

Cultural heritage management and archaeology in Suriname

**Surinamese cultural heritage management,
implementation of archaeology and its past and present
position.**

Addick A. van Brakel

Bachelor thesis:

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Addick A. van Brakel

S0944017

ARCH 1043BASCRY

Mentor:

Dr. A.V.M. Samson

BA Faculty of Archaeology

Leiden University,

Faculty of Archaeology

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Addick A. van Brakel
addickbrakel@gmail.com

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1. Introduction

1.1 Research questions and their rationale

The primary goal of this thesis is to gain a better idea about present cultural heritage management in Suriname. It is a preliminary orientation to further investigation for a Masters degree. The focus is especially on the position of archaeology within heritage management of Suriname.

Basic to this thesis are some suppositions about present policy and cultural heritage in Suriname. Suriname is a country in northern South-America, since 1975 independent from Dutch colonial control. The country's policy does not appear to be particularly active in incorporating archaeology as a part of heritage management. A broader research project like this ensures that the existing image, the absence of the subject archaeology within heritage policy, is not to limited.

Most ongoing research is carried out by western scientists. Dutch archaeological research initiatives are more anthropologic. Current research by archaeologists, linguists or historians focuses on subjects like present day Amerindian material culture or trade economy and language of contemporary Amerindian groups. Others are more concerned with colonial history and deal with the past of particular groups like the Maroon, descendants of runaway slaves. Archaeological research regarding pre-Columbian times is already five years old. A great number of pre-Columbian Amerindian petroglyphs have been discovered at the Werehpai caves in the Kwamalasumutu region in 2007. This research has not been publicized yet. The last major archaeological scientific publication in 2003, *Suriname Before Columbus*, by archaeologist Aad Versteeg, was a review of research, results and finds from over forty years of investigations in Suriname between the mid-1950s and the year 2000. Such publications have limited impact in Suriname. Researchers or ordinary people with a Surinamese background appear not to be interested. To ensure that serious archaeological research in Suriname has a future, and valuable scientific and cultural historical information about regional and overall human development does not vanish as a negative

result of ongoing economic progress, it needs to be found out what contributes to the existing disinterest. Especially when we look at the Surinamese governments aspiration to conserve, develop and foster the Surinamese cultural heritage. There can be financial reasons, for example lack of use value? Is it simply a lack of awareness about the subject of archaeology, or has it to be sought in the presence of many ethnicities in Suriname who may feel no connection to a pre-colonial past? Or is the image we have totally wrong? The main reason is likely to be an economic or cultural one. To be able to answer these kind of questions there also has to be looked at the development of archaeological field-research in Surinamese past.

In this research an attempt is made to place archaeology within a context of Heritage Management theory. A comparison is especially made with the management of tangible built heritage and with current initiatives. This because of the close connection between them. To find out more about the current position of archaeology within overall heritage management a second research question was formulated.

With respect to this perspective on archaeology the following sub questions were formulated:

- *What archaeological work or work by archaeologists is being executed at present?*
- *How and why is this initiated?*
- *Who participate in these projects and from where do they receive their funding?*

Answering those questions has to substantiate if the image we have is correct and if a negative change in concern can be seen. If so, revitalization of archaeological research is needed. Aim is to ensure that archaeology as a part of Cultural Heritage Management will not disappear. This would lead to exclusion of heritage categories and certain peoples pasts as well as it would be the loss of important cultural and scientific information.

For advisory purposes a third question was formulated, related to the future of archaeology within Cultural Heritage Management in Suriname.

Main questions of this preliminary orientation are:

1. *How does Suriname at present deal with the subject of Cultural Heritage Management?*
2. *What is the present position of archaeology in Suriname?*
3. *What could be the future of Cultural Heritage Management and archaeology in Suriname?*

1.2 Approach

This research is primarily a literature study. Future research would benefit from interviews with stakeholders in Suriname, which was outside the scope of this research. However, where possible interviews have been conducted with archaeologists in Leiden who are, or were involved in research in Suriname. Some investigation on the subject of Surinamese heritage already took place, and has been published. A thorough and balanced research should incorporate data about opinion of Surinamese people towards their heritage because heritage deals with the contemporary use of the past by present societies (Eugenio van Maanen 2011, 48; Skeates 2000, 10; McDowell 2008, 40). This is the only way to find out how people in Surinamese society value aspects of their past and present material culture as designated heritage. This thesis offers a basic orientation on the subject of heritage, and the significance of “prehistoric” archaeology in a plural ethnic society with a colonial past. The study of Eugenio van Maanen, *Colonial Heritage and Ethnic Pluralism*, provides some conclusions about the attitude Surinamese people have towards cultural heritage, as well as on governmental heritage development plans, laws, and participation in international treaties. This thesis builds on this by including an analysis of the history of archaeological research.



Fig. 1: The Guianas



Fig. 2: Position of Suriname within South America. (left)



Fig. 3: Suriname. (right)

1.3 Geography, Demography and Politics of Suriname

Suriname forms part of the area known as The Guianas (fig. 1) and is situated on the northern coast of the South American continent (fig. 2). The larger part of the Guianas consists of a massif of mainly Proterozoic rocks (the so-called Guiana Shield). The massif has comparable geological characteristics in the entire Guianas and extends for the greater part of the Orinoco River and the Atlantic Ocean in the North to the Amazon River in the south (Wong et al. 1998, 1).

The Northern part of the country is covered by sediments of the Guiana Basin. Deposits reflect the provenance of the sediments (both hinterland and the Amazon River), sea level fluctuations and climatic changes. The coastal area is the region where colonists settled and where the majority of the Surinamese population still lives (Wong et al. 1998, 1).

Soon after Columbus' first transatlantic voyages, the north coast of South America was sighted by European travelers. The first visitors joining the expedition led by Alonso de Hojeda in 1499 reported that the area was not very attractive. English and Dutch traders settled nevertheless near the mouth of the Suriname River. Colonists established many plantations, initially on the relatively dry Pleistocene and Tertiary deposits and later on the near coastal Holocene sediments. (Wong et al. 1998, 1-2)

The present climate of Suriname is a Tropical Rain Climate. The average annual temperature is 27.3°C. Dependent on the monthly rainfall, three types of climate can be distinguished. A coastal monsoon climate, a dry savanna climate and an always wet tropical rainforest climate (Versteeg 1985, 656-657).

Suriname covers an area of 163,000 km² and borders French Guiana in the east and Guyana in the west. The south borders Brazil (fig. 3). From the 17th century onwards, inhabitants of Spain, Portugal, the Dutch Republic, French and British settled mainly in the coastal areas. Today most of the approximately 500,000 inhabitants live in the northern part of the country where the landscape consists out of a coastal river delta, estuary, swamps and sandy embankments and in the capital Paramaribo. A savannah landscape to the south predominantly

consists of infertile soils. Eighty percent of the total surface of the country is covered by tropical rainforest (Van Maanen 2011, 68-69).

The diverse composition of Surinamese population today has its origins in the plantation economy which laid the foundation for the large ethnic diversity in Suriname (Van Maanen 2011, 97). The population in Suriname in 1993 was made up of: Indian (Hindustan) 35%, Creoles 32%, Javanese 15%, Maroon 10%, Amerindians 3%, Chinese 3%, European 1%, others (Lebanese, Anglo-American) 1% (Noordegraaf & Van Grunsven 1993, 72). These percentages will have changed because of ongoing migration. At present significant numbers of Latin-Americans (Brazilian) as well as Chinese immigrate to Suriname. The overall population has also increased because of the more stable politics during the last ten years. At present as many Surinamese live outside the country as within. Of the Surinamese diaspora the majority live in the Netherlands because of its colonial ties.

Before 1975 Suriname was a Dutch colony. From 1975 until 1980 Suriname tried to become more self sufficient but degenerated to dictatorship after a coup in February the 5th, 1980. After this coup a long period of political instability and economic downfall started. Several years the country was in a state of civil war between the army of Desi Bouterse and the Jungle Commando of Ronnie Brunswijk. In 1993 the situation stabilized but the country remained politically weak. The main causes of malfunctioning of the government are the often conflicting interests between the diverse cultural groups and their disproportional distribution within the workforce. The stability of this plural society came very much under pressure because of the economical crisis during the 1980s that was primarily a result of the many years of military competition for power (Buddingh 1995, 371-373).

Since the elections in 2000 and the appointment of Ronald Venetiaan as president, the political situation improved and renewed bilateral cooperation with the Dutch was restored. Since the elections in 2010 the NDP (National Democratic Party) of former army leader Desi Bouterse is the strongest faction within the government.

2. The theoretical framework of Cultural Heritage Management and the position of archaeology

This chapter about Cultural Heritage Management (CHM) gives an overview of contemporary opinions in this field. It also creates the possibility to point out more clearly where Surinamese heritage management and archaeology places itself at the moment. The general development within CHM can later on be compared with that within Suriname. The chapter is especially important to become aware of Cultural Heritage Management and its goals and concerns with archaeology. It also clarifies where I personally take position.

2.1 Necessity and value

In order to draw conclusions about the position of archaeology within Cultural Heritage Management and the necessity of archaeology within heritage management in Suriname, one first has to look at contemporary theory.

Many kinds of value can be defined when we look at archaeological work. Archaeology can be seen as scientific tool in giving sense to place, and as a complement to historical research. Written sources don't supply us with all information we want to know. They are subjective and influenced by contemporary opinion. They don't give us full information about many subjects of daily life in historical times. Data from written sources essentially are records of low-frequency processes; extraordinary happenings that didn't take place on a frequent basis (Tainter et al. 2005, 66). Many aspects of daily life represented particular classes and backgrounds and were not considered worthwhile mentioning. From this perspective historical archaeology, besides complementary, also is a correctional science (King 2011, 82). The same can be said of the built and material environment remaining today. What survived is selected through time and gives us some tangible insights about peoples' lives and surroundings in historical times and the recent past. It is deliberately chosen because of its

peculiarity or spared due to physical quality and environmental conditions. This ongoing situation is the main subject of concern within so called cultural heritage management (CHM) or cultural resource management (CRM). Looking at prehistoric times, archaeology is the only tool that provides us with information from the ancient past. It provides us with information about overall human development through time, sealed beneath, or even on the present day surface at many places of the earth.

Connection to the past seems to be a universal human condition and is an essential element in forming human identity. The sense of descent and connection to the past, in personality as well as surroundings, creates stability and a safe haven for ongoing development. Heritage allows humankind to transcend individual destiny to achieve continuity (Edson 2004 in Van Maanen 2011, 184; Thomas 1996, 51-53). Awareness of the past and its importance to the individual differs widely between people and cultures. Many people are interested in recent past, surroundings, family lineage and direct descent or social versus cultural identity. Others will be also interested in global human origin, identity and development. There are also people who in the first place are concerned with benefits of the present and plans for the future. In the same way as people differ, their concerns with cultural heritage and archaeology also differ. This is what makes cultural heritage management as well as archaeological heritage (AHM) or resource management (ARM) so difficult. This subject is liable to multiple opinions and interests. Choices or selections are made from diverse, often conflicting viewpoints. These different and constantly changing viewpoints are even visible in choosing definitions like heritage or resource management. The very choice of words, which colors perceptions about the places that are preserved or destroyed, is changing (Mathers et al. 2005, 9). Heritage as a definition is not a fixed canon, but open to negotiation, manipulation and fashion. As David Harvey states:

“Heritage is the selective use of the past as a resource for the present and future. Memory and commemoration are inexorably connected to the

heritage process. Public memory is a fluid process that is not only negotiated by official or national groups but also by the media, academics, heritage institutions and local community organizations” (McDowell 2008, 40).

From this we can see that although not everyone is fully aware of the subject, or actively concerned, it influences all of us. Heritage colours our cultural landscape. Further reading tells us:

“In construction of heritage, nation-states play leading roles. The state often is the official arbitrator of public commemoration and subscribes to a set of ideas embedded through socialization and education. It assumes responsibility over planning, maintaining and funding memorial monuments, programmes and events” (McDowell 2008, 40- 41).

This leading role of the state can be explained from its desire to create coherence and legitimacy. To connect people within a state there has to be a shared interpretation of events and experiences that formed the group. Collective understanding and beliefs, cultural solidarity, is vital in the formation and legitimization of national identity (McDowell 2008, 41).

“National cohesion requires a sense of collective awareness and identity endorsed through common historical experience” (McDowell 2008, 41).

This is a very important statement when we look at Suriname with its cultural diversity, but also with respect to the subject of this research, archaeology.

2.2 Significance

Many standards of significance can be attributed to cultural resources. Significance varies according to qualities of the resource, the context of assessment, and the perspectives of the evaluator. The crucial point, well recognized by Schiffer and Gumerman, is that “relativity” is the single most outstanding quality inherent in the concept of significance, for significance can only be interpreted by employing some explicit frame of reference (Schiffer and Gumerman 1977, in Mathers et al. 2005, 6).

