



Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek

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FIGURES AND MAPS (unless otherwise stated)

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TECHNICAL PRODUCTION

Eelco Beukers tekst en productie, Utrecht

PRE-PRESS

Kantoordeoor, Haarlem

COVERDESIGN

Bert van As, RACM, Amersfoort

PRINT

Drukkerij Krips, Meppel

PUBLISHER

Rijksdienst voor Archeologie, Cultuurlandschap en Monumenten

Kerkstraat 1, 3811 CV Amersfoort

PO BOX 1600, 3800 BP Amersfoort

the Netherlands

www.racm.nl

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The Proceedings ROB were published annually

DISTRIBUTION AND INFORMATION

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telefax +31 033-4227799

ISSN 0167-5443

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Value and Values in Archaeology and Archaeological Heritage Management. A Revolution in the Archaeological System¹

Keywords academic archaeology, archaeological heritage management, Valletta Convention, value and values (*waarde* and *waarden*), historical canon, the Netherlands

Abstract Archaeology and archaeological heritage management have been experiencing a boom in the Netherlands since the early 1990s. The introduction of new forms of funding and market forces have had a particularly major impact. At the same time, university archaeology has been somewhat marginalised. In 15 years, the number of academics working on the archaeology of the Netherlands and Northwest Europe has more than halved. As a result of this fall in numbers – and the huge growth in commercial archaeology – only 3% of the archaeologists working in the Netherlands are now affiliated to a university. This is a problem, because the debate in archaeology is currently determined by a number of essential questions: what should we regard as part of the heritage, who is responsible for managing the archaeological heritage, and what form should that responsibility take? And, not unimportantly, what implications does this have for how we see the past? The new forms of financing, organisation and practical implementation in archaeology in the Netherlands have a bearing on these issues. This paper looks, from a social anthropological perspective, at how archaeological value and values (Dutch *waarde* and *waarden*) are shaped in the Netherlands, and by whom, and what underlying investments inform this process. It is suggested that university archaeologists could ‘regain ground’ if they were to participate more openly in the debate on the creation of a historical canon.

INTRODUCTION

Archaeology and archaeological heritage management have experienced something of a boom in the Netherlands since the early 1990s. The introduction of new forms of funding and of a combination of market forces and societal control have led to a series of changes in the archaeological establishment, in terms of funding, organisation, implementation and intended results. Viewed against the history of Dutch archaeology over the past two hundred years, these changes can rightly be dubbed revolutionary. University archaeology has not escaped the impact of these developments. Academic archaeology has become severely marginalised since 1990. Over the past fifteen years the number of academics practising archaeology in the Netherlands and Northwest Europe in general has fallen by almost half. There were 40 academic FTEs in Dutch archaeology in 1990, but by 2004 only 22 remained.² As a result of this trend, and the massive growth in commercial archaeology, only 3% of the people now working in Dutch archaeology are associated with a university.³ In other words, the archaeological establishment has suffered major losses, in both absolute and relative terms, in its academic capacity for researching the past. I believe that universities are not fully aware of the implications of this development. There has certainly been no in-depth analysis of or adequate response to this issue. I should therefore like, in this essay, to set out a perspective for such an analysis, based on the ethnographic study of the care for heritage and the anthropology of value and values.⁴ My analysis will provide insight into who determines archaeological

¹ This essay is an annotated version of Bazelmans’ inaugural lecture delivered at the Free University, Amsterdam, on 29 September 2005.

² Bazelmans, Hilberdink & Lange 2006.

³ Lauwerier & Lotte 2002.

value and values in Dutch archaeology, and why and how they do so, as well as the investments that lie behind these decisions. From this perspective, it seems obvious to me that archaeologists working for universities must provide a much more confident and critical contribution to the debate on the essence and values of our modern society. In more specific terms, this means for example that archaeologists must take on a much more prominent role in the creation of the Dutch historical canon: the dynamic open and multiform body of knowledge about our past that functions as our collective memory.⁵

GROWTH AND INSTITUTIONAL REFORM

To give an idea of the radical changes that have occurred in the archaeological system over the past decade, I should like to describe the developments in terms of the money circulating in archaeology.⁶ At the moment, some € 70 million a year is spent on archaeology in the Netherlands. It is important, for my argument, to know where this money comes from. Prior to the 1990s, it was mainly public money made available by central and local government, earmarked for spending on education, science, art and culture. Things have changed completely in the meantime. Currently, only 35% of the annual budget of € 70

million comes directly from central, provincial or local government budgets for these sectors. Whereas the majority of this money used to be spent on researching the past, these public resources are currently devoted largely to administration, policy and implementation in the context of archaeological heritage management. Central government funding for exploratory projects and excavation work accounts for a considerable proportion of the other 65%, in the form of state funding for the excessive costs scheme⁷ and for major infrastructural projects. Part of the archaeology budget has therefore been reallocated to the development of the infrastructure and spatial planning in the Netherlands. The rest of the budget also comes from a different source: the profits on land sales by local authorities and direct payments from private parties commissioning archaeological studies.⁸ This change to the financing system will have implications in terms of direction and control, and thus for the nature and purpose of archaeological research. To my way of thinking, these implications are by definition controversial because, in our society, one cannot simply assume that private money will be used for public ends. I shall return to this in a moment.

