

The Penard Manuscript

**A preliminary study into the unfinished encyclopedia of the
Caribbean, and its potential to the archaeology of
Suriname and the Caribbean**

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1. Introduction

In the last few years, a couple of boxes were discovered in the depot of the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden. The boxes that were found in 2010 contained a total of 7600 lemma's, or notebook pages. Other boxes that were found earlier in 2002 contained different notebooks and sheets of paper containing various numbers of drawings, and over 80 newspapers from the early 20th century mainly from Suriname. All the contents of the boxes came from the Penard brothers, these four brothers were born, and two of them were raised, in Suriname, the former colony of the Netherlands in South America (Jara van Arkel 2006, 6). These four brothers conducted both zoological and ethnographic research in Suriname and donated different collections to various different Museums in Leiden and around the world. These latest discoveries are just another part of their legacy to the scientific world.

The manuscript that was found was meant as a “psychological study, an alphabetical description of the social system and worship, an encyclopedia of the Caribbean” (Jara and van Arkel 2006, 1, author's translation). According to the brothers this manuscript describes the cosmovision and Shamanic ways and secrets of the Kari'na, an Amerindian group which live in the coastal area of Suriname and who belong to the Carib language family. The manuscript was written down in what the brothers believed to be the original and universal alphabet, the alphabet from which all the other alphabets in the world could be deduced. The manuscript was intended to be published as an encyclopedia (Jara and van Arkel 2006, 8, 11; Penard and Penard 1908, 83). The National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden now plans to conduct research on the Manuscript of the brothers, since they did not live long enough to publish it themselves. The Museum made the choice to contact the Kari'na before conducting their research, for two reasons. One is that the manuscript contains shamanistic knowledge or myths, legends, drawings and the translations of these from the Kari'na language to Dutch. Before publishing everything the Museum wants to come to an agreement about which of the contents can be published and which not. The second reason is to investigate if the information the brothers gathered needs to be reinterpreted or updated. The result of this decision made by the Museum is that, for now, the manuscript is under a scientific embargo and no research can be done into the content of it.

1.1 Research questions

For the reasons mentioned earlier, and to provide the basis of future research on the contents of the Manuscript, I will focus my research on the context in which the Manuscript was created and what its significance is to the archaeology of Suriname and the potential for the whole of the Caribbean. This because with the manuscript we should be able to translate the meaning of the drawings that were found in the boxes in the archives of the Museum. These drawings depict various figures, patterns, animals, plants, and tools. The drawings also appear on the ceramics and other material culture of the Kari'na. Together these drawings and the manuscript will enable translations of the depictions on the material culture of the Kari'na (Jara and van Arkel 2006, 13). This research is meant as a preliminary research, for my research I will use different books and articles that have been published by the brothers themselves, and their colleagues. I will also refer to a stack of newspapers which the brothers collected, and in which many, otherwise unpublished, work can be found. Lastly I will use the correspondence between the brothers Penard, and between the brothers and their colleagues, which are preserved in the Ethnology Museum and the KITLV, the Royal institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies. In my thesis I refer to the newspapers and letters by the numbers I gave them while conducting my research, these numbers will be enclosed in the bibliography. Some questions were raised after the discovery of the manuscript, mainly about the context in which it was written and the accuracy of the information in the manuscript. Due to these questions I formulated my main research question and my sub research questions.

My main research question is:

- How was the Penard manuscript created? And what is the importance of the manuscript to the Pre-Columbian and Colonial archaeology of Suriname?

My sub-questions are:

- What do we know of the Kari'na in the early 20th century?
- Why did the brothers Penard make the manuscript?
- How did the brothers get in contact with the Kari'na?
- What do we know of the nature of the meetings between the Kari'na and the brothers Penard?

- What is the importance of the manuscript in terms of interpreting and understanding the archaeological artifacts of Suriname?
- What is the importance of this manuscript for the archaeology of Suriname and the Caribbean in general?

My main focus in this thesis will be on the research area of Suriname although there are wider implications for the study of Caribbean Amerindian archaeology in general.

Archaeological research on the Islands of the Caribbean has revealed that there were close and regular contacts between the South American mainland and the islands in pre-Colombian and protohistoric times (Hofman *et al.* 2007, 243). The archaeological research has revealed evidence for migrations from the mainland into the Islands and dense networks of mobility exchange (Boomert 1999, 56; Hofman *et al.* 2007, 247- 258; Wilson 2007, 38). Since the first settlers of the Caribbean came from South America, a better understanding of the Archaeology and social organization of the Amerindians in South America will yield valuable information for the understanding of the archaeology and social organization of the Caribbean (Boomert 1999, 55). Moreover, the impact of European colonization on the islands meant that on most islands the original indigenous population was driven to extinction. Ethnographic analogy with contemporary and historical Amerindian peoples on the mainland can provide information which aids archaeological interpretation of past beliefs and practices. So by getting a better understanding of the cosmovision and iconographic culture of the Kari'na Amerindians, we can get a better understanding of the cosmovision and iconographic culture of the Caribbean Amerindians. More explicitly in terms of material culture, the appropriateness of the analogy is illustrated by the evidence for the parallel development of early historic Island Carib pottery on the Lesser Antilles, and pottery made by the Kari'na, which developed out of the same tradition. For example the manufacturing, vessel morphology and decorative patterns of the early historic island Carib ceramic complex the Kalinago pottery tradition, clearly suggests that it developed parallel to the Kari'na ceramic tradition of the Guiana's (Boomert 2011, 657).

2. Methodology and theoretical approach

For the Penard manuscript to be useful to archaeologists of Suriname and the Caribbean, the manuscript needs to be placed in the historical, social and intellectual context of its production. Methodologically, this research entailed the extensive study of largely unpublished and archived material such as newspaper articles and the personal correspondence of the Penard brothers.

2.1 Archival research and the direct historical approach

I first came to work with the Penard manuscript when I started working at the Museum of Ethnology in Leiden. The manuscript had been found a couple of months earlier and multiple students had been working on the transcription of the manuscript. I was one of these students, and after working on the transcription I got the opportunity to do my bachelor thesis on the subject of the manuscript, and its potential for archaeology. For my research I had an extensive body of sources, from newspaper publications to personal correspondence of the Penard brothers, which I had to organize and work out. These sources are archived in two places, namely the Ethnology Museum of Leiden and the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies. Organizing my data took me multiple weeks to succeed and even then I had not worked out the whole body of information, but only the pieces that were the most important for this thesis, from which the most frequently used letters are included in this thesis in the appendix. This body of written historical information is used to reconstruct the context of the manuscript.

From a theoretical perspective I follow the direct historical approach, it involves the elementary logic of working from the known to the unknown. With the direct historical approach sequences are being made from the historical period back in time to the prehistoric cultures (Steward 1942, 337). Another definition is that the direct historical approach relies on ethnographic work that can be linked culturally, geographically and/or temporally to archaeological sites under investigation (Stahl 1994, 181). A problem that arises when combining the direct historical approach with ethnological work is that the ethnologist looks at present day societies, while the archaeologist looks at the past, which creates a gap between the two study areas (Steward 1942, 338). In my opinion, combining ethnological work with archaeological

information can be very useful in making correct analogies about the transformation of practices and traditions over the years. This because archaeological information provides (multiple) reference points from the past, while ethnographic work provides the reference point from the present. Both can be used to make an analogy from pre-Colombian times till present. From this perspective the manuscript has a potential for the interpretation of the archaeology of the Amerindians of Suriname, especially for the Kari'na which are still present in Suriname today. The most likely conclusion that will follow from this preliminary research into the Penard manuscript is, that further research should be conducted in corporation with the Kari'na to verify the reliability of the manuscript and to document the ways in which traditions, practices and beliefs have changed over time since the manuscript was composed. This information can be used to theorize and make analogies about the traditions and practices of the Kari'na from pre-colonial times till the present day societies.

Interest in the Amerindian archaeology of Suriname did not really start until the 20th century. Before the 20th century, research mainly focused on artifacts presumably from private collections of early colonists, such as Amerindian stone tools. In the 20th century research flourished mainly because of the desire of the Dutch government to map the boundaries and the yet undiscovered areas of Suriname. This research consisted of ethnographic and linguistic studies of the Amerindians, and a restricted number of articles were written about the material culture of the Amerindians (Versteeg 2003, 41-46).

My research into the Penard manuscript will mainly focus on its value for the archaeology of Suriname, for example if and how the drawings and the manuscript combined can help us get a better understanding of the iconographic culture of Kari'na. Therefore the next section focuses on the problems and opportunities in iconographic studies in archaeological research in Suriname. Studies of Amerindian iconography of Suriname, and more generally in the Caribbean, focus on several categories of material culture. These are the petroglyphs (rock art), and decorations on ceramics, calabashes and bottle gourds. The last two categories, although generally not found in the archaeological record have been collected through ethno archaeological research in the past. The presence of calabashes and bottle gourds on archaeological sites has been proven by research of other scientific fields like biology (Meulenberg 2011, 1).

2.2 Potential methodological and theoretical advances in understanding material culture and iconography

Petroglyphs, images which have been cut or ground into rock, have been found throughout Meso- and South America and the Caribbean and have been an area of interest throughout the centuries (Dubelaar 1986, 12, 13, 15; Versteeg 2003, 195). Interpreting these Petroglyphs has been a precarious topic in the literature, and several aspects have to be taken into consideration. For instance, what does one mean by “interpreting” the petroglyphs? There are different levels of interpreting, one is that the researcher recognizes the figures that are on the rocks. The second is that the researcher understands that the figure might have had a symbolic meaning for the artist and his community. And thirdly is that the activity of making these petroglyphs might have been a ritualistic event for the community (Dubelaar 1986, 48).

The study into the petroglyphs of Suriname by C.H. Dubelaar has shown that the petroglyphs in Suriname are probably made in the Pre-Colombian period. But more interesting is that his investigation has shown that the distribution of Petroglyphs is mainly concentrated in the basins of the Corantijn and the Marowijne River. Most petroglyphs are found at the bank of rivers or creeks, only in recent years have petroglyphs been found in a cave (Versteeg 2003, 198,199,201).

Despite research on the distribution of the petroglyphs in Suriname, this does not bring the interpretation or the meaning of the petroglyphs themselves much closer. The problems with interpreting the meaning of the petroglyphs is, that it is unknown which culture made the petroglyphs, and contemporaneous Amerindians do not know who created them and do not know their meaning. Some cultures ascribe mythical meanings or explanations to the petroglyphs and some see them as sacred places, but other than that they cannot tell more about the petroglyphs themselves (Dubelaar 1986, 53-58; Versteeg 2003, 197,198).

Some petroglyph sites can be linked to each other, and overall there are three different kinds of motifs that can be differentiated. These are the geometric forms, the human forms and the animal forms (Versteeg 2003, 200). Using the drawings and the manuscript that were found in the Penard collection, it may be possible to shed some light on the petroglyphs. It may be possible to interpret the petroglyphs and distinguish which belong to the Kari’na. It can also help to put them in a timeframe, and it can

possibly shed some light on the Petroglyphs found in other Amerindian groups belonging to the Carib language family.

Almost the same problems that are found with the Petroglyphs apply to the investigation of style and decoration on three important categories of Amerindian material culture; ceramics, calabashes and gourds (Meulenberg 2011, 2). There are three ceramic traditions in Suriname, the Saladoid, the Barrancoid and the Arauquinoid ceramic traditions. These traditions can be divided into different cultures. From these three traditions the most common in Suriname is the Arauquinoid ceramic tradition (Versteeg 2003, 79). But the meanings of the decorations of the ceramic traditions are unknown. The only certainty is that the decorations must have carried a great amount of social and symbolic meaning to the Amerindians due to their persistence and conservatism through time, and over great distances, extending into the Caribbean Islands themselves (Versteeg 2003, 78). For this reason investigation of the Penard manuscript, which documents and describes Kari'na iconography in detail, is potentially important for the understanding of the archaeology of the whole of the Caribbean. Historical and archival research on the context of the manuscript is the first step towards this goal.