“ Three broad domains of interest, traditionally regarded as affecting the way that frames of reference are established and aspects of archaeological resources are discussed, can be identified.

1. The physical and intellectual environment within which the value and importance of archaeological remains are established.
2. There are moral and ethical considerations that underpin and inform particular approaches and perspectives.
3. An operational one. At one level this may be related to legislation and the associated legal frameworks. Scales of importance are in some cases enshrined in the legislation itself. Operational issues also introduce issues of scale and the impact of value gradients. The rationale behind the development of many grading systems is to identify those resources that are most significant or most important in relation to a specified purpose. Inevitably this creates divisions and categories and causes things and places to be excluded as well as included” (Mathers, Darvill and Little 2005, 6-8).

According to John Carman, Senior lecturer in Heritage Valuation at the University of Birmingham, an expert in British cultural heritage as well as worldwide, a tendency shift can be recognized since the “invention of heritage” in Britain. He mentions at first heritage inventors. The word inventors perhaps better can be

interpreted as aware and deliberately users of heritage. These inventors were concerned with real people he says. Carman is continuing as follows:

“In the late 19th century they sought to improve the everyday lives of real people by introducing them to ideas about how the world could be improved, derived from studies of the past. Their successors took us away from that into a concern with more abstract notions: the nation-state, the world order. Archaeology as a social resource was to be utilized to construct a collective welfare. Nowadays, use value and financial profit seem leading concerns. The public use is increasingly divorced from people and absorbed into bureaucratic agencies. Carried out by specialist, who work on behalf of the public they serve, but not for them” (Carman 2005, 53).

Although not an archaeological example, this can also be said about the incorporation of Paramaribo on the World Heritage list. The intention of the government is to unite Surinamese citizens by fostering the city because of its historical relevance. At the same time many buildings are not publicly accessible. The governmental ministries reside within them. This makes them essentially a symbol of a certain leading class. Not of the majority of people. Eugenio van Maanen discusses how this tendency could be altered. This can be read from the essence of his findings in Chapter 3.4. As an example from archaeology within Europe we can mention the decreased possibilities of amateur archaeologists in participating. This after coming into force of the Malta treaty that regulated professionalization of practicing archaeology in many European countries. Carman further mentions that nowadays there is widespread agreement as to what heritage can be used for and what use is illegitimate. The idea that heritage is valuable and its preservation useful is no longer part of political debate. Heritage has become the realm of bureaucracy and standardization. At present it is a resource used for some purpose external to itself (Carman 2005, 54). This is also being expressed by Darvill’s value system for archaeology that is moreover a

distinction between *Use values* and potential use values than *Non-use values* (Fig. 4). Heritage through time, all the more became resource.

Fig. 4. Darvill's value systems for archaeology

Use values	Non-use values	
Research	Option values	Existence value
Creative Arts	Social stability	Cultural identity
Education	Mystery and enigma	No change
Recreation and tourism		
Symbolic value		
Legitimization of current action		
Social solidarity		
Monetary gain		

Source: Based on Darvill 1995.

Source: Carman J., *The trajectory of archaeology in Britain*, 2005.

In valuating heritage, many executors think in terms of significance. Agencies such as UNESCO have issued site significance criteria that attempt to universalize history. Significant problems are defined on the basis of a progressivist, evolutionary level, if no longer colonial (Tainter and Bagley 2005, 67). Funding is attuned to the last two millennia and to assigned evolutionary developments. This evolution is seen in the development from hunter gatherers to sedentary farmers and city states and is essentially a Western definition of progress. The underlying problem is that significance assessments are based on the wrong criteria. That is, they are based upon material content, the extraordinary, rather than upon the behavior that produced the content. The goal of archaeology is to understand past behavior, but as we now know well, behavior does not translate in any simple or direct manner into the formation of the archaeological record. The assumption of most cultural resource managers is that less-salient archaeological remains, the kind usually considered insignificant, must reflect less-interesting past behavior

(Tainter and Bagley 2005, 63). This assumption at present can also be seen with respect to archaeology in Suriname. When we look at Suriname it can be said that, choosing of Paramaribo as a world heritage site, serves the progressivist evolutionary view as exemplified by the UNESCO viewpoint. Its potential archaeological benefit will be discussed later in this research. The intention of Surinamese government with respect to the historical city centre of Paramaribo was a totally different one. Its policy aimed to revitalize the colonial inner city of Paramaribo as cultural binding factor. Why this until now didn't have the intended impact is explained by the research of Eugenio van Maanen, discussed in chapter 3.4. The inner city's binding factor exists more within its present physical existence and degree of involvement of its people than by its history. Attachment has very much to do with physical presence and the feeling of belonging to a place. People feel comfortable or at home because parts of how they define themselves are symbolized by certain qualities of that place (McDowell 2008, 38).

From the previous physical notion it becomes clear why Surinamese heritage policy primary concentrates on the built colonial environment and not on a less obvious archaeological surrounding. From the present author's perspective archaeology has an important potential in responding to the Surinamese aims of nation building and cultural binding.

Significance as a western concept

The concept of significance stems from the Western philosophical tradition known as empiricism in England or as positivism on the Continent. Proponents of this tradition assert that we know things by experiencing them, so that the path to knowledge is to perceive sensory experiences without preconceptions. From that viewpoint, applied archaeology is a tool that secures information for the future, by which scientists observe and record an undistorted description of their subject matter. This assumption is not valid because we are not culturally unbiased. Cultural resource managers do not merely perceive, record and evaluate the archaeological record. On the contrary, they apply a set of mostly unexamined

assumptions, biases and filters to privilege certain parts of the record, and to ignore the rest. Our unconscious categorization, and our transmission of this categorization to future archaeologists, contravenes the principle on which cultural resource management was established: conservation for the future. We are predestining the future by repetition of such rigid approaches. The first step toward resolving a dilemma arising from unconscious assumptions is to expose them. It is time for the profession to openly debate how we value non-salient sites, the past behaviors from which these originated, and the losses that we incur when we routinely dismiss them (Tainter and Bagley 2005, 70). The archaeological record at present is an active construct of our assumptions and biases. What we pass to the future are precisely these assumptions and biases and the material remains privileged by these assumptions and biases (Tainter and Bagley 2005, 69-70).

One discipline in which those rigid ways of defining archaeology currently start to change is landscape archaeology. The definition of the word site, a spot or area, where some archaeological find or feature is situated is also being applied in management of the archaeological heritage. Two trends indicate that this individual-site-focused approach is increasingly inappropriate in managing cultural heritage. First cultural landscape concepts in archaeology emphasize the connectedness rather than the singularity of sites and the importance of landscapes and environment in the understanding of past human behavior. Second, increasing awareness and vocalization of Indigenous and other community claims to land and places draws attention to the complexity of interest in sites within any landscape. This results in Indigenous and community involvement in site and area research and management. Consequently, cultural heritage sites become identified within complex social and physical landscapes, and heritage managers need to be able to recognize, identify, understand and operate within such landscapes (Boyd et al. 2005, 92). Precisely the involvement of Indigenous people and community is essential for development of archaeological science. To be able to find new ways of engaging people in archaeology, it is important that the realm gets broader, diverse cultural attention. This also counts for the discipline of cultural heritage

management. Individuals from different cultural backgrounds must get involved in the discourse. The field of cultural anthropology, closely related to archaeology, already engages with different realities and interpretations, as opposed to westernized thinking. With the emergence of a multicritical analysis of society and culture, the traditional view of a single history becomes increasingly untenable and open to contest (Boyd, et al. 2005, 89). When we look closer to this discussion, archaeological/scientific bias can also be incorporated within my conceptualization of former principle in *figure 5*.

Importance of multicultural concern with the heritage discourse is also emphasized by Pedro Funari. He argues that archaeological heritage has nothing to do with financial quantification, or with productive use however defined (Funari 2005, 108). The basic criterion of the 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention, “outstanding universal value,” has been useful for providing legal protection to numerous sites, but fails to take into account non-European, non-elite, and indigenous contexts, for ordinary people’s concerns and values are undervalued (Funari 2005, 126). The community comprises local inhabitants, indigenous peoples, and elite groups, among a host of many other interest groups. Especially within Suriname the diversity of interest groups has to be taken notion of. The diversity of values attached to different cultural properties by different groups cannot be underestimated, as the value of a heritage property is not inherent and immutable, nor linearly related to size, depth, and material content. This diversity also implies that any hierarchy of values, whatever its practical justification, is perceived by the different interested groups as a decision imposed by a distant scholar. This indicates that, if the concerns of scholars are to be taken seriously by the laity, community involvement is essential (Funari 2005, 127). Increasingly, people recognize that archaeological knowledge is not neutral or apolitical by virtue of its very nature as a human endeavor and that archaeological work should result in a motivation for the development of critical thought (Funari 2005, 130). Especially within Suriname, a country with a various population and indigenous groups still present, opportunities for a healthy scientific debate and critical thought are obvious.

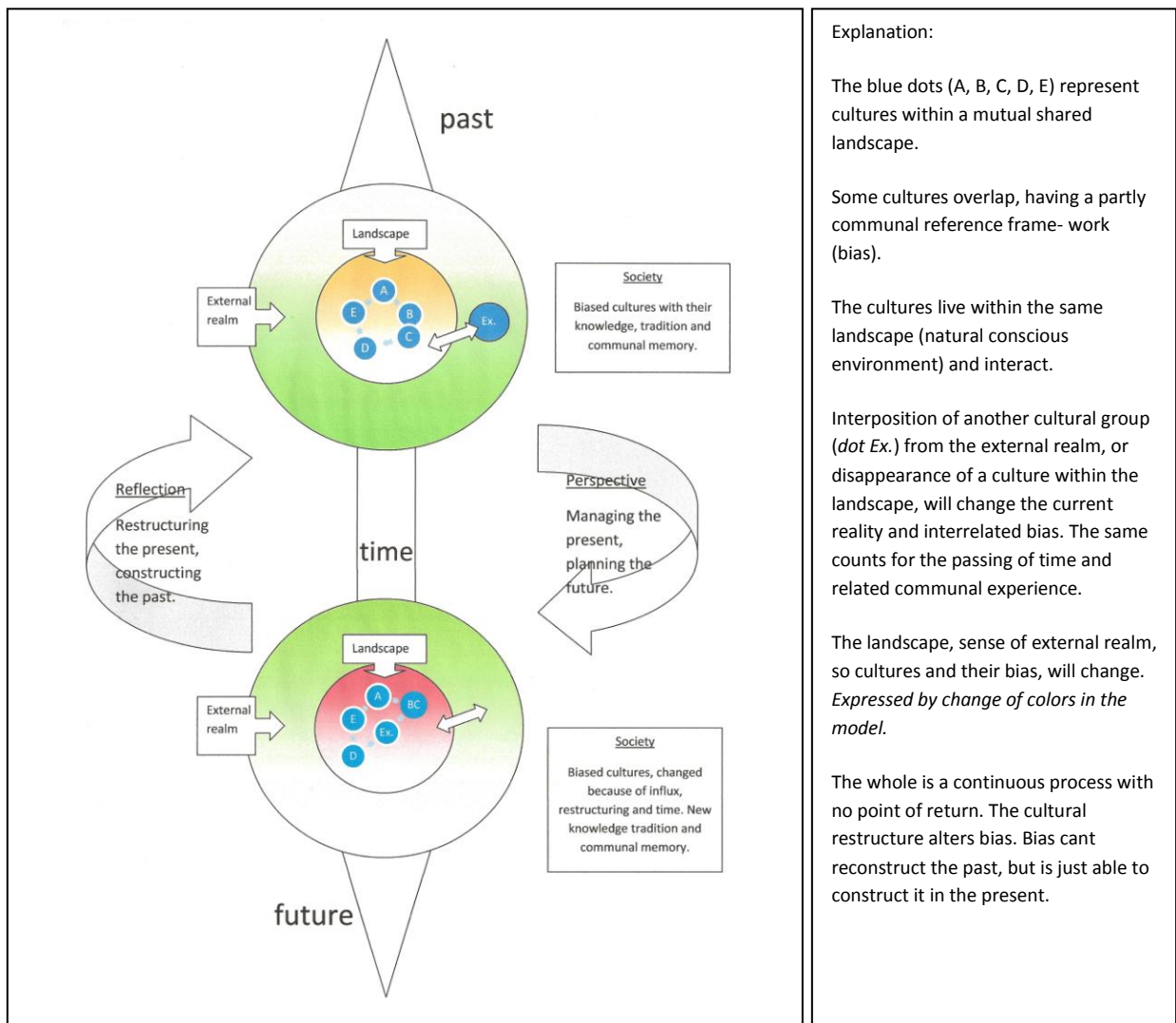


Fig. 5: Model of societal change and construct.