What do the marginalisation of academic archaeology and the fundamental changes to the funding of research and conservation mean for our idea and knowledge of the past, and the way we manage our

4 For centuries there has been a debate as to what distinguishes Western societies from other societies, i.e. past societies and contemporary societies outside Europe and North America. My argument puts the assumed contrast between modern and non-modern into perspective, seriously considering science philosopher Bruno Latour's maxim '*Nous n'avons jamais été modernes*' ('We have never been modern') (Latour 1993). In our society, too, facts and values are intertwined, despite our objectivising and instrumental view. It is better to acknowledge this and deal with it in a positive way than to circumvent it. My question is: how do non-Western or non-modern societies deal with their past and care for their heritage, in the context of the many exchanges that typify a society? I believe that the social anthropological perspective highlights both unsuspected associations in archaeology and archaeological heritage management, and problems that occur in shaping new relationships, roles and responsibilities within the archaeological system.

5 The need for, purpose and content of a historical canon for the Netherlands is a hotly debated issue (see note 35). The debate heated up in September 2005 when Maria van der Hoeven, Minister of Education, Culture and Science, announced her decision to establish a 'canon committee'. This committee

has been given the task of developing a Dutch historical canon. It will produce its final report by September 2006, as specified in the Ministry's commissioning letter (see *www.canonvanmederland.nl*). This decision marks a partial reversal of the long process that has seen the erosion of the canonised narratives of the European nation states.

6 Bazelmans, Hilberdink & Lange 2006. The figures below should be used with caution, as it is difficult to gather precise figures.

7 The Dutch state helps pay for excavations if the costs are disproportionately high in comparison with the investment in the development.

8 The ratio of public to private funding is expected to shift towards the latter as private parties take on a greater role in the construction of infrastructure and new housing. In addition, various authorities are developing forms of tendering intended to involve the market 'earlier and more intensively, and on a structural basis'. One example is the Ministry of Transport, Public Works and Water Management's stepping up of the use of new policy implementation methods such as *Public-Private Partnership* and *Innovative Tendering*.

cultural heritage? To give us some idea, we must first clarify the relationship between the two spheres into which the archaeological system has been divided over the past few years: archaeology, on the one hand, researching and forming an image of the past; and, on the other, archaeological heritage management, the practical care of archaeological remains *in* and *ex situ*. This distinction has led to unproductive and sometimes unpleasant controversy and competition between knowledge workers and knowledge producers both inside and outside academia. The cause of this conflict lies in the fact that academic archaeology has focused specifically on the international, academic debate and on its own autonomous position, while AHM takes place in a national context and is a public task. How can this conflict be overcome?

HERITAGE AND EXCHANGE

In my exploration of the terms ‘archaeology’ and ‘heritage management’, I have drawn my inspiration from the ethnographic study of how non-modern societies approach the care for their heritage. Every social group that regards itself as a unit, and therefore every society, accords special value to certain objects, places and stories associated with its ancestral past.⁹ Anthropologists tell us that people care for these things because they literally and figuratively represent the identity of the group, a thing to be cherished and defended in its complex interaction with other groups.¹⁰ Successfully passing this on to future generations allows the group to continue beyond the lives of individual members. These cherished objects, places and stories are also important because they constitute the religious and/or historical roots and reflection of a society’s most important values.¹¹ It is in the production, preservation, loss or exchange of objects, places and stories that relationships with the supernatural and with other social groups take shape, and that the stakes in those relationships are identified. We see a good example of this in Europe in the combination of crown jewels, the special historical place where they tend to be kept and the histories of successive royal figures who