3. The Kari'na from past to present

The term Kari'na has different meanings and can therefore indicate different things. On the one hand it indicates all the Carib language family speaking Amerindian communities of South America. On the other hand it means “humans” and refers to a specific ethnic group of Amerindians in Suriname which call themselves the Kari'na (Ahlbrinck 1931, 191). In this chapter I will shed some light on the Kari'na Amerindians of Suriname. I explain where and how they lived and still live today, their social structure, and I will address their beliefs and religion at the beginning of the 20th century. This chapter will be a historical sketch of the Kari'na at the time of the Penard research in order to sketch the context in which the Penard manuscript was made.

3.1 The Kari'na

3.1.1 Geography and the Kari'na villages

The Kari'na live on the Northern coast of South- America, and they are mainly distributed in the three coastlands of the Guyana's (French Guyana, British Guyana and “Dutch Guyana” more commonly known as Suriname). The greater numbers reside in French Guyana and Suriname (Ahlbrinck 1931, 192). In Suriname the Kari'na live in the lowland regions, between the Coppename – and Marowijne Rivers, in the Para-district. According to Ahlbrinck the Kari'na are related to the Amerindians of the Highlands such as the Trio Amerindians and the Oyana's, although these Amerindians do not come down to the lowlands (Ahlbrinck 1931, 192). Nowadays the Kari'na live in Bernharddorp and Lelydorp, which are basically suburbs of Paramaribo, in the east two villages are found at the mouth of the Maroni River namely Langamankondre and Christiaankondre, these two villages are more commonly referred to as Galibi. The most western Kari'na villages are those of Cornelisdorp and Donderskamp, these are found along the Coppename and Wayambo Rivers (fig 1.) (Carlin 2009, 11).



Fig. 1 Map of Suriname showing the Kari'na villages highlighted in purple (after Carlin 2009, 4).

The Kari'na have an economy mainly based upon hunting, fishing, gathering and some cultivate small fields for their crops. Due to this lifestyle the Kari'na live in villages up to 50 people, if the villages become any larger than this, the strain on nature will be too big and it will become exhausted (Carlin 2009, 12; Penard and Penard 1907, 97). In the past when the Kari'na exhausted their surroundings, they picked up their belongings and looked for a new place for their villages. These places were chosen for various different reasons and various aspects had to be taken in consideration for the location of a village. One of the reasons was the accessibility of different kinds of clay the Kari'na need to fabricate their pottery. In Suriname the clay was found near the Savanna region, this was the reason why many Kari'na villages were found near the Savanna. Another explanation for the placement of Kari'na villages in open places is, that this was a tactic which survived from their past, when the Kari'na were at war with other Indian tribes. In wartime villages were strategically placed in open places, because this meant that the enemy could not sneak up on the village (Penard and Penard 1907, 97-98). Other aspects the Kari'na had to keep in consideration were the different seasons of the year and the direction of the wind. The villages were placed near creeks which were connected to the big rivers, because most of these creeks will over flow in the raining season the villages and crop fields were not placed too close to it. Villages were also located on the east side of the plains, this was because most of the time the wind blows

to the west and when fields had to be burned to make place for their crop fields, this would insure that their hut's would not catch fire (Penard and Penard 1907, 98).

Nowadays most of the Kari'na own outboard motors for their boats, so they are able to travel further giving them more options for the placement of their crop fields, but they are still restricted by the price of fuel (Carlin 2009, 12).

In the past the huts were not placed in a specific pattern, but were mainly scattered over the plain. The Kari'na had different kinds of huts, the *Okto* and the *Soera*. The *Okto* was a small rectangular hut. The Roof of the *Okto* would be constructed first, and was made out of multiple banana leaves which were bound together with liana. Then three or four large poles were dug into the ground, which were connected with each other with rafters and which supported the ridge of the roof. Four other poles were dug into the ground which would support the side panels of the roof. The length of these side panels differed from hut to hut. A hut could have had all sides open or it could have had the roof panels going down till the ground (fig.2) (Penard and Penard 1907, 98-99).

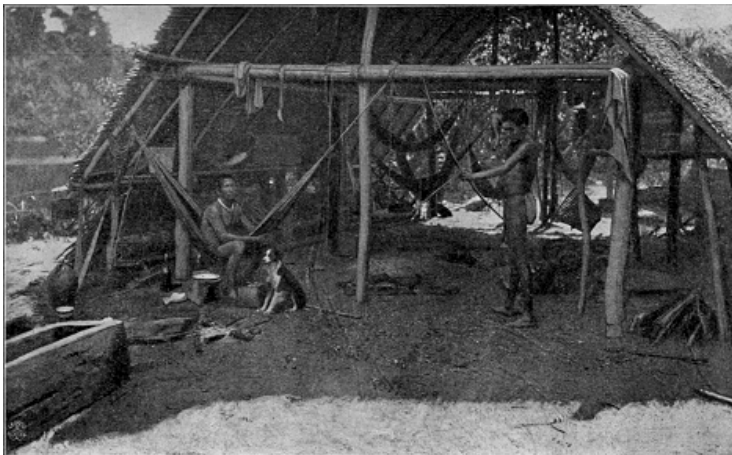


Fig.2 A Kari'na hut (Penard and Penard 1907, 99).

In the constructing of the hut the Kari'na did not use nails or any other material except for liana, to keep everything together. The second kind of hut, the *Soera*, had a circular roof and was divided by a floor covered with palm leaves into two levels. The second level of the *Soera* was usually covered on all sides by the roof, while the ground floor of the *Soera* was completely open. The *Soera*'s were mainly built in areas where the Amerindians suffered from floods, but they also had a protective measure against Jaguars, during war, or against enemy Amerindians. In the villages there were usually

separate huts for the visitors and for the Puyai of the village. There are also big open huts, built for celebrations and gatherings, these types of huts were being built until the beginning of the 20th century (Penard and Penard 1907, 100).

The material culture of the Amerindians consisted of different ceramic vessels, hammocks, baskets, tools for hunting and stone grinding tools. From the amount of hammocks hanging in a hut, you could determine how many people were living in the hut. There would always be a fire burning in the hut to keep out the mosquitos. The Amerindians keep different kinds of pets such as dogs, which could be trained for hunting dogs, and parrots (Penard and Penard 1907, 101).

Nowadays the houses of the Kari'na are residences consisting of a minimum of two adjacent structures; one is a kitchen or workplace and may be open or closed at the sides. The other structure is for sleeping and storage purposes. The roofs of the buildings could be thatched, but are more likely made out of corrugated iron, since thatched roofs require a higher degree of craftsmanship and need to be replaced every few years (Carlin 2009, 12). When you travel closer to Paramaribo, more houses will be made out of concrete, and will resemble houses that are found in the city. Also the material culture found in the houses have changed, even in the more traditionally villages the furnishings are more like that in Paramaribo. Due to a existing infrastructure in the coastal area with the capital and other distribution centers, the costs of transport are cheaper. Hammocks in the coastal area nowadays are also merely used for resting, rather than sleeping at night. The further one travels to the south, the less modern furnishings will be found, due to a lack of infrastructure (Carlin 2009, 12).

3.1.2 The People

According to the Penard brothers the Kari'na were a silent folk, they did not talk much, unless drunk. When the Kari'na were in a group they had one spokesperson who would answer any questions. And when the Kari'na were asked a question they would first tell the answer to the group before they would tell it to the person who asked the question. The reason for this was that the Kari'na belief that he who listens learns, but he who talks much gives away his knowledge (Penard and Penard 1907, 80-81). The brothers saw the Kari'na as a society who would speak the truth when they were asked short and understandable questions. But the Penard brothers also remarked that the Kari'na were

not completely trustworthy either, could forget about promises made. And the Kari'na considered cons and betrayal, not as crimes, when they were used upon an enemy (Penard and Penard 1907, 81). The Kari'na dreamed and thought in symbolic ways, and compared humans with animals and nature, this belief system is more commonly known among anthropologists as animism (Bird-David *et al.* 1999, S67). This was probably one of the reasons that the first Europeans that met with the Amerindians, thought so low of them, because they did not understand the symbolic meanings and took everything literally (Penard and Penard 1907, 85).

3.2 The social structure of the Kari'na

Amerindian Captains were appointed by the Governor of Suriname to integrate the villages' societies into the national state. Their job was on one hand to act as liaison officers between the governor and the inhabitants of the villages, and on the other they were responsible for the law and order in their villages, nowadays the villages leaders are united in the Association of Indigenous Village Leaders (VIDS). Sometimes the Captains had a second role as a priest or a doctor in the village (Carlin 2009, 14; Kloos 1971, 179). Captains could choose their own successors, which had to be appointed by the Governor. In the old days before someone would be chosen as the Captain he had to endure some hardships to make sure he had what it takes to become a Captain. In this ceremony the Captains' successor would be whipped, and bitten by ants. After that he would be placed on a *barbakot*, the original version of a BBQ, covered with leaves with a fire underneath, he had to stay up there until he fainted. Then the other men sprinkled water on this face to bring him back to consciousness, afterwards they beat him eight or nine times. Then he would be placed in a hammock to rest. This ceremony was conducted two or three times, before he was considered to be a Captain. If the Captain had a wife, she would also be beaten. After the ceremony the Captain would be considered a respectable counselor, but even though he had the rank of Captain he would always be beneath the Puyai, because the Puyai had the power of the Snake spirit (Penard and Penard 1907, 89-91).

3.2.1 The role of the men

Kari'na men have a couple of chores in the village. They have a shared responsibility with the women for clearing out a patch of land that can be used as a crop field. The

task of the men is to cut down the trees and the women will clear the field of the bushes. The plots should preferably be slightly elevated to prevent the manioc roots from rotting. Not all trees can or will be cut down by the men, these trees are thought to have a special meaning in the belief of the Amerindians, the best known example of a tree like this is the *kumaka*. Another responsibility of the men is hunting and fishing, so that the family will have food in the evening, to keep his hunting and fishing tools in good condition and to make canoes (Carlin 2009, 12; Mols 1915, nr. 53; Penard and Penard 1907, 108). Nowadays many Amerindians move to Paramaribo for work, since the job opportunities in the villages are slim (Carlin 2009, 13, 14).

3.2.2 The role of women

The women in the village had very little rights, they were seen as the slaves of the men. The women could only talk to other men, in the presence of her husband or in the presence of family (Penard and Penard 1907, 153). The workload in the village was not evenly divided between the women and the men, nowadays this is more even. If the man was not away for fishing or for hunting they would stay in their hammocks and did not do much for the rest of the day, nowadays many have daytime jobs. Most of the other work fell into the hands of the women. They were the ones who cleaned the house, fetched the water and firewood. The ones who prepared and cooked all the food, replenished the stock when it was almost empty, nursed the children, helped with the preparation of the crops fields. Women also removed the small bushes before the men cut down the trees, after which the fields can be burned. The women attend to the fields and harvest them when the crops are ripe. The women were the ones who made the baskets, the hammocks, who would spin the cotton, and make the ceramic vessels. The women also make sure that the fire will burn all through the night (Carlin 2009, 12; Kloos 1971, 113; Mols 1915, nr. 53; Penard and Penard 1907, 109; Im Thurn 1883, 216).