2.3 Theoretical conclusion

Following the above we can define some useful basic principles in modern heritage management with respect to archaeology.

- The heritage management and archaeological discipline evolved in Europe from the Renaissance onwards and the emergence of science from the natural history tradition. Realities and truths have been firmly set within the socio politics of the places and times in which they emerged (Boyd et al. 2005, 108).

From this follows the disciplines have to be aware of their own development and bias.

- A focus on sites and hierarchical subdivision in standards of significance results in neglect of heritage categories and different kinds of social value.

- Awakening attention to landscapes opens new perspectives on heritage, human behavior and archaeological heritage management.

- Ongoing development of critical thought in archaeological science and cultural heritage management is only possible by community involvement and dialogue.

- Critical thought, about existence and the past, is the primary goal for archaeology because the option of preservation for future generations is relative.

- According to cultural heritage management, use value is not aim in itself but a means. Use value doesn't always foresee in emotional contentment.

- The past is a construct of the present, as well as the present is a construct of the past.

Heritage management is about keeping connection to the past, to keep its creativity and its diversity alive. It creates awareness of preceding times. Awareness of diversity in human existence and its creativity in being and surviving.

With respect to Suriname we see an enormous palette of diversity as a result of the many cultures within the country. Evidence from archaeological work

within Suriname indicates that human presence in Suriname dates back to the last Ice Age, over 12.000 years ago.

In the process of selection we structure our minds. We choose between significant and insignificant. We make choices that structure our understanding of present and past. These choices are made individually or with respect to heritage and management on a community basis. In this way we restructure our present being. At the same time we construct the past because we are prejudiced or biased. This means we cannot reconstruct it but just can get some sense of it.

Heritage management implies we are using the past for the present and future. Choices have to be made within management. We choose between things that are manageable or not or perhaps less manageable for the moment. When we look back at Chapter 2.2 and the domains of interest that affect establishment of reference frames within archaeology, we can draw some conclusions. Suriname is a small scale society with a small scale economy. There is political will and necessity to respect the country's cultural diversity. The political representatives are exploring opportunities to unite the country's residents to make Suriname stronger for a joint future. In their efforts they have to cope with many ethical responsibilities. When we look at heritage management the natural environment is one of them. Within national and social environment the country has to deal with the cultural past of a vulnerable but very important minority of indigenous residents, the Amerindians and Maroon societies. With respect to legislation the government is bound to the UNESCO convention of 1972 and signatories to the World Heritage List. This also enshrines responsibilities with respect to archaeology. Further operational practice has to be developed. In the first place Suriname has the ability to restructure its present. For this a structuring of the past is essential.

We try to get hold to the past but are confined by our present socio cultural being. To try to break out of this Western predestined scholarly being, discussion between scholars, heritage managers or archaeologists with different cultural backgrounds is not enough. They are mostly educated within the same Western biases of the disciplines. By confine ourselves to academic discourse

these biases go undetected (Preucel and Cipolla 2008, 140). In fact we always need to discuss our perception, especially within non Western or indigenous archaeologies, with locals and ordinary people from outside the discourse. Choosing our heritage, to reconstruct the past, while excluding society does not make sense.

The abovementioned conclusion has consequences for practicing archaeology or heritage management in Suriname. A distant scholar is not able to do research only from his Academic chair. Good research demands profound fieldwork. This includes human interaction on the spot and exchange of ideas and experiences with locals. It is also necessary for a national to look beyond own borders and be aware of a connection to other people in the surrounding world, especially within present day globalization.

The process of discussion leads to transfer and use of knowledge in other situations than the initial one. This process leads to creativity in thought, flexibility of the mind and creativity in managing existence. In fact it leads to progressive cognitive evolution or at least to metacognitive development. Simply said this is thinking about thinking or problem solving. We try to get grip on our existence in an effort to find stability of mind. This we do finally to become self confident human beings. For we can't go back to the past, we are preparing in the present for the future. Because of the diversity of human life and thought, our connection to the past creates greater time depth to existence. Looking at the model presented in *Fig.5* we should realize that human interaction and its diversity of thought always has created tensions, conflict, changing horizons and reevaluation of existence. Giving more time depth to existence should show us, there has always been confronting bias, assimilation and integration. Coming together of multifarious bias creates new knowledge and thus gives rise to new bias. Perhaps the best lesson we might learn from this is that we should work together to create collective understanding and acceptance. This can be reached by dialogue and mutual respect.

In Suriname with its many cultures, collective understanding of the country's past is very important. This past isn't confined to colonial heritage. It is a fact that

the colonial past puts its burden on composition of present day society. How the process to present day society's composition went through time, is an important and interesting topic. It is essential to understand how this composition of present day society evolved in order to be able to understand Surinamese and present within regional Northern South-American or Caribbean contexts. What we must not forget is that the countries and regional composition has a much longer timeline. Like present day society has its uniqueness, also this past society has its unique aspects. These still can be found within present day indigenous communities in Suriname. Other, for this moment lost information, is waiting in many areas in the country to be detected. This potentially lost information will contribute to new wonder, knowledge, regional embedding and finally also possible, Surinamese identity formation and international attention and recognition. For archaeology is a science that is interested in overall human development and existence, it should be of concern to people with a diverse background. How to value archaeology depends on each "individual" entity or society. As mentioned before, use value is not aim in itself but means because it doesn't always foresee in emotional contentment. Archaeology within heritage management is an important "tool" or "way" for dialogue about diversity. This could benefit all people. From a humanist point of view, survival "or revival" of human dignity and achievements. Where do we end up or return to in the 21st century? To 18th or early 19th centuries real people, 20th centuries nation states and global welfare or present day economics? For Suriname this must be a balanced mix of these ingredients. A difficult task that has to be accomplished but also a process with new opportunities. Surinamese society has to decide what shape heritage gets.

When we look at Surinamese national symbol, the escutcheon, we see the central part that refers to the colonial history (a sailing ship), the natural vegetation and plantation economy (a palm tree), and the five-pointed star (symbolizing the countries different cultures) (Fig. 6). This central theme is flanked or upheld by two indigenous Amerindians. The motto says: *Justitia Pietas Fides* (Justice Peace

Loyalty). It is a very strong national symbol that might advocate what course future heritage management should proceed. This will hopefully bring the country where the national flag refers to (Fig. 7). Green symbolizes fertility of the country and its hopeful expectation. White symbolizes justice and freedom. Red refers to progressivism and the nations never ending aspiration to effort for renewal of people and society. The yellow star symbolizes sacrificial unanimity and orientation on a golden future.

The following chapter will look in detail at Surinamese present policy regarding overall Heritage Management and tangible heritage in particular.

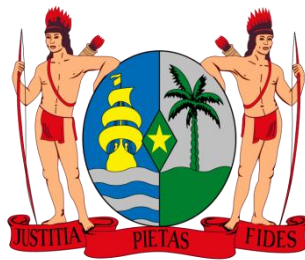


Fig. 6. The national escutcheon of the Republic of Suriname.



Fig. 7. The national flag of the Republic of Suriname.

3. Surinamese culture policy and international cooperation in heritage management

This exploration aims to clarify the Surinamese position towards heritage management and archaeology. It looks at present-day non-archaeological and archaeological work that is undertaken on the field of heritage. Choices within and dealing with Cultural Heritage Management, plus international cooperation, are points of concern.

How does Suriname at present deal with the subject of Cultural Heritage Management?

3.1 Culture Policy in Suriname

[Ministerie van Onderwijs en Volksontwikkeling](#) > [Over Minov](#) > Cultuur

DIRECTORAAT CULTUUR

Het Nationaal Cultuurbeleid

Kader en Uitgangspunten

Visie

Met de Surinaamse multiculturele- en plurale samenleving als gegeven, is cultuur de krachtige en dynamische bron die alles te maken heeft met de ontwikkeling van de Surinaamse mens en de Surinaamse natie.

Missie

Het bevorderen van het respect, het behoud en de bescherming van de grote en rijke verscheidenheid aan culturele normen en waarden dient als basis bij de ontwikkeling en versterking van de Surinaamse culturele identiteit.

Het scheppen van basisvoorwaarden voor een gunstig kunst- en cultuurklimaat die kunstenaars en artiesten uitdagen om de eigen culturele en creatieve grenzen te ontdekken, te verleggen en gestalte te geven.

Het zorgdragen voor de conservering, de ontwikkeling en de veredeling van het Surinaams cultureel erfgoed.

Doel

Het cultuurbeleid is gericht op:

- duurzame nationale ontwikkeling waarbij cultuur de centrale rol vervult;
- het leggen van interculturele ontmoetingen in alle geledingen van de cultuurbeoefening in ons land, zodat de beleving van onze culturele diversiteit over de volle breedte zichtbaar en voelbaar wordt.

Het doel van het cultuurbeleid is

- om de innerlijke waardigheid van de Surinaamse mens te veredelen en te verheffen;
- om beleidslijnen te ontwikkelen die gericht zijn op de creatieve verscheidenheid en aanvaarding en die tegemoet komen aan de noden en behoeften van alle groepen.

Fig. 8. The National Culture Policy of Suriname.

Source: <http://gov.sr/sr/ministerie-van-onderwijs-en-volksontwikkeling/over-minov/cultuur.aspx> (23-1-2012)

Culture policy in Suriname is a task of the Directorate Culture of the Ministry of Education and Peoples Development (Directoraat Cultuur van het Ministerie van Onderwijs en Volksontwikkeling (MINOV)). Starting point of their vision is the Surinamese multicultural and plural society. From that perspective culture is seen as a powerful tool for the development of the Surinamese people and nation.

The mission of the Directorate is to:

- promote respect for, to preserve and protect diversity of cultural values and standards. This is seen as fundamental to development and strengthening of the Surinamese cultural identity.
- create basic conditions for a favorable climate for artistic and cultural expression and exploration.
- take care of conservation, development and fostering of Surinamese cultural heritage.

Surinamese culture policy 2006-2011 (Fig. 8.) focuses on national development in which culture fulfills a central role; establishing cultural encounters to let people experience, see and feel cultural diversity. Another central goal is to uplift inner dignity of the Surinamese people and to develop policy that aims to creative diversity and acceptance, fulfilling needs and desires of all groups.

As can be seen from the formulation of this policy, Surinamese cultural policy makers are aware of the difficulties in uniting people as a result of the diverse cultural backgrounds of the country's citizens. Their opinion is that unity only can exist with mutual respect. As well as it is a difficulty, they also see this diversity as an enrichment and the driving force for future development. The creative force of diversity can be applied for economic growth. Their target is to let people in the first place experience the countries cultural variety. Experiencing diversity will lead to mutual understanding. Policy makers want to provide conditions for

cultural and creative expression and take care for cultural heritage by protecting and using it in such a sense that Surinamese people can be proud of it.

It is a very comprehensive description that sounds very idealistic.

In the *Development Plan 2006 - 2011 of the Republic Suriname* (see attachment) the subject Culture is worked out in *paragraph 5.2.3*. The starting point is the description of culture by UNESCO and the right of participation to cultural life of the community according to principals of the *International Covenant on Economic, Political, Social and Cultural Rights* and the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. The aim of culture policy is primary focused on free participation of all civilians in the cultural life of Suriname. Culture is the bearer of past tradition and instigator of future change: both aspects need further development (See appendix: 2.5.3 Cultuur, Meerjarenontwikkelingsplan 2006-2011, 160).

The Development Plan mentions the growing awareness that culture can be a way of subsistence and in particular an economic role can be applied to fight poverty. It also has the ability to inspire and mobilize people and has potential to create communal solidarity and forming a nation.

Aims of cultural policy are:

- improving conditions for culture production;
- improving conditions for preservation of cultural heritage;
- enlargement of the export potential of the creative industry.

To realize these aims, between 2006 – 2011 programmes had to be developed to: 1. improve quality of culture education; 2. stimulate artistic expression and production; 3. preserve cultural heritage; 4. enlarge cultural relations; 5. institutionally reinforce the *Culture Directorate*, 6. improve media policy and 7. stimulate creative industry.

In addition, let's have a closer look at the programs 1., 3., 4. and 5. Their sub targets were:

1. Improving conditions of culture production, comprising improving quality of culture education (1.1). The pith of the matter deals with lawmaking and regulation, education of art and culture and support of cultural organizations and institutions.
2. Preservation of the cultural heritage by improving conditions for preservation (2.1). The focus is on restorations of monumental buildings, documentation and registration, Museum policy and Nominations to the UNESCO World Heritage List.
4. Culture for forming a nation and international integration by building on international cultural relations (4.1). The focus was on the Commission *Carifesta IX (Caricom)* and support of national days of celebration.
5. Institutional reinforcement of the Culture Directorate (Fig.9.) aims at restructuring, automatization of the personal administration, network building and training of the work force (5).

