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Research Article

A QUALITATIVE STUDY ON THE CONNECTION BETWEEN FOOD AND CULTURE IN PREHISTORIC

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Abstract

This research aims to determine the type of relationship that existed between food and culture in prehistoric times and which needs for food created which cultural reactions based on Malinowski's theory of culture. Within the scope of the research, the biological and cultural aspects of the food are tried to be discussed with their relation to each other without making the biological side ordinary and exaggerate the cultural aspect. Qualitative methods were used in the research since its topic is handled within the prehistoric period scope and is for discovering state of affairs. In this framework, document analysis was used as a data collection technique, content analysis was used as a data analysis method, and 91 documents were examined. Research findings indicate that the determinants of the relationship between food and culture in the prehistoric period consisted of five main themes. They are namely, supply and consumption of food-temporary living spaces, consumption of food (raw)-development of food technology, consumption of food (cooked)-use of fire, long-term storage need of food-storage, agriculture/domestication-settlement need. Each theme is handled within the framework of Malinowski's theory of culture in the research's context, and it is tried to be understood and explained which cultural reactions are created by the basic needs of people regarding food.

Keywords: Food and Culture in Paleolithic Age, Food in Mesolithic Age, Food Culture in Neolithic, Qualitative Method

Introduction

When food is considered within the context of the cultural values, it is viewed as an identity element that determines personality, social class, gender roles, and human relations, and changes with time and place, to which family, society, ethnic group, or nation a person belongs (Boutaud, 2016). On the other hand, Batrhes (1961) defines food as a communication system and a set of images and protocols related to particular situations, places, and behaviors. Our needs and the food culture we live in determine what we consume, how we obtain it, who prepares what we consume, and who is at the table. According to Eaglaton (1997), food combines biological necessity with cultural values. So, food culture, by definition, includes the networks and institutions surrounding the production, distribution, and consumption of food, as well as rituals and practices that contain our cultural heritage, ethnic origin, and beliefs.

Within the scope of the current research, the relationship between culture and food is discussed within the framework of Malinowski's theory of culture. According to the researcher, no element, custom, or thought can be grasped unless placed in its fundamental actual theoretical framework. Although Malinowski does not clearly define culture, he points out that any theory about culture should be based on human bodily needs (Malinowski, 2016). According to the researcher, every culture responds specifically to basic needs. Even though these reactions have a common name, they differ in every form in almost every culture (Aman, 2012). List of basic needs and cultural responses prepared by Malinowski is presented Table 1.

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Table 1. List of Basic Needs and Cultural Responses in the Context of Malinowski's Cultural Model

Basic Necessities	Cultural Reflection
1.Metabolism	1.Nutrition
2.Fertility	2.Affinity
3.Self-Ease	3.Sheltering
4.Security	4.Protection
5.Movement	5.Activities
6.Grow up	6.Education
7.Health	7.Hygiene

Source: Malinowski, 2016

Accordingly, we can argue that food culture is basically formed and developed by associating with human survival instinct. From ancient times onwards, man – like every other species on the planet – has interacted with nature through the 'survival instinct', which is, above all, a necessity (Eibesfeldt, 2017). For quite a long time, this imperative has been based not only on the need to protect oneself from adverse environmental conditions but, above all, on the ability to eat or win the fight to be eaten by someone.

When the literature is examined, it is seen that the relationship between humans and food is dealt with under five main titles in the cultural context. The first of these titles is the relationship between food and religion. Studies based on food and religion address fasting (Smith, 2003; Jones, 2007; Jennings et al., 2005), prohibited and sacred foods and beverages (Jennings et al., 2005), religion, health and nutrition (Sabate, 2004). The relationship between food identity and society is yet another issue discussed in the context of literature. Studies on food, identity, and society explore how social interaction and identity affect eating habits (Shah, 2018; Valentine, 1999). The reasons for our food choices and how external factors affect our food choices are also explored. For example, in this study (Shah, 2018), researcher investigates how a person's relationship with food affects identity formation. Other studies on the subject consist of similar topics like the food phenomenon and social change in daily life (Boutaud, Becut and Marinescu, 2016; Fales and Rigo, 2014, Fishler, 1980), food and social class (Goody, 1982; Gokee, 2014; Halstead and Isaakidou 2011; Smith, 2003). In this context, this study aims to determine the kind of relationship between food and culture in prehistoric times and which needs for food created which cultural reactions, based on Malinowski's theory of culture. Although there are studies investigating the relationship between food and culture in the relevant literature, it seems that the development process of the relationship between food and culture is not mentioned. For this reason, this study was carried out specifically to address a different dimension of the relationship between food and culture and to indicate that how the relationship between food and culture began in prehistoric times and how it evolved over the historical process.

Conceptual Framework

Most cultural structuring is not related to biological evolution but to social evolution (Eliot, 1981). However, when it comes to food culture, it is observed that the transformation of food in historical processes is related to biological evolution as well as social and cultural evolution. Therefore, within the scope of the research, the prehistoric period will not start with homo sapiens, where the transition to cultural evolution has been completed, but with homo habilis, which biological evolution has not yet ended and constitutes the starting point of the transition to cultural evolution. Homo Habilis was the first to use stones, which are used to scrape the leftover meat from animals hunted by more predatory and wild animals and extract the marrow inside the bones, which are considered the first cultural products (Binford, 1980).

Some researchers include the paleolithic period, which is dated the first phase of humanity, not into the culture but nature because of the dependence of man on nature. For example, Braidwood (1975) argues that during the Paleolithic period, hunters and gatherers spent most of their time searching for food, and therefore cultural development could not be achieved in this period, and cultural development started with the Neolithic period.

