also practiced to protect the soul. The Yanomami tribe from South America do not believe that death occurs naturally (Conklin). Instead, they believe that it occurs as a result of evil interventions from a rival group. Therefore, when a death occurs

within the tribe, the spirit must always be protected and guided to transition into the spiritual world.
Specific funeral rituals must be performed to accomplish this goal, but one of the major ones involves endocannibalism.

The Yanomami tribe believes that eating the flesh of the dead tribesman keeps the spirit alive for generations (Conklin). Only the relatives and loved ones of the dead are allowed to eat the flesh to protect the soul. What remains of the bones is made into a powder, mixed with ashes, and used to make banana soup (Lester et al. 429). This is the only delicacy that everyone is allowed to partake. In case an enemy is involved in the death of a tribesman, only the female members are allowed to consume the ashes before a revenge mission is carried out (Gutiérrez 393). Today, this tribe continues to resist the influence of modernization because they profoundly believe in protecting the spirit in its journey to the spiritual world.

Medical Purposes

Cannibalism has also been used throughout human history for medical purposes. Western history proves that what may be viewed as barbaric today was once a critical source of medical cure for Europeans. According to (Fouilloux et al. 1296), cannibalism for medicinal purposes was widespread in Western history because both the aristocracy and the proletariat were partakers of the practice. Some critical parts used for healing conditions such as bleeding and migraines included blood, human fat, and bone powder (Fouilloux et al. 1296). Interestingly, the physicians and patients believed that the best parts were those from corpses that had experienced violence before death. Violence had a way of entrapping the "individual's spirit within the mortal coil" for a short time to allow the living to extract some benefits from it (Lovejoy, 2016, par. 2). Most of these benefits were curative in nature. For example, during the Renaissance, human blood was commonly used as a health tonic. It was a practice reserved for a select few members of society who believed that drinking blood harvested from the dead could revitalize their spirits, especially if the blood came from a young person (Watson 250).

By the 17th century, there was a strong belief that epilepsy could be cured through the consumption of blood taken from the freshly dead (Watson 250). When let to dry, it could also be used on those with problems such as nose bleeding or stopping bruises (Omasanjuwa 40). The medical benefits attached to cannibalism extend beyond the use of human blood.

Mummies were also sought for their medical benefits. Today, these are 'commodities' of museums, but during the Renaissance, they were being pursued for their medicinal properties. 15th-century Europe was notorious for this practice because the corpses were supposedly found to have a curing effect on bruises (Noble 80). By the 18th century, corpses were used to treat joint pains and protect against venomous bites (Noble 80). Pharmacies were stocked with human ingredients to help the living with their ailments and conditions. Europeans also found human fat to be a pain-killer when used with hemlock and opium (Sugg 825).

Europeans also used skulls for their healing properties. King Charles II is cited,

among other notable persons, to have paid a school professor money to deliver powdered skull (Sugg 825). The skull would then be distilled into spirits that helped cure stomach issues, convulsions, and even epilepsy. During times of war in the 17th century, the English transported skulls from the battlefields for their own medical use back in Germany (Sugg, 2015).

This historical evidence of Europeans using human remains for medicinal purposes, including cannibalism, reveals the hypocrisy of labeling indigenous people as savage for engaging in the same practices. It highlights how Westerners used the idea of cannibalism as a tool to justify their colonization and exploitation of other cultures, despite the fact that they themselves were engaging in similar practices in certain circles. It was just a way to affirm the statement of 'less civilized' that allowed for colonization and exploitation.

Implications of Cannibalism

Cannibalism should not be viewed as a pervasive symbol of 'otherness'. It is even odd that cannibalism was made out to be a barbaric act by the West when aspects of the same can be seen throughout European history. Ritualistic cannibalism is at the center of European history through practices such as the Eucharist and the Renaissance era's standard practice of using human flesh and blood for medicine. The Europeans used the stereotype of savagery in cannibalism to penetrate the Americas and Indigenous peoples as colonizers.