When we evaluate the above policy documents the focus in the first place is on the productive use-value of cultural heritage. Heritage has to contribute to economic wellbeing. Within education, teaching about heritage in the first place must contribute to its future creative production. The conservation of the cultural heritage in the first place is focused on the built colonial heritage. Especially on efficiency of its management. This is the result of the financial consequences after inclusion of the Paramaribo city centre on the UNESCO World Heritage List. Further nominations also regard colonial built heritage. National reinforcement is above all aimed at international recognition, especially within the Caribbean. For national unity the focus is on a Caribbean identity. With respect to the Culture Directorate policy is to aim at a shift from bureaucracy to efficiency.

There is a main focus on economic benefit, more than on identity formation within the country. Nation-building takes place from an economic perspective more than from a sensitive viewpoint. Emotional heritage significance or value seems to be subordinate to its economic use-value. The question is, if future economic and social wellbeing starts with pride or vice versa. There

perhaps should be better balance between them. The starting point in policymaking has to be the financial and productive abilities of the country.

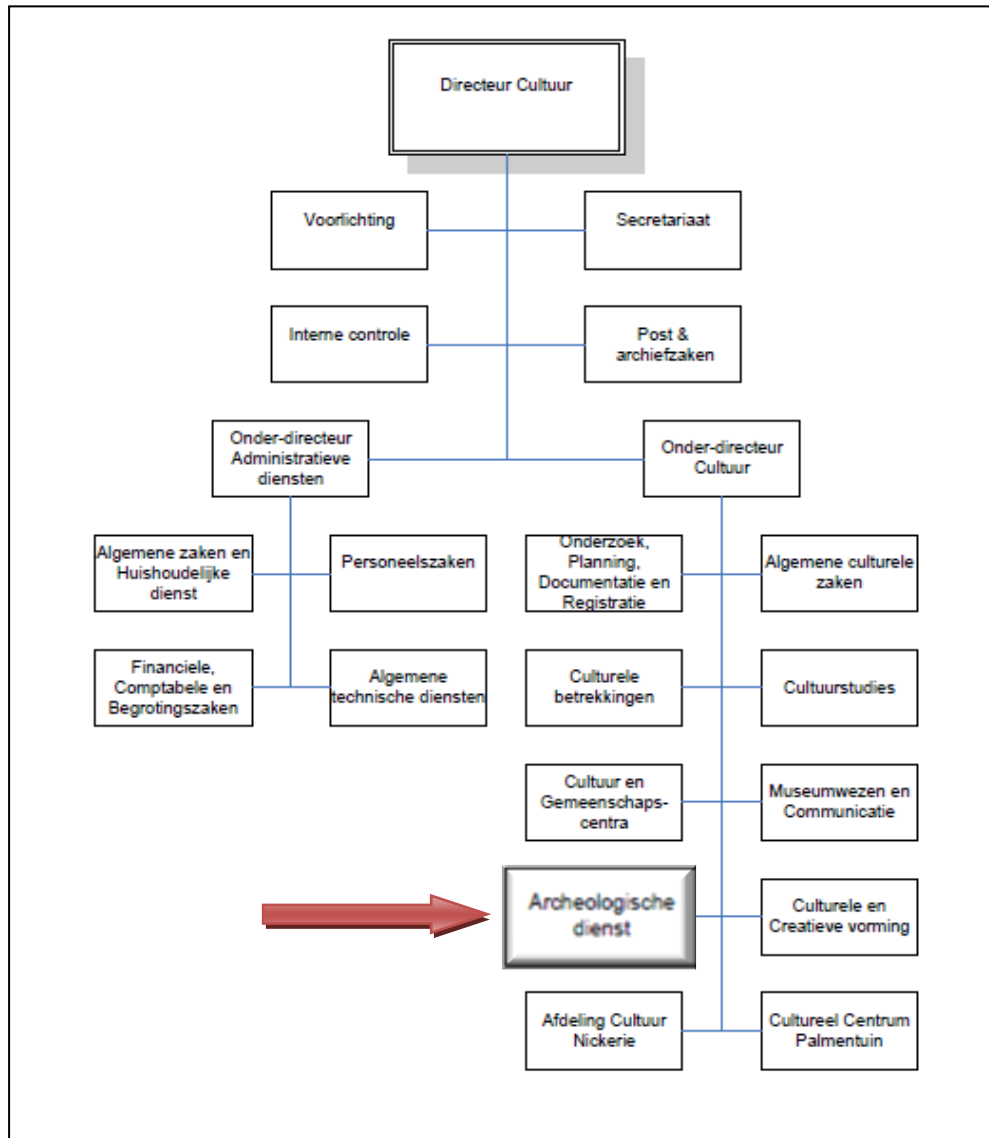


Fig. 9. Organization chart of the Cultural Directorate.

Modified from source: <http://gov.sr/media/63741/organigram-kultuur.pdf>

The Culture Directorate

Policy is based on a cultural democracy in which recognition and equality of all cultures is of primary importance. Realizing points of departure is the responsibility of the Culture Directorate. The emphasis of the responsibility can be found in the field of initiating and developing artistic expressions and cultural production. The government also tries to promote an acculturation (stimulate culture) process by means of developing cultural education and culturally-oriented academic research (Van Maanen 2011, 180-181). Van Maanen mentions in his book that the department of Cultural Studies (Cultuur Studies) and the Surinam Urban Heritage Foundation are co-responsible for the implementation of these responsibilities (Van Maanen 2011, 181). The MOP (Development Plan 2006-2011) mentions explicitly that both tangible and intangible heritage are of concern. Reading the MOP (see above sub target 1., 3. and 4.) plus research interviews by Van Maanen make clear that the focus is more on the intangible sphere. This can also be seen in the majority in spending of its budget (Van Maanen 2011, 181). With respect to the built cultural heritage the focus of the responsible directorate is on Nominations to the World Heritage List (See sub target 2.). This counts for the already enlisted nomination of Paramaribo city centre, but also for nomination of the “*Jodensavanne*” and the “*Cassiporabegraafplaats*” (Cassipora graveyard) (Speech S. Sidoel, 2007 – see 2nd attachment).

3.2 Suriname and Dutch shared heritage.

As a former colony of the Netherlands, Suriname still has co-operation with the Dutch. This also takes place at the level of taking care of the shared cultural heritage. This section sets out from which point of view this cooperation takes place. It also presents current projects.

In the light of the intense collaboration between the Dutch and Surinamese governments with regard to culture, the Culture and Development Program of the Dutch embassy in Paramaribo (Beleidskader GCE) has to be mentioned. Their funding was concentrated on eight cultural fields: built heritage, visual arts, film, stage arts, museum, music, cultural studies and the cluster: language, literature, library and archives. The main focus lays on capacity building at governmental as well as local level. The Culture and Development program should be seen separate from the MCH policy. It has been possible for The Netherlands to make a specific cultural framework with Suriname, and in 2001 Suriname was the first country with a country-specific policy framework for mutual cultural heritage. Although Suriname has acknowledged that there is mutual cultural heritage between the two countries, it is not altogether clear for both countries which heritage can be experienced as mutual and which not. The valuation of heritage differs greatly (Center for International Heritage Activities, 2011).

The agreement between the Dutch and Surinamese government (GCE) focuses on three main sectors. The built heritage, the museum sector and the archiving sector.

After many years of political instability and arduous diplomatic relations between the Netherlands and Suriname, the relation took a turn with the election of Ronald Venetiaan as president in 2000. Dutch-Surinamese relations intensified and various agreements were signed or revitalized. The Memorandum of Understanding on Mutual Cultural Heritage between the Surinamese and Dutch government was one of these agreements. The bilateral cooperation between the Netherlands and Suriname is in line with the Surinamese international cultural policy, which mainly “focuses on starting and intensifying relationships with the heritage institutions in the Caribbean region, international heritage organizations and the Netherlands as partner concerning mutual heritage”.

The established policy framework is aimed at:

- Attracting a broader audience
- Knowledge Increase
- Information structuring

- Instrument for project applications
- Strengthening of infrastructure

Many of the projects taking place with regard to the mutual cultural heritage in Suriname, are either, financed through “*HGIS-C*” (Homogene Groep voor Internationale Samenwerking), supported by the Dutch Government or fall under the Memorandum of Understanding, signed between the governments of the Netherlands and Suriname. The governmental agreements can be regarded as a top-down approach.

Much work is undertaken by CIE (Center for International Heritage Activities), a non-profit and independent knowledge centre for international cultural heritage cooperation. The center aims to increase collaboration and knowledge sharing in the cultural heritage field by bringing professionals together, collecting and disseminating expertise and developing and facilitating heritage projects all over the world (CIE annual report 2011, 5). CIE identifies partners in and for priority countries and initiates local and international meetings with partners from The Netherlands and local priority countries. The outcome of the discussions and meetings are presented to the Dutch government to improve future cooperation policy. This formula is applicable to programs for many countries with mutual heritage.

During the last ten years of cooperation with Suriname, various joint projects have been completed. Many of them were concerned with restoration of colonial built heritage. Examples are: The historical buildings of the Frederiksdorp plantation and officers quarters in Fort Zeelandia. Also on the field of archaeology and heritage with regard to the Amerindian indigenous population, initiatives have been undertaken. Compared to others this is not so much. Initiatives were taken in collaboration with the Leiden National Museum of Ethnology on studying the Penard’s lost Encyclopaedia, recently rediscovered in the archives of the museum. This encyclopaedia gives insights into Amerindian shamanism, and the life of the Jewish Surinamese family Penard, in the first quarter of the 20th century. Actually it is a testimony of the encounter between

Indian indigenous life and beliefs, and those of individuals with a Western cultural and religious background. Related to this documentation and archives on the Amerindian languages in Suriname, research at Leiden University has to be mentioned. A related topic is the perishable heritage of the Trio Amerindians of Suriname, a study also initiated by The National Museum of Ethnology in cooperation with archaeologists and linguists from Leiden University (PhD. Jimmy Mans, Leiden University's Faculty of Archaeology and Dr. Eithne B. Carlin, Department Languages and Cultures of Native America, Leiden University Centre for Linguistics). A study that comprises an inventory of the museum collection, in the first place with regard to Trio or Kari'na Indians, and consultations with representatives of the present Trio community in Suriname. These consultations took place as well in Suriname as within the Leiden National Museum of Ethnology. Another more private foundation archaeological initiative, in collaboration with Leiden University's faculty of archaeology (Dr. Menno Hoogland), is concerned with retrieving the location of Ford Boekoe. A *Maroon* (Escaped slaves of African origin) defensive bastion from colonial times.

Initiatives to crank up archaeological significance in Suriname have been undertaken by Dr. Laura van Broekhoven, conservator of the Meso- and Southern American collection of the National Museum of Ethnology and lecturer at the Leiden University's faculty of Archaeology, in 2009. These efforts were mainly aimed at developing an academic structure on the field of history, archaeology, museum and archival science (CIE/Directoraat Cultuur 2009, 14).

Cooperation between Suriname and Holland does not only exist on a bilateral scale. There is also cooperation on Municipality level between several Dutch cities and Suriname. Due to the growing number of international collaborations between Dutch local governments and the Suriname government, a platform (The Suriname Platform) was founded in 2001. This encourages more coherence and coordination in the field of international collaboration with Suriname by Dutch local governments. The participating municipalities are The Hague, Rotterdam,

Amsterdam, Arnhem, Spijkenisse and Lelystad. On the Dutch side the municipalities provide concrete know how to their Surinamese colleagues.

Other agreements are on the level of foundations, and for example exist between “*SGES*” (Stichting Gebouwd Erfgoed Suriname), founded in 1997, and “*Stichting Herstelling*”. This communal development agreement dates from the year 2002 and is a bilateral agreement that realized the above mentioned restoration of the officers quarters in Fort Zeelandia which houses the *Nola Hatterman Institute*. (Center for International Heritage Activities, 2011). Cooperation since 2004 also includes the participation of “*SAO*” (Stichting Arbeidsmobilisatie en Ontwikkeling). An organization that deals with professionalizing the labor force.

From the Dutch side also the “*AWAD*” (The Atlantic World and the Dutch) project was established. It was an initiative by the “*Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*” (The Royal Dutch Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies) in the city of Leiden, supported by the “*Gemeente archief Amsterdam*” (Municipal Archive Amsterdam), the Dutch Royal Library, the Dutch National Archive, the University of Rotterdam and Leiden, the “*KITT*” (Royal Tropical Institute Tropical Museum) and the “*NiNsee*” (Slavery Institute). It aims to preserve and study the mutual cultural heritage resulting from Dutch contact with the peoples of both Africa and the Americas over a period of some five hundred years.