wore those jewels. The destruction, loss or sale of these items generally means that a royal house has been destroyed by civil war, revolution or international war, bringing to an end both the special, god-given royal power and the historical internal and external standing of the family. A kingdom can never be the same after the decline of a royal family and its heritage. This perspective requires elaboration on the basis of an example from ethnography. I have opted for a classic, appealing and well-documented case study: the preservation and exchange of alienable and inalienable objects among the Kwakiutl of Canada’s northwest coast.¹² Coppers – heraldic shields, each of which has its own name – are objects of the highest value among the Kwakiutl. They are used in ritualised competition between the heads of different clans at events known as potlatches. During a potlatch, which might be held for no particular reason, but is more commonly organised to mark a birth, initiation into adulthood or marriage, titles and status are retained or acquired by the distribution of large amounts of valuables among one’s rivals. In some cases, however, it is not always a matter of presenting the objects as gifts but of destroying them, as entire coppers or parts of them are broken and discarded. In this way, clan heads demonstrate their honour and reputation, a dominant value in Kwakiutl society, and ensure that their opponents suffer loss of face. One such copper is known as Long Top. It consists of an ancient T-shaped piece of copper, and is known to have had three sides broken off and reconstructed at least twice in a series of potlatches. It must be noted that potlatches involve not only coppers, but also other heritage objects, including masks, shells, shields and certain blankets, as well as dances, stories, rituals and titles. The history of all these possessions dates back to the time when the title-bearing ancestor came down from heaven.¹³ This is not true of the riches that are liberally distributed at potlatches. While they used to consist mainly of skins and blankets made of bark or textile, they now mainly consist of money.¹⁴ In the colonial era these goods were acquired through trade and paid for from the production of timber and fish. They are present in large number at all potlatches. Although the Kwakiutl, unlike various other

9 The question of what stories, places and objects come to play a leading role in a society is an ethnographic-historical issue. See Chatwin 1987 for an excellent example.

10 Weiner 1992.

11 Barraud *et al.* 1994.

12 Codere 1950; Jonaitis 1992.

13 Codere 1950, 64.

14 See Codere 1950, 64 for a comprehensive list.

non-western societies, have no purification ritual for exchange values, the use of skins, blankets and money in this way is not a normal affair. The origins of these goods are surrounded in secrecy.¹⁵ Though these riches are in fact the product of the work of many members of the leader's clan, they belong to him, and no credit is given to others for their productive labour and contribution.

ARCHAEOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE MANAGEMENT

Most societies draw no distinction between their material and non-material heritage. Ethnography, as in that of the Kwakiutl, provides many examples where ancestral places, objects and stories form a single cohesive whole, whose transfer from one generation to another is a costly business.

I regard this as an important starting point for the debate on the relationship between archaeology and archaeological heritage management.¹⁶ Over the past fifteen years, research into the past and archaeological heritage management have become highly institutionalised, and have become separated in the process. Oversimplifying slightly, one can say that the physical care of objects and places is in the hands of central, provincial and local government organisations and commercial parties, while it is the job of universities, local archaeology departments and museum to research the past and narrate our history. In other words, in our society there is an institutional division between 'archaeology' – defined as 'the enhancement and sharing of our knowledge of the past' – and 'archaeological heritage management' – the conservation of archaeological remains *in* and *ex situ*. The first – research and the narration of our history – is commonly regarded as the 'end', while the second – the management or care of the heritage – is the 'means'. Archaeological heritage management need only ensure that archaeological remains *in situ* are

15 Codere 1950, 79-80.

16 From a comparative perspective, modern Western societies differ from non-Western societies in terms of their care of their heritage in at least two ways. The main difference lies in the predominance of a scientific, linear perspective on time which allows us to refer to a human history lasting hundreds of thousands, even millions, of years (see Schnapp 1996 on the discovery of prehistory, and (for the Netherlands) Van der Woud

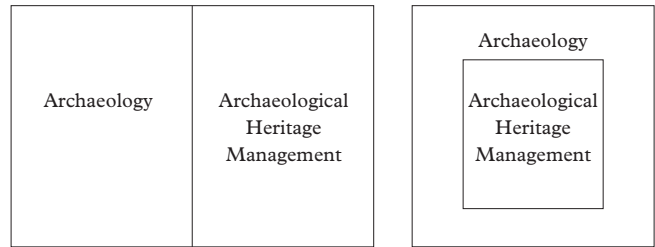


Figure 1 Two models for the relationship between archaeology and archaeological heritage management.

available to future academics. This, I believe, is debatable, certainly from the anthropological perspective I mentioned. The opposite would actually make more sense. Care for our heritage – i.e. its intergenerational transfer – certainly is the principle aim of our endeavours as researchers.

Every society has its own, often disputed, but nevertheless cohesive collection of landscape features, objects and stories that are the inalienable 'property' – or 'heritage' – of a group. As has clearly been shown by many examples, this property does not exist in isolation. The whole consists of much more than just the narrative of our past (our 'archaeology'). It also includes our tangible heritage, the meaning we attribute to it and our care ('management') of it, the investments we make in it. Here, 'management' means the successful transfer of heritage between generations, despite the many risks that threaten it, allowing groups to define and maintain their identity. The narrative not only serves the preservation of the heritage, it is also an intrinsic part of it. To my mind, archaeological heritage management certainly is the 'end' – the ultimate end, in fact! From this point of view (figure 1), although in terms of daily practice one might be justified in referring to a 'conflict' between 'archaeology' and 'archaeological heritage management' in the strictest sense, 'archaeological heritage management' is at the same time an umbrella term – archaeological heritage management in the broadest sense also encompasses 'archaeology'.¹⁷

1998). This does not incidentally mean that our approach to the past has become completely dominated by science.