The stereotype helped to advance the idea that "savages should be treated with all rigor as bestial and hardly human" (Lindenhaum, 2004, p.489). Consequently, the portrayal of cannibalism as a barbaric act evolved with the expansion of Europeans into the New World to initiate the process of cultural absolutism.

Conclusion

Cannibalism is not barbaric as it has come to be strongly branded in the modern world. The Europeans prescribed it to be a savage act upon entering the New World, yet it has been practiced throughout human history, across the globe to achieve varying benefits for society members. Cannibalism was indeed a socially sanctioned practice that could be used to maintain an eternal link with the dead. It was practiced as a customary rite, and still is in some cultures today, on the grounds of spiritual beliefs. The living members enriched their lives with attributes of the departed spirit by consuming the corpse. The Fore turned towards cannibalism to express their love and respect to the dead, while the same Europeans who called it a barbaric act, turned to it for its medical benefits. Cannibalism is not the barbaric act that Europeans have portrayed it to be upon coming to the New World. It is a practice that is embedded in human history.

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Edited by: Laura Derby

The Camera as an Ethnographer in *Inxeba*

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Abstract

After the release of the film *Inxeba*, a film by John Trengrove, both the public and its critics displayed backlash toward the film's display of homosexual intimacy. Many reviews claimed Inxeba depicted pornography and as a result, was deemed unacceptable for public viewing. This backlash led to Inxeba receiving an R-rating in South Africa. This paper employs an interdisciplinary analysis to discuss *Inxeba* as a case study of media within the South African context. The primary fields included in this analysis include media anthropology, film study, gender studies, and African studies. The paper focuses on how the camera can be used to portray understandings of masculinity as hegemonic, instead of an exploitative, revealing, and misrepresentative colonial tool. Furthermore, this paper analyzes the backlash that Inxeba faced due to the colonial imports of homophobic norms, and how the film reframes masculinity and homosexuality as entangled within Xhosa culture.

Introduction

In John Trengrove's film *Inxeba*, the camera acts as both a fictional ethnographer, and an ethnographic tool. The camera spotlights the quotidian, challenging realities of public queerness, and the constrictive expectations of normative masculinity in South African societies. Firstly, I will explain what ethnography is, and how it ties into the framing of the film. I will discuss how the camera and the use of framing creates an intimate connection with the characters, primarily the protagonist Xolan, to display a sense of ethnographic realism rather than acting as an expose. Secondly, I will analyze how *Inxeba* has been received as pornography by South African critics (Mbao). I will argue that the film's intimate scenes highlight how masculinity and homosexuality are not mutually exclusive. I will ground these critiques in the condemnation of homosexuality in South Africa, as it is portrayed as a Western import. Thirdly, *Inxeba* portrays the secretive and private event of the sacred coming of age Xhosa ritual of Ulwaluko, and as such, is contentiously debated (Mbao) . I contest the critic's view, and further assert that *Inxeba* uses the Xhosa ritual as a backdrop to highlight how LGBTQ+ experiences are innately Xhosa through Xolani and Vija's intimate relations throughout the ritual's process.

Film as Ethnography

The sexual intimacies between Xholani and Vija presented in *Inxeba* are displayed through an ethnographic lens, this can be seen through the use of framing during the film in which the viewers are placed in seemingly real interactions. As a result of this framing that aims to replicate real interactions, the audience is pushed to feel intimately involved with characters and empathize with them. An example of such an interaction through framing is when Xolani

and Vija are speaking in a field while the sun sets (Trengrove 43:37-48:55). In this scene, Xolani and Vija speak of their childhood and the issues surrounding the secrecy of their relationship and desire for closeness. Along with intimate and private scenes like this, almost all of the shots are handheld at the eye level of the characters. Mbao points out that there are no shots that seek to display cinematic cliché, and the scenery and setting are used "for moments of tenderness or strained communication", not for "scenery as narrative" (82). The audience is thereby seemingly placed as a passive viewer within the scene during Xolani and Vija's most intimate moments. This framed viewpoint creates a sense of presentness that verges on authenticity to invoke a perceived ethnographic realism.

