

MATERIAL BEGINNINGS OF THE SARAKA MAROONS:
AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION

By

CHERYL N. NGWENYAMA

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To my grandmother and friend Merlin Coombs

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>page</u>
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	4
LIST OF TABLES	11
LIST OF FIGURES	16
ABSTRACT	20
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION	21
Why Maroon Archaeology?	21
Defining Diaspora.....	22
Explaining Maroons in the Discipline of Anthropology	34
Maroon Studies: Where Are We Now?	36
Presentation of Dissertation.....	37
2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.....	46
Slave Trade Made Maroonage Possible	46
European Colonies' Maroon Societies	47
Mexico.....	50
Cuba.....	51
Jamaica	52
Brazil	54
Conclusion.....	54
Dutch Presence in the Caribbean.....	55
Dutch Guiana.....	58
Formation of Suriname's Bush-Negros and Culture	59
Peace with the Ndyuka	66
Peace with the Maroons of the Saramaka and Suriname River Regions	67
Conclusion.....	68
Kumako and Tuido: Where It All Began.....	69
Modern Plight of Suriname Maroons	71
3 RESEARCH CONCERNS AND QUESTIONS	75
Research Objectives.....	75
Research Questions.....	77
Addressing Issues in Historical Archaeology.....	78
Interpreting the Spatial Dynamics of the Plantocracy	83
Attributes of Archaeological Sites in the Neotropics	88
Previous Archaeological Research in Suriname.....	90
Indigenous Factor	93

	Post-contact Sites in Suriname's Hinterland: Do They Exist?.....	94
	Discussion.....	100
4	IMPLICATIONS FOR THEORY AND METHOD	101
	How the Dichotomy of the African-diaspora Is Explained	101
	Creolization: The Enduring Term Used to Represent Manifestations of Cultural Transformation.....	102
	A Linguistic Look at the Use of Creolization	104
	Conclusion.....	106
	Ethnogenesis versus Creolization: Tools of the Trade	107
	Deciphering Identity in the Material World	118
	How is Ethnoarchaeology Operationalized?	120
	Discussion.....	123
5	RESEARCH DESIGN AND ETHNOARCHAEOLOGICAL APPLICATIONS	126
	Agency and the Archaeologist.....	126
	Archival Research	129
	Ethnoarchaeology.....	132
	Performing Ethnoarchaeology.....	135
	Implications of Ethnoarchaeology.....	138
	House Construction Material	141
	Roof Construction Material.....	143
	Ornamental Material	144
	Floor Construction.....	145
	The Construction Process.....	146
	Discussion.....	149
6	ARCHAEOLOGICAL INQUIRIES	151
	Maroon Material Culture	151
	Study Area	152
	Locating Kumako and Tuido through the Ethnographic Record.....	158
	Site Recognition.....	161
	Saramaka Site, Kumako	162
	Matawai Site, Tuido	165
	Archaeological Investigation	167
	Sampling and Excavation Methods	167
	Tuido	169
	Kumako 1	171
	Kumako 2	179
	Mound periphery control units.....	196
	KMK2 mound center.....	197
	Intra-site Differentiation at Kumako	202
	Site Dating	204
	Sample One	206

Sample Two.....	207
Sample Three.....	208
Sample Four.....	210
Conclusion.....	211
Interpretation and Discussion	212
7 ARTIFACT ANALYSIS AND RESULTS	218
Questions and Answers.....	218
Understanding Artifacts Through Culture	219
Instruments Used in Diverse Economies.....	224
Maroon and Indigenous Ceramics	227
Identifying Indigenous Ceramics	228
Ceramic Surface Treatment, Decoration, Fabric, and Inclusions.....	229
Identifying Maroon Ceramics.....	232
Creating a Material Language for 18th Century Maroons	233
Comparative Methods	234
Site Assemblage.....	239
Overview of Artifacts from Kumako and Tuido	240
Kumako	240
Surface Treatments of Ceramics	243
Paste with a Focus on Inclusions.....	248
Decorative Applications	253
Tuido.....	256
Cross-Site Variability of Ceramic Attributes: Kumako and Tuido	259
Rim Sherd Variation.....	260
Comparing Maroon Artifacts with Prehistoric Material Culture.....	263
Justifying Maroon Artifacts.....	265
A Comparative look at Color and Thickness	266
Discussion.....	270
8 CONCLUSION.....	273
What Remains to Be Seen	273
Another Perspective of the Maroon Picture.....	276
Kumako and Tuido: What Have we Learned	277
APPENDIX	
A SURINAME LAWS CONCERNING MAROONS.....	281
B UNIT PROVENIENCE.....	306
C ARTIFACT ANALYSIS SHEET.....	344
D A CATALOG OF ARTIFACT MATERIAL COMPOSITION FROM KMK1, KMK2, AND TUDIO	347

LIST OF REFERENCES	404
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH	432

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>	<u>page</u>
4-1 A reinterpretation of Gosden's chart	116
6-1 Kumako 1 Unit R12	175
6-2 Kumako 1 Unit S12	175
6-3 Kumako 1 unit T12	175
6-4 Kumako 1 campsite unit P6	178
6-5 Kumako 1 campsite unit P7	178
6-6 Kumako 1 campsite unit P10	178
6-7 Unit H22 Kumako 2 mound periphery	185
6-8 Unit H24, Kumako 2 mound periphery	186
6-9 Unit I22, Kumako mound periphery	187
6-10 Unit I24, Kumako mound periphery	188
6-11 Units of dark circular pit	189
6-12 Unit N-D8 Kumako 2 mound center	201
6-13 Unit SA-2 Kumako 2 mound center	201
6-14 Comparison chart of radiocarbon dates	205
7-1 Color codes reduced from Munsell chart	236
A-1 Instructions for The Postholders	282
A-2 Payment for the Excursion to Find Runaway Slaves	283
A-3 The Compensation for Locating Runaway Villages	284
A-4 The Attitudes of the Pacified Bush Negroes	285
A-5 Selling of Wood from Bush Negroes Behind Auka	286
A-6 New Stipulation about the Payment for Runaways	287
A-7 Bush-Negroes from Behind Auka Must Return to Their Village	288

A-8	Prohibiting Bush-Negroes Access to Plantation	289
A-9	Bush-negroes for Rent	290
A-10	Peace Treaties with the Bush-Negroes Behind Auka	291
A-11	Instructions for the Postholder in Rio Correntine	293
A-12	Assignment of Passes Pacified Bush-Negroes.....	295
A-13	Pacified Bush-negroes Receive Sign	296
A-14	Written Permit Required For the Passing of Post Victoria	297
A-15	Settlement with Bush-Negroes of the Saramaka and Suriname Rivers	298
A-16	Publication about Bush-Negroes of Saramaka and above Suriname.....	302
A-17	The Selling of Weapons.....	303
A-18	Notice Concerning the Agreement with Bush-Negroes.....	304
A-19	Selling of Rifles	305
B-1	Kumako 1 camp site unit O5	308
B-2	Kumako 1 camp site unit O6	309
B-3	Kumako 1 camp site unit O7	310
B-4	Kumako 1 camp site unit P5	311
B-5	Kumako 1 camp site unit P6.....	312
B-6	Kumako 1 camp site unit P7	313
B-7	Kumako 1 camp site unit P10	314
B-8	Kumako 1 camp site unit Q7	315
B-9	Kumako 1 camp site unit Q8	316
B-10	Kumako 1 camp site unit R8.....	317
B-11	Kumako 1 unit R12.....	318
B-12	Kumako 1 unit S12	319
B-13	Kumako 1 unit T12.....	320

B-14	Kumako 1 unit test pit 1	321
B-15	Kumako 1 test pit 2	322
B-16	Kumako 1 Area A	323
B-17	Kumako 1 Area A Locus 2	324
B-18	Kumako 1 Area D	325
B-19	Kumako 2 mound periphery unit D30	326
B-20	Kumako 2 mound periphery unit H22	327
B-21	Kumako 2 mound periphery unit H24	328
B-22	Kumako 2 mound periphery unit H26	330
B-23	Kumako 2 mound periphery unit I22	331
B-24	Kumako 2 mound periphery unit I24	332
B-25	Kumako 2 mound periphery unit I28	333
B-26	Kumako 2 mound periphery unit M22	334
B-27	Kumako 2 mound periphery Ctrl 4x4	335
B-28	Kumako 2 mound periphery Ctrl 2x2	336
B-29	Kumako 2 mound center shovel Test Pit 1	337
B-30	Kumako 2 mound center N-D8	338
B-31	Kumako 2 mound center SA-2	339
B-32	Kumako 2 mound periphery F2A2	340
B-33	Tuido Area 4	341
B-34	Tuido Area 1	342
B-35	Tuido Area A	343
D-1	Kumako 2 mound periphery Unit D30 ceramics	348
D-2	Kumako 2 mound periphery unit H22 ceramics	349
D-3	Kumako 2 mound periphery unit H22 lithics	353

D-4	Kumako 2 mound periphery unit H24 ceramics	354
D-5	Kumako 2 mound periphery unit H24 lithics	356
D-6	Kumako 2 mound periphery unit I22 ceramics.....	357
D-7	Kumako 2 mound periphery unit I24 ceramics.....	358
D-8	Kumako 2 mound periphery unit I24 lithics	362
D-9	Kumako 2 mound periphery unit I28 ceramics.....	363
D-10	Kumako 2 mound periphery unit M22 ceramics	364
D-11	Kumako 2 mound periphery Ctrl 4 x 4 ceramics	365
D-12	Kumako 2 mound periphery F2A2 ceramics	366
D-13	Kumako 2 mound center SA-2 ceramics	367
D-14	Kumako 2 mound center SA-2 lithic	369
D-15	Kumako 2 mound center shovel Test Pit 1 ceramics	370
D-16	Kumako 2 mound center shovel Test Pit 1 lithics and others.....	371
D-17	Kumako 2 mound center N-D8 ceramics.....	372
D-18	Kumako 2 mound center N-D8 lithics	373
D-19	Kumako 1 camp site unit O5 ceramics	374
D-20	Kumako 1 camp site unit O6 ceramics	375
D-21	Kumako 1 camp site unit O6 lithics.....	376
D-22	Kumako 1 camp site unit P6 ceramics.....	377
D-23	Kumako 1 camp site unit P6 lithics	380
D-24	Kumako 1 camp site unit P7 ceramics.....	381
D-25	Kumako 1 camp site unit P7 lithics and others.....	382
D-26	Kumako 1 camp site unit P10 ceramics.....	383
D-27	Kumako 1 camp site unit P10 lithics and others.....	384
D-28	Kumako 1 camp site unit Q7 ceramics	385

D-29	Kumako 1 camp site unit Q7 lithics and others	386
D-30	Kumako 1 camp site unit R12 ceramics	387
D-31	Kumako 1 camp site unit S12 lithics and others.....	388
D-32	Kumako 1 camp site unit S12 ceramics.....	389
D-33	Kumako 1 camp site unit T12.....	390
D-34	Kumako 1 camp site unit T12 lithics and others	391
D-35	Kumako 1 Area A Locus 2 unit A1 ceramics.....	392
D-36	Tuido Area 4 ceramics	393
D-36	Tuido Area 4 ceramics	393
D-37	Tuido Area 1 ceramics	395
D-38	Kumako 1 Area D ceramics.....	396
D-39	Kumako 1 Area D lithics and others.....	398

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure</u>	<u>page</u>
2-1 Schematic map showing the historical locations of circum-Caribbean Maroons.....	49
2-2 Historical figure Nanny of Jamaica Maroons	53
2-3 Schematic distribution of Maroon groups	61
2-4 Saramaka Maroons trails of the 17 th and 18 th centuries	64
2-5 General location of Kumako and Tuido.....	70
2-6 A crew of Brazilian and Ndyuka miners.....	73
3-1 Researchers of the Maroon Heritage Research Project.....	97
4-1 Face Jugs of South Carolina.	115
5-1 Undecorated Saramaka home in village Tutubuka	142
5-2 Exterior of an archetypical Maroon house.....	143
5-3 Traditional Saramaka homes.....	145
6-1 An Azonpow.	154
6-2 Riverbank community Atjoni.	155
6-3 Map of research region.	157
6-4 Plan view of study region	162
6-5 Location of Tuido	170
6-6 Map of Kumako settlement.....	172
6-7 Schematic representations of general excavations.....	173
6-8 Rock structure at KMK1.....	174
6-9 Crew’s campground at KMK1	176
6-10 Adjacent campsite excavation.....	176
6-11 Grid for KMKI	177
6-12 Map of KMK2.....	180

6-13	A schematic drawing of the mound edge	181
6-14	Kumako 2 grid placed at periphery of mound	183
6-15	Profile H line, west wall.....	190
6-16	Maroons engaging in a ritual washing	191
6-17	Calabashes from the upper Suriname River.....	191
6-18	<i>Goduosuu</i> or prayer shrine.....	193
6-19	The center of Kumako2 mound	198
6-20	Kumako2 grid placed in mound center.....	200
6-21	Comparison of non-pottery artifacts from KMK1 and KMK2.....	202
6-22	Distribution of morphological parts recovered from KMK1 and KMK2.....	203
6-23	Sample one: Radiocarbon date.....	206
6-24	Sample # 2 radiocarbon date.....	208
6-25	Sample #3 radiocarbon date for potsherd with attached organics.	209
6-26	Sample #4 radiocarbon date.....	211
7-1	Indigenous Guiana woman using a Manioc grater.	224
7-2	Contemporary Maroon women with Manioc basketry pressing tube	225
7-3	Indigenous Guiana men preparing for fishing.	226
7-4	Characteristic whole vessels of the prehistoric Kwatta culture	230
7-5	Intact vessels recovered from the prehistoric Herttenrits site	231
7-6	Rim sherds from the prehistoric Herttenrits site.....	231
7-7	Prehistoric ceramics from the prehistoric Wonotobo site	232
7-8	Recovered Artifacts from KMK1, KMK2, and Tuido.....	239
7-9	Cracking ceramic earthenware sherd.....	240
7-10	Curvilinear incising on a round lip rim sherd from KMK1.....	241
7-11	Ceramics and lithics recovered from KMK2.....	241

7-12	Slipped ceramics in four Kumako loci	244
7-13	Percentage of slipped ceramics at four Kumako loci.....	244
7-14	Burnish ceramic from KMK2.	245
7-15	Frequencies of burnished ceramics in four Kumako loci	245
7-16	Percentage of burnished ceramics at four Kumako loci	246
7-17	Frequencies of ceramics with patina in four Kumako loci	247
7-18	Percentage of patina ceramics at four Kumako loci.	247
7-19	Ceramic earthenware with heavy grit inclusions from KMK1.	249
7-20	Percentage of grit-tempered ceramics in four Kumako loci.	250
7-21	Percentage of sand and grit inclusions in four Kumako loci.	251
7-22	Percentage of sand inclusions in four Kumako loci.....	252
7-23	Percentage of ceramics with decorative techniques in four Kumako loci.	254
7-24	Frequencies of ceramics with decorative techniques in four Kumako loci	255
7-25	Reconstructed bowl base with grit inclusions from Tuido.	256
7-26	Large body sherd from Tuido. Illustration by Raimen Bijlhout 2003.	257
7-27	Frequency of surface treatment in Tuido ceramics.	257
7-28	Frequency of inclusions	258
7-29	Frequency of decorative techniques at Tuido	258
7-30	Cracked base of coiled stoneware vessel.....	259
7-31	Cross-site variations in ceramic decoration and surface treatment.....	260
7-32	An example of flat lip rim with dark orange slip from KMK2.....	261
7-33	Diagrams of rim shapes.	261
7-34	Frequency of all rim sherds at four Kumako loci	262
7-35	Percentage of all rim sherd types at four Kumako loci.....	263
7-36	Painted pottery from prehistoric Wonotobo site in coastal Suriname.	265

7-37	Red-slipped pot sherds recovered from Kumako.....	266
7-38	Mean thickness of ceramics from four Kumako loci.....	267
7-39	Mean number of ceramic color varieties at four Kumako loci.....	268
7-40	Frequencies of color variation at Kumako.....	269
E-1	Sample one beta analytic radiocarbon dating laboratory results.....	400
E-2	Sample two beta analytic radiocarbon dating laboratory results.....	401
E-3	Sample three beta analytic radiocarbon dating laboratory results.....	402
E-4	Sample four beta analytic radiocarbon dating laboratory results.....	403

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Cheryl N. Ngwenyama

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This study addressed current archaeological strides among Maroons of Suriname, South America. Maroon sites have long been considered to be ephemeral and reclusive, making definitive findings tenuous at best. However, continued historical and ethnoarchaeological investigations revealed the structural character of an early settlement of these communities of runaway slaves and their descendants. I addressed recent findings from the 18th century Saramaka Maroon settlement, Kumako, known as the first established village of the Saramaka. Kumako acted as a point of convergence during the formative period of the Saramakaan in the upland Guiana rainforest. Kumako yielded features possibly bearing pre-Columbian attributes of land use, technology, and material culture. Items recovered from the site included a medley of cross-cultural artifacts ranging from coarse earthenware to remnants of stone tools.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Why Maroon Archaeology?

This study is an archaeological investigation of an early settlement of Maroons (descendants of runaway slaves) in Suriname, South America. Presented throughout this dissertation is a first-ever archaeological study of Suriname's Saramaka and Matawai Maroons. This research project will focus on modern Maroons groups who have remained in their ancestral territory. These two groups--Saramaka and Matawai--possess a political and cultural sense of self that allows them to contribute—through oral-historical accounts—to the construction of a research design and also to assist in the research design's implementation. This study promises to interject new perspectives concerning the methodology of conducting archaeological field research in the neo-tropical environment of lowland South America. It also will ascertain ethnographic data for explicit use and interpretation of the archaeological record, and form an understanding of Maroon cultural transformation and the polemical arguments used to explain it. This study contributes to the growth of Caribbean historical archaeology and the understanding of the cultural and material choices Maroons made during their tumultuous history. The Suriname project marks the beginning of a long-term research endeavor that seeks to dissect the physicalities of how and where early Maroons of the Guiana Shield of northeastern South America lived and thrived. The study of Maroon archaeology creates a platform from which to consider the enduring themes found in the three "R's" of African-diaspora studies: retention, rebellion, and resistance. Each theme has functioned as a pivot from which dialogues about the peoples of the African diaspora may be addressed.

Defining Diaspora Studies

Discussions in African-diaspora studies are constructed from three major themes: retention, rebellion, and resistance. These themes are the cornerstones of historical, socio-political, and anthropological discourse concerning the resistance of slaves to plantation life, the rebellion of slaves on plantations, and those who would later develop into Maroon societies (resistance and rebellion may also be associated with defense and survival). These themes show the more pervasive retention of Africanisms--whether conscious or unconscious--in belief structure, the practice of religion and interpretation of folklore, the use of medicinal vegetation, musical expression, linguistic correlations to African language bodies, and, more loosely, cultural transformation, the development of the creole and mestizo sects, and the politicization of blackness.

According to Holloway (1990), “Scholars over the years, in their endeavors to define an African-American culture separate from European-American culture, discovered a significant number of cultural and linguistic properties of African origin and labeled them Africanisms” (1). From these Africanisms’ premise, all the major themes surreptitiously become a point of consideration. Rebellion and resistance may be argued as a point of retaining known African traits, as opposed to countering subordination by the dominant culture. Each trait steps into the foreground and affects how discussions on the subject are constructed and disseminated. Holloway further asserted that this perspective creates the perception of a homogenous transference of African culture among the populations of slaves found throughout the New World. These three dominant themes overlap in the literature of diaspora studies as being riddled with historical and social complexities.

Retention

The retention theme is commonly found in discussions concerning the origin of the attributes found in African-diaspora belief systems. Scholars have researched the effects and reinterpretations of Christian beliefs systems with African-based religions, such as Yoruba (Brandon 1990; Holloway 1990). In order to substantiate the transference of spiritual doctrines from Africa to the New World, attention must be paid to the influx and fluctuation of African migrations into different regions of the New World.

According to Hall (2005), a more detailed assessment is required to understand not only the waves of migrations spanning several centuries, but also the ethnic composition of transatlantic voyages and their point of destination in the Americas. Hall (2005) further stated: “we can discern the clustering of Africans from the same regions and ethnicities in local districts and on estates” (56) and that “relatively few African ethnicities were brought to the Americas in significant numbers” (57). These clusterings and placements of ethnic groups were primarily based on an exploitation of African knowledge, technology, and skill. Such was the case in the transport of slaves from Madagascar and the Greater Senegambia/Upper Guinea for rice cultivation in South Carolina.

Hall (2005) even critiqued the Creolization paradigm, or as she interpreted it, the dismissal that distinct ethnic African populations could have any bearing on socio-cultural positions in their new home as argued by Mintz and Price (1976, 1992). Hall (2005) argued against Mintz and Price’s (1976) perspective that slaves arriving in the New World were an incoherent group who underwent rapid Creolization in the form of language formation and group social identity, once they relocated to American colonies. Hall instead emphasized that the complexities of Creolization cannot be addressed with sweeping generalizations, but Creolization must be situated within its specific historical, regional, and colonial context to be argued with working

definitions of Mintz and Price's (1976, 1992) Creolization theory. Hall further showed how the retention of ethnically preferred groups, intentionally constructed by opportunistic European powers, would later affect the unintentional retention of ideology of these same groups of slaves upon arrival in the Americas.

In the early half of the 17th century, the Portuguese colony of Brazil and the Spanish regimes in Mexico and eastern Cuba had large populations of West Central African slaves. The colonial proliferation of these super powers in the New World places the diaspora populations of Brazil and Cuba as historical and modern repositories of retained spiritual Africanisms. Socio-historical researchers have long since studied *candomble*, a belief structure centered on the application of Christian/Catholic doctrine, sacrifice, the worship of deities or orisha from the Nigerian West African Yoruba pantheon. In the northeastern state of Bahia, Brazil, the practice of candomble among its largest African descent populations reflects the historical introduction of Nago and Lucumi during the 18th and 19th centuries (Hall 2005).

The Cuban counterpart, Santeria, described as an African-Cuban religion that demonstrates the intermingling of Yoruba spiritual ideology with Roman Catholicism, became transfixed and pronounced with the large influx of Yorubas into Cuba in the mid-19th century. Orisha deities quickly became identified with Catholic saints or *santos*, hence the term *Santeria*. Hall (2005) stressed that “the creolization of religion followed a different course in Cuba, where the Bantu impact was more direct and unadulterated ”and that “to the present day, Palo Mayombe, a traditional Kongo faith, has had a strong influence in Cuba” (170). The practice of Santeria and Kongo faith surfaces among immigrant populations of Cubans living in Florida and the northeastern United States, respectively, and maintains an influential status among Caribbean groups (Brandon 1990; Hall 2005).

But can and should the retention of Africanisms always be the pivotal point in discussions about diaspora ideology? According to Pierce's (1977) ethno-historical survey of city Creoles in Paramaribo, Suriname, even though the city creoles (nengre means negro of lower socio-economic status) maintain some African-derived patterns of worship, Africanisms are in fact not a factor in kinship and residential patterns. In his study of magico-religious aspects of city Creoles, Pierce (1977) discovered that Africanisms could be found in anomalous examples of word symbology in Surinamese folktales. He uncovered the use of several phrases and names pertaining to *winti* or possessing spirits, all derived from west African cultural linguistic groups. The term Vodou is derived from Fon, as is Loko (Fon), Opete (Akan), and Leba (Fon) (115). He emphasized that though terminological relationships might have connections to spiritualism, they may not translate directly to other aspects of Creole culture. In fact, as a paradigm, Africanisms have less of an implication in the totality of Surinamese nengre culture.

Pierce (1977) further argued that the genealogical space of the Surinamese nengre population can be explained vis-à-vis its bilateral structure and the extension of a bilateral incest taboo.

The frequent occurrence of conjugal instability and a variety of mating forms can be more plausibly explained in terms of the Surinamese external enviroing field than as a survival of West African polygyny. It is tempting to interpret the differentiation of agnatic and uterine linkages in Nengre descent and the relative cohesiveness of relationships in uterine and sororal networks, as opposed to agnatic and fraternal networks, as being derived from the Ashanti descent system . . . however, this descent system can be explained as a consequence of customs and laws connected with the Surinamese system of slavery. (115)

He suggested that these attributes—Africanisms found in magico-religious practice and their corresponding absence in kinship spatio-relationships—can be explained via the historical residues of slavery. Pierce (1977) evaluated the nature of legally binding relationships in relation to their attachment to consigned places. Pierce stated (1977) that a distinction was established within the slave populations between Saltwater Negroes brought straight from Africa and their

creole counterparts, who were born in New World Suriname: “during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when a large proportion of the slave population consisted of Saltwater negroes, tribal loyalties appear to have provided an important basis for the organization of interpersonal relationships among slaves” (116). Pierce (1977) added that with a decrease in African-born slaves, the concept of tribal loyalties was ceded to a social affiliation based on plantation of origin and/or where relatives were buried. Pierce (1977) further commented that “contemporary urban nengre consider themselves to be mystically attached to the places where they were conceived and to the plantations where their cognatic descent groups or roots developed” (116). The Dutch did not allow the marriage of slaves on plantations while manumitted creoles maintained a more liberal attitude toward co-residency, preferring to co-habitat and assess the potential of an enduring union before consenting to a constrictive marriage. Instead, slaves and Creoles alike engaged in promiscuous and transient relationships. This culture of “openness,” Pierce (1977) argued, endures with modern Surinamese creole.

Pierce’s (1977) study raised questions relevant to the study put forth in this dissertation. If Africanisms are in fact not transferable in the study of Surinamese slave and creole culture, is this experience an appropriate historical model to understand Maroon archaeological research in Suriname and in the circum-Caribbean in general? Should Africanisms be used to infer kinship patterns among Maroon communities even if these groups of Africans obtained a spatial freedom not experienced by their plantation brethren? Moreover, is creolization an inclusive paradigm for understanding the creation more than transformation of diaspora Maroons? The treatment of the creolization theory is an important device for understanding the roles that Indigenous, African, and European peoples had on the development of Maroon culture. As will be discussed at length in Chapter 4, the Creolization theory is a dated tool for confronting issues concerning the

retention of Africanisms. Moreover, the concept of Creolization, as applied to the Suriname case, gained momentum in the 1950s and was born of beleaguered attempts at deciphering the cultural choices of city Negroes vis-à-vis¹ Bush Negroes. Helman (1959) wrote;

Creolization is a sluggish process; somatically speaking, the first evidence of a harmonious forging of heterogeneous elements appears in the individual. In this process the unfathomable group psyche develops slowly, long hindered by discord and uncertainty. It takes a long time before it can be said that there is any uniformity or a certain 'style' in the group. There is also quite a natural conservative instinct which the group, though driven by new impulses, does not know how to overcome. The sprinkling of baptismal water hardly dampens the surface of the deep-rooted animism which the Creole acquires at birth in this environment. Can this ever be completely altered? This is given expression in countless small practices of daily life, principally at birth and death. Atavism is strongly in evidence in time of illness or distress, and ancestral propitiation is practiced, ancestral notions are venerated together with the hesitant use of the sacramentals which Christendom offers the not yet completely westernized Creole. The "seer" or medicine man still, though surreptitiously, carries out his function among them; they still take part now and then in dances or exorcism, food taboos are maintained, unusual dreams assiduously interpreted. (75)

In this example, Helman's treatment of Creolization complements Pierce's (1977) study by suggesting degrees of retained Africanisms in metered isolation. Hall's (2005) emphasis on cohesive ethnic transference into the New World raises an important concern about having the knowledge and understanding of the origins of African cultural influences in the New World. This approach would address causal arguments concerning African trait retention, but hampers other venues of interpretation. To rest upon these influences as the sole determinant for interpreting the identity of diaspora peoples is one-dimensional and possibly limited, as argued in Pierce's (1977) Suriname example. Anthropological discourses actively support the "retention" premise, which is responsible for socio-cultural assessments of the modern African-diaspora, yet its historical handling of Africanisms is rather amorphous. The predecessors of the

¹ Suriname's descendants of runaway slaves residing in small villages in the river basin of the tropical forest were and currently are commonly referred to as Bush Negroes. The term Maroons is used in more formal/ academic circles.

Africanism/retention premise, Melville Herskovits (1930, 1936, 1941, 1958), Sidney Mintz (1974), and Richard and Sally Price (1980, 2003), have impressed upon scholarly studies of the Diaspora an explanation of the New World blacks' survival as remnants of what they once were in an African world.

Though I take issue with any dependence on African retentions, it is important to understand, however, the historical context which affected the construction and proliferation of this theme. Herskovits's publications (1930, 1941) in the early to mid-19th century were an attempt to redirect scientific inquiry that would endure for another 20 years—promoting a diminished and unilateral perception of the Negro in the Americas. Because the retention of Africanisms was a point used to dissuade scholars about the cultural diversity and depth of the American Negro, Herskovits (1941) sought to shift the arguments by focusing on the attributes of the Negroes in a way that spoke to African origins, thereby bolstering their identity and creating a healthier self-perception. Such was the case with Herskovits's (1941) attempt at using scientifically geared methods of ethnographic and ethnologic studies (1934, 1936) of “new World negroes in Dutch Guiana, in Haiti, and in Trinidad” (6). The principles upon which Herskovits's (1941) research was based relied on extracting from these cultural settings:

African background, the processes of enslavement, and the reaction of the Negro to slavery. The accommodation of Negroes to their New World setting and the resultant variation in the degree of acculturation over the entire area where slavery existed will then be indicated, while the aspects of Negro culture where Africanisms have been most retained and those where the least of aboriginal endowment is manifest, and the reasons for these differentials, will be pointed to show the complexity of what in general has hitherto been considered a single problem. (8)

Herskovits's (1941) evaluation of Suriname Bush Negroes during his 1928 and 1929 (Price and Price 2003) field trips to this region helped to formulate the retention premise, Herskovits (1941) extracted parallels of African retention in Saramaka ideology and folklore--the likes of which became stylized as levels of acculturation. Again seeking to redirect current debasing scientific

methods of looking at the American Negro's degree of social adaption to Euro-American cultural standards, Herskovits (1941) reinterpreted the acculturation process:

Acculturation, it must be remembered, occurs as a result of contact, and it is the continuing nature of the contact and the opportunities for exposure to new modes of life that determine the type and intensity of the syncretism's which constitute the eventual patterning's of the resulting cultural orientations. (116)

Herskovits (1941) further asserted that the degree of African retention is greater in the Caribbean and its outlining mainland countries than in the United States, with the exception off the southeastern Sea Coast islands of South Carolina and Georgia, where "the most striking retention of Africanisms . . . [can be] encountered in the United States [and] is . . . regarded as but a reflection of the isolation of these Negroes when compared to those on the mainland" (120). It was his work, however, among Suriname's Saramaka Bush Negroes that help to illustrate African retention premise as the direct result of the historical proximity slaves held to their white counterparts. Herskovits (1941) wrote:

It was evident, for example, even on initial acquaintance that many ancestral African customs were to be found among the Negro tribes of the Bush, who because of their long isolation had experienced a minimum of contact with Europeans. But to one expecting a modicum of Africanisms in the Bush, and an absence of them in the coastal city of Paramaribo, where the Negroes have had close and continuous contact not alone with Europeans, but with Caribs, Javanese, British Indians, and Chinese as well, the results of close study were startling. In the interior, a full-blown African religious system, a smoothly functioning African clan organization, African place and personal names, African elements in economic life, a style of wood carving that could be traced to African sources showed what might be looked for in the institutions of any isolated culture that is a going concern. (14)

To revisit Pierce's (1977) argument about city nengre/ creole disposition vis-à-vis that of slaves, we can insert the acculturation process to argue that a Maroon settlement may have greater retention of Africanisms and less European influences. The extreme isolation sets the stage for African agency and expression outside of a European subtext.

Price and Price (2003) made strong observations about the duplicitous nature of Herskovits's (1941) field methods in his examination for Africanisms, as put forth in his account of Saramaka ethnography, the primary publication on the subject, *Rebel Destiny: Among the Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana* (1934).

The contrast between the field notes and the published depictions are revealing, for they attest, implicitly, to the strength in 1920s American anthropology of an ideal of the ethnographer single-handedly discovering, among larger-than-life natives, the deep secrets of an exotic culture. They attest as well to the Herskovits' firm empiricist assumption that ethnography consists of the epistemologically uncomplicated task of "collecting data." . . . And they bear witness to the couple's unquestioning conformity to the colonial practices of their time and place. (41)

Upon an interpretation of the Herskovits's (1941) field notes regarding ethnographic methodology, participant observations, and so forth, Price and Price (2003) wrote;

Yet during their time in the field, the Herskovits' largely conformed to the colonial model for white visitors traveling among the natives, and these practices strongly affected the production of knowledge in their case. As MJH's [Melville J. Herskovits's] diaries make clear over and over, he (and later they) [referring to Melville's wife Frances Herskovits, who also played a pivotal role in anthropological research] were surrounded throughout their time in the field by an entourage of non-Saramakas who were paid both for menial jobs like cooking, washing, and cleaning, and for the great bulk of their information about Saramaka life and culture. And it is these people (along with MLH's key informant, a Saramaka Christian schoolmaster) who are, to a startling extent, simply "disappeared" in the publications. (42)

This statement suggests that Herskovits's (1941) attempts at detecting and deciphering Africanisms were cursive, and based on visual similarities he made with his more familiar study of tribes of central Africa. However critical this might sound, Price and Price (2003) treated Herskovits's (1941) early work as a starting point in the anthropological genre of African-diaspora research. But Price and Price (2003) also questioned the proficiency of ethnographic work from which Herskovits argued for Africanisms that "many of his [Herskovits's] pronouncements about African origins, which were based on a combination of wishful thinking and misunderstandings of Saramaka culture. . . ." (66). Price and Price (2003) do not mince

words about the aptitude and competence of the Herskovits's (1941) work/inquiry. In short, they felt the early work lacked both these attributes.

Students of Melville Herskovits's school, known as the classical period of anthropology and marked by intense ethnographic fieldwork, Stanley Mintz, and the husband and wife team of Richard and Sally Price reintroduced the acculturation model. But the application of the concept, as it is used by Richard Price, is more pronounced as Creolization. In the 1960s, Price and Price (2003) set out to collect a provenience of the Africanisms, using Suriname as the primary region of study. It would seem that the Price and Price critique of Herskovits's style of research was a pivot from which they would launch their own approach to deciphering the meaning of the Saramaka.

It is easy to criticize the Herskovits, Mintz, and Price and Price schools of African retention. It seems that their original intentions were no different from those of present researchers: to understand the transformation of African peoples in the New World (Blakey 1995; Hall 2005; Puri 2004).

Along this journey, however, we have become transfixed on a circular path projecting repetitive academic slogans about African retentions, the meaning of which has become calcified in academia. Maroon archaeology is a phenomenon of the past 20 years, and though it borrows items of discourse from plantation archaeology, it is an outlier within the field of historical archaeology. As such, its goals and methods differ from socio-cultural anthropological approaches disseminated by the Herskovits regime. These approaches do not rest solely on historical, ethnological, or ethnographic accounts of ethnogenesis, but place greater emphasis on the appearance of material items. This places Maroon archaeology's treatment of African trait

retention in a position to begin a historically sound and geographically situated reprise of slave rebellion and resistance.

Rebellion and Resistance

The resistance and rebellion themes are less a stranger to scholarly discussions than African retention. Traditionally, both themes span beyond the realms of 19th century anthropological conjecture and stem from historical documentation about the financial woes and socio-political discontent colonizers experienced while trying to control and pacify their slaves during the insecure early years of colonization in the New World. Because rebellion and resistance surfaced wherever a slave society existed, the scenario played out in several colonial contexts across into the Caribbean and in Central and South America. However, as historiography demonstrates, the scale of rebellion and resistance manifested differently throughout the colonies. Its treatment, however, was dictated by the goal of the colony, the colonizers' litigious relationship with their African slaves, and the level of social comfort experienced by the colonizers.

If we ponder the earlier argument of African retention to be based on degrees of acculturation, we then make it possible to consider maroonage as a cessation of plantation slavery and false colonial granted freedom. The discussion that follows presents a context for viewing resistance and rebellion as something other than the act of petit and gran maroonage.

In Colombia, the Chocó region became a mainstay for gold-seeking Spaniards in the late 17th through the early 19th centuries. According to Sharp (1974), the Chocó colony was a singular exploitation of the gold fields, with a population too small to warrant Spain's expenditure for a complex bureaucracy, creating an administratively negligent environment. The Chocó gold fields, however, provided accessible revenue for slaves to gain some financial leverage and eventually purchase their freedom. The region then differed from the agricultural plantations

found throughout most of Latin America, where some difficulty existed for slaves to accrue the monetary clout required to purchase their freedom. Though these benefits existed in the Spanish colonies, in Suriname during the 18th century, legal resistance and restitution were sought by female contingents and their families who were often left behind because maroonage was mainly enacted by the male populace (Brana-Shute 1990). To capture the importance of female lineage, be it among creoles or Maroons, Price (1983a)—in an ethnohistorical account of Saramaka gran maroonage—suggested that it is due to:

The heightened value of women during the early years in the forest, when there was a severe female shortage, and when the loss of a single woman could mean a serious blow to the collective capacity of the descent group to maintain itself through time (128).

Sharp (1974) further stated: “The incidents of violence would perhaps have been much greater in the region had this safety valve of manumission not been present and effective” (92). At this time in Colombia, the act of manumitting—frequently initiated by slaves—created a segment of African descended peoples referred as *libres*, a term which evokes the same strata of social tolerance as the creole culture of Suriname. Legal avenues of resistance surfaced in Suriname’s urban sector as a “free black” and “colored” population, and [what emerged was] the development of multiracial and multicultural households and networks. . . .” (Brana-Shute 1990:121). Even though Colombia’s slave climate meant that manumission was an attainable goal, the colony was not without its incidences of rebellion and resistance.

The seemingly tolerant and amorphous relationship between the Spaniards and their slaves, which arguably may have been the cause of poor management, did not prevent maroonage from occurring. Maroonage was the polarized outcome of rebellion, where the libre and slave population posed the greatest danger to colonizers because of their earned financial leverage and proximity to Spaniards. Brana-Shute (1990) also observed that “unlike maroonage which was blatant, many of the forms of resistance and rebellion in town . . . were sporadic, individual, and

more covert (121). Moreover, according to Sharp (1974), Cimarrone (Maroon) culture, though it produced the *palenque* settlements (sedentary Maroon communities) similar to those found in Cuba and Mexico, it did not perpetuate itself beyond opportunist revolts. Sharp (1974) observed that “rebellion had virtually no chance of continued success, because blacks relied on quick, isolated acts of violence rather than prolonged, systematically organized campaigns” (106). In this scenario, legal resistance was a more efficacious venture for African descendant people to place themselves as a force to be reckoned with in Colombia. Although legal rebellion may have created a more cantankerous relationship with colonizers, it did not set the stage for Maroons and it not did affect the position of Maroons. I would further argue that the treatment of 18th century legal rebellion, as discussed by cited sources, may be the predecessor for archaeological pursuits in plantation history.

Out of this posture, the social sciences have been able to situate continual deliberations about the rise of the peasant class, social discontent, concepts of nationhood, and the political disenfranchisement of African descendants. All of which created the need for the early cultural anthropological work of Melville Herskovits to Charles Fairbanks’ 1960s’ archaeological research of slave activity on plantations in the southeastern United States. However, these stances for Maroon archaeology are not directly transferable. Due to the historical context of Maroon societies, the aforementioned perspectives do not offer the proper casing for a full attempt at situating and operationalizing theory and method in Maroon archaeology.

Explaining Maroons in the Discipline of Anthropology

The literature in Maroon archaeology lacks a cohesive and comparative discussion of artifact typology and patterns of settlements. More importantly, the literature lacks a paradigm hypothesizing the predication of sites and their structural and functional character. In addition, available substantive archaeological evidence is deficient in intricately portraying how Maroons

engineered an existence for themselves during their formative years of development. To rectify this methodological and substantive need, the Maroon Heritage Research Project (MHRP) was created by Kofi Agorsah at the University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica. Agorsah's (2001) vision for Maroon archaeology brought an under-represented genre to the forefront and exposed Jamaica's Maroon communities. The research in Suriname is an extension of the MHRP's efforts and seeks to bridge some of these gaps, as well as address further issues.

Archaeological Approach to Maroon Studies

This position creates a plethora of questions and creates a need to address pertinent issues affecting research strategies of Maroon sites. We are also left to consider methodological concerns affecting site recognition and expansive excavation. A question arises about finds being indicative of temporary or permanent settlements and settlements characterized by expansive and patterned earthworks: How to reconcile the survey and excavation of a Maroon settlement within a given research region? Additional issues come to the forefront with typology construction and the interpretation of finds. Are we constructing types that are neither attributable to European nor Indigenous populations? If so, is there a cessation of these types beyond the parameters of sites? What categories of artifacts are to be found: crude non-diagnostic earthenware or items of highly stylized unique patterns? What might the construction materials say about the distributional pattern of sites and the resource locations? It is critical that we master what kinds of influences and relationships Maroon sites may have to their Indigenous counterparts. Are they juxtaposed to prehistoric sites? Are Maroons appropriating and restructuring previously occupied Indigenous settlements? What other aspects—if any—of cultural intermingling exist? The goal of this research is to respond to some of these overarching questions and contribute to the growth of historical archaeology, African-diaspora Studies, and Maroon archaeology.

Maroon Studies: Where Are We Now?

Historical and socio-cultural texts that focus on the act of maroonage as resistance and rebellion are typically found in Maroon literature (Carey 1997; Hart 1985; Price 1983a, 1983b; Stedman 1791; Zipp 1999). Although a vital source to historical archaeology, these texts do not attempt to substantiate the material life of early Maroon societies. This position has hindered Maroon archaeology from making definitive statements regarding issues in the construction, use of resources, as well as the trade value of artifacts. We must consider whether or not there is a prescribed consistency to Maroon settlements. This is a position that often defaults to a statement about reactionary behavior, thus furthering the argument of Maroon resistance and rebellion. We step beyond such issues to define Maroon life at a local level.

The publications that discuss the early phases of Maroon culture are typically from the vantage point of a socio-cultural interpretation of historical accounts (Green 1974; Hart 2002; Herskovits and Herskovits 1934; Hoogbergen 1990). Moreover, within the context of African-diaspora studies, Maroons are positioned as a measuring tool for ascertaining degrees of identity retention and political independence. Such investigations provide discussions that affect the interpretation of African-diaspora culture confined to various issues: escape from slavery, resistance to domination, reconciliation within the confines of the colonial system, the construction of intra-plantation life-ways, cultural expression through arts, the politicization of personhood and its national recognition, and social mobility and disenfranchisement. Through this knowledge, archaeology can contribute by providing cohesive and available material evidence that contextualizes the historical character of Maroons. This dissertation offers preliminary data on the Maroons' material beginnings in Suriname to advance the understanding stories derived from the material culture within African-diaspora research.

Presentation of Dissertation

This dissertation is based on several themes and concepts I regard as most pertinent to the understanding and growth of Maroon archaeology, in particular, and more broadly, historical archaeology and African-diaspora studies. Because this is the first endeavor to produce material evidence on early Saramaka development, I rely heavily on historical and ethnographic accounts to contextualize Maroon culture during the late 17th and 18th centuries.

I begin with a presentation of the concepts and concerns that the study addresses. I contextualize them with a review of the literature and key referential points presented throughout the entire dissertation.

I give a historical background of the research area in question in Chapter 2. Chapter 2 gives a brief overview of European occupation in the circum-Caribbean region and the Maroon communities that flourished as a result of colonization. This overview presents an illustration of the presence of different European powers, notably the Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch, understandably because they were so instrumental in the harnessing and application of human labor for commercial production. More specifically, focus was placed upon their much studied and at times belligerent relationship with the different Maroon factions. In addition, focus was placed on the historical figures and places that played an instrumental role in maroonage.

It was not necessary to begin at the juncture of slavery and its subversive affects in order to see the scope of this project. Instead, Chapter 2 begins with the assumption of African-diaspora culture being a phenomenon of New World commercial exploitation in addition to it being a direct result of the slave industry and subsequent plantocracy that sprung from it. Given this perspective, there is intentionally no synopsis of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and no review or intricate discussion of the event. Such an endeavor would deviate from the subject of

archaeological investigation and go beyond the scope of the data put forth in the entire dissertation.

I continue with a historical outline of the places where maroonage was most prevalent—Jamaica, Cuba, Mexico, Suriname, and Brazil--and discuss the enduring settlements found and commonly cited in historical accounts (Agorsah 2001; Allen 1999, 2000; La Rosa Corzo 2003; Price 1975, 1983a, 1983b). These sections give a synopsis of the major peace accords instituted in each of the aforementioned countries, between the different Maroons groups and their European counterparts. In addition a discussion follows of the major cultural attributes documented at the settlements. The overview of the other countries with a strong history of maroonage leads Chapter 2 toward Suriname and its Maroon culture. Suriname's Maroon community is unprecedented when compared to other communities; It has had an extensive amount of historical, ethnographic, and, more importantly, anthropological research on modern communities—all of which are relevant to the goals of this research project. Numerous documentation represents the culture of Jamaica's Windward and Leeward Maroons, and how they influenced Afro-Caribbean identity as reflected in its music, creole language, belief structure, and approach to medicinal care (Agorsah 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 2001; Bilby 1996;; Carey 1997). Furthermore, the MHRP began its archaeological research of Maroon communities at Nanny and Accompong Towns sites, each helping to build the model upon which future investigations of Maroon culture can be applied.

A discussion follows of Dutch occupation in Suriname and the intricacies of the Dutch relationship with their Maroons. In addition, the engines of the slave trade are presented, such as the Dutch West Indies Company and the turbulence that existed between the Dutch, British, and Portuguese. Particular focus is placed on the Saramaka, Matawai, and the Ndyuka because the

signed treaties cite these groups specifically. Chapter 2 also introduces the settlements where archaeological investigation took place: Saramaka, Kumako, Matawai, and Tuido. The sites are discussed in the historical context of how they came into existence. This section continues with an overview of the different clans who lived at Kumako. A brief description is presented on the observations of Dutch military that invaded the settlement in the 1740s.

This section ends by outlining some of the modern problems faced by Suriname Maroons. One focus in this section is the Ndyuka Maroon exploitation of gold deposits for economic advantage and independence (Heemskerk 2001b). Mention is also made of the Matawai threat of mercury contamination via the consumption of its vital protein source from fish, a result of the small-scale gold mining industry (White 2005). Furthermore, a brief discussion ensues of the relevance of archaeological science in the procurement of knowledge and the mediation of modern and historical places of cultural value for Saramaka. The Saramaka have been embroiled in a land rights struggle with the government of Suriname. For several years the Saramaka have attempted to secure Saramaka ancestral land for the area's natural resources.

Concerns, questions, and objectives that lead to the evidence presented in this dissertation are discussed in Chapter 3. These questions seek to determine the degree of influence Indigenous and European culture had on the Maroons, the extent to which African culture influenced Maroon social organization, and how all these elements may be reflected archaeologically. The research questions presented in this chapter are succinct representations of the overarching research issues mentioned earlier in the introduction. To address these questions the study outlines the model used for the MHRP's Jamaica and Suriname research. The study begins with an assessment of Agorsah's (1988) Local Rule (LR) model which proposes that land use and land acquisition are determined by inter- and intra-familial relationships. The LR model was

considered as a basis from which to devise the research question (RQ1) that Africans from similar locales in Africa would re-create their familiar settlement patterns in the context of the New World. This research question builds upon information about Saramaka social organization, and its relationship to African origins addresses cultural anthropology's long-standing discourse on African cultural retention in the New World, particularly the Caribbean.

The second research question (RQ2) incorporates a broader perspective of what influences may have been responsible for Maroon development. The RQ2 considers the historical presence and interaction Maroons held with both Indigenous groups and Europeans. Historical documents testify to some use of European products and their procurement during raids on plantations. Items such as guns, glass jars, and axes were frequently stolen. The RQ2 also attempts to understand Maroon use of ceramic items and the manufacturing technology, clay sources for construction material, and the cultural distinction found in paste inclusions and decorative elements.

The discussion of research concerns a critique on historical archaeology. Historical archaeological research typically leans toward the reiteration of colonial prowess, the erection of significant structures considered culturally significant, and the acquisition of natural resources (Deagan 1983, 1987, 1988, 1995; Deagan and Crucent 1993). This approach changed under the influence of research of dissenting themes concerning class difference, issues in gender, and the plight of the disenfranchised (Leone and Potter 1988). African-diaspora research is often situated under this umbrella of dissenting themes that affect the research strategy and interpretation of finds. Research also extended to anthropological and archaeological studies in the Caribbean and South America. Funari (2002) criticized Brazilian historical archaeologists for being mere proponents of an elitist regime that aims to put forth the history of its own class depicting a class-

conscious approach to historical archaeology. The research of dissenting themes however, did influence the genre of plantation archaeology, which created a space for discussing how people of African descent manipulated their immediate surroundings (Fairbanks 1972; Ferguson 1992). This field led to the study of ceramic pots known as Colonoware or Yabba made by plantation slaves. They are defined as low-fired earthenware pots lacking decorative elements and broad color schemes. Their use value can also be interpreted as utilitarian. Design motifs that exist on these types of pots are thought to reflect an African ideological influence.

I present a review on the likelihood of finding historical archaeological sites. This section is supported with a review of previous archaeological research conducted in Suriname to date. In addition, a review of a 1780 government decree is presented stipulating the designated locales for Indigenous villages. These data are intended to support a firm conclusion of Kumako as a Saramaka settlement. Both RQ1 and RQ2 assume a degree of cultural exchange between Indigenous groups and Maroon.

This Chapter 4 begins by stating the basic terms and definitions traditionally applied in anthropological science and their counterparts in archaeological science. This section reviews the common paradigms used to situate African-diaspora research. I discuss how these paradigms mesh with the goals of this research project and offer an alternate theory more applicable to the Maroon situation specifically. The concepts of Creolization and hybridity are the cornerstones of cultural anthropological theory made popular by Mintz (1996; 1985) and Price (1974). As contemporaries, these men wrote books on the cultural transformation that peoples of African descent experienced in the years following migration from Africa to the New World. In addition, both deal with themes of resistance and rebellion and cultural evolution under the regime of colonialism and imperialism. The counter paradigms explored throughout this chapter

and applied to the research project are ethnogenesis (Allen 2000; Bilby 1996; Weik 2002; Whitehead 1996) and Gosden's (2004) middle ground theory.

For the purposes of Maroon research, ethnogenesis is presented as a theory which offers greater topical variety. Its basic definition defines a rudimentary drive that people have to be among kin, share a common origin, have shared beliefs, and a historical background (Bilby 1996). This definition resonates well with Creolization and hybridity, but it need not be limited by it. Ethnogenesis comes out of the confines of cultural anthropological research of the Afro-Caribbean community. More importantly, the ethnogenesis paradigm does not rely on the traditional approach of ethnographic model building derived from ethnographic data. Instead, it incorporates archaeological science and its material data. The potential of the ethnogenesis theory is realized in the work of Weik (2002). In his work at a 19th century black Seminole Maroon settlement, Pilaklikaha in central Florida, Weik examined the spatial configuration of dispersed housing. He concluded that black Seminoles did not mimick spatial patterns of their like-minded plantation slaves, and they did not appropriate those patterns that of their Indigenous partners. Their living arrangements instead were loosely based on kinship formation and presented an arrangement which was unique to Pilaklikaha.

Gosden's (2004) critique is further discussed of how historical archaeology tends to interpret artifacts as items of quantitative and incremental value instead of qualitative and metaphorical value. He cited this interpretative approach as a disciplinary error by further stating that historical archaeological methods de-conceptualize material culture by extracting the potential for rigorous and multi-dimensional reinterpretation. The middle ground theory is presented as a point of intersection for the ethnogenesis paradigm, and it is believed to be the best method of applying ethnoarchaeology into the study of Maroons' historical past.

I also explore the concept and methodology of ethnoarchaeology in Chapter 4. A series of applications are presented which are linked to case studies that further contextualize the nature of ethnoarchaeology. Ethnoarchaeology is presented as both theory and method and at its basic definition connotes the use of living culture to infer past behavior. Moreover, ethnoarchaeology promotes the use of oral traditions, indigenous histories, and archaeological evidence (Andren 1998; Schmidt 1997). In the context of Maroon archaeology, an ethno-archaeological approach observes isolated attributes and activities among contemporary Saramaka villagers. Ethnographic accounts of shared cookware and domestic quarters aids in developing archaeological methods and the interpretation of such finds as ceramic artifacts recovered from African-diaspora sites throughout the circum-Caribbean that may infer localized systems of domestic production (Haviser 1999).

I present the research methodology applied to the study in Chapter 5. It outlines the basic strategy employed to ascertain historical, ethnographic, and archaeological data to aid in the interpretation of Saramaka patterns of settlement and early socio-material life. This chapter reviews the historical literature applicable to Dutch and Caribbean history, as it relates to Suriname and the litigious relationship the Dutch had with Maroons. The historical record was relied upon to help corroborate the onset of maroonage and the location of Kumako.

A report of the archaeological evidence recovered from the Saramaka settlement to date is discussed in Chapter 6. The early efforts of Agorsah's work in Suriname began in the late 1990s and consisted mainly of developing liaisons with the Saramaka, gathering ethnographic information on place names, prospecting for potential sites, and surveying the Kumako settlement. Upon the initial survey, the Kumako settlement was identified with the aid of the Saramaka guides. Excavations at the Kumako settlement have revealed two separate regions of

the site: Kumako (KMK) 1 and KMK2. The KMK 1 is identified by earlier excavations spanning the first six years of surveying and excavation efforts. KMK1 is characterized by an ad hoc assemblage of artifacts ranging from musket balls and glass to crude non-diagnostic earthenware with no particular structural attributes. The KMK2, a large circular mound (approximately one kilometer in diameter) situates the significance of KMK1. The KMK2 was uncovered during the August 2004 through January 2005 field season, producing a large yield of artifacts with increased specificity of shard parts, that is, rims, handles, and body. It appears that the circular mound region may have functioned as an area of increased domestic activity, though further excavations need to verify this assumption. This find is similar to Maroon sites in southeastern Cuba. Sites in Cuba are said to contain a raised central nucleus with expanding and dispersed hamlets at differing intervals.

The assemblage and earthworks feature found at Kumako raises the issue of the cultural and/or physical presence of Indigenous groups. Archaeological evidence from Suriname supports the identification and knowledge of prehistoric sites located at various locations throughout the country (Versteeg and Bubberman 1992). Kumako and its varied contexts do not reflect the literature on prehistoric Indigenous archaeology. Though it is a site consisting of a mound—a characteristic of Indigenous settlements—it is not comprised of shell debris located in the coastline's brackish water or in the open savannah regions of Amazonia. These attributes are typical of such sites. Its proximity to modern Maroon villages along the river basin and its description of small hill in the Saramaka language lead to the logical conclusion that Kumako is in fact the village of the first—time Saramaka people.

I present the ceramic artifacts recovered from Kumako and Tuido in Chapter 7. Also addressed is the logic and strategy supporting the analysis technique, as well as some treatment

of artifact functions. I dissect the ceramic finds from both Tuido and Kumako into variables of paste inclusions, surface treatment, design technique, thickness, color. Each of these attributes is discussed in association with its provenience. For example, Tuido is treated as a singular site while the ceramics from Kumako are presented in relation to four loci: KMK1; KMK2's dark circular pit, mound center, and other mound periphery units. I also give a cross site comparative treatment of the artifacts.

Chapter 8 recaps all pertinent issues presented in this dissertation. This chapter emphasizes the need for more rigorous and inclusive methodology of Maroon archaeological research. Of particular focus is the assertion that Maroon sites can indeed present structurally similar patterns of settlement across differing geographical spaces. To illustrate this point, emphasis is placed upon archaeological examples from the *palenque* of Cuba, the southeastern United States, Brazil, and Jamaica.

Chapter 8 also offers recommendations for developing an active intellectual environment to support the growth of historical archaeology in Suriname. Currently, Suriname has no active institutional bodies in its academic community, government, or private sector that create a venue for the sharing of archaeological knowledge. It is my goal to further develop the discipline of archaeology in Suriname beginning with an understanding of the material history of Maroons.

CHAPTER 2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Slave Trade Made Maroonage Possible

The following discussion gives an overview of the historical events that affected the occurrence of Maroonage and the subsequent communities that developed throughout the New World. The Caribbean region is of special interest, and relevant material extensively outlines the colonial events leading to the presence of Maroon groups. The historical formation of Suriname Maroons and the social condition of their contemporary communities are of particular interest. The discussion contains information regarding the precise conditions that affected the transport and presence of slaves in Suriname—from their primary point of departure in central African ports and their secondary point of departure from colonial acquisitions in the New World—in particular Northeastern South America.

This section will also cover: slave labor used for the exploitation of natural resources, such as timber and tobacco; the internal political and social dynamics employed to deal with the occurrence of Maroonage; and the systematic self—mobilization of Maroons from coastal plantations to their points of convergence in the tropical forest. I include the most pronounced modern issues surrounding the Maroons of Suriname: land and human rights violations due to political and economic manipulation, and also the relevance of archaeological science for the preservation of Maroon antiquity and social representation. Moreover, as an archaeological project, it is not the intention of this chapter or dissertation to give an exhaustive discussion of the Transatlantic Slave trade.² The information cited in the remainder of this chapter and

² My research is intended to be a source for those interested in understanding how archaeology explains ethnic transformation within the African diaspora, and, as a result, offers no detailed review of the Transatlantic Slave Trade. My research does not specifically outline the ethnic origin or genealogy of African descent peoples in the New World. Readers can refer to numerous publications on the subject. For information regarding African-diaspora archaeology in the Americas and some discussion on the ethnic origins of its material culture and social choices, see (Agorsah 1996, 1995, 1994, 1993; Hansen and McGowan 1998; Havisser 1999; Singleton 1999; Weik 2002).

throughout this dissertation regarding this historical event complements the development of research questions and hypotheses (see Chapter 3 for a detailed discussion of research questions and goals) upon which this study is based.

Numerous publications have outlined and interpreted the effects of the Transatlantic Slave Trade on peoples of the African diaspora (Casas 1992; Clarke 1998; Knight 1978; Mann 2005; Rogozinski 1992; Thornton 1992). The most consistent depiction is the degenerative effects slavery had on its subjects. These effects typically began with the three most prominent transformations to take place in the Caribbean region after 1625, in particular that which would extend to international polities: “[a] the Spanish-American hegemony was successfully broken”; [b] “the sugar revolutions began”; and “[c] the Europeans began to articulate new theories about empire that affected their international relations” (Knight 1990:53). These three stances are often umbrella arguments for interpreting the sequence of events, which set the scene for Maroon communities and their subsequent culture to flourish.

European Colonies’ Maroon Societies

The major players of the colonial period and those whose colonies produced formidable communities of Maroons include: Spain, Portugal, England, France, and Holland. Though the Danish held some territorial influence in the Lesser Antilles as early as the 1670s, their control in the region was lost to the United States by the late 1800s, thus diminishing the role they played in the implantation of colonial stability. When interest grew in the exploration of the African continent, the structural vehicle for eliciting trading relationships also grew. Several charter companies were developed for this explicit purpose: a) the Portuguese Crown; b) English Royal Africa Company (defunct by the end of the 17th century); c) French Senegal Company; and d) the Dutch West Indies Company. These charter companies engaged in trade with the Yoruba people, the Ashanti, and with groups along the Congo River basin. Moreover, these charter

companies thrived from commodities, such as iron, copper, pepper, gold, textiles, and human labor extracted from what was dubbed the Slave Coast from the Lower Guinea region, modern-day Benin (formerly the Kingdom of Dahomey), and the Gold Coast (modern-day Ghana). In exchange, their African trading partners acquired European military technology, such as guns and cannons, horses, salt, and European beads. The progression of the Transatlantic Slave Trade meant that by 1700 the Caribbean region received half of all the Africans brought to the New World. More specifically, the English Antilles received 250,000, the French Caribbean received more than 150,000, the Portuguese and Dutch received more than 500,000, and the Spanish over a quarter of a million (Gomez 2005; Toplin 1974).

The Portuguese and Spanish crowns catalyzed the Transatlantic Slave Trade, influencing liaisons and alliances with African kingdoms such as the Congo, and establishing protocols for trade and services. Initially, the Portuguese sought labor for the European market “and by 1450 hundreds of African slaves were entering Europe each year” (Burkholder and Johnson 1994:116), a flow that remained constant well into the 16th century. “Thus by the time that Columbus sailed, African slavery was well established in Iberia” (Burkholder and Johnson 1994:116).

The early endeavors of the Spanish and the Portuguese in the New World focused mainly on the procurement of forest goods from mainland South America in the 1500s. In 1494, the Treaty of Tordesillas created a line of demarcation between the Spanish and Portuguese in the New World. At this time, Spain established itself in the Caribbean and began importing human labor to the island of Hispaniola (modern-day Haiti and Dominican Republic) in the late 1540s. After substantial success with the sugar manufacturing colonies of Sao Tome and the Cape Verde Islands off west Africa (Burkholder and Johnson 1994), Portugal established itself

permanently in what was originally dubbed El Dorado, the Atlantic's other Gold Coast or the Wild Coast of South America. Portugal's 1532 colonization of Brazil marked the beginning of what would become the largest population of Africans outside of the continent itself (Knight 1978; Rogozinski 1992).

The onset of colonialism and its subsequent hegemonic effect on newfound territory set the stage for gran maroonage or the large-scale flight of Africans from coastal plantations to settlements or encampments in the dense tropical forest regions (Knight 1978; Rogozinski 1992). Maroon communities have been documented in countries such as Jamaica, Honduras, Mexico, Cuba, Brazil, and the American Southeast. Maroons emerged in the Americas as early as the 16th century (Figure 2-1). The freed Negro town in Mexico, San Lorenzo des los Negros, dates back to 1630, but slowly disintegrated due to acculturation with colonial culture (Pereira 1994). Jamaican Maroons earned their sovereignty in 1739, while American groups of rebel slaves became pronounced in the 19th century (Weik 2002). In time these communities became both ideologically and physically integrated into the larger national identity. During these tumultuous years, each of these European powers took great measures to control, extinguish, and later pacify their respective Maroon communities.

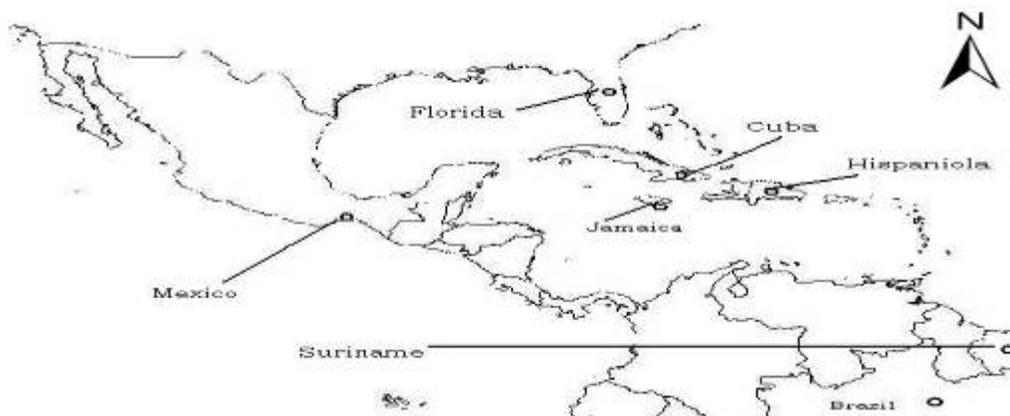


Figure 2-1. Schematic map showing the historical locations of circum-Caribbean Maroons. (Map Source About.com)

Mexico

By the 1520s, the Spanish Crown established itself in Mexico and subsequently created a vast network of runaway slaves' communities or *palenques* located in the region of Puebla, Veracruz, and Acapulco. At this time, Africans established relationships with the Indians of the then declining Aztec empire. They received aid from the Zapotecas of the central highlands and the Olmecs of the gulf coast. The Maroons intermarried with these cultures to bolster their population within the palenques and to create liaisons for military prowess against the encroaching Spaniards. In 1608, the Spanish Crown negotiated a peace proposal or treaty with Maroons. Stipulations of the peace proposal include: a) freedom would be given to slaves who fled the plantations prior to 1608; b) Africans living in palenques must pay tribute to the Spanish Crown and hand over any newly acquired runaways; c) only Franciscan clergy were allowed to enter the palenques and act as liaisons and negotiate any further legal issues between Maroons and Spanish Crown; d) Maroons were required to function as vassals of the Spanish Crown by serving, when needed, as their military might; e) and each palenque must maintain a *cabildo*, or headman.

The most famous Mexican Maroon headman was Yanga. His namesake village was later officiated in 1630 and renamed San Lorenzo de los Negros, at which time all its inhabitants were pardoned of previous grievances toward the Spanish Crown (Pereira 1994). In addition, as with the peace proposal, the inhabitants of San Lorenzo were required to maintain a church and clergy representative. The descendants of Yanga maintain political lineage, a result of San Lorenzo becoming an autonomous governing body under Spanish rule. However, by 1655, the occupants of San Lorenzo were absorbed by the plantocracy as manual labor. Thus began the shift from isolated *palenque* and Maroon life to assimilation into the mainstream Mexican social structure. Quickly thereafter the Spanish appropriated the Maroon village Amapa, established in 1768. As

with other Maroon communities, Amapa was fashioned with a church and clergy (Pereira 1994). However, Amapa functioned solely as an exercise in the Christianization of Maroons. Mexico's 1821 independence from Spain and its abolition of slavery in 1829 brought an end to Maroonage and its *palenque* culture. Similar to the Maroon experience in Mexico is Cuba's contemporary Maroon era.

Cuba

Though Cuba was colonized by Spain in 1511 with the help of the Lucayo Arawaks, it was not until 1534 that Cuban shores saw a large influx of slaves brought in to exploit copper deposits in southeastern Cuba. The expansion of sugar production began in 1740, and within 20 years the industry had accelerated to use and maintain slave labor, culminating in a 1769 lift of a ban on slave importation (La Rosa Corzo 2003). Cuba's Maroon communities are defined by similar *palenque* settlements, as was common in Mexico. In Cuba, these permanent settlements were defined by their subsistence plots, but were more commonly found in the vast and rugged terrain in the southeastern part of the country. Also noted in Cuba's historical documentation of Maroons are ephemeral settlements known as *rancheria*. These temporary settlements offered shelter to armed bands during their bouts of guerrilla warfare. The Spanish took a proactive and aggressive approach to curtailing Maroonage.

Their first order of business was to institute the Law of the Indies, which was the legal underpinnings outlining slave hunter expeditions to locate palenques and rancherias between the 16th and 19th centuries (La Rosa Corzo 2003). Within the legal body existed the Board of Plantation Owners which financed and organized informal slave hunting militias. Under this law, captured runaways were used to locate settlements that were later turned over to white families. More than 30 palenques are recorded, the first of which is *El Portillo*, recorded in 1731. The largest Maroon settlement found to date is *El Frijol*, located in the *El Frijol* mountains east of

Santiago de Cuba but destroyed in 1840. Its contemporary is *Bayamito*, located in the Sierra Maestra mountain range (La Rosa Corzo 2003).

Many of the Africans occupying these settlements were Christianized while still living on the plantations, and they could speak Spanish. Within the boundaries of these three large settlements practiced a type of belief mediated by a *santero* or witch doctor. Modern Afro-Cuban culture knows this to be *Santeria*. Moreover, Maroons engaged in animal husbandry by domesticating sheep and goats. They also practiced subsistence horticulture by cultivating coffee plants, tobacco, ginger, sugarcane, and ground provisions. This seemingly high standard of living may have been galvanized by a Maroon trading network with Haiti and Jamaica. In addition, the Haitian revolution (1791-1804) may have bolstered the population of *El Frijol* and contributed to the trade network.

The geographical advantage that Maroons held in Cuba in conjunction with their perceived inter-island network may have served as a factor in their cultural preservation. Maroonage in Cuba became a financial debacle for the Spanish Crown that did not lead to any level of pacification or the signing of a peace treaty. However, by the 1840s, the reign of large palenques began to decline. In 1868, the Cuban revolution commenced and the republic decreed freedom to all Africans/Maroons living in settlements. Until its culmination in 1878, an unstable social and political structure within coastal cities thus decreased the benefits of gran maroonage for slaves.

As mentioned earlier, maroonage in Jamaica may have catalyzed and/or contributed to the level of resistance with which Cuban Maroons were able to maintain their autonomy. Jamaica's Maroon communities are indelibly one of the most formidable and well known.

Jamaica

After Spain established itself in New Seville in 1509, in less than 10 years Africans were introduced to Jamaica. By 1655, Jamaica was acquired by England and gran maroonage was at

its height. Two strongholds of Maroons were created: the Windward Maroons of the southeastern Blue Mountains region and the Leeward Maroons of the northeastern Cockpit country (Bilby 1996). Two major Maroon towns are historically recognized. The first is Nanny Town, which is named after its apical heroine, Nanny, of the Windward Maroons, who was killed in 1732 (Figure 2-2). Archaeological research found that Nanny Town is composed of three dispersed settlements where approximately 200 occupants engaged in subsistence farming. The Leeward community of Accompong Town is both historically and archaeologically studied as the other major Maroon town (Wright 1994).

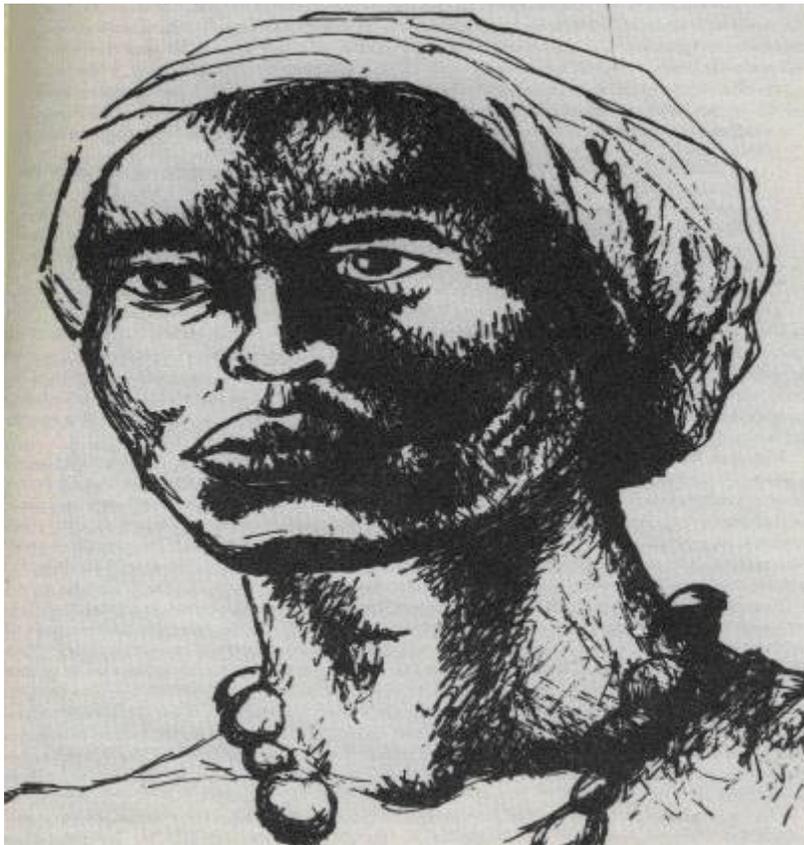


Figure 2-2 Historical figure Nanny of Jamaica Maroons (Agorsah 1994:115).

As with the Maroons of Mexico, a treaty was enacted outlining stipulations for interaction with English settlers. The conditions of the 1739 treaty stated: a) 1,500 acres would be given to Maroons of the Cockpit country; b) Maroons must acquire licenses to sell harvested items in

town markets; c) Maroons were to create and maintain an accessible means of travel to their settlements; d) they were to eliminate non-conforming slaves; e) they were to return future runaways; f) they were to maintain a three-mile distance of any planter's settlement; and g) two Anglos were to live among them.

Jamaica Maroon communities, such as Cuba and unlike Mexico, have earned their place in the historical record with supportive archaeological evidence. However, the Maroons of Brazil possess a strong historical record and a growing archaeological dialog to further the understanding of how Maroons encompassed their complex cultural environment.

Brazil

The role of the Portuguese in the slave trade created in Brazil the largest Diaspora of Africans outside of the African continent. Their early 16th century foray into the vast South American continent was catalyzed by an economic need for forest products and sugar. Thereafter, Africans quickly began creating settlements known in 17th century Brazil as, mocombos, and the more recent and commonly used term quilombos (Kent 1996). By the late 1590s through the late 1690s, a federation of Maroon communities with about 20,000 occupants created what is known as the *Quilombos dos Palmares* north of the state of Bahia. Similar to Mexico and Jamaica, Palmares had enduring authority figures such as Zumbi whom complemented the sedentary settlement life of communal meeting rooms, and more than 200 housing structures encased by pointed stakes and gates of fallen trees.

Conclusion

Brazil's natural environment proved to be most advantageous to its African population, and this environment may be the reason behind their long-standing cultural development. Maroons seemed to have fared better in the South American wilderness than in the Caribbean islands. Internal policy toward the Maroons and their degree of social integration among Indigenous

groups may have also been a factor in their formative development and maintenance. However notable Maroonage was throughout the Caribbean, Suriname's Maroon groups evolved out of a complex relationship with their Dutch counterparts. As with the Portuguese, the Dutch, more than other powers, played a pivotal role in the Transatlantic Slave Trade by engineering the development of international governing bodies, constructing holding houses for slave transport, and mapping efficient travel routes for the speedy transport of slaves across the Atlantic. Their presence throughout the circum-Caribbean and South America, especially Suriname, is the antecedent of what would become the most enduring groups of Maroons in the New World.

Dutch Presence in the Caribbean

Extensive historical evidence describes the actions of the Dutch during their early 17th century forays and the relationships they held with other European powers (De Groot 1977; Duffy 1987; Garcia 1965; Goslinga 1979, 1985; Jackson 1965; Klooster 1997; Price 1983; Stedman 1791). Dutch presence in the Caribbean preceded that of the Spanish, French, and British. Moreover, the Dutch occupation of the region meant the seizure of land already occupied by England, Spain, and Portugal. The Dutch, however, thwarted these powers and established strongholds in Caribbean islands and South America. The role they would later play in the slave trade was one of mass importer and transatlantic engineering. By the 1640s, the Dutch had usurped the power held by the Portuguese in the west African slave trading region of the Gulf of Guinea. In addition, one of the first acts of the Dutch West India Company (WIC) was the acquisition of Portuguese Brazil “whose trade had already been heavily infiltrated by Dutch capital operating behind Portuguese fronts” (Jackson 1965:7). Under the auspices of the WIC, the slave house at Goree Island, Senegal, was built in the

mid-1770s.³ The Dutch then became the principle exporter and supplier of slaves for the developing sugar industry. The result of this relationship was the acquisition and strategic exploitation of the island of Curacao becoming a mainstay for slaves to be sold and further exported to mainland America (Jackson 1965).