There are researchers argues that hunters and gatherers work much less than today's people, sparing some part of the day for food and the rest to rest and sleep, and therefore have enough free time but this proposition was criticized heavily (Sahlins, 1972). The Israeli anthropologist Bird-David (1992) brought the most important criticism. The researcher criticized Sahlins (1972) explanation for basing it on Gray's (1841) reports from Australians, which consisted of very few observations and anecdotes. Bird-David's (1992) cultural model is

based on their observations of hunters and gatherers in India. The researcher argues that the lives of many hunter-gatherers depend on daily forms of economy and long-term economies. Woodburn (1980) was the first to use the categories of daily economics and long-term economics. In the daily economy system, hunters and gatherers consume food either on the same day they obtain it or within the following few days. However, in long-term economic societies, the work required before a product is produced and consumed expands over a long period and within a particular plan and program. According to the author, communities have to work constantly to maintain their lives in both economic systems, and they do not have enough free time.

Today, Bushman hunter-gatherers living in the Kalahari Desert in South Africa spend 12 to 17 hours a week foraging for food (Newcomb, 2017). Tanzania's Hazda nomads, on the other hand, allocate less than an hour a day for this (Diomand, 1999). It is said that they, therefore, have the necessary spare time to socialize and establish a culture. However, the fact that they do not know what to do with this free time renders them incapable of building culture.

It is seen that the explanations about food culture are not related to leisure time but rather related to transformation and preferences. According to Civitello, food becomes culture when cooked because once the human has acquired the basic products of his diet, he transforms them through fire and technology in the kitchen. The use of fire is a substantial change, a turning point in the cultural sense. According to Strauss's (1969) structuralist approach, cooking food indicates a symbolic transformation from nature to culture and from nature to society. Raw basically belongs to nature, while cooked refers to culture and sociability. Similarly, eating is culture because when people can eat everything or just for this reason, in reality, they do not eat everything and prefer some foods for reasons such as economy, nutrition, or relation to symbolic values while avoiding some other foods (Civitello, 2008).

Strauss (1969) suggests how a society's cooking styles define its structure and belief systems, and points out how communities are structured around specific contrasts, such as raw and cooked, boiled and fried, and fresh and rotten foods. Each state has a different social status depending on the culture. For example, while fried food requires only fire to cook, boiled food points to a more developed and refined society since it requires both water and fire. In other cultures, the less a dish is cooked or transformed by people, the more social prestige is attributed to it. Therefore, while contrasts remain constant, the meanings attributed to these contrasts vary from society to society.

According to some authors (Gronow and Warde, 2001), food is an ordinary and insignificant consumption that we perform in a routine and without thinking about it. Neumann (2019) states that while defining the chain of causality between the individual's cognition and pure culture, the cultural understanding of consumption completely misses the substance. For example, while food is amplified as a cultural symbol, it is underestimated as a food substance metabolized in the body experienced in the mouth. The everyday use of a tool also has a symbolic meaning, even if it is customary to the extent that it becomes more or less automatic (e.g., the use of a fork while eating). For this reason, in this study, both the biological and cultural aspects of food are discussed in relation to each other, without making the biological side ordinary and amplifying the cultural aspect. Accordingly, within the scope of the current research, the relationship of food with biology and culture is tried to be explained and understood based on Malinowski's cultural theory.

Methodology

Qualitative research methods are used in this study. In this context, document analysis is used as a data collection technique, and content analysis as a data analysis method. The qualitative method is primarily used to research historical processes and why and how phenomena occur. The reason to prefer the qualitative method within the scope of the current research is that it discusses the subject within the scope of the prehistoric period and aims to discover the cases. Since this research aims to determine what kind of a relationship exists between food and culture and which needs of food create which cultural reactions, it is thought that the qualitative research method would help to conceptualize the subject better. In this research, where the analyses were reviewed through content analysis, no ethics commitee approval or special/legal permission was required.

Document Analysis

Document review consists of the examination of written documents such as news, articles, interviews, and visual materials such as photographs and films (Yıldırım and Şimşek, 2013). Although document review is mainly used with other qualitative research methods, such as diversification/triangulation (Denzin, 1970; Patton, 1990), it is also used as the primary method of the research (Yıldırım and Şimşek, 2013). In this research, document review is used as the primary method with content analysis. Document screening on the

relationship between food and culture in prehistoric periods was conducted between 02-28 September 2021. The documents examined in terms of their types consist of texts that can be classified as scientific articles, book chapters, columns, and compilations. The sources of documents are archaeologists, historians, journalists and food writers, academics, and other researchers working in this field. The documents were handled using keywords such as food in the paleolithic period, food and nutrition in the mesolithic period, nutritional culture in the neolithic period, etc. Information on the documents is presented in Table 2. It is seen in Table 2 that 80 documents are examined.

Analyse

In qualitative research, the analysis describes or themes the developed data in a meaningful way and presents it to the reader by creating a meaningful structure from the scattered data set (Miles, Huberman amd Saldana, 2014; Strauss and Corbin, 1990) proposed two data analysis processes: descriptive analysis and content analysis. Descriptive analysis is more shallow than content analysis and is mostly used in research where the conceptual structure of the research is clearly determined beforehand. Content analysis requires an in-depth analysis of the collected data and allows the elicitation of previously undetermined themes and dimensions. In this context, the documents were analyzed with content analysis.