According to Hammersley, 'ethnography' cannot be defined concretely, as "[ethnographies] vary considerably in character, and behind them lie some fundamental division" (3). However, I find Wolcott's definition useful, as he states "[ethnography] is the business of inquiring into other people's business" (Wolcott 284). Although this definition is meant to be taken in jest, the relationship of the ethnographer showing interest in, and gaining knowledge from interacting with others is important. The 'business', referred to by Wolcott, that *Inxeba* inquires into is that of the intimacies and fear of persecution surrounding hidden queer relationships. The passive audience relationship in *Inxeba* thereby strengthens the understanding of "the ubiquity of heteronormative social and cultural orders emblematic of life in contemporary South Africa" (Kiguwa and Siswana 11). This viewpoint has underlying issues surrounding ethnography being problematic, but ultimately *Inxeba* operates within a form of ethnographic observation "whose contribution to our knowledge of the social world is essential" (Hammersley 12).This framing of the film and its intended subjects of focus, Xolani and Vija, reveal the intimacies of queer relationships from a simulated ethnographic perspective of the viewer.

Film as a Normalizing Medium

While the application of camera framing in *Inxeba* acts to capture queer intimacies, it has been criticized as the presentation of homosexual pornography. However, *Inxeba* is not pornographic, rather, it uses the framing of intimate, sexual encounters to portray homosexuality and masculinity as compatible traits of queer identities. Since these sexual encounters are used to frame homosexuality and they display no sexual acts explicitly, the film is not pornographic, as the scenes do not serve a sexualizing purpose. *Inxeba* displays the complex nature of these identities through the hurried and taboo nature of Xolani and Vija's queer intimacy.

An example of this is the first scene where Xolani and Vija engage in a sexual encounter (Trengrove 13:50-18:24). The encounter starts with an over-the-shoulder shot following Xolani and Vija into a seemingly empty and private building. Their brief sexual engagement ends, and the partners speak as they smoke. The hurriedness and secrecy surrounding the interaction are almost palatable, yet their engagement afterward focuses on their roles within the Ulwaluko ritual. This scene shows the taboo that is tied into Xolani and Vija's relationship. Although normalized in terms of procedure and brevity, the sexual acts do not display any graphic or explicit content, but rather the closeness of bodies and intimacy attached.

Another scene to examine to understand the complex identities of queer intimacy is when Xolani and Vija embrace in a field, the camera's framing tightens, focusing closely on Xolani and Vija as they intimately kiss (Trengrove 45:58). Although only the silhouettes of their figures are seen, and the camera reveals very little, what information is given is important. As we, the viewer, are aware of which characters are engaging and why. The dark atmosphere and close framing emphasizes the privacy of Xolani and Vija's kiss, and displays how they seek refuge even for innocent intimate encounters. The importance of Xholani and Vija's relationship is represented not only through their actions, but how the framing portrays their intimate moments.

There is also a scene set in the darkness of night, where Xolani and Vija are barely visible except for silhouettes, which consume most of the frame (Trengrove 32:45-33:35). The intimate encounter and framing show nothing explicitly pornographic, but display the intense physical closeness that Xolani and Vija engage in. No genitalia are shown in any of these scenes, and the camera is often positioned so close to the couple that bodies become indistinguishable. People forge relationships during the Xhosa ritual, and the viewer is then asked to question the intersection of queerness and Xhosa masculinity surrounding Xhosa culture (Scott). These scenes do not intend to be pornographic, yet the South African film board banned *Inxeba* from public viewing, placing it under the same category as pornography and after much uproar from the public, it was subsequently unbanned (Mbao).

The depiction of queer relationships in *Inxeba* is one of notably few in South African cinema, and despite being perceived as pornographic, it received public praise (Mbao). The public praise is rooted in the understanding that these more explicit scenes represent the underlying secrecy in Xolani and Vija's sexual encounter and the complexity of their masculine intimacies. As Mbao states, the queer character's masculine intimacies in *Inxeba* are layered. The intertwined complexity of the Xolani and Vija's roles makes it so they "are not reducible to their sexualities", articulating codes of masculinity within a gendered environment that polices their identities and social interactions (Mbao 82). The backdrop of the Ulwaluko ritual is used to frame the taboo nature of queer intimacy; underlying sexual encounters do not portray sexual imagery for pleasure, but use them to emphasize the complex social dynamics of these encounters.