The Eighty Years War in Europe (1568 to 1648) exacerbated Holland's act of defiance against its European interlopers. The motivation behind the harassment was due to the Netherlands losing the war against Habsburg Spain. It resulted in the Spanish ruler, Phillip II, placing an embargo on all Dutch trade (Goslinga 1979; Klooster 1997). Due to the embargo and the pressing constraints of the Spanish, the Dutch were no longer allowed the luxury of exploiting the stock of Andalusia and Setubal in Iberia. And with an expanding herring industry and a need for curing salt, the Dutch instead turned their sights on the saltpans of Punta de Araya in eastern Venezuela (Klooster 1997:7). Holland's herring industry expanded in the 16th century due to a new method for curing fish, invented by a Zealander. Goslinga (1979) explained that the Dutch presence in the New World was catalyzed by their need for salt, a product used for the curing of meats and to make butter. Goslinga (1979) stated:

Neither gold nor the lust for adventure ultimately brought the Dutch into the forbidden waters of the Caribbean. It was their need for salt. . . .The prosperous Dutch herring industry, steadily expanding since the middle of the fifteenth century, grew at an even faster rate after a Zealander invented a method of curing the fish. This required salt: hence the fate of the Dutch was intimately bound up with locating this commodity. (20)

The conquest for salt in late 16th and early 17th centuries became the main motivator for Dutch occupation in the Caribbean. The dynamics of European politics created a tense atmosphere for the Dutch with Philip II of Spain. The global antagonism of the Spanish by the Dutch was brought on by the Dutch attempt to thwart domination by Spain in the Spanish provinces. The

³ They also created the port in modern-day New York and mapped the most direct sailing route from west Africa to northeastern North America.

Dutch quest for salt led them away from Spanish strongholds in other areas of the world and furthered their exploration of the Caribbean.

In the early 16th century, the Dutch began their piracy of the Caribbean to acquire the salt under the command of Pieter Shouten. Goslinga (1971, 1979, 1985), the established historian on the Dutch Caribbean, noted that after a short period of pilfering the saltpans of various islands, the Dutch established a military stronghold on the island of St. Martin in 1630. However, the Spanish forces made it a short-lived base camp for the Dutch. Around 1633, Curacao would become a stepping stone for colonial roots. At this juncture, the Dutch could confidently begin to exploit the saltpans of Tortuga off the coast of Venezuela, St. Maarten, the Curacao islands, and the coastal area around the Uribe River in Venezuela (Goslinga 1979). The Spanish conquistador Alonso de Ojeda discovered the island of Curacao in 1499, along with Aruba and Bonaire. But to the chagrin of the Spanish, the Dutch were able to seize both islands in 1636 and use them as bases for their pirating excursions.

In less than five years the Spanish made several failed attempts at recapturing the Curacao islands. By this point the Dutch had an impenetrable fort on Bonaire, their main salt provider, and a stronghold for securing attacks against the Spanish invasion from the southern coast.

During this period of land acquisition, the Dutch became increasingly involved with the transatlantic trade. To finance the Dutch tirades in the Caribbean, Holland devised the Dutch West India Company (WIC), established in 1621 (Jackson 1965). The company became Holland's prime cargo mover and moneymaker between west Africa and the Caribbean. It also established posts in the North American region of New Netherland, which inhabits parts of modern-day Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, and Delaware. Their success was measured by the strongholds that they held in Ghana (former Gold Coast) and momentarily in Angola and

Brazil. The WIC was initially fashioned to resemble the Dutch East India Company, better known as the Vereenigde OostIndische Compagnie (VOC). Developed in 1602, the VOC was the successful vessel of Dutch imperial infiltration of Southeast Asia—Indonesia in particular. The WIC was intended to mimic the success of the VOC. It attempted to do so by specializing in transporting human cargo for the supply of labor to be used by the developing super powers, such as Spain, France, and Britain. The WIC was often referred to as “an organ of conquest” (Jackson 1965), the particular endeavor of slavery as, “the soul of the company” and/or “the foundation on which colonial industry and commerce of the European countries rested,” (Goslinga 1985:160). Either way, the WIC helped the slave trade become a monetary stronghold for the Dutch. However, its success was mild and short lived, in relation to the VOC, and in the early 1790s, its major ports and finances were absorbed by its government.

Dutch Guiana

Though the Dutch were strong proponents of Caribbean colonialism, it was the Wild Coast of northeastern South America that proved to be a colonial challenge. The Dutch occupied Suriname in the mid-1600s after failed attempts by the French and English. In a span of 20 years, from the early 1630s to 1640, Suriname had changed hands from the French to the Spanish and Portuguese, who were quickly driven away by Indigenous peoples, and by 1634 to the English who sought to establish settlements in Suriname. However, each of these instances of attempted habitation was short lived and precipitated years of repetitive power struggles leading toward colonization.

Suriname did not begin to gain colonial consistency until the appearance in 1650 of English Lord Francis Willoughby. At this time the alliances with the Indigenous peoples began what would become the colony of Suriname (Fermin 1778). The Dutch, however, were always within striking distance and held concurrent posts along the Berbice, Issequibo, and Pomaron

rivers of the Guiana coast. The short-lived British settlement soon fell to a garrison sent from the Dutch province of Zeland. Its English inhabitants were consigned to pledge allegiance to the states of Zeland. A military post was shortly thereafter erected in Paramaribo at the mouth of the Suriname River and named Fort Zealandia.⁴ However, the exacerbated costs of protecting the colony against attacks from Indigenous peoples proved too much to bear, and the Zealanders ceded the colony to the VOC in 1682 only moments before they dissolved. They in turn partitioned the colony to the city of Amsterdam and to M. Corneille d'Aersens, Lord of Sommelsdyk, who continued as Governor. Together they formed the Society of Suriname. The Dutch still managed to challenge British authority in other Caribbean countries, as seen with the relationship of Governor Willoughby of Barbados. The plantocracy soon became the mainstay for future Surinamese wealth and sustainment.

The years that preceded the signing of the Maroon peace treaties present an unstable and reticent young colony never quite finding its footing, largely due to the antagonism of its Maroon population. Slavery was by far the most enduring economic venue in the region, but due to maroonage, it soon became a financial and litigious challenge to be confronted by the Dutch. As recourse to the problems of maroonage, several laws were stipulated outlining rules for engagement and statutes that pacified Maroons were required to follow.

Formation of Suriname's Bush-Negros and Culture

Though modern accounts and interpretations of historical documents have sought to reinterpret the life ways of early Maroon societies, none present the ethnographic and material depth of Suriname. In contrast, Suriname's Maroons still exist in settings physically removed

⁴ Fort Zealandia still stands at the inlet of the Suriname River. It is operated under the auspices of the Suriname National Museum. The fort is a major tourist attraction in Paramaribo along with its adjoining downtown historical district. As a museum, Fort Zealandia displays numerous trinkets and wares indicative of its age, as well an old holding cell. Tourists can also learn about the Indigenous groups and see artifacts recovered from archaeological excavations throughout the country.

from contemporary Surinamese society, and they are considered to be tribal entities by the government of Suriname. Their presence in the larger Surinamese society is characterized by their distinct language and customs, place of habitation, and socio-political organization.

To understand the cultural influence that aided in the rise of the maroon condition, as well as the mechanics of maroonage, we should first consider the dynamics of Dutch and Maroon relations. Suriname's coastal colony, Paramaribo, became a mainstay for slave auctions, which helped to support an influx of African-raised Maroons. It is estimated that more than 300,000 slaves were sold to planters between 1667 and 1826 (Hoogbergen 1990:69). In 1740, 90% of slaves were born in Africa, decreasing only by 30% in 1770 (Price 1976:12).

For reasons concerning labor value, the Dutch preferred an age and gender dichotomy, which favored adult males. The ratio of African to Dutch was always greater:

This colony [Paramaribo], from the year 1685 to 1695, with about 1200 white people, men, women, and children, and 6000 slaves, made, from about a hundred plantations, 6000 hogs head of sugar a year. In 1710, the inhabitants were increased to 1500 Europeans, and 10,000 slaves; whole labor increased the growth of sugar proportionately. (Conduct of the Dutch 1760:3)

The presence of more Africans than Europeans consequentially increased the occurrence of maroonage by accelerating the rate at which slaves would explore and settle in the interior. Slaves became increasingly organized in the interior of the rainforest, immediately developing clan relations based on their affiliated plantation and place of African origin.

The result of maroonage can be observed today in the six established Maroon groups in Suriname: the Saramaka, inhabiting a vast area along the Suriname River; the Matawai, located along the Saramaka River; the Ndyuka, located on the Tapanahoni and Cottica rivers, relatively close to industrial Paramaribo; the Boni (Aluku), found on the Lawa River of the French Guiana border; the Kwinti, residing in the northern region of the Saramaka River; and, the Paramaka, found on the Marowayne River (Figure 1-5). Although shifts in territory have occurred in the

recent past due to disputes over governmental access for timber exploitation, some location consistency still exists. The Saramaka and the Ndyuka are the largest groups, each having a modern-day population of approximately 25,000. In addition, along with the Matawai, they each emerged as the first set of Maroons groups to be given sovereignty. The Dutch authority recognized the other three groups, though unofficially. The Kwinti is the smallest, estimated at 500. The remaining groups, Paramaka and the Boni, are comprised of approximately 2,500 members. The Saramaka share their language with the Matawai and Kwinti, but with great variation. A variant of the Ndyuka language is spoken by the Boni (Aluku) and Paramaka (Figure 2-3).

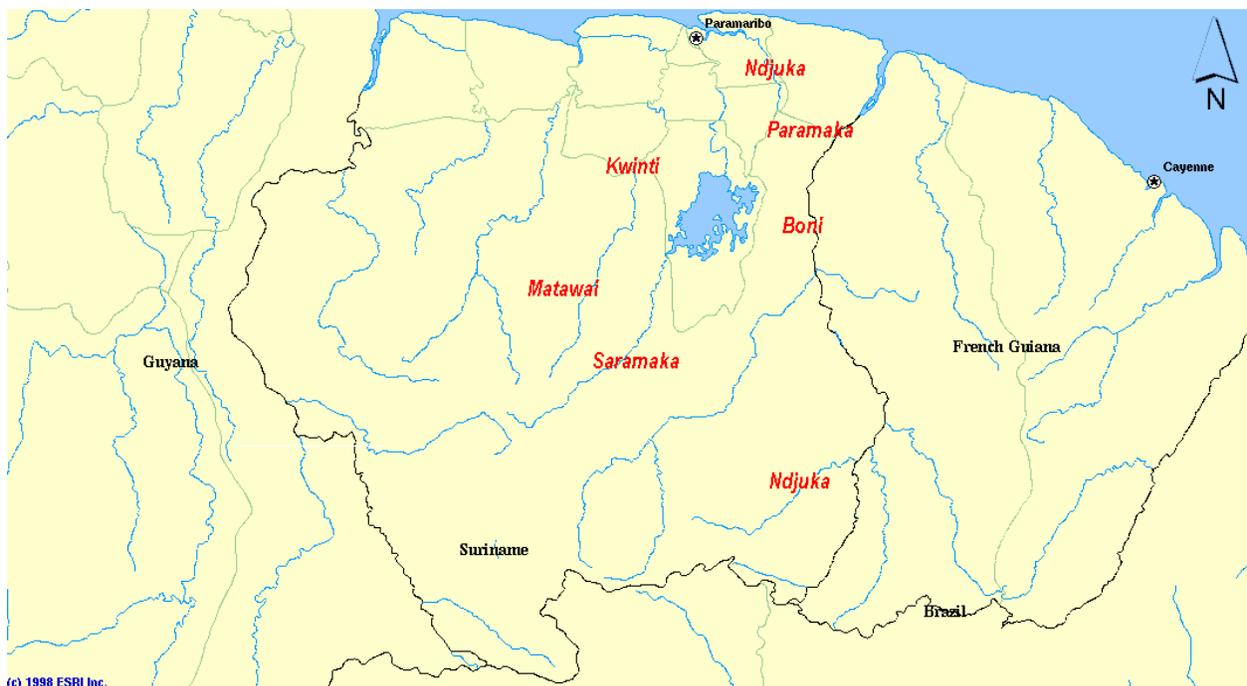


Figure 2-3. Schematic distribution of Maroon groups (Map Source ESRI Inc. 1998).

As mentioned earlier, the making of a clan was partly a reflection of the shared living relationships slaves held on the plantations. Individual slaves took comfort in the commonality they shared with members from similar tribes in their African country of origin. Moreover, the names of the clans are a corruption of the plantation names. For example, the Paputus clan

“traces their origin to a single massive escape from their Para plantation . . . when a maroon raid liberated practically the whole slave force of the Widow Papot” (Price 1983a:117). The Nasi clan, the largest and most feared, traced its colonial roots to the 1690 plantation of Captain David Cohen Nassy, leader of the Jewish militia and residing in an area known as Jews Savannah, purported to be the earliest and largest population of Jews in the New World (Price 1983a, 1990). As with the Nasis, the Dombi derived from the large Dombi plantation in the vicinity of Jews Savannah. As Price (1983a) reiterated: “[the word] Dombi derives from the Dutch ‘Dominee’ (Minister) which is how their [slaves] name was often written in past centuries” (108). And in the 1670s and 1680s, the name represented the slaves of Calvinist Dominee Johannes Basseliers (Price 1983a).

Escaping slaves, who would later form the Awanas clan, began their journey from the more coastal Vredenburg plantation. Slaves who would later form the Matawai tribe, derived their name from the owner of their plantation for which they were commonly referred—Machado slaves (Price 1990). The plantation was located near the inlet of the Suriname River and was owned by Imanuel Machado.

As the largest tribal group in Suriname, the Saramaka were the second, after the Aucaneers, to sign peace treaties with the Dutch. They were, however, the most formidable group and set the precedent for Maroon independence and integration.

Similarities in language can be found among the Saramakaans and the Matawai. This distinction sets them apart from the Ndyuka. The language is mixed with terms from a slave’s respective African language. In addition the language consists of a myriad of Portuguese vocabulary and inflection. The presence of Portuguese is a reflection of the time slaves spent among Brazilian planters who transplanted to Suriname. Approximately 200 Sephardim Jews

arrived in Suriname as refugees in the late 1660s, escaping religious persecution in Brazil (Price 1990). By the late 1680s, they owned one-third of the colony's plantations along the Suriname River—the historical and contemporary home to the Saramaka (Price 1990).

Figure 2-4 shows the route of escape used by Maroons fleeing numerous plantations. We see on this map that the initial route of travel was via the Suriname River basin. Runaway slaves utilized an intricate web of intra-forest creeks as a method of travel from coastal plantations located near the capital city Paramaribo. Though their destination was uncertain, Maroons maintained cohesive groups of runaways while traversing more than 200 kilometers into the tropical forest. They traveled southwestward in the opposite direction of the cluster of plantations. Escaping slaves primarily traveled parallel to the major and minor rivers. The Langu clan journeyed from the outskirts of Paramaribo following the minor tributaries of the Saramaka River and down the Klein Saramaka, its major tributary. The remaining Dombi, Matjau, Nasi, Matambii, and Abaisa clans navigated the Suriname River and its major southerly creeks—notably the Tutu Creek. Each of these groups found respite at what would become socially dynamic, but of out-of-sight settlements, Kumako and Tuido.

This period of intense migration ended with sedentary settlements. Subsequent cultural formation among Maroons led to the development and formal recognition of Maroon tribal groups currently acknowledged by Dutch polities. Decrees were enacted to pacify and control Maroon activity and travel to and from the interior to the coastal city of Paramaribo. The laws began with the peace treaties signed by the Ndyuka (Aucaneers) and the Saramaka, respectively. The ones who were to follow would stipulate the presence of a postholder (a Dutch intermediary

would reside at way points in the interior and report on the activities of Maroons) and rules concerning the trade of forest items.

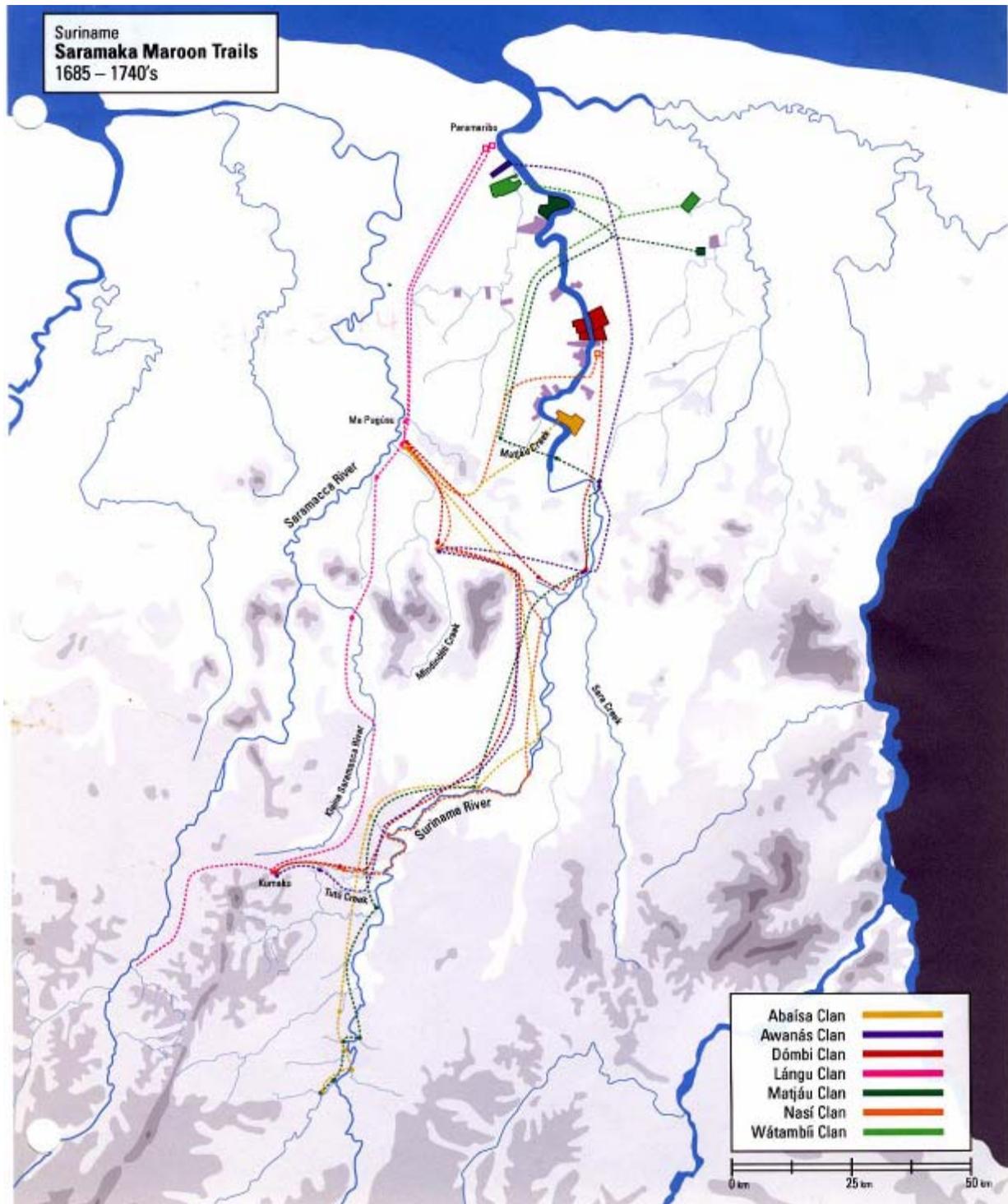


Figure 2-4 Saramaka Maroons trails of the 17th and 18th centuries. Data represented in this map is derived from Price (1983a, 1990).

In an attempt to locate and subdue Maroons settlements in the forest, the Dutch bolstered their litigious relationship with Maroons, albeit reluctantly, with the February 20, 1717, notice for “Payment for the Excursion to Find Runaway Slaves” made the following announcement:

Planters organize excursions to eradicate “free ones,” but could not locate larger villages further in the interior, only ones near by. Larger villages of “free ones” corresponded with the villages closer to the river; which in turn corresponded with plantation slaves to know when planters were preparing to venture into interior. Larger villages knew to counter attack or move, making planter's excursions unsuccessful. In reaction planters would try to go without commandos and surprise “free ones,” as well as to stop uprisings on the plantations. Government deemed that the most effective way to find runaway villages was to incite individuals with payment promise, to organize and finance themselves for excursions. Special focus was placed on locating the villages of Claes and Pedros in the Suriname River Valley, for 1500 guilders, and Will in the Commawijne River valley for 600 guilders. For each slave captured here there was payment of 10 guilders. (1973)

The decree was later reinterpreted in 1742 when the antagonism of planters by the Maroons persisted. “The Compensation for Locating Runaway Villages” enlisted greater support from the government regarding the status of Maroon settlements. It read:

Planters plea to government about lack of information on runaway villages: re: their style of living, the sort of tools they owned, and the runaway slaves among them. Government cannot reassure planters of village activities, although some small villages were found and burned”. Additionally, the planters feared that this type of antagonism would catalyze a yet larger uprising which would greatly impact the plantocracy. (1973)

The notice continues with the request for permission to organize commando units to locate and destroy hidden villages for which the planters would be paid 1,500 guilders for devastating a known village and 500,000 guilders for locating and ravaging unknown villages. The Dutch then embarked on their major legal articulation that set the stage for Maroon sovereignty and the tribal culture of Maroons, which exists in Suriname's hinterland today.

Peace with the Ndyuka

In 1760, the Peace Treaty of Camp Vreedenburg was signed by the Ndyuka Maroons at the Ouca Plantation in the region of the Suriname River.⁵ The general stipulations of the law stated: (Article 1) Ndyukas conduct themselves as friends of the Dutch and end to antagonism against them; (Article 2) they must be at least a 10hr travel distance from the nearest planter or postholder station; (Article 3) they must not travel alone and a monetary reward will be given to any planter that sees them [doing so]; (Article 6) the death and replacement of the chief is to be reported by a convoy of no less than six persons; (Article 7) cattle and timber can be traded with a convoy of approximately a dozen people; and (Article 8) they can argue to the courts any injustice or molestation enacted upon them by (Plakaten, Ordonnantien en Andere Wetten, Uitgecaarddigd 1973). This peace accord was signed by then-Ndyuka paramount chief, Arabie, and his officiates Pamo and Quassie, in addition to numerous Dutch government personnel.

This account is taken from a government decree. However, Maroon oral accounts of the peace accord are in evidence. Price's (1983a, 1996) translation of Johannes King's (1996) historical text presented a Maroon account—retained through oral tradition—of the peace agreement:

So the [N]Djukas went to meet the whites and told them everything that they needed in order to live. Then they swore an oath with the whites; they made peace together; they made an agreement. With that, they drank a blood oath. The whites said they would not go shoot the Negroes or fight with them anymore. But they too must cease their fighting with the whites and must no longer raid plantations or take more of the whites' slaves back to the bush. And whenever a plantation slave ran off to join them, they must not harbor him, they must bring him back to the white. And if a slave from the city ran off to them, they must return him to the whites and the whites would pay them for that. The government's forests were all open to them, and the bush Negroes along the upper courses of the rivers could do whatever they wanted. (301)

⁵ Ouca is synonymous with the more recent spelling Aucaneers. Aucaneers is the formal name of the Ndyuka Maroons.

King (1996) continued his recount of the Ndjuka peace by stating that the Bush-Negroes were allowed to conduct themselves in whatever manner pleased them. They were, however, required to contain their activities along the upper course of the river, removed from the plantation activity of the lower river near the shoreline. King stated that the peace was acknowledged;

A solemn oath, requiring the Bush Negroes to renew the oath every three years. They would bring lots of goods to distribute among them. That is: salt and cloth, guns, powder, bullets, shot, beads, pots, knives, cutlasses, axes grindstones, two types of adzes, razors, shovels, scissors, mirrors, and nails to nail things, screwdrivers, tinderboxes and flintstones, large griddles for making cassava cakes and pans for cooking fish, cloth to make hammocks, hammers, cowrie shells, bells, cockle shells, barrels of rum, barrels of salt meat, barrels of bacon, and barrels of salt cod. (301)

These very items were integral to Maroon material culture, and recovered from the archaeological record (see Chapters 6 and 7 for a discussion on the material finds from two Maroon sites). The peace with the Ndjuka quickly preceded the peace with the Saramaka people.

Peace with the Maroons of the Saramaka and Suriname River Regions

This peace accord refers to the Saramaka and Matawai Maroons, both of whom resided in this area at this time. The 1762 (Articles 1-15) peace treaty outlined various stipulations of which Maroons were required to comply: (Article 1) Maroons were asked to forget the past and consider an appropriate relationship in order to be accepted as free men; (Article 2) all villages were to be brought together and non-compliant independent villages were to be destroyed; (Article 4) government must be notified of chief's death at which they will determine the successor; (Article 6) Maroons caught acting against the treaty are to be punished within a month; and (Article 10) each year no more than fifty Maroons are allowed to gather on the bank of the Saramaka River for the trading of wood, cotton and other goods. Other stipulations of this treaty cited some of the current occurrences concerning the bondage and requested release of notable Maroon figures held by planters. In addition, the announcement of the treaty extended to Saramaka chiefs not present at the time of treaty signing.

Other historical sources suggested peace with the Maroons of Saramaka area was initiated by the Dutch as early as 1749 (van Lier 1971 [Stedman 1781]):

In the month of September, 1749, a large detachment under the command of a Captain Creutz, who, after some advantages gained upon the Negroes of Saramaka, brought them to accept a peace under the most solemn engagements that they would not molest the inhabitants any more, but give up every deserter that should fly to them for protection, on condition that a reward was paid them of 50 florins a head by the proprietor of the slaves so deserting. (Fermin 1778:67)

However, this decree was but rouge designed to momentarily subdue the Maroons until military provisions could be sent from Holland to search out and destroy these perceived interlopers (Fermin 1778). The concept and anticipatory behavior outlined in the 1749 treaty did not come to fruition until the officiating of the aforementioned treaties of 1760 and 1762. It was customary for Maroon chiefs to consecrate an occasion such as this one by combining water, soil, and drops of blood from each member present, into a small gourd from which each person present drank. This ceremony showed their commitment to the undertaking at hand (Fermin 1778; Stedman 1781).

Conclusion

The signing of the treaties represents Dutch acknowledgment of the cultures that had been established in the forest and that now existed as autonomous units.⁶ Moreover, the detailing of the treaties indicates the lack of knowledge regarding the specific whereabouts and general characteristics of the Maroon settlements. These historical documents, in conjunction with data from ethnographic accounts, are the antecedents of this research project. The MHRP corroborated all the data and incorporated the data into a multi-scale research project to identify the representative villages mentioned in the treaties and ethnographic accounts. Based on these

⁶ The Dutch also signed peace agreements with various Indigenous groups. See Chapter 2 for further discussion and detail regarding the stipulations of the peace accords.

findings, the Saramaka village of Kumako and the Matawai village of Tuido gave the project a starting point from which to potentially explore sedentary settlements and their supportive transient hamlets.

Kumako and Tuido: Where It All Began

Extensive historical evidence documents the existence of early Maroon settlements in Suriname. In the late 17th and early 18th centuries, Suriname gran maroonage was less of an occurrence than small-scale nuclear flights from plantations, many of which proved to be transient or secondary to the larger villages (to be discussed further).

Reconnaissance, survey, and archaeological work conducted by the MHRP in 1997, 1998, 2000, 2002, and 2004 identified the 18th century Matawai village Tuido and the 18th century Saramaka village Kumako. While Tuido still resonates with modern Matawai as a place of historical significance, Kumako bears the identity of the historical birthplace of the Bush-Negroes of western Suriname.

The Matawai settlement Tuido is located along the banks of the Tukumutu Creek, a tributary of the Saramaka River. Although a creek—with its substantial size and relative geographical obscurity it defines the transition of western Maroon history. Tuido is documented in Price's (1983) ethnographic tale of the Saramaka clan emigration to and from the Kumako settlement. But unlike Tuido, Kumako seats positions the Saramaka in context, space, and time (Figure 2-5).

The history of Kumako has been kept alive among the Maroons through oral traditions. Kumako is a hilltop settlement located in the foothills of the Eba Top Range at the northeastern foothills of the Van Asch Van Wijck Mountains between the Suriname and the Saramaka Rivers, Kumako functioned as a place of convergence for multiple groups or clans for months or years at a time (Price 1983a:107).

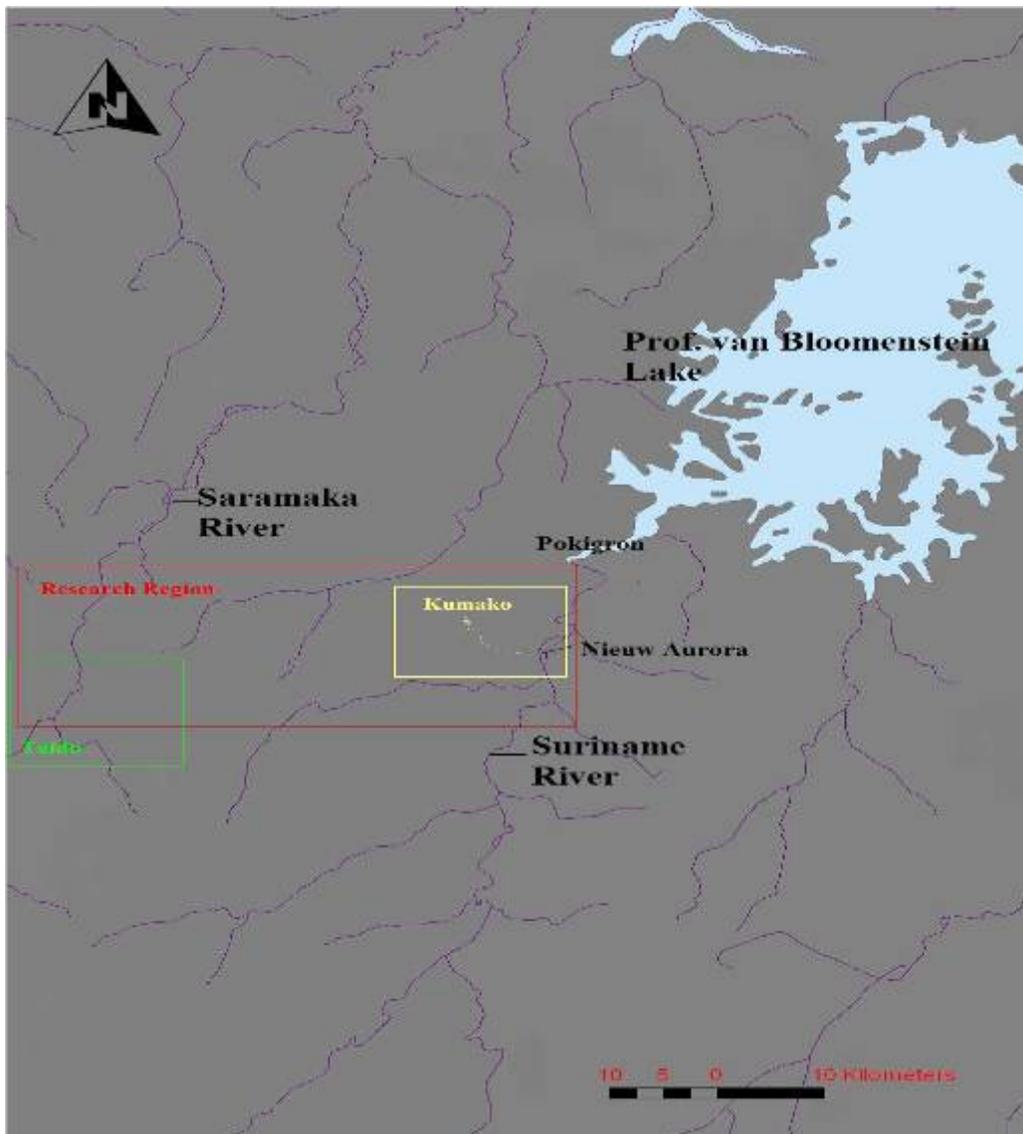


Figure 2-5. General location of Kumako and Tuido.

By 1717, the Dutch military knew Kumako to be a settlement for rebel slave clans, such as Claes, Papa, and Negro Will. By 1730, Kumako was a thriving settlement composed of numerous Maroon clans living in dispersed villages. The largest settlement consisted of approximately 300 dwellings, another village had about 120 dwellings, and a third village consisted of about 40 (Hoogbergen 1990:74). The clans most common to Kumako consisted of the Nasis, the Awanas, the Dombis, and the Paputus. Together, these clans were the military powerhouse of Kumako residents.

According to oral historical accounts recorded by Price (1983a) there were seven battles at Kumako before it was infiltrated and burned by the militias. The defining 1743 battle was a surprise attack on the Kumako settlement during the dry season (September and October). The attack on Kumako may have been led by the Jewish planter David Cohen Nassy with the aid of civilians, Indigenous peoples, and soldiers. In Price's (1983a) oral historical account given by informant Bakaa it is a slave that leads this militia towards the village Kumako:

The slaves who brought the whites, who showed them the way, must have known Maroon customs. He told the soldiers to line up on either side of the path outside of the village, and he called out at the top of his voice, "Foodende Foodende" [this is the call when wild boars have been killed]. The young people came running out of the village, thinking pigs had been killed. And the soldiers tried to grab them [to return them to slavery]. (118)

In spite of these dynamics, the Saramaka continued to wage guerrilla warfare against the Dutch colonists until reconciliation and the signing of the peace treaties in the early 1760s with the Dutch government. Since that time, the Saramaka have made Suriname's rainforest interior their home and have flourished in relative isolation. The settlement itself represents the beginning of Saramaka material identity. Furthermore, until this archaeological project began, no material evidence described the attributes of Kumako or Tuido.

In the 1690s, at the plantations at Jews Savannah, early Saramakaans began to devise escape routes into the forested areas at the plantation's edge.

Modern Plight of Suriname Maroons

Maroons of Suriname are currently experiencing resonating disruption to modern villages and historical lands. Though born of the same historical events, for more than 300 years the Saramaka, Matawai, and Ndyuka Maroon tribes have developed in various remote regions of Suriname and are coping with a unique set of social problems and modern threats to their traditional way of being.

The government of Suriname is currently engaged in a national dispute about Maroon and Indigenous peoples' rights to historical land and access to natural resources for sustainable living (Forest Peoples' Programme 1997, 2001a-b). During the past several years, the Surinamese government has given gold and timber concessions to multinational investors thereby threatening ancestral lands and sustainable living for the Saramakaan and Amerindians. As a recourse, the Forest Peoples' Programme, along with the Maroons and Amerindians' land rights initiative, have submitted a petition to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights accusing the Surinamese government of human rights violation (Forest Peoples' Programme 2002). The Surinamese government, in unison with international agencies that identify places of historical significance, may find a resolution for this conflict by using this study's ethnoarchaeological and archaeological findings. Other applied anthropological studies among Maroons may prove to be an instrumental tool for understanding and developing legislative benefits to Maroons. The social and monetary welfare of the Ndyuka Maroons of eastern Suriname has been greatly affected by their participation in small-scale gold mining. The gold mining activity takes place relatively close to their ancestral communities and has a large impact on the ecological system (Heemskerk 2004). The mining industry in Suriname has boomed since the early 1990s (Figure 2-6). The industry's lack of cohesive governmental regulation has fostered much of its opportunities. Gold procured from mining generates an economic circle of cash money and an exchange of unprocessed gold in the interior that would otherwise not exist.

Among Ndyuka miners and villagers, gold extraction represents mobility away from traditional village life to educational opportunities for their children in the city. Unfortunately, the ecological affects of mining manifests as increased malaria outbreaks due to the stagnant pools of water found in mining pits. Moreover, mining, without proper conversion tools,

increases the occurrence of mercury metal contamination in the waterways. This greatly affects the level of water cleanliness generally used for everyday washing and food preparation. In addition, small-scale mining affects the health of the aquatic populations of fish in the large rivers and tributaries (the main source of protein for many Maroon communities).

Although Maroons have debilitating social issues, they still have a strong sense of cultural self. In fact, it is that strong sense of self that allows them to successfully argue for the preservation and respect of their cultural history and present lifestyle. Due to these modern conflicts, it is of great importance that archaeological research be conducted. It will aid in the discovery, extraction, and preservation of unidentified ancestral communities that may allow us to better understand how people of the African-diaspora have been transformed since their entry into the New World.



Figure 2-6. A crew of Brazilian and Ndyuka miners at a typical small-scale mining operation in eastern Suriname. Photos by C. White 2003.

For the last 300 years, Maroon people and their ancestral homes have benefited from Suriname's less than strategic approach in instituting infrastructure or dealing with social matters in the hinterland. As a part of the Guiana Shield, Suriname is one of the most forested countries in the world, 90% of which is a combination of pristine tropical rainforest and expanded savannas. Until recently, the interior hinterland was largely unexploited. Furthermore, its low population density and limited agricultural use (Haden 1999) have all contributed to the maintenance of Maroon culture and the preservation of its historical places. The 1960s witnessed the construction of a hydroelectric dam to be used as a cheap source of electricity by a large mining outfit. The dam was built in traditional Saramaka territory, flooding villages and shifting their inhabitants in the process. After Suriname's 1975 independence from the Dutch, the years that followed saw an economic slump exacerbated by five years of civil war between the Maroon factions and the government's military regime. All these factors have created an uneven socio-economic scale of Maroon independence. They are caught between traditional livelihoods and merging with the coastal creole social system.

CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH CONCERNS AND QUESTIONS

Research Objectives

In this chapter I discuss the research questions that form the basis of this dissertation. I also will review current themes and trends in historical archaeology relevant to the understanding of why archaeological investigation of Maroon societies is important. The archaeology of Maroon societies is a growing genre in historical archaeology—one that proposes new thematic perspectives and that challenges traditional methods of data collecting. The following discussion is an overview of concerns dealing with these challenges.

The four research objectives are: (a) integrating archaeology, ethnography, oral traditions, historical text, ethnohistory, and material culture into an ethnoarchaeological methodology; (b) addressing theoretical tools, for example, Creolization, Africanisms, and middle ground theory, in anthropology to explain the negotiation of multiple cultures in the formation of one cultural identity; (c) understanding the historical natural resource use of Maroon and Indigenous societies; (d) advancing archaeological knowledge about Maroon, Indigenous, and European relations in the circum-Caribbean.

This study will realize these objectives by using archival data, museum holdings, and ethnographic information from modern peoples to interpret archaeological findings at an 18th century Maroon settlement. The study focuses on the Saramaka Maroons. They are the largest Maroon group in Suriname and one of the first to establish a formal identity, as well as the only group with extensive ethnographic documentation available (Price 1975, 1983a, 1983b, 1990, 1992). The archaeological aspect of the study focuses on Kumako, one of the first Saramaka Maroon settlements in Suriname, dating from 1730, even though Price (1983a) referred to them

in his ethno-historical accounts, and these settlements were acknowledged by Dutch military as a gathering point for runaway slaves, as early as 1713 (Price 1983a).

Based on archival and ethnographic evidence, I expected that archaeological evidence would consist of artifacts representative of Indigenous, African, and European influences and also possible origin. I further expected that the spatial distribution and relationships of surface and subsurface features would be recognized to suggest the retention of some African traits.

The retention of African traits is an underlying theme in many studies of African-diaspora research, whether it be expression through material culture, ideological orientation, spirituality, or the complexities of kin relations (Agorsah 1993, 1996, 1999, 2001; Armstrong 1985, 1991; Bower 1974; Fairbanks 1972, 1984; Ferguson 1992; Havisser 1999; Lovejoy 1997; Mullin 1990; Okpewho et al. 1999; Otto 1977; Parkvall 2000; Price 1975, 1996). This supposition has been the basis of archaeological research conducted at Nanny Town and Accompong Town in Jamaica (Agorsah 1994, 1995). The Jamaica project marked the beginning of the Maroon Heritage Research Project (MHRP) and its goal of understanding the historic development of Maroon communities in this research area. The research on the Saramaka of Suriname is a continuation of the MHRP's initial goals. In this research, Agorsah (1993) applied the local rule model (LR) to predict the patterns of these Maroon settlements. The premise of the LR model is that cultural decisions regarding land acquisition and land use indicate the spatial and ideological proximity of social relationships. Agorsah (1993) stated:

It explains that social groups locate themselves in space such that they are either close together (clustered) or far apart (dispersed). The decision of human groups to locate in nearby areas is considered to constitute an indication of close relationship. The model is particularly applicable to traditional societies that do not consider landscape as a commodity[and] as parcels. (9)

The model was applied to archaeological work conducted among four linguistically similar ethnic groups in the Volta Basin of Ghana, West Africa (1993) and accurately predicted the occurrence of familial housing distributions in relation to language use.

Research Questions

The study is also guided by three research questions derived from historical and ethnographic data:

- (a) To what degree were Indigenous peoples and European cultural patterns incorporated in the construction of Maroon culture over time?
- (b) Were Maroon social organization and Maroon material culture influenced by African heritage and/or by one or both of the other two groups?
- (c) How are elements from these cultures represented archaeologically?

Two succinct research questions were derived from the aforementioned questions.

Research Question 1 (hereafter referred to as RQ1): Will the settlement pattern of an early Maroon village display an African social organization that reflects kin group division and clustering? This research question is based on the idea that Africans from central locales were transported to the New World in relatively homogenous cultural groups. Once across the Atlantic, groups with similar backgrounds were placed together (Thornton 1992:192). Moreover, ethnographic research suggests that Maroon social systems and living arrangements demonstrate shared concepts brought from Africa (Price 1990). In following with the Local Rule model African cultural traits are noted as spatial patterning of kinship relationships and technology.

Research Question 2 (hereafter referred to as RQ2): Will material items such as glass, metal, manufacturing technology, and natural resources used for ceramic pottery temper, and the construction of structures and household items represent Saramakaan Indigenous and European influences. Historical documentation suggests that Maroons benefited from the subsistence

knowledge and techniques of the Arawak and Carib Amerindians who resided in the northeastern Amazon during this formative period (Hill 1996). The 1791 narrative of John Stedman, an English traveler who resided among the Maroons for five years, attests to shared cultural traits between the rebel slaves and Amerindians. I also anticipate that artifacts will include European objects, such as metal pots, axes, shards of glass bottles, guns, and musket balls, as mentioned in historical accounts that detail Maroon raids on plantations (Price 1990).

Addressing Issues in Historical Archaeology

Research in historical archaeology differs from prehistoric archeology because it focuses on the use of archival data to identify material culture suggestive of European influence (Deagan 1983, 1987, 1996). This is the traditional form of historical archaeology that has been criticized for its focus on architectural points of colonial global conquest in the New World and Africa. Current research projects in the Caribbean and seaport regions of the United States, particularly the Southeast, are heavily based on the work of noted archaeologist Kathleen Deagan. Her work in St. Augustine, Florida, and La Isabela in the Dominican Republic are hallmarks of New World historical archaeology.

St. Augustine is the first continuously European occupied city on the American continent (Deagan 1983; White 2000) and La Isabela is believed to be the first New World European colony, named to honor Queen Isabela of Spain (Deagan and Cruxent 2002). Both research projects use archaeology to illustrate the internal dynamics that existed among colonizers: their dietary intake, social organization, living arrangement, technology, and the sometimes tenuous relationships which existed with other European powers during that time. The information compiled from these types of investigations exhibits the integration of world powers and their hierarchy of agents toward transnational capitalism. In addition, dissenting themes include class, racial disharmony, and gender, erected as a by-product of European acculturation to introduced

and found cultures. We should remember that these research schemes give testimony to the long-standing interest that exists not just among concerned citizens—who often fund research projects about colonial prowess through private donations, but also among influential figures at all levels within the established academic community.

Early paradigms in Western archaeology emphasized the classificatory-descriptive approach to explain the myriad of artifact types in a collection and the function of artifacts (Willey and Sabloff 1974). Subsequently, the post-processual school of archaeological thought created a more inclusive tool. This tool allowed researchers of historical archaeology to apply a more reflexive approach toward better understanding their role in the construction and dissemination of historical culture vis-à-vis the communities which own that history and their associated material culture. The reflexive approach has led to recent strides in historical archaeology to incorporate anthropological themes of human agency, identity formation, cultural continuity, and cultural transformation on a global scale. Much of the paradigm shift can be attributed to changing social mores in Western society in the 1960s and 1970s. During these tumultuous times, the population of the United States openly discussed and addressed issues ranging from racially biased voting and segregation to women's sexual liberation.

More recently the discipline began its foray into researching dissenting themes such as class difference and the plight of disenfranchised people, race relations, gender dichotomy and even the subject of elitism within the discipline (Blakey 1983, 1985, 1995; Deagan 1988b, 1998; Fairbanks 1972, 1984; Ferguson 1992; Funari 2000, 2002; Leone & Potter 1988; Otto 1977; Potter 1991; Schmidt 1983, 1995; Singleton 1999).

With this new theoretical focus, archaeological theory and research can refute old notions of static groups of people merely responding to colonialism. Current archaeologists instead try to

understand the interaction and internal dynamics among the contributors themselves. One particular groundbreaking project that represents many of these issues is the African Burial Ground site in New York City. The analysis of material culture and faunal remains has redefined the intra-dynamics and presence of Africans in 18th century Dutch New York. Finds from the site range from earbobs for children—a typical Indigenous American item such as this suggests a trading relationship with Africans—to Indian trading beads found around the waist of female skeletal remains. Worked teeth indicate cultural practices which are West African in origin (Hansen and McGowan 1998). The project also functioned as a socio-political forum for the role of African-Americans in American history and has since become a landmark for posterity.

Delineation has also developed between the conceptual and practical posture of historical archaeology as it is interpreted and practiced in the United States vis-à-vis Latin America (Funari 2006). According to Brazilian archaeologist Pedro Funari, the difference is rooted in external as well as internal perceptions of identity and a culture group's ability to manifest and control it. Funari stated “in the United States, ‘us’ is a less inclusive category than in South America. In the later case, Indigenous peoples and slaves are subsumed as part of ‘our’ society, even if playing a subordinate role” (Funari 2006:220). According to Funari (2002), archaeologists may affect the production and understanding of findings based on their own socioeconomic or “elitist” background. Funari (2002) stated that early archaeological work in Brazil was based on the interests of “old stock elite scientists” and upper crust foreigners, whose true interest was in the natural sciences (211). In this context, archaeology was merely another branch of science to depict antiquated individuals in an equally antiquated natural and social environment. Funari received a substantial amount of backlash from noted Brazilian archaeologists—Tania Lima and Betty Meggers, to name a few—who believe that their archaeological research has always sought

to depict the intricacies of colonialism on Brazilian nationals of non-Portuguese descent, notably Indigenous peoples and those of African descent (Delle 2003). To further interpret the state of archaeology in Brazil, Funari (2000) pointed out that the research concerns of archaeologists should consider the interests of native groups and ordinary people and, more importantly, their relationship to present issues. Given these dynamics, it is no wonder that class interests have affected the completion of archaeological work at Brazilian Maroon sites outside of Bahia at Quilombos dos Palmares. Funari (2006) stated that “the ubiquitous presence of pottery could be interpreted as of Native South American, European, or mixed styles” (223). The historical association of the quilombos with runaway slaves created social unrest when artifacts from the site were declared Indigenous in form and cultural association (Allen 1999, 2000, 2001).

This level of social awareness and anticipation toward the results of archaeological excavation may resonate with Indigenous peoples and the tribal Maroons of Suriname. The Maroon land rights petition—currently in review by national and international polities for the recognition of ancestral settlements and the everyday access and use of communal property—sets the stage for concrete interpretations of the past. Archaeological finds could substantiate the historical habitation of both Maroons and Indigenous peoples and their land rights claim.

Maroon archaeology is at the vanguard of historical archaeological research of the African diaspora. It offers alternative perspectives of peoples of African descent, culturally transforming in an environment that was not sanctioned by colonial powers. Prior to its popularity, plantation settings offered archaeologists the only template from which to investigate issues of class differences, discrepancy, and social injustice. The late 1960s and its feverish social climate, particularly the Civil Rights Movement, saw a rising interest in African-diaspora social and material culture. This general social discontent encouraged the development of the National

Historic Preservation Act of 1966, but at the time it did little for the recognition of African-American culture and history. The act, however, set the precedence for the incorporation of African-American cultural references, archaeological sites included, that would be worthy of federal recognition almost two decades later. The act followed the Works Progress Administration (WPA) (1935 through 1943). The WPA was established to manage projects for social betterment. Under the auspices of the WPA, the Writer's Project was developed, chronicling narratives of former slaves. As a federally endorsed project to create the acquisition and retention of African-American oral history, the WPA set the stage for a structured administrative and scientific methodology for addressing social, economic, political, and cultural issues in the African-diaspora (Curtis 1996a, 1996b; Ferguson 1992).

Spawned by the ambitions of the WPA, Franz Boas and his student Zora Neale Hurston conducted early anthropological research on freed Negro settlements. Hurston, the product of an upbringing in Eatonville, Florida, researched the folklore and cultural traditions of this all-black, turn-of-the-century city. Eatonville came into existence when Captain Joshua Eaton organized a group of blacks to purchase 500 acres of land in central Florida. It was declared a free town, incorporated in 1888, and boasted a black mayor, town marshal, and council. Though it was not the first all black community it was the first attempt at some level of governmental autonomy in America. The interest that existed in Hurston's research in the 1930s of African-American folklore—in the context of a free black town—is but a minor reflection of the interests of African-diaspora research projects that were to follow. Although the country and historical story differ, the concept may be borrowed for an evaluation of peoples of African descent from other parts of the Americas.

It was during the changing times of the 1960s that the husband and wife team of Richard and Sally Price (1980, 1991) began their anthropological study of Saramaka Maroons, further setting the groundwork for the understanding of the under-represented. In addition, they further affected social consciousness about the retention of African cultural mores in the New World as demonstrated through the communities of Maroons. The Prices incorporated and built upon the ideologies of African-diaspora research set forth by the earlier works of Sidney Mintz (1974) and Melville Herskovits (1930, 1934, 1936, 1938) (Mintz and R. Price 1976; Mintz and S. Price 1985). Richard and Sally Price's (1980, 1991) research set the stage for contemporary studies in anthropology, notably archaeological research among the slave populations on plantations in the southeastern United States. At this time, Charles Fairbanks (1972, 1984) began his archaeological investigation of different aspects of slave life at Kingsley Plantation in northeastern Florida. Fairbanks coined the phrase *plantation archaeology* to represent this new direction in historical archaeology (Ferguson 1992).

Interpreting the Spatial Dynamics of the Plantocracy

Historical archaeology's foray into dissenting themes such as, class and race relations, spawned the genre of plantation archaeology that came to prominence in the 1960s with the later work of Ferguson in the 1970s and Fairbanks (1972, 1984). Researchers following this school of thought typically compare archival data with archaeological findings to evaluate slaves' control of their immediate quarters on plantations. The overarching goal of plantation archaeology is to understand the inculcation of cultural forms and group ideology brought from Africa, or Africanisms, and their effect on identity formation as manifested in material surroundings. This genre of archaeology investigates these points by evaluating mortuary practices and observing

symbolic characters that are African in origin.¹ This genre also studies the subtle manipulation of housing by arrangements of individuals of African descent, the appearance of cowry shells and pottery debitage indicative of dietary aberrations, and the differences in the construction of ceramics non-European in origin or thought (Schroedl and Ahlman 2002). Since the late 1960s and into the 1990s, plantation archaeology in the antebellum South and the Caribbean has focused on the role of agency among non-literate groups affected by European acculturation to social dynamics in the New World (Handler 1997; Young 1997).

This approach has fostered much of what is written and learned about slave life though it did not shed light on all elements of slavery. The focus of material culture often leaves out the more subtle social dynamics learned from oral accounts of slavery. One slave account of plantation life in Alabama during the mid-19th century illustrates the everyday drudgery of plantation existence:

Den, when a slave gets grown, he is jest lak a mule. He works for grub and a few clothes and works jest as hard as a mule. Some of de slaves on de plantation ‘jining our’ n didn’t have as easy at time as de mules, fer de mules was fed good, but the slaves laks ter have starved ter death; de marster jest gives dem ‘nuf ter eat ter keep dem alive (Mellon 1988: 56).

Oral accounts, illustrate the retention and shared knowledge that existed among slaves and Indigenous peoples. Former slave Harriet Collins stated, “My Mammy larned me a lot of doctorin’ what she larnt from old folks from Africy, and some de Indians larnt her. All dese doctorin’ things come clear from Africy, and dey allus worked for Mammy and for me, too” (Mellon 1988:94).

For archaeologists, one tangible method of interpreting the retention of Africanisms within the context of the 18th century and early 19th century plantocracy is through an examination of

¹ See chapter 4 for an example and lengthy discussion of Face Jars or Monkey Jars from South Carolina.

low-fired earthenware pottery indicative of African-diaspora sites throughout the United States, Caribbean, and circum-Caribbean.² These types of artifacts are commonly referred to as Colonoware, Crilloware, and/or or Yabbas (Ferguson 1992; Haviser 1999; Singleton 1999). Their attributes consist of hand-molded coil construction, the context in which they are recovered (they have either no direct association with prehistoric artifacts or a greater numerical association to artifacts of the historical period), and ethnographic evidence suggesting hearth firing (Ferguson 1992; Haviser 1999; Singleton 1999). In addition, there is a lack of distinguishable decorative elements with no glaze finishing or exterior treatment—attributes used to designate ceramics as either European or Amerindian pottery. Other attributes of African-diaspora pottery are the absence of intricate motifs and more elaborate forms, such as inlays and appliqués. Pots bearing these attributes were first noted at colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, in the 1920s. The archaeological finds from plantation sites along the southeastern coast were originally called Colono-Indian Ware. This type of earthenware pottery lacked glaze, and, more importantly, a consistent structural relationship to the typical European pottery, pearlware, creamware, and salt-glazed stoneware from England, found in plantation houses. In addition, so-called low-fired earthenware pottery is not fired in an enclosed or permanent kiln, which was typical of European ceramic types at the time. Instead, these types of pots were fired on an open hearth and were hand-coiled instead of the European standard, which were wheel thrown. Moreover, their high yields and frequent appearances at plantation site features—refuse deposits, cellars and hearths, in addition to their spatial proximity to slave quarters—lead researchers to reconsider the manufacturer, function, and name of Colonoware. Ferguson (1992) renamed Colono-Indian Ware to Colonoware in order to describe “all low-fired, hand built pottery found on colonial

² It should be noted that not every enslaved context applies.

sites, whether slave quarters, 'big houses' or 'Indian villages' (19). He stated that Colonoware encompasses the Creolized nature of earthenware pottery that represents the cultural influences of Africans, Indigenous peoples, and Europeans:

The new concept of Colono-Ware took into account the more complex processes of colonial Creolization: demography and culture varied from place to place within the colonies some Indians worked as slaves on plantations and some blacks lived in Indian villages; both Africans and Indians were capable of making pottery and evidence suggests that both did, To complicate things further, designs for these folk-made pots could have come from European vessels as well as from traditional Native American and African patterns. The Colono-Ware concept covers all these possibilities. (22)

With this perspective in mind, Ferguson sought to investigate the manufacturer of Colonoware ceramics at the late 17th century Kingsmill Plantation in Virginia. He based his hypothesis on the increased appearance of Colonoware, with a rise in the population of both African and Indigenous slaves, though blacks held the majority. Ferguson deduced that the potters were in fact of non-European origin. Moreover, the pottery they produced was understood to be a combination of styles from all three cultural groups: Africans, Indigenous peoples, and European. The frequency of Colonoware in the southeastern assemblages greatly decreased during the 19th century, with the abolition of slavery and the introduction of industrialized objects (Ferguson 1992).

Research conducted at the 18th century British Brimstone Hill fortress on the Caribbean island of St. Kitts helps to understand the variety found in Colonoware. Ceramic evidence from the site suggests that enslaved Africans did in fact assert their identity with West African religious iconography. Scratches and initials on ceramic vessels recovered from the fort are believed to represent "property ownership within the slave community where the members were not necessarily related by ethnic group or kinship, and to express an individual's ethnicity within a multiethnic community" (Schroedl and Ahlman 2002:42). This quote could be further interpreted to suggest that the act of creating an iconographic image may be an African-derived

practice though the types of iconography found in this New World example may have been reinterpreted to display new forms of group associations and dependence.

An assessment of slave quarters at the 18th and 19th century Montpelier Plantation in Jamaica offers other pointers of settlement distribution regarding attributes of Diaspora sites. At this site slaves refused—or may have been exercising a choice—to live in proximity to their neighbor: “the slaves lived in individual, free standing houses rather than in barracks or the row houses typical of industrializing Europe and North America” (Higman 1998:147).

Analysis of pottery remains and the use of differing styles of cooking are often juxtaposed with faunal remains to better understand the food procurement and preparation practices of slaves. An understanding of refuse bone assemblages, subsistence methods, and peripheral food supply is the precursor to understanding the broader themes and questions of nutrition and livelihood posed by archaeological research. Plantation slaves created their own social, ecological, and environmental orientation (McKee 1992, 1999). In McKee's work at three Virginia plantations dating from the late 17th and early 19th centuries (Flowerdew Hundred, Kingmill, and Monticello), slaves were found to supplement their dietary intake with a range of livestock portions. The faunal assemblages from these three sites range from pig, goat, and sheep bones to catfish and mussels. The appearance of these remains suggests that slaves were procuring meats outside of the traditional forms of boneless salt pork rations given to them and documented by planters (Singleton 1999).

The wealth of information available about how slaves lived and made the best of plantation life still leaves us wondering and wanting a broader perspective of African-diaspora historical studies. Maroon archaeology may provide a new, more pertinent perspective on the diversity of the African experience. The historical archaeology of Maroon culture offers a different kind of

template which is neither centered nor explained with dissenting themes of class subordination or procurement of food rations. The template instead encompasses elements from plantation archaeological studies, such as artifact assemblages, analytical methods, and some interpretation. In addition, enhanced consideration should be made of the environmental forces that affected Maroon formation and cohesion. An assessment of the natural environment in which Suriname Maroon settlements are found must be carefully considered since the environment it provides a stark contrast to African-diaspora studies of the plantocracy. I now turn to some thoughts and observations about locating settlements believed to be occupied by Maroons.

Attributes of Archaeological Sites in the Neotropics

The dense vegetation of South America's lowland neotropics makes site locales virtually inaccessible and difficult to identify, survey, and excavate. In addition, the acidic nature of the soil affects the condition of material remains. The absence of consistent archaeological investigation in the tropical forest, except multidisciplinary research in Brazil (Heckenberger 2005), also shows the development of cohesive methodological approaches. Stratigraphy and other variations due to bioturbation and excavation units in undulating surfaces create, for example, issues in the comparison of sub-surface finds. Obscured visual distances within the sites and the sometimes obscured areal coverage of sites also can pose difficulties for provenience control (Zeidler in Stahl 1995). Though much archaeological investigation centers on identifying obvious variables of lived behavior, it does not necessarily speak to the subtleties of cultural transformation. The geographical and visual challenges of the tropical forest testify to the obscure settings in which Maroon communities existed and thrived.

The relative obscurity of these settlements in tropical geophysical environments played a role in the retention of cultural expressions present among contemporary Maroons—and obscurity that also affects the development of sound methodological approaches. Due to the

relatively short-time marker for Maroon sites,³ basic methods such as transect surveys by foot are more conducive than some measures such as laser total station. One technologically appropriate method to understanding ancestral settlement locales is the use of aerial photographs, especially to assess complex earthwork sequences.

Successful identification of archaeological evidence from South America's lowland neotropics are typically characterized by spatially expansive earthworks or areas of patterned environmental stress caused by human activity (Heckenberger 2005). The presence and sequence of sites can be identified with aerial recognition techniques and/or extensive survey of a large and varied topographic area. However, the theoretical stances that focus on anthropogenic landscape transformation in tropical forests are born out of questions pertaining mostly to the paleo-record. These questions focus on both transient and sedentary Indigenous cultures, climatic and environmental changes, and the mark of intensified mass food production. These variables are considered to be the catalyst for human behavioral change, population shift, state formation, and associated material change. These variables also represent the interconnected phenomena of agricultural intensification and forest clearance, and/or the conversion of the natural landscape into an artificial man made one (Stahl 19957). Heckenberger's (2005) recent archaeological work in Suriname sought to understand the role Indigenous people played in the manipulation and exploitation of their natural environment. Heckenberger's work is an extension to the research tested and repeated by numerous Dutch scholars of the past and present.

Modern Maroons are culturally associated with Indigenous peoples because of their modern environmental proximity and similar cultural tenets. But no archaeological investigation

³ The Kumako site discussed throughout this dissertation has been historically recorded for less than 20 years as an active settlement. The breadth of Suriname Maroon settlements discussed in ethnohistorical accounts has been active for at least 80 years, spanning the onset of *gran maroonage* in the 1690s and lasting until the signing of peace treaties in the 1760s and the migration of Maroons from the safety of the tropical forest, towards the river banks.

has appeared of their material culture prior to the launching of the Maroon Heritage Research Project and this dissertation report.

Previous Archaeological Research in Suriname

Much of the recent archaeological research in Suriname has been conducted by Aad Versteeg (2003) and his longtime colleague Stephan Rustain. Versteeg built on the data gathered by his predecessors: C. J. Hering, D. C. Geijkes, Ten Kate, and Arie Boomert (Versteeg 1998). These early and current archaeologists shared archaeological research in Suriname has focused exclusively on the history of Indigenous peoples. This entire archaeological work concerns sites that pre-date 1492 and represent material culture prior to colonial habitation and rule of the region. Pre-Columbian sites are documented in various geographical regions throughout Suriname. These sites are identified as: shell mounds located in brackish and fresh water marshes of the coastal region; raised mounds and fields found in coastal wetlands, indicating archaic agricultural activity; petroglyphs identified mainly in savannas or open terrain and in the watersheds of river basins; and coastal waterways manipulated for human use (Bos 1998; Stewart 1963; Versteeg 1998; Versteeg and Bubberman 1992). Versteeg (2003) suggested that coastal populations maintained some connection to the Caribbean countries from which they traveled. Regarding the Wonotobo, Saladoid site located in western Suriname, Versteeg stated:

Wonotobo is the most easterly archaeological site in South America where Saladoid pottery has been found (87). [It is situated] on a significant spot on the large Corantijn River that flows from south to north: exactly where one encounters the first great rapids sailing inland from the sea. The site is located roughly 200km south of the Corantijn estuary. Since the Saladoids were good seafarers (they inhabited the complete Antillean arc of islands, up to Cuba), they probably reached Wonotobo by sea. They could also stay in touch with their relatives further to the north (west) in the same way. It is noteworthy that they and other groups of agrarian people in Suriname for whom we can prove a Venezuelan connection (i.e., the sites with pottery belonging to the Saladoid, Barrancoid, and Arauquinoid Traditions) all lived in places where the sea was easily reached. (87-88)

The Wonotobo site is the only place in the Guianas where pottery has been found that connects this site so closely to the Saladoid sites of the Antillean islands. (89-90)

Other notable examples of coastal sites are the Belladrum Carib characterized by its kitchen middens. In addition, turn-of-the-century expeditions farther along the Tapanahoni River basin of the interior revealed whetgrooves or egg-shaped depressions in groups of five to six at regular intervals where stone axes or celts were sharpened. Also identified along the river basins above Maroon villages were grinding troughs or large mortars. The most commonly identified debitage at these sites are stone tools made of quartz and rhyolite (Versteeg 1998; Versteeg and Bubberman 1992).

Pre-Columbian sites, according to the archaeological record, are considered but not traditionally located in the tropical forest environment (Versteeg and Bubberman 1992).⁴ As colonialism spurred disintegration and migration of Indigenous peoples throughout the country, many gravitated toward villages used as coastal trading posts, which were fabricated by colonists. After contact, the plantocracy developed a relatively mild relationship with the Indigenous peoples to end their continued ravaging of planter properties. The Dutch government mobilized to sign a peace accord with the Indigenous nations known as Caraibes (Caribs), Waroes, and Arowall (Arowaks). The trade of Indigenous slaves was banned in the late 1680s, and various groups were allowed to settle in near colonists. Indigenous groups were given the privilege of trading procured items such as wood and dyes in exchange for European goods. This action further decreased the likelihood for post-contact Indigenous settlements to develop in the tropical rain forest—though traditional villages were maintained by local populations and even thrived in the southern Savannah regions (Bos 1998; Stewart 1963). This mercantile relationship

⁴ The lack of archaeological discoveries in the interior of the tropical forest may be due to a lack of research focus on the interior. Pre-Columbian archaeological research of north-eastern South America (Guiana Shield) is geographically associated with prehistoric Caribbean cultures. Paradigms and research methods may require that sites within proximity to ocean-bound waterways be the main goal of research. In addition, many of the archaeological sites marking re-Columbian occupation are located off accessible roads. Recognizing that prehistoric sites are typically located along the coast does not exclude the possibility few or many more in the interior have not yet been explored or archaeologically researched.

may have precipitated the condensing—by both the Indigenous faction and the European settlers—of distinctive tribal names into the more generic terms commonly found in literature today: Carib and Arawak.

In a government decree (West Indisch Placardboor) of March 6, 1780, postholders (soldiers or low-ranking government officials assigned to live at strategically located posts in the hinterland to monitor Indigenous peoples and Maroons) were instructed to “carefully regard the Carib and Arawak Indians. [They] are allowed to be in close proximity of post and should be encouraged to live close to post” (Article 3). Postholders were further instructed to “see to it that Indians work on land (near post)” (Article 5) and to “take care that that no planters in any case harass free Indians and force free Indians to labor with violence” (Article 4). It was further mandated that “violence to the Indians will be punished with corporal punishment and in worst case, death penalty, especially [violence shown] to wives and daughters” (Article 16). This passive relationship was established with Indigenous peoples during the formative cultural period of Maroonage.⁵ At this juncture we should consider the relevance of Indigenous settlements, their location, attributes, and cultural affiliations to better understand how to differentiate them from Maroon historical sites. Numerous Indigenous groups may have affected Maroon culture.

As a large coastal group, the Carib Indians represented a linguistic family with smaller linguistic groups, such as the Trio and Akuri. Kwamilasumutu, the most well-known prehistoric site in Suriname, is associated with this culture group. Other micro-linguistic groups associated with the Caribs include the contact period cultures: Oyana, Galibi and Kalinya, or Karina (Stewart 1963; Versteeg 1998, 2003).

⁵ See Chapter 2 for discussion on the Dutch peace accord with the various Maroon factions.

Indigenous Factor

Much of what we know of the early Americans of northeastern South America is derived from archaeological investigations, ethnohistorical, and/or ethnographic accounts (Stewart 1963). Furthermore, Suriname is geographically apart of the Guiana Shield, hence the different Indigenous ethnic groups are delineated throughout this geographical region—not just within the actual borders of modern British Guyana, French Guiana, Suriname, Venezuela, and/or Brazil (hereafter I will use the term Guiana Shield and/or Guianas interchangeably to refer to this region consisting of these countries) (Versteeg 2003). It is important to note that during the time of colonial implementation (16th, 17th, and 18th centuries) migration of Indigenous groups may have created some redundancies and inaccuracies in the identification of traditional ethnic groups and their locales. According to Versteeg (2003):

In the 16th century, classifying as many Indians as possible as Carib carried an important advantage: Caribs could be enslaved and sold, but not Arawaks. And a large number of slaves was needed for all kinds of purposes. Linguists never heard pre-Columbian Indians speak. Words and expressions that have been preserved do not always clearly answer the question what language was spoken. Moreover, a major caveat to any archaeologist's to treat this classification with care—it turns out that some post-Columbian groups that share the same material culture and habits speak different languages: Cariban and Arawakan. So much changed so radically for the Indian groups in the areas we are considering there in the hundred years after 1492, that a reconstruction of the pre-Columbian situation will probably always be impossible. (80)

Furthermore, the spelling of and reference to a group is and has often been affected by the pronunciation of the group's name. For example, one may find that the spelling Trio will refer to the same group of central Suriname Indigenous peoples as the spelling Tereyo. This difference creates a need for and reliance on archaeological evidence for non-biased information regarding the cultural tenets of pre-Columbian culture (Figure 3-9). In this project, report information is compiled and discussed from several publication summaries and ethnographic compilations—instead of primary data sources on the subject (Versteeg 2003).

Indigenous tribes were organized mainly by their cohesive linguistic relationships (Whitehead 2003). For the Guiana region, the Caribs and Arawak are the two distinct language groups in which numerous variations are found. These variations constitute differing regions, customs, settlement patterns, social organization, and time span. We need to consider these markers—the most commonly identified and frequently discussed ethnic groups—located in the southern region of Suriname: Trio or Akuri or Akoerio, WaiWai, Wayana (in some sources Wayana spelled Wajana, Oyana, and Oajanas), Parakoto, Tunayana, and the Atorai (Bos 1998). All these groups have been identified, recorded or anthropologically studied at different times beginning in the 16th and 17th centuries during contact with explorers such as John Stedman in the 18th century and scientifically in the 20th century by anthropologists (Bos 1998; Stedman 1791; Stewart 1963).

Post-contact Sites in Suriname's Hinterland: Do They Exist?

Despite accumulated knowledge about the Guianas Indigenous peoples, it remains a challenge to distinguish a pre-Columbian site from a post-conquest or historical site. Much of the existing archaeological record in Suriname complements Indigenous history, with excavations at sites deemed relevant to the recovery of the prehistoric cultures of the Guiana Shield.⁶ Furthermore, these sites often bear the aforementioned attributes (coastal shell mounds found in brackish water, agricultural areas in the form of raised mounds and fields, petroglyphs in savannas and river basins), which do not place them in the tropical forest but at varying geographic locales throughout Suriname and regions of the Guiana Shield. Such perspectives hinder knowledge of sites outside of the published parameters.

⁶ The discovery of prehistoric sites may be attributed to their accessibility or for the purposes outlined in research prospectus. Many of these sites are located along easy-to-access waterways and roads and in open savannahs.

Suriname's interest in historical archaeology, or lack thereof, is mirrored by its political cousins, the Netherlands Antilles, or more geographically specific, the Dutch Leeward and Dutch Windward group of islands. Politically, they are designated as Kingdom of the Netherlands and are comprised of Saba, Bonaire, St. Eustatius, Saint Maarten, and Curacao (less Aruba, which does not fall into this political realm, and instead has direct links to the Netherlands). Each country is internally autonomous and has its own socio-cultural history relevant to Dutch exploration and proliferation in the circum-Caribbean. Moreover, historical archaeology has held some significance in these countries because of the potential to produce large amounts of evidence, suggestive of the economic systems embedded in Dutch plantation culture (Haviser 2001). Research interest in this geographical milieu began with government recognition and officiated with the formation of the Archaeological Anthropological Institute of the Netherlands Antilles (1967). Through the years professional interest has been shown from academic institutions in the United States conducting field schools throughout the Netherlands Antilles.

The focus of archaeological research throughout these countries has been placed on underwater investigation of shipwrecks, plantation ruins, forts, historical architecture, sugar factories, and urban and commercial sites (Haviser 2001). Historical investigations, however, continue to be peripheral to the study of prehistoric culture and there remains a lack of recognizable growth in historical archaeological research. This seemingly inconspicuous nature of archaeological ventures affects social perception of the intent of foreign researchers and the purpose, value, and use of the archaeological work they produce—particularly their relevance and appreciation to the local inhabitants.

Haviser cited in his inventory of historical archaeological work throughout the Netherlands Antilles the lack of a clear communication of ideas and ambitions by researchers. He also

showed a demonstratively inclusive attitude toward locals as the real culprits inhibiting the proliferation of historically oriented research projects. Havisser further stated that foreign project directors and their crew ran the risk of insulating themselves and indirectly isolating local patrons (Havisser 2001:76). This, however, depends on the country and their infrastructural and local awareness and support of archaeology—though the concept of conducting archaeological work can at times be enigmatic. Another worthy point that inadvertently affects fieldwork is the reversal of gender roles foreign researchers may exhibit—to which I am privy. As a female researcher, I stepped into a cultural vortex of rigid traditional gender roles—performing manual labor that does not entail the maintenance of a household, the caring of children, and/or the processing of food. I instead supervised men which created an instant distancing from the local population.⁷ A repository of the finds from historical sites, which do not present tangible historical references to the local population, may affect the perception of archaeological work, too.

Archaeological investigations at Maroon sites in Suriname negate many of these concepts, mainly because we work with the permission of Maroon authorities.⁸ Moreover, Maroon archaeology—in relation to the established institution of historical plantation archaeology,

⁷ To offset disparities in gender roles while in Suriname, conducting research female participants are required to adhere to Maroon customs regarding menstruation (during this time women are sequestered to one of the several menstrual huts found along the periphery of the village). In addition, downtime in the Saramaka village base camp is spent engaging, via participant observation, in the female-centered activities mentioned in the text.

⁸ Prior to the beginning of research, permission to maintain a presence in Saramaka territory and trek into the forest must be granted from the Paramount chief and all governing bodies in whatever village the crew chooses as a base camp. During formal meetings, village chiefs and elders require a full explanation as to the reasons and expectations of the research and our source of knowledge about their history. At these formal meetings, we are quizzed by elders about Saramaka history concerning the migration of early Maroons and the perceived location of settlements. Students and participants in the crew receive cultural training by Saramaka colleagues, on matters of language, customs, and gender roles. The customary Maroon garb, *panghi*, is provided to project participants and all are encouraged to become involved in village social life. Archaeological research in the tropical forest is also dictated by any social events that may take place in the village. For example, during a funeral all individuals, be they us, the researchers, or Saramakaan, are required to halt activity and return to the village to participate in the mourning ceremonies. Saramakaans have the first and last word on the presence of archaeological investigators in their region.

regardless of whether or not it is popular or well received—is still in its infancy. There is more of a grassroots approach to launching and carrying out research of this nature. The research of Maroon settlements presents an opportunity for full engagement by the local community. Forest treks to and from sites are dependent on knowledgeable Maroon guides, and the adherence of Maroon customs, by crew members, is strongly enforced (Figure 3-1).