Within the scope of the study, the data were analyzed in four stages. These are 1) coding data 2) creating themes 3) organizing codes and themes 4) defining and interpreting findings. In the present study, the documents obtained as a result of document scanning for document analysis between 9 October-25 November 2021 were pre-read by the researcher. A different researcher made a coding scheme between 1 and 20 December 2021. According to the determined code scheme, the documents were examined and coded by two different researchers between 1 January and 25 February 2022, and categories and citations were determined. Then, on 01 March 2022, the coding made by two different researchers was compared accompanied by a researcher, and similarities and dissimilarities were identified.

Validity and Reliability

Validity and reliability are the two most essential elements determining research's scientificity. According to Silverman (2005), in quantitative researh, the inter-coder consensus is one of the critical validity and reliability criteria based on using multiple coders to analyze transcribed data. Thus, the reconciliation occurring between the researchers during the data collecting, analyzing, and obtaining the findings stages will increase the acceptance rate of the research by others. In this context, one researcher first made a coding, developed the coding scheme, and then two different researchers discussed the codes using the coding schemes and coded them. Another criterion for ensuring reliability in qualitative research is the detailed description of the research and analysis process (Elo et al., 2014). Data development and analysis processes are explained in detail in this research.

Table. 2. Information of Scanned Documents

	Publishing Date	Yazar	The Kind of Article	Web Site	Başlık
Documents on the relationship between food and culture in prehistoric	05.07.2021	Nihan Dilşad Dağtaş	A review essay	Arkeofili	Sibirya Neandertalleri Bitkisel ve Hayvansal Gıda Tüketiyordu
	25.05.2021	Yaren Kırdök	A review essay	Arkeofili	Karbonhidrat Tüketimi, Neandertallerin Beyinlerini Büyüttü

	26.04.2021	Beste Kahveci	A review essay	Arkeofili	Avrupa'da Tarımla Beraber Cinsiyete Dayalı İş Bölümü Başladı
	10.04.2021	Etkin Yiğit	A review essay	Arkeofili	Kemiklerin Analizi, Paleolitik Diyetin Detaylarını Gösteriyor
	13.04.2021	Yaren Kırdök	A review essay	Arkeofili	İnsanlar İki Milyon Yıl Boyunca Süper Avcılardı
	13.09.2020	Çağatay Çeliktaş	A review essay	Arkeofili	Ölüm Kültürü, Neandertal ve Bizden Önce Var Mıydı?
	14.08.2020	Erman Ertuğrul	A review essay	Arkeofili	Yakın Doğu'da 9.000 Yıllık Yakarak Gömme Örneği Keşfedildi
	15.07.2020	Özgecan Ocakcı	A review essay	Arkeofili	Tarih Boyunca Salgın Hastalıklara Nasıl Tepki Verdik?
	06.11.2019	Oğuzhan Parasayan	A review essay	Arkeofili	Bronz Çağda Sosyal Eşitsizlik Başlamıştı
	27 Ekim 2018	Zeynep Oğuzhan	A review essay	Arkeofili	Avcı Toplayıcıların Paylaşımı, İşbirliği Evrimine Katkı Yaptı
	09.12.2019	Erman Ertuğrul	News	Arkeofili	Tarihöncesi İnsanlar İlikli Kemikleri Konserve Gibi Saklıyordu
	10.01.2018	Oğuzhan Parasayan	A review essay	Arkeofili	Neolitik Tarım Günümüz Eşitsizliğinin Tohumlarını 10.000 Yıl Önce Ekti
	10.10.2018	Perrin Margaryan	A review essay	Arkeofili	Küresel Ekonomi Çok Daha Önce Ortaya Çıktı
	03.10.2017	Başak Emir	A review essay	Arkeofili	Erken Modern İnsanların Diyeti Neandertallere

				Göre Daha Esnek Değildi
09.08.2017	Arkeofili	A review essay	Arkeofili	Dumana Dayanıklılığımız Bizi Neandertallerden Üstün Kılmış Olabilir
26.06.2017	Oğuzhan Parasayan	A review essay	Arkeofili	İnsanlar Sandığımız Kadar Özel Değil
08.04.2017	Erman Ertuğrul	A review essay	Arkeofili	Tarihöncesi Yamyamlığın Tek Nedeni Açlık Değildi
26.03.2017	Journal	Article	Arkeofili	Antik İnsanların Beslenme Şekli Diş Analizleriyle Anlaşılabiliyor
22.12. 2015	Erman Ertuğrul	News	Arkeofili	İnsanın Doğayı Yok Etmesinden Ateşin Keşfi Sorumlu
10.04.2016	Journal	A review essay	Arkeofili	Eşitlikçi Toplumlarda İnsan Kurban Etmeye Daha Az Rastlanıyordu
02.02.2016	Journal	A review essay	Arkeofili	
07.02.2015	Journal	A review essay	Arkeofili	Dişlerdeki Bozulmalar 12.000 Yıl Önce İlk Tarımcılarla Başladı
22.12.2015	Journal	A review essay	Arkeofili	
13.10.2015	Erman Ertuğrul	A review essay	Arkeofili	İnsan Bedeninin Büyümesinin Nedeni Yemekleri Pişirmek Olabilir
19.04.2015	Erman Ertuğrul	A review essay	Arkeofili	Mantar kullanımına dair 18.000 yıllık kanıtlar bulundu
18.12.2014	Ayşe Bursalı	A review essay	Arkeofili	Diştaşı Kalıntılarından İnsanın 5000 Yıldır Süt Tükettiği Anlaşıldı