The Setting as a Framing tool

Inxeba does not use the setting of the Ulwaluko Ritual to reveal the details of the ritual that are deliberately kept private by Xhosa men who have participated. Instead Trengrove uses the Ulwaluko ritual as a backdrop to both juxtapose and mirror the "hegemonic masculinities" surrounding the ritual, and understandings of sexual orientations within South African society, specifically that of "Queer Intimacies" (Scott 31-32). Critics argued that *Inxeba* revealed Ulwaluko ritual details that were not meant for public consumption (Levine 178). Gqola argues that the protectiveness around Ulwaluko hinges on the threat of erasure, as the ritual and its cultural ties are ever threatened (qtd. in Scott 31). These cultural ties are what Trengrove uses to display the complex intimacies of queer relationships and are an entangled part of how the film

displays queer relationships to masculinity within society and Xhosa culture. Outside of sexual encounters as Khankatha, or caregivers, Xolani and Vija are placed in roles beholden to their societal expectancies, which act as a backdrop to approach the subject of heteronormative social convention. This social backdrop then creates heteronormative expectations which Xolani and Vija must navigate while identifying themselves and their restricted love for one another in opposition to hegemonic masculinities.

Ratele argues it is important to study these queer masculinities within tradition, as labeling them as separate from “traditional masculinities” (151) creates a separation of what can be considered “authentic masculinities” (Scott 30). Alongside this proposed understanding of studying queer masculinities, there are previous films and ethnographies that "exposed" the Xhosa ritual yet did not receive the same backlash (Scott). Scott argues that the reactions against the film are rooted in homophobic denial of queer bodies in Xhosa culture, as same-sex attraction is seen as "un-African" and damaging to Xhosa culture (29). Furthermore, as a Western import, this viewing of queer relationships being taboo is imposed by outside forces, and as such stifles the voices and legitimacy of LGBTQ+ experiences.

As Hoad suggests, the emergence of "homosexuality" and the use of the term, carries "contaminating contingencies of its Western origin at the height of European imperialism" (xvi). The legitimization of same-sex rights as a result of apartheid allows those who had colonially imposed stigma around same-sex relationships as untraditional, "un-African", and inauthentic (Hoad xiii). Therefore, the social backlash in retaliation to *Inxeba* appears related to the subject matter of the film – queerness – being presented as part of Xhosa culture, rather than the film revealing intimacies of the Ulwaluko ritual (Scott 35). *Inxeba* being set within a traditional ritual that has defined roles of masculinity is thereby important to the ethnographic realism of queer intimacies the film portrays, and is not reductive to Xhosa cultural secrecy.

We can see an example of the aforementioned masculinity in the scene proceeding Xolani and Vija's argument, where Vija steals a goat intending for Kwanda to slaughter it, which starts a physical confrontation between Xolani and Vija (Trengrove 1:00:00-1:01:39). Other scenes that display these hegemonic masculinities are the multiple moments of initiates cutting trees for firewood, wherein one Vija states "do I smell a bunch of goats?" (Trengrove 35:06). These scenes display the inherently dominant masculine culture presented within society. When slaughtering the goat, a form of outward presentation of masculinity and strength is required of Kwanda. Fighting against this social pressure presented by Vija, Xolani challenges the status quo by engaging in a physical confrontation. While both denying the imposed display of masculinity that is asked of Kwanda, and as his caretaker, Xolani uses a masculine retaliation of force to protect Kwanda from the social dogma. The belittlement and roles imposed onto the initiates, comparing them to that which must be slaughtered as proof of one's masculinity, are thematically tied with Xolani and Vija's fight. As Mbao points out, the Ulwaluko ritual allows Vija and Xolani to use their shared role as Amakhankatha, or caregivers, to facilitate their desired intimacy, provided within a space where masculinity and close proximity to men is not unusual (81). The fear that Xolani and Vija's queer intimacies will be exposed intertwines with outward displays of

masculine dominance, and the Xhosa views of what are socially acceptable forms of masculinity and sexuality.