A contemplative and value-based framework that distinguishes between humankind and nature, humankind and animals and between individual humans and human societies still provides a basis for archaeology, historiography and heritage management. I shall return to this point later.

This statement of affairs differs sharply from what is commonly held to be the case within the system, and may go against the grain with many academic archaeologists.¹⁸ However, it does not sound strange if we place our relationship with the past and our heritage in a sociological and cultural/political perspective. This forces archaeologists to face up to the fact of their own dependency, something they may prefer not to see, certainly not now that their own research is threatened by cutbacks and rising student numbers.¹⁹ However, turning a blind eye to this means archaeology cannot effectively acquire a new public status, and the new public resources that go along with that.

CULTURE, ECONOMICS AND MONEY

As I have said, the use of large amounts of money in archaeology from new sources should not be considered an unproblematic issue. Two examples from another sector of art and culture might help to make us aware of the problems we face. The first concerns the heated public debate that was sparked in 1987 when the municipality of Hilversum announced its intention to publicly auction a Mondrian painting in its possession, and the second concerns the recent debate on the relationship between the Stedelijk Museum and its sponsor, car manufacturer Audi. The first was seen as an unacceptable loss of collective heritage to an anonymous market; the second as an undesirable intrusion of commercial interests into the world of art and culture. Apparently, in our society, the relationship between the market, on the one hand, and society, politics, art, culture and religion on the other is problematic, particularly when money, services and objects are transferred from one sphere to the other.²⁰ To elucidate this matter, I should like to take an example from the anthropological study of the keeping-while-giving²¹ of alienable and inalienable

goods in non-modern societies. This will clearly reveal how value and values are created in our sector of cultural preservation, as well as the controversial but essential role one particular form of value – money – plays in this process.

In our society we refer to the domain within which money, services, labour and goods exchange hands in accordance with the principles of supply and demand as the economy – the ‘market’ in the figurative sense of the word. The modern economy is separate in institutional and conceptual terms from the domains where the interpersonal (family, neighbourhood, clubs etc.) or politics, art and culture and/or religion dominate. In these domains, too, money, services, labour and goods play a role, but the rules governing how they are handled differ significantly from those in the market. At the same time, in these not strictly economic spheres we find things that should not circulate in the form of gifts, merchandise or spoils – think, for instance, of the crown jewels I mentioned above. By analogy with this modern distinction between the economy in the strict and broader senses of the word, anthropologists draw a distinction for every society, in ideal terms, between a domain for the exchange of alienable goods or commodities, and a domain in which more or less inalienable goods are kept and exchanged.²² In the first, our ‘market’ of supply and demand, the exchange of goods, services and labour – again, according to the ideal – will be relatively anonymous and rapid, and geared towards the ultimate acquisition of commodities and personal gain. In the second – in our society the interrelated domains of politics, art and culture, and religion – we find long-term social relationships of keeping and giving geared to the long-term survival of various social ties, ranging from the family and the neighbourhood to the state. While the first domain – also known as the short-term order – is non-ethical by nature, in a society the second – the long-term order – is a matter of ethics.

17 I use a ‘hierarchical perspective’ here to indicate the relationship between ‘archaeology’ and ‘heritage management’ (Dumont 1980). Compare the English word ‘man’ (or French *homme*), which refers both to the male of the human species and to the all-encompassing term ‘man’, in the sense of humankind.

18 For example, Fokkens 2006. His judgment of my position would however appear to be based on a misunderstanding. I believe that anthropology forces us to see archaeology as part of a bigger project, i.e. as part of the intergenerational transfer of stories, places and objects: our care for our heritage, in other

words. However, I certainly do not wish to say, as Fokkens suggests, that academic archaeology is or should be entirely at the service of and dictated by archaeological heritage management.

19 The number of archaeology students has tripled since 1993. The staff-student ratio is currently 1 to 29, while 1 to 8 is in fact common at Dutch universities.

20 Cf. Layton & Wallace 2006.

21 Weiner’s phrase (Weiner 1992).

22 Bloch & Parry 1989.

Although these two domains are inextricably linked, and each presupposes the existence of the other, in virtually every society, including our own, the conversion of objects from one to the other always gives rise to problems and debate.²³ Actual conversion is therefore often regarded as impossible – or at least problematic – on moral and ethical grounds, or even as a loss. It requires special ‘purifying’ actions.²⁴ In our society, money is the object of exchange that plays a role in and links both domains. This also seems to be the source of its ambiguous nature in the western world. In one domain money is seen as the perfect means of guaranteeing the prosperity of society, since money allows individuals to seek profit. In the second, however, its anonymous and impersonal nature makes it, in its extreme form, a diabolical thing that can destroy social relationships and the shared values that underpin them.²⁵ One good illustration of this, and of the conceptual boundary that exists in our society between the market and other domains, is the fact that the exchange of money turns intimate relations between two individuals into prostitution, and that if a citizen pays money to a public servant, it is regarded as corruption.