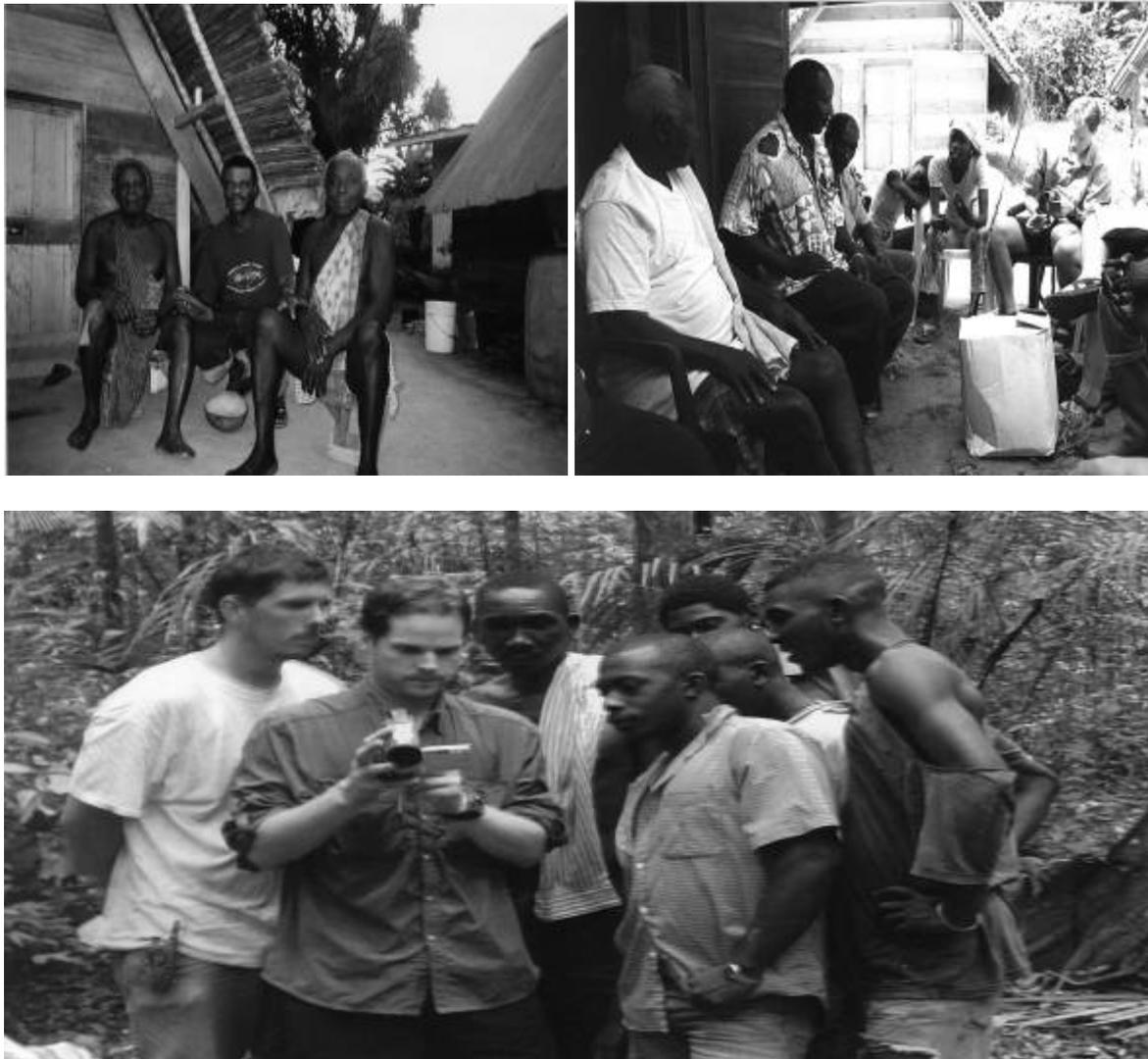


Figure 3-1. Researchers of the Maroon Heritage Research Project engaging in focus groups and meetings at various Maroon villages.

Presently, the academic environment and professional infrastructure of Suriname is not developing research programs in historical archaeology. Furthermore, the only regulatory body

applicable to archaeology—prehistoric or historical—is called the Monumentenwet 2002 or The Law of Monuments 2002⁹ under the auspices of the Department of the Interior. The Law of the Monuments 2002 replaces the Law of Historical Monuments (G.B. 1963 no. 23, altered by S.B. 1977 no. 45). The Law of Historical Monuments was enacted to oversee the identification and appropriation of existing structures and/or places of cultural and historical significance into Dutch cultural knowledge and doctrine on the matter of heritage (Law of Monuments 2002). The law, however, has no bearing on newly discovered sites or features that are deemed to be non-structurally sound or sites that are non-architectural in nature.¹⁰ This averts strong consideration for historical sites that may be found in the tropical forest.

To determine whether or not tropical rainforest site is post-contact, several attributes must be present. The acidic nature of tropical soil and the relatively short temporal interval of historic sites make it difficult to decipher non-diagnostic pottery remains and conduct relative dating.

⁹ Officially referred to as the Law of Monuments 2002, excerpts from the Dutch version of the law is translated for easy reference.

Chapter I, Article 1, Section B1 Monuments, states: “All real estate or sections thereof, that are at least fifty years old and are considered of general significance due to their beauty, their art value, their significance to science, archaeology, the history of the country, their ethnographic value of architecture ”; Section B2 continues: “Terrains that are of general importance due to the objects present as mentioned under 1” Section B3: “Terrains other than mentioned under 2, constructions and statues, that are erected in commemoration of an event or a person and as such hold historical or artistic value.”

Chapter III, Article 20, Section 1; “Monuments that are found in the course of excavation and to which no party can claim a right of property, are property of the State.” Section 2: “The proprietor of the ground in which the monuments are excavated is obligated to transfer of the found monuments to the State and has the right to compensation up to half of the value of those monuments.” Article 21, Section 1: “The individual that finds an object other than during excavation is obliged to declare these within thirty days of recovery, with the mentioning of the exact location, time, monument and CV of the discoverer of the find.”

¹⁰ The law does not outline the meaning of this, nor does it offer a catalog defining structures, shapes, construction technique, or construction material produced from archaeological investigation. The interpretation suggests erected structures not made of brick, stone or wood that is not located in a section of the country federally recognized for preservation of conservation. The only existing federal preserve in the country is the Central Suriname Nature Preserve. Areas deemed recognized as places of human habitation or present some degree of human exploitation of the natural resources, be they endangered or not, do not fall in this category. None of Suriname’s six officially recognized groups of Maroons are situated in the nature preserve; placing them outside of the realm of commentary concerning the application of the law.

However, with the application of historical documents, ethnographic accounts, and¹⁴ Carbon dating, it is possible to draw tentative conclusions about settlement patterns and residency. This method was used to identify Maroon sites in Jamaica that boasted multi-occupational settlements, bearing material culture indicative of historical and prehistoric activity (Agorsah 1994).

Research of post-contact sites bearing the physical remains of populations of peoples of African descent in Suriname, which are not based on ethnographic accounts or ethnohistorical documentation, are not common. An osteological survey of slave skeletal remains from the late 18th and early 19th centuries at Waterloo cotton plantation, located on the Warrappa Canal, was the only historical project targeted specifically at the slave population in Suriname. Prior to the osteological investigation, the research methodology integrated a historical survey of plantation locations, planter's logs, and the transport of slaves between plantations. In addition, an inventory shows recovered coffin parts and a mild ethnographic treatment of the burial orientation of non-Christian individuals (it was hypothesized that the greater number of the burials [68%], which faced east toward Africa, were African individuals) (Khudabux 1999).

To demonstrate the difference between the life of a slave and that of Indigenous peoples in the late 1790s, Khudabux (1991, 1999) and his team assessed pathological bone changes from 57 slave skeletal samples. These samples had not been washed away by the Atlantic tide at the Waterloo plantation cemetery. Khudabux's research team used a sample of Indigenous skeletal remains (circa 900 A.D.) for a controlled comparison of bone changes suggestive of multiple diseases: osteoarthritis, treponemal, rickets, and vertebral osteophytosis. The most dominant illnesses found in the skeletal sample were variations of syphilis. Khudabux's (1991) research discovered that 56% of the slave skeletal samples, versus 9% of the Indigenous samples, had

incremental bone lesions endemic of various treponemal diseases, ranging from the childhood disease yaws to adulthood congenital syphilis. The other most common disease noted among the slave remains of Waterloo Plantation, but less dominant than syphilis, is osteoarthritis. Even though it was found to be more of a side-effect of joint trauma among the slave sample, traces of the disease were not found among the Indigenous population. This example typifies the extent of post-contact research on peoples of African descent in the tropical setting of Suriname, South America.

Discussion

Even though the work of Khudabux shed light on the effects of slave life on individuals of various ages, it followed the tenets of historical archaeological studies discussed earlier in this chapter; for example, it focuses on a dominated population living in a controlled plantation environment. At this juncture, we should consider the prospects of conducting relevant historical archaeological investigations in Suriname. Given the components discussed earlier, we may begin to construct pertinent questions regarding the onset and effect of Maroonage in Suriname. Moreover, we can now consider the likelihood of discovering sites which may articulate the acculturation of multiple polarized cultures in a tropical forest environment. Independently, the research concerns and methods discussed earlier, and when used individually, are unlikely predictors for understanding the material beginnings of Maroons. However, these methods when combined offer a rich vortex from which to develop and investigate pertinent research questions and models applicable to African-diaspora studies in parts of the Caribbean, South America, and the United States.

CHAPTER 4 IMPLICATIONS FOR THEORY AND METHOD

How the Dichotomy of the African-diaspora Is Explained

This chapter will explore the various theoretical stances used in the discourse of African-diaspora studies. I present an overview of the most widely applied and cited paradigms found in the research of New World Diaspora populations. I then offer my interpretation of the paradigms in the context of archaeological research that has been conducted in the United States and Caribbean region. This chapter is not intended to be an exhaustive review of pedagogical arguments in African-diaspora research, and it is not meant to be a recitation of social commentary on the subject. I present a dissection of the paradigms most applicable to the research questions, design, and goals put forth in Chapters 3.

The issues to be considered are: (a) the application of theoretical tools in anthropology to explain the negotiation of multiple cultures in the formation of one cultural identity; (b) integrating ethnoarchaeological methods and archaeological findings; and (c) advancing archaeological knowledge about Maroon, Indigenous, and European relations in the circum-Caribbean. In addition, this discussion is based on my working questions: Research Question 1 (RQ1) asks whether or not the settlement pattern of an early Maroon village will display an African social organization that illustrates kin group division and clustering based on shared concepts brought from Africa (Price 1990). Research Question 2 (RQ2) asks if material items, manufacturing technology, and natural resources will represent the Indigenous and European influences in Saramaka material culture. The discussion will explore how anthropology as a discipline seeks to integrate these concepts into a definitive statement about identity through the reinterpretation and application of old and new disciplinary tools.

The discipline of cultural anthropology, as it is practiced in the Caribbean, has fashioned most of the theoretical models surrounding all branches of African-diaspora studies—archaeology included. Much of this scholastic discourse is based on identity formation and how it is used to establish cultural affinities. The concept of identity can be used to create boundaries and assert claims. This identity can also be a source of contest to aggrandize some and marginalize others (Premdas 1999). The onset of Caribbean exploration and habitation by European, as well as the introduction of African populations to Indigenous groups, created a space for interaction and social categorization to take place.

Due to these circumstances, a social penchant for distinctive identities and recognizable cultural traits took shape creating an ethnic-bloc-formation in which nationalist ideologies could develop and more structured and political concepts of cultural association could be formed and used as tools (Whitten and Torres 1998). To coherently describe, analyze, and discuss these identities and traits of people in the African-diaspora, cultural anthropology applied the term Creolization to the Caribbean context. The term Creolization has earned its place in anthropological discourse. In the following discussion, the Creolization theory will be used as a pivot from which to explore more suitable tools for interpreting African diaspora archaeology—especially that of Maroons.

Creolization: The Enduring Term Used to Represent Manifestations of Cultural Transformation

In an anthropological subtext, the term Creolization may connote an amorphous perception of one culture group's acculturation to another. The term mitigates a group's relationship to the binary spheres of either a Eurocentric or Afrocentric standard. In addition, it allocates prestige or disenfranchisement to whichever group bears a social proximity to the Euro/Afrocentric standard (Abrahams 1977; Premdas 1999). Much of the theory is based on the anthropological

models of acculturative continuum for communities. These models are based on a concept of development or modernization in relation to the physical movement away from the village (Indigenous) to the city (mestizo, mulatto, or ladino).

In this case, Creolization is a process of indigenizing ethnic traits to legitimate one's current place in the nation's social strata (Premdas 1999, Whitten and Torres 1998). Indigenizing ethnic traits creates a tone and posture for a person(s) to identify with when the circumstances dictate. Indigenizing ethnic traits may be used for social and/or political flexibility. Creolization is a predecessor to the ethnogenesis (discussed in greater detail in the following section) paradigm. The Creolization paradigm asserts that the traits of different cultural groups will soon be altered and create a common trait complementary to each group once placed in a cataclysmic situation (Heath 1999:197).

The term Creolization is rooted in the early 16th century hispanophone conquest of Cuba, Santo Domingo, and Puerto Rico, which built a substantial population of Spanish migrants. In addition, Creolization directly represents the Indigenous peoples as they were acculturated into the dominant social milieu of Africans and Europeans. Whitten and Torres (1998) described Creolization as follows:

A dual concept reflecting, on the one hand, a search for the creative dimensions of nationalism through the symbolism of an Indigenous past and, on the other hand, a social-political-literary symbol that conveys the mood of remorse over the living conditions of contemporary "acculturated Indians". (7)

Creolization has been used to determine levels of acculturation and its effect on the socio-political development of disenfranchised people by assessing the patterns of speech.

Anthropological linguists apply the Creolization theory to determine the causation of social upheaval and the formation of distinctive languages.

A Linguistic Look at the Use of Creolization

Linguists have described Creolization as a pidgin. More specifically, Creolization is a combination of various languages born out of resistance or disenfranchisement from the dominant language. Some scholars believe that the formation of creoles is due to pervading social circumstances. The social situations that allow for the formation of creoles and pidgins include those of trade, enslavement, convergence of groups of people, or conquest and occupation. Moreover, the function of the language may be auxiliary to the dominant language in use. Linguists often discuss the development and transfer of creoles as a result of socio-cultural dynamics and the transfer of multiple language structures (Kinney 1975; Migge 1998). The definitions previously discussed suggest a diffusionist perspective, and reflects the general explanation given by linguistics to explain Creolization. At the root of the definitions, creole is asserted to be a contact language, born out of the context of multilingual groups. The most consistent characteristic of creoles is that of a small vocabulary with few grammatical devices, and no redundant grammatical features. However, researchers are not clear on whether or not “social factors” actually cause the Creolization of a pidgin to take place or whether “linguistic processes” automatically induce Creolization unless prevented by social factors (Woolford 1983).

The social factors most commonly responsible were those which existed in colonial plantation settings as a result of European expansion. The dynamics of plantation life created a relationship between the dominant minority group and a linguistically heterogeneous majority group of immigrant laborers who did not share a common means of communication (Migge 1998:35).

The plantation colony must be recognized for what it is—the version of socioeconomic, political, and cultural domination that characterized European expansion in its post renaissance, preindustrial revolutionary history. It is not the only setting in which can be

found the essence of the communication complex that permits pidginization and Creolization to take place and perhaps to crystallize. (Carrington 1987:81)

The plantation setting's element of trade and exchange made possible the development and retention of creole languages. Woolford and Washabaugh (1983) observed that the creoles of the Atlantic Western world first arose among its laborers. Because the labor force worked under coercion and imposed constraints by owners, the lifestyle choices were limited. The political consequences of expansion created another dimension of what began as a purely economic venture.

To determine how social factors may have been the reason, Migge (1998) suggested an examination of micro-social interaction: the nature of community settings; the types of contact in work and non-work-related settings; the physical loci, purpose, and frequency of inter-and intra-group interaction; the power relationships among the groups and the official institutions of power (37). According to Migge's observation, these factors will help in identifying how different factions of the population interpreted and engaged in communication. The dominant linguistic form reflects the stratification of society. "The degree of influence of either the substrate or super substrate language has on the other is determined by the degree of social interaction between the two communities" (Robertson 1974:1). This paradigm suggests that language acquisition would be based not on the nature of the language itself, but the degree to which either of the languages are engaged and under what conditions they intersect.

The opposing paradigm, supported by Bickerton (1981), proposes that Creolization may occur not at "contact," but instead with a young and new generation. This theory is based less on "social factors" and more on the profile of the learner and the situational use of the language. In Carrington's (1987) study, the acquisition of language is determined by whether or not the language in the environment (a) is/is not a Creole, (b) is/is not related lexically to the creole

being acquired, (c) is/is not a superstrate language of the Creole being acquired, (d) is/is not a socially super ordinate language to the creole being acquired, and (e) is/is not a substrate language of the creole being acquired (88). The logic of this paradigm presupposes an exposure to multiple languages (in any of the definitional situations mentioned earlier in the discussion). Pidginization would have occurred in the previous generation without developing into a distinct creole. Thus a situation was created where language acquisition is not solely dependent on the maintenance of the social factors, which originally allowed for the creation of the creole. Instead Creolization is reified through conscious usage or lack of exposure to the dominant/superstrate language. Such a theory further suggests that Creolization was induced by slaves/Maroons as a mechanism to assert identity and independence from the dominant group.

The nature of Maroon culture in Suriname, unlike other Maroon communities throughout the circum-Caribbean, presents an interesting context to apply the paradigms. The imposing social factors associated with the initial colonization of Suriname undoubtedly created a unique circumstance for pidginization to take place. However, it is the context of Maroon culture that we see Creolization developing into a distinct language of its own. This method of linguistically ascertaining the degree to which a group of auxiliary peoples have amalgamated to a larger and more pronounced culture further influenced anthropological theory.

Conclusion

Originating from the concept of Creolization—and used for categorization—were various ideologies of racial cultures, such as mestizo, mulatto, and sambo (Gonzalez 1986:62). The term mestizo or blanqueamiento reflects the ideology of racial intermingling and one's proximity to whiteness. It suggests one's ethnic movement toward an idea of development, social progress, and political power. A mestizo may in fact possess attributes of both Indigenous and African. However, in the Dominican Republic, "they convert the term indio, which has been considered

above all as a denial of the African heritage in the Dominican Republic, into a proof of the specific mixed character of the Dominican population” (Baud 1996:143). Just as mestizo, the term mulatto offered the same connotation. In addition, it represents a free black of mixed Negro and European background. Sambo, or ladino, represents blacks who are accepted among whites, but are relegated to play subservient roles in the social strata. Negritude, however obvious its implications, reflects an ideological relationship to blackness, and denotes the positive features of identifying oneself as black (Whitten and Torres 1998). It is a conversion of the negative connotations associated with blackness.

Bilby (1996) refers to Bentley (1983) to define how synonymous the term Creolization is the hybridity: “The formation of an ethnic group where none existed before, [it] requires primordialization of group identity, consensual acceptance of some primordial ancestor, event, or place as the common ‘root’ of identity” (9). According to Bilby (1996) ethnogenesis is determined by a primordial drive towards ethnicity, or a concept of identity, which stems from:

- common origin
- shared historical experience
- kinship formation
- shared substance

The commonality of all these variables leads to an ethnic-bloc-formation where those who share recurrent processes of self-identification create a constant reference group for themselves (Whitten and Torres 1998:8). In the context of the circum-Caribbean, the cultural transformation of European, African, and Indigenous best describes the process.

Ethnogenesis versus Creolization: Tools of the Trade

The theoretical framework used to explain the case of newly developed ethnicities in the New World began with the Creolization model (Knight and Crahan 1979; Mintz and Price 1976). Though this model is applied primarily to studies in cultural and linguistic anthropology, it has

broad applications for other sub-disciplines. The theory explains cultural transformation as a relational by-product of interaction under duress, and stresses the retention of Africanisms. Archaeological theory adapted this approach to explain vessel technologies, subsistence strategies, the arrangement of plantation slave quarters, and decorative motifs on artifacts (Haviser 1999; Singleton 1980, 1985, 1995, 1999). Such is the case with Douglas Armstrong's (1983, 1991) work at the late 17th century "Old Village" at Drax Hall Estate in Jamaica. The research discussed here applies the more inclusive ethnogenesis theory to assess how Maroons in a non-plantation setting and with far greater access to resources and options appropriated Indigenous and European cultural mores and technologies to create a new identity.

For the purpose of this discussion, I will limit my reference to that of Bilby's (1996) examples of Maroon ethnogenesis, though he offered extensive observations on the development of Indigenous groups throughout the Americas as well. Ethnogenesis, as defined and applied by Bilby (1996), "...denotes a gradual process through which older ethnic categories and boundaries are redefined" (119). Bilby's application of the term reconstructs the multidirectional nature of culture change during the period of colonial contact in both Jamaica and Suriname. He articulated an ethnic ethos among burgeoning groups of runaway slaves affected by unfettered biological interaction, which later politicizes into enduring cultural features to insure cohesion and representation. The formation of Jamaica's southeastern Windward Maroons was accomplished through tracing one's descent to an apical ancestor, fictive kinship relationships. These kinships were based on place of origin in Africa or coastal plantations. They were a kin-based grouping for political representation and alliance, co-residence, and a means of determining resource-access and use, and religious ideology.

Ethnogenesis has earned its place as the new and improved version of the long-held Creolization theory. However, Creolization and ethnogenesis are neither the same nor mutually exclusive. Creolization has long been a tool of cultural anthropologists. Ethnogenesis, however, offers broader applications for archaeology. The overarching difference here is one of interpretation and perception rather than outright function. Creolization and ethnogenesis offer a means of incorporating the customs of cultural fusion and hybridization created in the context of colonialism.

Cultural anthropology has traditionally used Creolization as a theoretical construct to explain the cultural transformation of Africans in the New World (Mintz 1974; Mintz and Price 1985). As an explanatory tool, Creolization often hinges on the paradigm of resistance to slavery and African continuities or Africanisms in the making of New World cultures, notably Maroons. Similar to ethnogenesis, the Creolization model supports the cultural transformation premise, which explains sharing of cultural traits in New World settings. However, Creolization is primarily used to interpret the growth and role of identity in the context of slavery, the middle passage, and plantation social structure and dynamics. The polemics of Creolization as put forth by its anthropological predecessors, Richard Price (1974), Melville Herskovits (1958, 1972), and Sidney Mintz (1974), is similar to ethnogenesis in its logic; it seeks to understand culture change within a defined historical and transformative situation.

The recent polemical perspectives of Creolization shared by historians and anthropological theorists veer toward more polarized and inflammatory discussions of continuity and modernity. In addition, perspectives on the Creolization paradigm focus on the politicization of culture as it relates to identity formation within a nation state, historicity and the creation of memory, migration and assimilation in relation to the European other, and the birth of the creole or

mestizo class (particularly in the Caribbean) (Maurer 2002; Mintz 1974). The point of friction among anthropological theorists and the juncture which enables ethnogenesis to assume a position as a formidable anthropological tool stem from post-modern theoretical discourse. Proponents of this school of thought stipulate a need for a more discursive approach toward understanding hybridization at the point of colonialism and continuing transformation into the present.

The post-modern position is in strong contrast to the classical approach of collecting ethnographic data and devising cultural models which are left to represent a group of people in sometimes static ways. This approach is highly criticized by the postmodern school as one which projects onto the subject, via ethnographic methods and cultural materialism, a concocted memory of the what and how of cultural representation (Scott 1991). In a critique of earlier anthropological approaches, Scott (1991) summarized the inconsistencies well by stating: “in the discursive or narrative economy of this anthropological problematic, slavery and Africa function as virtually interchangeable terms” (262). In addition, “both turn on a distinctive attempt to place the “cultures” of the African/ex-slave in relation to what we might call an authentic past, that is, an anthropologically identifiable, ethnologically recoverable, and textually representable past” (1991:262). This method, however, hinders any opportunity for reinterpretation.

Though Creolization may claim to analyze and explain hybridization during the tumultuous years of contact, it mirrors the marked errors of historical archaeology. In other words, as with traditional historical archaeology and its often Eurocentric approach to addressing dissenting themes of gender disparities and class/race division, Creolization creates a historical reference which is Africa-centered with its own set of dissenting themes: African ideology, place names, social constructs, perceptions of blackness, and the expression of kinship in relation to

spatial patterns. These variables can quickly become a vortex of repetitive descriptive analysis that in turn becomes a fixed dissenting theme in anthropological discourse. These themes, however, can be relatively harmless when juxtaposed with the polarized cultural variables of Europeans or Indigenous peoples.

The Maroons of Suriname have often been used as an anthropological barometer from which to rate the retention, continuity, and symbolic representations of Africanisms in the New World. Their place of habitation and customs offer seemingly measurable variables from which to draw correlations with other diaspora groups throughout the Caribbean. Scott (1991) heavily criticized the theoretical bent of the early work of Herskovits (1930, 1936) and Price (1975) as one which exploited Suriname Maroons. It is quite appropriate that we consider the intentionality and necessity of the Creolization model, particularly because it gained its professional importance and significance in the anthropological study of the region in question in this study. Scott (1991) offered a very pointed analysis of what is lacking with the Creolization model. It can be argued that archaeology may be the technique better suited to decipher the oppositional cultural variables at work in the case of the Saramaka people. Scott (1991) stated:

Such a conceptual strategy must then logically presuppose the availability of an historical/interpretative apparatus that can identify and represent “what really happened” in the Saramaka past, independent of Saramaka accounts of it; it must do so in order to provide historical representations that can be employed as a sort of authoritative baseline against which to measure the accuracy of their own memory of it. (269)

To further interpret Scott, a model such as Creolization offers a polarized view of cultural transformation. In short, each group transforms and evolves, but does so autonomously. This perspective, at its root, presupposes consequential and unidirectional relationships. In particular, Creolization searches for absolute cultural associations within the context of the culture. For example, for anthropologists, Maroons are used as a valuable variable because they display characteristic African behavior deemed authentic by the anthropologists.

Anthropologists can then discuss these behaviors or cultural associations based on how they are mirrored in the cultural milieu. These cultural associations are interpreted from the vantage point of how native and transplanted populations were affected by the institution of colonialism or expressed in the spatial, socio-structural, biological, and cultural acculturation of European polities to newly established colonial depots (Deagan 1988a; Gosden 2004). Moreover, the very nature of such a perspective places the agency of the complementary populations at the periphery of European expansionism.

Archaeology, by its very nature, offers concrete evidence of cultural interaction, and, consequently, requires an interpretative tool which spans a multiplicity of concepts. Artifacts, to be understood beyond their context, must offer more than just nominal anecdotal observations about cultural variables and transformations. Prior to broaching issues of identity and modernity, we must first have the means to understand that ethnic formation processes are catalyzed by a myriad of variables. In the case of ancestral Maroon communities of Suriname, numerous elements from Europeans, Indigenous Indians, and Africans have affected the archaeological record. Therefore we must first be able to identify innocuous physical remains and draw analogous relationships with their cultural predecessors.

Archaeology may be the more suitable method for understanding Saramaka cultural context, but the more suitable theory for interpreting the particulars of African, European, and Indigenous cultural transformation in a non-plantation setting is ethnogenesis. In recent years ethnogenesis has been appropriated by archaeological theory to articulate the material relationship of cultural transformation in New World historical archaeology (Weik 2002). The recent application of ethnogenesis to archaeological data in non-plantation settings is due in part to the recent interest in Maroon sites. But we need not rest on ethnogenesis as the only means of

answering anthropology's proverbial questions: How, what, where, and when did Saramaka Maroons emerge as a cultural entity?

A comparable explanatory tool to ethnogenesis is the “middle ground” theory (Gosden 2004). This theory reasserts the basic tenets of ethnogenesis mentioned earlier. In addition, the middle ground theory specifically approaches historical archaeology by first considering the nature of colonialism as an institutional force affected by and affecting new cultural dynamics. Furthermore, it critiques historical archaeology as a methodological tool that uses linear models to assess the appropriation, consumption, and accumulation of wealth by extractive forces (Gosden 2004). In this scheme, human agency is relegated to the roles, either assumed or forced, played throughout the course of colonial consumption vis-à-vis the extraction of wealth, goods and services.

What the middle ground theory offers is an interpretation of how forms of material culture amalgamated due to the historical event called colonialism—not necessarily its affect upon other factions. Gosden (2004) illustrated the middle ground theory by assessing the early 20th century relationship white explorers held with native Papua New Guineans:

The joint colonial culture did not bring acculturation or cultural destruction for either side. Instead constant links joined people in relations of difference. Papua New Guineans and outsiders started off as different and, although their encounters changed them, connections made them different in new ways, drawing on old cultural logics. (96)

Gosden’s approach contradicts how historical archaeology has traditionally explained colonialism—as a means of reasserting what is textually and materially known of European expansion and extraction, or as an investigatory tool for understanding the development of polarized relationships based on differential power, in as much as it affected colonizing polities.

According to Gosden’s (2004) theory, material culture functions as both quantifiable objects of incremental or accumulative value and as objects of quality or metaphorical

value. Quantifiable objects represent “Objects [that] help create individuals and both can be separated from the mass” (37). Moreover, quantifiable objects indicate “Efficiency and the time, effort, and amount of raw materials expended in production [which] become crucial to value” (37). Items of quality pose a different function. They “help create individuals and exist in groups just as individuals do” (37). Quality items “Form assemblages and are used and consumed as groups, rather than as individualized objects. Assemblages are codified through the qualities of things” (37). Table 4-1 shows the definitions of what Gosden (2004) referred to as qualitative or metaphorical items vis-à-vis quantitative and incrementally valued items. An example of this paradigm shift can be found in 19th century Face Jugs or Monkey jugs from South Carolina (Figure 4-1). These vessels were typically used for the transport of liquids, notably water. They were constructed by slaves and possessed anthropomorphic carvings representing the maker's African origin; typically they boasted bulging eyes and a gaping mouth. Even though incrementally these items are comparable to their English counterpart (the Toby Jug), they are metaphorically indicative of social beliefs brought from the Congo (Hunter 2006). Hunter stated:

The African *minkisi* (plural for *nkisi*), also called power figures, are associated with fetishism and ritual magic. Traditionally wooden figures with wide, bright eyes and gaping mouths, they are made up of various components designated for the practice of magic. The *nkisi n'kondi*, or nail figure, for example, is a ritual figurine carved from a light, cypresslike wood believed for this purpose to be sacred. By itself the *nkisi* does not represent a spiritual personality but is a container for one, and it is up to one member of each village, the *nganga n'kondi*, to make sure that the capture of the appropriate spirit is accomplished. Taking on the role as expert in such rituals, the *nganga n'kondi* conceals a mixture of minerals, herbs, and other substances inside the *nkisi*, usually within its protruding belly cavity. The aromatic blend lures curious spirits, or spiritual powers, who are entrapped when the cavity is sealed. Spirits are also attracted by the bright whites of the *nkisi* eyes, which are either painted with kaolin clay or inset with glass. The early *nkisi* were made exclusively of kaolin clay, which was regarded as sacred substance. As with other parallels the functional features of the *nkisi* closely match those of the slave-made face jug. (124-125)

In other words, the more pronounced these anthropomorphic elements, the less functional the jug as a water vessel. A standard archaeological assessment of these jugs would make the visible incremental comparisons of manufacturing techniques: Its ceramic type, the facial features, contour, width, thickness, and general dimensions of the vessels parts.



Figure 4-1. Face Jugs of South Carolina. (Hunter 2006).

When placed together, these attributes may speak to the vessel's utilitarian value and its conceptual transport across cultural boundaries. However, with Gosden's (2004) middle ground theory, Face Jugs can be interpreted for their metaphorical value and role in sustaining the social structure (Table 4-1).

I now offer an interpretation of the middle ground theory and its aforementioned tenets. As a practice, historical archaeology approaches qualifiable and quantifiable objects as two separate entities that represent divergent and static realities. The archaeology of New World forts and first settlements (albeit European strongholds) acts as a reinforcement of spatial control and political prowess in addition to representations of successful commerce and religious doctrine (Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002).

Table 4-1. A reinterpretation of Gosden’s chart (2004:37)¹

Items as metaphor	Items of incremental or accumulative value
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Objects are embedded in local sets of social and sacred relations. Their formal qualities are important 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Objects are partible by reference to agreed standard of worth
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Objects form assemblages, used and consumed as groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Objects are alienable and divisible, existing in an agreed standard of worth
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Objects help create individuals and exist in groups just as individuals do 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Objects help create individuals and both can be separated from a mass

For the purpose of this study, Gosden’s middle ground theory converges well with ethnogenesis. It is at this juncture that Gosden's middle ground theory may operationalize ethnogenesis in the context of Maroon archaeological research. Ethnogenesis is the point at which new ethnic identities form—whether conscious or unconscious: Gosden (2004) stated:

The important point here is that neither individuals or individuals can be assumed as starting points for our [archaeologists] analysis and that a relational view helps to sensitize us to the creation of people of different kinds through changing networks or relationships. (37)

Quantifiable items can be interpreted as items of quality and vice versa, allowing new cultural entities to emerge and endure into the present. Gosden's (2004) theory allows us to place the material identities of Africans, Europeans, and Indigenous peoples into a neutral space in order to be reinterpreted in the context of Maroon settlements. With this strategy, we do not need to look at items reminiscent of colonialism—muskets, olive storage jars, coinage, or metal items, as

¹ Table 4-1 is a reinterpretation of Gosden's (2004:37) version. Bulleted items in this list are condensed representations of the bulleted items found in the original table as are the column headings, which are renamed for greater clarity and relation to Gosden's terms cited throughout this chapter.

quantifiable indicators of the breadth of colonialism. Indicators, which when interpreted in the traditional form of historical archaeological research, address expansionism and creates and dictates dependence on other cultural groups. Instead, items move into the qualifiable realm and become secondary indicators of a group's cultural identity. It is in this qualifiable realm that we may interject the African model often used in the Creolization theory and apply it to method building in the case of African-diaspora archaeological sites.

Research in ethnogenesis—at both slave and free settlements throughout the Caribbean—suggests that an African ideology or blueprint can be identified in the settlement arrangements of house-yard compounds (the proximity of kin members' households to each other with a shared common area for cooking and socializing) (Agorsah 1994; 1999:49; Armstrong 1991; Havisser 1999; Hill 1996). In support of the African blueprint Research Question 1 (RQ1), I expected the archaeological evidence at Kumako to illustrate kin group settlement division and clustering. A discovery of kin group settlement division would be in accordance with previous ethnographic findings among the Saramaka that revealed that Maroon social systems and living arrangements retained shared concepts brought from Africa (Price 1983a:112). The findings would support a historical observation regarding the clans that inhabited Kumako and how they maintained their shared familial lineage to coastal plantations and African birthplaces in the context of Kumako (Price 1983a:110, 1990). But extensive excavation of the Kumako settlement has yet to be accomplished. Much of what has been revealed speaks to a broader interpretation of ethnogenesis and the African blueprint.

A similar explanation of ethnogenesis has been used in the southeastern United States to explain archaeological sites with strong African and Indigenous elements. Research at the 19th century black Seminole Maroon town, Pilaklikaha, in Florida, assessed what was historically

known of the dispersed homesteads (house-yard compounds) of traditional Seminole villages. This research has also assessed the linear layout of slave habitats on southeastern plantations to determine how the culture of Africans and Seminoles combined to leave archaeological evidence of a distinct spatial pattern (Weik 2002:14). The findings determined that black Seminoles at Pilaklikaha forged a new material identity different from those of their coastal or local counterparts (Weik 2002). Excavation of the Kumako site may in fact reveal a settlement pattern that is distinctly Saramaka Maroon.

In an effort to keep the academic goals of the project at the forefront, it is important to re-emphasize this attempt at understanding Caribbean Maroon communities via archaeology. In the context of cultural reinterpretation, ethnogenesis is the applicable theory to understand the formative period of Saramaka Maroons. However, the techniques used to extract data can be found in ethnoarchaeology. In the next section, I will explore the various forms in which ethnoarchaeology is defined and applied and its relevance to Maroon archaeology in Suriname.²

Deciphering Identity in the Material World

Ethnoarchaeology and ethnohistory were research methods used to disclose the early 18th century Maroon settlements of Nanny Town and Accompong Town (Old Town) in Jamaica (Agorsah 1994). Datable finds were revealed at the sites: European Spanish coins, delftware ceramics, and Indigenous terra-cotta figurines along with coarse earthenware sherds. Both towns were noted as having large house-yard open spaces where Maroons engaged in subsistence farming and the keeping of livestock (Hart 2002). The sites were identified through

2 Throughout the remainder of this section the term ethnoarchaeology is referred to as either a method or theory. I use both terms interchangeably when it suits the point. I use the two terms in large part to the interpretation and application of it in the literature (Agorsah 1994; David and Kramer 2001). Ethnoarchaeology can either be used as a formidable tool to describe how a researcher integrates oral accounts and or ethnographic records into the interpretation of archaeological finds. It can further be used to draw analogous relationships between the compartmentalized modern data and the past.

ethnohistorical information gathered from contemporary Maroons. Maroon sites in Jamaica span several cultural occupations and reveal a medley of cross-cultural artifacts that helped sustain livelihood (Agorsah 1994:177). Similar to these findings, I expected Kumako's artifact assemblage to represent Indigenous and European culture (RQ2). The findings from the study support what is known of vessel types, their construction materials, and their contextual use among the residents of Kumako.

Ethnoarchaeology has offered both historical and prehistorical archaeologists a method for using observed behaviors in the present to infer past behavior in the archaeological evidence. In the context of historical archaeology, Bartel (1985) argued that to understand fully the degree to which ethnogenesis has occurred, an archaeologist must first analyze the technological, social, and ideological nature of the Indigenous groups prior to, during, and after contact (12). In another definition of ethnoarchaeology, as stated by Kofi Agorsah (1999):

Ethnoarchaeology must of necessity consist of a means of explaining the behavior of past societies on the basis of analytical models derived from observed behavioral or cultural phenomena of living societies, traditional or not. The crucial consideration should be an orientation towards an explicitly well-defined interface between models drawn from modern traditional behavior and those of the past. (38-39)

For ethnoarchaeology to be an operational methodology, it should rigorously draw from historical, ethnographic and archaeological evidence.

Stark (1993) stated that ethnoarchaeology is in fact not a theory but a research strategy for answering archaeological questions in a living society. She believed that the role of ethnoarchaeology in the post-processual school of archaeology is not to arrive at an explanation, but instead to illustrate the relation between different data available in one's research and decipher its correlation with human behavior, present or not (94). It is in the context of the post-processual school of archaeology that ethnoarchaeology may find its place and value within the discipline. The post-processual school recognizes "that human mind and cognition were key

factors in the creation of the archaeological record, and they must be invoked if an adequate explanation or interpretation of past behavior is to be achieved” (Whitley 1998:5).

To arrive at this place of understanding of past and present human identity in like societies, Andren (1998) suggested that we make artifacts and text as comparable as possible. Moreover, we should utilize oral tradition to help trace the meaning of various objects. In Schmidt’s (1997) research on iron smelting technology among the Buhaya of Tanzania, he demonstrated the use of Indigenous histories—through oral interviews and experimental demonstrations—to counter what was historically known of this ancient technology. Schmidt's account of the process reflected the anthropological method of collecting oral histories on the topic, but also engaging iron smelters in a reenactment of the process. He continued by precisely recounting the procurement of the resources needed, the construction process of the iron furnaces and its various apparatus and the heating intervals of the iron ores. In addition, Schmidt gathered oral accounts among the Haya people of symbolic significance of each step of the iron smelting process. Particular to these accounts are the Haya taboos surrounding the success of the smelting process in association with abstinence from sex and disassociation with menstruating women. Schmidt's experiment leads us to further consider how to meticulously apply the methods of ethnoarchaeology while engaging the subtle references to cultural maintenance and longevity.

How is Ethnoarchaeology Operationalized?

Recent studies of Maroonage have veered toward the use of ethnoarchaeological methods. Researchers are now dismantling the physical/material attributes of the early Maroon societies with the ethnographic guidance of living Maroons (Agorsah 1999, 1996, 1995, 1993; Singleton 1995). In addition, the research is guided by themes, such as the continuity of an African identity in the Caribbean context. Much of this research is based on the concept that sameness and differences are mirrored in isolation, which have helped to nurture a distinct culture rooted in

African traditions. In Higman's (1994) study of Montpelier, he focused on the African slave population's patterns of settlements and how they reflected the spatial relations of family members on a plantation in Jamaica. Ethnographic research among the Maroons of Accompong (Old Town) demonstrates how social relationships have determined behavior patterns similar to those observed in the Volta Basin region of Ghana (Agorsah 1999:47). The research among the Saramaka Maroon of Suriname is a continuation of the study in Jamaica.

Ethnoarchaeology may be operationalized by focusing on more than isolated, observed attributes and activities. For example, an inference-based study focusing on how one task refers to another resulted in a comprehensive understanding of the division of labor between genders among the Chipewyan Indians of north central Canada (Brumbach and Jarvenps 1997). The task of hunting went beyond the activity of killing the animal. It instead suggested an enterprise that produced the food, clothing, tools, and other necessities of life and required the interdependence of female and male labor in a foraging society (Brumbach and Jarvenps 1997:418). As with Gosden's middle ground theory, ethnoarchaeology offers a neutral space to configure data gathered via participant observation, historical documentation, and archaeological evidence.

Discovering meaningful settlement patterns in the case of Kumako is highly probable. Ethnographic research conducted among the Saramaka has revealed matrilineal and matrilocal living arrangements. We know from historical records that the clans residing at Kumako represented a particular matrilineal kin (bee) and a clan (lo) cluster from similar plantations, as well as regions of Africa—boasting 12 in all (Price 1983a, 1990). We also know that all Maroons trace their history to a certain clan and—from what we know of modern village structures—kinship is the main motive behind the placement of living quarters.

As noted by numerous researchers, and as I have observed while living in Maroon villages, kinship relations in Suriname's tropical interior are very amorphous (Bilby 1996; Price 1975, 1983a, 1983b, 1990). People often refer to second or third cousins as brothers and sisters and a parental figure need not be a birth mother or birth father. The concept of individual possession and space is absent among Maroons. In addition, households are managed with a fluidity that makes interdependence an inescapable way of life. The use of space in the village is intertwined with the use of objects. Mothers, daughters, and sisters maintain homes side by side and share one outdoor cooking and food-processing station. This close relation aids in the rearing of children, the processing of raw food for a sustained food supply, and usage of hard-to-come-by kitchen pots and cookware. The work ethic continuously engages the concept and need for a family structure.

Ceramic studies of the African-diaspora stress that pottery produced by peoples of African descent is a result of localized or domestic production systems (Hauser and Armstrong 1999:74). On St. Eustatius, archaeologists recovered an Afro-Caribbean pottery assemblage from an 18th century Jewish community. The finds are so named due to their paste attributes and vessel form. The yabba or flat griddles and the globular vessel used for cooking referred to as the olla jar are indicative of pre-emancipation time on many Caribbean Islands (Heath 1999).

Armstrong's (1983, 1985, 1991) work at Seville and Drax Hall plantations in Jamaica is another example of how Africans reinterpreted their surroundings. Armstrong states that Afro-Caribbean cultural markers are represented by hearths, cooking areas, animal pens, and cleared activity areas in the yard surrounding the house. He described how low potting traditions from the mid-17th century were derived from African practices and technology, but incorporated elements of European technology. African-Jamaican coarse earthenware is low-fired, hand-built

pottery and associated with slave yards (Armstrong 1999:176; Armstrong 1983, 1985, 1991). Further analysis of the Maroon archaeological record might reveal that Maroon settlements are not haphazard, but demonstrate thought through social ties. We may find that these social ties dictate the frequency with which certain artifacts appear in the archaeological record, as well as where and how they appear and their clustering vis-à-vis other assemblages. For example, will a clustering of burnt earthenware pots, signifying a cooking area, appear in relation to dwelling remains? Ethnoarchaeology as a method will guide analysis by focusing on all attributes of how identity and cultural values are imprinted on the landscape.

The identity of African individuals in the Diaspora has been a long-standing debate in cultural anthropology (Lovejoy 1997). Much has been written about the extent and degree to which African cultural mores and affiliations were retained and promulgated in New World settings. The proclivity of modern material culture—in the form of artistry in cosmetic and functional items—is often used as a gauge for assessing the maker's perception of self and culture, as well as the understanding of his immediate natural surroundings. However, archaeological evidence associated with the African-diaspora, in particular Maroons sites in the lowland neotropics, presents more of a challenge due to short settlement intervals and minimal to lack of diagnostic ceramic finds.

Discussion

The concepts discussed in this chapter cover the pertinent elements found in and applied to the dialogue surrounding African-diaspora archaeology, particularly as it relates to the study and use of modern Maroon societies. The relevance of ethnogenesis and ethnoarchaeology to the study of Maroon culture past and present is unprecedented in historical archaeology. Though attempts have been made through archaeological investigation, to understand the living choices of slave rebel groups during the 18th and 19th centuries (Agorsah 1999; Weik 2002), Suriname is

the only country in the circum-Caribbean region that offers a more intact and cohesive template from which to work. This is further marked by the extensive sources of information on Saramaka ethnography, coupled with the geopolitical relationships they held with other cultural elements, such as the country, its people, and its history.

In terms of Maroon archaeology, Weik's (2002) use of the ethnogenesis theory for the interpretation of black Seminole settlement patterns at Pilaklikaha demonstrates how archaeology has appropriated cultural anthropology's early paradigms—Creolization and hybridity—into a paradigm more suitable for archaeological studies at historical New World sites. Moreover, Weik's (2002) work demonstrated that the material culture of a relocated group of African descent people need not be interpreted solely by how they are juxtaposed to other cultural agents. We can in fact create a new multi-dimensional context that neither relegates nor polarizes what is found in the archaeological record to existing culture A or B. Instead we can discuss the living choices of central Florida's black Seminoles as a phenomenon marked by the unique circumstances with which they were faced.

Agorsah's (1994) work in Jamaica is the sole circum-Caribbean account that offers an operationalized ethnoarchaeological model. The goal of Agorsah's archaeological work in Jamaica “Has been to determine the nature and mechanism of functional adaptation of Maroon communities in the New Worlds” (165). Agorsah's (1994) work continues to represent the lingering cultural influences of Maroons—their music, dance, and religion. Agorsah's use of the historical record, oral/ethnohistorical accounts, and archaeology aided in the location and identification of numerous Maroon settlements throughout the country. However, settlements are identified by their general locale in what was deemed to be historical Maroon country or areas associated with Maroon activity: Gunaboa Vale, Los Vermajales, and Cave Valley.

Because Agorsah's research relied heavily on archaeological evidence, he used the oral/ethnohistorical data on environmental manipulation and vegetative exploitation to distinguish the living settlements in these amorphous regions. Agorsah (1994) further stated that Maroons of Jamaica bear an absence of traditional names by which they refer to individual settlements (167). He suggested that this absence may be due in part to the ephemeral nature of these settlements and the need to maintain some secrecy as to their locations. At the most widely excavated and commonly known settlement, Nanny Town, three phases were identified. These phases represented the occupation of multiple European factions, Indigenous inhabitants, and their material culture, as well as that of the Nanny Town Maroons:

Phase I predates Maroon presence and is characterized by a mixture of local ceramics, shell and stone artifacts, such as beads and flint;

Phase II is referred to as the Maroon Phase, spanning 1655-1734; it contains local ceramic, grinding stones, charcoal, gunflint, musket balls and kaolin smoking pipe bowls.

Phase III is represented by the stone fortifications, imported ceramic bowls, gun barrel fragments and medicine bottles.

What these phases and their artifacts represent is the shift in influences present during the formative years at Nanny Town.

The use of Gosden's (2004) middle ground theory is intended to further illustrate the context in which I chose to interpret the material finds from the Saramaka site of Kumako. As a reinterpretation of the Creolization theory, ethnogenesis is tried and tested within cultural anthropology (Hill 1996). The middle ground theory, however, expands upon ethnogenesis and creates an opportunity for the archaeologist to interpret and operationalize ethnoarchaeology. If in fact ethnoarchaeology guides us on the correct path to extract data, it is the middle ground theory that allows us to infer partnerships between seemingly innocuous items. In Chapter 5 I will discuss how the elements mentioned earlier—ethnography, ethnohistory, historical accounts, and archaeology—are used to understand the material elements presented at a Maroon site.

CHAPTER 5
RESEARCH DESIGN AND ETHNOARCHAEOLOGICAL APPLICATIONS

Agency and the Archaeologist

The major methodological components in this study include archival research, artifact analysis, archaeological excavation, and a compilation of ethnohistorical and oral accounts. I constructed the research design based on an examination of various projects that have similar components found in archaeological studies: Slave settlements at Caribbean plantations; archaeological and ethnographic findings from neotropical Indigenous sites and cultures throughout lowland South America; ethnographic and oral historical accounts of modern Maroons; and primary records in European archives (Agorsah 1994, 1995; Price 1975, 1983a, 1983b; Stahl 1995). Agorsah's work at Nanny Town in Jamaica and the works of Allen (1999, 2000) and Funari (2000, 2002, 2006), at Quilombos dos Palmares in Brazil heavily rely on oral historical accounts of Maroon descendants residing in proximity to the research area.

The focal points of these research projects are the strong familial ties to ancestral communities. These projects offer some insight into the politicization of identity and the degree of recognition and support experienced by the individual performing the research.

Archaeological work at Palmares has garnered a tumultuous political backlash due to the association of archaeological evidence with Indigenous groups instead of the Maroon community. In turn, Jamaica's national identity benefited greatly from the archaeological definition of Nanny Town. Upon completion of excavations, the historical figure Nanny, for whom the area was named, received national acclaim. The archaeological finds from Nanny Town now complement her historical and literary identity.

It was therefore my intention to best represent the different ethnic and social factions existing at the time of Saramaka development by incorporating all historical contributors into the

methodology. As an archaeologist working among Maroons, a historically and archaeologically understudied group, it was my professional duty to approach the study of their ancestral settlements with an array of methods. The research design and subsequent methods for the Suriname project took into consideration the social and material relationship of different ethnic entities.

This chapter is written using a first-person perspective. This approach resonates with the style of traditional ethnography, because it highlights that I am a primary actor or agent in making representations about these communities and their histories. The typical method of doing ethnography requires a participatory explanation of activities and encounters with the cultural group in question. Furthermore, the goals of ethnographic research are complemented by observation and participation in the behaviors that allow the data to be globally relatable to other ethnic groups. However, as an anthropologist whose primary area of focus is archaeology, and as it is documented in this chapter, my engagement with the large Maroon tribes of Suriname—Saramaka, Matawai, and Ndjuka—represents a collage of field experiences. Some of my experiences testify to my tolerance for acclimating to another culture and the remainder speak directly to the issues and research questions discussed throughout this dissertation.

As to the construction of the ethnoarchaeological methodology employed in this project, it is important to compile and condense cultural activities into meaningful social agency that might offer material linkages. I engaged in a variety of cultural activities among various groups of Maroons to ascertain how the scope of their culture could possibly influence the archaeological record. Archaeologists must create agency by placing themselves in the cultural space of the group whose history they are studying. As a method, ethnoarchaeology presents the opportunity to engage directly with how people experience their surroundings.

In an assessment of the archaeologist's relationship to particular study subject, Pauls (2006) stated:

The relationship between people, material culture, and space may be studied from a variety of perspectives. Material sourcing studies allow archaeologists to discern the movement of goods over space. Descriptive studies explore the spatial relationships of sets of materials: clusters of artifacts define a work area, one or more rooms define a dwelling, groups of homes define a town, and arrays of fortified towns define trade networks or borders. (66)

This train of thought is appropriate for interjecting a methodology that creates a stage for multivocality. If we continue along the lines of this argument, multivocality creates agency for the researcher and aids in the interpretive process of deciphering material culture. As researchers who use ethnoarchaeology as a methodology, we have to do more than just observe and/or participate in those activities that obviously speak to what we want to locate or draw from the archaeological record. In order to be able to gather pertinent data from the cultural group being studied, we must open ourselves to the breath of cultural nuances in our environment. Such an engagement is as much a part of experiencing how people choose the materials in their culture as understanding how they interact with the landscape around them.

The original strategy for this study was a compartmentalized phase-based research scheme. I erroneously assumed a linear trajectory through each phase—one that would begin with archival collection and progress directly to ethnographic, archaeological, and artifact analysis. In addition, I assumed timely availability and cooperation from necessary parties in the study region. But, what I discovered while doing research was that my historical knowledge of the—Saramaka, Dutch, and Indigenous—increased gradually along with my cultural knowledge and understanding of the region. In addition, the on-site knowledge I gained at times contradicted what is presented in the available English literature. For example, the literature (Price 1983a) that discloses a location for Kumako puts the ancestral community farther west of where it had been

archaeologically determined to be. The MHRP's early research design and initial attempt at locating the settlement heavily relied upon the published literature.

The less than linear trajectory created an ever-evolving range of questions and methods that were appropriated into the initial research schema. Each phase of the study was designed to respond to the questions presented in Chapter 3: (a) How did the different cultures of the New World affect the development of Maroon culture?; and (b) Can we detect these attributes in the archaeological record, for example, (RQ1) an African social organization that illustrates kin group division and clustering, and (RQ2) a diversity of material items that would shed light on technology and resources access of all cultures in question. Even, though I had to reevaluate my research design, the information gathered from each phase of the study demonstrated the pertinence of a historical ethnoarchaeology. As I learned more about Saramaka Maroons and traditional Indigenous cultures, I applied the theory of ethnogenesis to my ongoing interpretation of Maroon material culture.

Throughout this chapter, I outline the frame from which I organized my research design. It consists of an anthology of research issues born out of field experiences amassed since the inception of this project in 1996 and my involvement in 1999.

Archival Research

I conducted an intensive survey of primary archival sources on the initial Dutch presence in the New World, along with the Dutch's role in the African slave trade. I examined primary Dutch government/military records housed at the Jacob Gelt Dekker Institute, *Centraal Historisch Archief* (Central Historical Archives), and the National Historical Society in Curacao, Netherlands Antilles. I also conducted archival research at the library of the Suriname National Museum in Paramaribo, Suriname, and identified Dutch sources on colonial Suriname.

Throughout this study, I used excerpts from my archival research gathered while at each of these institutes.

At the University of Florida, Latin American Collections Library, I reviewed published memoirs and ethnohistorical oral accounts that give observational data on Maroon life and culture during the 18th century. These are the primary documentations of Saramaka internal social dynamics that also divulge the locations of slave villages. I also reviewed a large collection of books on New World history. I placed particular focus on the Dutch Caribbean and those documents that emphasized Dutch political and social relations with Maroons.

At the *Centraal Historisch Archief*, I focused on a study of Dutch laws stipulating the legal relationship the Dutch had with the Saramaka and Ndjuka Maroons during the formative years of colonization and bouts of gran maroonage. Published in 1973, the *Plakaten, Ordonnantien en Andere Wetten, Uitgecaarddigd in Suriname 1667-1816* compiled the original Dutch ordinances detailing key historical figures and events that meshed well with both factual (Fermin 1781; Goslinga 1985; Stedman 1791; *The Conduct of the Dutch* 1760) and ethnohistorical (Price 1983a) publications on the topic.

The laws most relevant to this endeavor include:

- 1717 Payment for the excursion to find runaway slaves
- 1742 Compensation for locating villages inhabited by runaways
- 1760 Peace treaties with the Bush-Negroes behind Auca
- 1760 Notice concerning the agreement with Bush-Negroes behind Auca and the permission to stay for official residents and planters
- 1761 Prohibiting Bush-Negro access to plantation[s]
- 1761 Pacified Bush-Negroes receive sign
- 1762 Settlement with bush-negroes of the Saramaka and Suriname rivers

- 1762 Publication on what was convened with the Bush-Negroes of Saramaka and above Suriname
- 1764 Bush-Negroes for rent
- 1767 Selling of weapons
- 1767 Selling of rifles
- 1773 Bush-Negroes from behind Auca must return to their village
- 1780 Selling of wood from Bush-Negroes behind the Auca
- 1780 Instructions for the postholder in Rio Correntine, J. F. Geijger
- 1781 For the passing of Post Victoria a written permit is required
- 1783 Attitudes of the pacified Bush-Negroes
- 1791 New stipulation about the payment for runaways
- 1811 Assignment of passes (permits) for pacified Bush-Negroes
- 1811 Instructions for the postholders living among the free ones who live behind Auca

Appendix A gives an English version of each Dutch law reviewed (the laws were translated from 18th and 19th centuries Dutch documents with the aid of a Centraal Historisch Archief employee). The 1762 September 19 “Settlement with bush-negroes of the Saramaka and Suriname Rivers” is comprised of 15 articles. Each article gives circumstances to be met by the Maroons and the Dutch colonists in light of their willingness to negotiate a non-combative relationship. Historical documentation illuminates the broader socio-political context in which Suriname Maroons developed. However, when coupled with ethnohistorical evidence, a richer interpretation of the material culture is offered. This approach allows us to understand contemporary cultural practices that stem from historical events.

Ethnoarchaeology

The role of ethnoarchaeology in this research is to use ethnographic information to inform and help interpret the function and cultural meaning of material culture found through archaeological investigation. “For many projects, oral history is the only way to flesh out the archaeological record, especially in the study of recent groups poorly represented in the documentary record” (Barber 1994:28). Schmidt’s (2006) ethnoarchaeological research in East Africa presents a lucid point in the application and demonstrative use of oral traditions. He stated that oral traditions and ethnoarchaeology are necessary and important components of constructing “Alternative models for the cultural meaning of material culture, its patterning, and its spatial distributions” (36). This position stands at the helm of conducting archaeology/ethnoarchaeology among Maroons and peoples of African descent. Schmidt’s posture on the subject suggests that the inclusion of oral traditions forces Western researchers to relinquish their bias and begin to interpret the material history of a region vis-à-vis those who created it. Schmidt (2006) furthers this point by stating that “Subtle biases of Western investigators may some time inhibit the collection and analysis of some oral traditions that have the potential to illuminate processes of change and continuity” (36).

Schmidt’s (1997, 2006) work on oral history in Buhaya is founded on mnemonic devices as a tool for illustrating how objects—on the physical landscape or in cultural context—were used by the Haya to incite memory and oral texts that establish the fabric of oral history. These oral histories are lucid, free-flowing texts manifested as praise songs, folklore, and mythology, and they are a direct reflection of Haya interaction with their physical environment. This method of engaging oral traditions draws on social memory that stems directly from contextualizing immediate objects. Schmidt (2006) stated: “place names in Buhaya are often associated with historical events, and these names often precipitate local folklore about the origins of villages

and the movements of kinship groups” (74). This is an appropriate device for archaeologists because it can lead a researcher toward a fuller understanding of how a cultural group creates places of social and spiritual significance, without stepping into the quagmire of erroneously projecting the present into the past. The use of oral accounts instead may generate immediate recognition of the significance of material objects.

To employ this method, I focused on architectural arrangements vis-à-vis kinship relations, named places, and domestic and specialized material culture. Along with ethnohistorical evidence, this method was used to guide excavation and aid in the interpretation of artifacts removed from the Maroon sites at Kumako and Tudio.

In the years prior to my involvement with the MHRP, Agorsah gathered ethnographic data on place names complementary to the project’s fundamental research questions about settlement patterns. The information acquired was more conducive to the project’s overarching archaeological goals—locating Maroon ancestral communities—and it complemented what was known about the Saramaka through the Price’s (1983a, 1991) ethnohistorical work. Information on place names associated with ancestral communities and environmental features was gathered to enlighten the research team (MHRP members) about the strategic nature of the relationship Maroons held with their landscape. According to Barber (1994), historical archaeologists can gain valuable leads by incorporating toponymy as a research method. Barber (1994) stated that the study of names of settlements and geographical features is based on the following assumption:

That people name things in ways that have significance to the namers. A community might be given a particular name because its founders came from a community of the same name or because the new community had characteristics that reminded them of a community in their place of origin. On the other hand, a place might be named for a prominent physical or cultural feature that dominated it. There are many other possibilities, and many of these can provide insights into a place in the past or into the people who inhabited it. (17)

I focused on identifying the types of relationships Saramaka had with ephemeral locations external to more sedentary living quarters, but which were significant to the migration and cohesion of early Saramaka. Archaeological research of *palenques*, which are sedentary slave settlements in the El Frijol Mountain region of southeastern Cuba, identified numerous transient settlements indicative of tactical defensive quarters. The location and identification of Cuba's most established and successful *palenques* were due in part to the maintenance of place names, such as Todos Tenemos Stream and Calunga Stream in the El Frijol Mountains and the Mal Nombre range (La Rosa Corzo 2003). In this instance, many transient settlements acted as decoys surrounding a larger, more settled village. The decoy villages maintained communication with similar and larger villages in the sub-region, but offered minimal physical features compared to the more permanent living areas. These decoy villages employed small provision plots adjacent to the dwellings, and they were located at the most intrusive points in the foothills. Larger settlements were nestled surreptitiously in the valleys of the mountain range and boasted large populations of runaways engaged in animal husbandry, as well as larger plots with diversified agriculture requiring shared labor and hence more intra-group dependence. All these elements supported the biological and ideological culture of Cuban Maroons (La Rosa Corzo 2003). La Rosa Corzo's (2003) research in Cuba and my research in Suriname are complementary because both approached use ethnography not in its traditional form, but as a means for identifying and verifying the spatial relationships held by runaways at a pivotal point in their history.

When this project began, a goal of the MHRP was to understand how historical kinship development affected the spatial layout of modern villages. Early ethnography revealed a matrilineal living arrangement (Price 1975, 1983a, 1983b, 1990). In addition, the project focused

on the spatial organization of dwellings in the modern villages with an eye on the relationships of kin groups to spatial divisions and clusters.

I wanted to use ethnoarchaeology as a method to provide information pertaining to the technology and resource research question 2 (RQ2), which meant looking at natural resources used for dwelling construction and clay resources for ceramics. In addition, an examination of domestic versus ritual activity areas would confront (RQ1).

To accomplish this meant first examining Saramaka cultural choices through the senses of the Saramaka—a task that calls for years of cultural experience in engaging with and deciphering cultural attitudes and decisions. I did not possess the deep cultural knowledge at the time I conducted ethnohistorical research. In my years of working among Suriname Maroons, I remained in a constant vortex of cultural examination as different research projects and each field season presented their own set of challenges and opportunities to expand my knowledge. Each field season offered another layer of meaning to decipher. Though most of the challenges had to do with acclimating myself to the cultural environment, other moments occurred when knowledgeable Maroons would reveal historical facts that broadened my understanding. At the beginning of each field season, elders quizzed MHRP members about different historical events, and they measured the response against corresponding responses that were given in the years prior.

Performing Ethnoarchaeology

I have worked among Suriname Maroons intermittently for eight years. During these years I have subjected myself to every aggressively mandated and softly suggested cultural practice. These practices included an array of cultural behavior that stemmed from cultural choices hundreds of years in the making. All Maroon tribes enforce social sanctions that function as a system of checks and balances to guarantee a cooperative atmosphere among villagers. These

sanctions may ensure a balanced access to and use of natural resources. Alternatively, they may focus specifically on the interplay of biology and culture in a naturally fertile environment (no use of contraception or bias toward low birth rates) to reinforce individual and familial participation in group dynamics and an obedience to Maroon spirituality.

For example, upon entering an Ndjuka village for the first time at the beginning of the new year, my colleague and I received a ritual cleansing with pemba, a white clay (kaolin). This process helps to secure one's place in the spiritual sanctity of the village. In addition, period cleansings dissuades individuals from engaging in negative behavior such as theft and dishonesty. As a stranger to a village, especially one intended to spend time engaging people in dialogue about personal activities, it was important that I understood the moral code of the villagers. Annual cleansing is not the only type of activity that confronts spiritual acknowledgement. The spiritual reverence Maroons have for their ancestors also extends to a consideration of biological functions, such as menarche and menses.

During menstruation, the Maroons believe that women are a threat to the spiritual structures located throughout the village. At this time, they are consigned to homes at the periphery of the village where they are disengaged from social activities and daily chores. While conducting ethnographic research and living in the Ndjuka village of Manlobi on the Tapanahoni River for several months, I was required to spend the mandatory time in the menstrual hut.¹ According to custom, a women's moon cycle or moon sickness,² as it is referred to, warrants a visit to the menstrual hut/moon house (*moo osu*). During this period, a female member of the extended family must cook and wash for you. In addition, at this sensitive time, a woman is not

¹ Saramaka Maroons also require that women retreat to a moon house at menses. Because my work among the Saramaka is primarily archaeological in its goals, not ethnographic, I managed to pick and choose my level of gender-based activity in the village setting, and so often opted to return to the capital, Paramaribo, during menses.

² This cosmological reference is meant to draw parallels to the monthly cycle of a full moon.

allowed to share her prepared dishes with anyone else in the village and no one is allowed to touch her. All items that a woman uses must be washed prior to her return home.

Though it may seem dogmatic and divisive in its practice, the occasion is quite social. Each day I was visited often and engaged in idle conversation so as not to be totally excluded from village life. I was, however, limited in my abilities to conduct ethnographic interviews in villagers' homes. At this time, women are not allowed to wash in the river with other villages for fear of contaminating an already overused washing and food processing center and general meeting place at the riverbanks. Instead, washing occurs along a footpath that encircles the village. For a menstruating woman, the footpath is her only means of getting from one place in the village to another.

During my course of archaeological fieldwork among the Saramaka, village elders told me that I and any other female members of the research group were not allowed to work at the ancestral settlement, Kumako, during menses. This time was instead used to make short trips to Paramaribo to restock inventory. However routine it is for women to visit the menstrual hut, the preoccupation with female bodily functions permeates Maroon culture.

While living among the Ndjuka for several months, I ensured my state of cleanliness before participating with villagers, in particular, female village elders, by washing with fire water (hot water). This process of washing with fire water requires that the female genitalia be steamed and washed daily with a medley of boiled leaves. This is done outside of the home to ensure a visual record by passersby. The boiled leaves are harvested and handled, and can treat vaginal illness, preparing women for childbirth, treating post-pregnancy trauma, increasing sexual pleasure, and promoting overall cleanliness. The process is done daily at sunrise and is often

treated as a social gathering where a small group of four to six women will gather under a tree by the riverbank and wash while exchanging the latest gossip.

Among every tribe of Maroons I researched, I participated in fishing expeditions that required diving into white water rapids to collect prize fish. While conducting a research project among the Matawai of western Suriname, I participated in *neku*³ hunting. *Neku* is a natural anesthetic used to stupefy fish. The method is used primarily during the dry seasons when depressed water levels in the river basin create shallow pools of water generally less than two meters deep. Fish become momentarily numb by the *neku* and are easily harvested in large quantities.

All these cultural choices can be interpreted as a set of social sanctions to maintain group cohesion and resource access. These choices represent a consistency found throughout the cultural landscape of Maroon society. My observations of and engagement in these cultural practices are an integral part of the methodology of conducting ethnoarchaeological research. They create a base of knowledge from which I can interpret contemporary cultural practices vis-à-vis those recorded in the historical accounts, in addition to what may be present in the archaeological record.

Implications of Ethnoarchaeology

The modern culture of Maroons presents a unique opportunity for doing ethnoarchaeology in Suriname—to observe and engage with the current cultural choices in order to create a bridge for understanding past cultural decisions. However, ethnoarchaeology may have its synchronic drawbacks, as stated by Schmidt (1997):

One danger inherent to ethnoarchaeology is that it focuses almost exclusively on contemporary processes of exploitation of resources, production, consumption, discard,

³ See Chapter 7 for further discussion about *neku* fishing.

recycling, and other behaviors associated with material culture in a contemporary productive system. An ethnoarchaeology that incorporates both indigenous histories and the ethnohistory recorded by outside observers can overcome some of the shortcomings of a synchronic ethnoarchaeology that looks only to present behavior. (46)

The methods ethnoarchaeology employs—with appropriate caveats—may elucidate the particulars of past behavior by examining choices in contemporary material culture. Among Maroons a subconscious and conscious recognition exists of cultural history. Seemingly idle conversation, that is, *gi tolley* (give stories), is often peppered with accounts of historical events that affected the trajectory of Maroon social development. These informal sessions are also intentionally fortified with stories told by elders. These exchanges can easily be interpreted as the Maroons' method of creating their own cultural landscape.

In the years preceding my dissertation research, ethnographic information was opportunistically collected from both traditional and nontraditional Saramaka villages in the fashion of *gi tolley*. In May 2003, I identified potential study villages for a comparative treatment of the cultural landscape Maroons created for themselves and continue to construct. Village headmen reported to me that non-Christian villages are identified by sacred structures, such as the *azonpow* (a vertically hung branch with hanging palm reeds) and the prayer shrine. These items are strategically placed at the entrance and throughout the village. In contrast, larger, densely populated Christian villages have experienced drastic structural changes to their built environment due to the presence of churches, clinics, and schools. Moreover, though structural changes may be present in Christian villages, it does not mean that the inhabitants are less Saramaka in their cultural practices.

Both the sacred structures and the changes to a village's structural environment represent the dichotomy of Maroon continuity and change within the past 300 years. Both types of villages are likely places for examining the construction of structures and their spatial relationships and

impact on cultural practices and material culture usage. They are also pertinent to the identification of natural features and structures at the Kumako site. These observations are relevant because they allow us to address issues and such questions as: Will the ancestral community Kumako present insights into the cultural choices that 18th century Maroons made? Is Maroon culture less of a reflection of history and more of a contemporary phenomenon due to the environment the Maroons chose?

To address these issues and questions I would learn the history of the natural resources exploited for dwelling construction and also the techniques and materials used in the manufacture of pottery and the domains that might identify possible continuities or discontinuities of certain cultural practices.

With the aid of Saramaka research assistants and field technicians, this information would be gathered from the a village headman and craftspeople by participant observation and semi-structured interview questions (Bernard 2000) in the Saramaka language concerning: social organization, the placement of dwellings, oral traditions, the types of technologies used, and material resources exploited. The following examples reflect pertinent questions:

- Is your village different from other villages?
- What is the process of making ceramics in your village?
- Are there places in the village that Saramaka people respect more?
- Where are they located and how are these places identified?
- Are there certain objects found in these places? How are they made? What are they made from? What are they used for? What do they mean?
- Did your forefathers engage in similar behavior as you do today?

Variations on these questions constitute the basis of the informal interviews. But obtuse answers often revealed the subtleties that exist in the layered meanings in Maroon languages. In my experience, learning the language is less daunting than interpreting the subtle undercurrents that lead to an impromptu meeting called by village elders or an outright dismissal of a rehearsed

research question, all of which may constrict progress of field research and may restructure a methodology.

Throughout this ethnographic research, I dealt with moments of resistance by Maroons in my pursuit of knowing what aspects of their contemporary material culture may be related to cultural decisions made 300 years ago. A Maroon elder's response often echoed a disdain that people in general held for inquisitive outsiders. Skeptical remarks included; "You were sent here by the white people to steal our knowledge" and "You will only write false stories about us to put into books and make money." These types of comments reflect the mistrust Maroons have developed over the years when dealing with people they believed represented the *baka* (white) culture or the ways of white people. This term *baka* is used to represent any non-Maroon or Indigenous Indian person not living in Suriname's hinterland; it is also applied to city creoles.

Dismissive tones accompany moments of compliance and an engaging exchange of information that furthers aids the construction of archaeological recovery and interpretation. To decrease the likelihood that I would be given misleading answers, I focused on asking questions that would produce the most straightforward responses from a range of people. The questions sought to elicit information about house construction material and the general approach and choices made regarding the design and assembly of homes and structures in a village. House construction material is a consistent cultural choice throughout Saramaka territory. Understanding these cultural choices offers possible interpretations about past cultural behavior that may reflect the archaeological record.

House Construction Material

To gather information on the types of raw material exploited for house construction (Figure 5-1), I conducted interviews—with the aid of a Saramaka research assistant Jolitha

Rietfield—with one of the MHRP’s main informants and avid woodsman, Izkia Jabini, an elder in the village of Tutubuka.⁴



Figure 5-1. Undecorated Saramaka home in village Tutubuka (Photo by C. White 2000)

In response to a question regarding the type of wood(s) used to build homes, I was told that the *walaba* and *pisi* were the wood of choice. The *walaba* tree is primarily used for its strength and typically applied to both the interior and exterior frame of the house. It can last for up to 30 years or more without repair. *Walaba* also serves as horizontal beams for tying hammocks that can sustain the weight of at least 10 adults. The beams are located on either side of the house and extend from the front to back of a home (Figure 5-2).

⁴ Though Tutubuka (Nieuw Aurora) is a Christian village and offers some modern conveniences—the occasional generator and an airstrip, I gathered information about housing material because it is a consistent cultural choice throughout Saramaka territory. This choice is because the *walaba* and *pisi* trees are readily available throughout the Saramaka cultural environment.

These trees are harvested only when mature. The *walaba* can be found in the vicinity of villages and riverbanks while the *pisi* (used to construct the body of the house) can only be found deep in the tropical forest. The choice of these trees is solely practical, based on endurance. Their use has no spiritual or ritualistic value, but, to learn how common the use of these materials

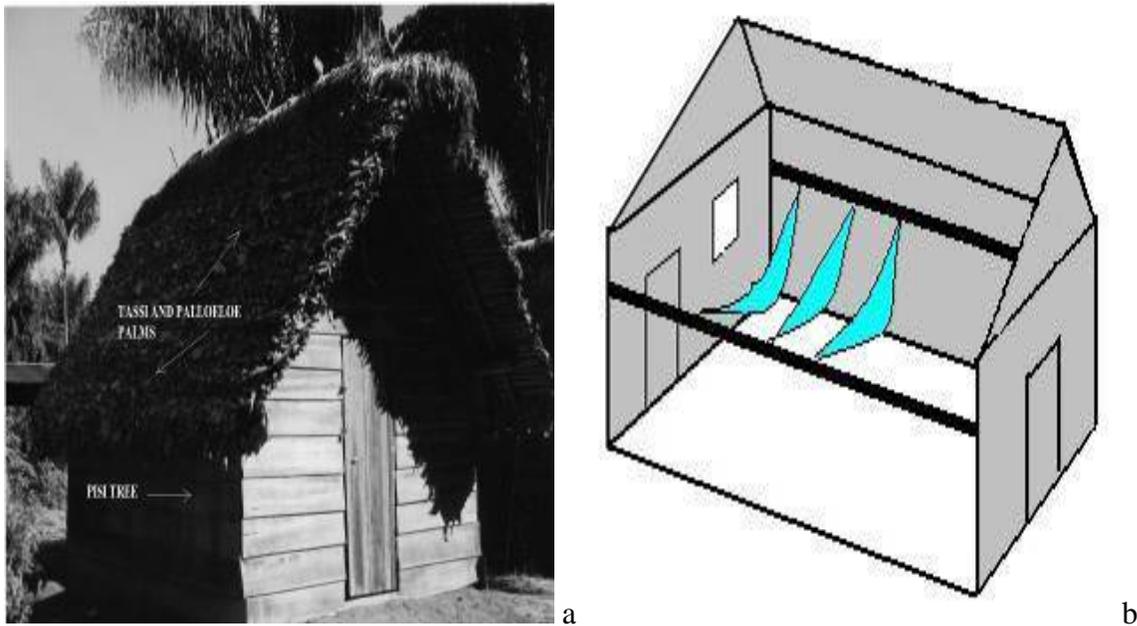


Figure 5-2. Exterior of an archetypical Maroon house (photo 5-2a by C. White 2000). Figure 5-2b is a sketch of the interior of a Maroon house with hammocks extending the width of the room. The hammocks are tied to beams made from the *walaba* tree.

is throughout a village I observed and asked about the use of these materials from house to house. The *walaba* and *pisi* are typically used for the house frame and body though people are not strict. These two types of wood are simply the strongest and best available to villagers.

Roof Construction Material

Roofs are a palm-thatch construction made from a variety of palms, layered one on top of another. They include: *tassi*, *pina*, *koemoe*, *palloeloe*, and *maipa* palms. The *koemoe* and *palloeloe* are the same strength. The *tassi* is the strongest and may be the sole source for a palm thatch that can last for at least five years with intermittent replacement and minor repair. *Tassi* is not readily available within the vicinity of the village or riverbank and must instead be harvested

from within the forest. The use of any one of these materials is subject to availability. During the construction of a roof, not all the material is used at once. Typically, only two types of palms are used per roof, the combination of which may last 5 to 10 years. If used, the *palloeloe* is generally on top. No specific reason was offered for this variation. Moreover, no ritual value is placed on the use of these particular palms.