Summary

Using the camera as an ethnographic tool to normalize queer intimacy, rather than something which damages the display of Xhosa culture, acknowledges the lives of LGBTQ+ in South Africa. Although this social setting is constrictive, Xolani and Vija have intimate and loving encounters in private, separating them from the cultural restrictions of their love. Regardless of the accusatory nature of the masculine forces around Xolani and Vija which seek to punish same-sex relationships, they find comfort in engaging intimately with each other.

Trengrove portrays these ideals through the camera as an ethnographer. The framing and carefully curated moments show the queer intimacy of Xolani and Vija, as they navigate a space that is seemingly unaccepting of them. The sexual relations that follow between Xolani and Vija are then framed with closeness, darkness, and obscure acts so they are portrayed non-pornographically, as the focus of sexual encounters is not sexually driven, contrary to the film's critics. This is all done within the setting of the Xhosa Ulwaluko coming of age ritual, where the uplift of the film can be seen in a positive light. The rituals, complex social ties, and nature frame much deeper, stifling social conventions surrounding Xolani and Vija's homosexual relationship. As Kiguwa and Siswana argue, the film frames Xolani and Vija in a society where "non-normative sexual desire is not only taboo but governed as part of the disciplinary and regulatory practice of sexuality and masculinity" (5). Scott points out that the film provides an "articulation of black queer bodies", which "challenges normative assumptions about black boys and men and their culture, and we are all better for it" (36). This portrayal then acknowledges and validates LGBTQ+ experiences and recognizes them as innately African.

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A Cultural Playdough: The Globalization of Classical Greek Art

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Abstract

This article addresses the issue of the long-lasting perspective of Hellenocentrism and its influence on archaeological interpretation. Tying different globalization theories into this research, the paper aims to demonstrate the flexible definition of the term “classical”, and extend the conversation of how to define what is “classical”. In this paper, I dissect the traditional central-peripheral, in which the Greek World is centered in the viewpoints of the ancient Mediterranean world and Near Eastern regions. This paper examines the extensive cultural exchange and reciprocity of influences from Early Iron Age to the pre-Hellenistic, Late-Classical period, using archaeological, mostly monumental, examples from the Eastern sphere of antiquity, such as the Nereid Monument and Egyptian sculptures. Further examples such as the Pazyryk carving motifs are examined and compared to its Greek counterpart, to display the influence of Greek culture. This also shows the heavy mark of local style, revealing a multi-foci network model of culture exchange rather than a dictating, single-focused model of cultural dominance. Such localizations are seen throughout the wider antique world, as it is one of the keystones of constructing a globalized past, thus assigning a new and more inclusive meaning to “Classical”.

Introduction

The idea of Classicality is conventionally restrained to Greece. The exclusive Greek image of "classicalness" stems from Hellenocentric superiority and domination. This restricts the definition and the ownership of the Classical art style to Greece, acting as the geopolitical justification for a purified version of archeology that encourages Orientalism and, thus, White supremacy. It is standard to disregard the contributions of the "peripheral cultures" to Classical art; we have to decolonize and decentralize our modern-day considerations of the ancient world. Since "classicalness" is an arbitrary concept, it should be reconsidered regarding its inclusivity. “Classicalness” was not a singular movement that only appeared in Greece; it was a phenomenon that was featured in various cultures with unique nuances. It should be seen more as an adaptable element, like a "playdough," rather than a rigid block of marble. Therefore, it is essential to deconstruct the concept of classicality to redefine this term with the perspective of globality.