06.12.2014	Tolunay Bayram	A review essay	Arkeofili	İlk Sanat Eserini İnsan Yapmamış
28 Aralık 2014	Ayşe Bursalı	A review essay	Arkeofili	Tarımın Keşfi İnsanı Daha Kırılgan Yapmış
14.10.2019	Arkeolojik haber	News	Arkeolojik haber	Paleolitik çağda insanın yiyecek saklayabildiğini n bilinen en eski kanıtı
21.03. 2018	Mustafa Aksoy Kadir Çetin	Scientific Article	Dergipark	Çatalhöyük Mutfak Yapıları ve Araç-Gereçlerinin 21. Yüzyıl Mutfak Kültürüne Yansımaları1
30.11.2015	yemek.com	A review essay	yemek.com	Köşeyi Dönünce Restoran Bulunmayan İlk Çağlarda İnsanların Beslenme Alışkanlıkları
02.12.1995	Michael Chazan	Scientific Article	Current Anthropology	The Language Hypothesis for the Middle-to-Upper Paleolithic Transition: An Examination Based on a Multiregional Lithic Analysis [and Comments and Reply]
-.-.1993	Madonna L.Moss	Scientific Article	Amerikan Anthropolojist	Shellfish, Gender, and Status on the Northwest Coast: Reconciling Archeological, Ethnographic, and Ethnohistorical Records of the Tlingit
-.-.1997	Sevgi Aktüre	Prose	Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayımları	Anadolu'da Bronz Çağı Kentleri,
20.-.1991	Anna Belfer-Cohen	Scientific Article	Annual Review of Anthropology	The Natufian in the Levant.
-. -. 1973	Kent, V. Flannery	News	Annual Review of Anthropology	The origins of Agriculture

	-,11,2003	Ward H. Goodenough	Scientific Article	Annual Review of Anthropology	In Pursuit of Culture
	-.. 2017	Hodder	Prose	Yapıkredi Yayımları	Çatalhöyük, Leoparın Öyküsü.
	-.-.1994	Oliver, J.S.	Scientific Article	Journal of Human Evolution	Estimates of Hominid and Carnivore Involvement in the ELK Ainjanthropus Fossil Assemblage: Some Socioecological Implications
	-.-.1980	Binford, L. R.	Scientific Article	American Antiquity	Willow smoke and dogs' tails: Hunter-gatherer settle- ment systems and archaeological site formation
	-.02.1992	Bird- David, N.	Scientific Article	Current Anthropology	Beyond The Original Affluent Society: A Culturalist Reformulation
	.03.1991	Jerry D. Moore	Scientific Article	American Antiquity	Cultural Responses to Environmental Catastrophes: Post-El Niño Subsistence on the Prehistoric North Coast of Peru
	…02.1991	Blumler, Mark A.	Scientific Article	Current Anthropology	The Ecological Genetics of Domestication and the Origins of Agriculture
	-.04.1991	Blumenschine, R. J	Scientific Article	Journal of Human Evolution	Breakfast at Olorgesailie: The Natural History Approach to Early Stone Age Archaeology
	-.01.1995	Robert J. Blumenschine	Scientific Article	Journal of Human Evolution	Percussion Marks, Tooth Marks, and Experimental Determinations of the Timing of Hominid and Carnivore Access to Long Bones at FLK

				Zjmjanthropus, Olduvai Gorge, Tanzania
-.03.2002	J. P. Bocquet-Appel	Scientific Article	Current Anthropology	Palaeoanthropological traces of a Neolithic demographic transition
-.04.2011	J. P. Bocquet-Appel	Scientific Article	Current Anthropology	The Agricultural Demographic Transition During and After The Agriculture In Ventions
- .-. 1960	R.J. Braidwood	Scientific Article	Scientific American	The agriculturalre volution
-.-.1994	H.T.Buun	Scientific Article	Journal of Human Evolution	Early Pleistocene hominid foraging strategies along the ancestral Omo River at Koobi Fora, Kenya
-.-.1986	H. T. Bunn, E. Kroll.	Scientific Article	Current Anthrpoplgy	Systematic Butcherry by Plio Pleistocene Hominids At Olduvai Gorge, Tanzania.
-.-.1994	B. F. Byrd	Scientific Article	American Antiquity	Public and Private, Domestic and Corporate; The Emergence of the Southwest Asian Village
-.-.1985	J. D. Clark, J. W. K. Harris	Scientific Article	The African Archaeological Review	Fire and its Roles in Early Hominid Lif
-.-3.1997	Robert Borofsky	Scientific Article	Current Anthropology	Cook, Lono, Obeyesekere, and Sahlins
-.-.1978	S.J. Davis, F.R. Valla	Scientific Article	Nature	Evidence for Domestication of the Dog 12,000 Years Ago in the Natufian of Israel
-,-,1995	S.L. Kuhn, et all	Scientific Article	Journal of Human Evolution	The early Upper Paleolithic occupations at Üçağızlı Cave (Hatay, Turkey)