Ornamental Material

Saramaka homes are revered for their decorative appeal, often showcased in publications (Price 1999; Price and Price 1980) and used as a backdrop for discussing the aesthetic character of Maroons. I have spent time with the major Maroon tribes of Suriname and have observed that the Saramaka Maroons showcase their craftsmanship through architecture and exterior decoration more readily than the other groups. The traditional, non-Christian villages boast an array of motifs. In addition, the designs depicted on house exteriors are echoed throughout much of Saramaka material culture. Figure 5-3 shows some of the ornate designs found on house structures. These colorful curvilinear patterns are mimicked on boats, boat paddles, pestles, on the interior of calabashes, drawn into baked manioc bread with the fingers, and also found on everyday clothing, the *panghie*. The appearance of these patterns is generally discussed as an aesthetic of Maroon culture, as it is pervasive among all tribal groups.

To create ornamental pieces that are mounted on the exterior of houses, the Saramaka harvest the malleable *sumaluba*, *brainhart*, and *walaba* trees. All three types are used for their flexibility and can be found near the village on riverbanks. Whether or not remnants of such decorative structures will be found in the archaeological record of Kumako is difficult to speculate, though it is highly improbable given the humid and acidic forest environment. The ceramics recovered from Maroons sites show that Saramaka people were inclined to appropriate the material culture of others and/or constructed items for practical and domestic usage.

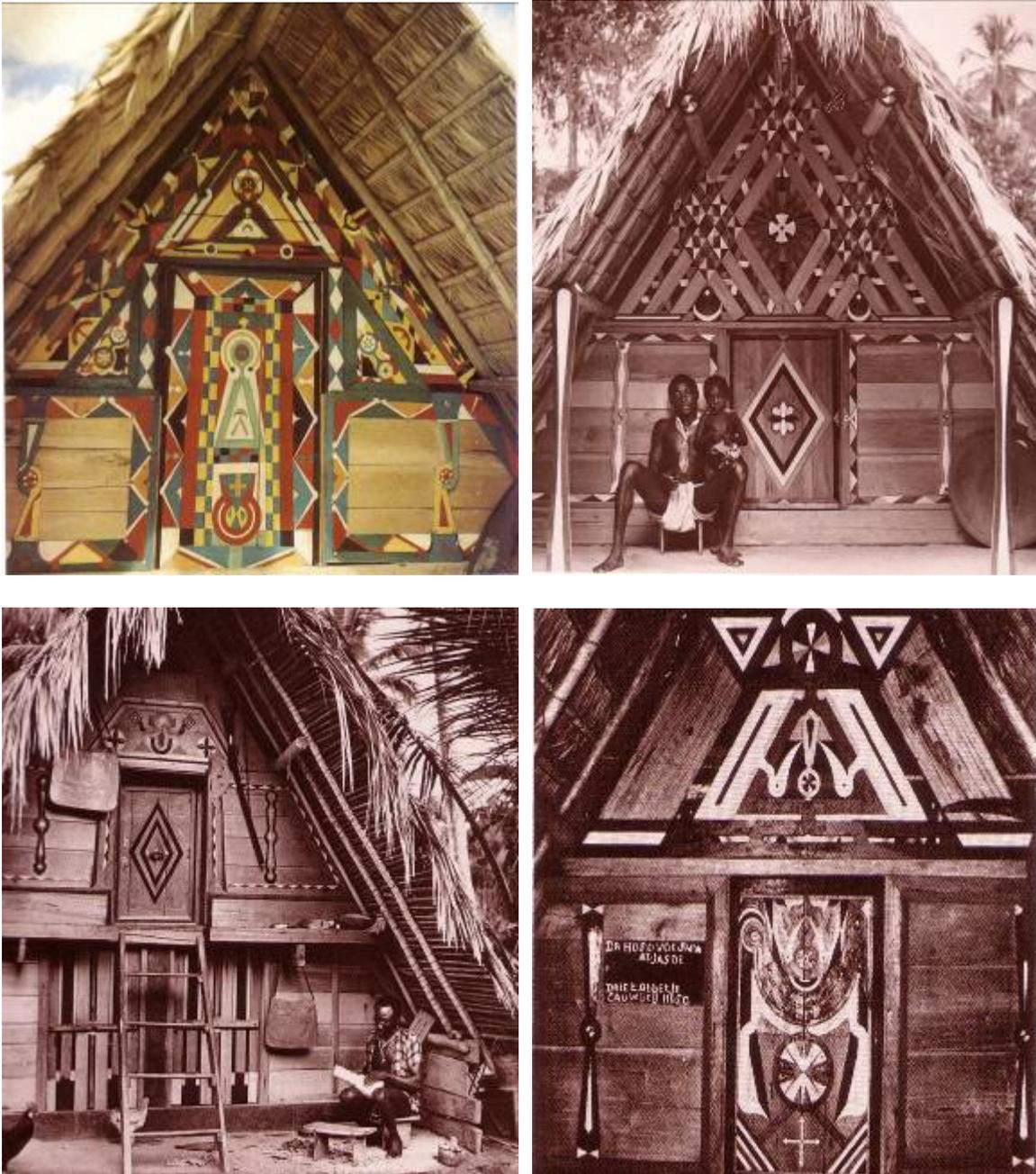


Figure 5-3. Traditional Saramaka homes located on the upper Suriname River (Price & Price 1980:32-34).

Floor Construction

Floors are typically constructed from sand transported from rivers or creek beds and compacted to a height of approximately 20 cms above the exterior ground surface. According to

Price and Price (1980), the Saramaka of the upper Suriname River construct the floor of men's homes from wood planks. This observation rings true today and suggests a gender difference in form of construction.

Through participant observation, I engaged in the construction of numerous house floors at various Maroon villages in Saramaka and Ndjuka villages. In every case, the house floor was constructed by a female for a female. With a small paddle boat, one female retrieves the sand from the river while several other women create a chain link from the shore line into the village. Buckets of sand are transported via this work chain to the destination. The sand is then mixed and covered with soil and molded into the suitable dimensions for the house, giving it the raised appearance. The floor is bordered by the frame of the house. This task can be completed within an average work day. Harvesting the wood and erecting the frame of the house is a male-centered task that spans several days. The combination of mixed sand and soil layered with soil should be considered for its potential relevance to the archaeological record.

The process may offer insight to RQ1 issue of spatially related households. The Kumako settlement presents a dichotomy of landscape use. In Chapter 6 and Chapter 7, I illustrate how a large mound at Kumako may have been used as an area for domestic and/or household centered activities. A house floor constructed of sand recovered from the archaeological record may enable us to better explore matrilocality in the context of 18th century Maroon society.

The Construction Process

Houses are built by men for their wives and are traditionally one room. The only specifically recorded gender difference in the architectural process is that smaller homes typically belong to men (Price & Price 1980). This format complements Maroon matrimonial practices that allow a man to have several wives within or outside of his village. A wife shares

her home with her and her husband's offspring. This arrangement affords a husband the opportunity to court additional wives if he chooses.

Here gender plays a part in the placement of homes. Because Saramaka descent order is matrilineal, there is more significant spatial patterning of domestic households among women than among men. Saramaka beliefs prescribe a matrilineal placement of homes within any given village. Homes are placed in proximity to other female relatives—typically mother and daughter—or female relatives of a nuclear family. A married woman will not necessarily live in proximity to her husband. Because descent order is matrilineal, any person can lay claim to house, provisions, and all the benefits thereof in the birth village of their mother. In addition, if an individual displays inappropriate behavior in her mother's village, she is not chastised as she would be if she were in her father's village.

A single female house can serve multiple social purposes. Most daily activities are centered outside the home, thereby leaving the actual house space for specified activities. Similarly, a man's house is divided into a back sleeping area and the front. The entire backspace is filled with a hammock that extends from one side of the room to the other. In addition, a *panghie* cloth functions as a room divider. The front room serves more as a sitting room for entertaining guests and for the storage and display of wealth (Price & Price 1980:30).

Houses are not consciously constructed to any specific dimension, though they appear to be relatively similar in size and form. They are square structures, traditionally with one entrance and one window and an occasional second window.⁵ In more traditional villages, a house has one entrance and no windows. A sample of 17 house structures in the traditional village of *Tjalie*

⁵ Price and Price (1980: 27,) stated that Maroon homes are absent of windows. This observation may be a reflection of the fieldwork they conducted in the 1960s and 1970s for which the book is based. However, in my studies, I noted that the majority of homes in any given village—be it traditional or non-traditional—had windows.

Kondre (adjacent to the more contemporary village of Tutubuka or Nieuw Aurora) shows that the average dimension of a house is 4 m in width by 5 m in depth by 4 m in height. Numerous structures sustain a nuclear family, as well as function as storage facilities for accumulated odd items.

These observations raise issues for an archaeologist trying to interpret the differences in house form and style. What characteristics do we use to discern function and style? What can we say about contemporary Saramakaan building techniques and material choice that will aid in drawing parallels or contrasts with ancestral choices that may be found in the archaeological record?

In an assessment of Hunter-Anderson's (1977) research of house structure and settlement patterns among the Willow Lake Dene Native Americans of Canada, David and Kramer (2001) observed:

A causal relationship between content housed and house form hinges upon three variables: the numbers and variety of roles of the occupants, the heterogeneity of the activities performed within the house, and the volume of associated materials and facilities. (290)

If we apply David and Kramer's observation, we might surmise that differences in house structure and location speak to cultural choices that may not have been consciously performed by the builder of the structure, but may be of great interpretative importance to the archaeologist. If we approach our study group via engagement with the drudgeries of daily life—constructing a house floor, visiting the moon house, fishing expeditions, and so forth—we create a template for multivocal agency. The researcher also becomes an agent in the interpretive process vis-à-vis their involvement in the activities and processes, helping the researcher understand what is pertinent within the cultural and historical landscapes of a study group. In addition, members of a study group may shape interpretation simply by affecting the researcher's involvement in certain cultural practices.

This approach leads to a deeper understanding of cultural behavior. Moreover, it helps the archaeologist to decipher the likelihood for continuities or discontinuities of that behavior over a time period.

Discussion

Devising and implementing a multilayered research strategy such as what was illustrated here presents significant issues, one is acclimation to a cultural environment where disparities in gender expectations between crew and the local community are pronounced. In addition, the issue arises of unpredictable local informants and assistants, who on numerous occasions break appointments and venues for interviews due to “changes of mind.” Many times a researcher works around the schedule of village informants and assistants who consider the researcher’s intrusive presence a last priority in their list of tasks to accomplish for the day. Working among Maroons in the hinterlands of Amazonia presents many challenges and requires long instances of integration into the social environment. Because Maroons strive to remove themselves from overbearing intrusion into their way of life, intrusive questions about spirituality are met with distrust. Trying to ascertain information about the material nature of ritual practices may require several years of cultural exposure.

My experience working among other groups of Maroons beside the Saramaka—Ndjuka and Matawai—provided a better perception of what was socially important to Maroons. Because I accepted their attitudes towards visiting the moon house and the female requirements regarding hygiene, I was better able to conduct fieldwork at an ancestral community with the support of Saramaka elders.

Though historical evidence can situate people and places, it is the ethnography and archaeology that allow for a fuller interpretation of how those people and places may have influenced each other. The research goal of the MHRP was not to re-create the ethnographic

work conducted by Price and Price (1980, 1991) in the 1960s (Price 1975, 1983a, 1983b, 1990). Instead, the goal of my research was to craft a schema or model for evaluating what is available in the historical record with what could be learned through a direct evaluation of Maroon material culture. The model will in turn help meet the final goal to understand Maroon ancestral material culture. The Maroon ordinances helped to interpret the level of interaction Maroons held with Dutch colonists. In addition, I could determine what types of material items, non-Maroon or Indigenous in origin, would likely be present in the archaeological record. One consistent characteristic of the Dutch ordinances is their lack of insight into the relationship Maroons held with the Indigenous population. Ethnohistorical and oral accounts of Indigenous peoples in many instances bridge the gaps by illustrating genuine aboriginal technology (Koelewijn 1987; Stedman 1791; Stewart 1963 [1945]). Moreover, information gathered on Maroon home construction aids research at the ancestral community of Kumako. At this juncture, these particulars form a comparative baseline for the MHRP's long-term study of the region.

CHAPTER 6 ARCHAEOLOGICAL INQUIRIES

Maroon Material Culture

In this chapter I present here the archaeological remains from the Saramaka site, Kumako, with a comparative treatment of finds from the Matawai site, Tuido.¹ These remains are data compiled over the course of 10 years, including Agorsah's preliminary ethnoarchaeological research findings and excavations during the life of this project. The MHRP's study in Suriname commenced in 1996, and much of the preliminary work accomplished by Agorsah, the director, consisted of establishing the necessary liaisons with the Maroons' headman and local bureaucracies of Suriname. My involvement in the project began in August 2000, shortly after which I became an integral part of the project's vision and direction and was appointed as the Maroon Heritage Research Project's co-director. The initial work with the Maroons included developing the ethnographic foundation to be used for archaeological research. Preliminary archaeological research consisted mainly of site prospecting and logistical concerns for working in the valleys of the Saramaka and Suriname rivers. At this time, potential sites were identified as flat areas near water that appeared to have been cleared at some point (Personal Communication from Tom Becker 2000).² Potential research areas bearing this landscape characteristic were identified and excavated during excursions conducted in 1997, 1998, 2000, 2002 and 2004-2005, by Agorsah, C. White, and student volunteers from Portland State University. This dissertation

¹ In "First-Time: The Historical Vision of an Afro-American People Price," (1983a) he gave an extensive ethnohistorical account of both Kumako, the early 18th century Saramaka settlement, and Tuido, the 19th century Matawai settlement. Both settlements mark the physical beginning of Surinamese Maroon cultural development and set the stage for the contextualization of Maroon character and customs.

² Throughout this project, Becker, a former graduate student at Portland State University, has been a consistent and present colleague. He has been an integral part of launching and carrying out all aspects of fieldwork in Suriname and is a part of the MHRP's "institutional memory."

represents a pivotal point at which this research project began to produce substantive archaeological material. In this chapter, I address the research questions presented in Chapter 3.

Study Area

The study area is a part of a geographic region which is both geologically and topographically a portion of the Guiana Shield: a dense tropical environment whose remaining landscape encompasses Venezuela, the most northern states of Brazil, and British and French Guiana. This region is also referred to as the northern portion of Amazonia. It is not to be confused with the Amazon basin, which constitutes the drainage system of the Amazon River and its tributaries (Mann 1995). These geochemical environments are characterized by highly acidic soils with poor nutrient densities. In addition, geochemical environments of this nature are further evaluated by historic events of intentional change. As emphasized by Hammond (2005), “It is generally accepted that the main determinants of modern-day wet tropical soil properties have to do with the mineral composition of [historical] water table dynamics, acid chemistry, biological action, human modification and weathering age” (48). Though the metabolic rates of geophysical environments are scaled along broader time scales, the catalyzing conditions may coincide to create dramatic and punctuated changes. These elements may coalesce into one large event that affects the composition of the soil and topography in relation to regions with similar attributes, making them unique and inextricably linked to human modification.

In recent history, the geophysical environment of this lowland forest has been dictated by the geopolitical diversity of its human inhabitants and their socio-material character. An environment such as the Guiana Shield—though not best for the preservation of earthenware objects due to the acidic nature of the soil—represents a unique setting created from a multiplicity of causes. Such a place begs us to question the broader physicalities of human activity. Moreover, we need to consider the causal effects colonial expansion had on the

migration of Indigenous groups, their exploitation and reinterpretation of old and new natural resources, and the introduction and appropriation of foreign objects.

The area of the Guiana Shield relative to this research project is located in a cultural expanse of Carib and Arawakan language groups and their cultural influence on the landscape. The word Guyana or Guiana is believed to be from an Indigenous language meaning water or much water (Hammond 2005), while the word Suriname, pronounced Suliname in its Indigenous tongue, means land of many rivers.

The cultural activity of prehistoric peoples is assumed to be the most influential on the landscape. Regional archaeological publications rest on a firm identification of quarry locales, earthworks of human construct, and lithic assemblages of diversified mineral composites (Versteeg 1998, 2003). As a result of this type of research, prehistoric sites are often found where the previously mentioned variables merge.

I have incorporated the historical ethnohistorical perspectives on Maroons to avoid privileging total reliance on Indigenous/prehistoric history. Furthermore, the availability of modern Maroons living in close to their ancestral land provides a wealth of information to compare with the prehistoric record.

This study was circumscribed by the region occupied by the Saramaka Maroons. Saramaka villages are concentrated along the banks of the Suriname River roughly 200 kilometers southwest of the capital city Paramaribo. The region boasts the densest population of the Saramaka people in the vicinity of the man-made Prof. van Bloomenstein Lake hydroelectric dam. The dam was built by the Surinamese government in the 1960s, and it flooded numerous villages in the process. The flooding further caused Saramaka settlements to be reassembled close to Suriname's industrial zone. It is a pivotal feature on the landscape, which links industrial

Paramaribo to the distant riverside villages. The study area refers not only to ancestral settlements such as Kumako, but to both Christian and non-Christian Saramaka villages which line the river basin. The number of non-Christian villages increase as the river begins to extend southward and away from industrialized Paramaribo and into the changing interior. The entrance of a non-Christian village is marked by a horizontal wood frame, called azonpow in the Saramaka language (Figure 6-1).



Figure 6-1. An Azonpow marks the entrance of a traditional Saramaka village on the Suriname River (Figure 6-1a). Figure 6-1b depicts a typical river view as seen from Saramaka village Tutubuka. Photos by C. White, 2000.

The archaeological site, Kumako, is located in central Suriname's Sipaliwini district, nestled between the valleys of the Suriname and Saramaka rivers, where a dense population of Saramaka Maroons inhabit river-based communities. The Saramaka villages of Atjoni (Figure 6-

2) and Pokigron are located at the end of the main road leading out of Paramaribo. The main road travels through a bauxite mining area, including other Saramaka villages that were scattered during the building of the large man-made Prof. van Bloomenstein Lake. These villages, Atjoni and Pokigron, are located in the Suriname River basin where travel to Saramaka river-based communities is possible.



Figure 6-2. Riverbank community, Atjoni. Photos by MHRP members 2000, 2004.

From Atjoni, river travel into traditional Saramaka territory may begin. Nieuw Aurora, (commonly referred to by its Saramaka name, Tutubuka) is a large Saramaka Christian village, boasting an airstrip and a well-pronounced steeped church visible from the riverbank. The village is an enduring marker on the landscape, situated between the Feroelasie Waterfalls to the north and the Jemongo Falls to the south. It is also directly adjacent to Tchjali Kondre, a non-Christian village. Short distances downriver from Nieuw Aurora are the other non-Christian villages of Goejaba, Slee, and Pikien Slee. The inhabitants in all these villages, as well as others along the river not mentioned, belong to the clans and families who descended from the Kumako locale to reside in riverside communities after the signing of the peace treaties.³ Nieuw Aurora functions as the field crew's base camp, allowing for easier and more direct access to the

³ Several families bearing the name of clans who inhabited Kumako were identified in each of these villages, such as descendants of the Dombi, Nasi, and Awanas clans. See Chapter 2, for details regarding clan distribution and treaties.

Kumako settlement (Figure 6-3).⁴ Extending parallel to the river valley is the Van Asch Van Wijck Gebeerte (Mountain) which commences at Ebba Top. Ebba Top is 721 meters above sea level and is the mountain range's most northerly peak. Beyond Ebba Top are undulating ridges leading toward the Kleine Saramaka River.⁵

The travel distance from Nieuw Aurora to the Kumako settlement is approximately 8 to 10 kilometers. Along this journey are several small creeks. During the early phases of conducting ethnoarchaeological research, the MHRP collected oral accounts on place names, in particular, those of tributaries not found on standard Suriname maps. This method was based on the premise that people will identify and name natural features when they develop an association or relationship with them.⁶ Named creeks deep in the unoccupied forest represent areas accessed and/or encountered by First Time Saramakaans, though they may not serve any particular use for modern-day Maroons and their daily activities. The creeks we observed while traveling from Nieuw Aurora to the Kumako site include: Goloetampa, Pikidewata, Gaandewata, Kadjamaw, Acomgandhi, and Asenkulogozo. The Acomgandhi Creek is the most notable body of water in the research region and is mentioned frequently in the ethnohistorical texts (Price 1983a). Creeks such as these are relatively shallow and have an average width of 3 meters and an approximate depth of 1.5 meters. In addition, Price (1983a) noted in his ethnographic account of early Saramaka and Matawai clan migration:

Coming upstream, the Nasis, Dombis, and Awanas walked together. They had no problems with one another. The Nasis and Dombis went up Akogaandi Creek. The Awanas went up

⁴ All points of travel are measured from Nieuw Aurora.

⁵ We focused on this general area because of the approximate locations of creeks mentioned in Price's (1983a) narrative accounts discussed later in this section.

⁶ Price's (1983a) ethnohistorical research was enriched with numerous tales of travel and interactions early Saramakaans had with various creeks extending deep into the tropical forest. He writes that "...the naming and ritualization of geographic places keeps alive for Saramakaans the meaning of the distant past" (143).

Tutu Creek.⁷ And they met where these creek heads arise, at the great hill called Kumako. (116)

Named creeks are important not just for the relationship they show to cultural activity but because they indicate a basic human resource and need for potable water. As observed by the entire field crew, the Acomgandhi Creek has water even during the height of Suriname's August through January dry season, when the other creeks completely dry up.

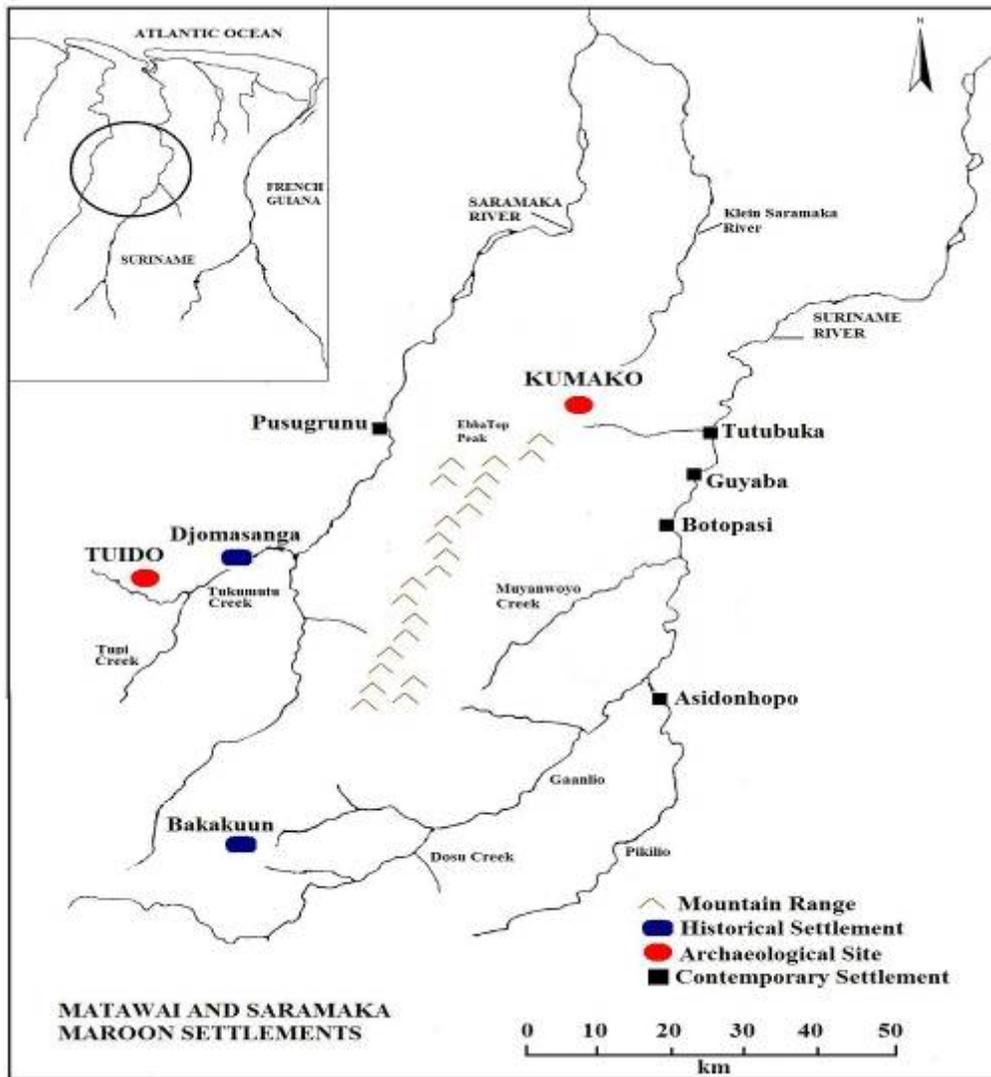


Figure 6-3. Map of research region.

⁷ Tutu Creek is a tributary of the Saramaka River, west of the Van Asch Van Wijck Mountains, and extends from west to east. The MHRP established travel route to the Kumako site is east to west and begins at the Suriname River. We thereby do not encounter the Tutu Creek with this travel pattern.

Locating Kumako and Tuido through the Ethnographic Record

Price in 1976 and 1978 uncovered the existence of Kumako during in-depth oral documentation with Saramaka elders and individuals considered to be historians. But the settlement, located at a distance from the nearest riverside village where he collected the oral accounts,⁸ was not clearly identified. Price's (1983a) speculative location placed Kumako farther west and nearer to the Saramaka River than where it has been located through the archaeological investigation of this project (74).⁹ Price (1983a) speculatively illustrated the location of Kumako, juxtaposed with Tuido, through oral accounts translated from Saramaka. These ancestral communities are mentioned in a number of *apuku* (forest spirit) songs. The oral accounts refer to the travel routes of early Saramaka and Matawai figures via intra-forest creeks. Price's (1983a) account continued with an extensive discussion of the journey of Kaasi (leader of the Langu clan [named derived from an African area, Loango, near the Congo Basin, from where Kaasi was born]) (75). These travel routes are centered on key historical events, notably guerilla warfare with the Dutch:

Regarding the Matawai site, Tuido, Price (1983a) stated:

Tuido was the largest of all villages. All kinds of clans were there. (Tebini 24 July 1976) While they [Matawai] were living in Tuido, they regularly scouted the whites downriver. (93)

The whites still wanted to make peace with them, and they made various attempts. The first time, they made a camp where they uploaded all their goods. They called the Matawai to meet them there to make peace, but the Matawai were frightened that it was a trick—just as they had been tricked in Africa—and they didn't come. They stayed at Tuido. The whites left the goods there and returned to the coast. (94-95)

Regarding the Saramaka site, Kumako, Price (1983a) continued:

⁸ Price gathered much of these oral accounts from modern Saramaka villages, such as Tutubuka and Kambaloo on the Suriname River.

⁹ Price (1983a) acknowledged that his stated location of Kumako is speculative and went as far as to suggest that only an archaeological investigation would illuminate the true location of the settlement.

After much hard traveling they ascended Akogaandi Creek [Awonenge Creek] until they got to the great mountain called Kumako. That's where they built the village. On the upper course of the Awonenge Creek we found some years of rest, and many earlier runaways joined us there. (106)

After a short while living together, Kaasi said he'd leave them, that the whites would surely follow their escape route, and he was not yet ready to make peace. So he walked up Mindindeti Creek, then up the Kleine Saramaka River, and on to Agamadja Creek. Meanwhile, the Dombis went to the headwaters of Akogaandi and Tutu Creeks. Everyone met there—Nasis, Biitus, Awanas, Paputus. That was Kumako. They lived there a long time. (108)

Tuido is described by Price (1983a)—rather directly—as a bastardization of the Suriname River plantation named Toledo. There is no in-depth description of Kumako and its physical attributes. Price (1983a) continued to offer an interpretation of the word Kumako with an oral account: “Go to Kunakuun [“Kuna’s hill” meaning Kumako]” (117). Kumako is also mentioned in the September 19, 1762 (Article 15) peace agreement (noted are the Saramaka chiefs present at time of signing): “Bush Negroes chiefs present [from Saramaka villages]:” (1973:761). This historical figure Eija is also mentioned during the post-treaty era in Price’s (1983a) account of a family fission at Kumako: “Yeba [father of Etja], who was a peer of Kaasi, was killed in the battle of Kumako in 1743. Etja and his younger brother Kwadjani served, respectively, as tribal chief and captain during the 1770s” (101). Other interpretations of the word Kumako were gathered during the MHRP’s ethnohistorical collection of name places. Village occupants, ranging from captains (chief) and bashias (village managers who fall directly under the captain in the hierarchy of the management structure and function as liaisons to outsiders) to elders and children were informally asked to give their meaning of the word Kumako. One such interpretation suggests the term small hill in Saramaka, a descriptive term that may relate to the mound’s physical characteristic. An additional interpretation of the word is come here which implores those with need to take refuge.

The accounts of Kumako's location are vaguely conveyed for intentional and unintentional reasons. Kumako, though hailed as the first village of the Saramakaan, is not visited by villagers for any explicit purpose. Though significant, it is not necessarily the most important of the ancestral communities, as there is great secrecy regarding places that are considered to be more spiritually significant.¹⁰ Only certain hunters from Tutubuka and the neighboring Saramaka village Fotonaebaka, skilled at creating and tracking paths in the forest, maintain some coherent idea as to the location, span, and idiosyncrasies of the settlement. This aptitude includes the ability to identify residual vegetation found only at settled areas and to read the landscape.

With these insights, the Kumako site was located and identified with the help of Saramaka guides. The consistent element to the oral accounts, mentioned earlier, gathered from Price's (1983a) ethnographic studies, is closeness to the larger creeks in the forest. During the height of the dry season, ephemeral tributaries in the forest dry out completely, leaving only the Kleine (locally referred to as Pikien)¹¹ Saramaka and the Acomgandhi Creeks with water. These streams extend southwest toward the Saramaka River and into the territory of the Matawai people. The location of the Kumako settlement was a place of refuge for other Maroon groups, notably those clans (Langu, Kaasi) who would later converge into the Matawai tribe. The location of Kumako and Tuido and their archaeological investigation are based on Price's (1983a) work for geographical referencing, as well as on ethnohistorical information gathered from villagers and guides.

¹⁰ Within Maroon culture lies acknowledgment and reverence for the riverside villages initially inhabited after the signing of peace treaties at which point people descended from the rainforest proper.

¹¹ Kleine and Pikien mean small in both Dutch and Saramaka, respectively.

Site Recognition

To confront the research questions for kin group divisions and clustering (RQ1) and for material culture resources (RQ2), different objectives were designed for each excavation season. The August through September 1997 excavation season began with two main goals: to locate the Saramaka site, Kumako, and the Matawai site, Tuido.

During the previous years, we began with a review of the English literature on Suriname Maroons and, more specifically, the Saramaka (Bos 1998; Fermin 1781; Goslinga 1971, 1979, 1985; Green 1974; Hoogbergen 1990; Jackson 1965; Khudabux 1999; Klooster 1997; Price 1975, 1983a, 1983b, 1990, 1996; Price and Price 1980, 1988, 1991, 1992, 2003; Stedman 1971; Van Der Elst 1971; Van Sack 1810). The project progressed to collecting ethnohistorical accounts on the place names (Appendix B for a full list of the Saramaka and Matawai place names relevant to this study), and building liaisons with various Maroon governing bodies (notably, the then Saramaka paramount chief, Albert Aboikoni, and the then and current Matawai Paramount chief, Oscar Lafanti). All these avenues of inquiry generated additional questions about the settlements for village elders and key individuals in the Maroon social structure, who would later become integral to the overall success of the project. The field excursions were successful in that they led to the identification of both these settlements.

Figure 6-4 is a 2D map—generated with GPS coordinates—with a southern perspective of the primary Maroon settlement and research region. The map shows the area of settlement in relation to major topographical features such as the Van Asch Van Wyjk Mountains to the south and the Bloomenstein lake to the north. The map also shows the minor tributaries of the Suriname river that extends into the tropical forest and subsequent research region. This region defines the current scope of the archaeological research.

Study Area Facing South

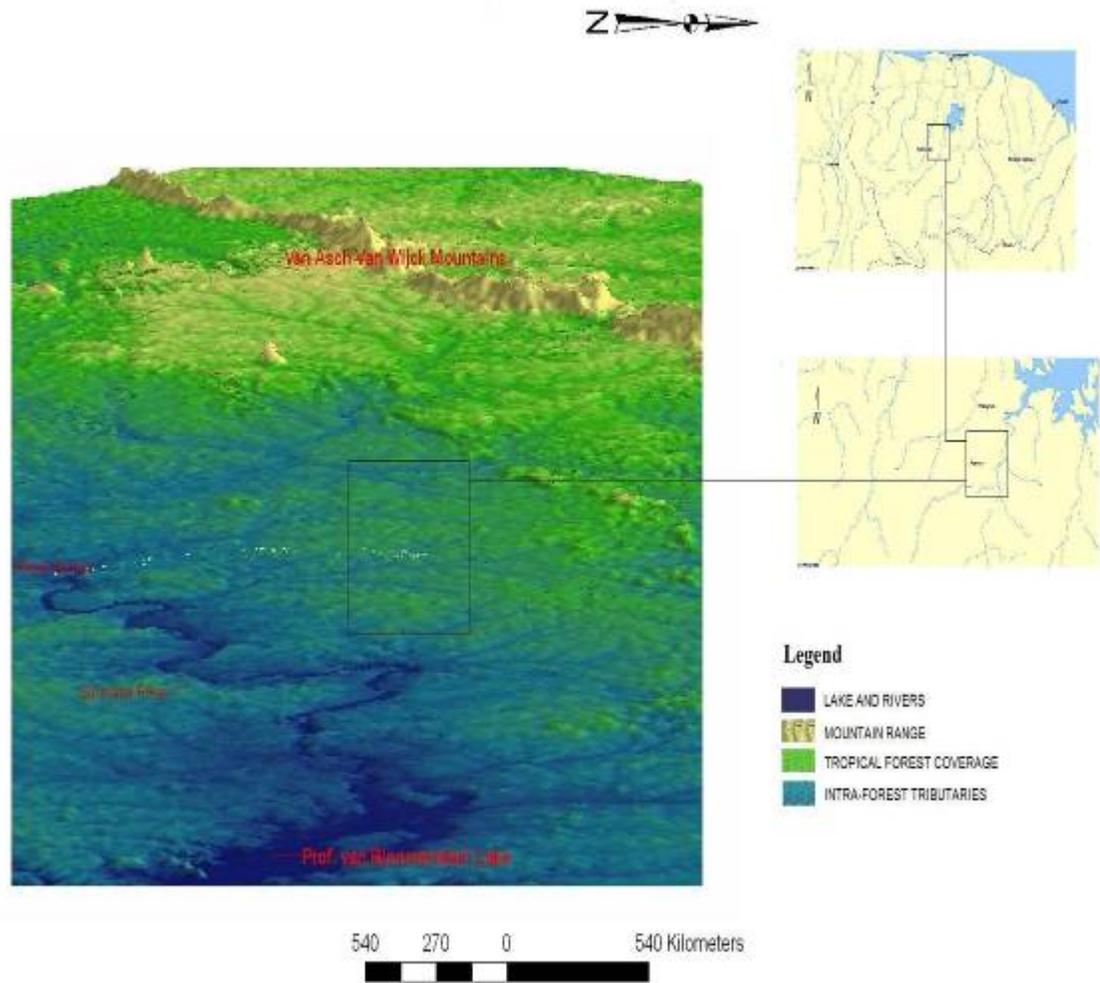


Figure 6-4. Plan view of study region facing south toward Brazil

Saramaka Site, Kumako

During the 1997 survey season, members of the MHRP crew were escorted to Kumako by Izkia Abini, a village elder knowledgeable about the history of the site. The initial travel route and destination were pre-plotted and tracked with a GPS device and then mapped. Upon arrival to the general coordinates (latitude $4^{\circ}24$ N/longitude $55^{\circ} 27$ W), a rock structure was identified that still remains as a marker for the northernmost boundary of the site. The site sits at a mean

elevation of 293 meters.¹² For future reference, a temporary bench mark (TBM) was placed at the crew's camping ground.¹³ Areas with surface artifact scatters were identified and recorded with a GPS device. This included a musket ball cache and fragments of ceramic pottery. The discovery of these items further substantiated the location of the site, but no excavation took place at this time.

Excavation of the Kumako settlement began during the August through September 2000 excavation season. Multiple goals were set forth at this time. The first objective was to create a path through the forest to connect the Suriname River Valley with the Saramaca River Valley, passing either north or south of the Ebba Top Ridge. This path would allow for easier interior forest travel and ultimately foster simultaneous excavation at multiple sites. In addition, this would aid in the understanding of how early Saramakaans and Matawais may have used these same methods for strategic travel and communication between the major rivers. Although this objective of the 2000 excavation season was not completely successful, some helpful and important information was gathered. First, it gave us a sense of the terrain, flora, fauna, and conditions of the interior forest. This area is no longer inhabited by humans due to its distance from major waterways. Second, some of the crew who made it to the Ebba Top peak were able to get GPS readings along the way. The GPS points allowed us to get a clearer idea of where Ebba Top was situated in regards to Kumako. Third, along the way, both crews came across other potential sites—flat areas near water that appeared to have been cleared at some point. Moreover, we were able to determine that a path connecting the two river valleys was impractical, forcing us to focus on excavation at one river valley per field season (Personal Communication from

¹² Elevation is based on the average elevation within the general settlement and is derived from five elevation points on site periphery.

¹³ Attributes and excavation of the rock structure will be discussed in further detail later under the KMK1 section.

Becker 2000). Excavation continued at what was understood to be Kumako. Two distinctly anomalous sections of the settlement were given the broader demarcation title of Area. Smaller zones of interest within an Area were designated as Loci. In the fall of 2000 Area A Locus 2 and Area A, Locus 1 were established (the details of which will be discussed in the section titled KMK1).

The 2002 excavation saw a fairly large amount of archaeological work accomplished. A part (approximately 8 x 10 m) of the site adjacent to the field crew's camping ground was excavated. The artifacts (mostly corroded ceramics) recovered at this time produced a large majority of the yield from the Kumako site.

The 2004 excavation season at the Kumako site was distinguished from past excavation seasons with the discovery of a large circular mound. At this time our field crew included Leffy Ahdipi, a noted hunter from Tutubuka. Ahdipi suggested that we extend our survey to another nearby expanse that he loosely referred to as the village proper or true village of Kumako. The survey led to the identification and excavation of the mound site named Kumako 2 (hereafter referred to as KMK2). While KMK1 was observed as a place of relative openness vis-à-vis the surrounding forest, it starkly contrasted to the circular structure that demarcated KMK2, a mound that went unnoticed (because of its subtle slope) by crewmembers during the excavation seasons of previous years. The KMK2 was defined and excavated during the August 2004 through January 2005 excavation season.¹⁴ The earlier excavations of the Kumako settlement will hereafter be referenced as KMK1.

During each excavation season, archaeological research may be truncated for a variety of reasons. The already wet nature of the rainforest creates issues with travel logistics and overall

¹⁴ These months represent Suriname's dry season and therefore the best time of year to travel and work in the forest proper.

cleanliness. With the onset of the dry season, water in the creeks becomes scarce. The creeks function as a source of drinking and washing water for the crew and must be periodically left to replenish for reasons of hygiene. Furthermore, Saramaka Maroon customs require the cessation of all forest activities during funeral preparations. The months during the 2004 excavation season witnessed numerous deaths at the village base camp of Tutubuka and its adjacent non-Christian village Tchjali Kondre. At each instance, the field crew was required to halt activity and return to the village until permission was given by the village captain to return to the forest and continue work.

Matawai Site, Tuido

The 1997 survey season also witnessed the location of the Matawai site, Tuido. Tuido's importance stems from its role in recent Matawai history. As a settlement contemporaneous with Kumako (established in the early 1700s), Tuido was unique because it remained active among contemporary Matawai until the early 1900s. The settlement was first visited by Agorsah with the direction of a Matawai elder born there.¹⁵ Owing to the distance from the access areas, as well as lack of roads and other communication systems, the trip to Tuido started from the capital, Paramaribo, by a chartered plane to Pusugrunoe (Poesoegroenoe). This is the village of the Matawai paramount chief, Oscar Lafanti. Travel continued south with an outboard motor-propelled canoe for a two-day voyage on the Saramaka River to Tuido. The modern settlements in relation to the site are: Bithel, Tevreda, Sukibaka, Piete, Padua, Boslanti, Pniel, Wanhati, and Vertrou. Tuido was identified with the same methods as Kumako (by using pre-established GPS coordinates from earlier descriptions and known creeks) and is clandestinely located along the Tukumutu (Toekoemoetoe) Creek in the Saramaka River Valley.

¹⁵ This Matawai elder died shortly after alerting Dr. Agorsah and other members of the MHRP team of the location of Tuido. He was purported to be the last living individual to be born at Tuido.

The site is located in a bend on the Pikein Tukumutu Creek, approximately six kilometers westward from where it parts with Tupi Creek. The location corroborates well with Matawai and Saramaka oral traditions, which places the settlement on the Pikein Tutumuku. Tuido purportedly consisted of many different settled groups or sections. In addition, Tuido is just a few miles down the Tukumutu Creek south of Djomasanga (an early settlement that has been confirmed by oral traditions and Maroon guides). Tuido's general coordinates are latitude 4° 05'N/ longitude 56°W.

Several noted drainage landmarks mark the approach to the site: the Taawa Creek, which branches off Tukumutu Creek (approximately 70 meters wide); in a westward direction is the Pikiloango, an area with many trees and stones outcrops. In addition, Sabatipunta is a long stretch of very high tree canopy joining from both sides of the Tukumutu. The Matawai Maroon guides from various villages in the Matawai territory explained that the canopy was an indication of the final approach to Tuido, which begins from where the Pikein Tukumutu parts with Tupi Creek. As to the specific location of the site, the Tukumutu Creek marks the eastern and southern boundaries of the Tuido site, which extends westward occupying the entire area within the loop of the creek. A small stream branching from the Tukumutu partially demarcates the northern limits (Unpublished Report by Agorsah 1997).

Locating both the Kumako and Tuido settlements set the precedence for future archaeological research in Suriname. Although Tuido was identified and its boundaries established, it was not excavated—only surface collected. The cost and logistics of conducting archaeological research at Tuido during short field excursions to Suriname proved to be unrealistic. Our focus was instead turned to the logistically more accommodating site, Kumako.

The findings from Kumako created an even greater impetus to return to Suriname with a more inclusive excavation plan.

Archaeological Investigation

Sampling and Excavation Methods

The bulk of the archaeological evidence under discussion here is derived from results from the 1997 through 2004-2005 excavation seasons. Archaeological excursions will hereafter be addressed according to the year of the excavation.

- Tuido
 - 1997 Surface Survey
- KMK1
 - 1997 Surface Survey
 - 1998, Rock Structure
 - 2000, Area A, Locus 2
 - 2000, Area A, Locus 1
 - 2002, Camp Site
- KMK2
 - 2004-2005, Kumako Mound

During the research years, we relied upon four key and reliable Maroon guides, who were familiar with creating and tracking paths in the forest, as well as the overall objectives of MHRP (at least one of these individuals has been present for each excavation season since the project's inception in Suriname). Another three to four Maroon men aided with the general tasks of camp setup and excavation. One English-speaking Maroon colleague/research assistant functioned as a translator and logistical coordinator for all tasks relevant to the organization and completion of each excavation season. All work at the site, including surveying and excavations, were carried out in 10 day rotations, in addition to two-day treks (to and from the village base camp of

Tutubuka), and a five-day break during which artifacts were cleaned, cataloged, digging procedures reassessed, and supplies restocked from Paramaribo, if needed.¹⁶

The entire Kumako site was mapped with a GPS and a conventional excavation grid was applied to maintain spatial control of surface and subsurface artifact distributions, as well as the position of features, such as a circular depression, knolls, and soil stains (Fagan 1991; McMillon 1991). All units were excavated in 10 cm intervals, and if and when appropriate, according to changing soil stratigraphy and/or the concentration of artifact deposits.

In the earlier expeditions, soil samples were collected from identified features to assess the arrangement of the site's geochemical composition. We intended to test the soil for phosphorous (P) concentrations. The tests would help to assess the chemical signature of anomalous subsurface disturbance that may suggest specific lived behavior, such as food production areas or refuse deposits (Scudder, Foss and Collins 1996). We believed that testing for phosphorous (P) would aid in substantiating (RQ2) ethnographic information about exploited natural resources, subsistence, dwellings, and artifact manufacture. But soil scientists told us that the soil was too heterogeneous and "mixed" to get an isolated reading. Radiocarbon analyses were performed on four samples from different parts of the Kumako site and will be discussed in the Interpretation section.

Different screen sizes were used to collect various types of remains. A 1/16-inch mesh was used on identifiable features to collect macroscopic organic remains and smaller artifacts. A 1/8-inch mesh was used for general soil sifting to collect larger artifacts. Upon completion of excavation, the site was backfilled and left to natural regeneration. All artifact and archaeological material were collected and provenienced according to standardized archaeological procedures

¹⁶ Survey and testing procedures were specific to sections of the sites and will be treated and discussed as such in more detail in their corresponding discussion sections.

and recorded on field forms (Dillon 1993; McMillon 1991; McPherron and Dibble 2002). All materials have been archived at Suriname National Museum in Paramaribo.

Tuido

The initial survey of Tuido was conducted during the 1997 surface survey of the area in question (Figure 6-5). Four areas (demarcating sections marked by mound clusters and differing concentrations of surface assemblages) were identified into which the site was logically divided. Each area with clusters of mounds is also marked by clusters of large trees and open land areas. The mounds are considered to represent collapsed huts or rubbish dumps. Other surface features included clay hearths, stone circles, approximately 70 large and small pieces of black to dark brown earthenware—including large flat pieces, rim and body fragments, and an imported stoneware.

Several areas were more productive although it is premature to make any conclusions regarding the artifact distribution at the site based on the limited surface study conducted by other investigators. Because this site was not excavated, but identified, surveyed, and recorded, surface finds embedded in the soil were removed.

Focus on Tuido for the remainder of the archaeological discussion is peripheral to the presentation and discussion of the Saramaka site, Kumako. In Chapter 7, I do however offer some comparative statistics of the artifacts recovered from Tuido. Tuido is a very dynamic settlement and will require greater archaeological attention in the form of surveys and excavations before we can engage in a full dialogue. Nevertheless it deserves mention and consideration because it contributes to the broader discussion of Maroon materiality.

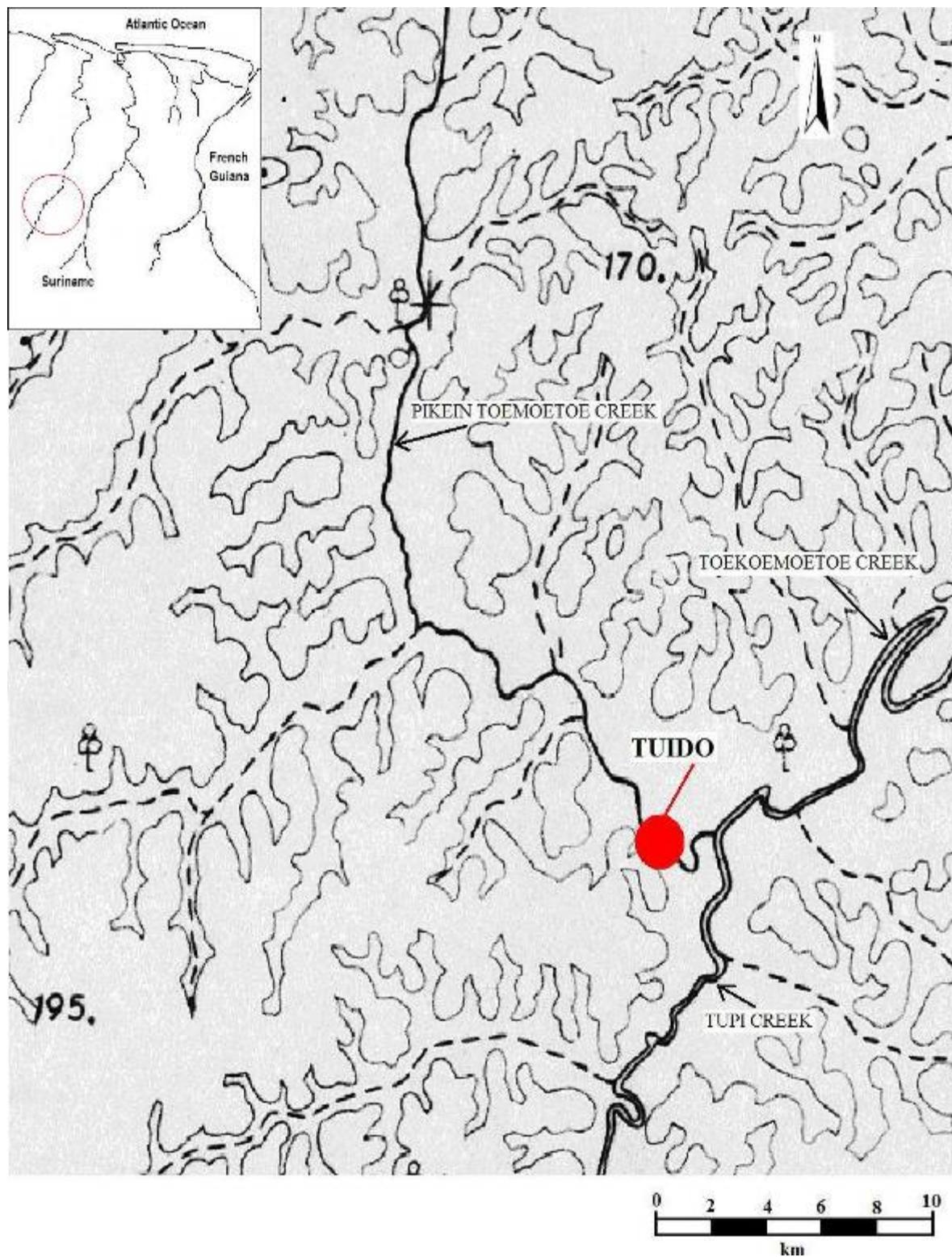


Figure 6-5. Location of Tuido

Kumako 1

The initial survey of KMK1 and its subsequent excavation focused on what was first thought to be the entire settlement (Figures 6-6 and 6-7). The major attributes identified were located during 2002, adjacent to the crew's campsite. The campsite also fits an earlier description of relative openness vis-à-vis the surrounding forest. Prior to 2002, a survey of the campsite was conducted. In this setting, tasks, such as maintaining consistent linear transects with a compass, proved to be a challenging undertaking. Much of the surveying consisted of walking tight 5 m transects in open and forested areas in the vicinity of what was historically and ethnographically reported to be Kumako. An excavation grid consisting of 2 x 2 m units was applied to the region adjacent to the campsite, where a concentration of surface artifacts was identified. Artifacts were removed as surface collections during transect surveying. Once excavation began, artifacts were then recovered from 10 cm level intervals of soil below surface that was sifted. The KMK1 site, as originally demarcated, was divided into four areas, each about 200 meters square, totaling approximately 16 hectares and forming an oblong circle defined by its relative openness and the appearance of surface artifacts.

Both the surface collections in this open region and excavations produced more than 800 ceramic sherds to a maximum depth of 40 cm bs. Of this amount, 92% were unidentifiable—due to erosion and abrasion—rim sherds, and the remaining 8% consisted of rim potsherds with various identifiable attributes.¹⁷

¹⁷ I will discuss rim sherd variations in detail in Chapter 7.

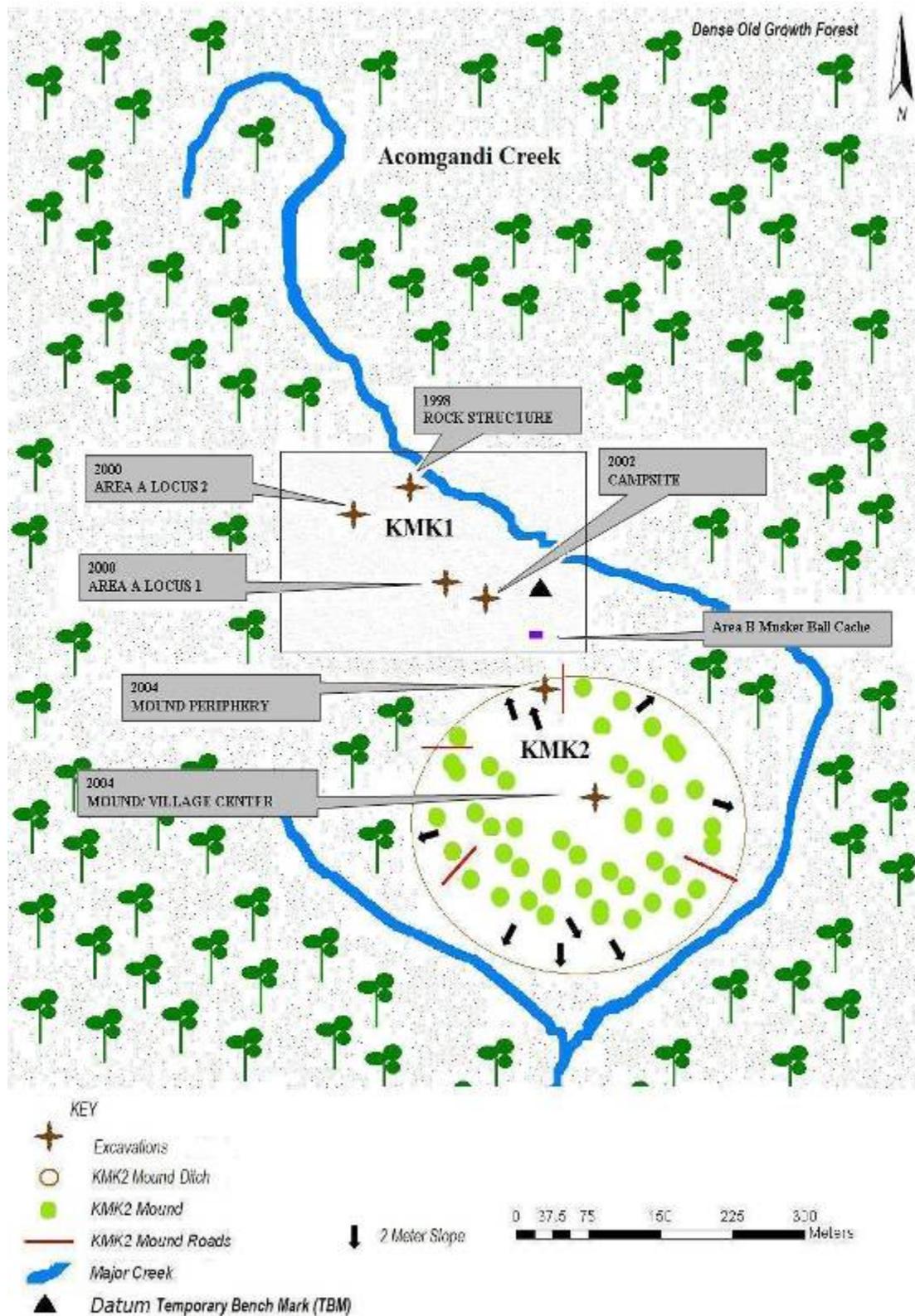


Figure 6-6. Map of Kumako settlement, KMK1 vis-à-vis KMK2

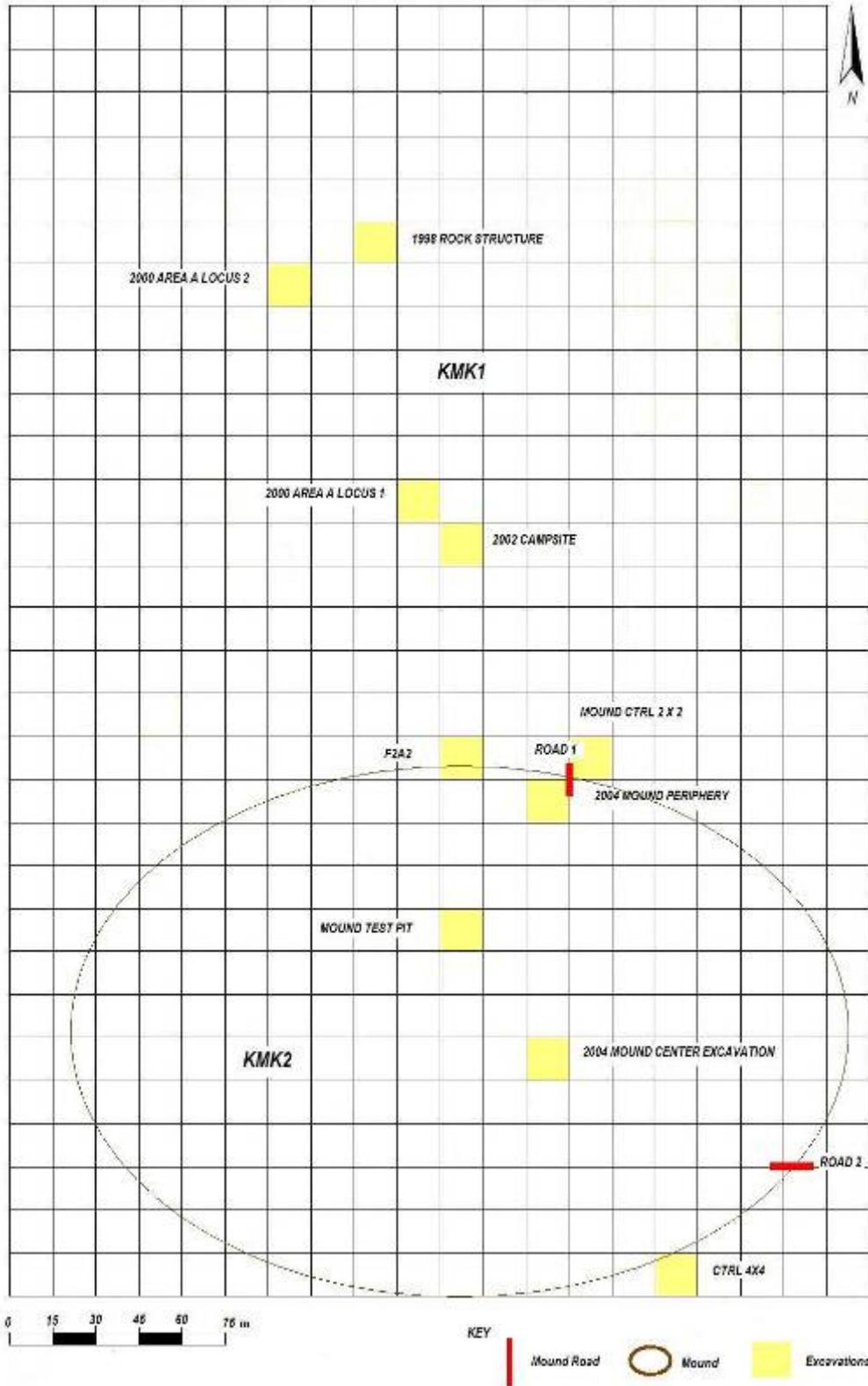


Figure 6-7. The yellow blocks signifying excavations are schematic representations indicating the general area of the excavations—to be used in conjunction with the more precise grids.

In 1998, a large rock structure was excavated (Figure 6-8). It was identified during survey because of its proximity to a water source and its relative openness to the surrounding forest. One 1 x 1 m shovel test pit was placed near the rock. A yield of 39 potsherds was recovered from the first ten centimeters, quickly culminating in sterile soil. Based on these counts of ceramic sherds, the rock structure, the northernmost region of Kumako, was not further excavated. In addition, the dense vegetative area extending beyond the immediate region of the rock structure offered little opportunity for surveying and showed no surface scatters of artifacts. The large rock is important because it is a fixed structure on the landscape and at the site.

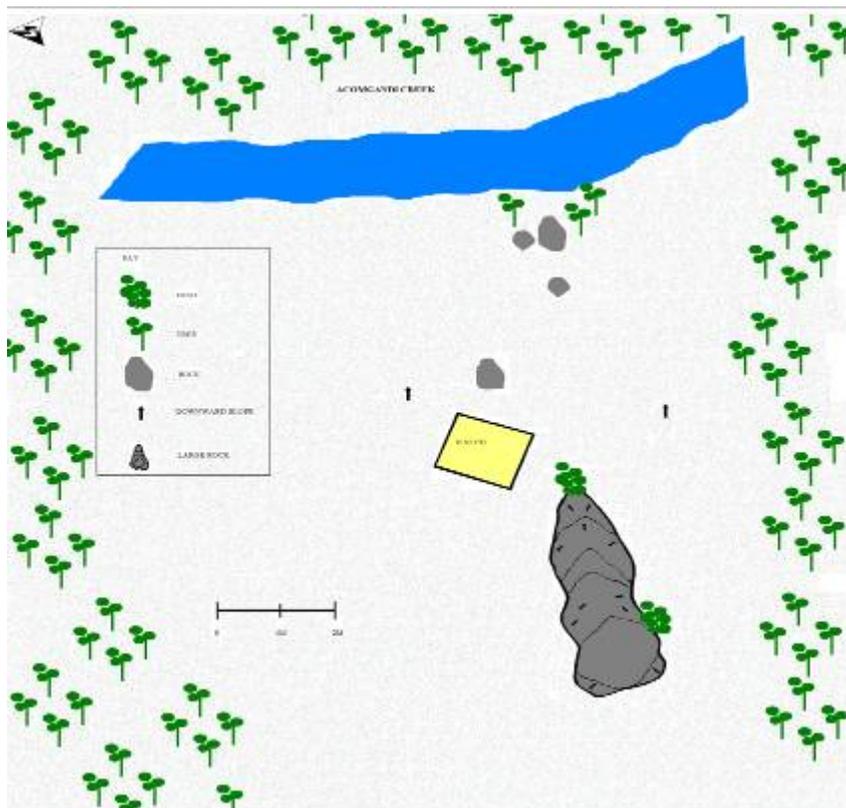


Figure 6-8. Rock structure at KMK1.

These findings represent the MHRP's early attempts at identifying the borders of the Kumako settlement and understanding the general distribution of where and how early

Saramakaans occupied the region. The rock structure demarcates the point of access from the footpath from the river village, Tutubuka.

The 2000 season Area A, Loci 1 and 2 of KMK1, were tested. At this time the earthenware and glass found at KMK 1 was uncovered. The excavation units R12, S12, and T12 of Area 1, Locus 1, produced ceramic, metal, and organic material (Tables 6-1 through 6-3).¹⁸

Table 6-1. Kumako 1 Unit R12

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Total Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)
2000	KMK1	Area A Locus 1	R12	2 x 2	0.20	C = 22	Not available
Total					20	22	

Table 6-2. Kumako 1 Unit S12

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Total Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)
2000	KMK1	Area A Locus 1	S12	2 x 2	0-10	C = 30 Or = 11 M = 2	Not available
Total					10	43	

Table 6-3. Kumako 1 unit T12

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Total Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)
2000	KMK1	Area A Locus 1	T12	2 x 2	0-10 Level 1	C = 21 Or = 1 M = 1 O = 7	Not available
				E ^{1/2}	10-20 Level 2	C = 19 M = 5 Or = 1	
Total					20	55	

¹⁸ See Appendix B for all unit tables. Table Key—None Recovered =No Artifacts recovered from excavation unit, therefore no count available, C = Ceramic, L = Lithic, GR = Groundstone, Fl = Flake, G = Glass, Or = Organic (charred materials.etc.), O = Other.

In Area A, Loci 1 and 2, of the site, we recovered a total of 211 ceramic fragments, 88% identified as potsherd rims, the shapes of which could not be determined (these artifacts were however subjected to the analysis process). Area B is defined by a cache of musket balls. It was one of the first identified zones of KMK1, but was not excavated due to time constraints and a desire to explore what seemed to be more promising parts of KMK1.

The most important excavation at KMK1 took place in 2002 at the campsite. It is important because it held an array of artifact types (glass, metal, and earthenware) that may help in understanding different activities. Figure 6-9 depicts the actual campground, used until recently by the crew. Figure 6-10 represents the adjacent excavation units at KMK1. The actual crew's campground is separated from the excavation units by dense vegetation and lies to the western boundary of the site.



Figure 6-9. Crew's campground at KMK1



Figure 6-10. Adjacent campsite excavation.

The campsite was designated after a noticeable surface scatter was identified in an open area, free of dense ground vegetation. An excavation grid was plotted and several units were opened and excavated to sterile soil at a maximum depth of 40 cm bs (Figure 6-11).

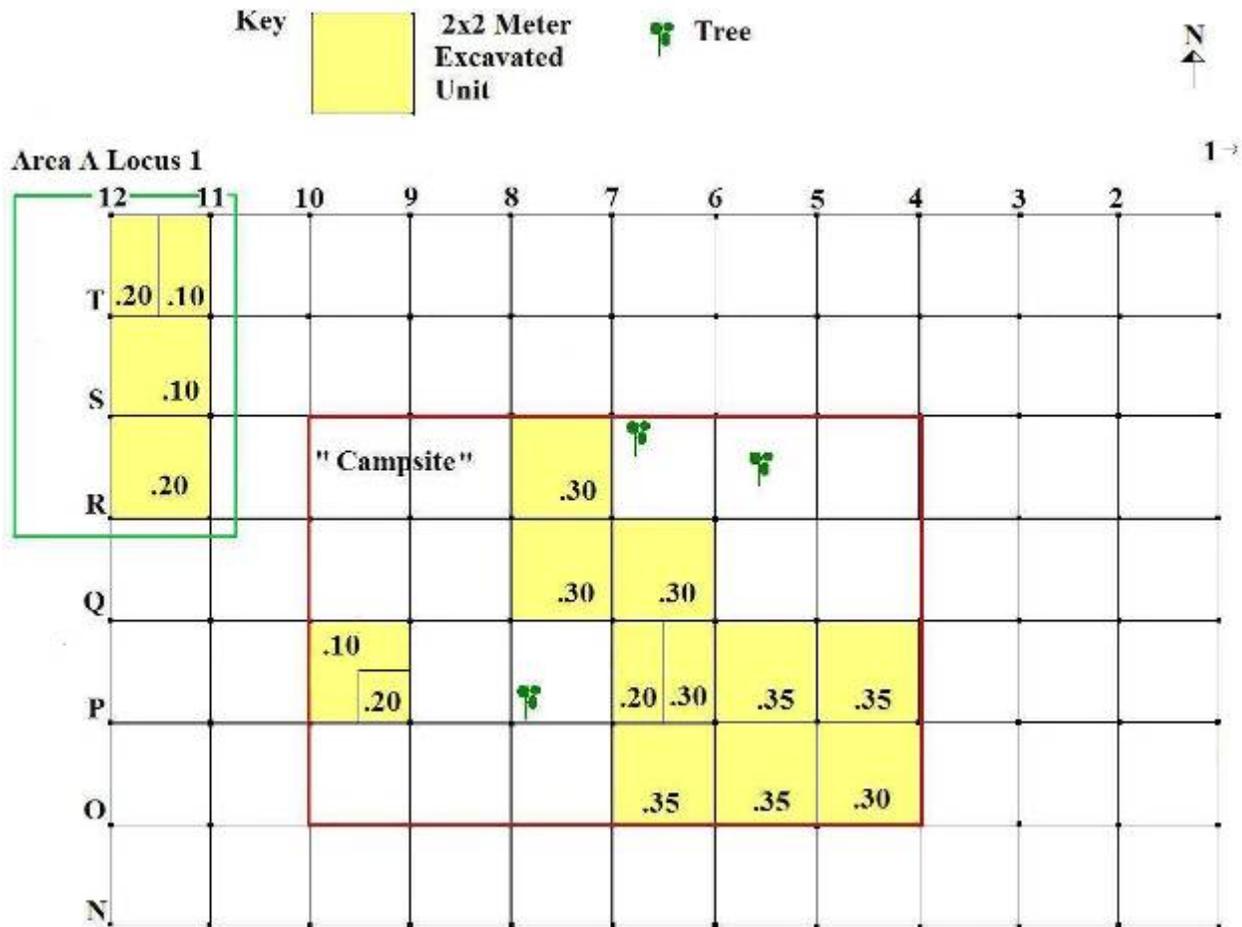


Figure 6-11. Grid for KMKI.¹⁹ Numbers in unit are the final excavation depth.

The campsite units exhibited an array of artifacts similar to those found in Area A, Locus 1 and 2 (Tables 6-4, 6-5, and 6-6). The cluster of units that define the campsite and the artifacts occurring there are isolated and found in this part of Kumako only. In chapter 7 I examine the

¹⁹ Each excavation grid in this chapter is independent of the other. For each section of the site, KMK1, KMK2 mound periphery, and KMK2 mound/ village center, a separate grid was created. The different grids is due in part to the difficulty in maintaining consistent visibility throughout the entirety of the site.

differences in frequencies from these units and what they may suggest for demarcating activity areas.

Table 6-4. Kumako 1 campsite unit P6

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Total Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)
2002	KMK1	campsite	P6	2 x 2	0-10 Lev 1	C = 5	Not Available
					10-20 Lev 2	C = 292	
					20-35 Lev 3	C = 42	
Total					35	339	

Table 6-5. Kumako 1 campsite unit P7

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Total Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)
2002	KMK1	camp site	P7	2 x 2	0-10 Lev 1	C = 3	Not Available
					W ^{1/2} 1 x 2 Lev 2	C = 18 M = 1	
					East ^{1/2} 1 x 2 Lev 3	C = 7	
Total					30	29	

Table 6-6. Kumako 1 campsite unit P10

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Total Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)
2002	KMK1	camp site	P10	2 x 2	0-10 Lev 1	G = 31	Not Available
					SE Corner Lev 2	G = 6 M = 1 Or = 1	
Total					20	39	

P6 had the highest yield with 292 ceramic sherds at 20 cm bs though the units (O5, O6, O7, P5, P7, Q7, Q8, and R8) adjacent to it had considerably lower numbers of artifacts at the same depth.²⁰ The artifacts removed from the adjacent units were mainly unidentifiable ceramic sherds. These artifacts suggests an isolated incident may have occurred at or around unit P6. Though this part of the site also produced metal and high yields of ceramics, the contrasting difference is the appearance of sherds of dark green glass isolated in this central region of KMK1.

What we have recovered from KMK1 to date is but a slight representation of the material nature of the Kumako settlement. The 2004 excavation season of KMK2 presented definitive features and structures in the form of a mound (which I will discuss at length in the next section) and some significant traits in contrast to KMK1.

Kumako 2

The 2004 excavation season was distinguished by the discovery of a large circular mound structure. The mound was discovered in August 2004 with direct guidance from Leffy Ahdipi, a Saramaka hunter familiar with the forest terrain. Leffy led the MHRP crew to the mound. The entire excavation season was dedicated to understanding the depth and general characteristics of the mound. The boundary of the mound was determined with a GPS outline of what was initially identified as a ditch-like feature. The mound was identified as such after the ditch was followed to its return to the starting point. The mound is approximately 1 kilometer in circumference and bordered by a ditch (as it was labeled), which unobtrusively sits at slightly below ground level vis-à-vis the surrounding forest (fallen trees and an overgrowth of old vegetation pose some

²⁰ See Appendix B for each unit's total artifact count. See Appendix F for each unit's artifact description.

difficulty in accurately determining a consistent depth and therefore depth was not measured). The ditch ranges in width from 1 to 2 meters at various points around the mound.

The points where the mound periphery and the ditch meet at ground level are intersected by road or paths leading into the mound. Four roads were identified and recorded. The southern side of the mound is characterized by its sharply sloped edges (approximately 2.5 to 3 meters from the top edge to what is identified as the ditch floor) (Figure 6-12).

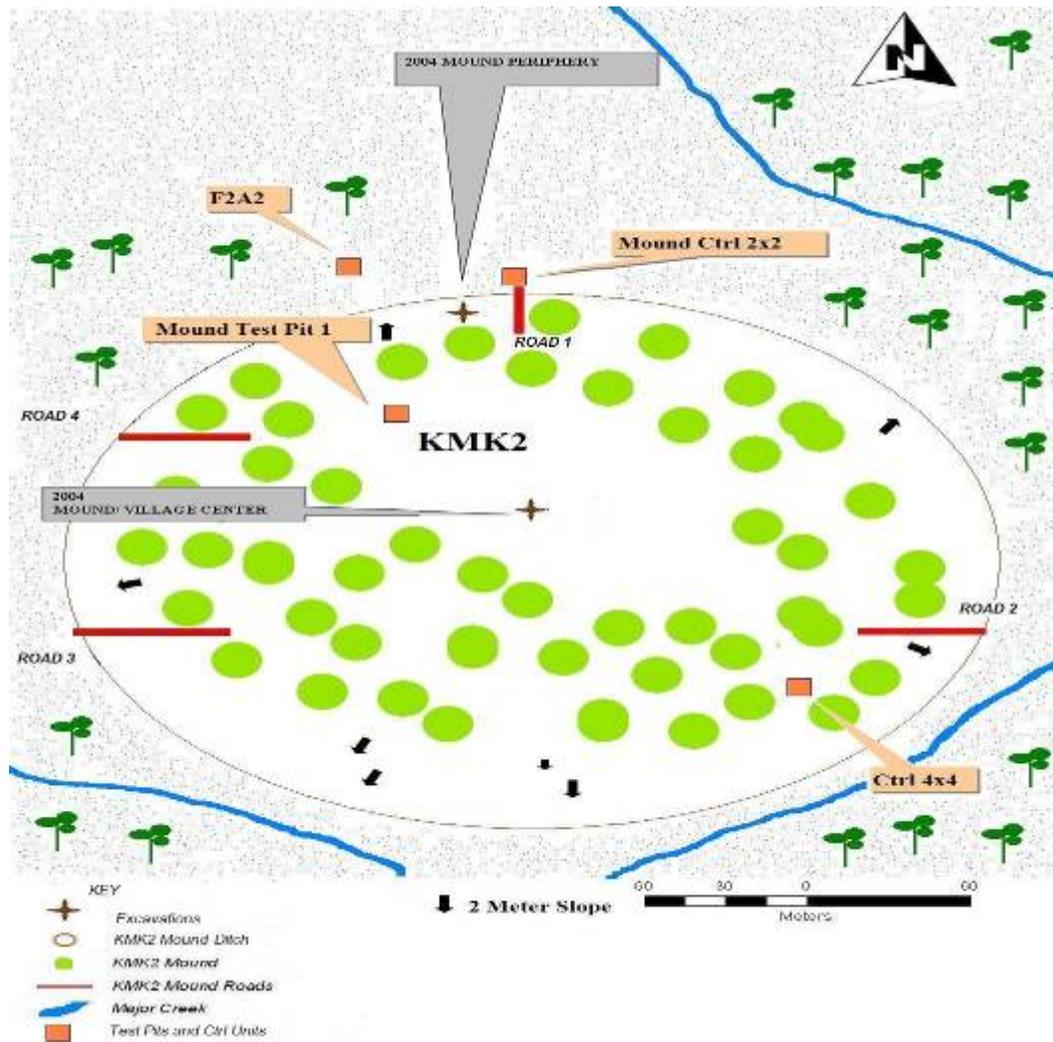


Figure 6-12. Map of KMK2.

The construction appears to have created a defensive barrier that allowed maximum strategic and visible advantage for those on the mound vis-à-vis intruders. Wooden palisades were observed

circling Maroon villages by Dutch eyewitness accounts during militia battles against Maroons in the early 1730s (Price 1983a), an observation that fits with these configurations, but we have not yet documented archaeological remains for a palisade.