Women can never be the head of the village or community, this is a position that is only attributed to the men. When a chief dies his wife can take his place, but only within the family, not as a chief of the whole village (Penard and Penard 1907, 154). The men are the representatives when it comes to dealing with the outside world, while the women are the ones who deal with the family matters such as marriage and choosing to accept the son in law. Just as with the Arawaks, descent only takes place through the

female line. The reason for this is that you can always be certain who the mother of a child is, but not who the father is (Mols 1915, nr. 52; In Thurm 1883, 185). The succession of a chief is heredity through the men of the female line, so only from the brother of mother's side, or a son of the sister. It is a general belief among the Amerindians that the flesh of an Amerindian comes from his mother, but his mind, his soul, so to speak, comes from the father. The Amerindians believe that a king or chief only has the power to control the body but not the mind. And since the body comes from the mother, the power to rule will focus mainly on the woman (Mols 1915, nr. 52). So even though the family goes through a female line, the women do not gain any power from this, since they only give birth to the body (Mols 1915, nr. 52).

3.3 The Kari'na cosmivision

The Kari'na had an animistic view to the world around them, as stated earlier animism is the belief where you dream and think in symbolic ways, and compare humans with animals and nature (Bird-David *et al.* 1999, S67). The Penard brothers saw the Kari'na as a true nature folk, a society who lived in harmony with the natural world around them, a society who used symbolical naturalistic expressions. For example: "*zijne beenen gelijken die van een Tokoko*" which means, that one has legs that looks like those of a *Tokoko*, which is a kind of Flamingo. Roughness of the body was seen as a resemblance with animals, that's the reason why Amerindians would pull out the hair on their face. In contrary to Europeans, the Kari'na believed that their dreams were real (de Goeje 1929, 276; Penard and Penard 1907, 79, 83).

Although the Kari'na still retained much of their animistic complex spiritual society today, such as rituals and offerings, it is not clear to me in which extend they overlap with the beliefs and myths that I describe in this subchapter (Carlin 2009, 15; Kloos 1971, 228-229). Therefore most of this subchapter about the beliefs and myths of the Kari'na will be written in the past tense, since I could not be sure if the Kari'na today still believe in the examples I give.

3.3.1 Gods, spirits and deities

The Kari'na believe in multiple gods, spirits and deities. Everything on this earth that has a name has a spirit, according to the Penard brothers these spirits exists in different ranks, the *yana*, *yumu*, *tamulu* and *Tamusi*. The first rank was the *yana*, this is the

individual spirit. The spirit that ranks above the *yana* was the *yumu*, which can be translated as father, and which was also used when an Amerindian spoke about his father. The *yumu* was the father of a group of individual spirits, so it was the father of a group *yana*. Above the *yumu* existed the *tamulu* which was the creating grandfather, and which was the father of a group of *yumu*. Above the *tamulu* was one step left, this was the god which goes by the name of *Tamusi*. *Tamusi* was the great grandfather of all the grandfathers; he was one of the first born twins. With this system it was also possible that the *yumu* or *yana* of one specie was actually the *tamulu* of the other (Carlin 2009, 15; KITLV letter 3 p.2, 1928; KITLV letter 36, attachment 8).

In the *Takini* tree, lived the *takini-akele*, these were metaphysical images of the good and evil spirits of the different kind of animals which lived in the *Takini* tree. The Amerindians believed that when someone did something bad they were under the influence of the bad spirits and when they did something good, they were under the influence of the good spirits. When the person continued doing bad things, he made the evil spirit his *akele*, his metaphysical image, and it would stay in him. But when such a person took on a good habit, it would take that spirit and make it his own good *akele*. When a bad person died, he came back in the next life as a tiger or a deer, and when a good person died he came back as a person (KITLV letter 36, attachment 6; KITLV letter 40, 1937). Nowadays the conceptions of life and death of the Kari'na and other Amerindian groups have been influenced by missionaries. That is why nowadays multiple conceptions about the hereafter exist. According to Kloos the traditional beliefs about life and death are probably not believed anymore, if even remembered (Kloos 1971, 151,152).

Tamusi was the first born of the first born twins, he was the god of the sun. *Tamusi* was the god who created everything in his factory, according to the Kari'na all human beings were creations of one and the same thought. *Tamusi's* younger twin was *Jolokan*, which stands for the older, and was the god of the moon. *Amana* was the virgin without a belly bottom, the symbolic mother of *Tamusi*, and at the same time his wife. *Jolokan's* wife was the opposite, darker side, of *Tamusi's* wife, just as *Jolokan* was the darker side of *Tamusi*. *Amana* was also composed of the wives of *Tamusi* and *Jolokan*, who were thus united in the one mother being. And through her were the souls of all the people, and the whole universe created. The good souls came from *Tamusi* and the

bad souls from *Jolokan*. The Kari'na believed that humans, time, and the creation were all one. *Amana* was seen as the personalized eternity, symbolically she was seen as the snake who shed its skin (de Goeje 1929, 279; KITLV letter 36, attachment 1, attachment 2, attachment 4; KITLV letter 40).

3.3.2 The myth of origin and life's circle

When the brothers conducted their research the Kari'na believed in the resurrection of the deceased, they believed that while the living will die the dead come back to life. The Kari'na philosophers spoke in three different times, the past, the present and the future. According to the Penard brothers the end of the life cycle would be at the beginning of a new one. According to the Kari'na *Tamusi* created the lifecycle, he started off the spiral with little circles which will become larger and larger until they reached the half of the spiral, and then they would decline in size again. This spiral was bent to form a circle, and so the ending of the circle of life ended, where the beginning started. Just as the snake that continually shed its skin. The only thing was, that the start and end of the spiral were opposite of each other (KITLV letter 36, attachment 4; Mols 1915, nr. 50). I think this carried the symbolic meaning of the opposites, of life (the beginning) versus death (the ending). Both of these came together in the same area, and are dependent on each other. The one does not go without the other.

The Kari'na had different accounts of how the people on this earth were created. In the myths at the beginning of the 20th century all the people of the earth were created by *Tamusi* in his big factory, at first came the white people, then the black people, then he created the perfect people, the Amerindians, after the Amerindians the other kind of people were made. A second myth of origin is that the people are descendents of a Puyai who survived a flood with his whole family and all the animals of the world because he made a big canoe (Penard and Penard 1908, nr. 75; Penard and Penard 1909, nr. 85). Another account, which I believe is one from the earlier days, before the influences of the colonial times, was the legend where the Kari'na were made out of worms which came out of the rotting bodies of two dead snakes. I believe that this was one of the earlier legends, because this legend was also known and told by the Arawaks. According to them the Arawaks were created first and then the Caribs were made out of worms (Penard and Penard 1909, nr. 67).

3.3.3 The Puyai

The Puyai was the priest and doctor of the Kari'na in Suriname. The oldest of all the Puyai's in a village was also the chief and counselor. The Puyai was the one who fought against death and destruction, and was often consulted about diseases, a practice which continuous today (Carlin 2009, 15; Kloos 1971, 209). The Puyai often defended the village against changes and against the European way of living. He was seen as the second *Tamusi*, and had to be the suffering leader. He was the example of courage and sacrifice (Penard 1928, 40). Nowadays the role and the number of Puyais has been greatly reduced and most villages have their own policlinic with a medical staff. Puyais can still be found in the coastal area, but not every village has a Puyai anymore, and although still well respected the Puyai is merely consulted for small ailments and other problems (Carlin 2009, 14, 15). The philosophy and ethics of the Kari'na were connected with the visions of the Puyai. The question about the philosophy of the Amerindians is which came first? Did the philosophy of the Amerindians, their thinking and observing experience, lead them to believe that everything around them lives in harmony and everywhere there are similarities? Or did the Amerindians first observe the harmony and similarities around them, and from this their philosophy developed? According to the writer of this article, the answer probably lay closer to the second than the first, that it was more likely that the Amerindians came to their knowledge through the more instinctive way. As old and "impure" observations got mixed with logical thinking, and that from this their philosophy was deducted (de Goeje 1929, 278-279; Penard 1928, 625). The Puyai language was not one which could be learned, this because it was the heavenly language, a language that cannot be spoken but only thought, and only someone who had been initiated to become a Puyai would understand it. Therefore you could take the words of a Puyai literally, but you had to find the real, deeper, meaning of it yourself (Mols 1915, nr. 51).

3.3.3.1. The different kinds of Puyai

Among the Kari'na there were four different kinds of Puyais. There was the born Puyai, this was the Puyai who could connect with the spirits without having to artificially activate this state. The other three were the less gifted Puyais, they had to take different kinds of things to activate their state of trance, in which they could mediate with the spirits. There was the *tamu-pujai* who had to take tobacco water in order to get in a

trancelike state. Then there was the *takini-puyai*, who had to drink sap from the *takini* tree. And then there was the *pomui-puyai*, who had to drink pepper porridge. All the different kinds of Puyai have their own set of spirits to which they connected. These spirits did not resemble each other, nor did they speak the same language. The *pomui-puyai's* were the Puyais who did the most evil. Puyais could have more than one Puyai role, for instance to learn to be a *takini*- and a tobacco -Puyai (de Goeje 1929, 285; KITLV letter 39; Penard 1928, 625, 627).

3.3.3.2 The initiation, becoming a Puyai

During the duration of the course to become a Puyai, the abstinence of food and such, would give a Puyai his power. At the end of the training the Puyai would have a complete power over his feelings and emotions and he would not fear death anymore (de Goeje 1929, 285).

Before the Puyai students could begin their study, they had to plant their own tobacco plants, and wait until these were fully grown so they could be smoked. The students also made a hut, covered with palm leaves in which their studies took place, this hut was called a *tapui*. The students also had to make their own Puyai-rattle, a two meter long magic cane, made out of reed, and they also had to braid their own ant belts and ant mats. The Puyai would appoint the same number of virgins as there were students, to paint them with sipio-juice. When there were not enough girls, the Puyai had to arrange for a couple of married women to help, but these had to sleep separately from their husbands for the duration of the course. These women also helped with the manufacturing of ceramics needed for the course. They were under the supervision of one or more mistresses, depending on the number of women that were needed to help (KITLV letter 38, 1937; Penard 1928, 627-628).

The students of the Puyai had to be locked up in the *tapui* for 24 days and nights. Their time there was divided into three days study periods, called *tokai*. During these study periods they had to sing and dance the whole night and then they could rest during the day in their hammock. The students had to dance in a circle with their canes and rattles in their hands. After every song they had to sit down on a bench, smoke tobacco and listen to the Puyai telling about the spirits. Also did the students have to drink tobacco water, which they would vomit out again, after which they took

even more tobacco water. The students were allowed to take a few sips of a sweet brew called *kasiri*, which is beer made out of cassava. After one *tokai* an *otalemamo* followed, which was a period of rest. During the *otalemamo* the students sat on a bench with pepper porridge in their eyes, listening to the Puyai as he talked about the good and the bad spirits. Students were permitted to sleep at night, but they had to be awake during the day. The students could not eat nor go outside during the duration of the *tokai* ceremonies, and only ate some cassava bread during the *otalemamo*. The women made sure that everything needed in the *tapui* was there; all the ceramic vessels, calabash spoons, other utensils needed at the ceremonies and the Puyai -drinks. All these objects had to be new, since used ones were not pure anymore. The women also had to wash the students before they went to sleep (Penard 1928, 629-633).