The initial stage of the project began in February 2004 and was jointly funded by the “*NWO*” (Dutch Organization for Scientific Research), and the “*HGIS*” program (Dutch Culture Fund), for intensifying international cultural relations of the Dutch ministries of Foreign Affairs and Education, Culture and Science. A main objective is to identify relevant written sources held within collections both in the Netherlands and abroad. A secondary element of the project involves investigating current and future historical research projects, in particular those pertaining to the tangible and intangible legacy of the Dutch

overseas presence, as well as initiatives regarding the management and preservation of records. (awad.kitlv.nl/Introduction, 2012)

Within this program, both in Suriname and Holland, meetings take place on frequent basis. Within these meetings subjects discussed relate to intangible but also the tangible heritage (Menke, Eggers, Stripriaan and Willemsen, 2006). In case of the latter, especially with regard to built heritage, the museum sector and the archiving sector, as described in the Dutch-Surinamese governmental agreement.

The main objectives of the “AWAD” project are:

- Preservation, accessibility and study of cultural heritage formed over 500 years of Dutch interaction with cultures in the Atlantic region;
- Creating an Atlantic Network of institutions, experts and projects relating to this shared Cultural heritage;
- Developing joint projects and securing financial support.

Archaeologists who presented their efforts within this framework are:

Prof. Dr. Corinne Hofman, archaeologist of pre-Columbian period from Leiden University, Faculty of Archaeology.

- Dr. Renzo S. Duin, former PhD at University of Florida, and at present a postdoctoral researcher in Amazonian archaeology and anthropology at Leiden University, Faculty of Archaeology.

- Dr. Jay B. Haviser, Archaeologist of colonial America, the Netherlands Antilles: Curaçao, Bonaire, St. Martin. Working at the Bonaire Archaeological institute and the St. Maarten Archaeological Center.

The studies they introduced were on the field of Wayana social-political landscapes in Suriname (R. Duin), and the extent of archaeological work, its significance, and concerns with heritage management in the Caribbean (C. Hofman and J.B. Haviser).

3.3 UNESCO, Suriname and international Conventions on Protection of World Cultural Heritage

To protect particular World Cultural Heritage the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1972 adopted the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. Suriname at the moment has two sites on the World Heritage List. The Central Suriname Nature Reserve (CSNR) and the historical city center of Paramaribo. Since 2007 also another site is nominated for the World Heritage List. The *Jodensavanne* and its *Cassipora graveyard*. Until now this has not been realized.

In this chapter the main question is about how choices in management of the cultural heritage are made.

Decision making at the level of international agreements with regard to protecting cultural heritage started in 1993. On 5 October 1993 a Surinamese Delegation to UNESCO's 27th General Assembly submitted a resolution whereby the importance of the Historic Inner City of Paramaribo for the World Heritage was stressed. The UNESCO was asked for financial support to preserve the unique historic city centre of Paramaribo. The Director General of the UNESCO supported this resolution. However, it was important that Suriname should ratify the World Heritage Convention (SGES, 2011. 8-9). This resulted in ratification of the *Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. Paris, 16 November 1972.*, by the Surinamese government. It was accepted on the 23rd October 1997. This started an extensive process to get the inner city of Paramaribo on the World Heritage List. This would finally lead to inclusion in 2002.

Article 1

For the purpose of this Convention, the following shall be considered as "cultural heritage":

monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view.

Fig. 10: Article 1. Definition of the cultural heritage in: Convention concerning the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage. Adopted by the General Conference at its seventeenth session Paris, 16 november 1972 .
Source: <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf>

In Article 1 of the convention (Fig. 10), archaeology is specifically mentioned.

Preservation of the historic city center and its inclusion in UNESCO's World Heritage List is considered as an international recognition, not only of the heritage in question, but also of Suriname as an independent nation. The aesthetic value also plays an important role. The heritage is regarded as prestigious, accords status and has a special historical value (Van Maanen 2011, 184).

Ratification of other UNESCO conventions with regard to the tangible cultural heritage didn't take place yet. These include the:

- Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict with Regulations for the Execution of the Convention. The Hague, 14 May 1954.;
- Protocol to the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict. The Hague, 14 May 1954.;
- Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property. Paris, 14 November 1970.;
- Protocol to the Agreement on the Importation of Educational, Scientific and Cultural Materials, with Annexes A to H. Nairobi, 26 November 1976.;
- Second Protocol to the Hague Convention of 1954 for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict. The Hague, 26 March 1999.;
- Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage. Paris, 2 November 2001.;
- Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. Paris, 17 October 2003.;
- Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions. Paris, 20 October 2005.

(portal.unesco.org)

3.4 Problems and benefits of inclusion of Paramaribo as a World Heritage Site

In 2011 E. van Maanen presented his dissertation on Colonial Heritage and Ethnic Pluralism. Three research questions were formulated to find out the social-psychological meaning of colonial heritage in a multiethnic community. The focus was on the Surinamese capital Paramaribo and its inscription to the World Heritage List. These questions were:

- To what extent do people with different ethnic backgrounds attribute different socio-psychological meanings to heritage through their degree of involvement and attitude towards colonial heritage?
- In what way there is a relation between different socio-psychological meanings of heritage on the one hand and involvement and attitude towards colonial heritage on the other, for the different ethnic population groups in a community?
- To what extent does colonial heritage act as binding factor between plural ethnic population groups in a community?

(Van Maanen 2011, 169)

Differences in attitude between people from different ethnicity appeared in this research more related to the process of attitude formation. Ethnicity didn't seem to lead to a different expression in socio-psychological meaning attached to colonial heritage and the degree of involvement. Secondly it was found out that a significant positive relation exists between involvement in heritage preservation and a relatively positive socio-psychological meaning that is attached to colonial heritage. The final question was most difficult to answer. The research revealed that colonial heritage as such can act as a binding factor between the various ethnic population groups. Nevertheless, there are differences in the extent to which one ascribes this role to colonial heritage. Differences occurred within the clusters of opponents, indifferent and proponents'. These differences were more related to level of education. In this regard people with a lower level of education were more indifferent towards colonial heritage. People with higher level of

education fell more within the clusters of opponents and proponents'. (Van Maanen 2011, 168-169)

It is merely the physical presence of these resources which constitutes the foundation for the emergence of a sense of involvement which contributes and/or may lead to a sense of national unity or identity. The interpretation of these same resources and the way in which this process leads to attitude formation, differs across the various ethnicities. (Van Maanen 2011, 170)

The continuation of his dissertation makes clear that the burden that results the inclusion of Paramaribo on the World Heritage List is related to finance but even more to managing of the process. As a public authority, it is the primary task of “*SGES*” (Stichting Gebouwd Erfgoed Suriname) or Built Heritage Trust Suriname, to optimize the management of historic buildings in Paramaribo. This means that, at the moment, the *SGES* performs a pivotal function in the creation of an organizational structure aimed at accomplishing this task. It has an advisory role towards the Ministry of Education and Community Development (MINOV) and renders services in the area of laws and regulations. As official site manager *SGES* occupies a key position where providing information and awareness to the local community is concerned. Both make up strategic objectives in UNESCO policy. Implementation of these tasks is proceeding slowly and with difficulties. There is a shortage in physical managing capacity and finances. Besides available government funds the foundation depends on foreign gifts and grants. Other advisory offices concerned with demolition, renovation and alterations are the “*commissie monumentenzorg*” (Commission Monument Caretaking) and “*bouwcommissie*” (Building Commission) with respect to new building. The distribution over more than one commission results in inadequate access to legal framework in fulfilling *SGES* tasks. Task of the *SGES* confines itself as a result mainly to informing the MINOV. Van Maanen concludes *SGES* should focus on the very important task of awareness and information activities. The government should take its responsibility in providing the right legal managing framework and financing.

In addition Van Maanen concludes government policy should not be sought in the context of the socio-psychological meaning. He proposes a factual change in function of the city centre. This is reducing government presence in favor of expanding recreational and tourism functions. Increased use value and cohesion on political, social and economic grounds can lead to better conservation of the colonial heritage of Paramaribo. It creates possibilities for the various ethnic groups. The SGES may possibly assume a more prominent role in such a process.

Proofs of such use at present are the “*De Waag*” (Weighing House) in the city center that functions as tourist centre, gallery, restaurant and grand café, plus the numismatic museum of the Central Bank of Suriname at the Lim A Po-street that besides tourists attracts students and school groups. (Van Maanen 2011, 237-238)

Future research should, according to Van Maanen, be undertaken into the deeper underlying dimensions as an explanation for differences in interpretation. An even more important study he notes, is necessary on the level of discrepancy between policy planning and implementation. The focus of attention should be on awareness and involvement of the local community. How can the local residents be involved in the process of heritage planning, management and preservation, in such a manner that it results in a positive contribution without interfering with the effectiveness and efficiency of this process? This also counts for the awareness of the government, being one of the most important stakeholders. They are falling short in a number of important aspects regarding heritage planning, management and preservation.

In setting up follow-up research in these topics an interdisciplinary approach should be followed. His research makes clear the complexity and interwovenness within which heritage interpretation processes take place. Government performance, local participation and involvement, NGOs and other actively involved stakeholders, cannot be studied separate and isolated from each other, if you want to fathom and possibly explain the process related to heritage interpretation in a multiethnic society. (Van Maanen 2011, 241-242)

3.5 A conclusion with regard to heritage policy, cooperation frameworks and archaeology

Attention to preservation of listed built heritage in Suriname, already started in the beginning of the 1960s. Since that time it was mainly of concern to a few national and international professionals in the field of architecture (Van Maanen 2011, 215). The process for inclusion of the inner city of Paramaribo on the UNESCO World Heritage List started halfway through the 1990s after a long period of political instability from 1975 onwards. In the process, Suriname like other post-colonial societies, is preoccupied with issues of representation and defining a new identity for which selected aspects of the past, understood as heritage, serve as inspiration or foundation. When we look at the Surinamese Culture Policy this process is still at full swing. The reassignment of the more intangible landmarks, like names of streets and other public spaces, is already far behind us. The interesting thing about Suriname is that its policy tried to revitalize the colonial inner city of Paramaribo as cultural binding factor. Besides this, also an awareness about cultural plural diversity by cultural experience should lead to forming the nations new identity. In Surinamese policy making, the emphasis partly is on the latter. Recapitulating policy with respect to Paramaribo and the UNESCO World Heritage List, there can be concluded this policy fueled many initiatives on the field of cultural research, discussions, cooperation (on national and international level), recapitulation of identity, but also insights on policy making and public relations.

The difficulty in Suriname is very much implicit in its level of cultural diversity. No single group is over-represented. This can be interpreted as an obstacle. It can be argued that it discourages assimilation and stifles integration. As the Surinamese politicians noticed, it can also be seen as an enrichment and ground for accomplishing mutual respect. Forming a nation is very much based on cooperation and improving a collective standard of life. As concluded in Chapter 2 this might be achieved by reflection on the trajectory that is underlying present day society. Not just by experiencing present cultural diversity but also by

studying and educating the process of socio-cultural formation in the past. This includes the entry of different cultural identities in colonial times, seen within a regional and world context, but especially by giving more time-depth to cultural and natural origins within the country and the region. What is peculiar to country, region and humanity should become clear to a broad audience within Suriname. From this perspective choices within heritage management should be made. This might be the implication of the word fostering or the Dutch word “*veredelning*” that is used in the National Culture Policy. Pride should be sought in what the country, region and its inhabitants have to offer, its uniqueness and in its achievements until now. Further achievements in the first place can be realized by political cooperation, also within heritage management.

The research by E. van Maanen stressed our earlier finding that significance and value are primary related to physical presence and contemporary degree of involvement (Chapter 2). The notion that significance and value within the field of tangible cultural heritage should not primary be sought in present obvious physical heritage and degree of material content, but perhaps more within degree of involvement and information value, might open new perspectives for Surinamese society. Especially on the field of archaeology and cultural experience.

A socio-psychological meaning should be connoted to involvement and intrinsic to the process of cooperation that results from the management and preservation of cultural heritage. In this working together there still is progress to make. Also in Suriname, policy making with respect to the cultural heritage is still happening more on behalf of the public that policy makers serve, but not for them (Carman 2005, see chapter 2). As already mentioned in Chapter 2, and shown through more thorough orientation in this chapter, it became clear that the inclusion of Paramaribo at the World Heritage List not only fueled many cultural initiatives but also results in financial and organizational responsibilities that seem to overstretch Surinamese national capacity at present.