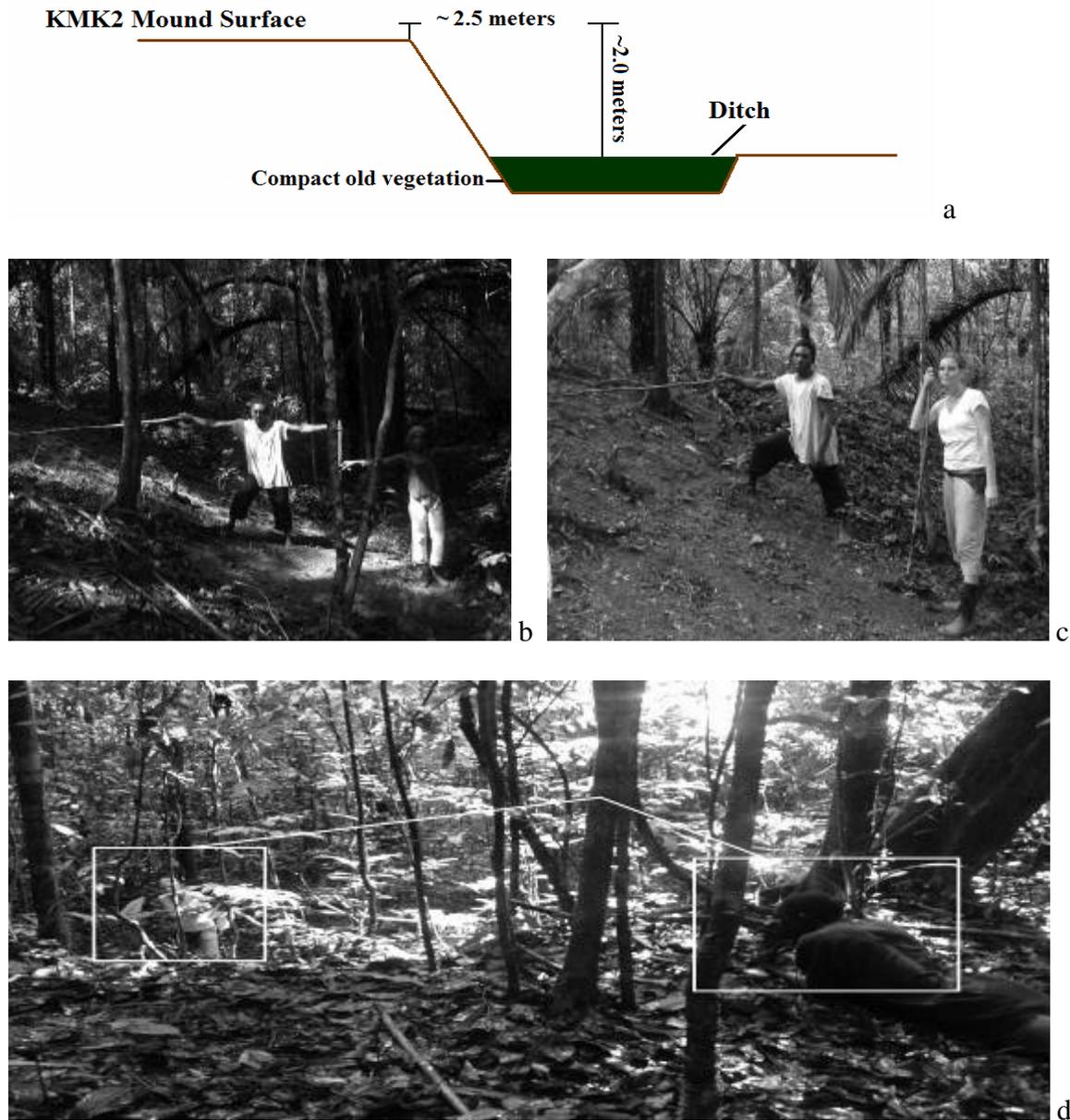


Figure 6-13. A schematic drawing of the mound edge and ditch floor in figure 6-13a. Figures 6-13b and 6-13c are the northern slope of KMK2 mound. Photos by M. Heemskerk and C. White, 2004 respectively. Figure 6-13d. “Re-enactment” of a defensive stance at the southern slope of KMK2 Mound. Photo by C. White, 2004.

Figure 6-13a shows the edge of the mound in relation to the ditch floor. The ditch encircles the mound and is bordered by old growth trees that continue into the outlining forest. The ditch is easily identified in contrast to the edge of the mound at its northeastern periphery. However obvious the ditch is at the northeastern periphery, it is less so at various points around the mound.

The northeastern edge of the mound is in alignment with an access path created by the crew (this was not an obvious path but instead was distinguished by small chops in trees and/or broken branches to mark the way [this is the standard method used by hunters to create paths in the dense forest]). This path extends approximately 70 meters connecting KMK1 (crew's campground) to KMK2. The path and the northeastern periphery of the mound mark a T-section that forces one to ascend the mound, travel into the mound via road #1 (due east), or follow the ditch either east or west, thereby encircling the mound.

Upon ascending the mound, a large exposed area was immediately identified at the mound's northeastern periphery by the MHRP crew and the Saramaka guide Leffy Ahdipi. A 24 x 12 m excavation grid was created to further investigate the large exposed area (Figure 6-14). The exposed area was characterized by an anomalous circular depression approximately 60 cm below the surrounding ground surface from its center dip, roughly 3 meters in diameter and, as we later learned during excavation, 2 meters deep (hereafter the terms Feature 1 and Dark Circular Depression are used interchangeably). The excavation units demarcating the circular depression includes the 2 x 2 m units H22-24 and I22-24.

The depression was described by the Saramaka field crew as a product of ritual baths used by elders. It produced a large yield of artifacts ranging in type: non-diagnostic grit and sand-

tempered earthenware; red-slipped ceramics, some with a patina film; and one piece of burnt Delftware.

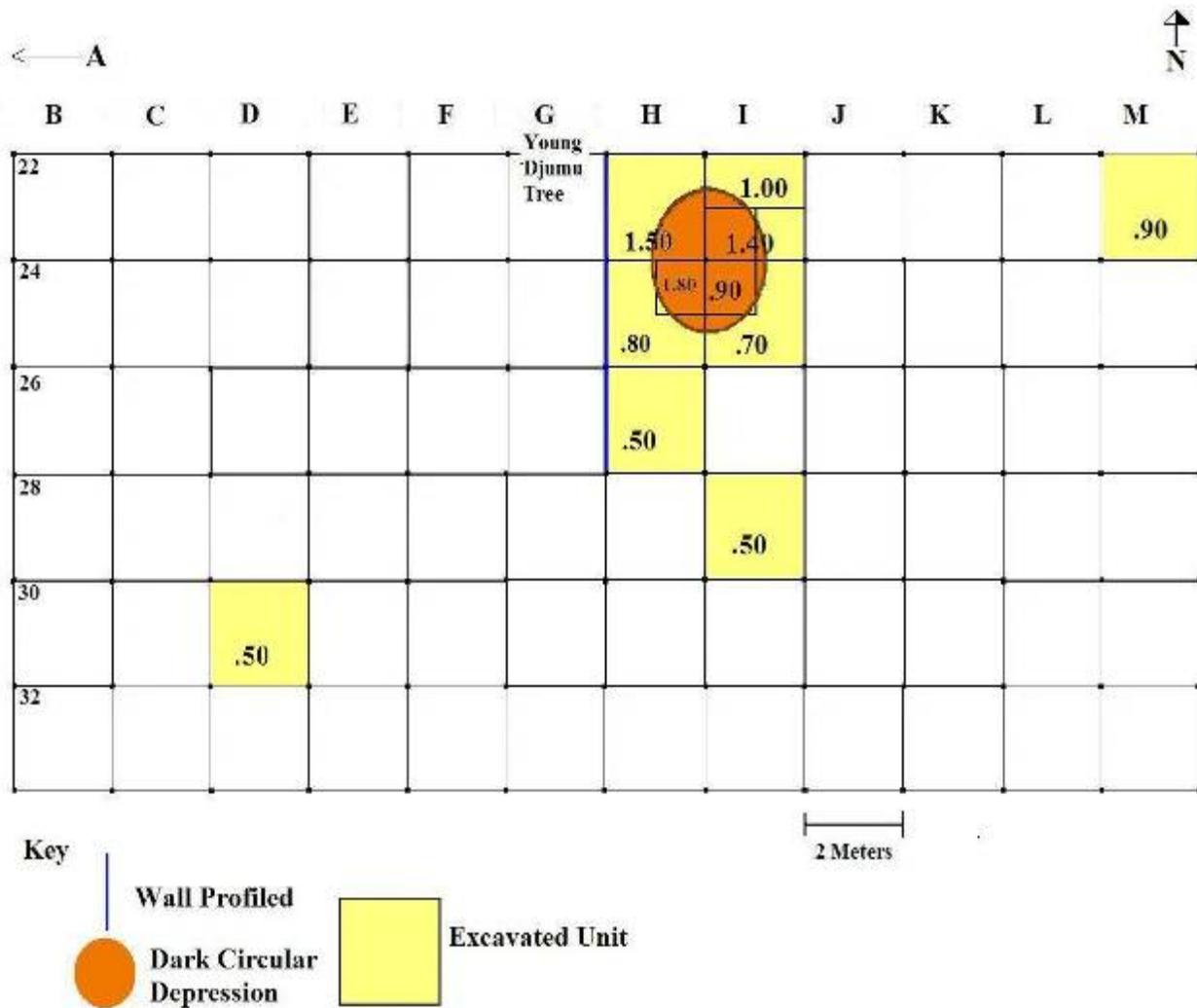


Figure 6-14. Kumako 2 grid placed at periphery of mound. Numbers in unit are the final excavated depth.

Unit H22 from the periphery of the excavation grid was the most striking due to a maximum depth of 1.50 m and a dense concentration of artifacts (Table 6-7). Initially, the unit was excavated according to soil changes. Excavation began at the center of the pit, first removing the loose top soil layer of reddish brown clay loam with heavy root disturbance. As excavation continued and the dark circular pit borders diffused, the density of artifacts shifted

toward the northwestern part of H22 and a 1 x 1 m unit was started at 70 cm below surface to further explore this concentration.²¹ Yields from this unit peaked more than 50% at 30 to 70 cm below the ground surface. An assortment of high quality ceramics, grinding stone fragment, and lithics were recovered from H22's dark circular pit. A high concentration of round lip rims and large body ceramic sherds were significant finds. Unit H24 covers the southwestern continuation of the dark circular pit (Table 6-8). Because H24 was excavated to the end of the dark circular pit, it has the greatest depth of the four units. Its ceramic frequencies are not proportional to the more northern unit, H22—showing that this unit was on the periphery of the concentrations associated with the dark circular pit.

Unit I22 (Table 6-9) is the far northeastern unit pertaining to the dark circular pit and had the lowest frequency of artifacts. This unit was initially opened to cover the northeastern span of the pit, but artifact recovery did not begin until 40 cm bs and quickly culminated at 90 cm bs, which may have been due to sloping caused by its location on the mound edge.

Unit I 24 (Table 6-9) is located at the southeastern portion of the dark circular pit. The frequency of ceramics increased roughly 100% at approximately 20 cm bs, but quickly decreased by half at approximately 40 cm bs. However, the concentration of artifacts quickly shifted toward the unit's northeastern corner at 70 cm bs where a 1 x 1 subsidiary unit was placed to focus on the concentration. This general depth represents an increase in ceramic concentration consistent throughout the dark circular pit, extending into the northern wall of the H line (Figure 6-15).

²¹ This created some difficulties in depth measurement within the unit, as the goal shifted to accommodating the difference in depth and soil changes from the center of the pit to the edges of the unit grid.

Table 6-7. Unit H22 Kumako 2 mound periphery²²

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition	Note
2004	KMK2	Mound Periphery	H22	2 x 2	Lev 1	C = 46 L = 1	Reddish brown clay loam, loose top soil w/ lots of root disturbance	Beginning of Dark Circular Depression
					Lev 2	C = 123 Gr = 1 L = 2	7YR 3/3 Dark Brown,	Dark Circular Pit
					70	C = 21	Intact sediment	Dark Circular Pit
					Lev 3		reddish brown clay loam	Dark Circular Pit
					70-90	C = 73		Dark Circular Pit
					Lev 4	L = 1		Dark Circular Pit
					90-120	C = 37		
					Lev 5			
					120-140	C = 2		
					Lev 6			
					70	C = 1	Gravelly red clay	End of Dark Circular Pit
					1 x 1 NW corner			
					Lev 7			
					94	C = 2		Below dark Circular Pit
					Lev 8			
Total					1.50	309		

²² The excavations of some units were based on arbitrary levels and/or cm below surface (cm bs). When applicable, levels are also interpreted as cm bs.

Table 6-8. Unit H24, Kumako 2 mound periphery

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2004	KMK2	Mound Periphery	H24	2 x 2	0 - 20	C = 12	10YR 3 /4 Dark Yellowish Brown, moist reddish soil with small rootlettes and lots of small pebbles	
					20 -40	C = 17 L = 1	10YR 3 /4 Dark Yellowish Brown, moist reddish soil with small rootlettes and lots of small pebbles	
					50-70 ²³	C = 61	7YR 3/3 Dark Brown, moist w/ dark reddish hue	Dark Circular Pit
					60 -70	C = 10	7YR 3/3 Dark Brown, moist w/ dark reddish hue	Dark Circular Pit
				2 x 2	70 -80	C = 15	7YR 3/3 Dark Brown, moist w/ mottled dark reddish brown color	
				*NE corner	80-1.10	C = 33 L = 1	7YR 3/3 Dark Brown, moist w/ mottled dark reddish brown color	Dark Circular Pit
				*NE corner	1.10-1.80	C = 20	7YR 3/3 Dark Brown, moist w/ mottled dark reddish brown color	Dark Circular Pit
Total					1.80	170		

²³ The difference in level depth (50-70 and 60-70cm bs) is due to units repeatedly becoming waterlogged during the several break days away from site. Upon return to the site, excavation resumed after standing water was removed from this unit, a process that affected the opening depth of the unit, which would be different from the last depth recorded at the closing of excavation.

Table 6-9. Unit I22, Kumako mound periphery

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2004	KMK2	Mound Periphery	I22	2 x 2*	0 - 20	None Recovered	10YR 3/4 Dark Yellowish Brown, moist reddish soil with small rootlettes and lots of small pebbles	Dark Circular Depression
					20 - 40	None Recovered	10YR 4/6 Dark Yellowish Brown moist loam clay	
					40 - 73	C = 8	7YR 3/3 Dark Brown, moist w/ dark reddish hue	
					73 - 83	C = 33	7YR 3/3 Dark Brown, moist w/ dark reddish hue	
					83 - 90	C = 53	7YR 3/3 Dark Brown, moist w/ dark reddish hue	
					90-1.00	None Recovered	7YR 3/3 Dark Brown, moist w/ mottled	
				*1 x 1 SW corner	1.10-1.40	None Recovered	dark reddish brown color	
				*1 x 1 SE corner	1.10-1.40	L = 1 C = 6		
Total					1.40	101		

Table 6-10. Unit I24, Kumako mound periphery

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2004	KMK2	Mound Periphery	I24	2 x 2	Level 1	C = 1	Not Available	
					Level 2	C = 96 L = 1	Not Available	Dark Circular Pit
					Level 3	C = 59 L = 1	Not Available	Dark Circular Pit
					70 1 x 1 NW corner	C = 92 Gr = 1	Not Available	Dark Circular Pit
					Level 4			
					90 1 x 1 NW corner	C = 22	Not Available	Dark Circular Pit
					Level 5			
					50-60 Level 6	C = 6	Not Available	
					Level 7	C = 8	Not Available	
					Level 10	C = 1	Not Available	
Total				90	288			

Excavation of the dark circular pit continued until the end of its defining dark brown and reddish soil. Its total product can be viewed in the chart below (Table 6-11). The dark circular pit is the defining recovery at KMK2, and in Chapter 7, artifacts from this context contrast sharply with the mound center and the KMK1.

Table 6-11. Units of dark circular pit total depth and total number of artifacts.

Units of Dark Circular Pit	Total Depth (cm bs)	Total Number of Artifacts
H22	1.50	309
H24	1.80	170
I22	1.40	101
I24	90	288
Total		868

These findings cause us again to shift our attention on the anomalous dark circular depression (Feature 1 at the mound periphery). In that excavation, the artifact yields peaked at 20 cm bs and the yields were consistently high for the remainder of its excavation to approximately 2 meters. The wall profile (Figure 6-15) depicts the entire West Wall (H Line-units H22-H26) of the circular depression, and illustrates the depth of the pit. In addition, the wall profile shows where most the KMK2 artifacts were recovered. As illustrated in the wall profile, a potentially high yield of artifacts remain to be excavated from within the circular depression.

The large pot rims from the dark circular pit were identified by the Saramaka crew as remnants of an *ahgbang* and/or *bungu*, large earthenware bowls or pots used to boil and/or mix skillfully selected medicinal plants and other powerful herbs for special ritual purposes. This is a common practice throughout Surinamese Maroon culture. It is believed that these troublesome issues are an act of an avenging *lo* spirits in need of appeasement and acknowledgement. The act of washing (as it is called) with a selection of leaves precedes many ritual activities and involves the mixing of specific types of vegetation with kaolin or *pemba* (Figure 6-16 and Chapter 5).²⁴

²⁴ Depicted in Figure 6-16b is a ritual washing with *pemba* marking the first visit of researchers C. White and M. Heemskerk to the Ndjuka village, Mooeitaki, on the Tapanohony River in eastern Suriname in 2003. The visit

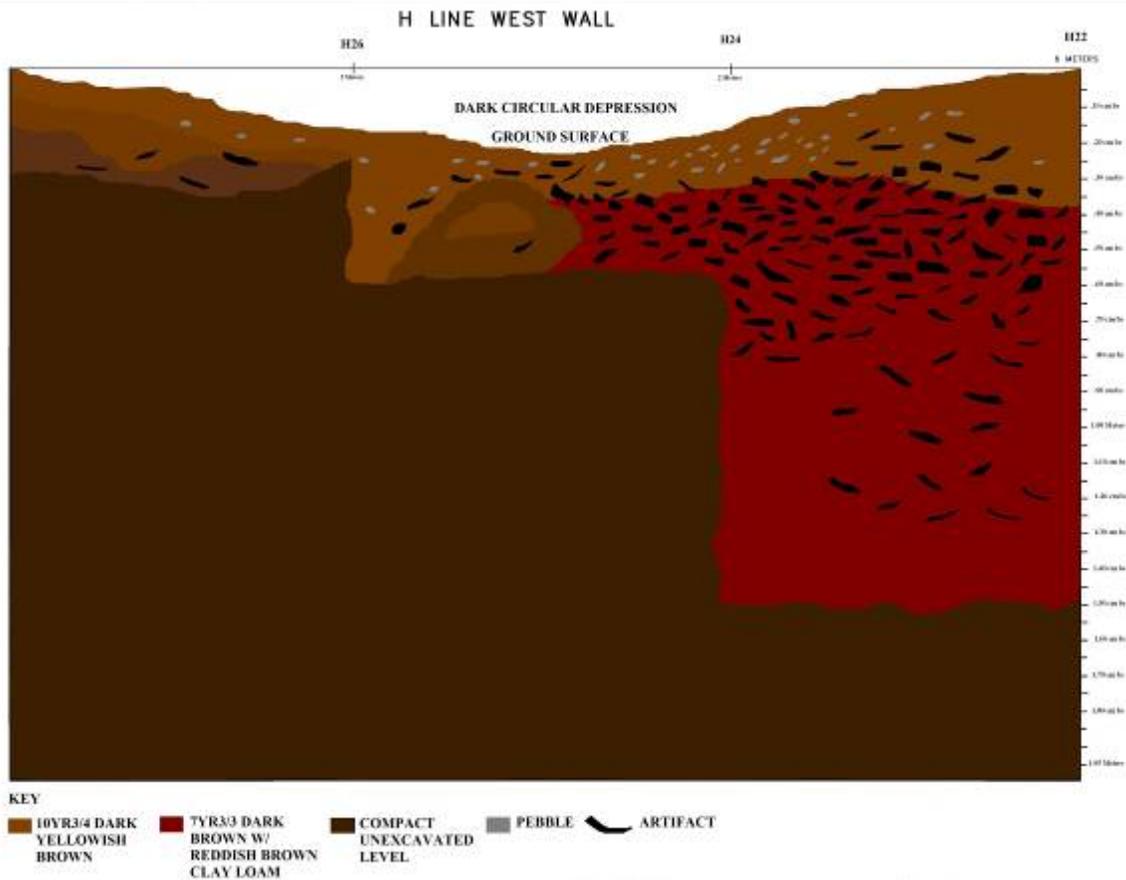


Figure 6-15. Profile H line, west wall.

The mixtures of herbs are used to meet issues concerning death, illness, and misfortune on the individual, familial, and group level. The process entails the selection of choice, fresh vegetation mashed into a pulp, which is then placed in a large ceramic pot where it is mixed with water and *pemba*. Washing occurs regularly in any given village. Moreover, when not addressing ancestral issues, washing can be interpreted as a means of creating and maintaining a healthy deportment. This process of purification and protection featuring *pemba* appears to draw strongly on African symbolic values common to *pemba* most often associated with protection against ancestral spirits and enemies, particularly in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Angola.

marked the beginning of a six-month study to assess the social indicators that affect Ndjuka participation in small-scale gold mining.

More widely, kaolin is used for the ritual washing of chiefs and kings in central and east Africa during installation ceremonies and also its ritual use in iron smelting rituals (Schmidt 1997).²⁵

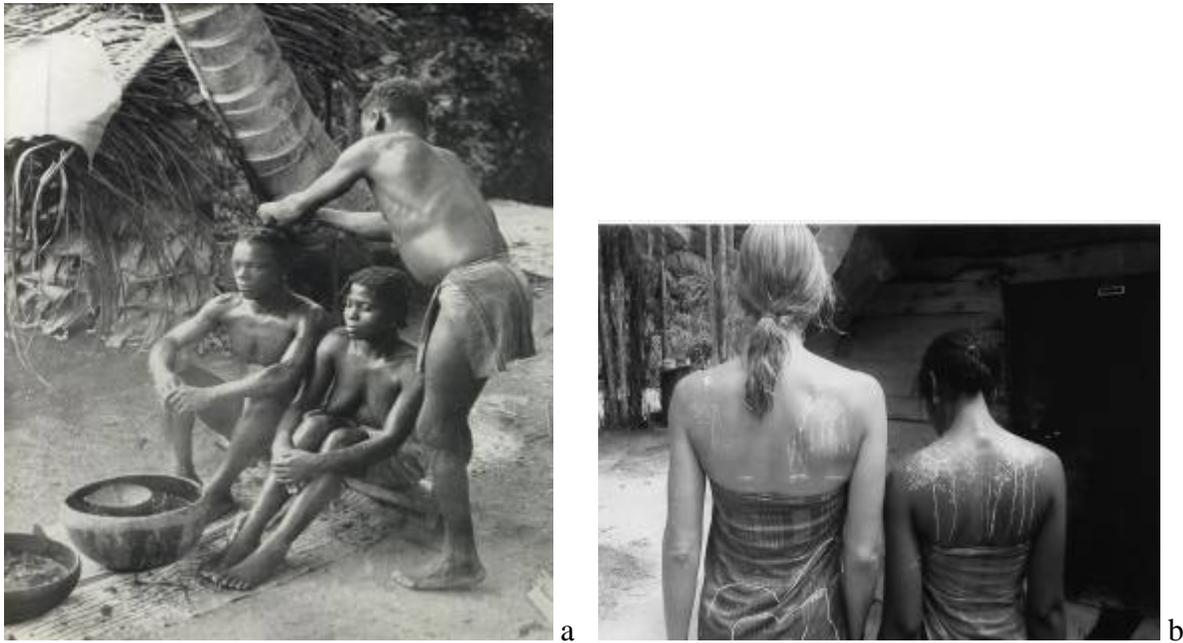


Figure 6-16. Maroons engaging in a ritual washing with choice leaves, figure 6-16a (Helman 1959). Figure 6-16b shows C. White and M. Heemskerk washed with *pemba* at Ndyjuka village, Moeitaki, to mark the new year (2003).



Figure 6-17. Calabashes from the upper Suriname River/Saramaka territory (Price and Price 1980).

The mixture is scooped out with decorated calabashes similar to the ones depicted in figure 6-17, and poured over the individual's entire body several times. The curvilinear decorations in the calabashes are a reflection of Saramaka artistic expression and can be found on paddles, boats,

²⁵ *Pemba* is a widespread Bantu word that specifically applies to kaolin used in ritual events.

houses, clothing, and even in the flat round food staple, cassava bread. But these designs do not match the curvilinear design on ceramic artifacts recovered from the site. The curvilinear designs found on contemporary Saramaka objects have a broad and intertwined configuration. When making cassava bread, women use both their index and middle finger to create a design that randomly interconnects. The curvilinear motifs identified in the artifacts from the site are made with a fine tipped pointed object. Future ceramic finds with greater diversity and detail in surface decoration may present an opportunity for more detailed comparative analysis.

Ceramic pots, such as the *ahgbang* can be found strategically located in a village's *goduosuu* or prayer-ancestor shrine, along with a scrap of *panghi* cloth (common article of clothing worn by all Maroon men, women, and children, typically decorated in symmetrical patterns. In addition to the *panghi* clothe is a fist sized ball of *pemba*, and an empty rum bottle (rum is a standard offering or payment to an obeah man).²⁶ As observed by Helman (1959) the nuances of the *goduosuu* have been observed and described as:

The fetishes, which they cherish, decorate[d] with bits of cotton and surrounded with offerings in the middie [middle] of the village or in a hidden spot near the edge of the wood, lack all visual charm. This for the reason that everything is literally charmed; the fetish is only a symbol for recollection—the true spirit can never be portrayed. Indeed, he will let himself be summoned and appeased with gifts; indeed it is a good thing to smear oneself with white clay in time of disease or trouble, for the evil spirit will fall back before this change in appearance. It is better to respect, help and befriend the village magician, the mediator between men and spirits. His secret power is greater than that of the village's political head, who is assisted by a council of elders and only speaks or is spoken to through the mouth of a young 'speaker' during the long drawn out meetings in the "village hall." (45)

²⁶ The term obeah refers to Maroon spiritual practice. It entails ancestor worship and appeasement through the form of food offerings and communal acknowledgement of group issues and problems. Obeah is synonymous with Voodoo and is an African-derived spirituality practiced among many peoples of African descent throughout the New World.

All traditional or non-Christian villages host numerous visible *goduosuu* (Figure 6-18). In a Christian village, these traditional shrines are more surreptitiously placed in the center living area of homes.

I can speculate that the concentration of *ahgbangs* from the dark circular pit at KMK2's mound periphery marks the remains of an early Maroon *goduosuu*. As I have observed, contemporary Maroons do not engage with the actual *goduosuu* structures. They instead wash in an open area within the village. I do, however, suggest that the concentration of *ahgbangs* may have existed as a part of an erected structure that may have been in a parallel location with the previously earlier discussed *azonpow*. Its location at the mound periphery is at the mound's most accessible point from the open area of KMK1. This strategic placement alerts all visitors that they have arrived at a community that recognizes and practices Maroon social and spiritual culture. As a part of this structure, the *ahgbangs* may have served as washing instruments for outsiders upon entering the protective enclave of KMK2's mound center.

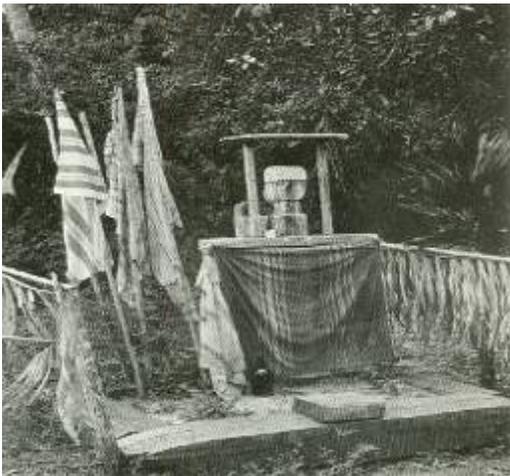


Figure 6-18. *Goduosuu* or prayer shrine (Price and Price 1980)

Importantly, the KMK2 excavations on the mound periphery showed the presence of ceramics that bear an uncanny likeness to Indigenous ceramics that are today used in *Goduosuu* shrines. This latter observation does not *ipso facto* mean that the same processes occurred during

the distant past, but the use of Indigenous artifacts certainly suggests a likely interaction with and utilization of ideas and possibly material items derived from local populations. This observation is in keeping with similar conclusions drawn from archaeological studies in Brazil (Allen 1999, 2001), Cuba (La Rosa Corzo 2003), and Florida (Weik 2002). To further understand what the remnants of *ahgbangs* may have represented to early Saramaka, I examined what they mean to contemporary Saramaka.

I asked a series of questions about the acquisition of *ahgbangs* that appear in traditional villages. The questions stemmed from an interest in knowing how the Saramaka differentiate domestic activity areas from an area of spiritual significance: 1) What purpose does your *goduosuu* serve? 2) What do you do with the *ahgbangs* found in the *goduosuu*? 2) How are they made? 3) What are they made from? 4) What are they used for? 5) What meaning do they have? Of particular interest were the responses to questions 2 and 3. But, because of the specialization surrounding the use of *ahgbangs*, the most consistent responses were: “It was given to my first-time family by the Ingies [Indigenous people]” or “That is not for you to know.” Price’s (1983a) ethnographic accounts did reveal that at the time early Maroons developed relationships of a ritualistic nature with Indigenous peoples:

The intimacy of Indians and Africans in early Suriname society, whether as fellow toilers on the plantations, hunters of runaway slaves, or co-conspirators in rebellion, is confirmed again in the matter-of-fact report that Kaasi had two wives in slavery—one Indian, one African. And like Ayako, Kaasi always traveled with his personal *obiama*, in his case the Indian Piyai (whose name means “shaman” in the Indian languages of Suriname). Kaasi’s brother-in-law Piyai is said to have taught Kaasi *dangara obia*, the magic that permits invisibility. The catching and marrying of an Indian woman...is a theme that occurs in the traditions of other clans as well, and must have happened a number of times. But the crux of these fragments about Kaasi’s adultery is that his act caused an irrevocable division; his descendants, even today, continue to be plagued by the avenging spirit (*kunu*) of Piyai, which serves as a constant reminder of these domestic events that took place. (80)

This excerpt suggests that Maroons have a deep and enduring spiritual bond with Indigenous peoples of Suriname. To further the point, Price (1983a) stated that a historical tale “Alludes to

other matters of historical interest as well—the ambiguous role of Indians during the wars and the esoteric rituals of battlefield death” (145). Price (1983a) interpreted that the presence of Indigenous people served more of a practical role in the lives of early Maroons: They aided traveling clans in the early years in the forest: “They [Indigenous women] made (often reluctant) wives for several early Saramaka” and “They often served the whites as scouts, guides, or bounty seekers, hunting down Maroons for cash” (145). Whether or not the interaction of Indigenous peoples and early Maroons is directly relatable to the appearance of ceramic vessels in a *goduousu* is not clear, but the interaction requires examination of possible Indigenous influences. Early Maroons surely would have found the “magic that permits invisibility” to be useful to their cause of maintaining the secrecy of their villages, in addition to a strategic advantage during bouts of guerilla warfare with Dutch militia. Though Maroons reside openly and freely along river-based villages today, they may still have a need to appease these early historical figures who played such an important role in the maintenance of their identity while developing Maroon clans and isolated settlements. Because collecting information about the meaning of these shrines proved to be problematic, emphasis was placed on the material resource used.

To observe the construction of *ahgbangs* and ascertain an authentic Saramaka technology through informal interviews and participant observation, I made an attempt to interview Saramaka potters regarding the technique of manufacturing and the material source. But after questioning elders from non-Christian villages (Tchjali Kondre, Goejaba, and Pikein Slee), about the retention of this knowledge, I learned that only one living woman still maintained the knowledge of pottery construction. At the onset of the August 2004 project season, this woman’s

husband had just died, thus requiring a mandatory six-month mourning period and barring any further engagement regarding the technology of pottery.

I explored the circumference of the mound in search for anomalies in the terrain, such as rock outcrops or dried creek beds that could have been a source for clay extraction. I believed that this approach would offer insight to geographical and/ or geological differences that might differ from the dense tropical forest. The circumference of the mound was surveyed using the demarcating ditch as the starting point for 5 meter transects that extended 15 to 20 meters beyond the ditch (the dense vegetation created some difficulty in maintaining a consistent twenty meters). The following discussion pertains to the units identified along the circumference or periphery of the mound.

Mound periphery control units

To engage and respond to the kinship cluster research question 1 (RQ1), I thought that the mound periphery could possibly present an opportunity to understand areas of ceremonial activities associated with different kinship units. Other anomalous depressions of similar dimensions (approximately 3 x 3 m) to Feature 1 were identified at relatively open areas of the mound's periphery. Excavation units (control 2 x 2, control 4 x 4, and Feature 2, Area 2, hereafter referred to Ctrl 2x2, Ctrl 4x4 and F2A2) were established to examine additional depressions (refer to figures 6-7 and 6-12 KMK2 map for location of these units).

Ctrl 4x4 is located on the southern side of the mound close to road #2. Initially at Ctrl 4x4, two .50 x .50 m test pits were established to test an anomalous depression. The soil tested as Munsell 10YR (4/6 dark yellowish brown), with excessive distribution of roots and pebbles throughout. These two tests produced what can best be described as crude and severely eroded grit-tempered pottery sherds, many of which were difficult to identify as ceramics and could not be analyzed further. Ctrl 4x4 yielded n = 1 artifact and was excavated to sterile soil at 40 cm bs.

The F2A2 was located outside of the mound zone. It was a depression similar to that tested by Ctrl 4x4. The soil color tested as a 10YR 4/6 (dark yellowish brown) compact soil with heavy root and pebble distribution. This circular depression was excavated to the bottom of the depression at 80 cm bs. Only one very small, crude grit-tempered sherd was found.

A third unit, Ctrl 2x2, was placed directly in the center of road #1 to investigate a KMK2 road. Its Munsell color was 10YR 4/6 (dark yellowish brown), with loosely packed soil. Excavation of this unit, however, quickly terminated at 20 cm bs when no artifacts were recovered.

Comparatively, these control units did not have the same depth nor richness of artifacts removed from the dark circular depression (Feature 1). Feature 1 at the mound periphery is the only feature of its kind found at KMK2. Because these control units contained sparse or no artifacts, attention was turned to other sections of the mound.

KMK2 mound center

The entire periphery of the mound is covered with thick brush and old growth vegetation. The center of mound, however, did not have old growth vegetation. This distinction leads to the interior of the mound being identified as the village center (The term mound center refers to the physical description while the term village center is the interpretative description, hereafter the terms village center and mound center are used interchangeably). The village center lacks the dense, high forest canopy indicative of the surrounding tropical forest, though it did have scattered vegetation up to approximately 20 meters from the ground surface. The village center was literally the only area in the vicinity of the site without a high vegetative canopy of old growth trees. The absence of the canopy allowed for a full view of the sky. Figure 6-19 is a cross-section of the mound and shows the relationship of the village center vegetation to its high peripheral canopy.

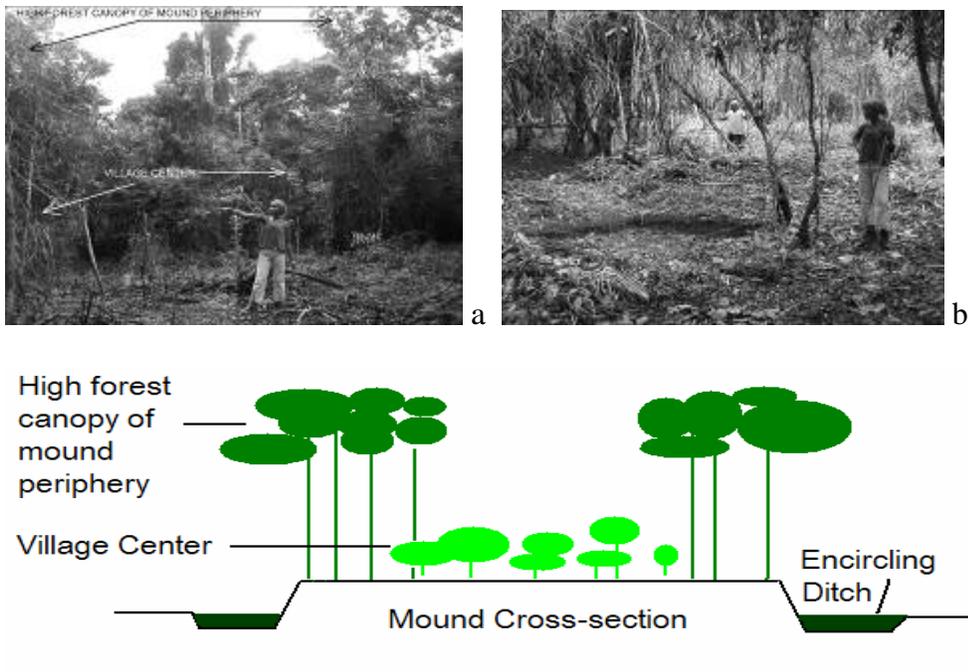


Figure 6-19. The center of Kumako2 mound or village center with a visible sky and the surrounding old growth forest along the periphery in the back, figures 6-19a and 6-19b (photos by M. Heemskerk). Figure 6-19c is a schematic drawing of the mound in cross-section.

To test this part of the site, a 1 x 2 m shovel test pit was placed in the mound's village center, made accessible by clearing (the center of the mound was initially impenetrable so a small area approximately 2 x 2 m was cleared in preparation for the placement of a shovel test pit). The shovel test pit expanded west to include an adjacent 1 x 2 m unit, labeled NW 1 x 1 m and SW 1 x 1 m. This excavation produced a large amount of earthenware recovered from the first 20 cm bs and further justified investigation of the village center. The soil tested as Munsell 10YR 4/6 (dark yellowish brown), dry and compact. A 50 x 50 m area of the village center was then cleared using a slash-and-burn technique. An excavation grid consisting of 2 x 2m units covered 16 square meters within this area.

We excavated two units located at either extremity of the grid to sample the village center. Figure 6-20 shows the excavation grid applied to the center of the mound. To date, the

entire village center has not been cleared or further excavated. Future research will enlighten us as to the characteristics and cultural attributes of the village center.

The artifacts recovered from the KMK2 mound center produced a different type of assemblage from that which had been recovered in the previous year excavations of KMK1. We found a greater variety in ceramic forms and lithic artifacts from the KMK2 village center of Kumako. Further distinctive to these assemblages are rim sherds, bases, handles, large body sherds (many of which are curved), and ground stone and projectile point fragments. The distinctive artifacts in the mound center also contrast with the mound periphery that have there greater number of large rim and body sherds.

The excavation of the mound periphery extended further below surface than in the village center. Though only two units have been sampled from the village center, the concentration of artifacts below the surface was greater and with more ceramic and lithic variance than KMK1, suggesting a greater diversity of activities, such as a limited craft specialization in the lithic assemblage. At village center units N-D8 and SA-2, the artifacts were primarily ceramic (Tables 6-12 and 6-13). While these units were not excavated to sterile soil due to time constraints, it appears from our field observations that the concentrations were within the first 20 cm bs.

These two units plus the village center shovel test pit (TP1) produced the highest yield at 10 - 20 cm bs, with a combined count of 399, or 99.4% of the ceramics. This strong bias—where there is mostly diversity in other parts of the site—may well point to some spatially shaped activity area where ceramic use was privileged, be it for social or other reasons.

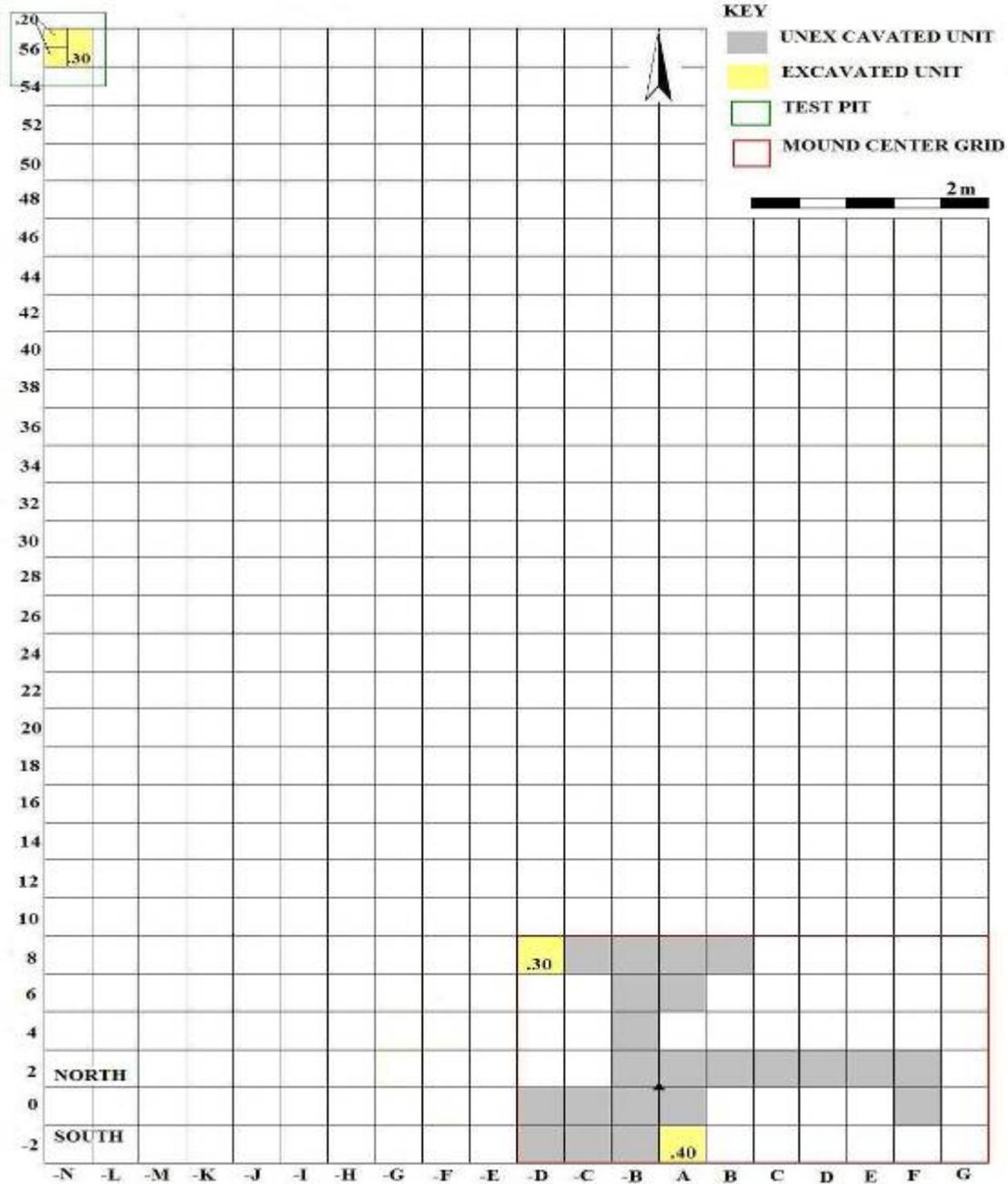


Figure 6-20. Kumako2 grid placed in mound center. The grid in the lower right-hand corner is the mound center and the grid in the upper left-hand corner is the shovel test pit. Numbers in unit are the final depth.

Table 6-12. Unit N-D8 Kumako 2 mound center

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Depth (cm BS)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2004	KMK2	Mound/Village Center	N-D8	2 x 2	0-10	C = 25	10YR 4/6	
					10-20	C = 12 Gr = 1 L = 1	Dark Yellowish Brown, dry compact soil with	
					20-30	C = 13	moderate rootlette & pebble distribution	
Total					30	52		

Table 6-13. Unit SA-2 Kumako 2 mound center

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2004	KMK2	Mound/Village Center	SA-2	2 x 2	0-10	C = 26	10YR 4/6	
					10-20	C = 157	Dark	
					20-30	C = 43	Yellowish	
					30-40	C = 16	Brown, dry compact soil with moderate rootlette & pebble distribution	
Total					40	242		

Intra-site Differentiation at Kumako

These key observations about differences in intra-site distributions of artifacts (to be discussed in detail in Chapter 7) found at various sections of Kumako lead to how the research questions might be addressed. As indicated in figure 6-21, KMK1 produced a higher yield of non-ceramic artifacts, such as lithics of groundstone, projectile point fragments, and bifacial flakes. The metal objects included nails and musket balls, and the organic remains consisted of cowry shells and charcoal. Kumako2, however, presented a larger yield of ceramics in the form of assorted rims and body sherds.

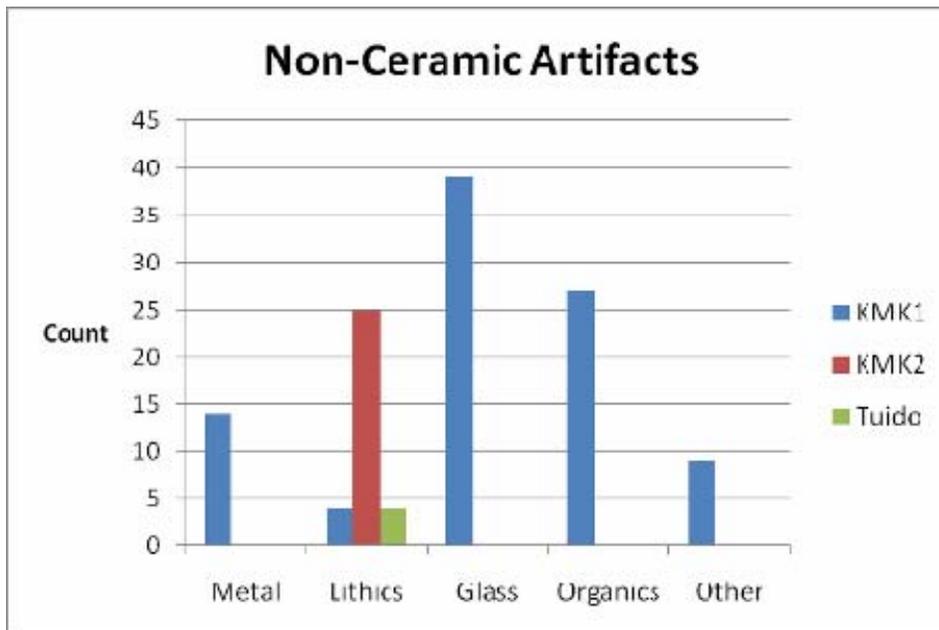


Figure 6-21. Comparison of non-pottery artifacts from KMK1 and KMK2.

Taking a closer look at figure 6-21, we see that the most varied distribution of ceramic and non-ceramic artifacts is at KMK1. However, the highest frequencies of ceramics and lithics is at KMK2. This dichotomy speaks to intra-site distributions suggestive of a settlement arrangement at Kumako that reflects structured choices for areas of activity. Figure 6-22 shows the distribution of different parts of ceramic vessels across KMK1 and KMK2. Kumako2 has a higher frequency of morphologically distinct ceramics: bases, handles, and curved body parts.

Most of these ceramics come from the highly specialized feature 1 (dark circular depression) at the mound periphery, and they are likely linked to ritual activity—a very likely location for communal rituals at a central locale or plaza.

A higher frequency of unidentified (UID) sherds and fewer types of body sherds appeared at KMK1. This juxtaposition of artifact assemblages at KMK1 (greater preponderance of non-pottery items and unidentifiable sherds) and at KMK2 (increased yield of identifiable rim and body sherds) leads us to speculate that the Kumako settlement in its entirety may have had binary functions or distinctions, perhaps linked to the different transitory social groups who would later develop into the Matawai tribe. These issues will be explored at more specific levels of analysis in Chapter 7.

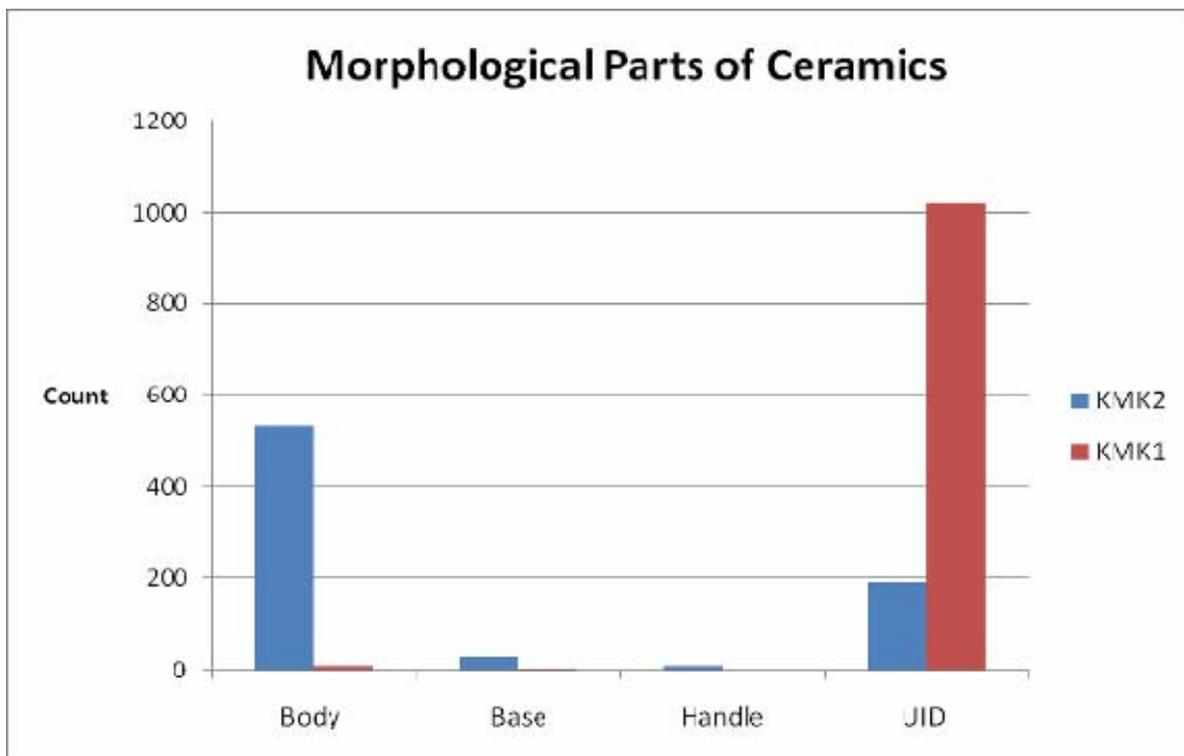


Figure 6-22. Distribution of morphological parts recovered from KMK1 and KMK2.

A likely proposal is that KMK2's village center may have been a locale for conducting domestic activities in a non-exposed environment. The KMK1 perimeter may have presented a

buffer zone or defensive barrier, or perhaps even a cultivation area for ground provisions. The tall, dense tropical vegetation that outlines the mound periphery creates an ideal protective enclave for the village center by giving maximum protective advantage to its inhabitants. The sharp slopes of the mound periphery also create a visual advantage from the interior, allowing inhabitants to assess activity beyond the mound without being noticed. In addition, this earthwork also hinders intruders from observing the nucleus of the Saramakaans' first permanent settlement.

Site Dating

Four samples of charcoal and organic earthenware ceramics from KMK1 and KMK2 were submitted for radiocarbon dating to discern the age of Kumako and its chronological relationship to either Maroon and/or Indigenous cultures. Carbon 14 dating is a common technique used to assess the age of archaeological sites with a suspected pre-historical cultural component (Bronitsky 1989; Druc 2001; Harbottle and Bishop 1992; Miksa 2001; Rice 1984). The dates outlined in this section present a multicomponent historical and possibly prehistoric occupation or ancient forest fire. To simplify matters, I chronologically situate the settlement within the 2 Sigma Calibration dates listed in, and relate the outcome of the dates in calendar years (Cal AD). The 2 Sigma Calibration dates have a 95 % probability of accuracy.

Though less sure, alternatively, the 1 Sigma Calibration dates offer another perspective of when Kumako may have been inhabited. The 1 Sigma Calibration dates have a 68% probability of accuracy. The comparison chart shows the 1 sigma calibration, 2 sigma calibration, measured radiocarbon age, ^{13}C to ^{12}C ration, and the conventional radiocarbon age for four samples. One sample is from unit P of KMK1's campsite. The remaining 3 samples are from KMK2's dark circular depression outlining units I24 and H22 (Table 6-14).

Table 6-14. Comparison chart of radiocarbon dates ²⁷

Sample Data	1 Sigma Calibration 68% probability		2 Sigma Calibration 95% probability		Measured Radiocarbon Age	13C/12C Ratio	Conventional Radiocarbon Age
	Cal AD	Cal BP	Cal AD	Cal BP			
Sample 1 Charred Material Mound Periphery KMK2, Unit I24, Level ~6 50-60 cm bs	230	1720	80 to 390	1870 to 1560	1860+/- 60 BP	-28.3 o/oo: lab. mult=1	1800+/- 60 BP
Sample 2 Charred Material Mound Periphery KMK2, Unit 124, 1x1 NW Corner Level 4 ~70 cm bs	420	1530	260 to 560	1690 to 1390	1640 +/- 60 BP	-25.8 o/oo: lab mult=1	1630+/- 60 BP
Sample 3 Potsherds organic KMK1, Unit P6, Level 2 ~10-20 cm bs	1650	300	1490 to 1680	460 to 270	280+/- 50 BP	-25.4 o/oo: lab mult=1	270+/-50 BP
Sample 4 Potsherds Organic Mound Periphery KMK2, Unit H22, Level 2 ~70 cm bs	1530 to 1560	420 to 390	1770 to 1800	180 to 150	420+/-40 BP	-24.9 o/oo: lab mult=1	420+/-40 BP
	1630 to 1660	320 to 290	1940 to 1950	10 to 0			

²⁷ ¹⁴C dates were carried out by Beta Analytic Radiocarbon Dating Laboratory, Miami, Florida

Sample One

Sample #1, charred material, was removed from the dark circular depression at KMK2, a 2 x 2 m unit (I24), Level 6 (approximately 50-60 cm bs) at the mound periphery (Figure 6-23). The charred material was observed as burnt organic matter reduced to charcoal. The analysis was conducted with a radiometric-standard delivery. The charred material was pretreated with an acid/alkali/acid base. The conventional radiocarbon age is 1800 ± 60 BP. Its $^{13}\text{C}/^{12}\text{C}$ Ratio is -28.3 o/oo. The measured radiocarbon age is 1860 ± 60 BP. The 2 Sigma calibrated result had a 95% probability, Cal AD 80 to 390 (Cal BP 1870 to 1560). The intercept data regarding radiocarbon age with calibration curve are, Cal AD 230 (Cal BP 1720). The 1 Sigma calibrated result had a 68% probability; Cal AD 130 to 260 (Cal BP 1820 to 1690) and Cal AD 290 to 320 (Cal BP 1660 to 1630).

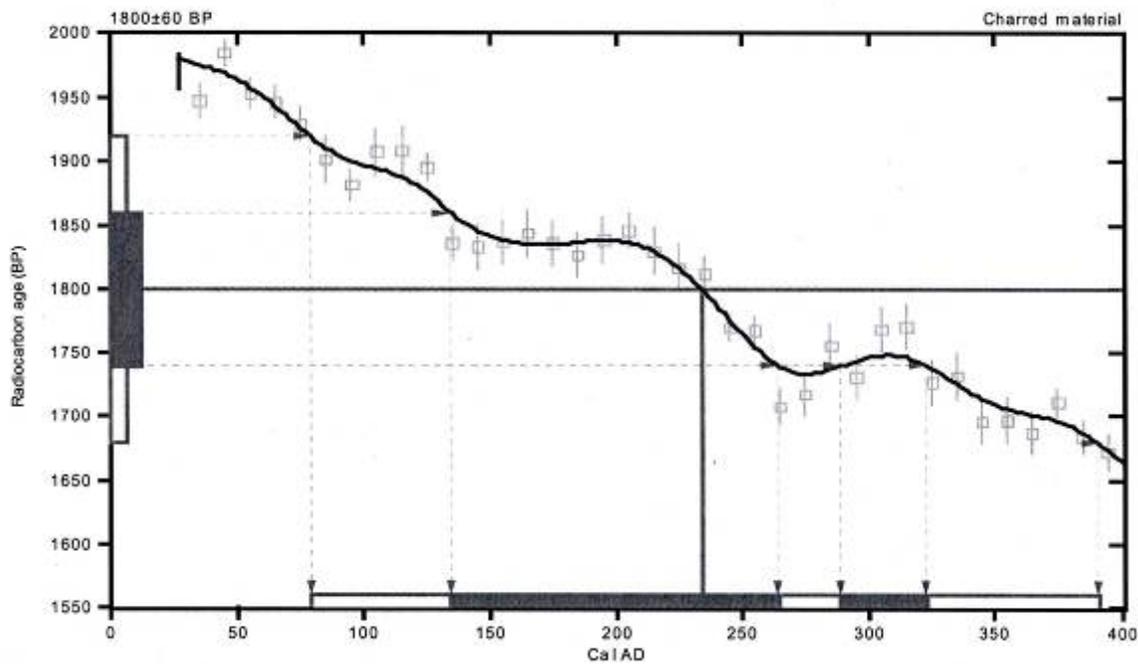


Figure 6-23. Sample one: Radiocarbon date.

This dating points to a prehistoric component at Kumako or possibly the incorporation of prehistoric charcoal that may have been associated with a forest fire (cf. Schmidt 1978). Layers

of charred wood are common in forest settings where ancient fires may have deposited layers of charred material disturbed by later settlements. The incorporation of a burned delftware sherd as well as ceramics that bear affinities to recent Maroon forms, shows that the pit feature itself is not prehistoric. Rather, it seems to have been excavated into prehistoric deposits and incorporated charcoal from a prehistoric, possibly non-cultural event. Further analysis of the ceramics from the dark depression will help to clarify the cultural affiliation of this important feature.

Sample Two

Sample #2, charred material, was also removed from the dark circular depression of a 2 x 2m unit (I24), 1 x 1 NW corner, Level 4 (approximately 70 cm bs) at the mound periphery (Figure 6-24). This was another sample of charcoal. A radiometric standard delivery was applied for the analysis. The charred material was pretreated with an acid/alkali/acid base. The conventional radiocarbon age is 1630 \pm 60 BP. Its $^{13}\text{C}/^{12}\text{C}$ ratio is -25.8 ‰. The measured radiocarbon age is 1640 \pm 60 BP. The 2 Sigma calibrated result had a 95% probability, Cal AD 260 to 560 (Cal BP 1690 to 1390). The intercept data regarding radiocarbon age with the calibration curve are Cal AD 420 (Cal BP 1530). The 1 Sigma calibrated result had a 68% probability; Cal AD 380 to 460 (Cal BP 1570 to 1480) and Cal AD 480 to 520 (Cal BP 1470 to 1430).

This date overlaps with the first, affirming the observations made earlier—that the construction of the pit feature either cut through and incorporated ancient charred wood from a forest fire or possibly incorporated prehistoric materials from a prehistoric cultural component. This scenario was a less likely possibility without archaeological evidence to sustain the idea of a separate prehistoric occupation. It is also possible that these earlier dates fit into the mound's original time of construction, if it was appropriated by a later Maroon occupation—again a

position not supported by the archaeology thus far. These issues will be taken up in Chapter 7 under the aegis of artifact analysis.

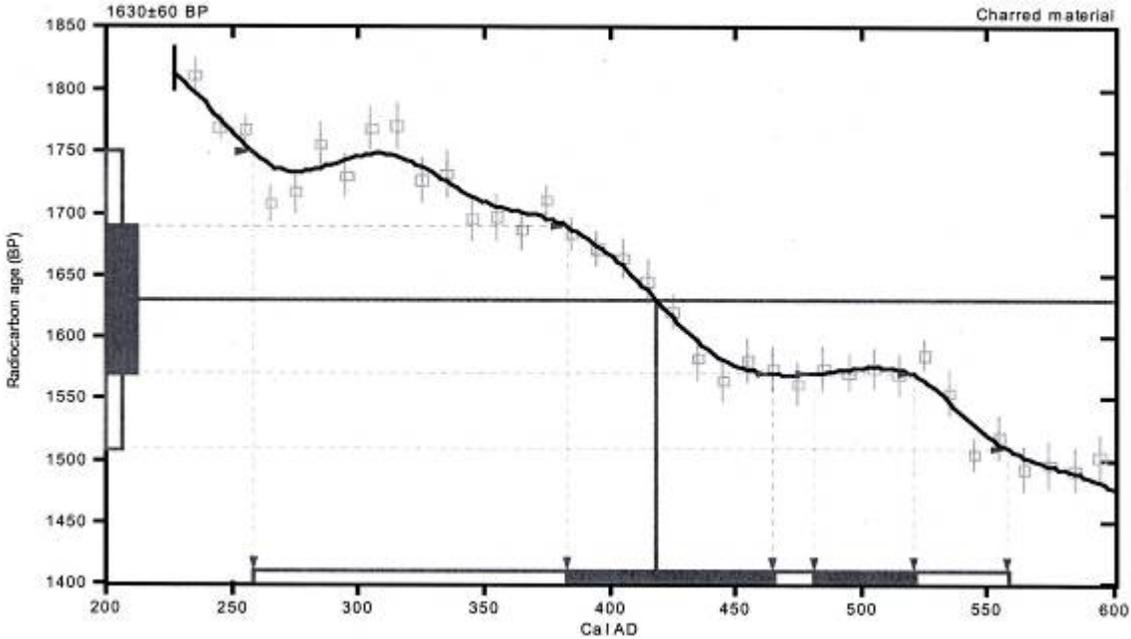


Figure 6-24. Sample # 2 radiocarbon date.

Sample Three

Figure 6-25 shows ^{14}C readings for Sample #3, an earthenware potsherd with attached organic material, recovered from KMK1, unit P6, Level 2 (approximately 10-20 cm bs). Sample #3 is typical of the corroded, nondiagnostic sherds found at KMK1. An AMS-standard delivery was applied for the analysis. The sherd was pretreated with an acid wash. The conventional radiocarbon age is 270 ± 50 BP. Its $^{13}\text{C}/^{12}\text{C}$ ratio is -25.4 o/oo. The measured radiocarbon age is 280 ± 50 BP. The 2 Sigma calibrated result had a 95% probability, Cal AD 1490 to 1680 (Cal BP 460 to 270) and Cal AD 1770 to 1800 (Cal BP 180 to 150) and Cal AD 1940 to 1950 (Cal BP 10 to 0). The intercept data regarding radiocarbon age with calibration curve are Cal AD 1650 (Cal BP 300). The 1 Sigma calibrated result had a 68% probability; Cal AD 1530 to 1560 (Cal BP 420 to 390) and Cal AD 1630 to 1660 (Cal BP 320 to 290).

This sample presents an important departure from the previous two samples. The superposition and the depth of the potsherd in the unit suggest a date more recent in time. This unit of the KMK1 site may have complemented a cooking or food preparation area, as the ceramic had some burned residue from food preparation.

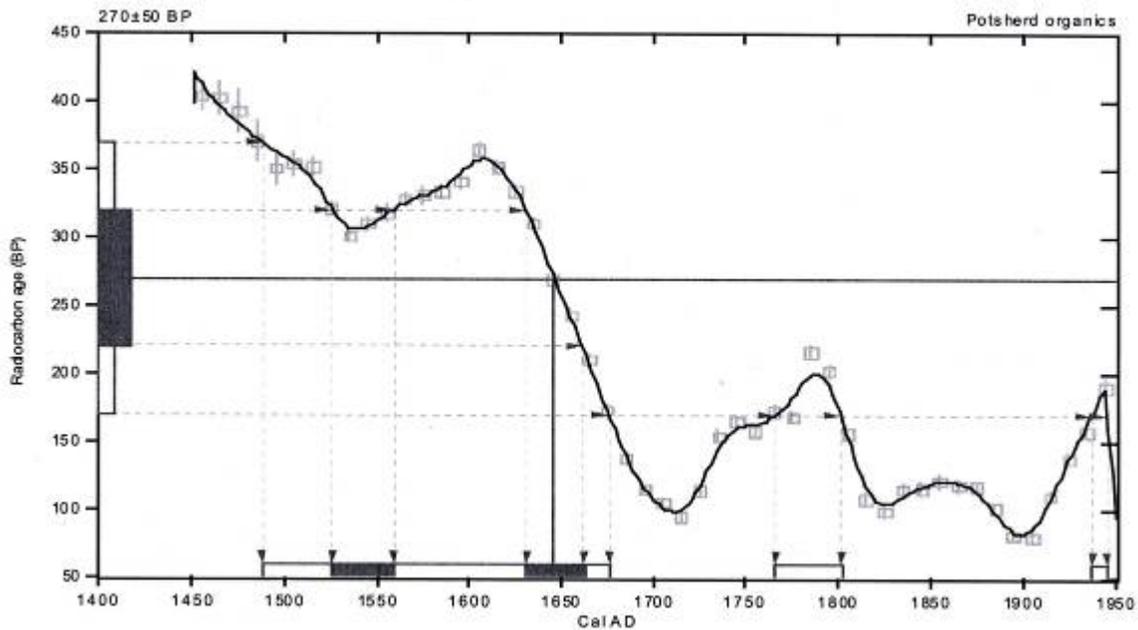


Figure 6-25. Sample #3 radiocarbon date for potsherd with attached organics.

The Cal AD dates 1530 to 1560 and Cal AD 1630 to 1660 corresponds better to the historical record for the rise of Kumako. According to ethnohistorical and historical records, the settlement may have been established as early as the 1680s to 1690s. During the mid to late 17th century and the 1660s in particular, Suriname experienced a period of political instability (Suriname was ceded to the British during this period following numerous political exchanges). This instability created a prime circumstance for gran-maroonage and the transitory migration and adhoc living conditions Maaroons may have experienced prior to the more sedentary life described in the historical records of the early 18th century.

Even though one of the two intercept dates situates the archaeological record at the beginning of Kumako's historical period, we cannot ignore Cal AD 1770 to 1800, which suggests the site was occupied after Kumako's prime (late 1600s to mid 1700s). The 1760s witnessed the signing of the peace accord between Maroons and the Dutch. It is highly probable that though Maroons were no longer required to reside in the tropical rainforest (notably at Kumako), residual occupation of the site extending may have extended into the 19th century.

Sample Four

Sample #4 (Figure 6-26) also shows ^{14}C outcome for an organics attached to an earthenware potsherd recovered from KMK2, unit H22, Level 2 (approximately 70 cm bs) of the dark circular depression. This sample is associated with many of the distinctive slipped and burnished sherds found at the Kumako settlement within Feature 1 (see Chapter 7). An AMS-standard delivery was applied for the analysis, and the sherd was pretreated with acid washes. The conventional radiocarbon age is 420 \pm 40 BP. Its $^{13}\text{C}/^{12}\text{C}$ ratio is -24.9 o/oo. The measured radiocarbon age is 420 \pm 40 BP. The 2 Sigma calibrated result had a 95% probability, Cal AD 1420 to 1520 (Cal BP 530 to 430) and Cal AD 1590 to 1620 (Cal BP 360 to 330). The intercept of radiocarbon age with calibration curve is, Cal AD 1450 (Cal BP 500). The 1 Sigma calibrated result had a 68% probability; Cal AD 1440 to 1480 (Cal BP 510 to 470).

Sample (#4) presents a similar interpretation as Sample # 3, and places Kumako ceramics into an early historical context. Based on the calibrated radiocarbon dates, Cal AD 1420 to 1520 and 1590 to 1620, this sample falls into the early historical period and offers a glimpse of a possible migratory occupation during the early historic period. The historical records indicate that Indigenous peoples began a mass disintegration at colonial occupation and the development of the plantocracy system in Suriname.

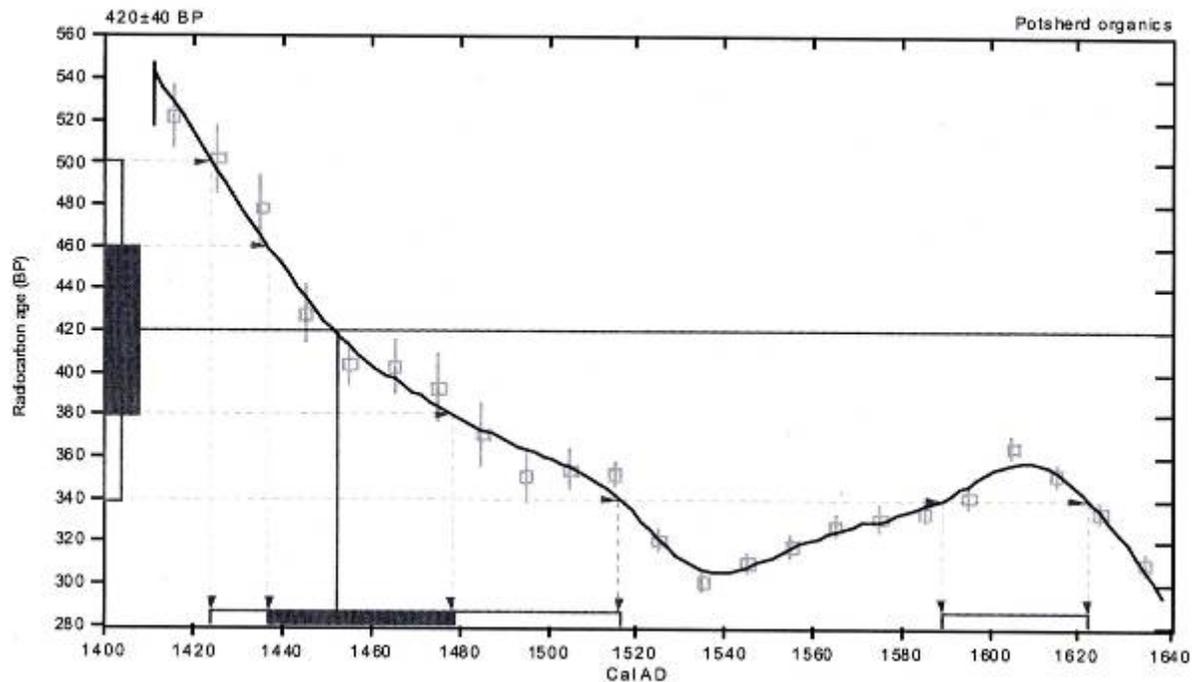


Figure 6-26. Sample #4 radiocarbon date

The dates from this sample suggest several options: Maroons had an affiliation with Indigenous peoples, as exemplified in their possible appropriation of the KMK2 mound, or that the margin of error in such dating points to the earliest Maroon occupation that subsequently was documented by ethnographic and historical accounts.

Conclusion

While KMK1 clearly falls within the Maroon period, the KMK2 section appears to have evidence for prehistoric charcoal that is not linked to the historic period ceramics (KMK2 Cal AD dates are 80-390, 260-560). Other Cal AD dates, however, point to more convincing evidence for historical associations (KMK2 Cal AD are 1420-1520, 1590-1620 and KMK1 Cal AD 1490-1680, 1770-1800, 1940-1950).

The ceramics, however, do not resemble the ceramics that Versteeg (1999, 2003) had recovered from Indigenous sites. In general, the ceramics from Kumako are different in hardness

and in decoration from those discussed by Versteeg (to be addressed in the artifact analysis in Chapter 7). This raises an interesting question: Could it be that interior native people may have had a different ceramic tradition? Almost all the archaeological evidence concerning craft specialization presented in the Surinamese prehistory literature has been limited to the coast. The impression gained from these publications is that native groups did not penetrate the deep interior tropical forest, preferring instead to remain close to seasonally dependable water sources, most notably the river basins.

Interpretation and Discussion

Now we must confront the obvious question: How do we know that the mound identified at KMK2 is not similar to the mounds associated with Amazonian Indigenous groups? My interpretation of the mound, as a primarily historical Maroon settlement exhibiting some of the earthwork characteristics preferred by prehistoric peoples, has been tempered by my knowledge of published works on Guiana prehistory. In short, pre-colonial habitation of the Guianas occurred in coastal marshes that presented inhabitants with multivariate food sources due in part to a malleable ecosystem.

Even though the historical record states that Kumako consisted of hamlets dispersed throughout the settlement, bearing a myriad of home structures which hosted provision grounds, no mention is made of the circular mound. The significance of the mound leads us to question whether its construction was the sole initiative of early Saramakaan creating both a defensive and sustainable settlement, and possibly their appropriation of an Indigenous architectural form. A sedentary place of habitation leads to the possibility that Kumako, and Suriname Maroon settlements in general, appropriated attributes associated with local cultural groups, a common phenomenon in Maroon communities elsewhere in the greater circum-Caribbean. This evidence

parallels with Weik's (2002) work at Pilaklikaha in central Florida and Agorsah's (1994, 1995) ethnoarchaeological work at Nanny Town and Accompong Town in Jamaica.

Each of these sites produced evidence suggesting not only a multi-occupational settlement of Maroons and Indigenous peoples, but a plausible co-mingling of the groups. Archaeological sites in Suriname characterized by mounds are commonly associated with pre-Columbian settlements. However, such earthworks are normally associated with settlements located in coastal waterways, which incorporate shell middens and aquatic debris. The Kumako mound *lacks* these attributes, certainly attesting to key differences with the people of the coastal waterways. The very presence of a mound forces us to take up a two key issues: a) the forest mounds of the Amazon as possible proxies for forest mounds in the Saramaka homeland; b) a broader discussion of Saramaka and Indigenous interaction during the formative years to gain insight into how Indigenous and Maroon factions maneuvered within each other's geopolitical environment. It is important that we recognize the well-developed mound and highway systems of Amazonia (Heckenberger 2005).

According to Heckenberger's (2005) archaeological research among the Arawak speaking Kuikuru people of northern Brazil must consider the appearance: "Ditches and/or palisades, mounds, and other major public works have a restricted geographical distribution, forming an arc extending along the peripheries of the forested Amazonian lowlands" (145). These types of land formations are the result of people Heckenberger referred to as

Typical Amazonian forest farmers, in that they opened up large, contiguous tracts of agricultural land, denuded of original forest and which were cultivated in long term rotational cycles that include manioc gardens, planted in a new place every few years. (195)

This general description parallels the working definition of prehistoric life ways in the Guianas.

Such evidence, located as it is in lowlands tropical forest, shows that similar phenomena may be discovered, if not expected to be found in the tropical forests of Suriname. Until comprehensive survey evidence becomes available from this region, we are unable to state that the mound at Kumoko is part of a larger network of mounds or if it stands as a singular, historical place that was perhaps touched by Indigenous sensibilities and/or strategies—including ritual and expressive life—during its construction and use.

With the onset of maroonage, Indigenous people, too, were placed in a precarious situation that affected their sedentary agricultural system. After the Amerindian peace was established with the Dutch in the late 1600s, many groups may have migrated farther inland to distance themselves from the Europeans and the Bush-Negroes who were encroaching on their territory. They did, however, maintain open trade with both groups and reportedly engaged in active trade with the Matawai and Saramaka Bush-Negroes for exotic European items. Given what we know of the migratory patterns of slaves from coastal communities to the Kumako settlement, it is reasonable to surmise that Maroon relations with Amerindians may have been more intense than imagined by historians and archaeologists. As Africans were escaping plantations to find refuge in the forests, so, too, were Indigenous peoples encroached upon and forced to avoid the harsh colonial world—thrusting both groups into a parallel quest for refuge.