During the second study period, the second *tokai*, the students had to transform into different animals, like the Jaguar and the Bat. Also did they have to perform different tasks in which they would succeed with the help of the good spirits. They had to walk over their hammocks without falling and they had to walk over ceramic plates without breaking them. If a student fell or broke a dish then the bad spirits were teasing him, according to the Puyai. After these ordeals the students had to take some powerful tobacco porridge, after which they would go into the realm of the spirits. There they would be guided by a king vulture-*tamusi* who would lead them past the spiral staircase to the heavenly fields, where they would encounter the primal beings of all the animals, objects and all other living things on this planet. In other words they had arrived on the cross-roads. Here the guide of the students told them about how the humans would live, how they were judged, how they were purified, and how they gained entrance to the residence of *Tamusi* (de Goeje 1929, 284; Penard 1928,644-46).

During the second night of the third *tokai* the students had to dance in the fire while singing songs. And during the second night of the fourth *tokai*, the students had to climb into a Puyai cage hanging from the roof of the *tapui*, after which the fellow students spun it around. This way the student got into a trancelike state and when he got out, he had to fire an arrow at a moving string attached at one of the crossbeams of the hut. The students had two tries, if he failed both of them, he would not become a good Puyai. At the third night of the fourth *tokai* the students had to dance and sing on the crossbeams of the *tapui* with their canes. The Idea behind this was, that they were

protected by the *tamulu* (grandfather) of the canes, so they could not fall of the beams. The remaining *tokai's* did not differ much from the first, the only difference was the songs the students sang, and the melody they played with their rattle's (Penard 1928, 654-655).

At the end of the course, the *tapui* was opened and the students had to stay there for a few more days while they learned some more songs from the Puyai. They now had to ability to move around, but if they walked outside they had to carry their cane with them. During these days the students got real stones from the Puyai for their rattles. If they lost these stones, they could get sick or die. During these days in the open *tapui* the students had to take tobacco pills and eat tobacco powder, to make sure the tobacco spirit stayed in them. Also were they rolled up in hammocks with the virgins that helped them during the course, these hammocks were invested with biting ants. The Puyai did this to make his students capable of getting married again, the Puyai thought that otherwise the students could not get along safely with the woman anymore. At the end of the course a big party was set up for the students to complete the initiation for becoming a Puyai (Penard 1928, 659-665).

The initiation for becoming a takini-puyai was somewhat different than for becoming a tobacco-puyai, the two could be done after each other and before the final ceremony. To become a takini-puyai the students had to drink *takini* juice and lay down in their hammocks. Then they got the *takini* fever which would last till the end of the course. During these three days the students would lay shivering in their hammocks, while the Puyai would call upon the good spirits and at the same time teach the students the right songs they needed to know to become a takini-puyai (Penard 1928, 656)

3.4 The present

Nowadays the Kari'na have lost some of their traditional culture, this partly due to the integration of the villages into the national state, this loss differs depending on the region you are in. The coastal Amerindians have adapted the most, since the coastal region has been developed more intense then regions lying more inland. The language of the Kari'na has been classified as an immediately endangered language which is only spoken by certain people, this classification is based upon whether or not the original

language is still transmitted to the younger generation (Carlin 2009, 15). In certain places however, a positive affect can be seen nowadays due to the rise of tourism, which is the revival of cultural traditions such as arts and crafts. And the more public display of ceremonies and rituals still performed by the Kari'na (Carlin 2009, 14).

At the beginning of the 20th century when the Penard brothers were researching the Kari'na, the Kari'na had already suffered from the western influences. The hunters, who could afford it, would bring guns on the hunt instead of bow and arrow, and most of the cooking was being done with metal utensils (Penard and Penard 1907, 95-97). Not only had the daily lives of the Amerindians already been influenced, but also the myths and beliefs of the Amerindians. Certain aspects of the western world were added to the myths, as is shown in one of the myths about the creation of the races, where the god *Tamusi* made the people of the world in his factory. First he made the white people, then the black people and at last the Amerindians (Penard and Penard 1908, 85). The Kari'na could not have known about these other ethnicities until the colonial times, therefore it is uncertain if this myth is an old myth with new features incorporated into it, or a new myth created after the colonization of Suriname. Another good example for this is another myth of creation I mentioned earlier in this chapter, namely the myth of the Puyai who saved his family and all the animals in a big canoe from a flood. This myth resembles the Christian story about the arch of Noah, the main difference is that the Caribbean version had a bit more commonsense in it. In the Caribbean version the Puyai took three of every animal with him, so he had enough food for the meat eating animals (Penard and Penard 1909, nr. 75). The Kari'na adapted their myths with modern features or even created new myths to explain the world around them and to interpret their history. Understanding how the Kari'na responded and adapted to changes in their world, and understanding the extend of these adaptations (did they only altered their oral tradition or did they also adapted new features in their material culture?) can help us understand how they might have adapted to other events in the past which had an impact on their lives. And therefore, knowing how they adapt to world changing events can be helpful to explain certain transformation in their material culture in the past.

3.5 The material culture of the Kari'na

When talking about the material culture of the Kari'na, the bigger part of it will be composed out of perishable materials. So the archaeological remains that are found at excavations will contain mostly the ceramics and other non perishable artifacts. That is why in this subchapter I will give a short introduction into the ceramics tradition of the Kari'na, since this belongs to one of the more important aspects of their archaeological record.

In the mid 19th century the interest in the collection of Amerindian ceramics grew, most of these collections were displayed in large and smaller Museums in Europe and the colonies themselves (Collomb 2003, 3). The collections that were gathered throughout the Guiana's from different moments in the history of the colonies present a great body of information on the different stages of Kari'na ceramics, comprising almost 150 years of knowledge (Collomb 2003, 3). These collections however can give an unrealistic view of ceramic use by the Kari'na, since they are based upon the interests of the collectors at the time and often do not include domestic ceramics used by the Kari'na (Collomb 2003, 3, 4).

The Kari'na use the same ceramic technique that is used more frequently by other Amerindian groups as well, slabs of clay are molded in the right form and are tempered by ash and wood. Ethnologists have not been able to identify culturally specific techniques for ceramic production. One reason is that there is not enough ethnological information about the production techniques of other Amerindian groups in the Guiana's to draw comparisons (Collomb 2003, 4, 5). Early ethnologists have found domestically used Kari'na style ceramics throughout the Guiana's and similar style ceramics were on the Lesser Antilles when the first European settlers arrived. The Kari'na ceramic style showed a uniform style with some regional variation, depending on the ceramist who made it. From the second half of the 19th century the ceramists show a greater amount of creativity in their ceramic style, due to a growing demand on the market by the colonizers (Collomb 2003, 5, 6). The decoration of Kari'na ceramics are drawings and protruding elements on the ceramics, the drawings of the Kari'na are made out of fine lines curving all over the ceramics aligned with dots. There are no strict rules for the decorative drawings on the ceramics, but still they remain the same for over almost two centuries (Collomb 2003, 11).

The late-prehistoric ancestral ceramic complex from which not only the Kari'na but parallel the early historic Island Carib ceramic complex developed is known as the Koriabo complex (Boomert 2011, 657). The Koriabo complex is an offshoot of the Koriaban subseries of the Guiana's, and forms a part of the Polychrome Traditions or Marajoariod series of Amazonia (Boomert 2011, 657). Since these two traditions have the same ceramic origin, and it is believed that the first Island Caribs came from the Guiana coastal zone (Boomert 2011, 657). We possess a good reference body for further research to see how similar groups who had a similar ceramic complex adapted and developed in different environments.

To summarize, the Kari'na are an Amerindian group who mainly live in the coastal area of Suriname. Their subsistence is based on hunting, gathering, fishing, agriculture and nowadays jobs in the bigger cities. The Kari'na had and partially still have a complex animistic spiritual society, which has adopted western aspects into their belief system after the arrival of the colonizers. The archaeological record of the Kari'na mostly exists out of ceramic and other non-perishable artifacts which make up a small part of their material culture. Since the Kari'na have a shared origin of their ceramic complex with the early historic Island Caribs, we should be able to gain valuable knowledge about how similar societies with a similar material culture adapt to different environments. And because we possess the origin and the final stage of the Kari'na ceramic tradition, we should be able to reconstruct how the ceramic tradition has changes over the years.

In my next chapter I will make an overview of the different publications the Penard brothers produced, while working on the Penard manuscript. This in order to reconstruct the context in which the Penard manuscript was written.

4. The Penard brothers a biography

There are four Penard brothers Frederick, Thomas, Arthur and William. All four of the brothers participated in the construction of the Penard manuscript, some more than the others. In this chapter I will shed some light on the background of the Penard family, to gain a better understanding of dynamics between the brothers. Also will I present the publications of two of the brothers, Frederick and Arthur, because Frederick and Arthur were the main contributors of the manuscript and had most contact with the Kari'na. I will present these publications from a biographic perspective, starting with their earliest publications.

4.1 The family history

The Penard brothers are the offspring of a prosperous merchant of French descent, Frederick Paul Penard senior. The Penard family arrived in Suriname in the 17th century together with other Protestant families, as they themselves were almost certainly also from Protestant descent (Haverschmidt 1949, 56). The most likely reason why they fled from France to Holland was because of religious intolerance in France. From Holland the Family went to Suriname, where they erected multiple Plantations, most of which were already deserted in the early 20th century (Haverschmidt 1949, 56; Jara and van Arkel 2006, 7).

The first three brothers were born between 1876 and 1880, with an interval of two years between them, the date of birth of the fourth brother is unknown. When the oldest brother, Frederick Paul, also referred to as "Frits", was nine years old he was diagnosed with Hansen's disease, more commonly known as leprosy. The same terrible fate awaited the third brother, Arthur Phillip, at the age of eleven, when he was also diagnosed suffering from Hansen's disease. Because of this disease the two brothers spent much of their time in isolation at their parent's house in the Koenawa-Soela suburb of Paramaribo (Haverschmidt 1949, 56; Jara and van Arkel 2006, 7; KITLV letter 4, 1928). Due to this isolation the brothers had a lot of spare time, and not a busy social life. This left enough time for the brothers to learn and conduct research. The boys were self-taught, and according to their mother, who wrote a letter after the demise of Frederick, Frederick also taught his younger brother Arthur (Salomons 1909 in Haverschmidt 1949, 56, 57; Jara and van Arkel 2006, 7).

The other two brothers were sent to America, the second son Thomas went at the age of 13 years old. At first he became an engineer with the Edison Company at Arlington, eventually he became Professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (Haverschmidt 1949, 58; Onze West 1909, nr. 38). Thomas had the same interest in ornithology, folklore and the Caribbean language as his brothers Frederick and Arthur. He published a couple of renowned papers about the avifauna of Suriname, and was in the possession of a large collection of bird skins from Suriname, collected for him by his younger brother Arthur (Haverschmidt 1949, 58, 59). He became involved in the composition of the Manuscript in the very beginning of the 20th century. In the beginning of the composition of the manuscript he helped with the transcription and processing of the information his brothers sent him from Suriname. This and more about his role in the manuscript is clarified due to the vast amount of letters that were sent between the three brothers. Little is known about the fourth brother, only that he will eventually return to Suriname to play in a music event (Suriname 1920, nr. 40). He got involved in the production of the manuscript at a later stage, but otherwise did not have a significant role in the production of the manuscript.

4.2 The scientific contribution of the Penard brothers, an overview

Frederick and Arthur Penard were two self-taught scientists who made great scientific contributions to the better understanding of the avifauna and the folklore of Suriname. They performed the better part of their research from their house in Suriname, with the help of the indigenous people, and other hunters and fisherman, who collected the material for their research and provided the information for them. They started their first big collection at the end of the 19th century, this collection contained bird skins and eggs from Suriname. It took well over ten years to bring together the whole of their collection, which they stored at their house in Paramaribo. From this collection they donated a small part to the British Museum in 1902, and a large part of well over 14000 eggs, more than 250 bird species and around 500 butterflies to the Royal Museum of Natural History in Leiden (Haverschmidt 1949, 57; Onze West 1908, nr. 34).