1.1 Interconnectivity Shaping Greek Art

The ancient Mediterranean world was heavily interconnected, and as a result, the mobility of people brought about the exchange of culture. When discussing the global factors in Classical art, it is crucial to cover the influences from other cultures that contributed to the earlier stages of development of Classical Greek art. Foreign influences were prominently interfering in the early days of cultural development. Towards the end of the Bronze Age and the start of the

Iron Age, the Mediterranean saw an increase in interconnectivity (Hodos 66-94). Multiple factors, such as climate change, global economic pressure, and issues of overpopulation urged people to expand beyond their motherland (Hodos 66-94). These expansions encouraged the crossover of cultures across the wide Mediterranean. Peoples around the Mediterranean Sea resorted to reaching outside of their cultural sphere for resources, resulting in the creation of an intricate network of exchanging goods and ideas (Hodos 66-94).

'Network' here is the hypothetical model which provides a tool for analyzing the globalizing phenomenon in the ancient world (Hodos et al. 29-41). Knappett laid down the importance of the network concept as something that is not only a tool with which scholars could construct a model of globalization, but also a tool for decentralizing the hierarchical thinking of globalization — the "core-peripheral thinking" (Hodos et al. 34). Network is the measurement of globalization from which we can trace the development process of certain cultural ideas or artistic phenomena. As a major part of the cultural network, Greece accelerated globalization in antiquity.

1.2 Foreign Influences On Greek Art

The Classical art of Greece was spatially and chronologically dependent on the global network. The monumental designs of Classical Greece were the product of both foreign influence and localization of the craft. Chronologically speaking, the fifth and fourth-century monuments have their roots in the Early Iron Age cultural network, which established the foundational aspects of the later Greek Art.

Egypt was the leading figure of influence in Mediterranean antiquity, other cultures in the sphere adopted their artistic expression. Before the 700s BCE, Greece had not displayed an "irrational" obsession with stone monuments (Vlassopoulos 231). It was due to the expansion of their network that Greece had connected with Egypt on a larger scale, which provided them with the means of communicating ideas, expediting the appearance of the rather Egyptianized monumental sculptures (Vlassopoulos 231). The Egyptian influences are evident in the formality of the *kouroi* statues. However, the *kouroi* statues displayed symbolization and ideologies indigenous to Greece (Vlassopoulos 233). The portrayal of the statue with nudity differs from the Egyptian standards of morality (Vlassopoulos 233).

This surge in stone monuments paved the foundation for the later Classical style, as one of its essential features. This process was coined as "Orientalizing," which denotes the adaptation of foreign ideas from non-Greek, peripheral cultures. However, such a process was a part of a wider network amongst the entire Mediterranean sphere, within which the concept of a 'core culture' does not apply (Vlassopoulos 233). Egypt and the wider Near East were arguably largely the influencers, rather than the influenced, making it inaccurate to single out Greece as the dominant culture from the network that it participated intricately within.

It is also crucial to note the importance of the local influences on the adopted motifs. Robbie Robertson says that globalization is the inevitable process of copying what could bring profit to society from others (Hodos et al. 56). However, simply coining globalization as copying does not cover its localized aspects. Globalization is a dynamic network where cultures

are interconnected without a fixed "core culture," due to its ever-evolving nature. Egypt has proven itself as a forceful source of inspiration for Greece in the Iron and the Bronze Ages. Nevertheless, Egypt was not the only culture that influenced the artistic expressions of Greece.

Many Near Eastern cultures had significant influence on the early development of art in Greece as well. The emergence of various life-like, mythological motifs, such as those of creatures and floral patterns in Greek art in the Iron Age, were influenced by Near Eastern traditions (Gunter 88). Nevertheless, such designs were not carbon copies, with their essentially Greek patterns and motifs appearing simultaneously, which later developed into uniquely Greek-looking styles. This does not belittle the influences of the Near East, but demonstrates the localized aspect of globalization, or as Vlassopoulos puts it— *glocalization* (Vlassopoulos 234). Therefore, it is abundantly clear that foreign inspirations only laid the foundation upon which Greece inserted its ideologies (Vlassopoulos 234). It is hard to say whether Classical Greek art would exist without the influence of foreign technology and ideas, and yet, the creations are still uniquely Greek.