It was only after the signing of the treaties that Maroon and Indigenous communities were purposely segregated. This raises the issue concerning the research question (RQ2) of Maroons and Indigenous peoples co-mingling in villages, sharing, and learning technology from each other. Historical documents in fact show very different cultural reactions and practices of Maroons and the Indigenous when confronted with each other. The fact that Indigenous peoples and Maroons were lawfully treated the same—but socially dealt with very differently—may have

inhibited interaction along with some impact from colonial policy of separation. While we do not want to read the ethnography back into deep time, it is nonetheless informative to observe that little cohabitation and few mixed marriages occur today in areas where Maroon and Indigenous villages border each other, as is the case in the Tapanahoni River Valley region (Ndjuka and Wayanas) and Lawa River valley (Bonis and Wayanas).

Whitehead's (1992) research on the mainland Carib (Galibi) Indians of the Guianas indicates that ethnogenesis was a phenomenon catalyzed by the intense trading practices with the colonial Spanish. He asserted: "[the] Galibi emerged as a direct consequence of contact with European colonists. The Galibi derived their ethnicity and subsequent tribal identities from dominance in trade and war, and their genealogical boundaries were commensurately negotiable" (134-5). The case is different among Guiana Maroons, who were allowed to engage in economic activities with the Dutch, but at the commencement of their 1760s treaty still maintained separate polities, choosing to remain as separate groups existing in different regions.

Historical documents also state that in the late 1700s, after the treaties were signed with the Bush-Negro groups, Arawak and Carib Indians were encouraged to establish dwellings close to the military outpost on the Rio Correntine (Corentyne River) to help foster trade relations with the Dutch (1780 March 6, bulletin to the post officer). The military posts acted as checkpoints strategically situated between designated Indigenous and Maroon communities and the population of colonial plantations. While Maroons could engage in trade with the Dutch, they had to maintain a 10-hour travel distance from posts and plantations (distance measured in time may take into account an average day's travel on foot or by boat during light hours) (October 10, 1760 Peace Treaty with Aucaneers Bush-Negro).

Historical and ethnographic documents also indicate that the Trio and Waiyana Indians populated much of the Sipaliwini Savannah extending from central to south Suriname before the time of contact (Steward 1959; Versteeg 1992, 1998, 2003). Alternatively, dictates of the plantocracy would not have hindered interaction between Maroons and Indigenous peoples. Maroons may have traded forest goods with their Indigenous neighbors in exchange for the coveted ceremonial *aghangs* similar to those recovered from excavations at KMK2's mound periphery.

Ethnohistoric records also demonstrate that many of the Indigenous groups in the interior maintained short-lived villages, abandoning many of them after only five or six years of occupation. The Carib and Arawak Indians of this region practiced slash-and-burn cultivation, along with hunting, fishing, and the gathering of other natural resources (Koelewijn 1987; Stewart 1963). Archaeological findings have established that the presence of raised mounds mainly indicates permanent coastal villages, but that large assemblages of stone tools are associated with many types and time periods of Amerindian sites. In the Sipaliwini Savannah, several Paleo-Indian sites have been identified with debitage indicative of stone tool manufacturing. Quartz and rhyolite were the main materials found on the surface. Discovered in the stone debris were oval or round hammer stones used to flake the artifacts from the nucleus. As a result of the very acidic soil in the interior, preservation quality of earthenware artifacts is very poor. This greatly affects the ability to accurately analyze and assess the characteristics of artifacts, and makes definitive associations to particular cultural groups' difficult (Veersteg 1992, 1998).

Located in the Suriname River Valley of early Saramaka migration, as well as their present-day territory, was the Brownsberg Culture. This is an Indigenous group recognized for their

mining of stone material (metabasalt) on the Brownsberg, and their construction of semi-finished axes and decorated pottery dating between AD 1000 and 1500. Also present are ceramics associated with the central Suriname Kwatta Culture dating to 800 AD. This culture period is distinguished by its wavy clay rolls at the outside of vessels and the lack of mound earthworks. Furthermore, it extended over a region spanning the entire Saramaka and Matawai early territory between the Suriname and Coppename rivers (Boomert & Kroonenberg 1977; Veerstag and Bubberman 1992). An examination of our archaeological record shows that the attributes of these Indigenous cultural groups are likely represented in the migratorial region of Saramaka settlements. A full analysis of KMK1 vis-à-vis KMK2 ceramic assemblages was conducted in order to better understand and determine if any these cultural attributes are manifest in the archaeological remains at Kumako.

Finally, though the extant archaeological evidence suggests an Indigenous settlement tradition without mounds in the interior, we must keep in mind the strong probability that Indigenous peoples were in the region. The likelihood of displaced Indigenous populations encountering and interacting with Maroons is certainly significant, perhaps even as precursor refugee communities with short-lived stays on the same landscape.

CHAPTER 7 ARTIFACT ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Questions and Answers

The aim of artifact analysis is to understand how meaning and function may have been negotiated in ancestral Maroon villages, and what aspects of Maroon material culture were negotiated from the European and Indigenous cultures. A typology was created to identify and classify each artifact recovered from the Saramaka ancestral communities. The three questions guiding the typology creation are: a) How and why did Maroons use objects, self-produced or acquired, in their setting? b) How did Maroons imprint their identity onto the object? c) Are these objects comparable to those recovered from Maroon sites in other circum-Caribbean countries, such as Jamaica, Brazil and Cuba? To answer these three questions, I examine vessel technology, form, and type of decorations on the vessels to deduce the possible cultural use. In addition, the typology creates a language for future discussion of Maroon material culture, and it allows for comparative studies of sites across time scales with other Maroon groups.

Artifact analysis will speak to issues of shared technology, material exchange, and natural resource use (RQ2). The data generated from the analysis will shed light on item distribution and allocation throughout Kumako and Tuido sites. This information will be applied to research question #1 (RQ1) by analyzing the spatial relationships and distribution patterns of material evidence. In the spring of 2003, I analyzed and cataloged artifacts recovered during the 1997 survey reconnaissance of Tuido, as well as the 1998 through 2004 excavations at Kumako. I have developed a working typology for these artifacts using the existing holdings of Maroon artifacts at the museum as a comparative source. At the time of excavation, artifacts were managed in a field lab in the village base camp or at the Kumako site. These results created

refined typologies which expanded to incorporate new categories and types. The Kumako collection now serves as a reference tool for project participants and other researchers.

Understanding Artifacts Through Culture

According to Rice (1987), archaeological study of craft specialization may:

Reflect the underlying conditions of differential distribution of resources within a particular environment and the societal management of these resources. Occupational diversification then may be seen to arise as a response to two interacting sets of preconditions, environmental diversity and sociocultural diversity. (46)

Rice raised an interesting point that may help to understand early Maroons and the meaning behind their use of certain types of ceramics. It is important to note that Maroons are a product of historical circumstances, and their social development cannot be expressed with paradigms applied to the prehistoric peoples of the Guianas from which material culture is generally represented. These paradigms include and explain: egalitarian hunters and gatherers to the rise of a state society; adaptation and evolutionary transformation; nomadic versus sedentary social groups; agrarian reform; population growth and fluctuation; and task specialization in complex, stratified and ranked societies (Chirot 1994; Demarest and Conrad 1992; Ingold et al. 1995; Lee and Daly 1999; Price 1987).

These concepts bring to mind a structural handling of prehistoric cultures that suggests that they have maintained consistency in location with relatively limited cultural mingling over the span of thousands of years. As such, these treatments conjure up the often romanticized anthropology of days gone by—that creates static symbols of tribal culture. I believe that social scientist often—intentionally or not—perpetuate the idea of cultural continuity as a byproduct of resisting confrontation with a Western cultural more.

A focus on isolation and outside cultural influences has also affected how researchers—particularly archaeologists—approach the interpretation of material culture associated with

prehistoric cultures. Once more the underlying logic parallels that of early anthropological paradigms such as acculturation and Creolization. In an assessment of Australian hunters and gatherers, Smith (1999) brought together many of the issues found in the paradigms mentioned earlier. Smith (1999) wrote:

The distinctive Australian Aboriginal societies recorded by ethnographers appear to have been the product of a long period of uninterrupted indigenous development, without significant external change influences, transformation of the hunter-gatherer economy, or pressures to interact with other polities. (324)

These concepts, while they may well explain peoples of pre-and post-geophysical phenomena, such as the Pleistocene and Holocene, lend little to the discussion of emerging societies affected by colonialism.

Even though Maroons are discussed in direct association with Indigenous peoples of the Guianas due to their place of habitation, similarities in their cultural lives, and modern threats to their ancestral way of life,²⁸ it does more harm than good to anthropologically conjoin the two. Doing so may create a problem when attempting to understand the discourse for Maroon materialism in and of itself. Admittedly, it is difficult to make an argument for materiality without giving some cursive mention of Indigenous material culture. In my analysis of Maroon material culture, I wish to divert from this path for fear of creating confusing and erroneous parallels to Indigenous material culture. My goal as a researcher of Guiana Maroon archaeology, though we must refer to Indigenous material history, is not to directly apply the materiality of

²⁸ According to international definitions, Maroons are considered tribal peoples in Suriname (Kambel and Mackay 1999:17) that possess similar socio-cultural patterns as their Indigenous neighbors. They practice a subsistence based lifestyle that entails opportunistic hunting and fishing. And as a sedentary river-side community, they cultivate starch rich ground provisions with cyclical episodes of the slash-and-burn technique for soil regeneration. River fish is the main source of protein and is often supplemented with hunted bush meat. Their living social structure consists of a village setting of 50 to 70 person hamlets. They follow a matrilineal descent order that gives full privileges to a child when residing in his mother's birth village. Given these conditions, they do fall under the rubric of many global hunter and gatherer communities. These variables create a context for exploring some of the traditional paradigms typically applied to hunter and gatherer groups.

Indigenous peoples to the historical phenomenon of Maroons. What I have done in the remainder of this chapter is present Maroon and Indigenous material culture as a binary set of material history, which may or may not complement each other.

A concept of isolationism as presented by Kaare and Woodburn (1999) is useful for considering the development of a singular Maroon material culture. I state singular Maroon culture because one of the overarching questions guiding this research is to understand whether or not Maroons incorporated the craft technology of Indigenous peoples or created their own. To highlight a comparative discussion of Indigenous versus Maroon artifacts, I address the issue in the following section by presenting an overview of the paradigms that apply directly to South American Indigenous groups' craft development.

During the 1900s, South American research on hunter and gatherers has been plagued by classificatory problems—the labeling of Indigenous groups. Steward's *Handbook of South American Indians* (1945; 1963) presented many of the classificatory positions present in the cultural identification of Indigenous peoples within the broader study zone, the Guiana Shield. Steward (1963:800) broadly defined Indigenous peoples based on their language group, 10 of which he identified as living in either one of three environmental zones: the coastal area, the inland mountain-savanna area, and the Amazonian area:

- Arawakan
- Aukean
- Cariban → Oyana, Acuria, Galibi, Trio
- Calianan
- Macuan
- Muran
- Salivan or Macuan
- Shirianan
- Tupian (post-Columbian)
- Warrauan (post-Columbian)

Stewart's treatment of Indigenous peoples is to distinguish these groups by their association with regional cultural material traits. Characteristic traits of the inland mountain-savanna region are the lance, blowgun, tobacco-chewing, use of parica, circular houses with walls, sandals, discoid paddle blades, possibly cremation as an earlier trait, nose flutes, dance sticks, turtle shell friction drums, and more elaborate ceremonial costumes, star lore, and puberty and mourning ceremonies. These traits are not common to all the inland tribes, and although they are found with greater frequency in the inland area, they are not unknown to all the coastal tribes. Characteristic coastal tribal traits seem to include more frequent use of the rectangular house without walls, houses built on piles, wooden shields, clay and bamboo trumpets. In addition, there is emphasis on aboriginal cannibalism, greater elaboration of watercraft, greater dependence upon and elaboration of the bow and arrow, and more emphasis upon hunting ceremonies and magic (Stewart 1963:801).

Though several of these groups encompass a region spanning five countries of northeastern South America (Suriname, Guyana, French Guiana, Venezuela, Brazil), only the Cariban and their subcultures, for example, Oyana, Acuria, Galibi, Trio, and the post-Columbian cultures Tupian and Warrauan, fall within the boundaries of the study region.

In a critique of Stewart's classification of lowland South American Indigenous peoples living in the hinterlands of Amazonia, Rival (1999) emphasizes that hunter-gatherer economies were based on both an environmental and historical approaches (77). The environmental and historical concepts explain culture vis-à-vis a learned skill in environmental manipulation to overbearing social interjections, such as the aftershocks of colonialism. Much of the discourse surrounding these perspectives is derived from hypotheses focused on why prehistoric peoples in

lowland South America shifted from opportunistic exploitation of resources to the domestication of plants in multivariate environments. Rival stated:

The issue is not so much whether Amazonian foragers develop their subsistence activities in pristine or culturally transformed forests, whether they cultivate or not, or whether they could survive without any source of cultivated produce or not. What does matter is how they cultivate and why. (81)

Although broad-spectrum collecting and hunting continued in the interior forests until the middle Holocene, foragers specializing in fishing and shell fishing settled down by rivers and along coasts and estuaries in northeastern South America soon after the end of the Pleistocene.

Intensive use of aquatic resources was the economic basis for significant craft innovations: pottery in the north and figurative ground-stone containers in the south (Roosevelt 1999:90).

According to Versteeg (1998, 2003) and Versteeg and Bubberman (1992) food procurement and processing activities in the Guianas are marked by four categories of pre-Columbian peoples. They include:

- a). The Hunter-Fisherman-Gatherer characterized by seasonal slash-and-burn use of savannas where hunting game were attracted to newly sprouted grass.
- b). The Shifting Cultivator arbitrarily made use of the naturally occurring plant life found in former settlements. This adhoc method of farming substantiated the development of more intentional cultivation and quasi-permanent settlements.
- c). The Permanent Farmer required a more structured environment, one that required fertile soil, a water management system, and raised or manmade fields. In unison this system could maintain itself for years with only slight management.
- d). Groups affected by colonial encounter.

If we approach pre-Columbian peoples from the perspective of resource acquisition and processing, we can better speculate about what their craft specializations may have been.

Prehistoric peoples of coastal Suriname maintained a diet of ground provisions, such as cassava—or manioc of the sweet and bitter variety—though the latter is most commonly grown and fish protein. Generally throughout Suriname other cultivated plants include papaya,

pineapple, coconut, sweet potato, pepper, tobacco, cotton, avocado, and maize. Almost all tribes cultivate banana, plantain, yam, and sugarcane introduced by Europeans (Stewart 1963:825).

Instruments Used in Diverse Economies

The processing of ground provisions required formulating some degree of craft technology. The common artifacts associated with these types of food processing consist of manioc graters traditionally made with a large slab of wood. The wood can be covered with resin in most cases and embedded with small, elongated, sharp quartz flint chips for the grating process (Versteeg 2003:67). Modern graters may be made from sheets of aluminum mounted on a wood board with dozens of small holes hammered on either side, thus creating a serrated effect on the side facing outward. Once the grating process is complete, the manioc is squeezed through a basketry tube press (Figure 7-1). Stedman (1791), the Scottish explorer observed:

This press is a kind of a long tube, made of *warimbo* or reeds; which being hung to tree, and filled with ground cassava, a heavy stone or log of wood is fixed to the bottom, the weight of which gradually lengthens the tube, which is compressed in proportion, and the liquid substance is squeezed through the plated leaves. (211)

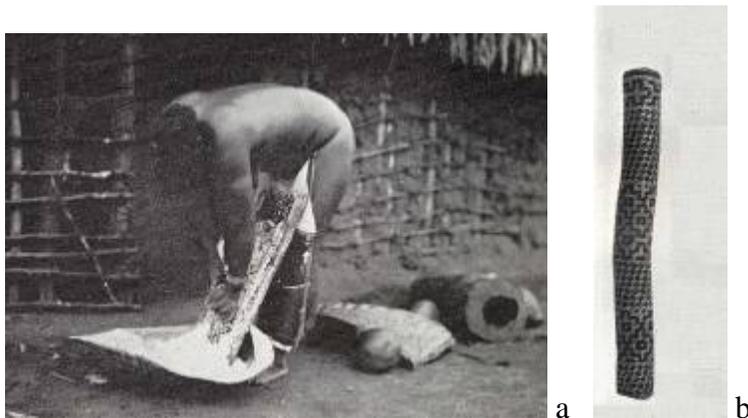


Figure 7-1. Indigenous Guiana woman using a Manioc grater (photo 7-1a) and an elongated basketry pressing tube (photo 7-1b) (Stewart 1963).

Even though the technology of the grater and tube press is Indigenous in origin, its current use is common among Maroon peoples throughout Suriname (Figure 7-2).



Figure 7-2. Contemporary Maroon women with Manioc basketry pressing tube (Source for photos <http://www.ecocam.com/culture/Suriname.html>).

In the case of bitter manioc, the noxious material is removed in liquid form. Once this process is complete, the manioc pulp is dried and pounded into flour/powder, after which bread and a variety of other flour-based dishes can be made. A common traditional device for baking cassava bread is a circular ceramic griddle approximately 12 to 15 inches in diameter. These griddles have been replaced with iron griddles and or large baking sheets.

Throughout this region cassava bread is a staple product that can last for weeks without any extraneous means of preservation, and it holds up during long travels (Heckenberger 2005). Other dishes of stewed meat or beans are prepared in large earthenware pots that are often left simmering over a fire for hours (Gillin 1963:829).

These preparation techniques reflect the type of objects used by both Indigenous and Maroon peoples. During their course of interaction with Indigenous peoples, Maroons learned about a natural anesthetic root used to catch fish, their main source of protein, during Suriname's cyclical dry seasons. I observed the process during a study assessing the quality and quantity of fish intake among a population of Matawai Maroons at risk for mercury poisoning. White stated:

Taking advantage of depressed water levels, which create shallow pools in the river basin, villagers [used] a fishing technique that is locally known as *Neku* hunting. *Neku* is a root used to stun or numb the fish in shallow waters. Fishers throw pieces of *Neku* pulp in the shallow pool where fish are trapped and the root paralyzes or numbs the fish, which is then easily caught. (5)

This technique of fishing is recorded in the ethnohistorical record of Indigenous Guiana peoples as well (Figure 7-3). Scottish soldier John Stedman (1791) observed this method of fishing during his 18th century expedition in Suriname's hinterlands:

poisoning the water by throwing in it the roots of *hiaree* by which the fish become stupefied, and are taken by the hand, while they float on the surface of the water if they are not speedily taken, they will recover and escape, the drugs only stupefying them for a while. (214)

Though Maroons and Indigenous peoples shared a myriad of food processing technology, there may have been varied use of material items. In Chapter 6, I suggested that specialized ceramics serve a ritualistic purpose among modern Maroons though this may be different among Indigenous peoples.



Figure 7-3. Indigenous Guiana men preparing the natural anesthetic vegetation for fishing by pounding it in shallow water (Stewart 1963).

Whether Maroons themselves created the ceramic vessels found at their ancestral community, Kumako, is yet to be determined. We should, however, consider where, when, and by whom the vessels were constructed.

Maroon and Indigenous Ceramics

In the remainder of this section I focus on the producer (craftsman) and production processes involved in craft specialization and the organization of production. In addition, I consider the intra- and inter-regional distribution of ceramics in the study region (Rice 1984:45). In order to discern authentic Maroon ceramics from traditional Indigenous ceramics, we must isolate what differences may have existed in the two technologies given their spatio-historical circumstances.

In the initial stages of constructing my dissertation research, I planned an exhaustive examination of both Indigenous and Maroon raw material resources used for ceramic production. I believed such a task could be accomplished in relatively short research seasons while acclimating to the environment and devising strategies for conducting archaeological work in south central Suriname.²⁹ I instead took a more modest approach to analyzing and comparing the artifacts removed from the Maroon archaeological sites of Tuido and Kumako.

What I have instead learned from these research shortcomings is that the “Study of ancient clays for pottery production needs a coherent program of research, including the possible presence of the pottery produced with a mixture of several plastic and non-plastic materials” (Buko 1995:35), the efficiency of which is enhanced when archaeologists collaborate with geologists and professionals (Buko1995). The analysis I applied compares the artifacts recovered from the Maroon sites with Indigenous artifacts from archaeological sites. The current archaeological record of Suriname’s prehistoric population is primarily coastal or derived from

²⁹ I believe the information presented in this dissertation sets the groundwork for future interdisciplinary collaborations that will constructively confront the raw material resources of lithic and ceramic artifacts found at Maroon archaeological sites.

the extreme southern savannas in the country. There are no recorded sites in the vicinity of the Maroon sites are examined in this dissertation.

As a staple component for successful craft production, clay and clay minerals (sand and silt) are generally found in soils and concentrated near the surface of the soil. Due to natural erosion and activity of river transport, they are eventually transferred and concentrated in lakes or offshore environments in oceans or along riverbanks on flood plains (Velde and Druc 1999:71). The non-clay material used to bind clays and increase ceramic durability, thereby making the pot more structurally sound during the construction process, typically consists of grain-size categories of sand, silt, and other inclusions (Bronitsky 1989:8; Druc 2001; Harbottle and Bishop 1992; Miksa 2001; Velde and Druc 1999).

The plastic phase (the first stage of pottery construction that requires a combination of the appropriate material that allows malleability and precedes firing), as it is commonly called, confirms the potter's selection of the appropriate mixture of the materials needed to make the production process successful. As the initial part of ceramic production, it marks the stage in which the maker can give "The aesthetic qualities, functional properties and formal attributes which can be used in a rapid examination [by archaeologists] to identify a pottery production" (Velde and Druc 1999:75).

Identifying Indigenous Ceramics

According to Versteeg (2003) (Suriname's leading prehistoric archaeologist) Suriname clay deposits are commonly found in the Young Coastal Plains of the Guiana Shield (an environment that experienced intense usage by pre-Columbian peoples from 300 AD onward). The deposits found in the coastal plains consist mainly of marine clay deposits. Versteeg (2003) further stated that these clay deposits begin as products of erosion in the Amazon Basin and are carried west from the mouth of the Amazon River by the North Equatorial Current. They are

deposited in the form of mud flats and mudbanks ordered by troughs (31-34). Through cyclical accrual of deposits, ridges or cheniers are formed that control the flow and interaction of freshwater and saltwater environs. These geophysical attributes further creates a favorable landscape and a freshwater source for human habitation and use. The location of Indigenous peoples is important because it sets the stage for determining a resource used as basic components in ceramics by coastal peoples.

Ceramic Surface Treatment, Decoration, Fabric, and Inclusions

Ceramics recovered from prehistoric archaeological sites throughout Suriname are categorized primarily by their regional association to known Indigenous groups, along with characteristic land formations and the appearance of diversified artifacts. Ceramic artifact categories are further broken down according to their exterior features and/or decorations, surface treatment, and temper. This approach has led to recognition of several prehistoric traditions/cultures marked by often distinctive, but sometimes overlapping, ceramic characteristics. Some of the more notable finds include stone mortars in round, ovoid, and elongated shapes (Stewart 1963:822).

The Kwatta culture and Barbakoeba culture—both components of Arauquinoid traditions—are defined by their management of landscape for cultivating cassava and maize. These cultures were the precursors to chiefdom level societies, such as the Tainos found in the Caribbean. According to the archaeological record, their lack of specialized stone manufacture positions them as shifting farmers or horticulturalists practicing the slash-and-burn technique in various environments.

The most important site from the Kwatta culture is Kwatta Tingiholo, ca 1700 B.P. or the third and fourth century A.D., in coastal central Suriname near the capital Paramaribo (Versteeg

2003). A distinctive pottery tradition that supported a subsistence of ground provisions can be seen in its ceramic.



Figure 7-4. Characteristic whole vessels of the prehistoric Kwatta culture (Versteeg 2003:143-145).

Pottery color ranges from a pale brownish orange to a bright orange as characterized in Figure 7-4a. In general, the inclusions or temper of Kwatta ceramics is a coarse crushed pottery. In addition, these ceramics have a row of incisions or punctures with a broad red band near the inner or outer rim of the vessel (Versteeg 2003:144). On the exterior of the vessel is undulating clay rolls and possible lobed rims.

The Hertenrits site is Suriname's largest and highest prehistoric mound site, located along the western coast. It also supported the longest habitation. As the largest in a series of mounds dating to 700 AD (Wageningen sites 1, 2, and 3 and Hertenrits site), it marks an intentional settlement pattern that showcases several smaller mounds in a linear pattern. The larger Hertenrits site is thought to represent the political and social center of a hierarchical social system.

The ceramics of the Hertenrits Culture are divided into Late and Early Hertenrits. In general, the recovered pottery is light grey to orange-grey and orange on its polished surface with extensive decoration patterns. In figure (7-5), each of these whole vessels presents a smooth and

polished surface and the diameters of the vessels range from broad and shallow, as seen in figures 7-5a and 7-6b, to a deep vase like form depicted in figure 7-5c.



Figure 7-5. Intact vessels recovered from the Hertenrits site (Versteeg 2003).

The ceramic finds from Hertenrits sites are associated with extensive faunal remains ranging from animal bones of deer and caiman to human skeletal remains found in buried urns. The level of care and display of technique that is apparent in the manufacture of these ceramic items suggest that these coastal cultures with their proclivity toward agriculture possessed a tradition of material culture. The detailed designs, with refined rims with extensive decoration patterns of intersecting linear incising and punctates as seen in Figure 7-6 are a testimony to the artisanship of Indigenous peoples, and they suggest a specialized and patterned approach.



Figure 7-6. Rim sherds from the Hertenrits site (Versteeg 2003).

It is important to note that none of these artifacts were found in association with historical artifacts of any other kind.

A common theme throughout all Surinamese (and the Guiana Shield region in general) prehistoric pottery is an anthropomorphic appliqué located on the inside of the vessel, below the rim (Versteeg 2003:144). Along with the human representations are those of poorly executed frogs, turtles, and birds (Figure 7-7).



Figure 7-7. Prehistoric ceramics from the Wonotobo site (photo 7-7a). Whole vessel dredged from the Suriname River near Paramaribo (photo 7-7b) (Versteeg 2003).

These recurring elements can also be found in other prehistoric cultural groups as well. These characteristics of Indigenous artifacts, though interesting, require that we question their relationship to Maroon material culture. The most apparent question is: Do we find items with these attributes at Maroon sites?

Identifying Maroon Ceramics

In Chapter 6, I presented ethnohistorical accounts illustrating the relationship Maroons held with Indigenous peoples (Maroons often maintained relationships with Indigenous shamans in strategizing how to remain unseen by the Dutch) to explore who may have influenced Maroon craft technology. According to Rice (1984), ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological research uses a variety of perspectives to focus on production. We now know that Saramaka Maroons hold large ceramic pots in high esteem and associate them with their early relationship with Indigenous populations. Early Maroons maintained a trade relationship with the Indigenous Trio

peoples. The ethnographic record demonstrates that each group often referred to the other as trading partners.

Trio referred to Maroons as Mekoro with whom they traded "...dogs, monkeys, parrots, macaws, bows and arrows, hammocks" (Koelewijn and Riviere 1987:270). Both groups frequently patronized each other's villages for trade goods. The only aspect of a living ceremonial system that might be recovered in the archaeological record are the *ahgbangs* used for spiritual cleansing/washing and identified at the periphery of the circular mound.³⁰ As discussed in Chapter 6, KMK2 was the region of the Kumako settlement that presented the greatest variety of artifacts. The issues that I cover hereafter are concerned with understanding how the artifacts recovered from Kumako speak to African-diaspora craft technology.

Creating a Material Language for 18th Century Maroons

The analysis criteria are based on typologies developed for historic colonial and prehistoric artifacts (e.g., ceramics and glass) recovered from circum-Caribbean and Surinamese archaeological sites (Deagan 1996a [field guide]; Haviser 1999; Versteeg 1998; Versteeg and Bubberman 1992). Furthermore, these typologies are commonly used reference tools for artifacts indicative of European and Amerindian groups at the time of New World expansion. In the inter-Caribbean, assemblages of coarse earthenware pottery are associated with communities of slaves and are typically low-fired and hand-built, as opposed to the wheel-thrown construction of European designs. Other research on these types of ceramics suggests that an African influence is responsible (Armstrong 1999:176).

During analysis of the Kumako and Tuido assemblages, I considered the possibility of the African influence in ceramic technology. The analysis techniques are based on standard

³⁰ To date there is no archaeological evidence of burial practices among Suriname Maroons.

archaeology lab procedures used for evaluating artifacts (McMillon 1991). A Munsell chart was used for more accurate color identification during the May 2003 analysis. Use of the Munsell chart aids in more precise comparison with Maroon artifacts from other regions of the Circum-Caribbean.

The following outline shows how each artifact was treated. Analysis of each pottery sherd and or other items included:

- Identifying the clay and temper fabric of a sherd, for example terracotta clay and sand temper
- Surface treatment of the item, for example burnished, glazed
- Color variation (determined with Munsell color chart)
- Different methods by which patterns are applied to the item surface, for example appliqué, inlay, linear and curvilinear incisions, and punctates
- Shape and size were noted when applicable to vessels that can be partially or entirely reconstructed
- Measurement in cms—length and width are applicable to items that can be partially or entirely reconstructed into discernable shapes, and thickness is recorded for all items in the assemblage
- For each provenience weight was recorded for unidentifiable fragments in each category that are <2 cm in diameter
- Measurements in length and width
- Count of each item within a provenience

Comparative Methods

To assess whether ceramics recovered from both Kumako and Tuido are similar to the low-fired utilitarian cooking pots representative of African influence in the inter-Caribbean (Haviser 1999; Singleton 1999) or similar to ceramics made by Indigenous peoples, a detailed analysis of each item in the assemblage was conducted. Measurements (length, width, and thickness) were taken when applicable for items that have identifiable shapes, for example, bases of pottery jars,

bottle necks, and rim sherds. Identifiable shapes may comprise several sherds, which when placed together create a recognizable shape. Sherds with unidentifiable shapes (body sherds) were counted, cataloged, and noted by provenience. For these items the thickness of the body sherd was measured.³¹

The findings from the Saramaka site of Kumako and the Matawai site of Tuido mark the first assemblage of Maroon artifacts recorded, analyzed, and properly provenienced at Suriname's National Museum. I initially attempted to maintain consistency with the museum's provenience and recording guidelines. However, I found no set rules for incorporating new Maroon wares into the existing system.³² I created a color-coding system to be used for the artifacts recovered from these sites and for assemblages from future sites. The use of the Munsell soil chart helped build familiarity and consistency in color identification. The most noted color categories were condensed into an easy-to-use reference list. Once a consistent and repetitive range of colors was noted, a Munsell chart was no longer used during the January 2005 analysis. Color applies to the interior and exterior of each specimen and can reflect minor surface treatment to elaborate decorations. Color codes which read throughout suggest that the artifact

³¹ For numerous similar items in a provenience, the average measurement was recorded. The average measurement applies to identifiable body sherds of insignificant size and shape, but still of consequence to the overall assemblage of the site. All measurements are recorded in mm.

³² The Maroon assemblage prior to the analysis of the artifacts recovered by the MHRP at Suriname National Museum is of the larger, more colorful artistic variety. The museum contains numerous wooden paddles and stools at the holding house (located on Tapanohoni Straat) with very limited information as to their age, time of acquisition, and regional origin. These items are not recorded with any detailed data representing their color scheme of paddles or morphology of stools. For some interpretation of Saramaka arts and textile see Price and Price 1999. The cataloging system is not based on the Surinam National Museum numerical order, as they are several years behind in cataloging artifacts. Instead, I have numbered each item based on my own system: The artifacts are from the Saramaka site, Kumako (K-) and the Matawai site Tuido (T-). Each artifact is numbered consecutively throughout the collection beginning with the number 1, irrespective of its site. Each individual artifact within the provenience is coded as: a, bb, cc, ddd, e4, f5 etc. For example, an artifact from the Tuido site will be labeled as follows T-1a, or T-4g, (from the site, Tuido-1 [first artifact labeled] item in its provenience); from the Kumako site they will be labeled K-5d, or K2-12g4, (from the site, Kumako-5 [fifth artifact labeled], item d in its provenience). Even though this system may seem confusing if not odd, at the time it presented the best method of organizing the collection. Future research on Maroon artifacts, recovered from archaeological excavation, will undoubtedly require the analysis process to be streamlined.

has a uniform color (maybe mottled with another). The colors range from Munsell pages 5yr to 10yr, the majority falling into 5yr. See table (7-1) for the most consistent and repetitive colors used throughout the collection to date:

Table 7-1. Color codes reduced from Munsell chart

Munsell Color Code	Interpretation
Brownish yellow and pale brown	Light brown
Strong brown, very dark brown, and dark brown	Dark brown
Dark reddish grey	Red Grey
Greyish green and pale green	Green
White	White
Grey	Grey
Yellowish red	Light red
Dark grey	Dark grey
Pinkish grey and pinkish white	Pink
Reddish brown, reddish grey, dark reddish grey, dark reddish	Dark red
Light reddish brown and light brown	Light brown
Color based on visual ID, no corresponding Munsell color	Dark orange

The term Unidentifiable (UID) has been added to each category for items that are recognized as artifacts but cannot be identified further. Their weight was not recorded.³³

Thickness of ceramics was measured for every provenience, as this is a defining attribute for distinguishing similar ceramics. For rim sherds, if one measurement is given, it indicates

³³ This category was questionable as such data may not be particularly useful. Analyses of artifacts from African-diaspora sites throughout the Caribbean do not measure the weight of the item. Instead, form and utilitarian value are emphasized. Each item (or group of items) within a provenience was recorded separately.

that the rim lip is the same thickness as the body of the sherd. The two components to surface observation are color and texture.

In order to analyze each artifact effectively, I generated a standardized language of terms and definitions. The definition of terms created, used, and applied to the analyses helps to distinguish the range and multiplicity of attributes of any given artifact in the current collection and from future excavations. Table 7-2 is by no means an exhaustive treatment of the variability's that may exist in Maroon artifacts, but it is a starting point for interpreting what has been recovered of Maroon material culture.

The category paste type and temper addresses the fabric or material composition of a ceramic item. Its subcategories (terra-cotta, earthenware, stoneware, etc.) reflect the firing process that forms the vessel. These categories are most commonly cited in the analysis of New World historical archaeology. In addition, I cite the most common types of inclusions mixed with clay to form vessels found in Surinamese prehistoric artifacts: laterite, chalcedony, kaolin, and quartz. Moreover, I cover the various exterior treatments of vessels in the categories of color surface treatment and decorative techniques.

The note worthy attributes to be discussed at length later in this chapter include: surface treatments and decorative techniques. Surface treatment ranges from plain, with no surface treatment, to slipped items of a color treatment intentionally applied to the artifact. The other categories are patina, burnished, and glazed. Patina on vessels may be from a soot residue that makes the true surface difficult to see and is the result of unintentional effects of dirt residue or burning. Burnished artifacts have a high gloss and polished finish. In contrast, a glazed finish appears as a glassy coating bonded to the outside of the ceramic. The decorative techniques discussed include a category of no observable decoration on the artifact. And also may include incising of linear or curvilinear patterns drawn into the vessel or appliqué and inlays affixed to the surface of the vessel.

Table 7-2. Definition of terms created, used, and applied to the analyses³⁴

Paste type/temper	Refers to the clay fabric that forms the vessel. It is composed of clay and added or natural temper, creating texture, which are formed in a wet malleable state, then fired. In Suriname, four common tempers are found in pre-Columbian pottery.
1)Terracotta	<i>no glaze, plain with chalky texture</i>
2)Earthenware	<i>fired can be soft, coarse, hard or porous with burnish</i>
3)Stoneware	<i>hard paste with alkaline glaze</i>
4)Temper	<i>an assortment of soil grit, sand, or organic additives used with clay fabric common in Suriname;</i>
	<i>→ chalcedony is visible by its white, grey, bluish grey, pink or brown angular fragments</i>
	<i>→ laterite is visible by its orange, red, purple, to very dark brown fragments</i>
	<i>→ kaolin is characterized by its soft white fragments</i>
	<i>→ quartz is almost always seen on its own</i>
Color	Color(s) applies to the interior and exterior of item and can reflect minor surface treatment to elaborate decorations, the colors will be identified with a Munsell chart and coded as such
Surface Treatment	Refers to the treatment of the item surface and is usually the result of its technique of manufacture or sedimentation
1)Plain	<i>no surface finish</i>
2)Patina	<i>soot residue makes true surface hard to see and is the result of unintentional effects of dirt residue and sedimentation</i>
3)Burnished	<i>high gloss and polish finish</i>
4)Glaze	<i>glassy coating bonded to the outside of ceramic vessel</i>
5)Slip	<i>color treatment intentionally applied to the artifact</i>
Decorative Techniques, Decoration, and Motifs	Refers to methods by which pattern is applied to the ceramic surface for ornamental purposes. They can be applied under or over surface treatment
1)Punctates	<i>patterned indentations often made with pointed object</i>
2)Linear incised	<i>patterned straight lines incised into artifact surface</i>
3)Curvilinear incised	<i>patterned curved lines incised into artifact surface</i>
4)Appliqué	<i>decorative piece applied <u>onto</u> surface of object</i>
5)Inlay	<i>decoration or design embossed <u>into</u> surface of object</i>
6)Unidentifiable	<i>an identifiable aspect of artifact or pattern that cannot be discerned</i>
7)None	<i>there is no observable decoration</i>

³⁴ The terms and definitions found in this list are derived from numerous techniques for analyzing ceramic remains (Deagan 1999; Hume 1969; Hunter 2006; Rice 1984).

Site Assemblage

In Chapter 6, I briefly discussed some of the differences in artifact assemblages from KMK1 and KMK2. I will now extend this argument with a special focus on these two areas within Kumako. I also present an abbreviated comparative treatment of the artifacts recovered from Tuido to illustrate some interesting synchrony between the two settlements/sites. Tuido's assemblage bears minimal resemblance to Kumako, with far fewer artifacts. Excavations at Tuido produced n=376, while KMK1 produced n=1093, and KMK2 yielded n=1307 artifacts in total (Figure 7-8).

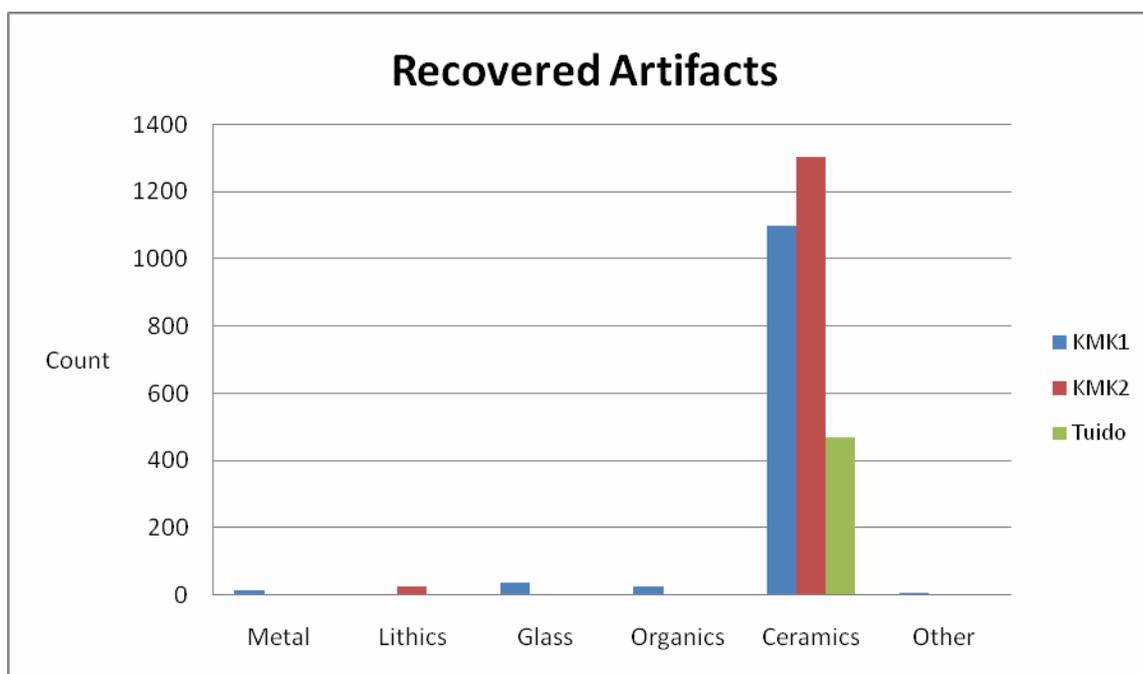


Figure 7-8. Recovered Artifacts from KMK1, KMK2, and Tuido.

What appears as being significant is that Kumako possesses a fascinating dichotomy of a possible defensive mound habitat vis-à-vis a peripheral horticultural area (or perhaps a defensive buffer zone). The spatial variability of artifacts found throughout Kumako sets the stage for evaluating some concerns about craft manufacture and specialization. In addition, the ^{14}C dates can be used to establish chronological parameters for the settlement.

Overview of Artifacts from Kumako and Tuido

Kumako

In this section, I want to sketch some of the surface characteristics of ceramics found at Kumako. My goal here is to provide a general sense of what artifacts from each section of Kumako look like in terms of surface treatments—the application of slips, burnishing, and other features such as sooting. First, I will address the appearance and the structural integrity of the ceramics, especially how ceramics have corroded over time. Figure 7-9 shows a typical cracking pattern (a result of corrosion, creating a web of small cracks) found on many of the earthenware sherds recovered from both KMK1 and KMK2.

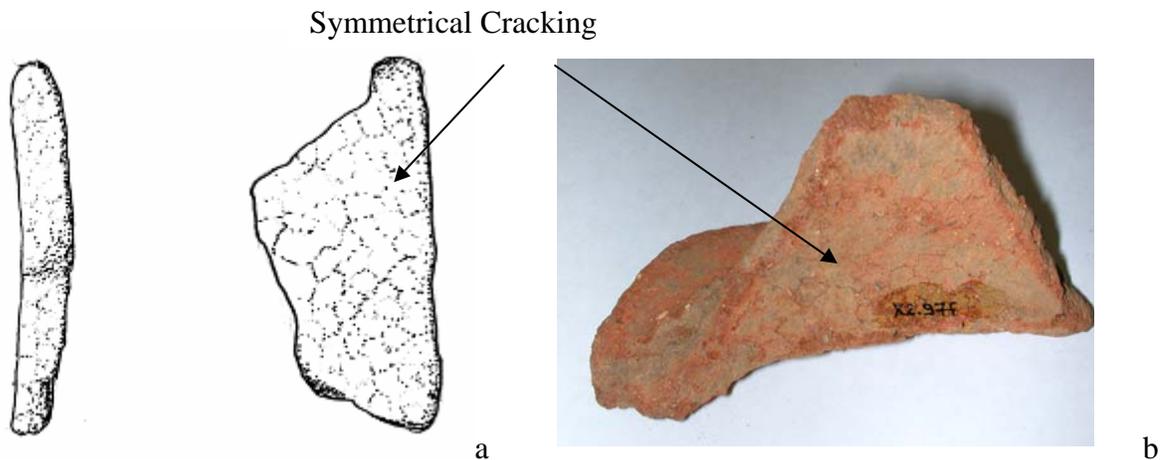


Figure 7-9. Cracking ceramic earthenware sherd. Illustration by Raimen Bijlhout 2003. Photo by C. White 2003.

Artifact 7-9b is a possible lug handle, dark orange in color. It was removed from the KMK2 dark circular pit at the mound periphery, unit I24, 50-60 cm bs, below the dark circular pit. In figure 7-10 shows one of the rare examples of curvilinear incising on the exterior of a light brown, smooth, sand-tempered round lip rim sherd.

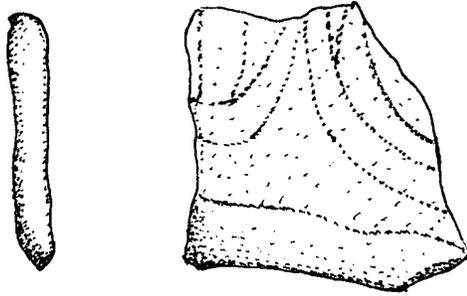


Figure 7-10. Curvilinear incising on a round lip rim sherd from KMK1. Illustration by Raimen Bijlhout 2003.

As we will see in the later discussion, decorative applications like this are not widely distributed in Kumako, being confined to the KMK1 excavations. This rim was removed from KMK1, unit P10, 10-20 cm bs, and is singular among other KMK1 ceramic artifacts.

The assorted artifacts pictured in figure 7-11 were recovered from the KMK2 mound. Moreover, this assemblage illustrates the diversity in the use of raw material. In the assemblage picture below are fragments of granite ground stone, stoneware, and red-slipped earthenware. All ranged in color from red to burnt orange with sand and grit temper. The surface treatments ranged from plain to a high glossy burnish.



Figure 7-11: Ceramics and lithics recovered from KMK2.

Red-slipped ceramics are #2, #5 and #6. Artifacts #1 and #9 are representative of the grey-colored ground stone fragments made from granite and found only at the KMK2 mound. Artifact #9 was removed from the mound periphery, unit H24, between 20-40 cm bs. It has a deep and broad horizontal indentation that commences at its vertical break. Both objects are likely fragments of grinding stones used to process ground provisions, such as cassava and maize. Artifact #2 is a flat stoneware rim sherd with a dark orange slip and no decoration. It was found in unit H22 at the mound periphery between 60-70 cm bs. Its material (stoneware) presents a curious break from the material choice of other vessels made from earthenware. To date, it is the only find of its kind at the Kumako site. Its appearance at the site may result from movements of goods from Indigenous groups or other communities of Maroons elsewhere in Suriname's hinterland. Artifact #4 is a thick round rim of earthenware with grit and sand temper; it was recovered from the mound periphery, unit H22, between 10-20 cm bs. Its tan color is reminiscent of artifacts #5 and #6. Artifacts #5 and #6 are round rim sherds likely from the same vessel, though they do not fit together. They were recovered from the mound periphery, unit H22, between 10-20 cm bs. The clay, grit, and sand temper give the exterior a smooth grainy feel. Each shows the red slip treatment found on numerous other items found at KMK2. Artifact #7 is an interesting granite item of dark grey color that has a perfectly drilled hole. It was recovered from the mound periphery, unit H22, between 10-20 cm bs. To date, no similar item has been found at the Kumako site. It may have functioned as a pivoting device for a spindle perhaps used for fire starting. Artifact #3 is a thick round rim/handle earthenware sherd tempered with grit and sand, pink in color with a light patina. It was recovered from mound center unit N-D8, 20-30 cm bs. Its wall thickness (12 cm) represents of the thicker ceramic body sherds found at Kumako's mound site. Artifact #8 was recovered from the mound center, unit N-D8, between 20-30 cm bs.

It is earthenware, dark brown in color, with two very distinct linear incisions that commence at a perpendicular linear indentation, with a glazed surface treatment or finish. Interesting as it is, its position and function on a vessel is not obvious. This group of artifacts from the KMK2 mound is more stylized and refined than the grit tempered pottery sherds of KMK1. They do, however, complement artifacts recovered from the Tuido site.

Surface Treatments of Ceramics

Beyond the surface attributes created by natural processes, I turn to an analysis of surface treatments applied by potters to the Kumako ceramic collection. Among the most noteworthy characteristics are slipping, burnishing, and patina-like surface treatments. The slipping of vessels at Kumako occurred through the painted application of red and orange slurries prior to firing (see figures 7-11 artifact #2 and 7-11 artifact #5).

If slipping of ceramic vessels is examined across the Kumako site, then a clear contrast emerges between the mound periphery and the other excavated areas. Figure 7-12 shows the number of slipped ceramics across the four major loci at Kumako, with the majority derived from the mound periphery—specifically, the dark circular pit.

If slipped ceramics are viewed as a percentage of the entire Kumako assemblage (Figure 7-13), then it becomes apparent that Maroons were using ceramics that bear strong affinities to certain Indigenous practices where slipping is common. Such cultural choices, I must emphasize, parallel contemporary cultural practices of using vessels manufactured by Indigenous peoples for ritual purposes. Figure 7-13 allows us to see that it is not only the slipped ceramics within the pit feature that draw our attention, but also make us aware that other peripheral areas may have supported related activities. These findings lead us to suggest that vessels found at the mound periphery mark a specific activity unrelated to everyday domestic life, such as cooking and storage. Other methods of surface treatment speak to different cultural choices.

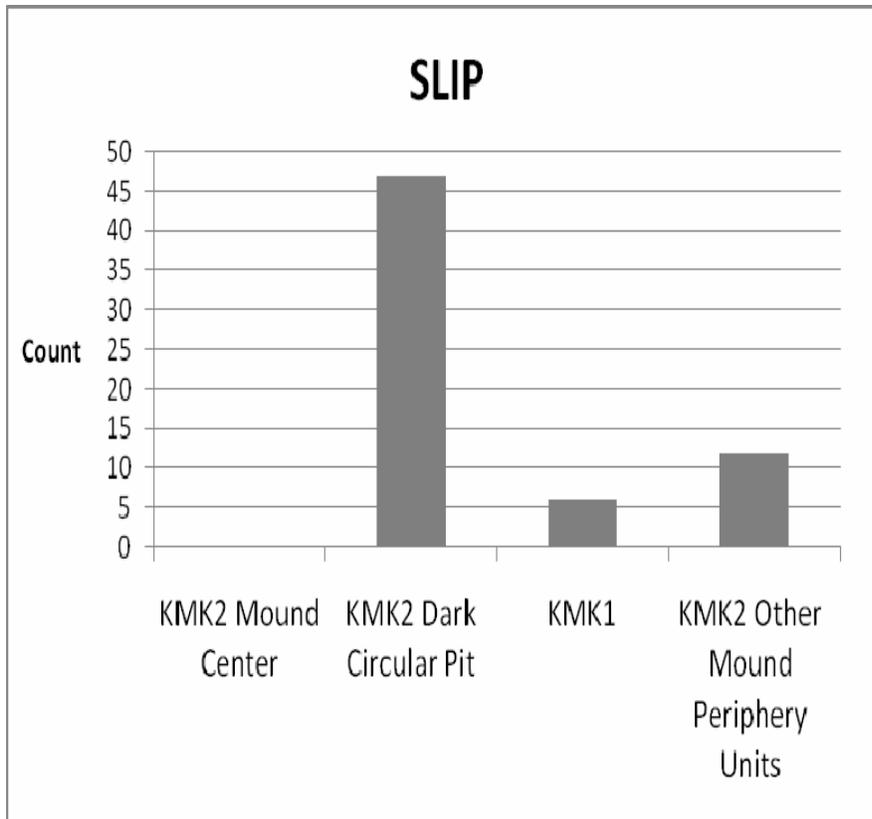


Figure 7-12. Slipped ceramics in four Kumako loci (by raw numbers).

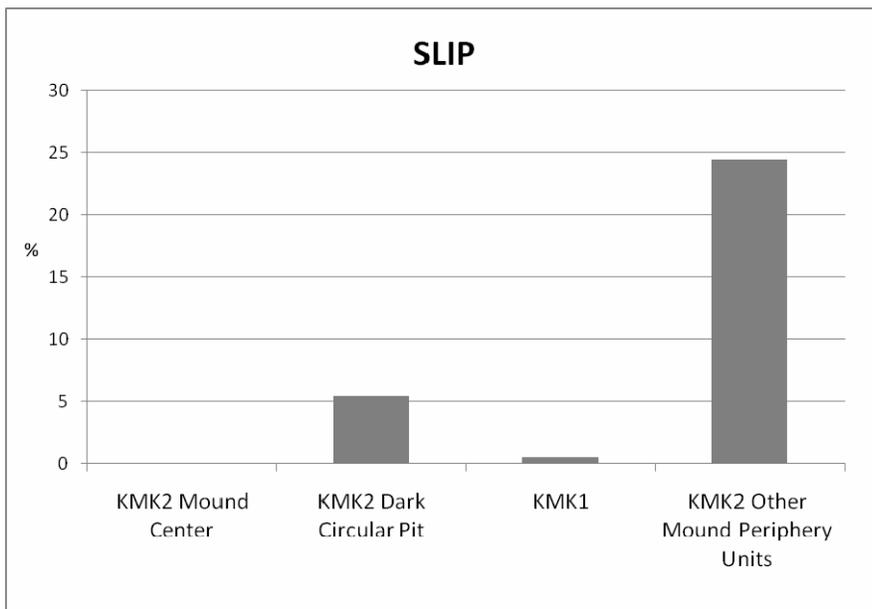


Figure 7-13: Percentage of slipped ceramics at four Kumako loci

Burnished ceramics recovered from Kumako show a glossy surface obtained by polishing the surface with a smooth object such as a stone or bone (Figure 7-14). Burnishing takes



Figure 7-14. Ceramic from KMK2 burnished to high gloss. The light area emphasizes burnish. Illustration by Raimen Bijlhout 2003.

additional investment in the manufacturing process and is a good proxy for more specialized vessels. As we have seen with slipped vessels appearing in a high concentration at the mound periphery, we might also expect to find other ceramics of quality manufacture within the same context. With this in mind, an examination of burnished vessels at Kumako presents an interesting juncture: Is it possible to suggest that burnished ceramics also distinguished areas linked to non-domestic activities? Figure 7-15 shows the entire number of burnished sherds at

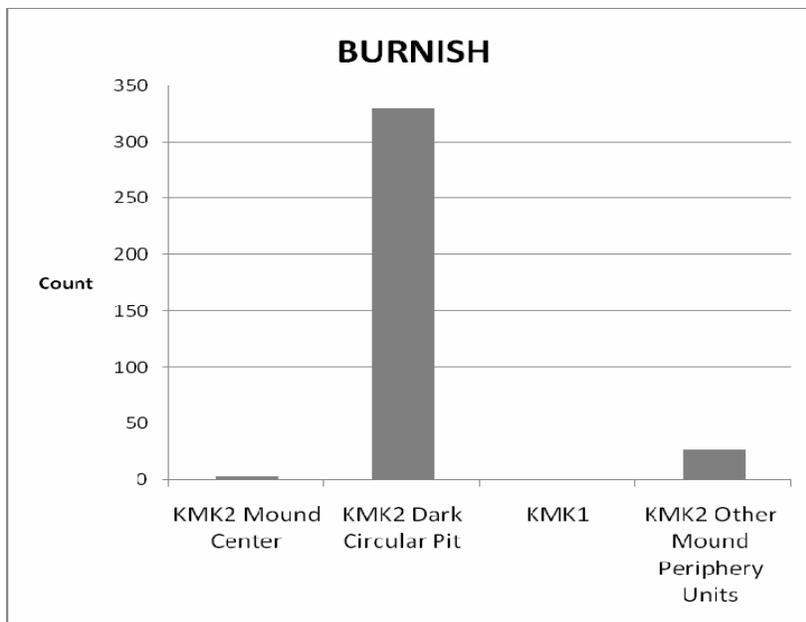


Figure 7-15. Frequencies of burnished ceramics in four Kumako loci (by raw numbers).

Kumako, with the highest numerical frequency of burnished artifacts from the dark circular pit—an observation that parallels the evidence for slipped ceramics. If we examine the percentage of burnished ceramics within each specific assemblage (Figure 7-16), then what becomes apparent is the stark contrast of burnished ceramics found at the dark circular pit *and* at the extended mound periphery vis-à-vis other areas excavated at Kumako. These observations

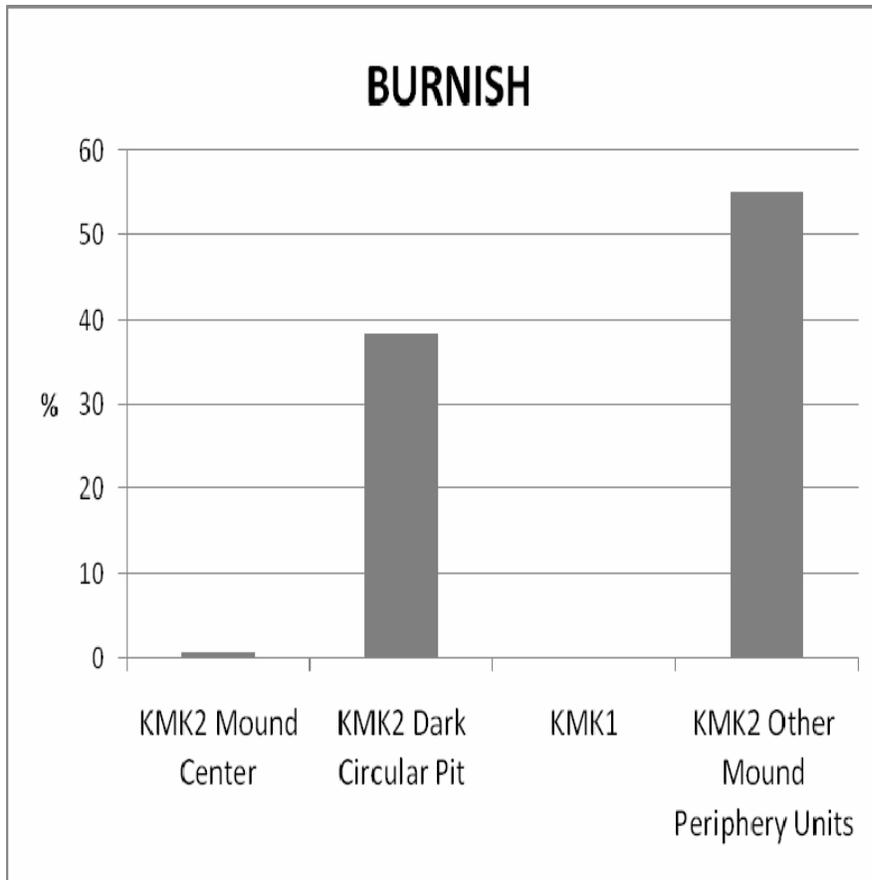


Figure 7-16. Percentage of burnished ceramics at four Kumako loci

complement the earlier suggestion made in regard to slipped ceramics: Maroons specifically used vessels with more elaborate surface treatments outside the domestic domain for activities such as ritual undertakings.

The appearance of vessels that show some patina opens up a very different discussion of intra-site functions. Patina or soot-like residue appears to be the result of burning due to food preparation in the vessel, a good proxy for specific activities associated with households. Figure

7-17 shows that the majority of ceramics with a patina are found in the center of the mound, affirming that this area is indeed a locus of domestic activity.

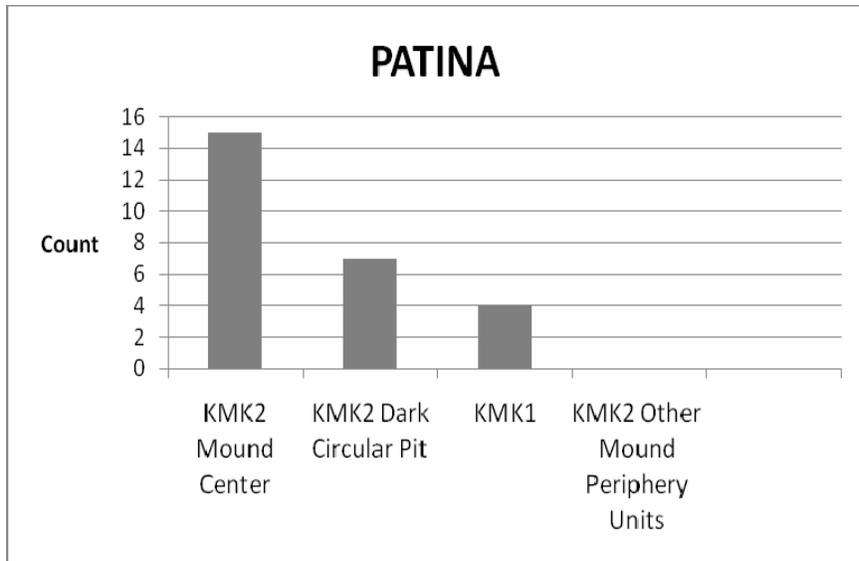


Figure 7-17. Frequencies of ceramics with patina in four Kumako loci (by raw numbers)

When the graphic representation is converted to percentages (figure 7-18), the contrast is even greater—showing very clearly that the center of the mound has a significant portion of ceramics that have been used for cooking.

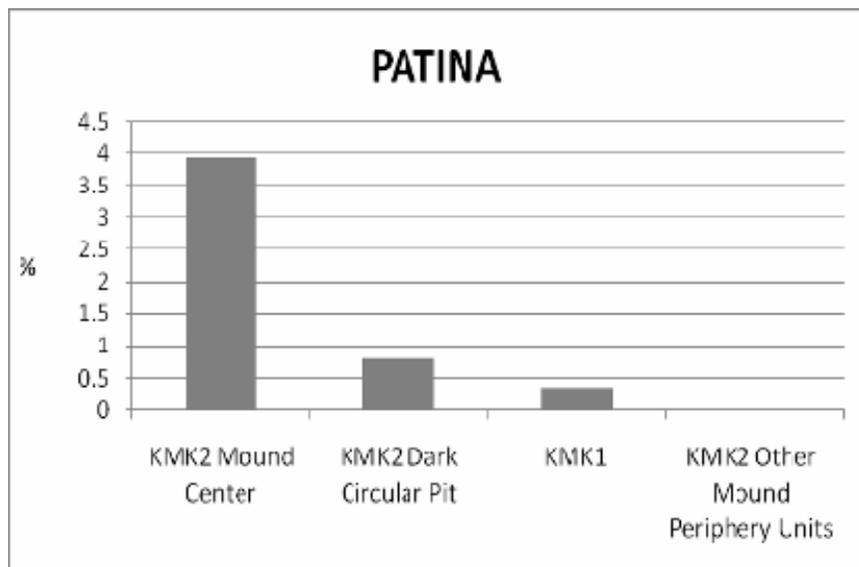


Figure 7-18. Percentage of patina ceramics at four Kumako loci.

While KMK1 does not have high frequency of ceramics with patina, the data, however, would remain consistent with the earlier suggestion that this locus of the site may have harbored dispersed settlement.

These data show that Maroons at Kumako engaged in specific behaviors at different locations within their settlement. Maroons chose burnished and slipped vessels for specialized activities such as rituals performed at the mound periphery. The ceramics with patina show that the inhabitants of Kumako engaged in domestic activities, such as cooking mainly in the center of the mound. To further this discussion of what and where Maroons chose for cultural practices, I will next examine the distribution of different ceramic paste.

Paste with a Focus on Inclusions

Paste analysis has long been a mainstay in archaeological science. Evaluating paste is an integral part of understanding shifts in the technology of a culture, intra-site distribution of material use, and the inter-site dynamics of material exchange that often cross group and cultural boundaries. To continue our discussion of what and where Maroons chose to appropriate into their daily cultural activities, we must examine ceramic paste. During my evaluation of Kumako ceramics, I observed variations in paste composition. I identified five paste/inclusion types for the excavated artifacts: grit, sand, sand and grit, terra-cotta, and stoneware. Terra-cotta and stoneware were the least represented in the Kumako collection and therefore will be treated cursively—in as much as they complement the overall discussion of paste distribution.

Grit is a common inclusion in ceramics and is used primarily as a cohesive agent that binds other material components found in ceramics. Figure 7-19 displays the heavy grit inclusions common in this paste type. In the context of the Kumako collection, these inclusions are associated with corroding ceramics that no longer have a visibly complete surface treatment.

Conversely, grit inclusions may be the result of manufacture—reflecting the potter’s decision to not treat the surface of the vessel for a finished look.

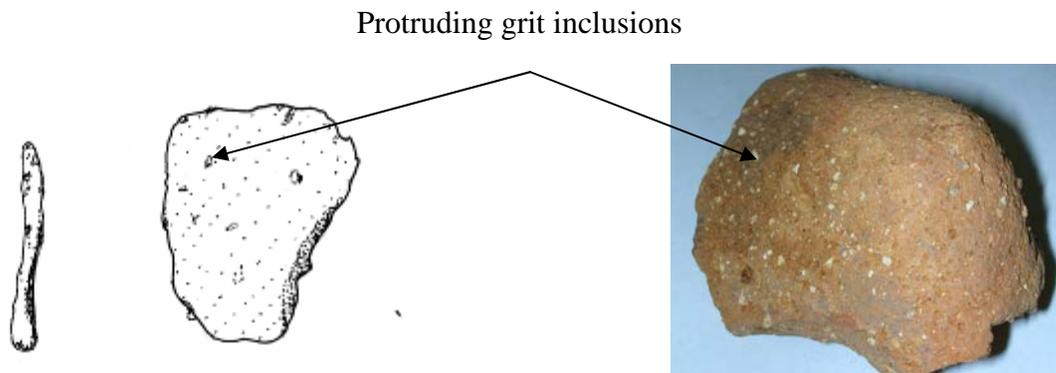


Figure 7-19. Ceramic earthenware with heavy grit inclusions from KMK1. Illustration by Raimen Bijlhout 2003. Photo by C. White 2003.

Figure 7-20 shows that the dark circular pit has the highest percentage of grit inclusions, disproportionate to the surrounding periphery test units. To support the supposition that the dark circular pit is a result of ritual activity, a comparatively higher percentage of ceramics with grit inclusions in the pit would suggest that ritual baths were practiced regularly. In addition, ritual baths may have been held in the same esteem as other daily activities, affirming that ritual activities—while spatially segregated—are nonetheless an everyday activity. This suggestion meets well with historical documents and contemporary ethnographic observations in Saramaka villages where ritual cleansing is a common occurrence and an integral part of Maroon culture.

Another noteworthy observation points to ceramics with grit inclusions that are distributed proportionately across the four loci of Kumako, and evenly dispersed at the mound center and the mound periphery. The distribution of vessels with grit inclusions presents an interesting perspective that departs from the earlier speculations of ceramic usage at differential loci across the site. Instead we see vessels of primarily grit construction, which is commonplace at the Kumako settlement.

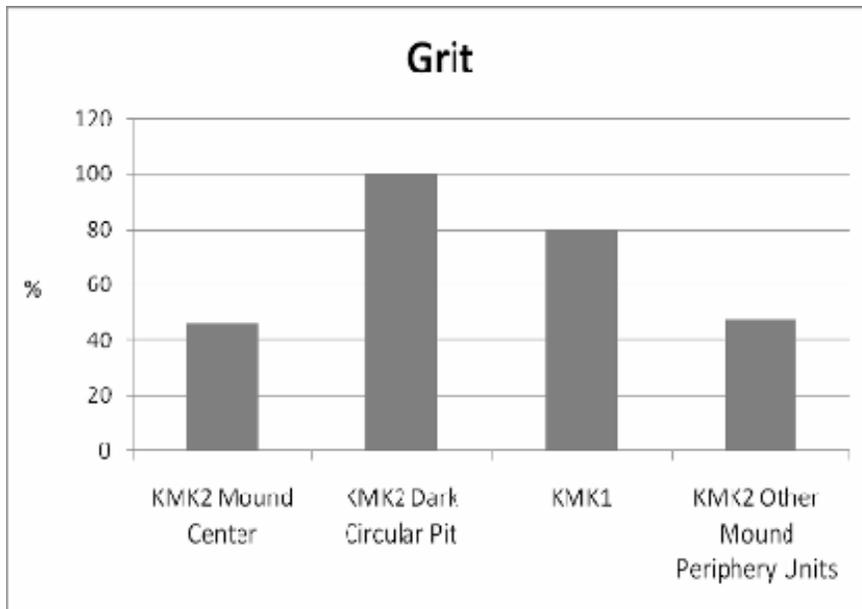


Figure 7-20. Percentage of grit-tempered ceramics in four Kumako loci.

It appears that grit may have been the preferred material for vessel construction, offering its user a reliable alternative to the sand and sand and grit variety. The use of primarily grit-tempered vessels would suggest that as the preferred material, it allowed for greater usage across the site and was a likely vessel for use in all aspects of daily life.

An alternative perspective to consider is that the use of grit inclusions may reflect the technology employed by Maroons constructing vessels with a readily available material resource. Vessels made of grit-temper would have been an attractive alternative to raiding plantations, a common practice at the height of maroonage and the subsequent sedentary life in forest communities such as Kumako. If Maroons were making their own pottery, grit inclusions would provide a likely choice over a more exotic resource such as sand (found in abundance in the river basin, a one-to two-day trek from Kumako). Sand, when married with grit, is better suited for cooking purposes. A combination such as sand and grit inclusions would reflect an awareness of what and where a vessel would be used.

These items with sand and grit inclusions may be better suited to the thermodynamic requirements of cooking. The more varied tempering materials and sizes would have enhanced responsiveness to extreme heat. By contrast, the grit-tempered ceramics, associated primarily with the mound periphery and the pit, affirm once again the distinctiveness of the peripheral zone in contrast to the mound center and KMK1—the suggested domestic activity areas. Based on the distribution of ceramic inclusions shown in figure 7-21, the dark circular pit of KMK2 is void of ceramics with sand and grit temper. This observation follows the earlier

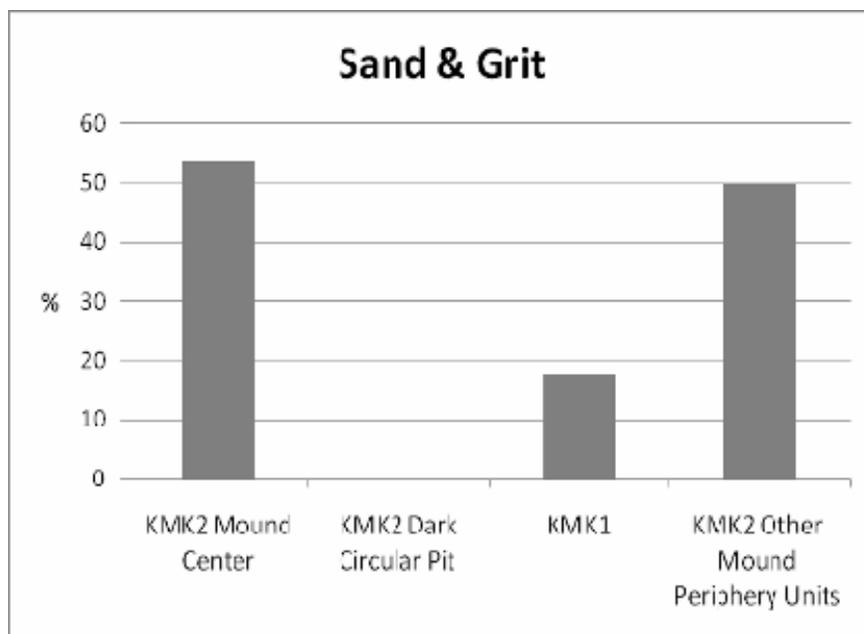


Figure 7-21. Percentage of sand and grit inclusions in four Kumako loci.

suggestion that the ceramics recovered from the pit reflect the choice Maroon's made for specific objects of different cultural value.

The ceramics with sand as a primary temper have a fine texture and are less suitable for laborious tasks such as cooking—a task that requires vessels of greater integrity. Of the overall excavated Kumako assemblage, sand-tempered vessels are the least frequent at the site, only appearing at the dispersed living area of KMK1 and at extraneous parts of the mound periphery (Figure 7-22). This observation leads to several questions.

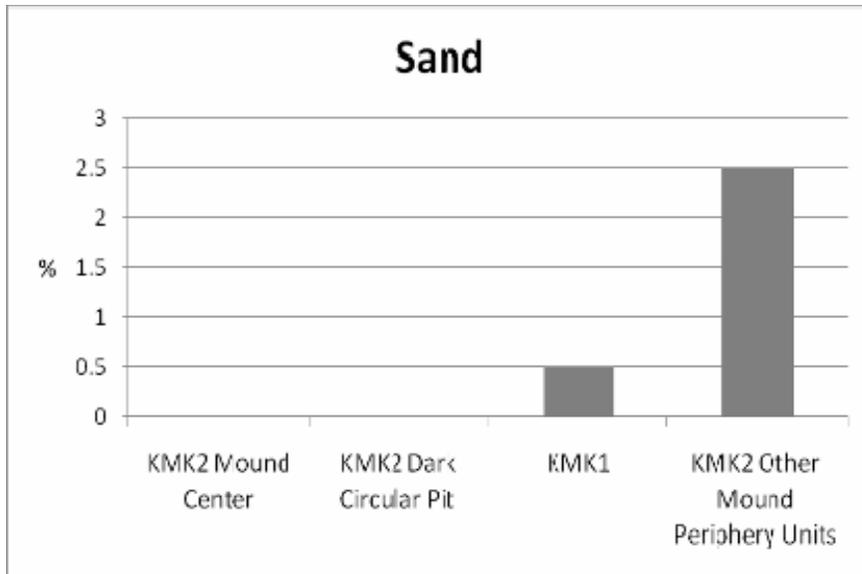


Figure 7-22. Percentage of sand inclusions in four Kumako loci.

Why were Maroons not using vessels made with sand inclusions at the mound center (which we have determined as an area of household activity) or in the dark circular pit (an area of ritual practice)? The absence of vessel sherds with sand inclusions in these two very important loci may be due to sand scarcity in the immediate vicinity of the Kumako settlement. It may possibly be that vessels of this type may have been items of trade with other Maroon factions or their Indigenous allies. A vessel of primarily sand construction may not have presented the versatility found in pottery with grit inclusions located across the site and with sand and grit inclusions found in domestic areas. Conversely, it would appear that such inclusions were not appropriate for vessels used in ritual practices, made evident in the absence of vessels with sand inclusions in the dark circular pit.

These data show us that Maroons were using ceramics of different material composition in areas of Kumako that complemented their choice of activity. The grit earthenware distributed across the four loci of Kumako is reminiscent of the yabba and colonoware vessels typical of African-diaspora sites. Because of readily available grit material for quick and basic pot construction, these objects met a multiplicity of uses for day to day social activities. The

disparities in the appearance of sand and sand and grit-tempered vessels adds momentum to the assertions that Maroons appropriated objects of a definite technology and design for either household chores or ritual practices. Extended excavation and the identification of other Maroon settlements may offer alternative perspectives to this discussion. In addition, future chemical analysis of these paste types may shed light on the location of raw material resources vis-à-vis Maroon settlements.

Decorative Applications

Assessing a vessel's exterior treatment, such as decorative applications, has a well-established place in the analysis of archaeological remains. Such a task is usually reserved for items that invite immediate visual inspection. During analysis of the Kumako collection, I identified five types of decorative applications: indentation, appliqué, punctates, curvilinear incised, and linear incised. Each of these categories reflects the maker's proclivity for creating objects of visual interest that may complement its desired use. Moreover, each of these designs requires the use of an instrument to create the preferred effect. All categories are commonly identified treatments that aid in classifying the stylistic shifts of a particular cultural group through time. When examined carefully, this information can speak to a plethora of questions and concerns and may lead to diagnostic management of a collection.

In order to depict the differences in treatment of vessels at the four Kumako loci, I chose to present the data as basic numeric frequency and percentage. If we turn to figure 7-23, it is apparent that the dark circular pit has ceramics with the greatest percentage of both linear incised and punctate designs—with all punctate designs at Kumako being located within this putative ritual feature. Such an observation is another affirmation that these attributes plus grit tempering, burnishing, and slipping mark distinct cultural choices. While the household locus of the mound

center presents some low frequencies of linear incised pots, vessels with appliqué designs—that require greater precision and time from the potter and appear only at the mound center.