One of the first major publications the Penard started working on was "*De vogels van Guyana*" (the birds of Guyana). This book was based on the information they gathered from their collection, the local informants who helped them putting the

collection together, as well as other renowned ornithologists such as Mr. Sclater and Mr. Nehrkorn (Haverschmidt 1949, 57). They gathered their information in a similar fashion a few years earlier, in 1906, when they published "*Grepen uit de natuurkunde der Suriname*" (Snapshots from the natural sciences of Suriname) which were about the nature division in Suriname (de Surinamer 1906, nr. 5). The first volume of "*De vogels van Guyana*" was published in 1908. The second volume was sent to Holland, in combination with the donation of the eggs and bird skins, because the Penard family did not have the money to publish it themselves. Mr. Jentink of the Royal Natural History Museum in Leiden co-operated with Mr. Büttikofer, director of the Zoo at Rotterdam, to get sufficient funds for the publication of this second volume. Eventually they succeeded and it was published in 1910 (Haverschmidt 1949, 58). One of the main criticisms of these two volumes is not so much about the contents, but about it being published in only one language. Both volumes were only published in Dutch, this to the discontent of English speaking colleagues (The Daily Argosy 1910, nr. 24).

Due to the research into the birds of the Guyana, the Penard brothers had intensive contact with the indigenous people of Suriname. And because of this, they also had the opportunity to gain inside knowledge about the indigenous people themselves. This resulted in the publication of their first big work which was the "*De menschetende aanbidders der zonnelang*" (the man-eating worshippers of the Sun snake) volume one in 1907. This book describes the psychology, folklore and customs of the Amerindian tribe the Kari'na of Suriname (Haverschmidt 1949, 58; Onze West 1907, nr. 27). This first volume triggered a vast amount of criticism, one of these critics wrote a reaction in the National Newspaper "de Surinamer". In his reaction he said that the brothers rushed to get the volume published, that it was incomplete, and that there was a good amount of negligence in the reliability of the information (de Surinamer 1907, nr. 4). A week later the brothers reacted in the same newspaper, saying that sometimes they relied on Christian theological theories due to all the accounts of animism they encountered (Penard and Penard 1907, nr. 25). One year after the publication of volume one, they published volumes two and three in one bundle. In the preface of the second volume, they state that the first volume was mainly a descriptive work, full of superficial descriptions of the Kari'na that they took over from other writers at the time. In the second volume they try to show a different view of the kari'na, a view not tampered by

the racial bias, the European colonizers had towards Amerindian people. Travelers, writers, and missionaries at the time described the Amerindians as lazy, superstitious and arrogant (Penard and Penard 1908, I). In the second volume they used information they gathered during their own research and contact with the Kari'na (Penard and Penard 1908, I). This second and third volume also endured criticism, but less than the first volume. Arthur Penard published an article in 1917 called "*het onbegrepen geloof*" (the misunderstood belief), which is an extra explanation of the three volumes published in 1907/1908 (de Goeje 1929, 275; de Surinamer 1917, nr. 14). In volume three of the "*De menschetende aanbidders der zonnenslang*" the brothers explained one of their main theories, that of the universal alphabet otherwise referred to as Neo Sophia, which is not the same as Neo Sophism, the interpretation of the world through language. According to the Neo Sophism humans interact with the world through an interpretive frame work of an ambiguous language. That no language framework is universal and/or neutral, and that we have no access to the truth of things (Hassett 1995, 378). Neo Sophia on the other hand is seen as the universal framework of all the languages, and that the language of the Caribbean, from which the Neo Sophia alphabet is derived, is the wild but true language of forest (Penard and Penard 1908, V). The scientific world at the time, criticized the theory heavily and in later publications the brothers did not refer to it again. More about Neo Sophia and the theories behind it will be explained in subchapter 5.2. At first the Penard brothers did not intent to conduct research into Kari'na. One of the main reasons the brothers started their research on the Kari'na, was due to the superficial way in which the Kari'na were described in the literature at the time (Penard and Penard 1907, VII).

Between December 1908 and April 1909 the brothers published multiple articles in the national newspaper, de Surinamer. In these articles they explained the myths and legends of the Kari'na. A critical note has to be taken with these articles, due to newspaper editorial decisions to leave out information they considered more appropriate in scientific newspapers. The editors did this, because they had to take into account the mindset of their readers (de Surinamer 1908, nr. 88). In 1909 the brothers received a silver museum medal from the Colonial Museum in Haarlem, for the contribution the brothers made to the fields of Nature and Folklore, under difficult conditions (de Surinaamsche bode 1909, nr. 32). In September 1909 the oldest brother,

Frederick Penard, died from the consequence of his disease. Arthur continued to work in the field of Nature and Folklore together with his older brother Thomas, from now on referred to as "the Penard brothers". Between 1912 and 1914 Arthur collected another 2000 bird skins for Thomas, the collection was viewed as one of the most comprehensive collections ever made of avifauna of lowland Suriname (Haverschmidt 1949, 58). In 1912 the brothers published an article in *"Bijdrage tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië"* (contributions to Language, Land, and Folklore of the Dutch Indies) called *"bijgeloof in Suriname"* (superstition in Suriname) (de Surinamer 1912, nr. 12). In 1917 the brothers published an article about the popular notions of stone tools in Suriname, in this article the Penard brothers explained about the power the stones posses, according to the Amerindian and Maroon population of Suriname (Penard and Penard 1917, 252-255). Another article they published was about 80 oral histories (spider stories) they collected from the descendants of the slaves (Maroon) brought from Africa to Suriname. These articles were published in the journals of American Folklore. Since not all the spider stories were published, other researchers hoped that the brothers would still be able to do this, so that eventually, one book could be made containing a wide range of these stories (De West 1917, nr. 18).

In the 1920's the brothers worked on a whole range of publications. Between the years 1925 and 1927 they published in a weekly newspaper from Paramaribo. In this newspaper they published articles about birth, upbringing and festivities of the Kari'na. They also publish 31 articles about the Caribbean Puyai (Medicine man), and the initiation rites to become a Puyai. After these articles, one Puyai talked to Arthur about the initiation rites and explained them to him in further detail. From these conversations Arthur published an article in *"Bijdrage tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië"* in 1928 titled *"Het Pujai geheim der Surinaamsche Caraïben"* (The Puyai secret of the Surinamese Caribbean). In this article he explains everything from Puyai initiation, to medical treatments, the dreams of a Puyai and the mythical signs (de Goeje 1929, 275). This article was deemed to be of great scientific value by colleague and editor C.H. de Goeje. In a letter of Mr. de Goeje to the Royal institute of Language, Land, and Folklore he wrote:

"N.b.m. is het van zeer groot belang voor de wetenschap. Er was nog bijna niets van bekend, vóór Penard zijn artikelen in de Periskoop begon. En over enkele tientallen jaren

zal het Puyai-wezen wel verdwenen zijn zoodat uitstel, totaal verlies kan worden.” (KITLV Letter 2, 1928).

When translated it says, that the article is of great scientific value, because it gives an insight in the role of the Puyai. An insight in a subject of which little was known before Arthur published this article. An insight in a subject which could be forgotten within a decade, were it not written down. Therefore this was seen as important research into cultural heritage which was already threatened at the time (KITLV letter 2, 1928).

Besides these articles about the Puyai, the Penards published over 60 riddles of descendants from the African slaves living in Suriname (not to be mistaken with the “spider stories”) in 1926 (Penard and Penard 1926, 411). That same year they published an article about bird-catching in Suriname and an article about four songs from the Amerindian tribes of the Arawaks (Penard and Penard 1926, 545; Penard and Penard 1926, 497). In 1927 they published on the influence the Europeans had on the language of the Arawaks, and in 1929 they published on popular beliefs attached to certain places (Penard and Penard 1927, 165; Penard and Penard 1929, 17). Arthur Penard died on 13 September 1932 (KITLV letter 19, 1932).

In short, during their lives the Penard brothers (first Frederick and Arthur, later Arthur and Thomas) published a great amount of information on their different research interests. As naturalists, they published about the animals and birds of Suriname and as early ethnographers they published valuable information about the Kari’na, information that was unknown before. During their different researches they worked closely together with the local and indigenous population of Suriname, with whom they managed to collect large amounts of data for their collections. Throughout their research they had a deep respect for their informants, as is clarified in one of their earlier publications and will be further discussed in subchapter 5.1.

While doing all this research on various topics, simultaneously they were working on one other major publication. Frederick and Arthur Penard started this research from the time they got in contact with the Amerindians while conducting research for the publications of *“De vogels van Guyana”* (the birds of Guyana) and *“De menschetende aanbidders der zonnelang”* (the man-eating worshippers of the Sun snake). This research would have been their most extensive publication if the brothers had the chance to finish it in time before the death of both Frederick and Arthur Penard.

This Last publication was supposed to become an encyclopedia of the Kari'na, in which the language, myths and legends of the Kari'na were written down. This last publication is more commonly known as the Penard Manuscript, and will also be referred to as such in my next chapter. This next chapter will be about the Penard Manuscript, how it was written, how it is composed, and what its potential value is for the archaeology of Suriname.

5. The Penard Manuscript, the Encyclopedia of the Karaïben

The Penard Manuscript is the more commonly used name for the last major publication of the Penard brothers. This last publication was supposed to become an encyclopedia of the Karaïben, but due to the early demise of the brothers it was never published. As I explained in chapter three, the terminology in the 1920's was rather confusing because the term Kari'na had different meanings, the same confusion applies for the term "Karaïben". Which literally means the Caribbean, but which also refers to the Carib speaking Amerindians in general. The Penard brothers called their manuscript the Encyclopedia of the Karaïben, but in the various sources (letters, newspapers etc.) they only refer to the Kari'na. Therefore it is my belief that, although the Penard brothers named the manuscript the Encyclopedia of the Karaïben, it is predominantly based on information derived from the Kari'na which belong to the Carib language family. The Penard manuscript consists of 7600 lemmas, which are arranged in alphabetical order, explained later on in this chapter, and describe the social system and the religious rituals of the Amerindian society of Suriname, the Kari'na. Furthermore an additional 22 files mostly containing drawings from local informants and notes from two of the brothers, Fredrick and Arthur Penard, about the cosmology of the Amerindians (Jara and van Arkel 2006, 6). One of the things that made the manuscript special at the time is the amount of information that the brothers gathered about the Amerindians. And according to Arthur Penard, it would be a long time before anyone else would spend such a vast amount of time and work on a pastime project like the manuscript (Letter 9, 1909). The truth is that 22 years later another encyclopedia was published. This encyclopedia was published by the missionary Willem Ahlbrinck and had a different design than the manuscript of the Penard brothers. Ahlbrinck's encyclopedia will be further discussed in subchapter 5.3.

This chapter will be divided into two sections; firstly (subchapters 5.1 +5.2) about how this Manuscript has come about. How the brothers came in contact with the Kari'na, and the nature of the contact between the brothers and the Kari'na and why the brothers made the manuscript. The second section (subchapter 5.3) concerns the potential of this manuscript for the archaeology of Suriname and the whole of the Caribbean in general. Also it discusses the potential of the manuscript for a better

understanding of archaeological artifacts from Suriname and Amerindian material culture in general. Subchapter 5.4 will be about a similar encyclopedia published in the 1930's and what makes it different from the one the Penard brothers wrote.