The contemporary state of the cultural heritage policy could be improved by increasing use value and cohesion on political, social and economic grounds. A

shifting function of the city center and an interdisciplinary approach. Especially with respect to this interdisciplinary approach deficiencies can be seen. In E. van Maanens' study, as well as in Surinamese policy regarding national tangible heritage, the absence of the indigenous Indian population is striking. Within policy formulation there is room for experiencing contemporary Amerindian culture. This can be read in the goal to accomplish cultural encounters to let people experience, see and feel cultural diversity. A vision that is very much in line with the UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions. That these cultures are embedded within national natural environment and the landscape, so fundamental to the history of the country and beyond, seems of minor importance within heritage projects and forming national identity. Also Van Maanen doesn't give Amerindians a voice. Whatever his motivation may be to exclude them from further research, it gives the impression that the country's capital city center doesn't belong within their landscape or reference framework. Nor does it incorporate them in the onset to future national awareness. The rise of this city occurred on their territory. The center is built on shell ridges formerly occupied by lowland groups of Indians. Since that time the city and its settlers maintained contact with these cultural groups. In a positive as well as a negative sense. An important ethical question is, what impact changing society had on Amerindian culture, especially within the Surinamese lowland and what impact it has on remaining Amerindian cultures at present. Heritage promotion does also happen within programs on Mutual Cultural Heritage between the Netherlands and Suriname. Discrepancy does also exist when we look at the three main chosen sectors of cooperation: the built heritage, the museum and archiving sector. They all concentrate mostly on historic times and follow the perspective of colonial past. Archaeology and pre-Columbian history are hardly a topic. These subjects and their particular field of study seem socio-culturally excluded. They are still only of concern to a limited group of mainly Western scholars. They do ask attention for their subject within the existing culture discourse and heritage management. That the scientific field of archaeology should contribute starts to get a cautious hearing in Suriname

when we read the consultation draft of the Paramaribo World Heritage Site Management Plan 2011-2015. Archaeological significance is mentioned in paragraph 2.3 of this text that has been drafted by SGES (SGES Consultation Draft 2011, 21-21). This probably will be the merit of UNESCO's definition of cultural heritage and enlisting of Paramaribo to the World Heritage.

In the next two chapters an overview will be given of past archaeological work in Suriname, followed by recommendations for a future approach.

4. Archaeological heritage

This chapter recapitulates past and present policy concerning the cultural archaeological heritage. First past and present research programs within and outside the country are discussed. Afterwards in politics. Central research question is:

What is the present position of archaeology in Suriname?

Sub-questions are:

- *What archaeological work or work by archaeologists is being executed at present?*
- *How and why is this initiated?*
- *Who participate in these projects and where do they receive their funding?*

4.1 Pre-Columbian Suriname

The Guianas, to which Suriname belongs, form an island bordered by the Amazon and Negro rivers, the Orinoco Rivers and the Atlantic Ocean (Versteeg 2003, 23; Rostain 2008, 279). This is a very useful geographic concept for archaeology because it is a self-contained culture area. Much that occurred in pre-Columbian times within this island can be related to events and cultures found in Suriname during that time (Versteeg 2003, 23).

Surinamese pre-Columbian history starts with Sipalawini hunters of the southern savannas (Teunissen & Wildschut 1970; Knook, 1979 in Versteeg 2003, 28). Sipalawini hunters probably lived in small family groups in the border area between forest and savanna. Here water was available and this also attracted game for hunting. Archaeological proof of those camps has yet been found (Versteeg 2003, 57). According to A. Boomert, two phases may be distinguished: One phase of older Pleistocene big game hunters and a younger phase of hunters of deer and other smaller animals (Versteeg 2003, 54). Archaeological, human presence

appears in finds of four kinds of projectile points in the Sipilawini Savanna as well as choppers, scrapers, knives and debitage (Versteeg 2003, 53-54). Thirty sites with interesting archaeological information from this era are located on Surinamese territory. The information they contain is unfortunately very limited. In the Venezuelan savannas, belonging to the same belt as the Sipilawini Savanna, the situation is different. Charcoal and bones of extinct large game have been found there, associated with the tools, all datable using the ^{14}C method (Versteeg 2003, 54)

4.1.1 Origin

There is a huge gap in the Surinamese archaeological data-base between the Sipilawini hunters and the first pottery making farmers. Evidence of groups of Alaka shellfish-gatherers who lived for millennia in coastal Guyana, from 6000 BC till 1400 BC, is not found. The presence of open savanna areas from the last Ice age onwards can only be explained by presence of people between 5000 and 2000 BC. These areas could only stay open when set on fire by man on regular basis (Versteeg 2003, 62-63).

About 4000 BC a new development of the typical South American Tropical Forest Culture takes place. Details, location and time span of this particular development are not obvious. This culture is characterized by new economic activities: agriculture and all that this development brought with it.

Many aspects of this period are related to life and presence of contemporary Amerindians within the Amazon region. More knowledge about this earlier period will contribute to insights about Amerindian dispersion within the region and to the rest of the Caribbean.

4.1.2 Classification

Classification of pre-Columbian groups in the Guiana's is done according to their pottery. Certain aspects of pottery, especially decoration, remain unchanged over

long periods of time and over large distances. Pottery type and decoration are important aspects related to cultural identity. Another classification according to language groups as is done in classifying present day cultural groups is not useful for pre-historic Indians. We have no idea how they expressed themselves linguistically. From historical times we also know that Amerindians from linguistic different groups also make use of the same kind of material culture.

Following classification by using pottery, in Suriname three main traditions are distinguished.

- Saladoid on two sites.
- Barancoid on three sites. This is also called Mabaruma culture and is mainly known from neighboring Guyana.
- Arauquinoid tradition on many sites. Within this tradition three distinctive cultures are seen.

The Hertenrits culture in Western Suriname.

The Kwatta culture in Central Suriname.

The Barbakoeba Culture in Eastern Suriname.

The names of the three main traditions are derived from city names in Venezuela (Saladero, Barancas, Arauquin) where this kind of material for the first time was found 50 to 70 years ago (Versteeg 2003, 78-79).

New information about first encounters between Amerindians and Europeans and its consequences to Amerindian populations could be derived from continuation of archaeological research. This will tell more about influence on their lives and material culture, but it can also teach us more about disappearance of certain societies. The encounters first took place within the coastal region and the major river deltas. The same knowledge increase is possible with respect to Amerindian and Maroon communities in more recent history.

4.2 Archaeological research from the 1940's up to the independence in 1975.

Interest in Surinamese pre-history started in the 19th century when petroglyphs were first mentioned by C.H Schomburgk in 1841. Van Sypesteyn in 1859 describes hollows in rocks as being grinding marks of battle-axes. C.J. Hering who was born in Paramaribo in 1829 had a sharp eye for pre-Columbian artifacts. The first more serious contribution to encouraging archaeological work in Suriname can be ascribed to him. He sent stone axes to Dr. C. Leemans, director of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden between 1860 and 1880. Leemans publications of those axes in 1877, 1879 were the first scientific writings about artifacts from Suriname (Geijskes 1960-1961, 70; Versteeg 2003, 41-42). Hering also describes archaeological excavations in the Coronie District in 1898 in the catalogue for the Colonial Exhibition of 1899 in Haarlem. This paper is entitled *De Oudheden van Suriname*. In the beginning of the 20th century new initiatives instigated by governor C. Lely result in cartographic expeditions to get a better picture of the Surinamese hinterland. During these expeditions also much knowledge about inhabiting groups of Indians was acquired. Especially ethnographic information by Navy officer C.H. de Goeje deserves mention. During expeditions archaeological finds are occasionally reported. Many Indian objects were collected. This all contributed to an increasing attention for the Surinamese indigenous culture and its past in the first half of the 20th century. Much more ethnographic information can be read from reports and publications following fieldwork and encounters with the Amerindian in this same period. Examples are W. Ahlbrinck and W.E. Roth.

4.2.1 Stichting Surinaams Museum (SSM)

The *Stichting Surinaams Museum* was founded in 1947. A suitable building for their expositions, library and other activities was found in 1954. The most active during the early years were Dr. D.C. Geijskes, a Dutch entomologist and ethnologist who had an international renowned collection of insects and much

ethnographical material on the Trio and Wayana, and Dr. J.H. Ferrier, a teacher and politician. Dirk Geijskes had excavated archaeological material in sand ridges in and around Paramaribo that were brought to light during sand quarrying for the extension of the road system. In 1951 these artifacts were analyzed by Peter R. Goethals, a student of Prof. C. Osgood of Yale University. Later those artifacts were understood as being of the Kwatta and Coriabo Cultures. Goethals also did some excavations in sites near Paramaribo and in the District of Coronie and Marowijne but his report remained unpublished.

When the *Stichting Surinaams Museum* opened the doors of its museum in the *Comewijnestraat* in 1954, little was known and even less published about pre-Columbian times. D.C. Geijskes as first director of the museum tried to remedy this situation. He got his chance when soil scientist Ir. H. Dost discovered an artificial mound, the *Hertenrits*, in coastal Western Suriname. After failing to get professional help from the Netherlands Geijskes began excavations himself in October 1957 (Toebosch 2003, 85; Versteeg 2003). The excavated artifacts and field drawings were catalogued in the museum and the artifacts were numbered. Geijskes report on the excavations was never published. Following excavations, at *Commetewanekreek* and *Onverdacht*, were published soon after the fieldwork. These sites had yielded Coriabo pottery that could be compared to material described by Meggers & Evens (1955). Some Hertenrits findings were discussed in a paper that Geijskes presented at the first *Archaeological Congress of the Lesser Antilles*, in 1961. Geijskes's Hertenrits excavations drew the attention of other scholars. This led to pollen sampling in charge of palynologist Prof. Dr. Thomas van der Hammen and a resulting publication. J. Tacoma (1963) studied human bone from the Hertenrits mound and also from the large *Kwatta Tingihollo* site near Paramaribo. Geijskes's archaeological efforts continued until his depart to the Netherlands in 1965 (Versteeg 2003, 46-50).

4.2.2 Institutionalization of archaeology and ethnology

In 1964 Dr. P. Glazema, the director of the Dutch National Archaeological Survey (ROB) in Amersfoort, visited Suriname to advise on the institutionalization of archaeology and ethnology in Suriname. His visit just lasted 19 days, and was from his personal viewpoint just an orientation on the country, but it resulted in a detailed report and advice. His ideas were intended to preserve the archaeological heritage in the event of ongoing economic and cultural development as well as they focused on archaeological and heritage use value from an economic point of view (Glazema 1964, 3-4). In his report P. Glazema advised the Surinamese Government to set up an Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology. His visit was funded by STICUSA, the foundation for cultural cooperation between Suriname, the Netherlands Antilles and the Netherlands (Glazema 1964, 1; Toebosch 2003, 94; Versteeg 2003, 50). As a result of Glazema's report an Archaeological Institute was founded as part of the Stichting Surinaams Museum (SSM) in 1965 (Versteeg 2003, 50).

During the first half of the 1960s, Geijskes was assisted by Mr. P. Bolwerk. In these years the infrastructure of Suriname expanded considerably. This revealed important archaeological sites. Especially during the construction of airfields, as more often happens within the Caribbean. Apart from *Hertenrits*, Geijskes largest and most excavations were at *Kwatta Tingiholo*, near Paramaribo and *Moengoe-Bushmanhill*. After D.C. Geijskes left Suriname in 1965, his archaeological work was formally continued by P. Bolwerk who left Suriname in 1970. Actually it was continued by forester F.C. Bubberman, often assisted by a geologist J.J. Janssen. These two boards of the SSM found numerous archaeological sites, collected artifacts and considered sites within their ecological context.

In 1970 advisory tasks of Glazema (ROB) were taken over by P.J.R. Modderman, at the time also a professor of prehistoric archaeology at Leiden. STICUSA sent one of his graduate students, E.J.H. Boerstra, to the Netherlands Antilles. Modderman and Boerstra visited Suriname in 1972. Subsequently two

more students from Leiden came to Suriname. Benjamin S. Mitrasingh to write a Master's thesis on the *Kwatta Tingiholo* site and artefacts excavated by Geijskes, and Mrs. B. Heldring to report on Geijskes's *Moengoe-Bushmanhill* material. In 1972 the restored Fort Zeelandia was donated to the SSM. The building at Zorg en Hoop remained available. Here the archaeological laboratory as well as the museum library remained. J. Douglas became the museum's new appointed Director. (Versteeg 1998, 219-221)

As a result of the activities of Douglas, Bubberman, Janssen and Modderman on a decision-making level, supported by political concern of F.E.M. Mitrasing (Boomert, personal communication, February 2012), Minister of Education and Peoples Development in 1972-1973, and financial support from STICUSA, the first professional archaeologist Arie Boomert arrived in 1973 (Boomert, personal communication, February 2012; Versteeg 1998, 221). A. Boomert was confronted with a large number of archaeological material that had not been published adequately. He reported on these collections and did additional field excavations. He presented a paper on Suriname's raised fields at the International Archaeological Caribbean Congress in Guadeloupe and returned to Leiden in 1975 to prepare his Ph.D. thesis. Later on he published several papers about Suriname's archaeology, mostly based on artifacts and information collected by Geijskes, Bubberman and Janssen (Versteeg 1998, 221).