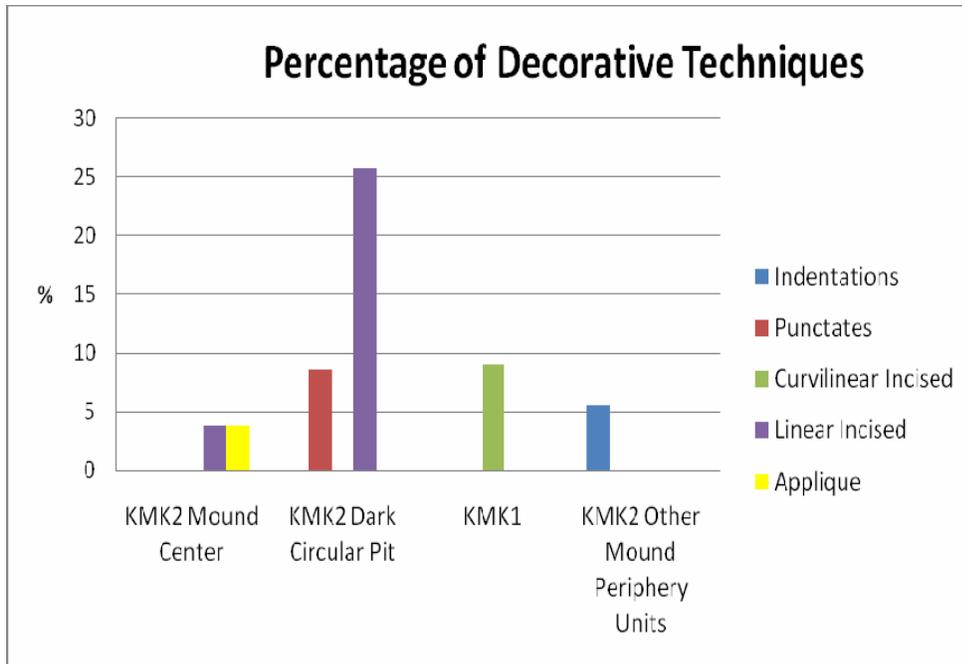


Figure 7-23. Percentage of ceramics with decorative techniques in four Kumako loci.

This observation expands upon the earlier claims regarding the mound center as a locus of household activities. The appearance of such acutely crafted ceramics suggests that these items may have held some esteem within the household. Moreover, vessels with appliqués require some additional surface treatment for proper adhesion. Pots with appliqué designs may not have been suited for the more laborious activities associated with KMK1’s dispersed settlement, hence its absence at KMK1.

Alternatively, figure 7-24 (using raw numbers) brings out stark differences in the distribution of vessels with indentations and linear incising. Either of these types of decorative technique requires a nominal amount of skill and surface treatment. It is appropriate that both types have a disproportionately higher occurrence at KMK1 and the mound periphery. Neither type is present at the loci believed to be associated with ritual activity.

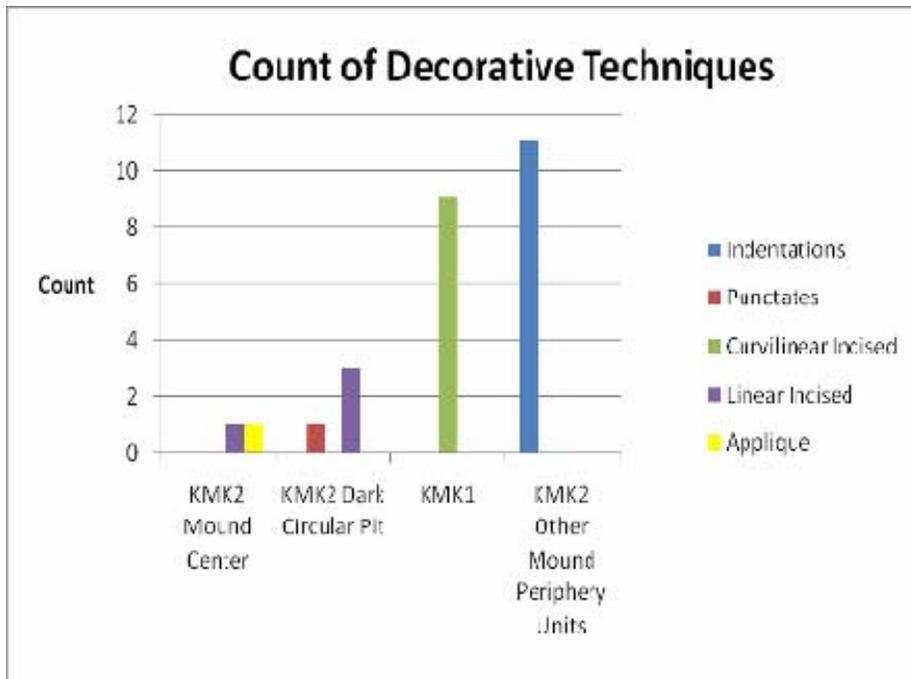


Figure 7-24. Frequencies of ceramics with decorative techniques in four Kumako loci (by raw numbers).

Is it possible that the Kumako potters were intentional in their appropriation and/or decoration of vessels? These data would suggest that some degree of intentionality existed among their choice and use of decorated pots. Vessels with appliqués appear to be an intentional departure from other decorative choices, leading us to surmise that—along with sand-tempered vessels—they may have traded for some of these more refined pieces of pottery with neighboring groups.

The association of these different attributes—paste inclusions, surface treatment, and decorative techniques—demonstrates a relationship between the four loci of KMK1 and KMK2. The distinction of intra-site variability is evident when we juxtapose the previously mentioned variables. Each variable can independently illustrate an area of household, ritual, and general domestic activities.

Tuido

The striking difference in the assemblage from the Tuido settlement is that Tuido has provided larger and more intact artifacts reminiscent of European occupation, but it also bears some relationship to its Indigenous surroundings and the possible influence of Maroon technology. Several notable vessel body parts recovered from Tuido can be reconstructed into whole or partial vessels. Figure 7-25 shows a reconstructed bowl base 7-8 cm in thickness. The paste has sand and grit composition with laterite. It is 14 cm in diameter and has a corroded yellowish red (light red) finish displaying a rough gritty surface. This particular find demonstrates the potential of constructing a Maroon comparative collection in Suriname. Reconstructable finds such as this offer the researcher the ability to compare ceramic sherds from other yet-to-be identified Maroon settlements.

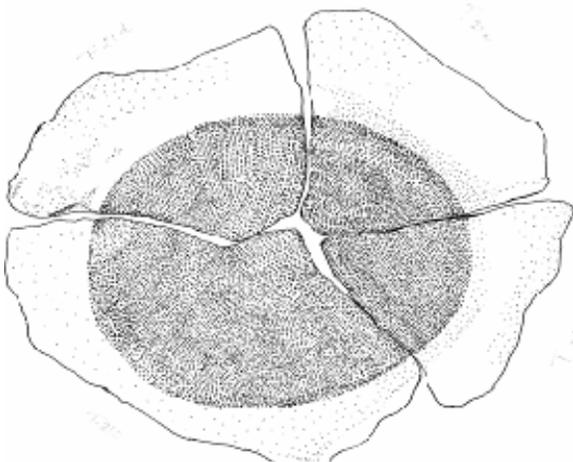


Figure 7-25. Reconstructed bowl base with grit inclusions from Tuido. Illustration by Raimen Bijlhout 2003.

Unlike the Kumako collection, Tuido ceramics have very pronounced contrasts in surface treatment, paste inclusions, and decorative techniques, and they present a very different picture of another Maroon settlement.

Figure 7-26 shows a large round vessel body part identified at Tuido. Located on the curved exterior are patterned perpendicular and parallel striations and indentations. Its color is a

reddish brown (dark red) mottled with black. The interior surface has a heavy black burned patina. The paste has sand and grit inclusions. Both sides of the vessel have a smooth finish.

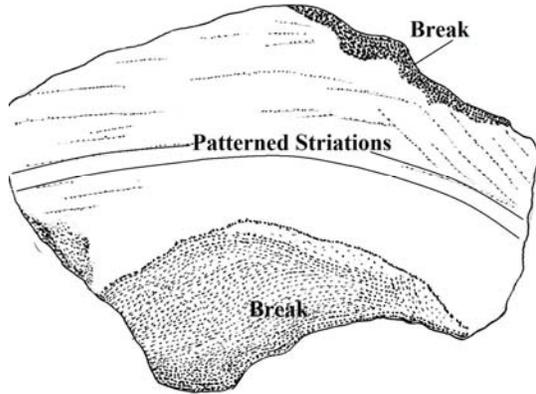


Figure 7-26. Large body sherd from Tuido. Illustration by Raimen Bijlhout 2003.

However, the most interesting observation from the Tuido collection is the high frequency of slipped ceramics (figure 7-27). Historically, Tuido functioned as a point of interface for warring Maroons and the Dutch and was occupied as recently as the turn of the 20th century. Its role in maintaining a material relationship with the Dutch was constant through the years.

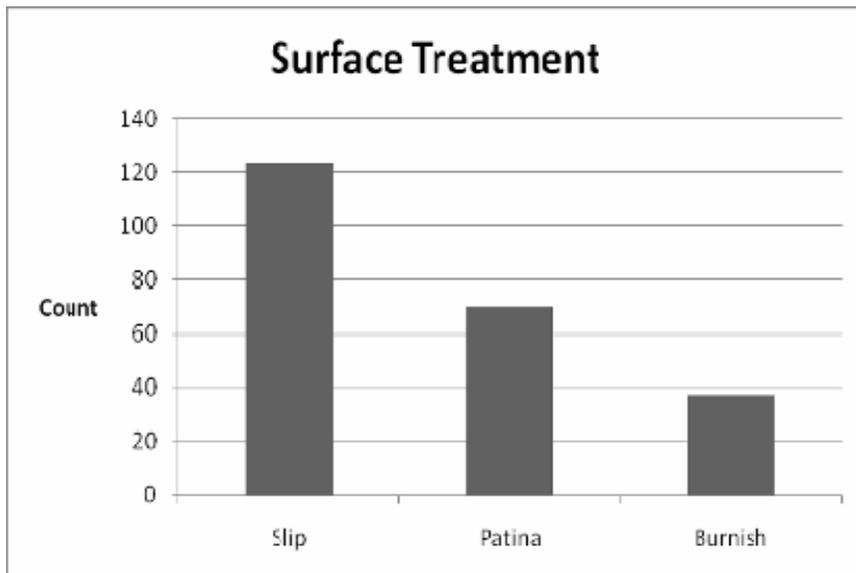


Figure 7-27. Frequency of surface treatment in Tuido ceramics (by raw numbers).

Though patina and burnish surface treatments count for a sizable part of the assemblage, the high frequency of slipped ceramics confirms that Maroons chose particular items for household use. Figures 7-28 and 7-29 show a bimodal occurrence of vessels with sand and grit inclusions and linear incisions.

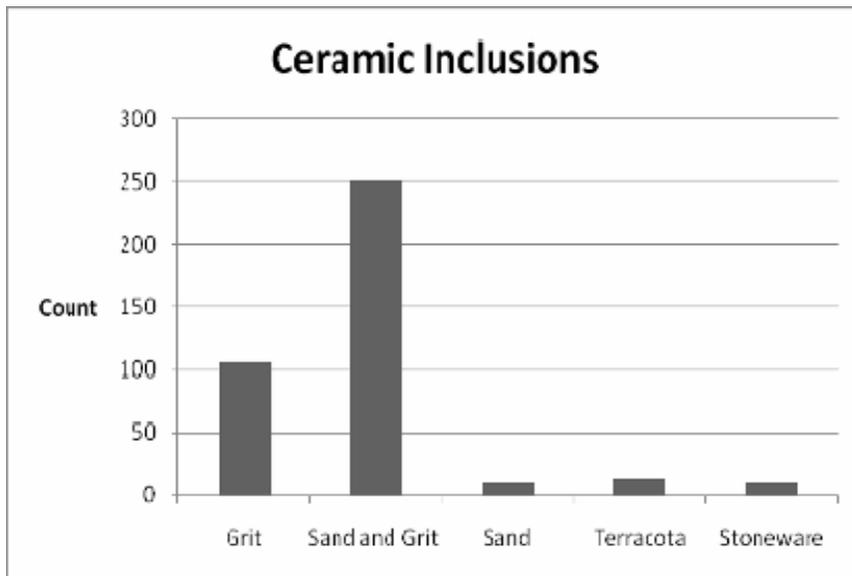


Figure 7-28. Frequency of inclusions from Tuido ceramics (by raw numbers)

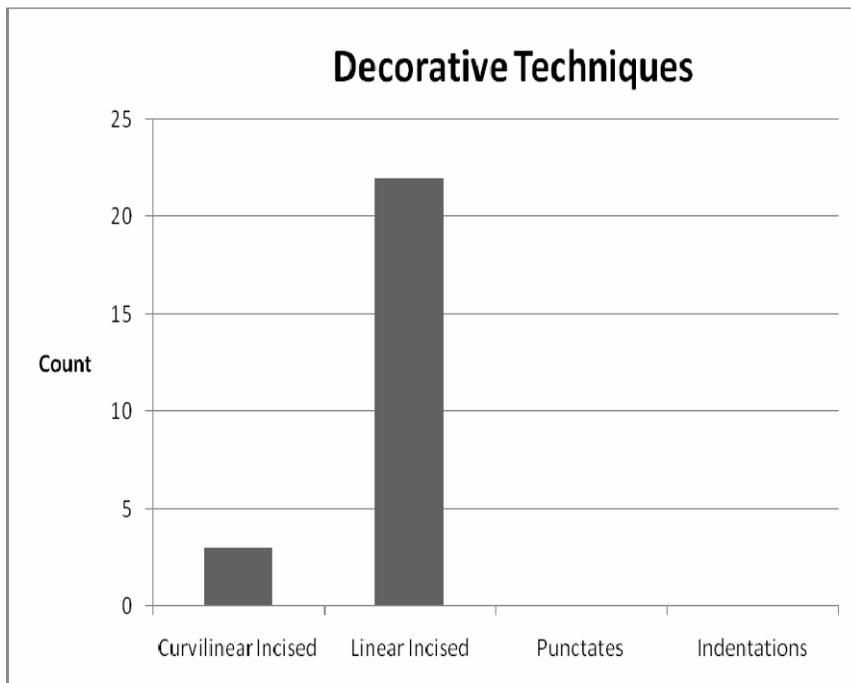


Figure 7-29. Frequency of decorative techniques at Tuido (by raw numbers).

The overwhelmingly high frequency of one attribute within each category shows the inhabitants of Tuido preferred linear incised, slipped vessels made of sand and grit inclusions, although stoneware and terra-cotta vessels are also pronounced at this site. Tuido artifacts are distinctly different from those of the Kumako collection primarily because they include large stoneware vessels. The stoneware vessels in figure 7-30 were recovered from surface caches at the Tuido site.



Figure 7-30. Cracked base of coiled stoneware vessel, figure 7-30a. Figure 7-30b is a partial stoneware vessel. Photos by C. White 2003

This observation leads us to consider the role of Tuido as a Maroon site. We do not see similar frequencies in grit inclusions that exist across the four loci of Kumako—evidence that proposes Maroons might have been processing their own vessels for use. Nor is there a contrast at the Tuido site to suggest intra-site variability in material use. Before we can reasonably surmise that Tuido Maroons were making their own vessels or trading with the Dutch or Indigenous peoples, more survey and excavation must take place.

Cross-Site Variability of Ceramic Attributes: Kumako and Tuido

If we examine decorative treatments at Kumako and Tuido, we find that Tuido contained a higher frequency of ceramics with distinguishable design applications (Figure 7-31).

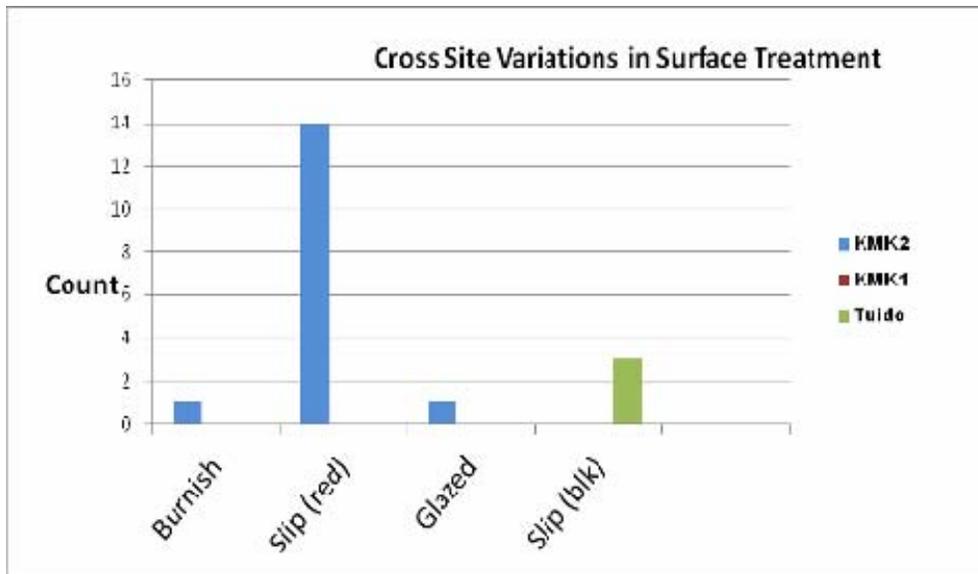


Figure 7-31. Cross-site variations in ceramic decoration and surface treatment (in raw numbers).

The assemblage at Tuido holds ceramics with linear incisions and black slip, a surface treatment not identified at the Kumako site. This inter-site variability suggests Tuido has the most dynamic collection of decorated ceramics recovered from a Surinamese Maroon settlement. Kumako presents the most interesting dichotomy of land use because the mound and mound periphery at KMK2 contrasts so strongly to the dispersed settlement at KMK1. Even though the Tuido assemblage has the largest number of decorated sherds, the Kumako assemblage offers a multifaceted examination of rim sherd variation.

Rim Sherd Variation

Rim sherds offer a constructive and consistent measure for assessing shifts in domestic cooking and storage technology, especially in the absence of decorative variety. Rim contour and thickness, for example, suggest a variety of uses, including vessels used to transport and store a large quantity of fluids, glazed jugs used for liquid storage, large vessels constructed for carrying drinking water, more compact vessels for containing drinks of the liquid variety and medicinal concoctions, and vessels designed with handles—some of which may have accommodated cooking (Figure 7-32).



Figure 7-32. An example of flat lip rim with dark orange slip from KMK2.

The rims sherds recovered from the Kumako settlement were analyzed for their shapes and thickness when the shape of the rim presented no doubt as to its vessel part. Rim sherds that were not affected by corrosion were confidently identified, based on the shape of the rim. Because it is highly probable that many of the rims may have been affected by some degree of corrosion, ultimately altering the shape of the rim, an unidentifiable/UID category was added for those with a discernible rim contour, but less than discernible form. I identified these distinct categories during analysis as (Figure 7-33):

- Round
- Flat
- Concave
- Convex
- Hooked
- Pinched
- Unidentifiable

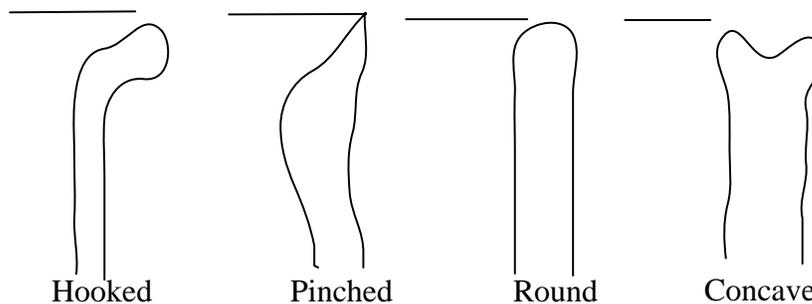


Figure 7-33. Diagrams of rim shapes.

The shapes shown in figure 7-33, were used for this site. They also complement rim shapes commonly used in the analysis of historical archaeological sites in the circum-Caribbean.

Though the terminology differs for ceramics recovered from European settlements, the description of the rim shape is the same. The following terminology is used to describe these similar shapes from the analysis of generalized European and Indigenous ceramic rim sherds found throughout the Caribbean (Deagan 1996).

- Hooked ---> Outcurving
- Round ---> Straight Round
- Pinched----> Straight Bevelled
- Flat ----> Everted

Figures 7-34 and 7-35 illustrate the frequency of each of the six distinct rim shapes in relation to the four Kumako loci. If we turn to figure 7-34, we see that round lip sherds—and to a lesser extent flat lip rims—appear at a disproportionately high number in the dark circular pit. To some extent, rounded lip rims were used at the mound periphery surrounding the pit, where Maroons may have engaged in other activities related to ritual washing or other rituals pertaining to purification and protection. Their absence in other Kumako loci suggests that vessels of a round lip variety were preferred for ritual practices.

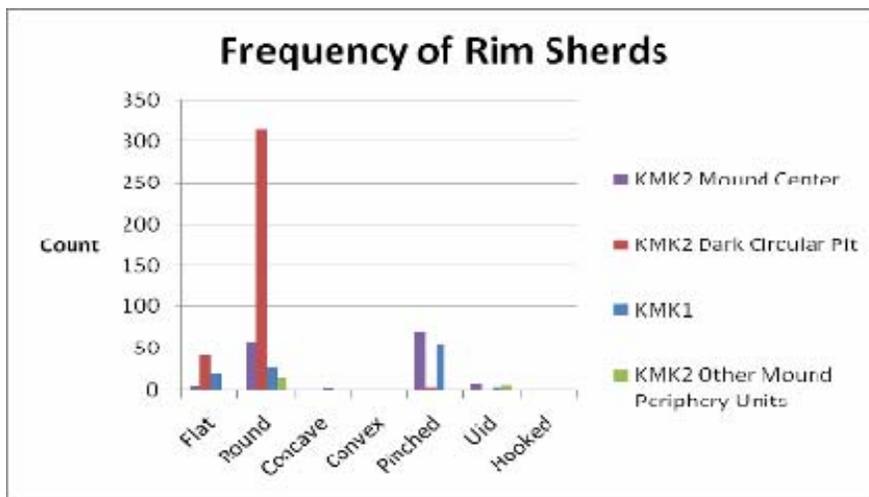


Figure 7-34. Frequency of all rim sherd types at four Kumako loci (by raw numbers)

According to the data in figure 7-35, the mound center and KMK1 contained all rim forms. These data show that a broad variety of vessels were appropriated for daily use. These data

further substantiates the claim that these two loci of the settlement played a large role in household related activities.

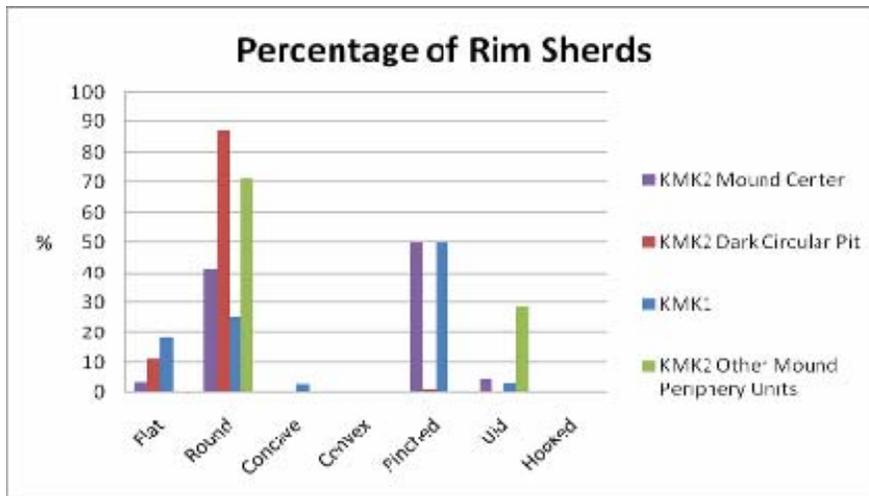


Figure 7-35. Percentage of all rim sherd types at four Kumako loci.

Comparatively, a more pronounced proportion of flat lip rims was found at KMK1 than at KMK2. This is a clear and distinctive contrast, indicating a specialized profile that may point to concomitant activities of a specialized nature between the nucleated and dispersed domestic areas. Because of the diversity of rim sherd shapes at Kumako, we are led to question whether or not Maroons may have experimented in the production of vessels for a myriad of household uses. The high frequency of only round lip rims in the dark circular pit opens an alternative discussion, beyond this frequency being an additional marker for highly specialized activities posited as ritual in orientation. In Chapter 6, I suggested the idea that Maroons maintained an amicable relationship with Indigenous peoples during their formative years in the early 18th century, compelling an inquiry into whether or not Maroons chose to incorporate the technology of Indigenous peoples by either making vessels themselves and/or trading for them.

Comparing Maroon Artifacts with Prehistoric Material Culture

The most pertinent observation is the appearance of slip treatment on choice Maroon ceramics. The slipped ceramics present a springboard to discuss the divergent aspect of Maroon

ceramic manufacture and/or appropriation from other culture groups. This creates a number of subsidiary questions: Are the slipped items an expression of Maroon craftsmanship? Did Maroons engage in trade and exchange with their Indigenous neighbors? Were these particular items held in esteem for reasons linked to form and function? These questions are at the crux of understanding Maroon identity, and would should explore why Maroons were either manufacturing or using items that depart significantly from the published accounts of colonoware, low-fired earthenware that is undecorated and generally associated with the African-diaspora communities in the New World (Agorsah 1994; Armstrong 1983, 1985, 1991; Fairbanks 1972, 1984; Ferguson 1992; Haviser 1999; Singleton 1999).

Among scholars of African-diaspora material culture, the appearance of slipped items would call into question the association of the item to groups of peoples of African descent. Typically, such an attribute might be explained by a discussion about economic exchange. Through published reports on Caribbean diaspora sites, we learn of multiple techniques used to decipher and explain consistent artisanship in African-diaspora earthenware: “It is now widely acknowledged that African Americans were the primary producers and users of a wide range of low-fired earthenware” (Hauser and Armstrong 1999: 65). This perspective is an attempt to create a universal language and system of classification for the Caribbean and outlining regions of Central and South America. Given the relatively embryonic study of African-diaspora wares, it is not surprising that we are transfixed on creating accurate, consistent, and inclusive terminology because “when analyzed outside of the social and archaeological contexts, low-fired earthenware loses meaning” (Hauser and Armstrong 1999:69). This observation, however, need not hinder how we deal with an anomaly (in the context of previous studies of colonoware) of slipped earthenware from Kumako, an African-diaspora archaeological site.

Justifying Maroon Artifacts

In Chapter 6, I discussed that Maroons may have appropriated the landscape and material remains of what was an Indigenous occupation of Kumako prior to Maroon knowledge and presence in the region. This idea rests on the ethnohistorical evidence which suggests that the *agbangs* (the Maroon ceremonial ceramics) excavated from the site were in fact present because of their spiritual meaning to Maroons. I would also like to further suggest that the discernable correlations that exist between Maroon and Indigenous artifacts in temper, color, and thickness may not be because Maroons appropriated the items from Indigenous groups, but instead represent craft ingenuity among the Saramaka.

The prehistoric archaeological record tells us that the typical slip patterns from the coastal Wonotobo site are characterized primarily by white-and-red (Versteeg 2003:88). Figure 7-36 depicts some of the slipping treatments thus far defined in the archaeological record.



Figure 7-36. Painted pottery from Wonotobo prehistoric site in coastal Suriname (Versteeg 2003:89).

The Kumako collection, however, is missing these complex color and design patterns, but there is basic evidence for dark orange to red slipping. The orange and red slipping is not to be confused with the orange paste typical of the Indigenous artifacts where a color is more a result of raw material choice and firing than of intentional decoration.



Figure 7-37. Red-slipped pot sherds recovered from Kumako. Photo by C. White 2003.

Figure 7-37 shows a thick, hooked lip rim sherd with an eroding red slip. The paste is unmistakably orange with a red slip treatment. Items such as these are prevalent at the Maroon settlement Kumako, and tentatively suggest affinities—at the level of surface treatment—with Indigenous decorative techniques. In order to feasibly compare ceramics from a Maroon settlement with those of Indigenous communities, we must first consider the relationship between color and thickness.

A Comparative look at Color and Thickness

Two equally informative attributes are color and thickness. A noted characteristic of Indigenous Guiana ceramics—along with anthropomorphic adornments of which none were observed in the excavated collection at Kumako—is their complex color schemes, particularly patterns of red and white slip. Color variation and thickness speak to technology, ideology, and trade. They also offer clues about inter-site and intra-site ceramic distribution associated with activities ranging from cooking and food processing to rituals and burials. Figure 7-38 shows the mean thickness (mm) for all ceramics from each of the four Kumako loci. The ceramics removed

from the dispersed living area, KMK1, are generally thicker (9 mm). These more robust vessels may have been better suited for the drudgeries of daily life.

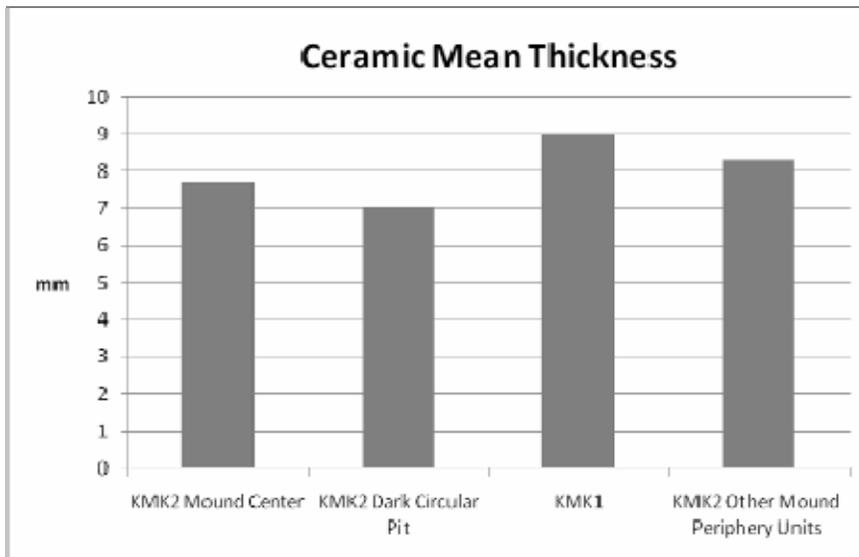


Figure 7-38. Mean thickness of ceramics from four Kumako loci.

The vessels found within the dark circular pit are a finer variety, while the mound center and other mound periphery units have similar thicknesses. The stark difference between the dark circular pit and KMK1 further accentuates the interpretations made earlier: These two loci are associated with distinctive ceramic artifact attributes. This observation asserts again that the Maroon inhabitants of Kumako were particular about where specific activities were performed.

Kumako does not offer the same degree of variability in slip colors as Indigenous Guiana vessels, but the collection presents some interesting observations for discussion. To discern the relationship Kumako ceramics may have held with prehistoric traditions, we should consider the color ranges of the excavated ceramics. External and internal colors were recorded when more than one color was observed on a ceramic sherd.

To obtain the frequencies of color varieties shown in figure 7-39, I reduced the numerous variations of red and orange to reddish yellow, light red, dark red, or dark orange, and light orange. I used basic color categories, such as red or orange, to represent the range of colors used.

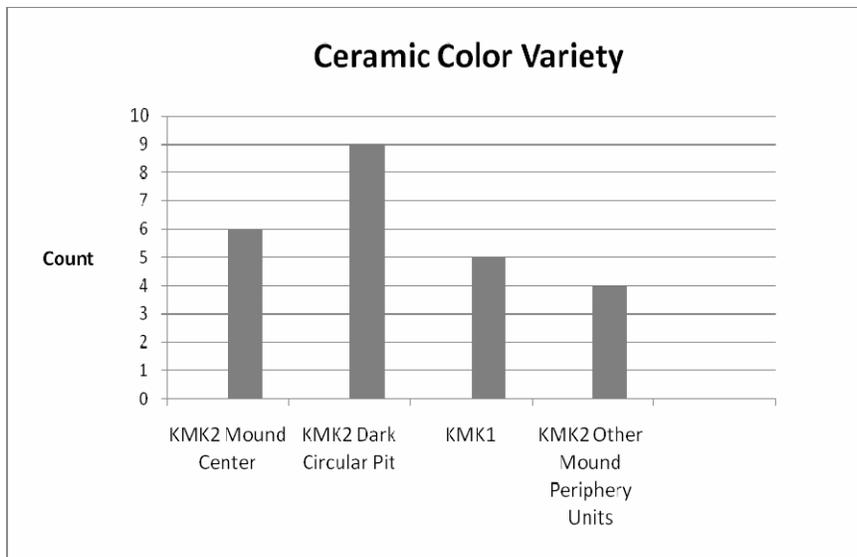


Figure 7-39. Mean number of ceramic color varieties at four Kumako loci.

The greatest mixture of color comes from the dark circular pit. The vessel colors included brown, orange, red, tan, grey, pink, white, black, and red orange. This would suggest that the vessels used for ritual activity were aesthetically more diverse in color difference.

In contemporary Maroon villages, the *agbhangs* used in the preparation of ritual baths are more colorful. Many of the *agbhangs* are slipped on their surfaces in a range of intersecting colors. We must keep in mind that it is possible that the mixture of colors occurring on the ceramic sherds in the dark circular pit could be parts of the same vessel. Future excavations and increased yields will better confront this concern.

The mound center, KMK1, and the other mound periphery units have nearly proportionate frequencies of color variation. Though the center included brown, pink, orange, red, tan, and grey colors, KMK1 only had red, brown, grey, pink, and orange colored vessel parts, and the mound periphery tests only had four varieties: red, orange, brown, and pink. The dominant color throughout the site was red, while white was the lowest frequency color (Figure 7-40).

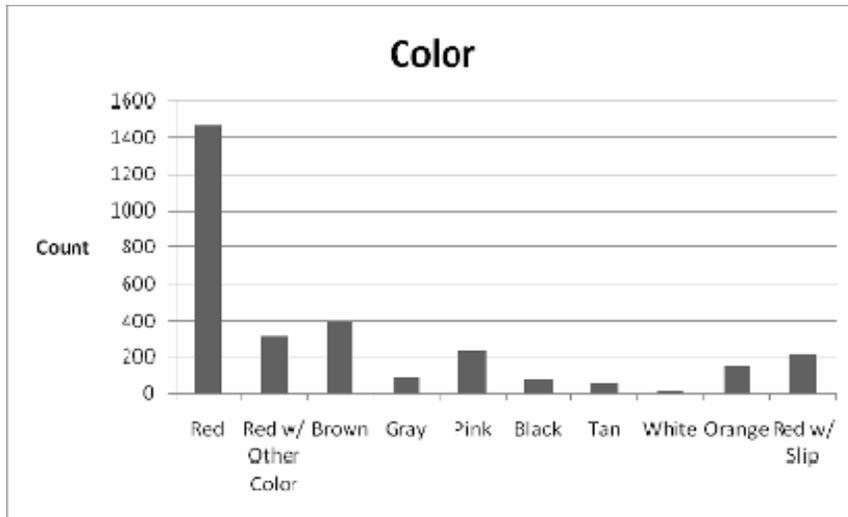


Figure 7-40. Frequencies of color variation at Kumako.

The combination of red and white slips, as noted earlier, typifies the decorated vessels from one of Suriname's largest prehistoric site, Wonotobo, in the coastal plain. White color, however, is virtually absent in the Kumako collection. The absence of a white slip and the very low frequency of white-colored sherds along with the lack of anthropomorphic vessels parts suggest that the vessels types present at Kumako were significantly different to what was commonly used and traded among prehistoric peoples.

Admittedly, the corrosion of the ceramics from the Maroon site Kumako sometimes obscured whatever surface treatment may have been present at the time of its manufacture and use. But it is significant that so many ceramics from the dark circular pit sector at Kumako show signs of red slip. This distinctive surface treatment sets these ceramics apart from Indigenous ceramics and marks a singular expressive element of Maroon life at Kumako. Any definitive answer to the question about the influence of Indigenous technologies and designs, such as slipping and burnishing on ceramic artifacts at the Maroon site of Kumako, must await further investigations and a more diverse assemblage.

Discussion

The 18th century Kumako settlement, documented by the KMK1 and KMK2 excavations, and the Tuido site, reflect Maroon cultural development at different stages. The most striking element of Maroon material culture is seen in the earthwork structure of KMK2 and its associated, diverse ceramics. Often in the archaeological record, ceramics offer the most obvious method of identifying technological and related cultural changes. Because many ceramic types found in the New World hail from a country of European origin, the likelihood of identifying a notable and chronological feature is high. Ceramic vessels of this kind may bear makers marks, the city and country of origin, a date, or other distinct and comparable elemental features (Hume 1969; Hunter 2006).

In addition, standard analysis techniques of vessel morphology are typically based on identifying observable features of vessel parts when a complete vessel is not present: rim contour and thickness, handle shapes and dimensions, a variety of base contours, and body curvature (Deagan 1996). However, in the case of African-diaspora artifacts, particularly those recovered from a Maroon settlement, the probability of detecting these common chronological attributes are greatly diminished. Many of the vessel parts recovered from Kumako present a variety of exterior characteristics derived from either intentional human activity or weathering. To support the interpretation regarding KMK2's function as a specialized area, unlike the perimeter KMK1 excavation, analysis focused on the specificity of ceramic body parts and rims, their locations, and any notable frequencies.

Ceramic artifacts recovered from sites associated with New World slave populations need not be solely utilitarian in function, but instead can present some range of decorative elements or technological treatments indicative of a belief system. In 19th century South Carolina, Face Jugs

or Monkey jugs³⁵ were constructed by southern slave potters and were thought to be reinterpretations of the popular decorative English vessels commonly known as the Toby jug. The Face Jugs, constructed of clay and kaolin and commonly used as water vessels, are believed to be anthropomorphic representations of figures of power from central and western Congo. “The functionality of the jugs does not explain the use of staring eyes and gaping mouths, however, nor does it address why most of the early forms were too small to have any obvious use” (Hunter 2006:124).

This last observation about Face Jugs resonates with Gosden's middle ground theory, which states that objects can possess metaphorical value for a culture regardless of their obvious associations to the functionality they may have possessed in the context of another culture. While ceramic objects recovered from Kumako may have been manufactured by Indigenous peoples, the historical contingencies of the Maroon settlement may have presented an opportunity for these vessels to be used as objects with spiritual value—quite different from the functions in Indigenous communities. The Face Jugs also alert us to a technological syncretism: Maroons may have borrowed selective decorative and technological attributes—especially slipping—from Indigenous populations to arrive at their own distinctive craft expressions.

Historical documents show an awareness and engagement of Maroons and Indigenous groups (Kloos 1971; Stedman 1791), which may not have been manifest on a micro-social level. For example, the physical configuration of Kumako may not parallel what the archaeological record tells us about prehistoric settlements, but we must consider that the defensive posture of the central mound imitated ancient Indigenous mounds along the coast. This latter possibility

35 The term Monkey Jugs refers to a southern colloquium for the dehydrating effects the hot humid summer heat had on one's face (Hunter 2006:124). See Chapter 4 for an in-depth discussion on how Face Jugs illustrate Gosden's theory of artifact functionalities.

seems unlikely since traditional settlement patterns would have disappeared by the Maroon era, save for social groupings that have been somewhat maintained (Koelewijn 1987).

Finally, artifacts that allow us to extrapolate a broader range of relationships, such as trading patterns, may demonstrate that Kumako was an independent entity bearing little evidence for European interaction.

CHAPTER 8 CONCLUSION

What Remains to Be Seen

The evidence presented in this dissertation is a small portion of what remains to be uncovered in Suriname Maroon archaeology, yet the archaeological data is a significant contribution to the growth of historical archaeology and the understanding of Diaspora cultural transformation and development. The methodological concerns that address recognition of sites, conducting excavations, construction of typologies, and development of models that incorporate oral history and ethnoarchaeology are just some of the basic issues that pervade the field of African-diaspora archaeology. Maroon archaeology possesses a unique set of challenges that should not to be confused with the common research concerns of historical archaeology. Because Maroon sites are by their very nature reclusive and inconspicuously situated in the tropical regions of the New World, traditional survey and excavation techniques aren't always applicable. Moreover, more imaginative methods must be constructed, often departing from previously well thought through methodologies.

Maroon archaeological investigation in Suriname is the first to focus on the southern part of the circum-Caribbean. In addition, this projects builds upon the research of Agorsah's (1994, 1995) archaeological report of Nanny Town and Accompong Town in Jamaica, La Rosa Corzo's (2003) research of Cuban *palenques*, Weik's (2002) work at Pilaklikaha in central Florida, Sayers's (2006) research in the Dismal Swamp of South Carolina and Virginia in the southeastern USA, and Allen's (1999, 2000, 2001) investigation at Quilombos dos Palmares in Brazil. The report in this dissertation complements these research projects by adding a comprehensive and interpretative discussion of Maroon archaeological sites.

These research endeavors have overlapping issues concerning the relationship Maroons had with their Indigenous counterparts, the questionable creation of a definitive Maroon technology, and the subject of what Maroons may have appropriated from Indigenous peoples. More importantly, these studies show that we do not need to discuss the early lives of Maroons as mere illustrations of providence or the residuals of happenstance (Sayers, Burke, and Henry 2007; Weik 2002). Moreover, historical accounts—be they applicable or not—and the absence of contemporary peoples for ethnographic corroboration should not dictate or limit research goals. Instead, when interpreting the archaeological information available, we can in fact approach Maroon archaeology with the intent of recovering consistent and innovatively different material culture. In particular, developing models—that incorporate ethnoarchaeology and oral history—that can potentially be applied to unexplored regions with similar histories as Maroonage.

At the onset of the MHRP research in Suriname, the issues to be addressed arose out of the research that had been conducted in the Maroon settlements of Jamaica, which focused on unearthing the bare elements with little theoretical framework. It was believed that Maroons must have maintained some cohesive social structure that influenced the continuity of African cultural traits observed throughout contemporary Jamaica. But that hypothesis did not apply to archaeological finds. It was not thoroughly understood to what degree aspects of African culture may have been transposed into the archaeological record of Maroon sites and it was not understood how to assess what is not of African origin. In short, we have had poorly developed criteria to distinguish African from Indigenous lifeways.

The tone of the MHRP in Jamaica followed the dialogue common in historical texts and anthropological science. It began by addressing how slaves experienced plantation life, maroonage, resistance, rebellion, and Maroon ideological posture (Hart 1985). The MHRP

asserted the identification of Africanisms as the basis for researching and interpreting Maroon culture. These positions were fed by the paradigms of cultural anthropology and their protagonists (Herskovits 1941, 1958; Price 2003). Theories of Creolization, hybridity, acculturation, and cultural transformation are the pivots from which all other notions of African-Caribbean cultural reinterpretation are born. As deeply planted as Creolization and hybridity are in the discipline of anthropological science these paradigms are not applicable to the study of Maroon archaeological sites. These paradigms are better suited to interpret the social and the political affects the colonial system has had with peoples of African descent. The archaeology of the African-diaspora needs paradigms born from matters that are archaeological in nature not socio-cultural or socio-political. Our concern is understanding culture vis-à-vis the inter- and intra-site distribution of material culture and its usage. The archaeological investigation of Maroon ancestral settlements presents an opportunity to view the social residues of New World colonization from the vantage point of tribal⁵⁹ culture born of colonial circumstances. Moreover, Creolization, hybridity, acculturation, and cultural transformation represent unilinear theoretical approaches that were better suited for investigating isolated attributes of modern creole societies. The creole culture of Suriname experienced a different historical experience from Maroons (Brana-Shute 1990). Though they shared the experience of servitude on plantations, they soon became culturally divergent and developed in different social circumstances. The paradigms of Creolization and hybridity, are not aptly suited to address the developmental issues of Maroons.

Such a platform needs a more assertive and broader perspective that generates a diverse pool of research questions, leading me to formulate the research questions found in this study. To

⁵⁹ In Suriname, Maroons are designated as tribal groups. This term differentiates them from the Indigenous peoples with whom they share the tropical forest habitat and similar styles of living. The term further differentiates them from the city creoles of Paramaribo (Suriname's capital) because the Creoles and Maroons do not share similar historical circumstances beyond plantation servitude.

examine a Maroon settlement with the expectation that it may display more significant Indigenous influences than African attributes places us in a position to better evaluate any possible Africanism in the archaeological record (Weik 2002). The possibility of discovering Indigenous influences in the archaeological record is not an uncommon position and strong Indigenous influences were at Quilombos dos Palmares in Brazil. The untimely end of that project arose when the material culture recovered from the site better related to Indigenous culture than that of Africans (Allen 1999, 2001; Funari 2006).

The formulation of Research Question 1 (RQ1), the African Spatial Blueprint, specifically addressed the shortcomings of the aforementioned paradigms in cultural anthropology. The construction of this research question rested on the research of historical and ethnographic evidence. Because a large amount of ethnographic data is available on Saramaka Maroons, and to a lesser extent, historical material, it is possible to suggest interpretations pertaining to inter-settlement housing distribution patterns. Ethnographic accounts provide data on matrilineal descent order and matrilocality in addition to the material choices reflected in gender-based customs (Herskovits 1934; Price 1975, 1983a, 1983b, 1990). These customs include the difference in house structure for men and women and the location of spiritual structures in relation to areas of domestic activity.

Another Perspective of the Maroon Picture

I propose that Maroon sites be further interpreted for their strategic values, as expressed in various forms of expansive settlement. If we consider the nature of these sites—both a reflection of stable living and protective living—then they may be treated in ways that ironically might resonate better with the same approaches applied to mainstream historical archaeology and its treatment of fortifications and colonization. At present researchers in historical archaeology continue to use African-diaspora archaeology as an interpretation of plantation complexities,

Maroon archaeology presents some pertinent though limited parallels with mainstream historical archaeology.

Kumako and Tuido: What Have we Learned

The Saramaka site of Kumako is a mark on the landscape of what Surinamese Maroon archaeology has to offer in order to rethink how we understand African and Indigenous accommodations and interdependencies. The distribution of artifacts at KMK1 and KMK2, for example, demonstrate that the site has multiple social/religious functions that are manifest in different ceramic assemblages. The artifacts removed from KMK2 offer a language for discussing and differentiating spaces. The resonating interpretation is that a defensive barrier constituted an important posture vis-à-vis a hostile colonial world. Moreover as both a defensive barrier and as the boundary for a central community with outlier households Kumako parallels other Maroon archaeological sites in the New World (La Rosa Corzo 2003). At Kumako, however, protection also arose from the spirit world, from ancestors who needed to be propitiated. This ritual protection of the community—manifest in the deep depression with ritually related artifacts—draws on Indigenous technology while simultaneously employing powerful African tropes of transformation in the use of pemba.

Similar characteristics were observed at a *palenque* (large maroon settlement) in Cuba called *Palenque de la Cruz*, attacked in 1841. Slave militias/ hunting parties observed that the settlement was surrounded by ditches with pronounced pointed stakes (La Rosa Corzo 2003:158). Beyond the projectile stakes were plots of land located behind houses and in the foothills, used for procuring ground provisions (La Rosa Corzo 2003:239). The stakes and land plots are an interesting phenomenon that rings true for the contested Brazilian Maroon settlement, Quilombos dos Palmares (Allen 2001), historically described as “Comprising of one large settlement and one smaller one, with several people living in a dispersed fashion in the

valleys,” the capital of which was described “As a village surrounded by a double palisade. The settlement held more than two hundred dwellings, a chapel, four forges, and a large meeting place, chaired by a chief described as a king” (Funari 2006:221). Archaeological recoveries from this settlement reflect one particular site, known as Potbelly Hill (Serra da Barriga) or a “hill like an alter in the shape of a belly” (Oiteiro da Barriga) and identified, through historical documentation and oral accounts, as the capital of the kingdom (Funari 2006:223). The construction of large-scale dome-shaped features that encase a central ruling enclave or nuclei at a Maroon settlement, exhibits a conscious and patterned manipulation of the landscape for lasting and defensively beneficial settlements.

One element of Kumako that may prove to be congruent with the historical record of Cuban *palenques* is that permanent settlements include an elevated central nucleus with dispersed satellite hamlets in its surroundings. La Rosa Corzo (2003) observed, “The runaway slave settlement in the Bauruco Mountains had four nuclei or concentrations or dwellings, which were situated on the highest, most exposed parts of that mountain range” (236). One example is of the Calunga *palenque*. Each dwelling at this settlement was constructed on a man-made slope. La Rosa Corzo (2003) describes the floors of each dwelling:

Lineal continuity, determined by what may be called the foundation of the elevation that is, the least sloping area everything was covered with enormous old trees that give the place a wonderful protection, as it is impossible to see if from other heights, yet all the surrounding mountains can be seen from its peak. (240)

La Rosa Corzo (2003) further stated that the constant element to these settlements was their need for security and intra-group communication for defensive strategizing. Southeastern Cuba, the location most populous with *palenques* and *rancherías* (smaller, more transient settlements), was—in the late 17th and early 18th centuries and at the time of large-scale maroonage—the least settled by Spanish colonizers and most mountainous, isolated, and rugged part of Cuba. A

network of communications and relations existed that allowed multiple subregions to maintain open interaction between the *palenques* and *rancherías* (La Rosa Corzo 2003:231). The dispersed satellite hamlets were often burned by their Maroon inhabitants during slave hunting raids. The larger settlements thus functioned as a perennial backup during these raids by the Spaniards.

Intra-group communication may have also played a different role in the formation of Maroon communities in the southeastern United States. Archaeological research at the Great Dismal Swamp of North Carolina and Virginia was carried out with the expectation that the archaeological record would shed light on the complex lifeways of early Maroons living in this area by revealing interconnected settlements and nuances in material culture. Arising out of this important research is a realization that early 18th century Maroon sites were located on landforms called mesic islands or elevated landscapes, such as ridges, hammocks and hills. Maroon research in this region also shows that these landscape formations are a form of exilic communication that may have been orchestrated to communicate more effectively with the external social milieu (Sayers, Burke, and Henry 2007).

These examples allow us to consider the nature of Maroon settlements beyond the obvious reclusive aspect of transient groups of individuals on the run. We now have an enriched understanding that Kumako was more than differences between a nucleated and dispersed units of settlement focused on and around a mound. It was also a community that sought protection from ancestors and from the power and potency of vessels used in Indigenous ritual life. This ritual protection of the community—manifested in the deep depression with ritually related artifacts—draws on Indigenous technology while simultaneously employing powerful African

tropes of transformation, especially since the ethnographic use of pemba in purification rituals can be traced so clearly to African derivations.

Thus Kumako emerges—in our view as a self-aware community prepared to best utilize its natural and cultural environments. Kumako drew on the most potent transformational devices within the African repertoire of healing and purification. These Maroons simultaneously appropriated a mound/periphery structure that may have been drawn from the Indigenous cultural repertoire and that has strong parallels to Maroon communities in Cuba and Brazil.

APPENDIX A
SURINAME LAWS CONCERNING MAROONS

Table A-1. Instructions for The Postholders Living among the 'free ones' who live behind Auca

Date	Notice/ Announcement	Article(s)
1811 July 5	Instructions for The Postholders Living among the 'free ones' who live behind Auca	1. Postholders are required to have good conduct within the community and maintain good image of the plantation owners in eyes of free ones'. They must gain the confidence of the 'free ones' for that they could learn to trust the white man and vice versa.
		2. Agreements and understandings (informal handshakes) about the behavior of 'free ones' in the presence of landowners.
		3. Made with 'free ones' of higher or more important status. Extension of informal privileges.
		4. ?
		5. Government to be notified of what is going on within the 'free ones' community.

Table A-2. Payment for the Excursion to Find Runaway Slaves

Date	Notice/ Announcement	Article(s)
1717 Feb. 20	Payment for the Excursion to Find Runaway Slaves	Planters organize excursions to eradicate 'free ones',but could not locate larger villages further in the interior, only ones near by. Larger villages of 'free ones' corresponded with the villages closer to the river; which interned, corresponded with plantation slaves to know when planters were preparing to venture into interior. Larger villages knew to counter attack or move, making planter's excursions unsuccessful. In reaction planters would try to go without commandos and surprise 'free ones', as well as to stop uprisings on plantations. Government deemed that the most effective way to find runaway villages was to incite individuals with payment promise, to organize and finance themselves for excursions. Special focus was placed on locating the villages of Claes, Pedros in the Suriname River Valley, for 1500 guilders, and Will in the Commawijne River valley, for 600 guilders. For each slave captured there was a payment of 10 guilders.

Table A-3. The Compensation for Locating Runaway Villages

Date	Notice/ Announcement	Article(s)
1742 Dec. 7	The Compensation for Locating Runaway Villages	<p>Planter’s plea to government about lack of information on runaway villages; re: their style of living, the sort of tools they owned, and the runaway slaves among them. Government cannot reassure planters of village activities, although some small villages were found and burned. Planter’s fear that such small-scale action may insight greater outside attacks, and slave disobedience and uprising. Planter’s request protection for their slaves and liberation from the antagonism of the ‘free ones’. Planters also request permission to locate and destroy the hidden villages with organized commandos units.</p> <p>For each commando team government will pay, 1500 guilders for the eradication of known villages, and 500,000 guilders for the eradication of unknown villages. For those runaways who willingly return and reveal location of villages, a pardon will be granted and given a level of freedom and respect on plantation.</p>

Table A-4. The Attitudes of the Pacified Bush Negroes

Date	Notice/ Announcement	Article(s)
1783 May 15	The Attitudes of the Pacified Bush Negroes	Complaint made to the police and criminal justice about the antagonism from bush Negroes towards whites, during their passage up and down the Suriname River. Behavior regulation to be conducted, especially through the passage of Savane, Rama and Victoria postholders. Complaints should be made to postholders at these stations, not to the police or criminal justice people. The commanding officer for each post is responsible for the misbehavior of 'free ones' upon complaints made by planters. The planters are obligated to report any insolence from 'free ones'. The law will be circulated to all plantations to disallow anyone from claiming ignorant.

Table A-5. Selling of Wood from Bush Negroes Behind Auka

Date	Notice/ Announcement	Article(s)
1780 Aug. 14	Selling of Wood from Bush Negroes Behind Auka	<p>Bush Negroes are transporting Brownheart and other types of wood into the upper part of the Suriname River, and creeks, to be sold to the planters in the area. Instigated by pricing arguments between bush negroes and whites, the gov't. instead will stipulate where business will be conducted. Business to be conducted at post Victoria and regulated by the commanding official at the post, who would act as mediator between the two groups. All wood items were brought to the post, and paid for by the postholder. The receipt was then given to the whites. The price and overall business was stipulated by the postholder. The law will be circulated to all plantations to disallow anyone from claiming ignorant.</p>

Table A-6. New Stipulation about the Payment for Runaways

Date	Notice/ Announcement	Article(s)
1791 Jan. 17/ 31	New Stipulation about the Payment for Runaways	Juriaan Francois Friderici commander about the colony of Suriname, on guaranteeing and protecting peace for the whites against crimes of bush-negroes. Notice discusses adjustment on tax payment for runaways. Gov't. states that all prior publications about runaways is now void. Instead a yearly tax for the import and export of products will be enforced. With the amount of runaway tax depending on the market value of goods in Amsterdam.
		1. Property ownership is not considered. The tax must be paid, and will cover the cost of runaways as well as other costs.
		2. The Price of the tax is based on market value in Amsterdam in regards to: sugar, coffee, cotton and cocoa. Between the months of September and August, depending on the value prices are; 40 guilders for sugar, 15c for 1 pound of coffee, 25c for 1 pound of cotton, 10c for 1 pound of cocoa. Fixed rates will be developed for the coming year based on current value.
		4. ?
		5. Those with greater income must pay more on the runaways.

Table A-7. Bush-negroes from Behind Auka Must Return to Their Village

Date	Notice/ Announcement	Article(s)
1773 August 9	Bush-negroes from Behind Auka Must Return to Their Village	Urges bush-negroes to maintain their position as sovereign people living in the interior. However, they are requesting, through the chief of police and criminal justice office, for the freedom of slaves of Aucaanse. Dutch are emphasizing that the bush-negroes must not interact with plantation slaves. The law will be circulated to all plantations to disallow anyone from claiming ignorant.

Table A-8. Prohibiting Bush-negroes Access to Plantation

Date	Notice/ Announcement	Article(s)
1761 Dec. 1	Prohibiting Bush-negroes Access to Plantation	Notice for the chief of police and criminal justice office about the group of 'bush-negroes' who are disturbing the plantation activity. The chief of the bush-negroes is being held responsible for lack of control of 'free ones'. It was possible to return to plantation with written permission of gov't., but were still sent back or arrested.

Table A-9. Bush-negroes for Rent

Date	Notice/ Announcement	Article(s)
1764 Dec. 20	Bush-negroes for Rent	Bush-negroes for rent must first receive contract stating agreement for work conditions. At which point they must be paid upfront. Bushnegroes have the right to complain to the commissioner of the politiek about unfair contracts and receive compensation due. Planter would be duly reprimanded if they do not comply.

Table A-10. Peace Treaties with the Bush-negroes Behind Auka

Date	Notice/ Announcement	Article(s)
1760 Oct. 10	Peace Treaties with the Bush-negroes Behind Auka	Peace Treaty of Camp Vreedenburg
		1. Call to forgive and forget past events between Dutch and the bush-negroes. From this day forward we must begin anew. Bush-negroes must conduct themselves as friends to land owners. They will be viewed as free leaders. No more stealing of equipment or antagonistic behavior from both parties. Bush-negroes can move about, but only with permission.
		2. Bush-negroes must be at least 10hr. journey from the closest plantation. (distance measured in time—this may be considering an average days travel on foot by sunlight).
		3. From October 14, 1759 bush-negroes must not be traveling alone. If seen alone, planter can report them for a reward of 10 guilders minimum, to a maximum of 50 guilders. If a bush-negroe is in a10 hour proximity to land owners, they must be in official company of white man or they can be captured and enslaved.
		4. If there is a complaint about bush-negroes in the vicinity, the governor will send convoy to search for them and determine the reason for the presence.
		5. ?
		6. In case chief Arabie dies, it must be notified immediately to the government, who will be the next chief or replacement. Government must approve this. If (bush-negroes) need something and want to request something they can send 5 to 6 (persons) to Paramaribo and report immediately to governor. (Bush-negroe) given silver button or knob with year 1759 on it.
		7. They can bring cattle, products and wood with a maximum of 10-12 persons. Amount of items are inventoried. They are allowed to sell after they notify governor of amount they are selling.

Table A- 10. Continued

		8. If white man does injustice or molest bush-negroes, they can complain to court, but bush-negroes must take care to behave and don't do injustice to whites. Or there will be a measured penalty of death.
		9. To adjust to settlement they must choose safe conduct. (Accommodate or safe guard governor) to go to Auka to speak with chief. In return gov't. is safeguarding bush-negroes with Viera and second in command Collierus.
		They acknowledge on that day and are stamping it.
		Undersigned by M.E. Myer, J.A. Abercrombie and JaquesRudolph Zobre
		Undersigned by M.E. Myer, J.A. Abercrombie and JaquesRudolph Zobre Cosigners: Arabie, Pamo, Quassie, Quaauw Van Pater, Abraham Thoma, DanielNavo, Tites Van Amsingh, Ceres Van Gibert, Coffy Chapprando, Fossoe Van Nassy, Beyman Van Veelen, Don Jan Van Les Pinas, Abraham Van de Loge, Sada Arig, Boston Bant, Quakoe Van Sara Lapara
		We certify and declare that these marks underneath are in name of bush-negroes. Authenticated by J.F. Reynet and F.W. Cavitz

Table A-11. Instructions for the Postholder in Rio Correntine, J.F. Geijger

Date	Notice/ Announcement	Article(s)
1780 March 6	Instructions for the Postholder in Rio Correntine, J.F. Geijger	1. First he will transport himself to the formentioned post and take over everything that belongs to it. Take inventory and make sure nothing is missing, damaged and poorly maintained.
		2. He will make sure that the post is properly maintained with food and keep up the agriculture by planting.
		3. He must carefully regard the Carib, Arawak Indians. And settle close to post area and know what's going on. Indians are allowed to be in proximity of post, and should be encouraged to live close to post.
		4. He will take care that no planters in any case harass free Indians and force free Indians to labor with violence.
		5. He must see to it that Indians work on land (near post). But convince them in a soft manner.
		6. He must see to it that there are no secret gatherings by the Indians and the negroes. Must prevent upheavals in a proactive manner.
		7. In any case of an upheaval he must report immediately with the reasons.
		8. All deserted slaves must be caught, handcuffed and brought back to masters (based on notice and description from planter).
		9. If it comes to him that runaways have settled somewhere, it must be reported immediately.
		10. To prevent discontent towards Indians, he must pay them properly without force or blackmail.
		11. All correspondents with post's Indian community must be dealt with immediately.
		12. Without exception he will not let someone pass the property without a permit. Postholder gives one permit to free Indians or negroes for two travels.
		13. If someone leaves the post or is coming into post for food they must report names of persons. To be specified is; persons traveling with, showing list of names to commanding officer who must sign it and this must be sent to the governor.

Table A-11. Continued

		14. Everything they (free Indians and bush-negroes) take with them from post must be destined to Paramaribo. Where they are not allowed to sell or exchange any of it.
		15. All trade to Indians is only allowed to uitlegger and not to the bijlegger.
		16. Violence to the Indians will be punished with corporal punishment and in worst case, death penalty. Especially to wives and daughters (free Indians).
		17. According to the ordinances from the governor they are not allowed without permission from governor to take any cargaison from anybody. If they make a request to governor and he allows it, their pay can be substituted.
		18. Their (postholder) allowed to deliver to the fortress Corailen, against the old price; 12 ell (measurement of elbow length?) of Osnabruger Linen, 2 Corallen, and 5 pieces of nail knives equals 2 axes and 2 machetes.

Table A-12. Assignment of Passes (Permits) for Pacified Bush-negroes

Date	Notice/ Announcement	Article(s)
1811 Dec. 20/21	Assignment of Passes (Permits) for Pacified Bush-negroes	Governor General Chs. Bentinck signed permits, but from this day forward they can be approved and signed by Court of Police and Criminal Justice—J. Bruining and A.A. Halfdide. In accordance with the above mentioned courts. The courts will publicize this notification and state that it (permits) must be respected on an equal level with the ones signed by the postholder and bijlegger. The law will be circulated to all plantations and then returned to the secretary of police.

Table A-13. Pacified Bush-negroes Receive Sign (I.D)

Date	Notice/ Announcement	Article(s)
1761 April 9	Pacified Bush-negroes Receive Sign (I.D)	Our friends have requested from the Court of Criminal Justice, a sign for which they can identify themselves for which they can pass. The court stamps seal on a piece of paper with name of governor. This will show every inhabitant the bush-negroes are allowed to pass and repass, and must be helped to pass and repass.

Table A-14. For the Passing of Post Victoria a Written Permit is Required

Date	Notice/ Announcement	Article(s)
1781 Jan. 15	For the Passing of Post Victoria a Written Permit is Required	It has come to the knowledge of the Court of Police that there is an abuse, from whites, free Negroes, and pacified bush Negroes, who make use of the rivers. The courts want to make public that whites and free Negroes who want to sail the river Suriname and past post Victoria, are obliged to get a letter of permit from the gov't. secretary and show it to the commanding officers. Concerning the pacified bush-negroes, the same letter of permission from the aforementioned court will be handed over to them. But if they are not able to show it they must be sent back. To disallow anyone from claiming ignorant, the law will be made public at post Victoria and circulated to all plantations for signing, and then returned to the secretary.

Table A-15. Settlement with Bush-Negroes of the Saramaka and Suriname (Rivers)

Date	Notice/ Announcement	Article(s)
1762 Sept. 19	Settlement with Bush-Negroes of the Saramaka and Suriname (Rivers)	1. Articles of negotiations concerning the bush-negroes of upper Suriname and Saramaka Rivers. Request to forget all about the past and develop an appropriate relationship. They will be accepted as free men, as long as there behavior isn't inappropriate.
		2. Bush-negroes swear to comply with what was agreed upon, word for word. All villages brought together. If there is a village that does not want to comply it is up to either group to destroy the independent village.
		3. Bush-negroes swear to comply with what was agreed upon, word for word. Bush-negroes must stay where they are (once in a village they must stay there). An appointment is needed before moving. Must notify the local government (province ruler) and need approval before they are allowed to move.
		4. Bush-negroes swear to comply with what was agreed upon, word for word. Need to give name of village chief. Upon his death, gov't. to be notified and approve the new chief.
		5. Bush-negroes swear to comply with what was agreed upon, word for word. Agree to return runaways to plantation. And be given 10 to 50 guilders, depending on how far the capture was from the plantation. Upon the return of a slave planters would determine the type of punishment, death or corporal. Planters will investigate the intention of the runaway—was it due to mishandling by master? If so that person is punished.
		6. Bush-negroes swear to comply with what was agreed upon, word for word. Plantation owner is not allowed to do anything that is against the peace treaty. They must punish slave the proper way not choose preference. Those (bush-negroes) doing things against the peace treaty must be punished within a month. If not the white man will come with a commando to give appropriate punishment, in which case they must work something out with officials. Masters (chiefs) who don't punish properly will be penalized.

Table A-15.Continued

		7. Bush-negroes swear to comply with what was agreed upon, word for word. (Chiefs) must bring back runaways to receive payment.
		8. Expedition of colonists to investigate bush-negro territory with the leadership of the chief bush-negro, and occasional assistance from white men. Gov't. appointed white man will gather group of bush-negro men to locate villages of other bush-negroes causing trouble. Problem causing bush-negroes were to be convinced to accept excellence (Dutch king) as the one with power.
		9. ?
		10. They are allowed (bush-negroes) each year, up to a group of 50, to bank on the Saramaka (River), and Creek Arwaticabo or Wanika, for the trading of wood, cotton, livestock and other goods. If they want to send goods into Paramaribo, only 8 to 10 of business (individuals) are allowed to continue to Paramaribo. They must report to the governor depending on what they have and where they are going to be. They must be off the street by 8pm to avoid any misunderstanding. They are not allowed to bring weapons. [?] If they are on street after 8pm a permit is needed to distinguish oneself from a freed slave.
		11. They (bush-negroes) must give white people respect as well as all others that were made free. If there is a complaint between any groups, it must go to the governor and he will investigate and either side can be punished. But in the case of the bush-negroes, the death penalty is possible. In certain cases, whites are allowed to capture and do the punishing. Especially of any action or thought breaking down the peace treaty, whites are allowed to act immediately. Bush-negroes swear to comply with what was agreed upon, word for word

Table A-15 Continued

		12. [?] The bush-negroes are not allowed to give assistance to anything or one that is against the whites.
		13. If they (bush-negroes) agree with the proposals they will get 4 adults back and the kids of the chiefs, who have been held by the planters. All chiefs must come to peace treatment/ negotiations. Those not able to come must send representatives, with the name of the village and its chiefs. All villages must be a part of the peace negotiations or they must be destroyed. Must bring runaways and other captures to planters. Bush-negroes swear that there is no other village or chief that they have knowledge of.
		14. Any kind of goods given to them as presents, they (bush-negroes) will come and collect from (post) Victoria.
		15. [? The 5 to 6 negroes who help to kill Picolet and the others, or who were involved in the plot, are being held in secrecy. They must keep negroes as slaves; they are not allowed to come over here. Promise that reported slaves will never come to fort or under eye of white man.] Special note: negotiation value between slave and armed weapon. Exchanging gunpowder and bullets for slaves or cotton, dice and other items. (Bush-negroes insist on having gunpowder, bullets and weapons instead of dice and cotton).

Table A-15. Continued

		On 19 September 1762, signed by High Governor of Suriname Wigbold Crommelin and the one in charge of Police and Criminal Justice, Mr. Raeden. These two individuals in charge must go and negotiate with the bush-negroes of the Saramaka on the proposals that were made. After several meetings, 11 chiefs or representatives from the bush-negroes villages, sat with colonists to go over proposal and have it explained. They swear an oath for peace over the centuries that both sides would comply with their role.
		Bush-negro chiefs present (from Saramaka villages): Darie of all villages and Abini, his second in command; Coffy from Taam; Lamotte from Jeboy; Alvetoe from ?; Abraham from Quamina; Eija from Quakoe (Kumako); Prima from Acapo; Maconde ruler of the Tuo Vingas (and also Tuo Vingas named Afoengoe); Cabriatie from Atama; Jantje Acoerie from Monima and Pianga; Moesienga from Jantje.
		On the 20 four prisoners will be handed over to the negotiators. Prisoners names were:Darie, Cojo, Cimba, Oosoe. These four were not children of chiefs, but close relatives. [? But in future they might exchange them back for their children].
		Two villages and chiefs not present: Zamzam of Parake; Christoffel of Matjara. Although they aren't present, they must still comply with treaty. Those villages that sent representatives must force chiefs to comply with the treaty, if not they will be considered enemies. War will be sought to make them a part of the peace agreement.
		Under-signers of the peace agreement are: Louis Nepveu, J. Dorig, and Johan Van Rillertsz, Sergeant. These three accompanied the aforementioned 2 organizers.

Table A-16. Publication on what was Convened with the Bush-Negroes of Saramaka and above Suriname

Date	Notice/ Announcement	Article(s)
1762 Sept. 29	Publication on what was Convened with the Bush-Negroes of Saramaka and above Suriname	The negotiations with the bush-negroes of the Saramaka and above the Suriname (Rivers) have been accomplished. Everyone to rest assure peace will be kept. The leaders will comply with proposal and return slaves and keep the peace. Permitted bush-negroes must be allowed to walk about freely without being molested. (Planters) can be helpful towards them.

Table A-17. The Selling of Weapons

Date	Notice/ Announcement	Article(s)
1767 Aug. 6	The Selling of Weapons	In daily practice and experience of the Police Criminal Justice of Suriname, the rules and regulations of not selling weapons to bush-negroes was not fully understood.

Table A-18. Notice Concerning the Agreement with Bush-negroes Behind Auca and the Permission to Stay for Official Residents and Planters

Date	Notice/ Announcement	Article(s)
1760 Oct. 29/30	Notice Concerning the Agreement with Bush-negroes Behind Auca and the Permission to Stay for Official Residents and Planters	Notification to everyone about the negotiations that have been going on. They are at a good place of agreement with the bush-negroes. Everyone knows that they have reached this level. All parties understand that it is all right to exchange prisoners. They (bush-negroes) are allowed to move freely with out being molested.

Table A-19. Selling of Rhifles

Date	Notice/ Announcement	Article(s)
1767 August 6	Selling of Rhifles	Prohibited to sell rhifles and tools to bush-negroes, but can sell other. Like Seydgeweer rhifles and pickaxes.

APPENDIX B
UNIT PROVENIENCE

Key*⁶⁰

None Recovered =No Artifacts recovered from excavation unit, therefore no count available

C=Ceramic

L=Lithic

GR=Groundstone

Fl=Flake

G=Glass

Or=Organic

O=Other

⁶⁰ * Refers to the quadrants within an excavation unit opened to further explore anomalies.

Note: The excavations of some units were based on arbitrary **Levels** as well as cm below surface (**cm bs**). When applicable Levels are also interpreted as cm bs.

In this provenience log the Dark Circular Depression is also referred to as the Dark Circular Pit. The term "Pit" is applied here to help represent the depth of the feature.

I did not participate in the 1997 Surface Survey and the 1998 Excavation Season A. I did however transpose the field notes from these two seasons. I cannot account for information that does not appear in the provenience log. My active participation in the MHRP began August 2000. At this time I had minimal involvement with the note taking process. Furthermore, I pulled the provenience information found in many of the tables while conducting analysis of the artifacts (this provenience information was written on the original artifact bags).

I have compiled that provenience to the best of my ability, however, **Not Available** represents unclear provenience that was transferred from the original bag, and/or missing data.

Inconsistencies in note taking are a reflection of the number of years and the rotation of individuals that have worked on this project.

Table B-1. Kumako 1 “camp site” unit O5

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Total Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2002	KMK1	“camp site”	O5	2 x 2	0 - 10	None recovered	Not Available	
					10 - 20 Level 2	C = 25		
					20 - 30 Level 3	C = 9		
Total					30	34		

Table B-2. Kumako 1 “camp site” unit O6

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Total Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2002	KMK1	“camp site”	O6	2 x 2	0 - 10 10 - 20 Level 2 20 - 35 Level 3	C = 26 C = 24 L = 1 C = 27	Not Available	
Total					35	78		

Table B-3. Kumako 1 “camp site” unit O7

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Total Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2002	KMK1	“camp site”	O7	2 x 2	0.35	None Recovered	Not Available	
Total					35	None Recovered		

Table B-4. Kumako 1 “camp site” unit P5

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Total Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2002	KMK1	“camp site”	P5	2 x 2	0.25	None Recovered	Not Available	
Total					25	None Recovered		

Table B-5. Kumako 1 “camp site” unit P6

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Total Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2002	KMK1	“camp site”	P6	2 x 2	0 - 10 Level 1	C = 5	Not Available	
					10 - 20 Level 2	C = 292		
					20 - 35 Level 3	C = 42		
Total					35	339		

Table B-6. Kumako 1 “camp site” unit P7

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Total Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2002	KMK1	“camp site”	P7	2 x 2	0 - 10	C = 3	Not Available	
					Level 1			
				W ^{1/2}	10 - 20	C = 18		
				1 x 2	Level 2	M = 1		
		East ^{1/2}	20 - 30	C = 7				
			1 x 2	Level 3				
Total					30	29		

Table B-7. Kumako 1 “camp site” unit P10

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Total Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2002	KMK1	“camp site”	P10	2 x 2	0 - 10 Level 1	G = 31	Not Available	
				SE Corner	10 - 20 Level 2	G = 6 M = 1 Or = 1	Not Available	
Total					20	39		

Table B-8. Kumako 1 “camp site” unit Q7

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Total Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2002	KMK1	“camp site”	Q7	2 x 2*	0 - 10 Level 1 0.30	None Recovered	Not Available	
					10 - 20 Level 2	None Recovered		
					*1 x 2 20 - 30 Level 3 East ½	C = 67 L = 1 Or = 3		
					30 - 40 Level 4	C = 9		
Total					30	80		

Table B-9. Kumako 1 “camp site” unit Q8

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Total Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2002	KMK1	“camp site”	Q8	2x2	0.30	None Recovered	Not Available	
Total					30	None Recovered		

Table B-10. Kumako 1 “camp site” unit R8

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Total Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2002	KMK1	“camp site”	R8	2 x 2	40	None Recovered	Not Available	
Total					.40	None Recovered		

Table B-11. Kumako 1 unit R12

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Total Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2000	KMK1	Area A Locus 1	R12	2 x 2	20	C =22	Not Available	
Total					20	22		

Table B-12. Kumako 1 unit S12

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Total Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2000	KMK1	Area A Locus 1	S12	2 x 2	0 - 10	C = 30 Or = 11 M = 2	Not Available	
Total					10	43		

Table B-13. Kumako 1 unit T12

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Total Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2000	KMK1	Area A Locus 1	T12	2 x 2	0 - 10 Level 1	C = 21 Or = 1 M = 1 O = 7	Not Available	
				E ^{1/2}	10 - 20 Level 2	C = 19 M = 5 Or = 1		
Total					20	55		

Table B-14. Kumako 1 unit test pit 1

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Total Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2000	KMK1	Area A Locus 1	TP1	2 x 2	0 - 10 Level 1	C = 14	Not Available	
Total					10	14		

Table B-15. Kumako 1 test pit 2

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Total Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2000	KMK1	Area A Locus 1	TP2	2 x 2	0 - 10 Level 1	C = 25	Not Available	
Total					10	25		

Table B-16. Kumako 1 Area A

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Total Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2000	KMK1	Area A		Not Avail.	Surface	C = 23	Not Available	
Total					Surface	23		

Table B-17. Kumako 1 Area A Locus 2

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Total Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2000	KMK1	Area A Locus 2		Not Available	0 - 20	Or = 3	Not Available	
Total					20	3		

Table B-18. Kumako 1 Area D⁶¹

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Total Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
Not Available	KMK1	Area D		Not Avail.	Surface	C = 262	Not Available	
Total					Surface	262		

⁶¹ This provenience was created in 1998 and is out of sequence with the rest of KMK1 (Area A Loci 1 and 2 and Area B). There is no Area C identified in the field logs/notes. Based on the field notes I believe that Area D may have been a surface sweep in the early stages of site surveying at KMK 1 in 1998. However, the grids and site maps made available to me do not offer an indication of where Area D is in relation to other Areas in KMK1.