	-.-.2008	Evershed, R. P. S., Payne, A. G	Scientific Article	Nature	Earliest Date form ilk use in the Near East and southeastern Europe linked to cattle herding”,
	-,-,2007	E.Güleç vd	Scientific Article	American Journal Physical Anthropology	Early Upper Paleolithic human dental remains from Üçağızlı Cave (Hatay, Turkey)
	-,-,1997	M. Heun vd	Scientific Article	Sciences New Series	Site of einkorn wheat domestication identified by DNA fingerprinting
	-.03.2015	C.Knipper vd	Scientific Article	Current Anthropology	Superior in Life—Superior in Death
	-,-.1989	S.R.James	Scientific Article	Current Anthropology	Hominid use of fire in the Lower and Middle Pleistocene: a review of the evidence
	-.-.2008	J.Kappelman vd.	Scientific Article	American Journal of Physical Anthropology	Brief communication: First Homo erectus from Turkey and implications for migrations into temperate Eurasia.
	-.-.1996	J. Kappelman vd	Scientific Article	Journal of Human Evolotution	Age of Australopithecus afarensis from Fejej, Ethiopia.
	-.-.2002	S. W.Mints, C.M. Du Bois.	Scientific Article	Annual Review of Anthropology	The anthropology of food and eating”.
	-.-.2011	B.Y Ofer and T.D. Price	Scientific Article	Current Anthropology	The Origins Of Agriculture: New Data, New Ideas
	-.-.1994	J.S. Oliver	Scientific Article	Journal of Human Evoloution	Estimates of Hominid and Carnivore Involvement in the ELK Ainjanthropus Fossil Assemblage: Some

				Socioecological Implications.
-.-.1998	Henneberg, M., Sarafis, V. Mathers, K	Scientific Article	Journal of Human Evolution	Human adaptations to meat eating
-.-.2017	M.Özdemir	Scientific Article	Journal Of History And Future	Neolitik Dönem Anadolu Mimarisinden Bir Kesit: Çayönü
-.-.2004	P. Pavlov, W. Roebroeks, W. J. L. Svendsen,	Scientific Article	Journal of Human Evolution	The Pleistocene colonization of northeastern Europe: a report on recent research.
-.-.1994	C, Peters, and E, O'brien.	Scientific Article	Current Anthropology	The early hominid plant food niche: Insights from an analysis of plant exploitation by Homo, Pan, and Papio in eastern and southern Africa
-.-.1991	R. Potts.	Scientific Article	Journal of Anthropological Research	Why the Oldowan? Plio-Pleistocene Toolmaking and the Transport of Resources"
-.-.1996	L, Rose. F, Marshall.	Scientific Article	Current Anthropology	Meat Eating, Hominid Sociality and Home Bases Revisited."
-.-.1995	Rosenberg vd	Scientific Article	Anatolica	Hallan Çemi Tepesi: some preliminary observations concerning Early Neolithic subsitence behaviors in eastern Anatolia
-.-.1994	C, Peters and E, O'brien.	Scientific Article	Current Anthropology	The early hominid plant food niche: Insights from an analysis of plant exploitation by Homo, Pan, and Papio in eastern and southern Africa
-.-.1999	O.Soffer	Scientific Article	Antiquity	Storage, Sedentism and the Eurasian

					Palaeolithic Record
	-.-.1995	Stiner, M.C., Weiner, S., Bar-Yosef, O., Kuhn, S. L.	Scientific Article	Journal of A rchaeological S cience	Differential Burning, Recrystallizatio n, and Fragmentation of Archaeological Bone
	-.-.1991	Ungar, P. S., Grine, F. G.	Scientific Article	Journal of Human Evolution	Incisor Size and Wear in Austalopithecus ajricanus and Paranthropus robustus.
	-.-.1988	West, B. ve Zhou, B.-X.	Scientific Article	Journal of Archaeological Science	Did chickens go north? New evidence for domestication
	-.-.1994	G.C. Westergaard, J. S. Stephen	Scientific Article	Journal of Human Evolution	A Simple Stone-tool Technology in Monkeys
	-.-.1995	R. J. Blumenschine.	Scientific Article	Journal of Anthropological Research	Percussion Marks, Tooth Marks, and Experimental Determinations of the Timing of Hominid and Carnivore Access to Long Bones at FLK Zjmjanthropus, Olduvai Gorge, Tanzania

Results

The findings obtained by subjecting the document analysis on the determinants of the relationship between food and culture in the prehistoric period to content analysis are presented in Table 3. Research findings indicate that the determinants of the relationship between food and culture in the prehistoric period consisted of five main themes. They are namely, supply and consumption of food-temporary living spaces, consumption of food (raw)-development of food technology, type of food consumption (cooked)-use of fire, long-term storage need of food-storage, agriculture/domestication-settlement need (Table 3). Each category is tried to be explained within Malinowski's cultural theory framework.

Table 3. Categories and Subcategories of The Relationship Between Food and Culture in Prehistoric

Basic Needs	Redress (Meeting the Need)	Cultural Responses	The Dimension of Malinowski's theory that the study associated with
Food providing and consumption	Temporary Life-Sustaining Places	First Social Relations, Sexual Division of Labor	Primary biological needs of human nature lead to development of new cultural tools and system. Bilimsel Bir Kültür Teorisi, s.105.

The way food is consumed (Raw)	Development of Food Technology	First Social Relationship, Sharing	Culture is based primarily on human needs. Every basic need leads to a cultural reaction. Bilimsel Bir Kültür Teorisi, s.36.
The way food is consumed (Cooked)	Use of fire	Getting under control of nature Sexual Division of Labor	The human need to feel safe has led to the development of new protection tools. Bilimsel Bir Kültür Teorisi, s.30
The need to conservation of food for long term	Storage	Formation of Economy Models Changing in Time Perception	Ensuring continuity in nutrition has led to the emergence of new cultural tools such as nutrition systems and storage methods. Bilimsel Bir Kültür Teorisi, s.105.
Agriculture-Domestication	Sedentism	Changing in Perception of Ground/Proprietorship/Saving Riches/ Formation of Warrior Relationships	The need for physical comfort leads to the emergence of houses. Bilimsel Bir Kültür Teorisi, s.105.