4.3 Archaeology in a new country from 1975 onwards.

After Surinamese independence in 1975, A.H. Versteeg was appointed as the new archaeologist of the SSM. He was paid from the Dutch development funds that came available after the independence. This appointment lasted from 1975 until 1981. Versteeg and Boomert agreed upon their working fields. A. Boomert would publish about the 'old' material. A.H. Versteeg would try to collect new information in the field. Also two assistants were appointed, Mrs. A. Soedhoe and M. Sheombar, and received field training. (Versteeg 1998, 222-223)

During the time at the SSM, Versteeg used results from his fieldwork in several publications. Information on the western Suriname coastal sites was retrieved in twelve months of fieldwork campaigns from 1978 till 1980. After his return to Leiden, Versteeg wrote his Ph.D. dissertation, financed by WOTRO (Dutch Organization for Tropical Research), on the sites of the western Suriname coastal plain, published by the ROB in 1985 (Versteeg 1985; 1998, 225).

At the end of 1980, Versteeg was succeeded by the third archaeologist B.S. Mitrasingh. At the same time the Archaeological Institute became a separate institute as part of the Ministry of Education and Culture. The role of the SSM in archaeology as such almost ended. In the economically difficult 1980's Mitrasingh started a program oriented on education. Together with a physical anthropologist M.R. Khudabux, he excavated the Kwatta Tingiholo site (1983-1986). Part of Khudabux dissertation discusses physical anthropological results of this research (Versteeg 1998, 225). Finally Mitrasingh's concern with archaeology seems to vanish to the background.

After 1981, due to the political instability, Dutch payments from the development funds came to an end. During the political and economic arduous eighties, attention to archaeology diminished. This also counts for the overall heritage concern. The present author couldn't find any significant information related to heritage or archaeological research from this period. The only publication from these years comes from Versteeg. As he writes in 1998, most of the current archaeological data was supplied from fieldwork in the periods 1957-1963 and 1977-1981 (Versteeg 1998, 228). Lack of internal attention concerning the Surinamese cultural heritage lasted almost a decade. Revitalizing of heritage concern started in 1993, as was mentioned in chapter 3.3. This can be interpreted as an effect from the restructuring of society and search for a new government identity. The election of Ronald Venetiaan as the new president in 2000, signaled the start of a new period of intensified political relations between Suriname and the Dutch and renewed multilateral concern and initiatives with regard to the cultural heritage.

4.4 Archaeological work and standards in the 21st century.

At present, after the first twelve years of the 21st century, we still see archaeological initiatives. These initiatives are both more archaeological and on the anthropological level.

In the last ten years A. Versteeg has remained more or less connected to the SSM. He wrote an overview on archaeological work in Suriname, *Suriname Before Columbus*, that was published in 2003 by the SSM, sponsored by the companies: Staatsolie (State oil), Suralco L.L.C. (Surinam Aluminum Company L.L.C.), BHP Billiton (World's largest natural resource company), Self Reliance (Surinamese insurance company) and the Dutch OCW (Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science). Another scientific publication is still forthcoming. This publication is a scientific report about his research on the *Werephai* archaeological site, a site in south-western Suriname, discovered by the Trio Indian Kamanja. After discovery this became a project of the SSM and CIS (Conservation International Suriname). Fieldwork took place in August/September 2005. Within this research Versteeg has been working in close cooperation with Dr. Abelardo E. Sandoval of the Smithsonian Institution. Also the strong support of the Trio indigenous population has to be mentioned. The site revealed a great number of petroglyphs. This discovery increased the amount of known pre-Columbian petroglyphs in Suriname from 192 up to 505. An exhibition on the result of the research is being expected, as well in Paramaribo as Kwamalasumutu. Financial support is provided by the SSM, CI, Smithsonian Institute and BHP Billiton. (Versteeg 2007)

Other archaeological work currently is being undertaken by Dr. Cheryl White. She is an American archaeologist of Jamaican origin. She works especially on the subject of Maroon sites in Suriname and Jamaica. She is a member of the Maroon Heritage Research Project led by Dr. E. Kofi Agorsah, a professional archaeologist from the Volta Region of Ghana. Cheryl White is also looking into possibilities to develop an archeological institute in Suriname. Her special interest on the Maroon from Suriname can be explained by the fact that of all the Maroon

communities throughout the Caribbean and circum-Caribbean, Suriname's Maroon communities are the most uniquely maintained (Abeng Central 2011; White 2010). She presented on the 24th AIAC congress at Martinique that the Maroons from Suriname are considered tribal people under the United Nation convention 169. In 2007 The Inter-America Court of Human Rights (IAHCR) adjudicated that environmental and social impact assessments are to be done prior to the extraction of natural resources in the Maroon territory of Suriname. Being designated tribal means that the Maroon can benefit from UN regulations on tribal people as well as IAHCR proceedings in favor of Maroon management of their socio-cultural identity vis-à-vis traditionally occupied Amazonian territory. S. White explained she tries to implement a strategy to preserve material culture relevant to preservation of Maroon ancestral land and government interest (White 2011, 96).

Related historical, but until now less specific, archaeological fieldwork has been undertaken recently in cooperation with the Dutch Leiden University. Since 1997 four expeditions have been undertaken by the '*Boekoe foundation*' in an effort to retrieve the location of the fortress Boekoe site, a defensive structure of escaped Black African slaves or Maroon. The last expedition took place in august 2011. These expeditions didn't end up in a substantial archaeological excavation yet, but are being expected to continue until this goal is achieved. The project tried to secure participation of the *Anton de Kom University Suriname*, but wasn't able to involve students or personnel in their jungle expeditions. Disadvantage and risk to travel and camp in a tropical swamp environment are considered to be main reasons (Klomp, Pel & Pel 2008; Hoogland, March 2012, personal communication). This can also be concluded reading the interview with Cheryl White by Abeng Central. Physical circumstance are similar for those expeditions.

Finally I will give a broad overview of present research work in the field of cultural and physical anthropology, by archaeologists in relation to Suriname. Most of them are from Leiden University, Faculty of Archaeology and mostly have a western Dutch background. This is likely to be an incomplete overview.

There will be more researchers concerned with Suriname but they are more difficult to track.

Within sight of Leiden University are the following researchers. First to be mentioned is Dr. Renzo S. Duin. His field of interest is especially the deep-time cultural history of the frontier zone of Suriname, French Guiana and Brazil with the contemporary Wayana indigenous people (Duin 2010, personal webpage UF). Since 1996, Dr. Duin has conducted fieldwork among the Wayana in Guiana. Renzo Duin obtained his doctorate at the University of Florida, the United States of America, in 2009 (Duin 2012, archaeology.leiden.edu).

A second scientist, doing Ph.D. research on Suriname at Leiden University, is Jimmy L.J.A. Mans. He elucidates the perishable in pre-colonial Caribbean material culture and investigates mobility within a Trio Amerindian village in Suriname. He is conducting fieldwork in the Guyana's in which material culture is bound up in an Amerindian social framework. Reasoning will start from the ethnographic data, and a dialogue will be created between ethnography, ethno historical sources and scarce archaeological evidence (Mans 2012, archaeology.leiden.edu). Other work performed in cooperation with Leiden National Museum of Ethnology is on the inventory of the museum collection and the *Penard* encyclopedia (see also chapter 3.2). This work is executed under supervision of Dr. Laura N.K. van Broekhoven, Curator of Middle- and South America at this museum and also a researcher lecturer on Amerindian archaeology at Leiden University.

Another Ph.D. of importance is by Anne van Duijvenbode. Her Ph.D. research proposes to investigate aspects of identity among the pre-Columbian and early colonial societies of the circum-Caribbean by analyzing the practice of intentional cranial modification (ICM). This will provide insight into the formation and expression of social identities among the indigenous peoples of the Caribbean and the relations between different circum-Caribbean communities. The Ph.D. project *Facing Society* is funded by the NWO program for Ph.D.s in the Humanities (Van Duijvenbode 2012, archaeology.leiden.edu). This study among other things will

look at skeletal material and cranial modification of the Surinamese Tingiholo collection.

Finally Irene Meulenberg deserves to be mentioned. In her Masters she also spent time doing ethno-archaeological research in Suriname. In 2012 she wrote her thesis named: *Calabashes and bottle gourds from Suriname: A comparative research between Maroons and Amerindians, with a case-study in Konomerume, a Kari'na village* (archaeology.leiden.edu).

4.5 Current archaeological heritage perspective

In this chapter an overview of archaeological work was presented. Within this overview, much work that was done in the first half of the 20th century was touched upon.

The earliest inhabitants were last Ice Age Sipilawini savannah big game hunters, followed by a long period of absence of visible human presence, until coastal mound builders and first European contact. Early archaeological interest from the 19th century preceded ethnographic work at the beginning of the 20th century. This was followed up by first archaeological excavations by Geijskes and others and the museum establishment of the SSM in the late 1940s. With the rise of institutionalized archaeology in the Netherlands, more official interest commenced. The main trigger still was D.C. Geijskes. His important work preludes the archaeological institutionalization in Suriname. Institutionalized archaeology was funded from a Dutch Caribbean foundation STICUSA. After the independence of Suriname in 1975 archaeology was paid by the Surinamese government from postcolonial development fees.

In the early up to middle 1980s the in The Netherlands educated Surinamese B. Mitrasingh is appointed and the post of archaeology moves from the SSM to the Culture Directorate. Shortly hereafter Mitrasingh's attention shifts away from archaeology. In the early 1980s the political system and its legal framework collapses. International financial support comes to an end. With respect to

archaeology the situation remains unchanged. A culture organizational framework and also the division of archaeology only exists on paper within the Cultural Directorate.

From this overview we can see that archaeology in Suriname is very much connected to colonial and post-colonial politics. In 1993 when Suriname is restructuring politics, culture starts to become topic again. The focus during this time is on culture and heritage as a tool in new nation building, exemplified by the nomination of the city center of Paramaribo for enlisting the UNESCO World Heritage List. This project started to attract funding for preservation of Suriname's heritage. The subject already has been discussed in chapter 3. From the year 2000, and the election of Ronald Venetiaan as new president, this process continues and political focus starts to be more on the intangible heritage. The whole UNESCO nominations process in combination with a more stable political climate leads to a boost in cultural perception and intensified cooperation between Suriname and the Dutch, especially in the field of common heritage between the countries but also within an Atlantic and Caribbean context. On many fields of cultural experience and development, revitalizing and discussion takes place.

When we look at archaeology we have to conclude that the subject almost receives no significant attention, at least not from the administration. There is no budget available. This situation is in the first place a result of the choices the government makes within its political goals and international cooperation. Scarce finances are in the first place invested in intangible heritage like creative arts and industry: music, literature, theater, modern arts; national celebrations; *Carifesta* (Caribbean festival) and also on UNESCO nominations. Within these projects the government has to overcome serious financial but also organizational problems like finding a proper legal framework. At the same time there is emerging consensus within one of the organizations concerned with conservation of built cultural heritage, the SGES (see chapter 3.5). Implementing archaeology is mentioned in their consultation draft of the World Heritage Site Paramaribo. Regrettably the SGES doesn't have legal executive power. They have to share their task with the administration that is not capable enough to take responsibility.

As well as for responsibilities on preserving the built heritage are not clear, there also is no consensus on the organizational structure of archaeology. Individuals who want to do research in Suriname have to notify the Culture Directorate. The official archaeological chair also resides at the Culture Directorate but is unfilled.

At the same time the director of the museum Fort Zeelandia (SSM, an independent trust since 2007), Laddy van Putten, outlines his view on the field of archaeology. He works in close connection with former official archaeologist A. Versteeg who lives in Holland and until recent was still appointed to the SSM. From their publications it can be noticed that they know how to manage funding. They make use of financial sponsoring by big multinationals that are exploiting natural resources in Suriname. Examples are: ALCOA-SURALCO L.L.C., BHP Billiton and SuriOil, strong market leaders that all propagate sustainability and social responsibility. These organizations advertise with supporting projects of safety, health care, environment and communities within their exploitation area. This funding of the SSM will cost these companies relatively little compared to the profits they make. The SSM approach needs research at a time of developing new legislation for heritage management. It creates more perspective on sustainable national development, especially with respect to heritage of the indigenous people of Suriname.