Table B-19. Kumako 2 mound periphery unit D30

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2004	KMK2	Mound Periphery	D30	2 x 2	0 - 20 Level 1	C = 11	Medium brown coarse sandy loam	
					20 - 35 Level 2	C = 26	7YR 3/3 Dark Brown reddish brown sandy clay loam	
					35 - 50 Level 3	C = 4	7YR 3/3 Dark Brown reddish brown sandy clay loam with 25% gravel content	
Total					50	41		

Table B-20. Kumako 2 mound periphery unit H22

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2004	KMK2	Mound Periphery	H22	2 x 2*	Level 1	C = 46 L = 1	Reddish brown clay loam, loose top soil w/ lots of root disturbance	Beginning of Dark Circular Depression
					Level 2	C = 123 Gr = 1 L = 2	7YR 3/3 Dark Brown, Intact sediment reddish	Dark Circular Pit
					70 Level 3	C = 21	brown clay loam	Dark Circular Pit
					70 - 90 Level 4	C = 73 L = 1		Dark Circular Pit
					90 - 120 Level 5	C = 37		
					120 - 140 Level 6	C = 2		
					70 *1x1 NW corner Level 7	C = 1	Gravelly red clay	End of Dark Circular Pit
					94 Level 8	C = 2		Below dark Circular Pit
Total					1.50	309		

Table B-21. Kumako 2 mound periphery unit H24

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2004	KMK2	Mound Periphery	H24	2 x 2	0 - 20	C = 12	10YR 3 /4 Dark Yellowish Brown, moist reddish soil with small rootlettes and lots of small pebbles	
					20 - 40	C = 17 L = 1	10YR 3 /4 Dark Yellowish Brown, moist reddish soil with small rootlettes and lots of small pebbles	
					50 - 70 ⁶²	C = 61	7YR 3/3 Dark Brown, moist w/ dark reddish hue	Dark Circular Pit
					60 - 70	C = 10	7YR 3/3 Dark Brown, moist w/ dark reddish hue	Dark Circular Pit

⁶² The difference in level depth (50-70 and 60-70cm bs) is due to inconsistencies during the excavation process. Units repeatedly became waterlogged during the several break days away from site. Upon return to the site excavation resumed after standing water was removed from unit. This process often affected the opening depth of the unit, which would be different from the last depth recorded at the closing of excavation.

Table B-21. Continued

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2004	KMK2	Mound Periphery	H24	2 x 2	70 - 80	C = 15	7YR 3/3 Dark Brown, moist w/ mottled dark reddish brown color	
				*NE corner	80-1.10	C = 33 L = 1	7YR 3/3 Dark Brown, moist w/ mottled dark reddish brown color	Dark Circular Pit
				*NE corner	1.10-1.80	C = 20	7YR 3/3 Dark Brown, moist w/ mottled dark reddish brown color	Dark Circular Pit
Total					1.80	170		

Table B-22. Kumako 2 mound periphery unit H26

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2004	KMK2	Mound Periphery	H26	2 x 2	50	None Recovered	Not Available	Dark Circular Depression
Total					50			

Table B-23. Kumako 2 mound periphery unit I22

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note					
2004	KMK2	Mound Periphery	I22	2 x 2*	0 - 20	None Recovered	10YR 3 /4 Dark Yellowish Brown, moist reddish soil with small rootlettes and lots of small pebbles	Dark Circular Depression					
					20 - 40	None Recovered	10YR 4/6 Dark Yellowish Brown moist loam clay						
					40 - 73	C = 8	7YR 3/3 Dark Brown, moist w/ dark reddish hue						
					73 - 83	C = 33	7YR 3/3 Dark Brown, moist w/ dark reddish hue						
					83 - 90	C = 53	7YR 3/3 Dark Brown, moist w/ dark reddish hue						
					90 - 1.00	None Recovered	7YR 3/3 Dark Brown, moist w/ mottled dark reddish brown color						
					*1x1 SW corner	1.10-1.40	None Recovered						
					*1x1 SE corner	1.10-1.40	L = 1 C = 6						
					Total					1.40	101		

Table B-24. Kumako 2 mound periphery unit I24

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2004	KMK2	Mound Periphery	I24	2 x 2	Level 1	C = 1	Not Available	
					Level 2	C = 96 L = 1	Not Available	Dark Circular Pit
					Level 3	C = 59 L = 1	Not Available	Dark Circular Pit
					70 1x1 NW corner Level 4	C = 92 Gr = 1	Not Available	Dark Circular Pit
					90 1 x 1 NW corner Level 5	C = 22	Not Available	Dark Circular Pit
					50 - 60 Level 6	C = 6	Not Available	
					Level 7	C = 8	Not Available	
					Level 10	C = 1	Not Available	
Total					90	288		

Table B-25. Kumako 2 mound periphery unit I28

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2004	KMK2	Mound Periphery	I28	2 x 2	0 - 20 Level 1	None Recovered	Not Available	
					20 - 35 Level 2	C = 5	Not Available	
					35 - 50 Level 3	None Recovered	Not Available	
Total					50	5		

Table B-26. Kumako 2 mound periphery unit M22

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2004	KMK2	Mound Periphery	M22	2 x 2	0 - 90	C = 3	Not Available	
Total					90	3		

Table B-27. Kumako 2 mound periphery Ctrl 4x4

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2004	KMK2	Mound Periphery	Ctrl 4 x 4	4 x 4*			10YR 4/6 Dark Yellowish Brown w/ heavy root & pebbles distribution	
				*SE 1x1quad	0 - 50	C = 1		
				*SW 1x1quad	30 - 50	None Recovered		
				*NE 1 x 1 quad	30	None Recovered		
				*NW 50 - 50 quad	40	None Recovered		
Total					40	1		

Table B-28. Kumako 2 mound periphery Ctrl 2x2

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Total Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2004	KMK2	Mound Periphery	Ctrl 2 x 2	2 x 2	20	None Recovered	10YR 4/6 Dark Yellowish Brown, soil is dry & compact, heavy root distribution & pebbles	Unit placed in mound road#1
Total					20	None Recovered		

Table B-29. Kumako 2 mound center shovel Test Pit 1

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Total Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2004	KMK2	Shovel Test Pit1	TP1	1 x 2	0 - 30	C = 87 L = 1 (projectile point mid-section)	10YR 4/6 Dark Yellowish Brown, dry compact soil with moderate rootlette & pebble distribution	
				*NW 1 x 1	0 - 20	C = 13		
				*SW 1 x 1	0 - 20	C = 7		
Total					30	108		

Table B-30. Kumako 2 mound center N-D8

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2004	KMK2	Mound/Village Center	N-D8	2 x 2	0 - 10	C = 25	10YR 4/6 Dark Yellowish Brown,	
					10 - 20	C = 12 Gr = 1 L = 1	dry compact soil with moderate rootlette & pebble distribution	
					20 - 30	C = 13		
Total					30	52		

Table B-31. Kumako 2 mound center SA-2

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2004	KMK2	Mound/Village Center	SA-2	2 x 2	0 - 10 10 - 20 20 - 30 30 - 40	C = 26 C = 157 C = 43 C = 16	10YR 4/6 Dark Yellowish Brown, dry compact soil with moderate rootlette & pebble distribution	
Total					40	242		

Table B-32. Kumako 2 mound periphery F2A2

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
2004	KMK2	Mound Periphery	F2A2 (Feature 2 Area 2)	2 x 2	80	C = 1	10YR 4/6 Dark Yellowish Brown, soil is dry and compact with heavy root distribution and pebbles	
Total					80	1		

Table B-33. Tuido Area 4

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
1997	Tuido	Area 4		None	Surface	C = 315	Not Available	
Total					Surface	315		

Table B-34. Tuido Area 1

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
1997	Tuido	Area 1		None	Surface	C = 130	Not Available	
Total					Surface	130		

Table B-35. Tuido Area A

Excavation Season	Site	Provenience	Unit(s)	Size (meters)	Depth (cm bs)	Artifacts Recovered:	Soil composition (Source, Munsell Color Chart)	Note
1997	Tuido	Area A		None	Surface	C = 10	Not Available	
Total					Surface	10		

APPENDIX C ARTIFACT ANALYSIS SHEET

The January 2005 Analysis sheet was updated from the May 2003 version to create greater ease in the analysis process. Listed below are the changes made.

Changes and additions to the analysis sheet

- The Munsell chart will be used for more accurate color identification. Color will be Identified as exterior / interior.
- Color codes which say throughout means that the artifact has a uniform color which maybe mottled with another.
- The colors range from Munsell pages 5yr to 10yr. The majority of which refer to page 5yr.
- UID has been added to each category for items that are recognized as artifacts but cannot be identified further.
- The weight will no longer be recorded. I have no scale. This category was questionable to begin with and I no longer see a need for it to be analysis. The data isn't particularly useful.
- Each item (or group of items) within a provenience will be recorded separately.
- Thickness will be measured for every provenience. As this is a defining attribute for distinguishing similar items.
- For rim sherds, if one measurement is given it implies that the rim lip is of same the thickness as the body of the sherd.
- There should be two components to surface observation, color and texture. Observations about the texture of the artifacts surface include;
- Grit / gritty/ heavy grit
- Smooth
- Rough

Recording Process

- 1). Clean artifact to remove residual dirt
- 2). Assign permanent Suriname National Museum (SNM) catalog number to artifact
- 3). Record artifact on individual log sheet
 - ✓ identify paste type and temper
 - ✓ note color(s) of item
 - ✓ identify surface treatment
 - ✓ identify design motif and decoration
 - ✓ measure length and width in cm
 - ✓ weight in grams
 - ✓ count of items within a provenience
 - ✓ schematic/ to scale drawing or photo of distinct and or diagnostic items
- 4). Artifact will be directly labeled with catalog number in a non-intrusive spot
- 5). Artifact will be housed in archive quality containers with tag displaying relevant data
 - ✓ tag will read

Item: Cat. # Prov: Count: Weight:
--

- 6). All archived artifacts and lab supplies will be housed at SNM

ANALYSIS SHEET January 2005

Provenience:

Catalog #

Item: pottery sherd glass shard metal organic ceramic other/uid

Paste type: terracotta clay earthenware stoneware

Temper: grit sand fiber other/uid

Color: drkred ltbrn pink drkgry ltred gry wht grn redgry drkbrn ltbrn red drkorng

Surface Treatment: plain patina burnish glaze film other/uid

Design Motif / decoration: punctuates linear incised curvilinear incised appliqué inlay other/uid none

Measurement to nearest mm: length width thickness **Count:**

Schematic Drawing/ Photo#:

Provenience:

Catalog #

Item: pottery sherd glass shard metal organic ceramic other/uid

Paste type: terracotta clay earthenware stoneware

Temper: grit sand fiber other/uid

Color: drkred ltbrn pink drkgry ltred gry wht grn redgry drkbrn ltbrn red drkorng

Surface Treatment: plain patina burnish glaze film other/uid

Design Motif / decoration: punctuates linear incised curvilinear incised appliqué inlay other/uid none

Measurement to nearest mm: length width thickness **Count:**

Schematic Drawing/ Photo#:

APPENDIX D
A CATALOG OF ARTIFACT MATERIAL COMPOSITION
FROM KMK1, KMK2, AND TUDIO

KEY

N/A= Not applicable
DCD= Dark Circular Depression
Erthwre= Earthenware
Snd= Sand
Grit
Int= Interior
Ext= Exterior
C=Ceramic
L=Lithic
GR=Groundstone
Fl=Flake
G=Glass
Or=Organic
O=Other

The categories in each table were created during the analysis process. Each category represents artifact types based on shape, material composition, and external treatment. Some proveniences have a greater variety of artifact types than others. For each excavation unit the tables are organized as Ceramics and/or Lithics and Others.

These lists of tables are for recovered artifacts. If there are no recovered artifacts for a given unit there will not be a table for it.

Table D-1. Kumako 2 mound periphery Unit D30 ceramics

Level/ cm bs	Round Lip Rims	Body Sherd	Paste	Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration
1/ 0 - 20	3	9	erthwre/snd/grit	drkred	Film	Indentations
2/ 20 - 35	5	21	clay/snd/grit	Red	Burnish	none
3/ 35 - 50	2		erthwre	drkbrn	plain	none
3/ 35 - 50	1		clay/snd/grit	drkred	Burnish	none
3/ 35 - 50	1		erthwre/grit	drkorange	plain	none

Table D-2. Kumako 2 mound periphery unit H22 ceramics

Level / cm bs	Provenience	Round Lip Rims	Flat Lip Rims	Body Sherd	Potsherd UID	Paste	Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration
1	(DCD)	2		2		clay/snd	ltbrn	Burnish	none
1	DCD	1				clay/snd	ltbrn	Burnish	none
1	DCD	1		1		terrcott/snd/grit	drkred	Burnish	none
1	DCD		1			clay/snd/grit	ltbrn	Burnish	none
1	DCD	1				erthwre/grit	drkbrn	plain	none
1	DCD		1			erthwre	ltbrn	plain	none
1	DCD	1		1		erthwre/grit	ltbrn	plain	none
1	DCD	2		1		erthwre/grit	burntorange	plain	none
1	DCD			3		clay/snd	orange	Smooth	none
1	DCD	4		1		erthwre/grit	burntorange	plain	none
1	DCD	2		3		erthwre/snd	gry	plain	none
1	DCD	3		11		clay/snd	drkred	Burnish	none
2	DCD	4		2		erthwre/grit	orange	plain	none
2	DCD	4				erthwre/grit	drkorange	plain	none
2	DCD	2		12		clay/snd	wht	plain	none
2	DCD	1				erthwre/snd/grit	drkorange	plain	none
2	DCD	1				clay/snd	drkorange	plain	none
2	DCD	1				clay/snd/grit	red	plain	none
2	DCD	8		1		erthwre/snd/grit	tan	plain	none
2	DCD	1				erthwre/grit	red	plain	none
2	DCD	1				erthwre/snd/grit	tan	plain	none
2	DCD	1				erthwre/grit	ltbrn	plain	none
2	DCD	4				clay/snd/grit	redtan	slip(red)	other
2	DCD	1				erthwre/snd/grit	ltbrn	plain	none
2	DCD	1				erthwre/snd/grit	red	Smooth	none
2	DCD	1		2		clay/snd	drkred	Smooth	none
2	DCD	1				clay/snd/grit	drkred	Smooth	none

Table D-2. Continued

Level/ cm bs	Provenience	Round Lip Rims	Flat Lip Rims	Body Sherd	Potsherd UId	Paste	Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration
2	DCD	4		9		clay/snd/grit	red (throughout)	Smooth	None
2	DCD	1				erthwre/grit	red	plain	none
2	DCD	1				erthwre/snd/grit	red	plain	none
2	DCD	1				erthwre	drkorange	plain	none
2	DCD	3		6		erthwre/grit	drkbrn	plain	none
2	DCD	3				terrcott/grit	drkbrn	Smooth	none
2	DCD	1				erthwre/grit	drkbrn	plain	none
2	DCD	7		7		clay/snd/grit	red (film)	Smooth	none
2	DCD	1				erthwre/snd/grit	pink	plain	none
2	DCD	2				clay/snd/grit	drkred	Smooth	none
2	DCD	1				clay/snd/grit	Brn	plain	none
2	DCD	1				erthwre/grit	drkred	plain	none
2	DCD	1				erthwre/snd	drkred	plain	none
2	DCD	1				erthwre/snd/grit	drkred	Smooth	none
2	DCD	1		1		erthwre/snd	ltbrn	Smooth	none
2	DCD	1				clay/snd	ltbrn	plain	none
2	DCD	1				erthwre/clay/snd	drkred	plain	none
2	DCD	2				erthwre/snd/grit	ltbrn	plain	none
2	DCD	2		15		erthwre/snd/grit	drkbrn	plain	none
2	DCD	1				erthwre/grit	ltbrn	plain	none
3	DCD		1			erthwre/grit	drkorange	plain	none
3	DCD	1		3		clay/snd	red	plain	none
3	DCD	1				erthwre/snd	ltbrn	plain	none
3	DCD	1				clay/snd/grit	tan	slip(red)	none
3	DCD	1				erthwre/grit	drkred	plain	none
3	DCD	1				erthwre/grit	ltbrn	plain	none
3	DCD		1			erthwre/snd/grit	drkorange	plain	none
3	DCD	1				clay/grit	red	plain	none
3	DCD		1			erthwre/grit	ltbrn	plain	none
3	DCD	1				erthwre/grit	red	plain	none
3	DCD	2				erthwre/snd/grit	tan	plain	none

Table D-2. Continued

Level/ cm bs	Provenience	Round Lip Rims	Flat Lip Rims	Body Sherd	Potsherd UId	Paste	Color	Surface Treatment	Decoratio n
3	DCD	1		5		clay/snd/grit erthwre/snd/gr	drkred	Burnish	
4/ 70 - 90	DCD	7		20		it	drkred	plain	none
4/ 70 - 90	DCD		2			erthwre/grit	drkbrn	plain	none
4/ 70 - 90	DCD	2		2		clay/snd/grit erthwre/snd/g	drkred	slip	none
4/ 70 - 90	DCD	1		2		rit	drkred drkorang	plain	none
4/ 70 - 90	DCD	3				erthwre/grit	e	plain	none
4/ 70 - 90	DCD	2				erthwre/grit	ltbrn	Burnish	none
4/ 70 - 90	DCD	1		1		clay/snd erthwre/snd/gr	tan	slip(red)	none
4/ 70 - 90	DCD	1		1		it	tan drkorang	Burnish	none
4/ 70 - 90	DCD	2		4		erthwre/grit	e	plain	none
4/ 70 - 90	DCD	1		19		clay/snd/grit	ltbrn drkorang	Burnish	none
4/ 70 - 90	DCD		1			erthwre/grit	e drkorang	plain	none
4/ 70 - 90	DCD	1				erthwre/grit	e	plain	none
5/ 90 - 120		2		1		clay/snd erthwre/snd/gr	tan drkorang	slip(red)	none
5/ 90 - 120		1				it	e	Burnish	none
5/ 90 - 120		3		8		erthwre/snd/gr it	drkbrn	Burnish	none
5/ 90 - 120		1				erthwre/grit	orange	plain	none
5/ 90 - 120			1	2		erthwre/snd/gr it	ltbrn	plain	none
5/ 90 - 120		4				erthwre/snd/gr it	drkorang e drkorang	Burnish	none
5/ 90 - 120		2				erthwre/grit	e	plain	none
5/ 90 - 120		1				erthwre/grit	drkred	slip	none

Table D-2. Continued

Level/ cm bs	Provenience	Round Lip Rims	Flat Lip Rims	Body Sherd	Potsherd Uld	Paste	Color	Surface Treatment	Decoratio n
5/ 90 – 120		1				erthwre/grit	drkorang e	plain	none
5/ 90 – 120		2		7		erthwre/snd/grit	drkred	Burnish	none
5/ 90 – 120		1				erthwre/snd/grit	drkred	Burnish	none
6/ 120 – 140			1			Stoneware	drkorang e	patina(blk)	none
6/ 120 – 140		1				erthwre/grit	ltbrn	plain	none
7/70	End of DCD, NW 1x1	1				erthwre/grit	ltbrn	plain	none
8/ 80 – 110		1				erthwre/snd/grit	drkred	Burnish	none
8/ 80 – 110		1				clay/snd/grit	drkorang e	Burnish	none
west wall debitage					1	erthwre/grit			none

Table D-3. Kumako 2 mound periphery unit H22 lithics

Level/ cm bs	Provenience	Count	Type	Material	Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration	Comment
1	DCD	1	Shaped Edge	Quartz	wht	Smooth	none	
2	DCD	1	Grinding stone	Granite	Blk	n/a	none	Corroded
2	DCD	1		Granite	drkgry	n/a	none	w/drilled hole
2	DCD	1		Granite	pink/gry		none	Corroded disk shape
4	DCD	1		Chalcedony	wht	Polished	none	Smooth stone
45 cm bs	DCD	1	? Biface	Chalcedony	gry	n/a	none	NE ¼ of NW ¼

Table D-4. Kumako 2 mound periphery unit H24 ceramics

Level/ cm bs	Provenience	Round			Hooked	Body	Handle	Paste	Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration
		Lip Rim	Flat Lip	UID Rim							
0 – 20		1			7		erthwre	red	slip(red)	none	
0 – 20		1					clay/snd/grit	red	slip(red)	none	
0 – 20		2			1		erthwre/grit	orange	plain	none	
20 – 40		1					clay/snd/grit	red	slip(red)	linear	
20 – 40		1					erthwre	ltbrn	uid	incised	
20 – 40		1					erthwre/grit	red	slip(red)	incised	
20 – 40			2				erthwre/grit	drkorange	plain	none	
20 – 40		1					clay/snd/grit	tan	slip(red)	none	
20 – 40		1					terrcott/snd/g rit	red	slip(red)	none	
20 – 40			4		6		erthwre/snd/ grit	drkred	burnish	none	
50 – 70		1			5		clay/snd/grit	drkred	burnish	none	
50 – 70		3			12		erthwre/grit	drkbrn	plain	none	
50 – 70			1				erthwre/snd/ grit	ltbrn	burnish	none	
50 – 70		1					erthwre	redorange	plain	none	
50 – 70		1					erthwre/grit	drkorange	plain	none	
50 – 70					1		erthwre/snd/ grit	drkorange	plain	none	
50 – 70		1					erthwre/grit	drkorange	plain	none	
50 – 70						1	erthwre	drkorange	plain	none	
50 – 70		1					erthwre/grit	drkbrn	plain	none	
50 – 70		4			2		erthwre/grit	drkred	plain	none	
50 – 70		1					erthwre	ltbrn	plain	none	
50 – 70		1					erthwre/grit	ltbrn	plain	none	
50 – 70		1					erthwre/grit	drkorange	plain	none	
50 – 70		1					erthwre/grit	drkorange	plain	none	
50 – 70				1			erthwre/grit	orange	plain	none	
50 – 70		1					erthwre/grit	blk	plain	none	
50 – 70		1			18		erthwre/grit	drkred	burnish	none	

354

Table D-4. Continued

Level/ cm bs	Provenienc e	Round Lip Rim	Flat Lip	UID Rim	Hooked	Body	Handle	Paste	Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration
60 - 70	DCD	1						erthwre/snd/ grit	orange	plain	none
60 - 70	DCD	3						clay/snd/grit	Grywht	Patina	none
60 - 70	DCD	1						clay/grit	tan	plain	None
60 - 70	DCD	1						erthwre/snd/ grit	drkred	plain	none
60 - 70	DCD	1						erthwre/snd/ grit	drkbrn	plain	none
60 - 70	DCD	3						erthwre/grit	drkorange	plain	none
70 - 80		1				2		erthwre/grit	drkorange	plain	none
70 - 80			1			3		erthwre/grit	drkorange	plain	none
70 - 80						5	1	erthwre/grit	tan	plain	none
70 - 80		1				1		erthwre/grit	ltbrn	plain	none
80 - 110	NE corner	1				27		erthwre	ltbrn	burnish	none
80 - 110	NE corner	1						clay/snd/grit	tan	slip(red)	none
80 - 110	NE corner	1						erthwre/grit	drkorange	plain	none
80 - 110	NE corner	2						erthwre/grit	drkred	burnish	none
80 - 110	NE corner	1						erthwre/snd/ grit	drkorange	plain	none
110 - 180	NE corner	4				16		erthwre/snd/ grit	drkred	burnish	none

Table D-5. Kumako 2 mound periphery unit H24 lithics

Level/ cm bs	Provenience	Type	Material	Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration
20 - 40			Granite	gry	n/a	linear incised
80 - 110	DCD	Exotic stone		green		

Table D-6. Kumako 2 mound periphery unit I22 ceramics

Level/ cm bs	Provenience	Round Lip			Handle	Paste	Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration
		Rim	Flat Lip	Body					
40/ 50 - 70	DCD			5	1	erthwre/grit	orange	plain	none
40 - 73	DCD		1	1		erthwre/grit	drkred	plain	none
73 - 83	DCD		1	1		erthwre/snd/grit	drkbrn	burnish	none
73 - 83	DCD		1	8		erthwre/snd/grit	drkred	burnish	none
73 - 83	DCD	1				erthwre/grit	drkorange	plain	none
73 - 83	DCD	1				erthwre/grit	drkbrn	plain	none
73 - 83	DCD	1		1		erthwre/snd/grit	drkred	slip	none
73 - 83	DCD	1		8		erthwre/grit	drkorange	plain	none
73 - 83	DCD	5		4		erthwre/snd/grit	ltbrn	burnish	none
83 - 90	DCD	4		41		erthwre/grit	drkred	burnish	none
83 - 90	DCD	2		6		erthwre/grit	tan	burnish	none
110 - 140	1x1 SE corner	1		5		clay/snd/grit	tan	burnish	none

Table D-7. Kumako 2 mound periphery unit I24 ceramics

Level/ cm bs	Provenience	Round			Body	Base	Handle	Paste	Cotor	Surface Treatment	Decoration
		Lip Rim	Flat Lip	Pinched							
1				1			erthwre/grit	drkorange	plain	none	
2		4			15		erthwre/grit	red	plain	none	
2		1					clay/snd/grit	red	Burnish	Applique	
							erthwre/snd				
2		6					/grit	drkbrn	Patina	none	
2		2					erthwre/grit	ttred	plain	none	
2		1					erthwre/grit	pink	plain	none	
2			2				Erthwre	orange	plain	none	
							erthwre/snd				
2			1				/grit	drkorange	Burnish	none	
							erthwre/snd				
2				1			/grit	drkred	Burnish	none	
2		1					erthwre/grit	drkred	plain	none	
							erthwre/snd				
2			4				/grit	drkorange	plain	none	
2		6					erthwre/grit	orange	plain	none	
2		1					clay/snd	ttbrn	Smooth	none	
2		1					erthwre/grit	ttbrn	plain	none	
2		1					erthwre/grit	drkred	plain	none	
2		1					erthwre/grit	drkorange	plain	none	
							erthwre/snd				
2		12			20		/grit	red	plain	none	
2		1					erthwre/grit	drkred	plain	none	
2		2					erthwre/snd	ttred	Burnish	none	
							erthwre/snd				
2		1					/grit	red	plain	none	
2		1					erthwre/snd	drkorange	plain	none	
2			1				erthwre/grit	orange	plain	none	
							erthwre/snd				
3		1			2		/grit	drkred	plain	none	
3		4			large		clay/snd/grit	drkred	Burnish	none	
3		1					erthwre/grit	drkorange	plain	none	
3					9		clay/grit	tan	slip(red)	none	

Table D-7. Continued

Level/ cm bs	Provenience	Round	Flat	Pinched	Body	Base	Handle	Paste	Cotor	Surface Treatment	Decoration
		Lip Rim	Lip								
3		2						clay	drkred	Smooth	none
3		6			21			clay/snd/grit	drkred	plain	none
3			2					clay/snd/grit	tan	Smooth	none
3		1						erthwre/grit	drkred	plain	none
3		1						clay/snd erthwre/snd/ grit	drkred	Smooth	none
3		1						clay/snd/grit	drkred	Burnish	none
3		1						clay/snd/grit	drkred drkorang	Burnish	none
3			3					erthwre/grit	e	plain	none
3		1						erthwre/grit	orange drkorang	plain	none
3		1						clay/snd/grit	e	plain	none
3		2						clay/snd/grit	orange	plain	none
4		1						erthwre/grit	ttbrn	plain	none
4		12			20	1		clay/snd/grit	drkred	Burnish	none
4/ 70	1 x 1 NW corner	2			7			erthwre/grit	drkbrn drkorang	plain	none linear
4/ 70	1 x 1 NW corner	1						clay/snd erthwre/snd/ grit	e	plain	incised
4/ 70	1 x 1 NW corner	1						erthwre/grit	redtan	slip(red)	none
4/ 70	1 x 1 NW corner	1						erthwre/grit	orange	plain	none
4/ 70	1 x 1 NW corner			1	4			clay/snd	pink	Smooth	none
4/ 70	1 x 1 NW corner	1						clay/snd/grit	drkred drkorang	Burnish	none
4/ 70	1 x 1 NW corner	1						erthwre/grit	e	plain	none
4/ 70	1 x 1 NW corner	1						clay/snd	red	plain	none

Table D-7. Continued

Level / cm bs	Provenience	Round Lip Rim	Flat Lip	Pinched	Body	Base	Handle	Paste	Cotor	Surface Treatment	Decoration
4/ 70	1 x 1 NW corner	1						erthwre/grit	red	plain	none
4/ 70	1 x 1 NW corner		1					erthwre/snd/ grit	red	plain	none
4/ 70	1 x 1 NW corner	1						erthwre/grit	tan drkorang	plain	none
4/ 70	1 x 1 NW corner	1						erthwre/grit	e	plain	none
4/ 70	1 x 1 NW cor		1					erthwre/grit	drkbrn	plain	none
4/ 70	1 x 1 NW corner	1						erthwre/snd/ grit	drkred	Burnish	None
4/ 70	1 x 1 NW corner		1					erthwre/grit	ttbrn	plain	none
4/ 70	1 x 1 NW corner	4			26			clay/snd/grit	drkred	Burnish	none
5/ 90	1 x 1 NW corner	1			1			clay/snd/grit	ttbrn	Burnish	none
5/ 90	1 x 1 NW corner		2		4			clay/grit	ttbrn	plain	none
5/ 90	1 x 1 NW corner	1						clay/snd/grit	drkred	Burnish	none
5/ 90	1 x 1 NW corner	1						erthwre/snd/ grt	ttbrn	Burnish	none
5/ 90	1 x 1 NW corner	1						erthwre/grit	drkred drkorang	plain	none
5/ 90	1 x 1 NW corner	1						erthwre/grit	e	plain	none
5/ 90	1 x 1 NW corner		2					erthwre/grit	drkbrn drkorang	plain	none
5/ 90	1 x 1 NW corner	1						clay/snd	e	plain	none
5/ 90	1 x 1 NW corner	1						erthwre/grit	drkorang e	plain	none

Table D-7. Continued

Level / cm bs	Provenience	Round Lip Rim	Flat Lip	Pinched	Body	Base	Handle	Paste	Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration
5/ 90	1 x 1 NW corner	1						erthwre/grit	ttbrn	plain	none
5/ 90	1 x 1 NW corner	1						clay/snd	drkbrn	plain	none
5/ 90	1 x 1 NW corner	1			2			erthwre/grit	ttbrn	Burnish	none
5		1						clay/snd	tan	plain	none
6					1			clay/snd/grit	tan	slip(red)	none
6		1						erthwre/snd/grit	ttbrn	plain	none
6		1						erthwre/snd/grit	red	plain	None
6		1						erthwre/grit	orange drkorang	plain	none
6							1	erthwre/grit	e	plain	none
6		1						clay/snd	ttbrn	plain	None
7		2			5			clay/grit	drkred	Burnish	none
7		1						erthwre/grit	orange	plain	none
10		1						erthwre/grit	red	plain	none

Table D-8. Kumako 2 mound periphery unit I24 lithics

Level/ cm bs	Total	Item	Type	Material	Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration	Comment
2	1	lithic	Worked flake		pink	n/a	none	Mottled gray/ white 2 flattened and smoothed surfaces
3	1	lithic	Debitage	Quartz	wht	n/a	none	Disc shape groundstone fragment
4	1	lithic	grndstn		pink	Smooth	none	

Table D-9. Kumako 2 mound periphery unit I28 ceramics

Level/ cm bs	Round Lip Rims	Body	Paste	Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration
2/ 20 - 35	1		erthwre	drkred	plain	none
2/ 20 - 35		2	erthwre/grit	drkorange	plain	none

Table D-10. Kumako 2 mound periphery unit M22 ceramics

Level/ cm bs	UID Rim	Handle	Paste	Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration
0 - 90		2	erthwre/snd	pink	plain	none
0 - 90	6		erthwre/grit	drkbrn	plain	none

Table D-11. Kumako 2 mound periphery Ctrl 4 x 4 ceramics

Level/ cm bs	Potsherd UID	Paste	Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration	Comment
0 - 50	1					item not worthy of catalog number

Table D-12. Kumako 2 mound periphery F2A2 ceramics

Level/ cm bs	Potsherd UID	Paste	Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration	Comment
0 - 80	1					item not worthy of catalog number

Table D-13. Kumako 2 mound center SA-2 ceramics

Level/ cm bs	Flat Lip	UID	Rim	Body	Base	Handle	Potsherd UID	Paste	Color	Surface Treatmen t	Decoration
0 — 10							5	erthwre/snd/grit	pink	plain	none
0 — 10								erthwre/grit	Redorange	plain	none
0 — 10								erthwre/snd/grit	redorange	plain	none
0 — 10								erthwre/grit	drkbrn	plain	none
0 — 10								erthwre/snd/grit	gry	plain	none
0 — 10								erthwre/grit	ltred	plain	none
0 — 10		1						Erthwre/grit	Drkred	Patina	none
0 — 10	1							erthwre/snd/grit	pink	Patina	none
0 — 10								erthwre/snd/grit	drkred	Patina	none
0 — 10		1						erthwre/snd/grit	pink	Patina	none
0 — 10								Erthwre	Ltbrn	plain	none
0 — 10								Erthwre	Ltbrn	Patina	none
10 — 20					2		46	erthwre/snd/grit	ltred	plain	none
10 — 20				2 curved				erthwre/grit	ltred	plain	none
10 — 20								erthwre/snd/grit	ltbrn	plain	none
10 — 20				1	2			erthwre/snd/grit	ltbrn	plain	none
10 — 20								erthwre/grit	ltbrn	plain	none
10 — 20		1					23	erthwre/grit	ltbrn	plain	none
10 — 20								erthwre/snd/grit	Ltred	Patina	none
10 — 20					1		16	erthwre/grit	ltred	plain	none
10 — 20								erthwre/grit	Ltred	plain	none
10 — 20							6	erthwre/grit	ltred	plain	none
10 — 20				1 curved			6	erthwre/snd/grit	drkgry	plain	none
20 — 30								erthwre/grit	Tan	plain	none
20 — 30					2			erthwre/grit	Orange	plain	none
20 — 30	2			1				clay/erthwre/sn d/grit	pink	plain	none
20 — 30				7				erthwre/grit	ltred	plain	none
20 — 30									Red	plain	none
20 — 30				1				erthwre/snd/grit	Red	Burnish patina/ burnish	none
20 — 30					4			erthwre	drkred	burnish	none

Table D-13. Continued

Level/ cm bs	Flat Lip	UID Rim	Body	Base	Handle	Potsherd		Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration
						UID	Paste			
20 — 30			1				erthwre/snd/grit	Tan	plain	None
20 — 30			1	1			erthwre	ltbrn	Burnish	none
20 — 30						10	erthwre/snd/grit	drkred	Plain w/ crackling	none
30 — 40					2		erthwre/snd/grit	Orange	plain	none
30 — 40							clay/snd/grit	Burntorange	Smooth	none
30 — 40		1					erthwre/snd/grit	Tan	plain	none
30 — 40				1			erthwre/grit	pink	plain	none
30 — 40							erthwre/snd	pink	Smooth	none
30 — 40							erthwre/grit	drkred	plain	none
30 — 40							erthwre/snd	drkred	plain	none
30 — 40							erthwre/grit	drkred	plain	none
30 — 40							erthwre/grit	burntorange	plain	none
30 — 40				1			erthwre/grit	Orange	plain	none
30 — 40				1			erthwre/grit	burntorange	plain	none
30 — 40	1						erthwre/grit	Orange	plain	none
30 — 40							erthwre/grit	Orange	Patina	none

Table D-14. Kumako 2 mound center SA-2 lithic

Level/ cm bs	Total	Type	Material	Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration
10 – 20	2	grndstn		gry	plain	none
10 – 20	1		Quartz	pink	plain	none
20 – 30	1	Flake	Quartz	wht	n/a	none
20 – 30	1	grndstn	Granite	pink		none
30 – 40	1	Flake	Chalcedony	pink	n/a	none

Table D-15. Kumako 2 mound center shovel Test Pit 1 ceramics

Level/ cm bs	Provenience	Round				Potsherd		Surface		
		Lip Rim	UID Rim	Body	Base	UID	Paste	Color	Treatment	Decoration
0—20	1x2					1	erthwre/snd	pink	plain	none
0—20	1x2					17	erthwre/grit	ltrdd	plain	none
0—20	1x2			1 curved		43	erthwre/grit	pink	plain	none
0—20	1x2		1				errthwre	Ltred	plain	none
0—20	1x2						erthwre/snd	pink	plain	none
0—20	1x1	1		2 curved			erthwre/grit	Lred	plain	none
0—20	N1x1	2		2	6		erthwre/snd/grit	Ltbrn	plain	none
0—20	N1x1			2 curved			erthwre/grit	drkred	plain	none
0—20	S1x1				1		erthwre/grit	pink	plain	none
0—20	S1x1			1 curved			erthwre	drkred	plain	none
0—20	S1x1					5	erthwre/snd/grit	ltred	plain	none

Table D-16. Kumako 2 mound center shovel Test Pit 1 lithics and others

Level/ cm bs	Item	Type	Material	Color
0 – 20	lithic	Projectile point midsection	Quartz	Translucent

Table D-17. Kumako 2 mound center N-D8 ceramics

Level/ cm bs	Round Lip Rim	Flat Lip	UID Rim	Body	Base	Handle	Potsherd UID	Paste	Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration
0 – 10				6 curved				erthwre/snd/grit	pink	plain	none
0 – 10				2 curved				erthwre/snd/grit	ltbrn	Patina	none
0 – 10				1 curved				erthwre/grit	Red	plain	none
0 – 10				5	1			erthwre/grit	ltbrn	Patina	none
0 – 10					1		9	erthwre/snd/grit	ltred	plain	none
10 – 20	1							erthwre/snd/grit	Drkred	plain	none
10 – 20	1							erthwre/grit	Ltred	plain	none
10 – 20			1		3			erthwre/grit	Orange	plain	none
10 – 20	1							Erthwre	ltred	plain	none
10 – 20							1	erthwre/grit	ltred	plain	none
10 – 20		1						erthwre/grit	Red	Smooth	none
10 – 20									Drkorang		
10 – 20							2	erthwre/grit	e	plain	none
10 – 20								erthwre/snd/grit	Drkred	plain	Punctates
20 – 30	1			2				erthwre/snd/grit	pink	Patina	none
20 – 30	1			7				erthwre	Ltred	plain	none
20 – 30						1		erthwre	Drkbrn	Glaze	linear incised
20 – 30			1					erthwre/grit	drkbrn	Patina	none

Table D-18. Kumako 2 mound center N-D8 lithics

Level/ cm bs	Total	Type	Material	Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration
10 – 20	1	Debitage biface flake		Wht	n/a	none
10 – 20	1	grndstn		pink		none

Table D-19. Kumako 1 camp site unit O5 ceramics

Level/ cm bs	UID Rim	Potsherd UID	Paste	Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration
2/ 10 – 20		5	erthwre/snd/grit	rddshbrn/drkgry	plain	none
2/ 10 – 20		12	erthwre/snd/grit	rddshbrn	plain	none
2/ 10 – 20		2	erthwre/snd	rddshbrn/yllshred	plain	none
2/ 10 – 20		5	erthwre/grit	yllshred	plain	none
2/ 10 – 20	1		erthwre/grit	rddshbrn/yllshred	plain	none
3/ 20 – 30		6	erthwre/grit	rddshbrn	plain	none
3/ 20 – 30		1	erthwre/snd/grit	rddshgry	plain	none
3/ 20 – 30		1	erthwre/grit	yllshred	plain	none
3/ 20 – 30		1	erthwre/grit	rddshbrn	plain	none

Table D-20. Kumako 1 camp site unit O6 ceramics

Level/ cm bs	Flat Lip	Body	Handle	Potsherd	Paste	Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration
				UID				
1/ 0 – 10				24	erthwre/grit	yllwshred	plain	none
1/ 0 – 10				1	erthwre/grit	rddshyllw	plain	none
1/ 0 – 10				1	erthwre/grit	drkrddshgry/rddshbrn	plain	none
2				4	erthwre/snd/grit	yllwshred	plain	none
2/ 10 – 20		2			erthwre/snd/grit	brn	plain	none
2/ 10 – 20				2	erthwre/snd/grit	ltrddshbrn/rddshyllw(crsctn)	plain	none
2/ 10 – 20			1		erthwre/snd/grit	rddshyllw	slip(rddshbrn)	none
2/ 10 – 20					erthwre/snd/grit	rddshyllw	slip(rddshbrn)	none
2/ 10 – 20				3	erthwre/snd/grit	rddshyllw	slip(rddshbrn)	none
2/ 10 – 20				1	erthwre/snd/grit	rddshyllw	slip(rddshbrn)	none
2/ 10 – 20	1				erthwre/snd/grit	rddshyllw	slip(rddshbrn)	none
3/ 20 – 30				12	erthwre/grit	ltrddshbrn	plain	none
3/ 20 – 30				2	clay	pink	plain	none
3/ 20 – 30				5	erthwre/grit	ltrddshbrn	plain	none
3/ 20 – 30				4	clay/snd/grit	rddshyllw/drkgry	plain	none
3/ 20 – 30				1	erthwre/snd/grit	rddshbrn	plain	none
3/ 20 – 30				3	clay	pink	plain	none

Table D-21. Kumako 1 camp site unit O6 lithics

Level/ cm bs	Total	Type	Material	Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration
2	1	grndstn		yllshred	other (worked)?	None

Table D-22. Kumako 1 camp site unit P6 ceramics

Level/ cm bs	Round			Concave	Potsherd		Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration
	Lip Rim	Flat Lip	UID Rim		UID	Paste			
2					1	clay/snd	strngbrn	plain	none
2		1				clay/snd	strngbrn	plain	none
2					40	erthwre/snd/grit	rddshbrn	plain	none
2					3	erthwre/grit	rddshbrn	plain	none
2					17	erthwre/grit	rddshyllw	plain	none
2					16	erthwre/snd/grit	rddshyllw	plain	none
2					1	erthwre/snd/grit	yllshred/blk	plain	none
2					1	erthwre/snd/grit	yllshred/blk	plain	none
2					10	erthwre/snd/grit	rddshyllw	plain	none
2	1					erthwre/snd/grit	ltrddshbrn	plain	none
2	2					erthwre/snd/grit	ltrddshbrn	plain	none
2					1	erthwre/snd	strngbrn	plain	none
2					2	erthwre/grit	drkbrn	plain	none
2		2				erthwre/snd/grit	rddshyllw	plain	none
2				1		erthwre/snd/grit	rddshyllw	plain	none
2		1				erthwre/snd/grit	rddshyllw	plain	none
2		1				erthwre/snd	strngbrn	plain	none
1					3	erthwre/grit	rddshbrn	plain	none
1 or 2?					1	erthwre/grit	rddshyllw	plain	none
2					2	erthwre/grit	rddshbrn	plain	none
2					2	erthwre/snd/grit	ltrddsh	plain	none
2					3	erthwre/snd/grit	yllshred	plain	none
2/LC?					1	erthwre/grit	yllshred	plain	none
2					1	erthwre/grit	yllshred	plain	none
2					1	erthwre/grit	rddshyllw/drkrddshgry	plain	none
2					6	erthwre/grit	rddshbrn	plain	none
2					6	erthwre/snd/grit	rddshyllw	slip(rddshbrn)	none
2					1	erthwre/grit	rddshyllw	plain	none
2					41	erthwre/snd/grit	yllshred	plain	none
2					2	erthwre/snd/grit	rddshyllw	plain	none
2	1					erthwre/grit	yllshred	plain	none

Table D-22. Continued

Level/ cm bs	Round			Potsherd		Paste	Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration
	Lip Rim	Flat Lip	UID Rim	Concave	UID				
2			1			erthwre/grit	yllshred	plain	none
2	1					erthwre/grit	yllshred	plain	none
2		2				erthwre/grit	yllshred	plain	none
3					13	clay/snd/grit	pink	plain	none
3					16	erthwre/grit	yllwshred	film(ltrddshbrn)	none
3					10	clay/grit	ltrddshbrn	plain	none
3					1	erthwre/grit	ltrddshbrn	plain	none
3			2			clay/grit	ltrddshbrn	plain	none
2					5	clay	pink	plain	none
2					1	erthwre/snd/grit	ltrddshbrn	plain	none
2					13	erthwre/snd/grit	yllwshred	plain	none
2					14	erthwre/grit	ltrddshbrn	plain	none
2					3	clay/grit	yllwshred	plain	none
2	1					erthwre/grit	rddshbrn	plain	none
2					8	erthwre/grit	rddshbrn	plain	none
2	1					erthwre/grit	yllwred	plain	none
2		1				erthwre/grit	rddshbrn	plain	none
2					14	erthwre/grit	yllwred	plain	none
2			1			erthwre/grit	yllwred	plain	none
2					1	erthwre/grit	rddshyllw	plain	none
2					9	clay/snd/grit	rddshyllw	plain	none
2					5	erthwre/snd/grit	ltrddshbrn	plain	none
2					1	erthwre/snd/grit	drkrddshbrn	plain	none
2					3	erthwre/grit	rddshyllw	plain	none
1					1	clay/snd	rddshbrn	plain	none
2					6	clay/snd/grit	ltrddshbrn	plain	none
2					3	clay/snd/grit	yllshred	plain	none
2					3	erthwre/grit	yllshred	plain	none
2					2	erthwre/grit	yllshred	plain	none
2					2	erthwre/grit	pnkshgry	plain	none
2					2	erthwre/snd/grit	rddshbrn	plain	none

Table D-22. Continued

Level/ cm bs	Round Lip Rim	Flat Lip	UID Rim	Concave	Potsherd UID	Paste	Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration
2						erthwre/grit	drkgry/pink	plain	None
2					20	erthwre/snd/grit	drkrddshgry	plain	none

Table D-23. Kumako 1 camp site unit P6 lithics

Level/ cm bs	Total	Item	Type	Material	Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration
3	1	lithic	debitage	Quartz	pnkshgry	na	na

Table D-24. Kumako 1 camp site unit P7 ceramics

Level/ cm bs	Provenience	Flat Rim	Potsherd		Color	Surface	
			UID	Paste		Treatment	Decoration
1/0 – 10	W ½ 1 x 2		3	terrcott/snd	rddshbrn	plain	none
2	W ½ 1 x 2		1	erthwre/grit	rddshyllw	plain	none
2	W ½ 1 x 2		1	erthwre/snd/grit	yllwshred	plain	none
2	W ½ 1 x 2		1	erthwre/snd/grit	rddshbrn	plain	none
2	W ½ 1 x 2	1		erthwre/snd/grit	rddshbrn	plain	none
2	W ½ 1 x 2		4	erthwre/snd/grit	rddshyllw	plain	none
2	W ½ 1 x 2		3	erthwre/grit	rddshbrn	plain	none
2	W ½ 1 x 2		2	erthwre/grit	rddshyllw	plain	none
2	W ½ 1 x 2		5	erthwre/grit	yllwshred	plain	none
3	E1/2 1 x 2		6	erthwre/snd/grit	strngbrn	plain	none
3	E1/2 1 x 2		1	erthwre/grit	yllwshred/blk	plain	none

Table D-25. Kumako 1 camp site unit P7 lithics and others

<u>Level/ cm</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	<u>Item</u>	<u>Type</u>
bs			
1	W1/2 1 x 2	metal	musket ball

Table D-26. Kumako 1 camp site unit P10 ceramics

Level/ cm bs	Provenience	Potsherd UID	Paste	Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration
2	SE Corner	4	erthwre	Rddsh	Smooth	crvlr incised

Table D-27. Kumako 1 camp site unit P10 lithics and others

Level/ cm bs	Provenience	Item	Type	Color
1	P10	glasshard		Gryshgreen
2	SE Corner	organic	cowry shell	
2	SE Corner	metal	musket ball	
2	SE Corner	glasshard		Gryshgreen

Table D-28. Kumako 1 camp site unit Q7 ceramics

Level/ cm bs	Provenience	Potsherd		Paste	Color	Surface	
		UID				Treatment	Decoration
3	E1/2 1 x 2	2		clay/snd/grit	gry	plain	none
3	E1/2 1 x 2	4		clay/snd/grit	rddshyllw	plain	none
3	E1/2 1 x 2	26		clay/snd/grit	rddshyllw	plain	none
3	E1/2 1 x 2	17		erthwre	yllshred	plain	none
3	E1/2 1 x 2	8		erthwre/grit	drkylshbrn	plain	none
3	E1/2 1 x 2	6		clay/snd/grit	rddshyllw	plain	none
3	E1/2 1 x 2	4		Erthwre	yllshred	plain	none
4		6		erthwre/grit	yllshred	plain	none
4		2		erthwre/snd/grit	pnkshwht/blk	plain	none
4		1		erthwre/snd/grit	rddshyllw	plain	none

Table D-29. Kumako 1 camp site unit Q7 lithics and others

Level/ cm bs	Provenience	Total	Item	Type	Material
3	E1/2	3	organic	charcoal	
3	E1/2	1	lithic	debitage	Quartz

Table D-30. Kumako 1 camp site unit R12 ceramics

Level/ cm bs	Round		Potsherd	Paste	Color	Surface	
	Lip Rim	Flat Lip	UID			Treatment	Decoration
1/0 – 20			1	erthwre/grit	rddshyllw	plain	none
1/0 – 20		1		erthwre/grit	ltrddshbrn	plain	none
1/0 – 20			1	erthwre/snd	pink	plain	none
1/0 – 20			4	erthwre/grit	ltrddshbrn	plain	none
1/0 – 20			4	erthwre/grit	ltrddshbrn	patina(grn)	none
1/0 – 20			3	erthwre/grit	pink[drkgry]	plain	none
1/0 – 20			3	erthwre/grit	ltrddshbrn	plain	none
1/0 – 20			2	erthwre/snd/grit	drkgry	plain	none
1/0 – 20	1			erthwre/grit	ltrddshbrn	plain	none
1/0 – 20			1	erthwre/snd/grit	pink	plain	none
1/0 – 20			1	erthwre/grit	rddshyllw	plain	none
1/0 – 20	1			erthwre/grit	pink	plain	none

Table D-31. Kumako 1 camp site unit S12 lithics and others

Level/ cm bs	Total	Item	Type
1	2	metal	musket ball
1	11	organic	seed?
1	2	metal	musket ball
1	11	organic	seed?

Table D-32. Kumako 1 camp site unit S12 ceramics

Level/ cm bs	Round Lip Rim	Potsherd UID	Paste	Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration
1/-10 – 20			erthwre/snd/grit	rddshgry(ext)/gry(int)	plain	none
1/-10 – 20		1	erthwre/snd/grit	rddshbrn(ext)/drkgry(int)	plain	none
1/-10 – 20		3	erthwre/snd	pink/drkgry(crsctn)	plain	none
1/-10 – 20		1	erthwre/snd/grit	pink/gry(crsctn)	plain	none
1/-10 – 20		1	erthwre/grit	rddshbrn	plain	none
1/-10 – 20		6	erthwre/snd/grit	pink	plain	none
1/-10 – 20	1		erthwre/grit	rddshyllw	plain	none
1/-10 – 20		15	erthwre/grit	rddshyllw	plain	none
1/-10 – 20		1	erthwre/grit	rddshyllw/blk	plain	none

Table D-33. Kumako 1 camp site unit T12

Level/ cm bs	Provenience	Potsherd		Paste	Color	Surface	
		UID				Treatment	Decoration
1/ 0 – 10	W ½	7		na	na	na	na
1/ 0 – 10	W ½	1		erthwre/snd/grit	rddshgry	plain	none
1/ 0 – 10	W ½	3		erthwre/snd/grit	rddshyllw(ext)/pink(int)	plain	none
1/ 0 – 10	W ½	5		Erthwre	yllshred	plain	none
1/ 0 – 10	W ½	2		erthwre/grit	rddshyllw	plain	none
1/ 0 – 10	W ½	3		erthwre/grit	yllshred	plain	none
2/ 10 – 20	E1/2	6		erthwre/grit	rddshyllw	plain	none
2/ 10 – 20	E1/2	5		erthwre/grit	pink	plain	none
2/ 10 – 20	E1/2	1		erthwre/snd/grit	pink(ext)/gry(int)	plain	none
2/ 10 – 20	E1/2	5		erthwre/grit	pink	plain	none
2/ 10 – 20	E1/2	1		erthwre/grit	rddshbrn	plain	none
2/ 10 - 20	E1/2	1		erthwre/snd/grit	pink	plain	none

Table D-34. Kumako 1 camp site unit T12 lithics and others

Level/ cm bs	Provenience	Total	Item	Type	Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration
1		1	organic	cowry shell	wht/blk	Smooth	
1		1	metal	musket ball			
2	E1/2	1	organic	cowry shell	wht/blk	plain	none
2	E1/2	5	metal	musket ball			

Table D-35. Kumako 1 Area A Locus 2 unit A1 ceramics

Level/	cm bs	Round		Potsherd		Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration
		Lip Rim	Flat Lip	UID	Paste			
1				10	erthwre/snd	ltrddshbrn	plain	none
1				3	erthwre/snd/grit	drkgry	plain	none
1			1		erthwre/snd/grit	drkgry	plain	none
1		2			erthwre/snd/grit	ltrddshbrn	slip(vrydrkbrn)	none

Table D-36. Tuido Area 4 ceramics

Level/ cm bs	Feature	Round Lip Rim	Flat Lip	Body	Base	Potsherd UID	Paste	Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration
0					1		erthwre	Pinkwht	plain	none
0	2			3	4	3	Stoneware	pinkwht	plain	none
0	2					10	clay	yllshred	plain	none
									slip(yllshred	
1	3					73	erthwre/snd/ grit	blk(ext)/yllshred(in t)) patina(blk)	none
1	3					3	erthwre/snd/ grit	rddshbrn/blk	slip(blk)	crvlr incised
1	3					2	erthwre/grit	ltrddshbrn[gry] blk(ext)/rddshbrn(i	plain	none
1	3					1	errthwre/grit	nt)	plain	none
1	3					2	erthwre/snd/ grit	yllshred	plain	none
1	3					4	erthwre/grit	rddshgry	plain	linear incised
1	2	1					erthwre/snd/ grit	rddshyllw	slip(gry/grn)	none
1	2					1	erthwre/snd/ grit	rddshyllw	slip(gray)	none
1	2					18	erthwre/snd/ grit	rddshyllw	plain	linear incised
1	2 Sw corner		7				erthwre/snd/ grit	rddshbrn	plain	none
1	2 Sw corner					28	erthwre/grit	ltbrn(ext)/ rddshyllwbrn(int)	plain	none
1	2 Sw corner					62	erthwre/snd/ grit	rddsh	patina(blk)	none
1	2 Sw corner					4	erthwre/grit	brn	plain	none
1	2 Sw corner					17	erthwre/grit	yllshred(ext)/ drkrddshgry(int)	plain	none
1	2 Sw corner					2	erthwre/grit	drkyllshbrn	plain	none
1	2 Sw corner					8	erthwre/grit	rddshyllw	plain	none

Table D-36. Continued

Level/ cm bs	Feature	Round Lip Rim	Flat Lip	Body	Base	Potsherd UID	Paste	Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration
1	2 Sw corner					1	erthwre/snd/ grit	vryplebrn(ext)/ strngbrn(int)	plain	None
1	2 Sw corner					11	erthwre/snd/ grit	yllshred(ext)/ drkrddshbrn)	plain	none
1	2					2	erthwre/grit	drkgry(int)	plain	none
1	2					2	clay	yllshred	plain	none
1	2 Sw corner					18	erthwre/snd/ grit	yllshred	plain	none
1	2 Sw corner					10	erthwre/snd	yllshred	plain	none
1	2 Sw corner	1					erthwre/snd/ grit	yllshred	plain	none

Table D-37. Tuido Area 1 ceramics

Level/ cm bs	Count	Round Lip Rim	Body	Base	Potsherd UID	Paste	Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration
0	10				10	erthwre	rddshyllw	plain	none
0	1				1	errthwre/grit	yllwshred	plain	none
0	4			4		erthwre/snd/grit	yllshred/blk	slip(yllshred)	none
0	15				15	erthwre/snd/grit	rddshyllw	slip(rddshyllw)	none
0	14	14				erthwre/snd/grit	rddshyllw	slip(rddshyllw)	none
0	3	3				erthwre/snd/grit	rddshbrn	patina(blk)	none
0	6				6	erthwre/snd/grit	drkgry(ext)/yllshred (int)	plain	none
0	5				5	erthwre/snd/grit	drkrddshbrn	patina(blk)	none
0	3	1			2	erthwre/grit	rddshyllw	plain	none
0	13	2		2	9	terrcott/grit	rddshyllw	plain	none
0	37	6			31	erthwre/laterite		Burnish	none
0	19		4 curved		15	erthwre		plain	none

Table D-38. Kumako 1 Area D ceramics

Level/ cm bs	Potsherd			Paste	Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration	
	Round Lip Rim	Flat Lip	Body					
0	1		3	43	erthwre/grit	pink/drkgry	plain	none
0				1	erthwre/grit	pink/drkgry	plain	none
0	1				erthwre/snd/grit	drkgry(ext)/vrydrkgry(int)	plain	none
0	1				erthwre/snd/grit	drkgry(ext)vrydrkgry(int)	plain	none
0				13	erthwre/grit	brnshyllw	plain	none
0				8	erthwre/snd	brn(ext)/drkgry(int)	plain	none
0				49	erthwre/snd	ltyllshbrn/brn(ext)/ drkgryshbrn(int)	plain	none
0				2	erthwre/snd	rddshbrn	plain	none
0				18	erthwre/snd/grit	drkgry(ext)/vrydrkgry(int)	plain	none
0				6	erthwre/snd	gry/pink	plain	none
0				3	erthwre/snd/grit	rddshbrn(ext)/drkrddshbrn(int)	slip(ext)/ burnished(int)	none
0				5	erthwre/snd	ltbrn	plain	none
0				1	erthwre/snd/grit	pink(ext)/pnkgry(int)	plain	none
0				4	erthwre/snd/grit	rddshyllw(ext)/drkrddshgry(int)	plain	none
0				3	erthwre/snd/grit	ltrddshbrn(ext)/vydrkgry(int)	plain	none
0				1	erthwre/snd/grit	rddshyllw(ext)/rddshbrn(int)	plain	none
1				8	erthwre/snd/grit	pnkwht/drkgrybrn	plain	none
1				1	erthwre/snd/grit	pnkwht	plain	none
1				2	erthwre/snd	rddshyllw/pnkwht(int)	plain	none
1				1	erthwre/snd	pink/blk(crsctn)	uid	none
1				1	erthwre/snd	pink/blk(crsctn)	plain	none
1				13	erthwre/snd/grit	drkrddshgry(ext)/ drkrddshbrn(int)	plain	none
1		1			erthwre/snd	pink/blk(crsctn)	uid	none
1		1			erthwre/snd	pink/blk(crsctn)	uid	none
1				8	erthwre/grit	rddshgry(ext)/yllwshred(int)	plain	none
1		1			erthwre/grit	rddshbrn	slip(ltgry)	none
1				9	erthwre/snd/grit	pink/gry	plain	none
1		1			erthwre/grit	rddshbrn	plain	none
1				14	erthwre/grit	rddshbrn	slip(ltgry)	none
1				1	erthwre/snd/grit	drkrddshgry(ext)/drkgry(int)	plain	none

Table D-38. Continued

Level/	Round	Flat Lip	Body	Potsherd	Paste	Color	Surface	Decoration
cm bs	Lip Rim			UID			Treatment	
1				4	erthwre/grit	rddshbrn/blk	plain	None
1		1			erthwre/snd/grit	pink	plain	none
1					erthwre/grit	yllshred	plain	none
1	1				erthwre/grit	yllshred	plain	none
1				1	erthwre/snd/grit	rddshyllw/gry	plain	none
1				5	erthwre/grit	rddshyllw(ext)/drkgry(int)	plain	none
1				19	erthwre/grit	rddshyllw	plain	none

Table D-39. Kumako 1 Area D lithics and others

Level/ cm bs	Total	Item	Type	Color	Surface Treatment	Decoration
0	1	organic		Rddshbrn	film(ltgry)	none
0	2	organic	charcoal	na	na	na
0	3	organic	cowry shell	brnshyllw	plain	none
1	1	organic	charcoal	pink	plain	none
1	1	lithic	grndstn	rddshbrn	plain	none
1	3	metal	nail	na	na	na
1	1	metal	Uid	na	na	na
1	2	other		gry	plain	none
1	2	glasshard		palegrn	plain	none

APPENDIX E
CALIBRATION OF RADIOCARBON AGE TO CALENDAR YEARS

These figures provide the original documents from Beta Analytic Radiocarbon Dating Laboratory. Each figure includes cited references for database used, calibration database, and mathematics used for each sample.

SAMPLE # 1

CALIBRATION OF RADIOCARBON AGE TO CALENDAR YEARS

(Variables: C13/C12=-28.3;lab. mult=1)

Laboratory number: **Beta-197584**

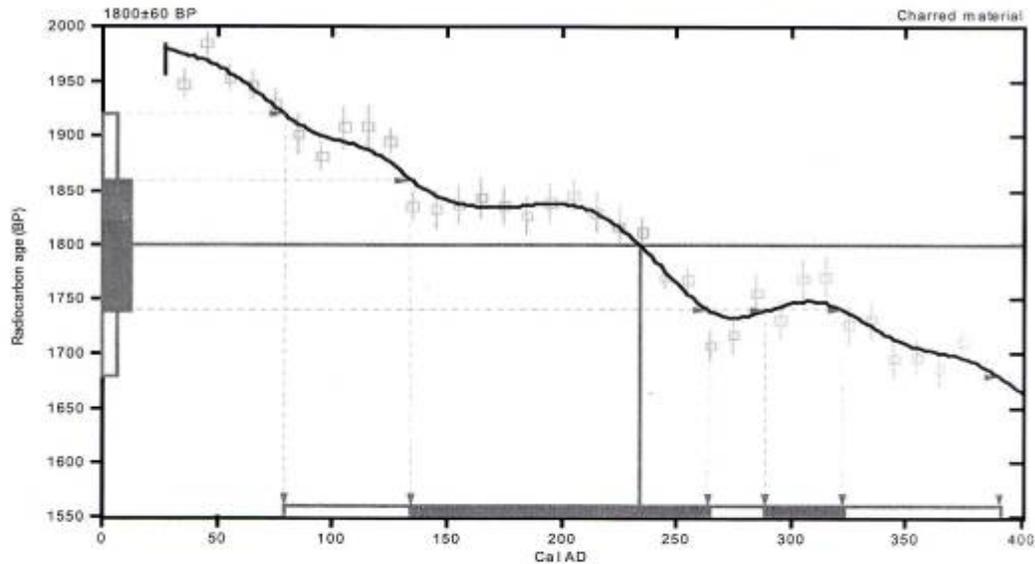
Conventional radiocarbon age: **1800±60 BP**

2 Sigma calibrated result: Cal AD 80 to 390 (Cal BP 1870 to 1560)
(95% probability)

Intercept data

Intercept of radiocarbon age
with calibration curve: **Cal AD 230 (Cal BP 1720)**

1 Sigma calibrated results: Cal AD 130 to 260 (Cal BP 1820 to 1690) and
(68% probability) **Cal AD 290 to 320 (Cal BP 1660 to 1630)**



References:

- Database used*
Intcal98
- Calibration Database*
Editorial Comment
Stuiver, M., van der Plicht, H., 1998, *Radiocarbon* 40(3), pxi-xiii
- INTCAL98 Radiocarbon Age Calibration*
Stuiver, M., et al., 1998, *Radiocarbon* 40(3), p1041-1083
- Mathematics*
A Simplified Approach to Calibrating C14 Dates
Talma, A. S., Vogel, J. C., 1993, *Radiocarbon* 35(2), p317-322

Beta Analytic Radiocarbon Dating Laboratory

4985 S.W. 74th Court, Miami, Florida 33155 • Tel: (305)667-5167 • Fax: (305)663-0964 • E-Mail: beta@radiocarbon.com

Figure E-1. Beta analytic radiocarbon dating laboratory sample one.

SAMPLE # 2

CALIBRATION OF RADIOCARBON AGE TO CALENDAR YEARS

(Variables: C13/C12=-25.8:lab. mult=1)

Laboratory number: Beta-197585

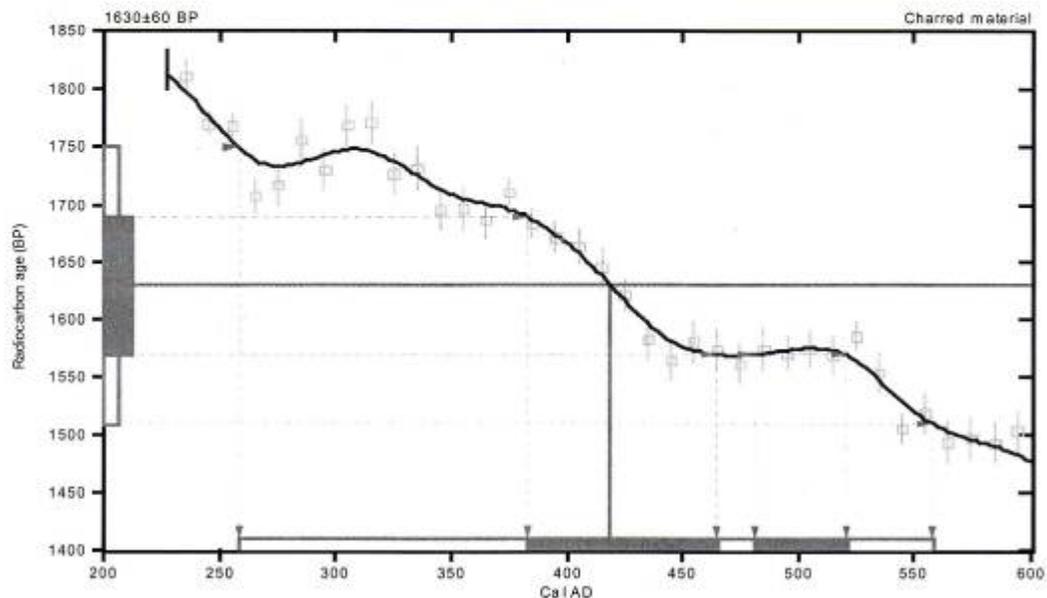
Conventional radiocarbon age: 1630±60 BP

2 Sigma calibrated result: Cal AD 260 to 560 (Cal BP 1690 to 1390)
(95% probability)

Intercept data

Intercept of radiocarbon age
with calibration curve: Cal AD 420 (Cal BP 1530)

1 Sigma calibrated results: Cal AD 380 to 460 (Cal BP 1570 to 1480) and
(68% probability) Cal AD 480 to 520 (Cal BP 1470 to 1430)



References:

Database used

Incal98

Calibration Database

Editorial Comment

Stuiver, M., van der Plicht, H., 1998, Radiocarbon 40(3), pxi-xiii

INTCAL98 Radiocarbon Age Calibration

Stuiver, M., et al., 1998, Radiocarbon 40(3), p1041-1083

Mathematics

A Simplified Approach to Calibrating C14 Dates

Talma, A. S., Vogel, J. C., 1993, Radiocarbon 35(2), p317-322

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Figure E-2. Beta analytic radiocarbon dating laboratory sample two.

SAMPLE # 3

CALIBRATION OF RADIOCARBON AGE TO CALENDAR YEARS

(Variables: C13/C12=-25.4;lab. mult=1)

Laboratory number: **Beta-197586**

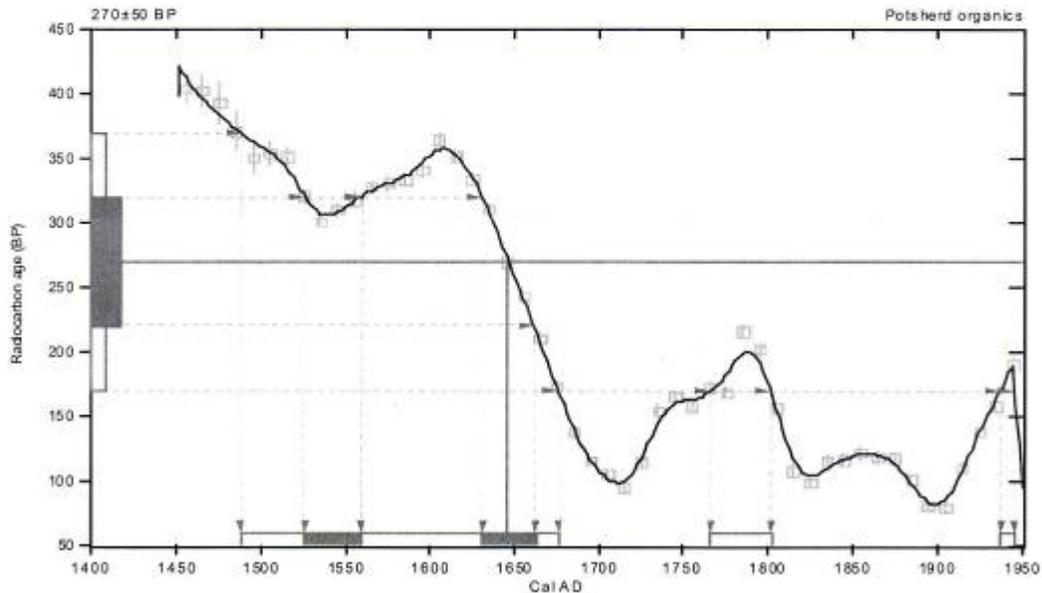
Conventional radiocarbon age: **270±50 BP**

2 Sigma calibrated results: Cal AD 1490 to 1680 (Cal BP 460 to 270) and
(95% probability) Cal AD 1770 to 1800 (Cal BP 180 to 150) and
Cal AD 1940 to 1950 (Cal BP 10 to 0)

In intercept data

Intercept of radiocarbon age
with calibration curve: Cal AD 1650 (Cal BP 300)

1 Sigma calibrated results: Cal AD 1530 to 1560 (Cal BP 420 to 390) and
(68% probability) Cal AD 1630 to 1660 (Cal BP 320 to 290)



References:

- Database used*
INTCAL98
Calibration Database
Editorial Comment
Stuiver, M., van der Plicht, H., 1998, *Radiocarbon* 40(3), pxi-xii
- INTCAL98 Radiocarbon Age Calibration*
Stuiver, M., et. al., 1998, *Radiocarbon* 40(3), p1041-1083
- Mathematics*
A Simplified Approach to Calibrating C14 Dates
Talma, A. S., Vogel, J. C., 1993, *Radiocarbon* 35(2), p317-322

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Figure E-3. Beta analytic radiocarbon dating laboratory sample three.

SAMPLE # 4

CALIBRATION OF RADIOCARBON AGE TO CALENDAR YEARS

(Variables: C13/C12=-24.9;lab, mult=1)

Laboratory number: Beta-197587

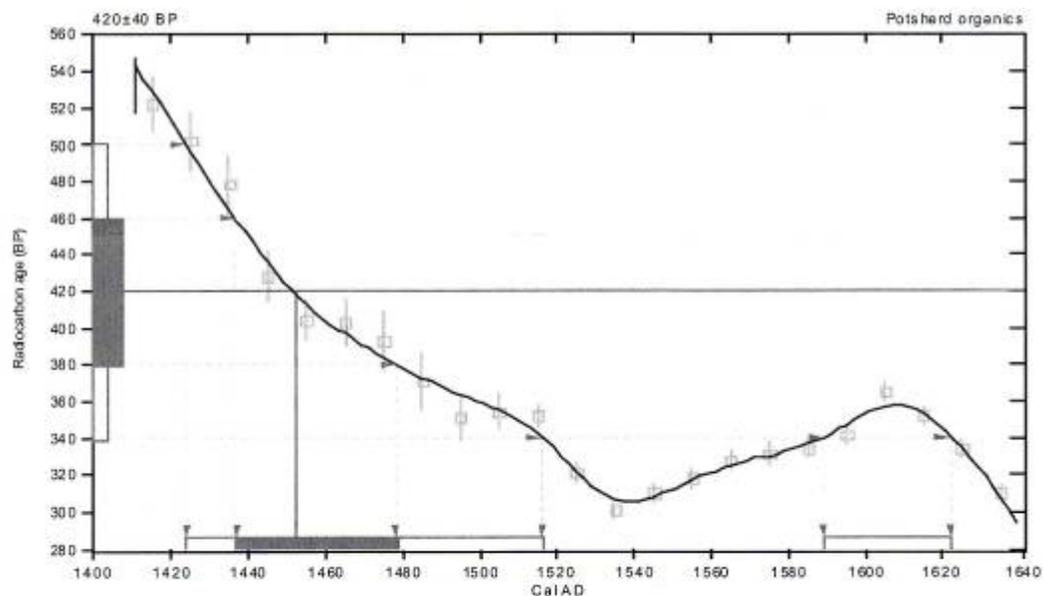
Conventional radiocarbon age: 420±40 BP

2 Sigma calibrated results: Cal AD 1420 to 1520 (Cal BP 530 to 430) and
(95% probability) Cal AD 1590 to 1620 (Cal BP 360 to 330)

Intercept data

Intercept of radiocarbon age
with calibration curve: Cal AD 1450 (Cal BP 500)

1 Sigma calibrated result: Cal AD 1440 to 1480 (Cal BP 510 to 470)



References:

- Database used*
INTCAL98
- Calibration Database*
Editorial Comment
Stuiver, M., van der Plicht, H., 1998, *Radiocarbon* 40(3), pxi-xxii
- INTCAL98 Radiocarbon Age Calibration*
Stuiver, M., et al., 1998, *Radiocarbon* 40(3), p1041-1083
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A Simplified Approach to Calibrating C14 Dates
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Figure E-4. Beta analytic radiocarbon dating laboratory sample four.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Cheryl Ngwenyama is a historical archaeologist with particular focus on the African-diaspora and Maroon societies (communities of runaway slaves and their descendants). Ms. Ngwenyama has been a consultant for museums and private archaeological firms throughout the United States. More recently, she has worked extensively in Suriname, South America, where she conducts archaeological and applied anthropological research among various groups of Maroons.