Source: Author

Supply and Consumption of Food- Temporary Living Spaces

The first model of hominid habitats in the literature is the 'Home-base/ central places' models proposed by Isaac (1978). According to Isaac (1978), these habitats lack permanent structures that can be put forward as evidence of continuous life. The author expanded the model of these living spaces in 1981 and put forward the hypothesis that these sites were temporary settlements in the first hominids where men supplied to women to raise children (Isaac, 1989). Thus, Isaac (1989) interpreted hominids, positioned closer to non-human primates than other analytical approaches, as the predecessor of hunters and gatherers, representing the first human with the home-base model he expanded in 1981. Rose and Marshall (1996) try to describe these sites with the 'resource defense' model. According to the researchers, the competition between carnivores led to the transportation of carcasses hunted by these predators to these places for conservation and storage purposes. All these findings and hypotheses can be interpreted as a sign that people's settlements and lifestyles have been determined and shaped by their diet since the first hominids.

Food Consumption Method- Development of Food Technology

Food is not only a cultural product other than meeting the nutritional needs of human development. The development of food technology also has a significant impact on human development (Curtis, 2001). Although tools have many functions of defense and attack in the early ages, they are mainly used in the acquisition, preparation, and processing of food and give us a lot of information about the survival strategies of the first people (Forbes, 1955). For example, during the foraging period, the first humans used picks and sticks to reach the roots and insects buried in the soil and stones and axes to open fruits and vegetables such as nuts (Schick and Toth, 1993). In this period, tools used as levers and wedges to peel tree bark provide access to edible gum and insects. Therefore, they are vulnerable to nature and live openly to all the effects of nature. Similarly, the fact that collectivism is an individual activity did not require labor division among the first people. Thus, there was no sharing that could cause social development.

With the start of settled life, the sickle was started to be used, which meant the beginning of grain, reed, and cane harvesting (Rindos, 1987). The "Natufians", one of the first settled communities, lived in a village of about fifty round huts (Rindos, 1987). Stone barrels found among the remains indicate the need for a carrying container (Cohen, 1991). At the same time, grinder, mortar, mallet and other stone tools have emerged here (Rindos, 1987). Many such tools have traces of being used for a long time and intensively (Cohen, 1991). At the same time, these grinding stone tools have been moved more than 30 km away, which is not witnessed in previous historical periods (Cohen, 1991). The remains of the Natufians reveal that there is sharing in the community, and they have a natural art and ceremonial burial traditions in which social relations develop (Şenel, 1982).

Meal Consumption Method (Cooked)- Use of Fire

With the fire, people had a great power to control nature for the first time. God, who controlled the light in the first religions, is considered the most powerful God (Civitello, 2008). In Greek mythology, fire belongs only to the Gods until Titan Prometheus reveals this mystery to humans. The momentary absent-mindedness of Epimetheus, Prometheus' brother, who was obliged to distribute different talents to people, caused the fire to

remain with the Gods. To make up for this absent-mindedness, Prometheus stole the fire from the workshop of the blacksmith God Hephaestus and presented it as a gift to humanity. Thus, Prometheus became the founder of civilization. Because of this gift, humanity learned to dominate nature and left the wildlife and started to think, produce and exist culturally on the road of civilization. With the control of fire, man became a kind of God and was freed from slavery, learned to control and change nature and natural processes. For this reason, Prometheus drew the wrath of the gods and was punished in a noteworthy way (Montanari, 2006).

Findings regarding the use of fire for cooking purposes were found in the Zlaukavidi cave near Beijing in northern China. It is suggested that Homo Erectus was the first to use fire for cooking food (Wenke and Olsweski, 2007). In this period, Homo erectus carry animal carcasses to the cave for cooking purposes instead of consuming them where they hunt. This hypothesis is based on coal and ash layers, and ash bone remains of animals such as bison, leopard, and bear (Wrangham et al., 1999).

The most apparent evidence of fire control is the fire-hardened tools found in Africa near the Kalombo waterfall in the north of Zambia (James, 1989). Apart from Africa, the quarries built by Homo sapiens and Neanderthals on the edges of the food they processed in Europe are also considered evidence of the control of fire (Binford, 1980). Binford (1980) considers two quarries of different sizes and varieties, especially in Combe Granel cave, as depicting the social structure and technology of 110,000-100,000 Neanderthals. According to the researcher, especially the small pits established outside the caves are the places where the joints and large bones of the animals at the end of the long bones are treated with edge scrapers. Small quarries in the caves are used as areas where women process the skull and jaw using notches and teethers and scrape bones that are prone to breakage to extract the marrow and cook the meat.

This finding indicates a division based on sexual identity. Even if they use a shared living space, it is unclear whether they have a cooperative life (Stiner, 1993). It can be argued that the division of labor, which comes with the emergence of quarries and the control of fire, contributes significantly to the social development of hominids and the development of food technology (Curtis, 2011).

Need for Long Term Storage of Food- Storage

Prehistoric historians recognized the importance of the discovery of storage (Hassan, 1975; Flannery, 1969; Reed, 1969). Because storage has initiated a pre-adaptation process to the lifestyle that will emerge with the discovery of agriculture and historians consider it an essential pre-application that allows the transition to settled life (Soffer, 1989; Reed, 1969). According to Strasser (1997), the idea that food can be stored and used for subsequent consumption is far from hominids and middle paleolithic period people. However, Testart (1982) introduces the concept of crop-gatherer people and argues that hunters and gatherers perform different forms of storage.