4.6 Conclusion on Cultural Heritage Management and efforts in the field of archaeology in Suriname

When we look at the overall archaeological work in Suriname, we can conclude that current initiatives take place. Although there have been very critical moments, especially at times of political instability, research did never totally stop. Concern with the subject is, and has been most of the time, initiated by individuals that in some occasions or because of certain fate came into contact with the Surinamese indigenous culture and its archaeological record. Those people, in times already relatively far behind us, were mostly well educated and

socio-culturally interested. They came from outside the field of archaeology and had diverse professional backgrounds. Because of the colonial ties between the Guyana's and Europe, the Dutch and the Surinamese, most of them received their education in Holland and carried out their profession in Suriname. When the profession of archaeology emerged, also people educated within the field of archaeology set foot on shore. At present the professional archaeologist not only comes from Holland or Europe. They are also educated within the US and have a Caribbean or South-American background, take part in projects concerned with people from African origin or native to the America's. The present question is: Where is the archaeologist with a primary Surinamese background? The few that took initiative seem to have been discouraged. A young generation of archaeologists, still from abroad, sees the potential of the country and the subject of archaeology. They do their research partly funded by their universities. Most of them are self funded. They are eager and motivated for taking initiatives to re-institutionalize archaeology within Suriname.

With respect to the research questions we can draw the following conclusions:

1. *How does Suriname at present deal with the subject of Cultural Heritage Management?*

A closer look into policy making of the Surinamese government in the period 2006-2011 and a re-evaluation of research by E. van Maanen and bilateral cooperation regarding the Surinamese cultural heritage and Dutch Surinamese mutual heritage provides insights into the question of how Suriname at present deals with Cultural Heritage Management.

From the retrieved information it can be concluded that Surinamese policy in the first place focuses on economic progress and the establishment of stronger cultural bonds between its citizens. The intention focuses on the intangible cultural industry: tourism, music production, expressive arts and literature. At the

same time also the tangible heritage provides a feeling of a national bond and is used to attract tourism for economic progress.

The influence that UNESCO World Heritage listing of Paramaribo has on finances and management can be seen in the reorganization of the administration. This needs to become more effective.

2. *What is the present position of archaeology in Suriname?*

The conclusion of this research is that archaeology does not get sufficient official attention. An awareness of its relevance within Cultural Heritage Management still exists. This is clear from the fact that the department still exists as a name on paper within the organization chart of the Culture Directorate.

There also is awareness about importance of giving researchers access to the country but the government does not give research an active role in achieving progress for its inhabitants. There is no sufficient understanding of how archaeological research could be used for peoples cultural benefit. Archaeology is not a priority due to limited finances.

3. *What could be the future of Cultural Heritage Management and archaeology in Suriname?*

Archaeology still has international and national relevance. From the fact that there is research going we can conclude that archaeology in Suriname has a future. This future cannot be realized without participation and awareness of its benefits within Surinamese society.

Many important questions remain for representatives of the Surinamese people, the government of Suriname. Where is the legal framework? Who takes responsibility for institutionalizing Surinamese archaeology? There is no consensus in Suriname about the relevance of the profession and its field of concern. How can relevancy within society be experienced when application of

the profession does not appear within the physical landscape that makes up Surinamese perception? In the mean time vital scientific information disappears in the process of economic development. What is the developmental trajectory that the government follows with regard to experiencing people's diversity, creating national identity, giving time depth to the country's natural and cultural existence while ignoring certain peoples and the physical landscape's past? Isn't Surinamese identity not just its past process of construction and its right of self determination within the framework of its present territorial borders? What do the Surinamese people teach their children about Surinamese diversity? Exploitation is for the present, sustainability for the future. In the first place it is all about finding the best way of managing. The intention of the last chapter is to provide some recommendations in finding a strategy.

5 Continuation of archaeology within Surinamese heritage management

What could be the future of Cultural Heritage Management and archaeology in Suriname?

5.1 Recommendation with respect to politics and archaeological research in Suriname

The government

With respect to the political agenda Some targets for present day government can be formulated.

To do right to the future of its citizens, the government could create more possibility of choice. This would create the space for people in Suriname to take part in multifarious discourse on the field of defining concepts about their own society and its construct. This means: reflecting, constructing past, restructuring present, managing and planning the future.

This can be achieved by offering possibilities for experiencing own history and pre-history, especially within education. The experience of the country's diversity is already being made possible by many initiatives on the field of cultural perception, especially: feasting, music, oral transfer, drama, religion, etc. Public awareness of creation of the present day shared landscape can't be optimal as long as insights on its construct are not offered in education. This because knowledge isn't a static matter but a matter in evolution. Education doesn't just mean that the construct is being taught by means of books. It also has to be made visible by experience and study versus research. The only way to do this is, by bringing the past and the practice of research within physical experience. Because the research on written sources just can give some vision on the past, also in Suriname the science of archaeology should be made use of . This particular

science creates opportunities to learn to know or understand the past of the common person, indigenous people and of people that preceded in more ancient times.

In practice this means the government needs to:

1. give archaeology a place into cultural heritage legislation with respect to its protection and preservation;
2. give archaeological heritage management a functioning legal framework with respect to execution;
3. define standards within heritage legislation for societal feedback of archaeological research;
4. orientate on financial possibilities and execute legislation for persistent fundraising to ensure long term research investment.

These principals can be realized within the already existing heritage framework. The government has to manage or facilitate archaeological work by task distribution and cooperation between the SSM, Culture Directorate section Archaeology and the SGES. Within these it has to be defined who is responsible for planning and executing archaeological work, advisory work, fund-raising and preservation or archiving of an archaeological collection.

The researchers

To ensure a healthy scientific discourse, the archaeological and anthropological researchers should be more aware of their societal responsibilities. Their focus should not only be on the research but also on the establishment of their science within society. The awareness of benefits and relevance of their work makes it possible to uphold their scientific presence. A healthy scientific discourse can only exist in close relation to the polychromatic society that is finally its own subject matter.

To ensure awareness, of necessity and quality of its work, the archaeological research in Suriname should:

1. increase its efforts on the field of public archaeology;

With respect to Suriname, important gain can be made from establishment of historic archaeology in relation to the UNESCO World Heritage Site, the inner city of Paramaribo. Other archaeology within the more populated areas could also concentrate on the archaeology of former plantations. Besides obtaining extra knowledge about daily life in historic times this creates more possibility to inform ordinary people and especially the young generation about importance of archaeology. Main goal should be to bring the profession within Surinamese young peoples' perception.

With respect to the indigenous Amerindian and Maroon populations, feedback already occurs within their societies. To bridge the gap between Amerindian past, especially pre-Columbian past, and mutual colonial past, first awareness of archaeological significance has to be established. Especially the Amerindian pre-Columbian past is significant to give more time depth to regional connectedness of the Surinamese landscape with respect to the rest of the Caribbean. Surinamese politics and their efforts, do point in the direction of integration within the regional context.

2. from the last point of view, the presence of archaeological Amerindian sites within the confines of close populated areas be seized for their public function and applied in campaigns of extracurricular peoples education;
3. strong multilateral funding should be established to embraced archaeology in the Caribbean region and Suriname. This by virtue of its ability to provide time depth to human existence and reconstructing awareness of being, within plural complex post-colonial societies;
4. ensure a healthy scientific discourse by means of archaeological debate with scientists from diverse cultural and educational backgrounds and their subject matter, to be said "*the common person*";
5. couple back the results of findings to Surinamese society;
6. be aware that periods of less visible archaeological deposits doesn't represent less interesting human behavior. In the case of Suriname within the Caribbean region

this means that there is still an enormous deficit in knowledge about a very long period of time, especially between 5000 and 2000 B.C.. Research needs to trace more information about regional connectedness and movements of populations through time, following a more landscape oriented approach. . The recent Werephai findings (5000 – 4200 B.P.) are proof that there is good possibility to encounter more evidence about this long unknown period.

For so far these recommendations. More insights into proper execution should be the result of future research. In this future research the contribution and practicing of archaeological research in the region will be theme of most importance. Very thorough comparative research on this subject will benefit legislation design.

Abstract

This thesis is written as an orientation on heritage management and archaeology in Suriname. To be able to draw conclusions on this subject, the discussion first is on theoretical insights about heritage management. The theoretical discussion emphasizes the western scholar perspective in heritage management as well as archaeology. This western progressivist evolutionary perspective also has its consequences for policymaking in Suriname. Decisions from the past are of influence in the present. As a result UNESCO World Heritage enlisting of the Paramaribo city centre has led to many initiatives on the level of cultural perception but also is basic to a quite heavy financial and organizational responsibility for Surinamese society. Further heritage policy making must take notion of the existing commitments but also needs orientation on what fits the market economy of the country. Both building a sense of national consciousness and responsibility for the countries vulnerable Indigenous inhabitants and their culture should be taken care of within future policy making.

From the before mentioned point of view archaeology and heritage management opens new possibilities. Revitalization of archaeology within Suriname could lead to an awareness of the processes that created present day society and give greater time depth to human presence in Suriname. It has the ability to set Surinamese history stronger within the regions communal past and to create mutual understanding. To emphasize the possibilities of the discipline there should be looked at better implementation of archaeology within existing management frameworks. Also should be undertaken a better societal advertisement of archaeological work. This can only be reached by making archaeology more public within the country. In this manner valuable archaeological information will be spared and cultural perception will increase.

Samenvatting

De voor U liggende scriptie is geschreven als oriëntatie op de rol van archeologie in erfgoedmanagement te Suriname. Om antwoord te kunnen geven op de vraag wat de rol van archeologie in Suriname is en zou kunnen zijn, wordt in eerste instantie gekeken naar hedendaagse erfgoed theorie. Hierin komt naar voren dat erfgoedbeleid in het algemeen, ook in Suriname, sterk geworteld is in de westerse academische denkcultuur. Wat betreft Suriname zal bij het nader ontwerpen van beleid gekeken moeten worden welke strategie het best past bij land, inwoners met een zeer diverse culturele achtergrond, financiële middelen plus sociaal en organisatorisch vermogen. Het ontwerpen van nieuw beleid zal moeten aansluiten op lopende internationale verplichtingen. Het Wereld Erfgoed, de binnenstad van Paramaribo, trekt in dit opzicht een zware wissel op de relatief kleine financiële markt. De bijschrijving van Paramaribo op de Wereld Erfgoed Lijst heeft tot op heden wel geleid tot veel nieuwe initiatieven op het gebied van cultureel erfgoed en haar beleving. Het resulteerde alleen niet in een versterking van de positie van archeologie in Suriname. Het vakgebied is nooit helemaal weggeweest in het land. Initiatieven worden, zo blijkt, tot op heden met name genomen door geïnteresseerde personen van buiten Suriname die op eniger wijze met het Surinaamse verleden in aanraking komen. Surinamers van geboorte, lijken echter minder geïnteresseerd.

Beleidsmakers in Suriname spreken de wens uit identiteitsgevoel van het land en haar inwoners te willen versterken. Het beoefenen van archeologie kan daartoe bijdragen. Het is een tak binnen erfgoed management die ook binnen een kleinschalige economie mogelijkheden geeft. Een aandachtstoename lijkt zowel voor het nationaal bewustzijn als de wetenschap perspectief te bieden. Archeologie kan meer tijdsdiepte geven aan verleden van het land. Het biedt aanknopingspunten in regionaal opzicht. Het voorkomt dat verleden van inheemse groepen wordt buitengesloten en vergroot culturele belevingswaarde binnen Suriname. Om dit te realiseren is beter inkaderen binnen bestaande organisatorische structuren noodzakelijk. Voor archeologen en beleidsmakers lijkt

het een taak het vakgebied duidelijker onder het voetlicht te brengen van de Surinaamse bevolking. Dit ondermeer door een betere maatschappelijke terugkoppeling.

List of abbreviations

AWAD	The Atlantic World And the Dutch
CARICOM	Caribbean Community
CI	Conservation International
CIE	Centrum Internationale Erfgoed Activiteiten (Center for International Heritage Activities)
CSNR	Central Suriname Nature Reserve
GCE	Gemeenschappelijk Cultureel Erfgoed
HGIS-C	Homogene Groep voor Internationale Samenwerking
IACHR	Inter-America Court of Human Rights
ICM	Intentional Cranial Modification
KITT	Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen Tropenmuseum
MINOV	Ministerie van Onderwijs en Volksontwikkeling
MOP	Meerjarig Ontwikkelings Plan
NiNsee	Nationaal instituut Nederlands slavernijverleden en erfenis
NWO	Nederlandse organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek
OCW	Dutch Ministry of Education Culture and Science (Onderwijs Cultuur en Wetenschap)
ROB	Rijksdienst Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek
SGES	Stichting Gebouwd Erfgoed Suriname
STICUSA	Stichting voor Culturele Samenwerking
SSM	Stichting Surinaams Museum
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WOTRO	Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek voor de Tropen (Dutch Organization for Scientific Tropical Research)

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