5.1 The First meeting, and the relationship with the Kari'na

According to the Penard brothers, the first contact between the Amerindians and the brothers took place on Queens day in Paramaribo. On this day a large group of Amerindians from all over Suriname, came down to Paramaribo to celebrate the birthday of the Queen. The brothers then asked the Amerindians to come to their house in groups to examine the prepped bird skins which the brothers had collected, and tell them what their names were in their native language. The brothers conducted their research in this manner for years to come, every time their Amerindian informants were in Paramaribo they would visit the brothers at their house. Later on in their research the brothers handed drawing books to the Amerindians, which they could take back to their villages. When the Amerindians got back to Paramaribo they would explain the various drawings to the brothers in extensive detail (Jara and van Arkel 2006, 8; Letter 55, 1909).

Because of the intensive contact the brothers had with the Amerindians due to their research, the brothers were able to gain inside knowledge about the lives and beliefs of the Amerindians in Suriname. According to the brothers there are two major reasons why the brothers could maintain such intensive contact with the Amerindians and furthermore how they gained their trust so that the Amerindians would share their tribal secrets with the brothers. One of them is that the brothers had a different approach in studying the Amerindians. Instead of telling the Amerindians what they thought was right, instead of showing them the "right" way to live, like the missionaries did. The brothers let the Amerindians teach them about their ways, their beliefs, and the brothers did not make a mockery of what the Amerindians told them, as was a common belief among the 'civilized' people at the time (Penard and Penard 1908, I, II, IV). These methods are very similar to the participatory observation methods used by anthropologists today, indicating that the Penard brothers research methods were ahead of their time. The second reason, which according to the brothers was the most important reason the Amerindians trusted the brothers, was because not only were they brothers, but they both also suffered from Hansen's disease. Therefore the Amerindians

saw them as the twin sons of the Snake spirit, the Snake spirit is a spirit that appears in many myths in Meso- and South America, and is a very important spirit for the Kari'na (Penard and Penard 1908, 64). The Amerindians did not fear contracting Hansen's disease either, since they were deemed to be immune to the disease by the doctors at the time (Letter 6 attachment 1, 1909; Penard and Penard 1907, 92, 93). Diseases play a major role in the beliefs of the Kari'na, and are often a rite de passage (rite of passage), in order to gain "special" knowledge. According to the Kari'na delirium and hallucinations as a result from fever, are the moments in which the soul enters the spirit world. According to the Kari'na only a Puyai is capable of finding the right path back out of the spirit world, and possesses knowledge and remembrance of these paths in the spirit world. The Puyai medical power is based on the knowledge and remembrance of the paths in the spirit world (Jara and van Arkel 2006, 10).

Another occurrence in the life of the brothers, made the Amerindians even more convinced of the brothers trust. And that is the moment when Frederick Penard got possessed by the spirit Tamusi, the supreme god (see chapter three), himself, a moment which some of the Kari'na saw as a Puyai-initiation rite. This moment was described by Arthur Penard in one of the letters he wrote to Thomas Penard. In this letter he described the delirium in which Frederick had fallen. That Fredrick stood "before himself" every hour when the clock struck for 12 hours straight, in between those encounters with himself he had visions about the world. When Fredrick got out of this delirium he could not sleep for 12 days and 12 nights, and he did not want to get dressed. But at the same time, he still recognized everyone and possessed his wits. During these 12 days and 12 nights he predicted that he would not live to see the age of 34, he even wanted to drink poison or throw himself out of a window. Frederick eventually did die at the age of 33 (Jara and van Arkel 2006, 10; Letter 2, 1909; letter 9, 1909).

5.2 The alphabetical order, Neo Sophia

The alphabetical order in which the manuscript was written, was explained by the Penard brothers in "*De menschetende aanbidders der zonnelang*" (the human eating worshippers of the Sun snake) volumes two and three. They claimed that they derived the alphabet from the Kari'na language, just like Grottesfend with the Assyrian language

and Goodman with the Mayan hieroglyphs (Penard and Penard 1908, III). The Penard brothers claimed that the alphabet which they presented was the foundation of the alphabet of the Caribbean language family, and that the alphabet is as infallible as letters which every language has in common (Penard and Penard 1908, III). The brothers were also convinced that this alphabet of the Caribbean otherwise referred to as the alphabet of elemental working or Neo Sophia, can be seen as the basis of all the languages in the world. In other words, they thought that there was a law which included the development/ formation of all the languages in the world, from the Caribbean language to the Dutch language. They reasoned that no king could change a letter in his alphabet, but at the same time that no scripture could stop the never ending formation of the (written) language (Penard and Penard 1908, IV). They also drew comparison with the Dutch language at the time, and how it changed in just 200 years, to further ground their reasoning. One of the reasons they chose the Caribbean language as the language from which to derive the original alphabet of all the languages of the world, was because they claimed that there was not a single word in the modern language of which “the people of the Caribbean” (presumably the Kari’na) did not know, and that the Kari’na had a range of words which could not be translated to the modern language in single words, but rather only described in whole sentences. Another reason was that the brothers were convinced that in the Caribbean language, due to the harmonic cohesion and meanings of the words in the Caribbean language, they had found the primitive but original language of the forest. They claimed that the meanings of the words in the Caribbean language were based upon the living truth of Nature (Penard and Penard 1908, IV, V). The theories the Penard brothers published were not accepted by scholars at the time. Due to all the criticism Arthur Penard received from, according to him, narrow-minded modern materialists who lack the ability to understand the alphabet, he found it necessary to publish an extra explanation in 1917, to further explain the theories as simply as possible (Penard 1917, 6).

The brothers claim, that the alphabet is based upon a few different laws and principles, namely the law of elemental harmony, the number three unity of thirteen and the nouns of the harmonic circle. The descriptions of the theory behind the alphabet are rather obscure, and since the precise meaning is not as important for my thesis as the ideas behind the construction of it, and to get an impression of the way the

manuscript is built up, I will not emphasize this aspect. However from what I understand is that the main idea is that the alphabet is based upon thirteen nouns and verbs M, O, E, I, U, A, S, L, K, T, N, P-B. The thirteen nouns all have their own meaning based upon a life principle, for instance “I” is pictographic, visibility; while “E” is the Emission, the foundation of transmission, it gives form to what lives. The nouns have to be combined with the verbs to get the true meaning of the nouns, the verbs are the active elements. For example e +I forms the transmission or the transition; and the light, in symbolic terms or literally, can only exist in the forms of li or ni (Penard and Penard 1908, 81-84). The harmonic work is constructed out of five spiritual yumu and even more material yana. In the yu lies the spiritual answer, the holy being; while ya gives meaning to the material, the true answer, the body. Nouns change more rapidly than verbs, this because they are quicker, and they put up less resistance than the verbs. But because of this their yumu also closes more rapidly, meaning they will return to their original meaning quicker. According to the brothers this is the way in which the words and languages changes over the years (Penard and Penard 1908, 84, 85). These laws and principles are explained in the third volume of *“De mensetende aanbidders der zonnelang”* (the man-eating worshippers of the Sun snake) and in *“het onbegrepen geloof”* (the misunderstood belief). A more detailed study of the intellectual history and ideas behind the brother’s linguistic theories would be an interesting topic of research, but is too large for the current thesis.

5.3 The drawings

A few years before the manuscript was found in the archives of the Museum in Leiden, a couple of boxes were found containing over 22 files (‘books’ A to K and some loose drawing books) consisting of drawings, notes and lists of words from the Penard brothers. These drawings were made by the Amerindian informants for the Penard brothers and are mostly separate figures, patterns, figurative drawings of plants animals and utensils. The drawings were cut out of their original context and glued under the corresponding word (Jara and van Arkel 2006, 13; van Loon 2005, 6).

As stated earlier in this chapter the brothers gave the Amerindian informants notebooks for their drawings so that they could take them back to their villages, when they returned to the village they would have the drawings and explanations of the

drawings for the brothers. In this manner of collecting data, the brothers differed from other ethnographers of their time, like Kloos and Ahlbrinck who collected drawings that were made for them on request in typical Kari'na style (van Loon 2005, 6). The Amerindian informant who the brothers trusted the most, and who in turn helped the brothers the most with the construction of the manuscript was the Kari'na Puyai called Saka, Puyai title Alitialowa. He also made numerous drawings, most of which were depicted in basketry designs (Jara and van Arkel 2006, 8, 14; Letter 6 attachment 1, 1909; Letter 54, 1909; Letter 55, 1909).

The creator of a drawing always recognizes his own design, most drawings are known under the greater part of the Amerindians (Letter 1909, 55). According to Arthur both men and women make the same quality drawings but differ in style, since an Amerindian can recognize which drawing was made by a man and which by a woman (letter 1909, 55). Drawings that were made at different times but carried the same meaning were often the same. Sometimes there were some differences between the first and second drawing, and sometimes they differed completely from each other. The brothers asked the Amerindians about this and they answered that even though the drawings are different, they still carry the same meaning. According to the Amerindians someone can recall the same history without using the same set of words (Letter 1909, 56).

In 2006 an article was published by Jara and van Arkel about the Penard brothers and about one of the files containing drawings, book D. Because of the scientific embargo on the whole manuscript I cannot go into detail about the information it contains, but since this article was already published I can use its contents to explain more about the drawings and their potential, unfortunately Jara and van Arkel did not include any of the drawings in their article. Therefore I hope that the descriptions in subchapter 5.3.1 will suffice. According to Jara and van Arkel, book D is composed of a couple of single drawings and a couple of groups of drawings, which are composed out of drawings with roughly the same theme. In their article they only study the groups of drawings which were not cut out and therefore were still in their context. They did this because in this way they could study and try to reconstruct the dynamics of the discussion which would have taken place between the Penard brothers and their

informants, when the latter group was explaining the meaning of the drawings (Jara and van Arkel 2006, 13, 14).

5.3.1 Book D

The first group of drawings from book D was dominated by decorative patterns, which were drawn in set patterns, and often refer to myths and narrative genres. Some examples of drawings are the composition of the boa and the star figure, *asinao*, D1, the *asinao* motif repeated six times, D2, and the depiction of a known braid pattern combined with the motif of a tree orchid, D4. The boa and the *asinao*, the star figure, are well known motifs in Caribbean ornaments (Jara and van Arkel 2006, 14).

The first example I cited about the composition of the boa and the *asinao*, was depicted as a boa which is shedding its old skin becoming new again, with the *asinao* inside its body. The description that went with the drawing is "*figure symbol of a star changing its hide like a boa*" and according to Jara and van Arkel this is the metaphorical conjunction of the boa and the star (Jara and van Arkel 2006, 14). The second example I gave for this first group of drawings from book D, was about the *asinao* motif which was repeated six times. This time it was not combined with the drawings of the boa but stood by itself. The *asinao* motif lays on two parallel lines and on two parallel rows of dots. In the notes belonging to this composition the *Asinaombo*, the old *asinao*, also translated as the "ghost" of *asinao*, also represented "*the great boa changing its hide*" (Jara and van Arkel 2006, 14). According to Jara and van Arkel D2 is a continuation of drawing D1 or a addition to drawing D1. In my opinion the two drawings may actually depict the same thing, but drawn in a different manner. For instance if the first of the six stars in D2 is the old *asinao*, this could mean that the further you go along the lines and the rows of dots the younger the *asinao* gets. Which could be just another representation of a snake shedding its skin, becoming new again. According to the article of Jara and van Arkel the drawings of D1 and D2 can be interpreted as the astronomical cycle and simultaneously the year cycle. These cycles can be represented by the snake shedding its skin, because the boa in its numerous representations is a major component of the Kari'na cosmology (Jara and van Arkel 2006, 14).