1.3 Globalization And Glocalization Of Greek Art

To further understand the intricacies of the global network system in antiquity, and to deconstruct its “classicalness” and globality, it is also important to look at the influences of the Greeks on other cultures. It is reasonable to argue that Greece was hardly the cultural center where the peripheral cultures came to study. It was more likely just a significant body, a crucial conduit, in the Mediterranean world's network. The intensive colonization and trading by Greece within the Mediterranean scene had its merits in spreading culture, creating a facade of a “*cultural koine*".

As a vital connector of the Mediterranean sphere, Greece, as its power grew, exerted influence further through Eastern Europe and the Near East (Barnett and Ugarković 90). The often-overlooked regions of the Adriatic Sea displayed an array of evidence of intensive trading and communicating with Greece (Barnett and Ugarković 90). It was not until later in antiquity that the Greeks started establishing colonies in these regions. Research shows that these areas exhibited an interesting mixture of interconnectivity and insularity (Barnett and Ugarković 90).

In Barnett and Ugarković’s article, they inspected one of the Greek occupation areas — Issa, which is modern-day central Dalmatia (99). This site was occupied for some time, from the late Classical to Hellenistic periods. Issa maintained independent practices of the local indigenous communities, but still connected with Greece on practices such as funerary traditions (Barnett and Ugarković 99). In the necropolis outside of Issa, archeologists discovered several visibly Greek offerings, including tableware, drinking sets, and oil containers. Further, there is evidence of the indigenous tribes’ participation in the trans-Adriatic and Mediterranean trading network, with the discovery of Attic and Corinthian style pottery (Barnett and Ugarković 98).

These discoveries demonstrated the “Greekness” of the city. The funeral wares from the necropolis were imported from the greater Mediterranean and the Near East, while some were locally produced. These items suggested some insularity of the region (Barnett and Ugarković 102). This case study shows the cultural influences of Greece were not linear and one-sided. Localization was an inevitable part of the process of globalization. It was less of a cultural

domination and more of an exchange or adaptation.

The Near East has long been an active part of globalization in antiquity. This region was the cradle of one of the very first cultures in the Euro-Asia sphere. With its geographic advantages, the Near East was abundantly packed with resources and thus became one of the most influential geopolitical entities in antiquity. In this intertwined network of globalization, the cultural transactions between Greece and the empires in the Near East flourished. Peter van Dommelen mentions that the Classical Age was an era of expansion, and colonization, which used to symbolize the cultural domination of Greece over the others — cultural koine (Hodos et al. 619).

The Nereid Monument in Xanthus (or Xanthos) is a fascinating piece of architecture that encompasses the essence of globalization. It is one of the monuments in the Near East that exhibits a strong influence from Greece, as it often appears in books under the category of Greek architecture (Tsetkhladze and Robinson 361). The Nereid Monument is an important piece that expresses the complex history of the period in which it was constructed. Robinson says that this architecture encapsulates turbulence and crisis, for art pieces are mirrors reflecting reality (Tsetkhladze and Robinson 363). This monument is Greek in form, but Persian in detail, as its iconographies are heavily based on Near Eastern motifs (Vlassopoulos 265). The scenes of banquets, city sieges, and hunts are all explicitly Near Eastern. In Xanthus, the Classical art style is transformed on the Nereid Monument, with a new identity. The localized alteration changes the narrative of the art piece, making it unique to the culture.

Such redactions of multiculturalism can also be deliberately forged to serve a political purpose. The monument was erected by the King of Xanthus, Erinna, who had risen to the throne through force (Vlassopoulos 367). One feature that aroused Robinson's curiosity was the pillar's inscription in four different languages: Lycian, Milyan, Greek, and Solymian (Tsetkhladze and Robinson 368). It is rare for an inscribed pillar to have four different languages, thus, Robinson argued that this action was catered towards symbolism rather than practicality (Tsetkhladze and Robinson 368). The language's symbolism was created to appeal to the people living within Xanthus, as it asserted the region’s inclusivity to ensure the kingdom's stability (Tsetkhladze and Robinson 368). Erinna erected a Greek-looking monument on foreign lands while ruling as a Greek-identifying monarch, needing to secure his rule by securing the citizens' loyalty (Tsetkhladze and Robinson 369). In this example, the Greeks are the foreigners. In order for a temple of Greek style to be erected on colonized land, it had to submit to the locals. The interconnectedness, in this case, was not organic but deliberate. A Hellenocentric, Greek-dominated perspective fails to convey this full picture.