Although it features less prominently in public debate

23 Audi’s sponsorship of the Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam is a case in point. The deal was to include the display of an Audi show model in the museum. Some felt this would reduce the museum to nothing more than a showroom. The museum’s director pointed out that Audi had not been put off by all the commotion, and that they were still prepared to sponsor the museum, even on poor terms and conditions. He suggested that this determination demonstrated the car manufacturer’s ‘honourable intentions’.

24 The dispute over the sale of the Hilversum Mondrian is relevant in this respect. In the 1980s and 1990s a number of museums wanted to sell pieces that did not form part of their core collection in an attempt to acquire funds to support their acquisitions policy at a time of declining public funding. Besides Hilversum local authority’s sale of a painting by Piet Mondrian in 1987, the announcement by Rudi Fuchs, director of the Stedelijk Museum, in 1991, that he intended to sell paintings by Picasso and Monet, and Boijmans van Beuningen museum director Chris Dercon’s announcement of his plans to sell a Rothko in 1999, also sparked controversy. In all cases, there were protests from many quarters. This series of incidents ultimately led to the publication of guidelines for the sale of museum objects (*Museumwijzer 2/2000*, Netherlands Museum Association). According to the introduction, the guidelines are intended to produce a ‘careful and transparent decision-making process’: the modern Dutch equivalent of ritualised interaction between

than the sale of a Mondrian or a sponsorship deal with Audi, a similar issue currently exists in archaeology. I should like you to consider what you think of the idea that not only should the principle of ‘the developer pays’ apply in archaeology, but also the principle of ‘he who pays the piper calls the tune’. In other words: imagine if those who finance the surveying, excavation and conservation of archaeological sites were to have the power of determining whether sites are worthy of protection and could influence the research agenda. In more abstract terms: how would you feel about money from the economy in the strict sense of the word dominating the domain of art and culture? Although I assume that most people would instantly reject this idea, it is a shame that this issue has never been properly aired in the archaeological debate, partly because it could help define responsibilities within the archaeological system. In this context, I can only refer to the Council of State’s 2004 recommendations on the review of the Monuments and Historic Buildings Act 1988.²⁶ It called the introduction of the ‘developer pays principle’ into question because, in its opinion, the acquisition of knowledge about the past should not be left to developers who happen to be interested in a particular site, but in fact required public investment.

individuals and groups. More interesting in the context of my argument is the fact that the guidelines precisely describe which objects may or may not be sold and how this relates to the history of the object as a museum piece, where it is acceptable for sold objects to end up, as well as where the money raised may come from and what it may be used for. It is significant that the proceeds of the sale of museum objects may be used only for the purchase of new objects or the restoration of objects already in the museum’s possession. They may not, for example, be used for the running of the museum in the regular economic field. The guidelines are a wonderful illustration of the complex relationship in our society between the two spheres referred to above, and of the prevalence of the long-term order over the short-term order. Money as a form of exchange is not an a-moral or value-free thing: its origin is crucial in understanding what it may be used for. There are various types of money, even though this is not physically apparent. One additional notable point: according to the guidelines museum pieces originating in absolute alienation from the original owners (‘human remains, war art or colonial heritage’) are inalienable.

25 A classic on this issue is Le Goff 1986.

26 Tweede Kamer, vergaderjaar 2003–2004, 29 259, nr. 4 (Advies Raad van State en nader rapport Wijziging van de Monumentenwet 1988 etc. [Advisory Report by the Council of State and further report on the Amendment of the Monuments and Historic Buildings Act 1988 etc.]).

However, I believe the problem runs deeper than the question of public or private responsibility. Taxpayers' money earmarked for culture – a 'purifying' transformation of money by the state from the short-term to the long-term order – is a special type of funding that can be used without restrictions in the archaeological sector. However, money that comes directly from the economy is not. This idea requires careful consideration in the debate about culture and the economy in general, and particularly in the context of the major changes in relative numbers and sources of funding in Dutch archaeology. Whereas archaeology used to be performed by several dozen archaeologists working for universities and the ROB – using government money and subsidies strictly earmarked for cultural purposes – it is now performed by over a thousand qualified archaeologists who are dependent on money from a range of civil-society, public-sector and private-sector parties both old and, above all, new. It will be clear, from a sociological or academic historical perspective, that these institutional and financial developments must impact on the discipline. What is not clear, however, is precisely what that impact will be. How the discipline changes will depend to a large extent on the input of the various 'principals'. Hopefully, academic archaeologists will not retreat into a new ivory tower. It is to be hoped that they will not focus exclusively on their own research agenda, and be accountable only to the academic community. Academic archaeologists must exploit the fact that, despite their small numbers in both absolute and relative terms, they have always been credible partners who speak with authority on the past and the best way to acquire knowledge of it. They must cherish and constantly review this position, as it cannot be taken for granted. On the other hand, however, commercial parties who work for clients/developers must not use their growing powers of negotiation to sideline public