In the literature, it is believed that the Neolithic revolution constituted an important step towards civilization, class society, and urbanization. The general assumption is that there can be a surplus of products only with the transition to an agricultural society (Childe, 2018). This point of view states that hunters and gatherers who constantly pursue food do not have time to obtain additional products. Therefore, the social structure of hunter-gatherers is a classless, egalitarian society based on mutual exchange. However, Testart (1982) discussed the issue in relation to the storage economy. According to the author, not all hunter-gatherer societies are egalitarian or classless. Stratification and inequality were traced in various hunter-gatherer groups in California and Siberia (Strasser, 1997). An egalitarian structure prevails only in nomadic hunter-gatherer societies that do not store. However, significant social inequalities similar to those in agricultural societies are also observed among semi-sedentary hunter-gatherer communities that store food (Dennel, 1983). This shows that inequality in prehistoric communities, whether an agricultural society or a hunter-gatherer society, is not related to the presence or absence of agriculture but instead to whether they have a storage economy (Testart, 1982). Because hunter-gatherer communities generally travel on foot and carry their loads themselves (Bailey and Callow, 1986). Therefore, their wealth is limited to lightweight and portable tools. Their assets consist of weapons, tools necessary for livelihood, clothing or ornaments such as belts, hair bands, necklaces, and armbands (Foley, 1984). According to Testart (1982), settled life is not only related to food storage but is also about accumulating property, especially food-related immovables. The settled life allows the accumulation of an unlimited number of light and portable goods. It also allows the development of heavy and immovable tools necessary for the processing and storage of food. However, even if settled life leads to an increase in property, it does not oblige it. On the other hand, large-scale food stocks make this increase necessary by converting a large part of the total revenue of hunters and gatherers into lasting products.

Lasting product has led to the ones with the lasting product oppressing the people who do not have the product in hunter and gatherer communities. This change has again emerged with storage.

Especially in upper paleolithic societies, a hierarchical structure emerged with storage activities (Testart, 1982). For example, in Radomyhsl, central pits for storage purposes were dug for common use in the middle of the residential areas. There are pits for individual use in front of each house in Dobranichevka. This finding points to the desire of hunters and gatherers to own certain lands and water resources and gain power by property ownership (Ofer and Meadow, 1995). However, Homo Sapiens learned more about the ecological system and habitat they lived in and discovered that they could use their mind to develop the technology and tools necessary for harvesting grains and roots (Curtis, 2001).

According to Testart (1982), the discovery of storage led to the adoption of two different economic models for hunter-gatherers. In the first economic model, large quantities of food are stored in natural environments and seasons where food resources are abundant, not only to meet the current food needs of the community but also to be used during seasons and periods when food is scarce. During this period, they gather food, hunt, fish intensively, and try to make necessary storage preparations. Depending on the seasonal conditions, the periods when food is scarce and hunting and gathering cannot be done are the leisure time for entertainment and ritual organizations. These seasonal differences in workload are related to the storage economy. In the other form of economy, food is obtained daily to meet physical needs and not stored. This is the economic model of nomadic hunter-gatherer societies.

Domestication-Agriculture-Transition to Settled Life

According to Montanari (2006), today's perspective evaluates agricultural activities as primitive or archaic and defines them as 'traditional'. However, the invention of agriculture is perceived as just the opposite in ancient culture. The mentality of ancient civilizations considers agriculture a turning point and a vital invention (Sadowski, 2017; Wenke and Olsweski, 2007). From the ancient civilizations' point of view, agriculture is a great leap forward by taking humans out of the animal world and bringing them into civilization (Alcock, 2006). According to this point of view, the domestication of plants and animals has transformed humans into the rule maker of nature (Montanari, 2006). Domestication is based on the principle of reciprocity in many definitions, that is, two living things capable of surviving separately to form a symbiotic lifestyle (Rindos, 1987). When humans domesticated plants and animals, they influenced the life cycles of species so actively that the continuity of the species became dependent on human intervention (Blumber and Byrne, 1991). Domesticated corn, for example, does not have an effective natural mechanism for seed dispersal. This is because the seeds clump on the cob after domestication, do not fall into the soil without human intervention, and remain attached to the plant (Beadle, 1980).

When examining the literature on domestication, it is seen that all large and complex civilizations throughout history were founded on only a few generation (wheat, barley, millet, rice, maize, and potatoes) (Rindos, 1987).Since as a means of livelihood, agriculture is based on an artificial relationship with plants and animals that only human intervention can maintain, it has its ups and downs and a fluctuating structure (Rindos, 1987). Along with agriculture, the sensitivity of plants to factors such as climatic conditions and diseases has increased (Hewitt, 1983). This is because plants have been domesticated and removed from their natural environment and made more vulnerable to some dangers (Hewitt, 1983). Along with agriculture, the necessity for people to take these variables into account while making decisions regarding nutritional needs and sustainability has occurred (Bogucki, 2013). For this reason, according to Bogucki (2013), the fact that a society's livelihood depends on agriculture affects the decisions taken by that society about its nutritional needs. Hunter and gatherer groups also used different strategies to manage environmental conditions and dangers but agriculture brought an entirely new way of thinking (Şenel, 1982). People's time perception has changed, and elements such as tomorrow and the future have become active while making decisions (Bogucki, 2013). This perception also changes how they behave towards other people (Senel, 1982). According to Şenel (1982), instead of acting according to the needs and conditions of the moment, people have learned to control themselves by considering the benefits and harms that their behavior will cause in the long run.