Another group of drawings, which are found in book D, differ from the first group. This group is a collection of personal compositions of the Amerindian informant

Saka, who made a great contribution to the manuscript. These compositions are the abstract and expressive forms which Saka used when telling narratives, myths and stories. According to Jara and van Arkel, these drawings cannot be interpreted as symbols, but first and foremost as indications of the story line. A few examples are D19, a depiction of a snail house in the form of a spiral; D21, a depiction of a sun boa and D17, which is a composition of drawings about the Tiger Lord Awaluape. This last composition covers four pieces of A-4 paper and depicts the travels of the jaguar. The central theme of the depiction of D17 is the trail that is left behind by Awaluape's feet. According to Jara and van Arkel the trail that the jaguar makes symbolizes more than simply a way to demonstrate the cyclic character of the cosmological concepts. In his drawings Saka connected different geological features with different events, which socialized and actualized the landscape (Jara and van Arkel 2006, 16, 17).

Two other groups which are composed in book D are a group containing four depictions of Kari'na houses in which Saka explains the set up and division of the houses. One of these four drawings, D15, depicts the 'house of god', depicted as a normal house in which different household attributes are drawn. Also six figures are depicted in the drawing, and the house is surrounded by two lines which are separated by a line of dots. Yet another showed, what seemed to be, a boa hunt by Tamusi. In the drawing the direction of the story is depicted with the numbers 1 until 10. The last group that is composed in book D contains figures that have no known decorative patterns, and seemed to be figures that were drawn to help support a conversation (Jara and van Arkel 2006, 17-19).

In my opinion drawings D1 and D2 are good examples that the Kari'na had different depictions, abstract or concrete, for the same myths or narratives. This has to be kept in mind when conducting further iconographic research into Amerindian material culture. If different iconographic depictions in Kari'na material culture carry the same meaning, the same can apply for other Amerindian groups. This means that iconographic depictions which now have been interpreted differently can actually carry the same meaning. Moreover, further research can be conducted to investigate Amerindian shared belief and cosmovision, by investigating whether the different iconographic material of various Amerindian groups can be interpreted in similar ways. The Penard brothers had already discovered this when conducting their research. In one

of their letters they wrote that they asked their informants about the different drawings and how they could have the same meaning. The informant answered them that even though someone tells the same history, this does not mean that he can use the same words in the same manner. This is similar to the Kari'na language, in which “[..]One word may have several meanings and several words can have one and the same meaning [..]” (Letter 11, 1909; Letter 56, 1909).

5.4 The other encyclopedia of the Caribbean

In 1931 another encyclopedia of the Caribbean was published by missionary W.G. Ahlbrinck. Ahlbrinck was born in Holland in 1885 and after he finished high school he enlisted in the order of Redemptorists, and became a priest in 1909. In 1910 he was sent to Suriname as a missionary and first had to work with the Chinese population in Paramaribo. Eventually, in 1913, he got assigned as missionary to the Amerindians of the Saramacca, Coppename and Marowijne rivers (Kloos 1967, 141).

The Encyclopedia Ahlbrinck wrote differs from the manuscript the Penard brothers wrote in a couple of ways. First of all Ahlbrinck himself travelled to the different Amerindian villages, instead of letting the Amerindians come to him. When he travelled to the Amerindian villages he gave the women of the villages' paper and ink and let them make their drawings, while he asked the men to weave him figures in basketry which he then purchased. He also conducted research on the ceramic patterns and basketry figures the Amerindians brought to him when he visited their villages. He conducted his research in this manner until his health restricted his travels in the 1930's and he got reassigned to work with the immigrants from Java (Ahlbrinck 1931, 276; Kloos 1967, 141, 142).

Secondly Ahlbrinck organized his encyclopedia differently from the way the Penard brothers organized theirs. The Encyclopedia written by Ahlbrinck was influenced by the two types of research that he conducted, namely linguistic and ethnological research. The linguistic influence was that the manuscript was organized in order of the western alphabet instead of the alphabetical order which the Penard brothers used in their encyclopedia. All the words were organized according to their primitives in the Kari'na language, for example the explanation of the word *e-ku-ndi* can be found under its primitive *ku*. The ethnological information Ahlbrinck gathered during his research he

organized in order of the Amerindian words, for example the information about the ornaments of the Amerindians can be found under the Amerindian word for drawing, *me*. This organization of the information in the Kari'na language in western alphabet was a great linguistic achievement but at the same time a nightmare for ethnologists to work with. This combined with the fact that the translation of the Kari'na words in the encyclopedia were published in Dutch rather than English was the reason that the encyclopedia lacked major popularity in the scientific world (Ahlbrinck 1931, VI; Kloos 1967, 143).

5.4.1 The critical view of Arthur Penard

Arthur Penard had a critical view towards the encyclopedia of Ahlbrinck. He wrote about his critique of Ahlbrinck's encyclopedia in his correspondence with colleague ethnologist de Goeje. Arthur Penard was convinced that Ahlbrinck's knowledge about the Kari'na of Suriname was too restricted for him to be able to publish something as big as an encyclopedia. And that Ahlbrinck, since his lack of knowledge of the Kari'na language, used the English spoken by slaves as an intermediate to translate it. And that by doing so he made too many mistakes in his explanations, which had a negative effect on the understanding of the language (KITLV letter 18, 1932). In Arthur's opinion it was better to leave some information in the manuscript doubtful and uncertain, instead of giving a wrong explanation/interpretation. In his opinion, if something is uncertain it can be clarified by extensive research, but if something is given a wrong explanation/interpretation it will have a negative and confusing effect on all information that is connected to it (Letter 16, 1910). In one of the letters between Arthur Penard and de Goeje, Arthur Penard even goes so far as to accuse Ahlbrinck of using information published by Arthur in the *Periskoop*, a Suriname newspaper, and his translations of the Puyai songs (KITLV letter 17, 1932). The contents of the Penard manuscript also differed from that of Ahlbrinck, for example: who were the creators of the drawings? In Ahlbrinck's encyclopedia he states that drawings are made solely by the women and that the men make basketry (Ahlbrinck 1931, 276). The Penard brothers on the other hand state that men and women make the drawings, but differed in style (Penard 1909, 55).

To summarize, this chapter answered four of my research questions, namely: How did the brothers get in contact with the Kari'na? What do we know of the nature of the meetings between the Kari'na and the Penard brothers? What is the importance of the manuscript in terms of interpreting and understanding the archaeological artifacts of Suriname? What is the importance of this manuscript for the archaeology of Suriname and the Caribbean in general? This was done by presenting the Penard manuscript, the manner in which the brothers collected their data, how the information in the manuscript was organized and the theories behind this peculiar way of organizing (the Neo Sophia alphabet). Also the potential importance of the Penard manuscript for understanding Caribbean archaeology and the Amerindian material culture was explained.

In summary the Penard brothers came in contact with the Kari'na when they were conducting research into the birds of Suriname. The nature of these meetings were mostly positive exchanges of information, and the collaboration of the Amerindians was even such, that they came back on multiple occasions over the years and worked as informants for the Penard brothers, resulting in numerous of their publications. The strength of the manuscript the Penard brothers created is that it gives first hand information from informants who willingly went to the brothers and wanted to share the information with them. The brothers in their turn did not underestimate the information they received, creating a healthy research environment. The manuscript is divided in an encyclopedic part and books with drawings. The drawings are annotated in Dutch and in the Kari'na language, which hypothetically can be translated with the encyclopedic part of the manuscript. This means it might be possible to translate and get a better understanding of the iconographic culture of the Kari'na. And therefore we can get a better understanding of how to interpret the iconographic material of other Amerindian groups in Suriname and also the Caribbean since it is the general belief that the Amerindians who inhabited the Caribbean migrated from the coastal area of South America.

6. Discussion

In chapter five I explained about the manuscript, how it was made, in which manner it was written and what the differences were with another similar encyclopedia published at the time. Also did I explain about the drawings, which are a part of the manuscript, and in particular about book D. In this discussion I will further address the relevance of these drawings and discuss the potential they possess for the understanding of the archaeology in Suriname and the Caribbean. I will compose this chapter around three discussion points, that, in my opinion, are relevant for answering my main research question: “How was the Penard manuscript created and what is the importance of the manuscript to the archaeology of Suriname and the Caribbean?”. The three discussion points I will address in this chapter are the potential value of the drawings and the manuscript, how we can apply the drawings and the manuscript to better understand the archaeology of Suriname and the Caribbean. And, to further ground the importance of the Penard drawings, what the differences is between the drawings collected by the Penard brothers and other ethnographers.

6.1 The drawings and their potential to archaeology

The manuscript has the potential to aid in the understanding of the iconographic material of Amerindian cultures. It sheds light on how Amerindian cultures viewed the world, about their cosmology and worldview and the relationship with their material culture. In the cosmology of multiple Amerindian groups in South America the artifacts have a special meaning that goes beyond functional usage. Certain artifacts can be endowed with properties generally only attributed to living beings. Some objects have the power to attract the people with whom they came in contact, others are believed to possess important fertilizing powers which increase with the passage of time. Some Amerindian groups believe that the world evolved out of artifacts. For example the Tukano believe that the bones of humans are transformed out of white crystals. Or the Wakuénai, who believe that the body of the creator god is made out of sacred flutes and trumpets (Santos-Granero 2009, 3, 5). And we have already seen how Kari’na iconography depicts human, animals, and objects in chapter five. Knowing more about the Cosmology and worldview of Amerindian groups can be helpful for a wider interpretation of the material culture of the Amerindians. With the Penard manuscript

we should get a good understanding of the Cosmology and worldview of the Kari'na, which could be helpful for a broader interpretation of their material culture and that of similar groups.

Furthermore the manuscript the Penard brothers made can, in combination with the various drawings they collected and translated with the help of their Kari'na informants, help interpret the pre-Colombian and colonial archaeology contexts for which no direct descendents are known. Because, and this is if the drawings are deemed trustworthy, not only can the drawings give us a insight in the world view of the Kari'na, but they also give us a better understanding of the archaeological record of Suriname and the Caribbean. With them it might be possible to identify Kari'na pottery or Kari'na stylistic iconographic elements throughout sites in Suriname, which can be helpful in mapping out the developments made in the material culture of the Amerindians. Also it can shed some light and help with the contribution of some of the petroglyphs to certain Amerindian groups which have been a problem so far (Versteeg 2003, 200). And eventually, we might even get a better understanding of the meaning and relevance of these petroglyphs. Another possibility is advances in research of the Island Carib of the Caribbean, whose material culture, and especially pottery, has been shown to be related to the Koriabo ceramic tradition, ancestral to both the protohistoric and historic Island Carib and the Kari'na (Boomert 2011, 657; Versteeg 2003, 200). The manuscript and drawings may provide an important key to interpreting the iconography of this archaeological culture and be of relevance to present-day Carib communities in the Carib territories on Dominica, St. Vincent and Trinidad, who are descendents of the historic Islands Caribs, but whose cultural traditions have arguably been more dramatically transformed than mainland Amerindians (Boomert 2011, 658). The stylistic elements, in combination with other research topics such as isotope analysis and ceramic analysis, can give us a better understanding of the migration and trade networks of that existed between the Caribbean and the Guiana's.

6.2 The reliability of the Penard Manuscript

The reliability of the work the brothers conducted on the manuscript, mostly concerning the drawings they collected, was questioned at the beginning of the 20th century. The main question asked was under which circumstances were the drawings made (Letter

55, 1909). Drawings that are made on request or that are paid for would produce different kind of drawings than when the informants could draw freely what came into their head. With the latter you minimize false drawings, drawings that were made only to collect money, but who did not have to carry any significance meaning. In the correspondence letters between Arthur and Thom Penard, Arthur replied on this question stating that the informants could draw freely what came into their mind, since he gave the Amerindians drawing books which they took to their houses and brought back the next time they got to town (Letter 55, 1909).