partners, with a view perhaps to keeping down costs. Given my analysis of the role of money in both domains and its conversion from one to the other, this would almost by definition lead to major problems.²⁷

VALUE AND VALUES

I have chosen, in this essay, to take a social anthropological perspective, in the hope of elucidating how, in our society, the appreciation and preservation of the heritage is rooted in broader systems of exchange, how management of the heritage relates to the economy in the strict sense – the market, in other words – and above all how the way we treat our heritage is an expression of key social values.²⁸ At first glance, this last point jars with our own self-image and appears to hold little relevance for the way we treat the heritage today. After all, according to prevailing opinion among academics and policymakers, our appreciation of the heritage springs entirely from the actual – 'objective' – potential that archaeological remains offer for the academic narrative of our past. That is why, in our society, experts play an exclusive role in the process of assessment and selection. However, I doubt whether this covers all aspects of our modern perspective. I believe that crucial social values are at stake in our management of the heritage, and that our treatment of the past is closer to non-modern societies in that respect than we might at first be prepared to admit. As we have already seen, producing an academic narrative of the past is not an aim in itself, it is an intrinsic part of a much bigger project, the aim of which is to pass on from one generation to the next the heritage that represents the state and society. To show what I mean, I should now like to examine two related themes. The first is the meaning of the concepts of 'value' and 'values' and developments in their meaning; the second

²⁷ One important forum where all parties might shape their new role is the *National Archaeological Research Agenda* (see Bazelmans, this volume). Though this is a research agenda, it also constitutes a form of accountability to a series of non-scientific parties who are quite right to demand such accountability. The creation of the Agenda has set in train a process whereby academics are not the only party shaping the archaeological agenda in terms of the historical narrative and conservation. The past also belongs to others, all of whom have their own cultural-political agenda.

²⁸ Further to the ethnography of the Kwakiutl (see above): as we have seen, the potlatch of the Kwakiutl is a complex system for the exchange of alienable goods, whereby the participants strive to preserve the heritage that is synonymous with the name, title and status of the leader and his group. Successful groups and their leaders win fame and honour in generations of rivalry with other groups. In other words, they build up a reputation. This – reputation – can be regarded as the most dominant value in Kwakiutl society.



Figure 2 Money and values: men of high standing: Erasmus and De Ruyter (with permission of De Nederlandse Bank, Amsterdam).

is the continuing, and recently revived, dominance of the national perspective on the cultural heritage and heritage management.

Value and values (Dutch *waarde* and *waarden*, cf. German *Wert*) are among the most frequently used terms in Dutch archaeology: valuation (“waardering”) being an all-important step in the Dutch cycle of archaeological heritage management.²⁹ The Collins English Dictionary gives a dozen definitions. We are concerned with two of them which, though inter-related, are also substantially different. The first is value as ‘the desirability of a thing, often in respect of some property such as usefulness or exchangeability’. Here, ‘value’ is synonymous with ‘price’, ‘an amount,

especially a material or monetary one, considered to be a fair exchange in return for a thing’. In this sense, value is the key feature of dealings in the modern short-term order of exchange, the market. We also use the term ‘value’ in an entirely different sense, however, in its plural form. We often hear talk of our society’s ‘values’, its ethical standards, the benchmark for choosing between different modes of action. Our ‘values’ include happiness, respect for others, sustainability³⁰ etc. Here, ‘values’ is a fairly recent sociological abstraction that harks back to a much older meaning. This second meaning of value is not reflected in the modern use of the term ‘price’, but it is reflected in the verb ‘to prize’. In this second sense, ‘value’ or ‘values’ specifically refers not to quantities created in the interplay of supply and demand, but to ‘significance by virtue of quality’ (cf. English ‘worth’). This meaning refers both to material quality, as in things like gold and silver, and inner quality, as in ‘to value someone or something highly’. In other words, value refers to the qualities that distinguish one thing from another, or to the reputation a person enjoys, or the respect someone deserves, on the basis of the qualities that society holds dear. In other words, this meaning of value refers to the qualities that determine the *reputation* of a thing or person. I think that this still plays a role in shaping values away from the context of the market, and thus also in shaping the cultural heritage. These qualities are commonly regarded as an intrinsic, natural or pre-ordained element of the thing or person in question.³¹ However, it is good to realise that revealing and shaping those qualities often takes a great deal of effort and investment.