This Hellenic influence and globalization occur in another monument, the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. This monument was in a more fractured state than the ones mentioned above (Waywell 108). However, the remaining pieces have shown a similar degree of homogenization of Greek Classical and Near Eastern motifs. Compared to the Nereid Monument, the Mausoleum has a somewhat different approach towards harmonizing “Greekness” and “Persianess”. In a featured piece from the Mausoleum, a fragmented colossal horse-riding statue, the body movements and the fabric stylization shows an unmistakable Greek essence. However, the outfit for the rider is possibly Persian in style (Waywell 109).

The Mausoleum's entire design is based on a hybrid ideology of the Greek and Persian artistic styles. Its colonnade structure shows an essential Greekness, and its iconography of hunting, banqueting, and city sieges displays a heavily Near Eastern style (Vlassopoulos 259). This architecture is arguably the epitome of globalization in cultural motifs. The collision of art styles in the Mausoleum was potentially a tool of asserting the power of the kingdom by adopting the styles of different orders.

The globalization of Classical Greek art was distributed far beyond the Mediterranean and Near East, which did not receive as much attention as they deserved. A cultural network is not a linear model but a complex one with multiple conduits and cultural transmission routes; human mobility accelerates the spread of artistic ideas (Hodos 67). A great example is that of the Pazyryk people in the Altai region, far away from the Mediterranean (Azarpay 313). Greek art was possibly present in the Altai region from the 6th century onwards through the Persian trade routes (Azarpay 314). The Pazyryk people, with a high level of localization, adopted Greek motifs. For example, the floral pattern, lotus and palmette, which were prominent in the design of Pazyryk art pieces, were presented with a different touch (Azarpay 314). The palmette-hook motif appeared in several wooden bridle ornaments, and a leather applique purse used in Greek art with tendrils turned up. In this case, a similar Greek motif, through the localization process of globalization, turned into a unique design, using different media that served the purposes of the local peoples.

The Medusa head was another popular symbol that the Pazyryk people borrowed from Greece. However, they expressed these motifs with heavy-handed assimilation into the local culture (Azarpay 314). The Classical Greek art motifs in this region were heavily transformed, separating them from their original designs. In this case, the classical elements can be detected, but to say these artifacts are the same as those in Greece is insensible. Then, what genre do these artifacts belong to? It is hard to coin a genre under which these artifacts should be categorized. Still, in an interconnected network of classicalness, they could potentially be seen as belonging to Classical art; however, it is not Classical Greek Art, but simply Classical art.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the ancient world was an interconnected entity, linked by a global network. The cultures were constantly undergoing phases of influencing each other. This global network brought about the exchange of ideas, technologies, language, and art. The 'Classical' was a phenomenon that had spread across the Mediterranean, Near East, and farther into the steppes of central Asia. However, it was more diffusion than domination. Every culture that either chose or was forced to include the Classical Greek elements in its own artistic expressions, incorporated the localized aspects that defined their style, and contributed different meanings to the original designs of Classical art. Therefore, with the understanding of globalization in the forging of the Classical style, the myth of Hellenocentrism and core vs. peripheral comparison falters easily. It is to say that there did not exist a single culture that dominated and assimilated all others in its vicinity and beyond, for the prerequisite of "cultural koine" means total domination. Classical is not a sedentary style that simply grew within Greece, nor is it a devouring power that annihilated the autonomy of other cultural arts. It is a concept that grew with other cultures, and was in turn

used by those. It was a playdough that could easily be shaped by will, not a block of marble.

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