In my opinion this way of researching insured that the information the brothers got is reliable, in the sense that the information they received was genuine and not given because of some reward. But the brothers could have made mistakes when interpreting the information they got from their informants. Future research, with the help of the Kari'na still present in Suriname today, has to be conducted in order to assess if the information gathered in the manuscript is in need reinterpretation. Also can this research reveal if the manuscript needs updating to assess the relevance of the information, since the information gathered back then could have undergone changes due to cultural transformation.

6.3 Conclusion

The emphasis of my discussion was on the value and importance of the Penard Manuscript to the Archaeology of Suriname and the Caribbean. And the further research that has to be conducted in corporation with the Kari'na still living in Suriname, to verify that the myths and translations the brothers wrote down in their manuscript are in need of reinterpretations or updating. The same applies for the drawings that the brothers collected.

7. Conclusion

My thesis is about the Penard manuscript, which has been discovered in the archives of the Ethnology Museum, located in Leiden. This Manuscript consists out of 7600 lemma's and over 22 files with drawings, these lemma's and files contain the alphabetical description of the socialistic system and worship of the Amerindian tribe from Suriname, the Kari'na. Due to the fact that two of the brothers suffered from Hansen's disease, these two brothers lived their life in isolation from the world. From this isolation they conducted their research in a manner that was unknown at the time being. They gained the trust of the Amerindians from which they gained valuable inside knowledge about the Kari'na social system and cosmovision, with this information they created their manuscript. The brothers wrote the manuscript down in an alphabetical order, which they believed was the alphabetical order for all the languages around the world. These wild theories set aside, the discovering of the manuscript has brought an enormous amount of information with which we have a great potential for further understanding the archaeology of Suriname and the whole of the Caribbean in general. In my thesis I have tried to clarify how the manuscript has been constructed and what the potential of the manuscript is for the archaeology of Suriname. This I have tried to do by means of my research questions. My main research question is: "How was the Penard Manuscript created, and what is the importance of the manuscript for the archaeology of Suriname and the Caribbean in general?".

The potential of the manuscript, in combination with the drawings, is that with it we can gain a better understanding of the iconographic, cosmovision, and worldview of the Kari'na. Which, due to the fact that the iconography is mostly depicted on the material culture, can not only give us a better understanding of the archaeology of Suriname but can also give us a better understanding of the trade and spread of the material culture throughout the Caribbean. Furthermore can a better understanding of the cosmovision and worldview mean that we can make broader interpretations of the material culture, since artifacts in Amerindian society usually have certain powers attributed to them. In my opinion the Penard manuscript is reliable, but further research has to be conducted into the manuscript and the drawings, to investigate if the information gathered by the Penard brothers is in need of updating or reinterpretation.

This research has to be conducted in corporation with the Kari'na still living in Suriname today.

In further research the drawings can be compared to archaeological evidence of the Kari'na, mostly ceramics, and ethnological evidence, bottle gourds and calabashes, to see if and in what percentage the drawings match with the iconographic depictions on the material culture, and therefore if the depictions on the material culture can be translated. Also can this research investigate if a trend or cultural/iconographic transformation can be deduced from the material. This research can be combined with the research for possible reinterpretation or updating of the information contained in the manuscript with the help of the Kari'na still present today. After that further research can be conducted to see if and how the drawings match the archaeological artifacts found in the Caribbean. This can be used to gain new information on exchange and trade in the Caribbean. A third research topic could be into a shared Amerindian worldview. The manuscript and the drawings could be compared to the iconographic and ethnological information of other Amerindian groups to see if there is a shared worldview between the Amerindian groups. Also can this research be used to see if certain archaeological artifacts can be interpreted in a broader way, as shown by Santos-Granero in *"The occult life of things"*.

Abstract

In 2002 and 2010 boxes were discovered in the archives of the Ethnology Museum in Leiden. These boxes contained around 7600 lemma's and numerous books with drawings. These lemma's and drawings combined make up the unfinished work of two of the Penard brothers. These two, out of four, brothers lived in Suriname and did research into the Kari'na Amerindian society in the coastal area of Suriname. The emphasis of their research was into the cosmovision and worldview of the Kari'na, with which they delivered astonishing work in documenting the cosmovision and belief system of the Kari'na. The Penard manuscript would be their biggest publication, an encyclopedia of the Caribbean, if not for the timely demise of two of the Penard brothers. The Penard manuscript has a great potential for the archaeology of Suriname and the archaeology of the Caribbean in general. Due to the combination of the drawings and the lemma's, we possess a great body of information about the cosmological belief system of the Kari'na. This provides us with a greater knowledge of the iconographic culture of the Kari'na. And since iconographic material is an important part of the material culture of the Kari'na, it can provide us with information about the trade and migration in the Caribbean. But since my research was meant as a preliminary research into the potential of the Penard manuscript, further research has to be conducted to assess the true value of the manuscript.

Samenvatting

In 2002 en 2010 werden in het archief van het Volkenkunde Museum in Leiden, dozen gevonden met daarin 7600 lemma's en schriften met tekeningen. Deze lemma's en tekeningen samen vormen het onafgemaakte werk van twee van de gebroeders Penard. Deze twee, van de in totaal vier broers, leefden in Suriname en deden onderzoek naar de inheemse stam de Kari'na in het kustgebied van Suriname. De nadruk van het onderzoek van de broers lag op de cosmo- en wereldvisie van de Kari'na, in welk zij geweldig werk geleverd hebben met betrekking tot het documenteren van de cosmovisie en geloofstelsel van de Kari'na. Het Penard manuscript zou de grootste publicatie van de broers worden, een encyclopedie van de Caraïben, was het niet dat beide broers vroegtijdig overleden. Het Penard manuscript is potentieel van groot belang voor de archeologie van Suriname en de gehele Caraïben. Door de combinatie

van de lemma's en de tekeningen bezitten we nu een grote bron van informatie over het kosmologische geloofstelsel van de Kari'na. Hierdoor bezitten wij betere kennis over de iconografische cultuur van de Kari'na. En sinds iconografie een belangrijk onderdeel is van de materiële cultuur van de Kari'na, levert het ook informatie over de handel en migratie patronen in de Caraïben. Maar sinds mijn onderzoek een vooronderzoek was over het potentieel van het Penard manuscript, zal verder onderzoek nodig zijn om de complete waarde van het manuscript te omsluiten.

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Fig.2: Penard, F.P. and A. PH. Penard, 1907. *De menschetende aanbidders der Zonneslang*. Paramaribo: H.B. Heyde.

Appendix

The letters which I included in this appendix were, for my thesis, the more important letters of all the personal correspondence the Museum of Ethnology and the KITLV have in their possession. These letters were literary transcribed from the original versions, all grammar and spelling defects, and terminological discrepancies in these letters were made by the Penard brothers when the letters were being written.

Letter 6:

Dear Thom
Tamulu,

Paramaribo 6 November 1909
*(story told by brother of
Saka
about the Okoju,
slangen groot vader-)

Enclosed you will find a special note to correct the one I send last week about snake grand father; * in the wrong one I wrote full moon instead of whole moon 29½ days.

I also said that the star year begins when the moulding of the skin ends, instead of saying that the year commences during the moulding etc.. Yesterday I received a letter from dr. E.D. van Oort of the Leiden museum, who is the corrector of the 2th part of *de vogels van Guiana*: In thy letter he expresses his admiration for our work and asks information for a biographical sketch intended for the preface of our book which will soon be ready.

In my answer I asked him if he could not find some one to publish, *Grepen uit de natuur kunde van Suriname* which I have send to you; in case any one should be found I will give you notice to send it. An account of the Americanisten congress in which our work are mentioned says that the next Americanisten congress 1410 shall be on American soil; it would be a good thing if the encyclopedie could be made ready in Time and presented to the members for publication; as there are many rich men among them having nothing more to write at present I remain with love to your wife, child, and yourself

Your brother
Arthur Penard

P.s Alle Caraib woorden zijn vervoegingen en kunnen vervoegd worden
A.P.

Bijlage

De reden waarom de Indianen, ons met hunne geheimen hebben vertrouwd is omdat wij niet getracht hebben om hen te leeren maar om door hen geleerd te worden; wij hebben nooit met hunne verklaringen gespot. De voornaamste reden echter is onze Ziekte, want niet alleen zijn wij beiden melaatsch maar ook broeders. Onder de Indianen staan wij als de tweeling zonen van den slangen geest bekend

De Indiansche namen waarvan gij mij vraagt een lijst te maken, ken ik zelf niet met zekerheid omdat de Indianen ze niet graag willen zeggen. En ons in de meeste gevallen verkeerde namen op geven. Wij zouden ~~ete~~, denken zij, zonder dat wij het kunnen helpen, hen als pujai-geheim-verraders aan hunne stamgenoten kunnen verklappen; Alleen Joseph Saka heeft ons ten volle vertrouwd; Van de andere Indianen kennen wij alleen de doop namen of reisnamen. De woonplaats van een Indiaan met zekerheid op te geven, is nutteloos, omdat hij vandaag hier is en morgen daar; de pujai man echter verandert zelden van woonplaats.

Letter 11:

Par 18 December 1909

Dear Thom

Your letter of Nov 27 containing my bad note received. The book of reveren Danel which you mentioned was lend to Frits by Mr. J. Rodway Demerora and belongs to the George town library, he may lend it to you also, if you ask him for it, you can say it is for the Encyclopedia of your diseased brother, of course you shall have to return him the postage. I note what you say about de grepen uit de natuurkunde but am still waiting for your opinion of the {Encycle?} I hope by the time you receive this letter your {nerooniness?} will be better, so that you can go on with your work.

Enclosed please find 4 more notes add them to the previous ones.

Let me remind you of the following one word may have several meanings and several words can have one same meaning if a meaning given by me to a word in my notes is different from one given by {Fred?} to the same word in the Encyclopedia you must use both even if mine seems better, in fact you may add anything from my note or other books, correct the style of spelling of the ebglish, but in no case change the meaning give to a caraib word in the Encyclo, if you think there is a mistake you might let me know and if it is so I made it and not Fred.

Wishing you and family a happy new year

Your brother
A Pernard

Letter 55:

(4) V

3.

10/10/09

[a] Under what conditions were the Indian drawings made:

[b] Did you ask them to draw or did they draw as they pleased and what ever came into their heads?

[c] did you ever asked the same Indian on a different date to draw the same thing he had drawn before to see how it compared with his first drawing?

[d] Can the woman draw better then the men?

De teekeningen door een Indiaan gemaakt, worden door de teekenaar zelf altijd weer herkend, terwijl meer dan de helft ook aan de andere Indianen bekend zijn Sommige teekeningen zijn aan alle Indianen bekend

Wij geven aan een Indiaan een schrijfboek en een potlood welke hij mede neemt naar zijn dorp daar teekent hij de figuren van welke hij ons eenuitlegging geeft, wanneer hij het boek in de stad terug brengt.

(4) A

De Indiansche vrouwen kunnen even goed teekenen als de mannen, maar het is eigenaardig dat een Indiaan u dadelijk kan zeggen of de teekeningen door een vrouw of door een man gemaakt zijn.

Letter 56:

(5)

Wanneer dezelfde Indiaan op verschillende datums van hetzelfde ding teekeningen maakt, komen de figuren dikwijls geheel overeen soms slechts gedeeltelijk en soms verschillen zij geheel en al. Vooral bij de groote teekeningen waarvan de onderdeelen beschreven zijn is het verschil groot, toen wij een Indiaan hierop wezen antwoorde hij, de teekeningen zien er wel verschillend uit maar hebben dezelfde beteekenis. Iemand kan dezelfde geschiedenis vertellen maar ook hij is niet in staat dezelfde woorden op dezelfde wijze te gebruiken.