The Dutch banknotes in circulation from the 1950s to the 1980s serve as a nice example of both meanings (figure 2). They depicted a series of great men, i.e. men with reputation: Grotius, Boerhaave, Huygens, Erasmus, Rembrandt,³² Vondel, Hals, Sweelinck, De Ruyter and Spinoza.³³ These images must not be regarded merely as decoration. Of course money derives its value from, among other things, the national

29 Groenewoudt 1994; Willems 1997, 4.

30 See Bloemers 2003 on sustainability as a core value in archaeology.

31 Bazelmans 1999. Delving somewhat deeper into the history of the concept of Dutch *waarde* (German *Wert*, cf. English *worth*), we find that, in pre-modern times, *waarde* stood both for the fame and honour of a person, and for his standing as manifested

in the heirlooms with which he was invested and which he possessed. The close resemblance to the world of the Kwakiutl and the interweaving of the value of heirlooms and the reputation of their owners is striking. Compare the two senses of the English word ‘image’, which means both ‘picture’ and ‘reputation’.

32 All designed by Eppo Doeve.

33 All designed by Robert (Ootje) Oxenaar.

reserves of currency and precious metals, and from national monetary and economic policies. However, its value also derives from political, historical and religious³⁴ notions as symbolized by the great figures depicted on the banknotes. In other words, the value of money has its origins in both orders of exchange and is therefore not merely synonymous with exchange value but is also inextricably linked to the core values that the state regards as crucial for the survival of society.

HISTORICAL AWARENESS AND THE HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE

The question is: what value and values are created in archaeology? I would suggest that, in this respect, there is not much difference between us and many non-modern societies, and what was depicted on the old Dutch banknotes. In archaeology, too, the acquisition and maintenance of standing or reputation is key, as part of the greater project of writing the historiography of groups. To my mind, this is evident in the treatment of the past in the developing nation states of Europe in the 19th and 20th century. We can clearly see how, at that time, explicit investments were being made in building up a heritage and a past on which those nation states could base their identity and of which they could be proud. The co-opting of the identities of other groups through the researching, purchase and theft of heritage from other territories that went on at that time is well documented. This treatment of the heritage and the past has confronted us with a negative, strictly exclusive form of heritage management, i.e. heritage management that excludes non-indigenous groups and indeed morally disqualifies them. The leading role of archaeology in the cultural policies of the Nazis still seems to cast more of a shadow over archaeology today than it does over historiography. It is nevertheless striking how actively and consciously many historians in the Netherlands become involved in the debate on

the historical canon, and over the question of what values are rooted in our national history.³⁵ No historian will ever say it is possible to write a complete narrative of Dutch history, but I believe that their collaboration on the creation of a canon implies that consensus is possible, at least along broad lines, taking the boundaries, institutions and communities of the Dutch nation state as a starting point. Many historians do not even shy from describing the origin of the values regarded as so important in our current society: individual courage, tolerance, common sense, exemplary rebelliousness, consensus-mindedness etc.³⁶ This surprises me, especially the particularism that some historians display. I have come to the conclusion that this debate cannot be left solely to historians. I should like to urge archaeologists to take a much more prominent role.

Before I can examine this role, I must first consider two factors that hamper their involvement, or at least appear to do so. Without wishing to do an injustice to theologians', artists' and philosophers' centuries of intensive reflection on the essence of nature³⁷, I detect in our society an increasing tendency to base our individual and collective identity and our core values in nature. Some cultural philosophers even refer to nature as the new religion. Symptomatic of this are the efforts to reshape our landscape into what it was before man had an impact³⁸, by literally 'de-poldering' it in the name of nature development, with some a-historical wilderness as the point of reference³⁹, and by reintroducing animals that are extinct in this country. Another example is the humanisation of animals in our food production system – by word, at any rate, if not by deed.⁴⁰ Again (figure 3), it is interesting to look at money, and specifically at a series of banknotes used in the Netherlands from the 1980s up to the introduction of the euro in 2002. The celebrated men of the past who once graced the money in our pockets were replaced by images of nature: the kingfisher, the robin, the sunflower, the snipe, the little owl and the

34 The Dutch text around the edge of coins of different denominations – 'God be with us' – is relevant in this respect.

35 For example: Bank, Van Es & De Rooij 2005; Van der Horst 2005; Lendering 2005; Palm 2005; Pleij 2005. For a critical stance, see: Ribbens 2004. France, too, is a case in point.