Flannery (1972) examined and compared the village and settlement systems by reviewing the process of transition to settlement in his research. In settlements, food and storage activities are mostly public and shared by all residents. But family is the basic unit in the villages, living on its own food storage and therefore is a greater incentive for strengthening this product.

In the villages, as in the hunter and gatherer groups, some works require cooperation (Şenel, 1982). According to Byrd (1994), unlike the hunter-gatherer groups, the change in the perception of the land with settlement other than for production has led to the emergence of other activities requiring unity in the form of defense and attack. This is because of the warlike relations emerging between villages. While stone-tipped spears, arrows, bows, and slings of hunter and gatherer communities were "means of subsistence" in the settlements, they began to be used as "weapons" with the transition to village life (Şenel, 1982). The settlement, warehouses, property ownership, and accumulation began to increase the intensity of warlike relations more than ever (Flannery, 1972).

One of the consequences of the transition to agriculture is the change in the position and significance of women in society. In hunter-gatherer societies, as human nutrition is mainly carried out through hunting, women and children do not have a direct contribution to the economy (Rindos, 1987). According to Rindos (1987), the feature that makes grain valuable in societies that collect grain is the contribution of women and children to the food supply. Nevertheless, in neolithic societies, other activities that would contribute to the economy carried out by women, such as pottery production, were also started (Şenel, 1982). Some researchers point out that the transition to pottery production may have caused a time management crisis for women (Claassen, 1991).

Conclusion

The food experience is both a cultural and an inherently biological need. The bond between food and culture is one of the building blocks of human history. Therefore, it is vital to identify, correctly define, examine and interpret the link between food and culture. In this context, to collect the data that forms the basis of the main findings of the research, the documents dealing with the relationship between food, human, and culture in the prehistoric period were examined and subjected to content analysis. According to the research results, five main themes emerged that determine and define the relationship between food and culture in the prehistoric period. These themes are tried to be explained within the framework of Malinowski's cultural theory, and the cultural reflections of biological needs for food are tried to be determined.

When examining the findings resulting from the content analysis of the documents within the framework of Malinowski's cultural theory, it is seen that the food supply and consumption lead to the formation of temporary living spaces, and this further leads to the first social relations and the division of labor based on sexual identity in these settlements. Although many questions on this issue have just been answered, recent models mainly consist of different versions of Isaac's (1989) hypothesis or reactions to this hypothesis (Blumenshine, 1991). One of these hypotheses is called the ‘shelter model’ (Connell, 1997). According to the research, this model suggests that the first people captured the animal dead, sculpted some of it or meaty parts with a stone, moved them somewhere away from the dead, and consumed the meat by subjecting it to specific processes before consuming it. How widely and often such a method is used is debated among paleontologists. Oliver (1994) sees the shelter hypothesis as the antecedent of the development of domestic behaviors in the human lineage. Because according to the shelter hypothesis, moving food to a center before eating helps consume it in a safer and risk-free way. Furthermore, according to the shelter model, women, mothers, and children wait for the strong members of the group who are looking for food outside in a safe place. Although the primary motivation in these strategies is not food sharing, the combination of the two strategies mentioned above can be considered a sign of development in social ties, genderism, and a hierarchical structure.

It is observed that how the food is consumed, which is one of the research themes and one of the basic needs of human beings, reveals the development of food technology and the use of fire so that sharing among people begins and nature is taken under control. Cooking is the act of transforming a product in nature into something completely different. The chemical changes and combination of materials that occur with cooking indicate a complete transformation. In this context, the state of being cooked and raw represents the dialectic poles; while the raw represents nature, the cooked represents the culture (Montanari, 2006).

The need for long-term food preservation has revealed storage, and with storage, changes in time perception, planning skills, and economy models started to emerge. According to Testart (1982), food storage has led to the need for change in social rules. For instance, the food-sharing rule has been changed or abandoned altogether. It has changed the attitude towards others, leading to less or no trust in relatives, friends, or other people to secure the future. It also caused a change in attitude towards time. Instead of working today to maintain their lives, people started to stop working temporarily, counting on what has been accumulated in the past. Most importantly, people have started to take precautions against a possible famine by storing instead of relying on nature.

One of the main themes of content analysis is agriculture and domestication. Transition to settled life started with agriculture and domestication, which started a change in the perception of soil. Additionally, the sense of ownership, the need to accumulate goods, and warlike relations began to form with the transition to settled life. Some researchers (Bender, 1975; Cohen, 1977; Harlan, 1993; Standage, 2016) consider the transition to agriculture as regression rather than progress. According to the researchers, the transition to agriculture has led to population growth, reduced food resources, and worsened working conditions, rather than the development of technology and the economy. The agricultural revolution took place in different parts of the world but within the same period (Mannion, 1999). The productivity of wild grains allowed humans to settle (Miller, 1992). Along with the increase in population, the necessity to guarantee a reliable food supply arose, and agriculture started. Around the BC 2000s, a large part of the humanity transited to agriculture (Mannion, 1999). According to Standage (2016), even today, as a radical change, the development of agriculture reflects the distribution of human language and genes on the earth. According to the researcher, just as humans genetically reshaped plants during domestication, humans began to be genetically reshaped by plants with the transition to agriculture.

It is observed that the studies on food culture within the scope of the literature don't mention the food and culture-specific relationship kinds and the basis of this relationship. Accordingly, due to the exploratory nature of the research, qualitative methods were used. However, the scales to be developed with the findings of this study may also contribute to quantitative future food culture research. The research covering only the prehistoric period may create a limitation. However, studying the causality relationship between food and culture within the framework of different historical periods will also shed light on the findings of this research.

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