36 These values, it is said by many Dutch historians, have their roots in the attitudes of the free farmers, fishermen, merchants, towns and districts of the western Netherlands (the 'polder') in the Late Middle Ages.

37 Schouten 2005.

38 Van Schendelen 1999, 230-232.

39 Vera 1997. See Keulartz 2000 for an introduction to the Dutch discussion on nature development (*natuurontwikkeling*).

40 Cf. Cliteur 2001. 'Every age has its moral blindspot: slavery, the status of women, discrimination against homosexuals. So what is today's blindspot?', Cliteur wonders. The rhetorical response is, of course: could it be the denial of the rights of animals?



Figure 3 Money and natural values: the snipe and the sunflower (with permission of De Nederlandse Bank, Amsterdam).

lapwing.⁴¹ I interpret this change of imagery as a change in the value orientation of our society, as authenticity, naturalness, diversity, beauty and purity came to dominate.

Secondly, I have observed that the collective memory, and therefore also the individual historical experience, has become more superficial over time. It is an undeniable fact that important values are increasingly rooted in more and more recent periods of history. Historians have played a leading role in this. In the 16th and 17th centuries, in the developing Republic and later in the Dutch state and its cultural elite, Tacitus' *Batavians* of the Roman period were crucial to the way the Dutch nation defined itself and to important values such as independence and bourgeois virtues.⁴² In the 19th century, the Dutch took as their example artistic and scientific ideas and the pragmatic and heroic behaviour of stadholders, merchants, discoverers, scientists and artists in the Golden Age.⁴³

41 All designed by Jaap Drupsteen.

42 Langereis 2004.

43 Bank 1990.

44 Cf. Blom 1983; Van der Heijden 2001.

Nowadays, core values seemed to be defined almost exclusively in relation to the behaviour of those who resisted or collaborated with the Nazis in the Second World War.⁴⁴ The public's enthusiasm for what I, as an archaeologist, call the history of yesterday – the history of families, professions, companies, streets, villages and regions in the 19th and 20th centuries – is also part of this trend.⁴⁵ This is all about feeling at home in your immediate environment, in your own dialect, in your own family and circle of friends, in a globalising world in recession, where different value systems are diametrically opposed to each other. The values at stake here are probably not those of the state and its cultural elite.

This historical, popular scientific and public focus on the familiar is not a problem as far as I am concerned, it is more an inevitability inherent to human nature. No form of political correctness can change any aspect of the construction of an exclusive identity. However, I believe this particularist perspective does need to be accompanied by a focus on the complex contemporaneous and historical relationships with other social entities and thus automatically by an awareness of the historicity of our identity. When it comes to writing the history of the nation, for example, this entails putting the concepts of the Netherlands, the Dutch state and the Dutch community into perspective. A look at a series of maps clearly shows how quickly these concepts evaporate the further back in time we go: via the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the Republic, the Burgundian Netherlands and finally the bishopric of Utrecht, prior to which there is nothing that remotely resembles the presumed subject of the new canon. Placing things in perspective like this opens up a series of themes that lie further back in pre- and protohistory, and which are interesting not only from an academic point of view, but also bring us face to face with important issues in our own society. I am thinking, for example, of the origin of mankind, man's colonisation of the planet, the domestication of animals and crops, the creation of a family of Indo-European languages and cultures, the creation of the first states and empires etc. These processes confront us directly with our ideas and our appreciation of the contrast between humans

45 The popular TV series *Heimat* by German director Edgar Reitz demonstrates what Homeric heights the depiction of such recent, small-scale histories can reach. See www.heimat123.de.



Figure 4 Money and European values
(with permission of De Nederlandse Bank, Amsterdam).

and animals, between indigenous and foreign, between hearth and home and the outside world, between the individual on the one hand and society and the state on the other etc. This is about combining humanity and cultural diversity, self-awareness and openness, and a sense of community and individual autonomy. These are crucial pairs of social values, about which archaeologists also have plenty of interesting things to say. These frameworks seem to have been clearly defined at the international level. The Valletta Convention states that protecting the archaeological heritage will help in the creation of a European collective memory, and allow us to retrace the history of mankind. Again, this is reflected in the money we now use (figure 4). The paper denominations of the euro, with their

explicit and somewhat clichéd reference to successive European architectural styles from the Roman period onwards, clearly show that the creation of value and values is now part of a political and cultural project to shape a European community.⁴⁶ However, according to the European Central Bank, the ‘windows, doors and bridges’ on these banknotes not only symbolise an exclusive European identity, but also ‘the spirit of openness and cooperation in the EU and in communications between peoples’.⁴⁷ I believe that there could be no better invitation to historians – and also to archaeologists – to make an active contribution to the retracing of our history and the values it represents.

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46 Klamer & Van Dalen, 1998.

47 www.ecb.int/bc/banknotes/looks.

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