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# Connecting Continents

*Archaeology and History  
in the Indian Ocean World*

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Krish Seetah

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## Archaeology and the Process of Heritage Construction in Mauritius

DIEGO CALAON AND CORINNE FOREST

THE TAMARIN SALTPANS, LOCATED on the west coast of Mauritius, are one of the most iconic of the island's coastal landscapes. The complex still manufactures salt using production techniques that date back to the French colonial period (1721–1810). In addition to manufacturing salt, the site is a popular tourist attraction and historical landmark. Press reports during Summer 2015 that 75 percent of the saltpans were to be destroyed to make space for a shopping mall elicited vigorous protest from the local community even though the pans are not protected either as a national heritage site or because of their environmental value. The popular opposition to this proposed development project, manifested through social media such as Facebook and Change.org, demonstrates that this site and its landscape are now clearly perceived as part of the island's historical legacy. The public desire to protect and preserve this element of the nation's heritage is all that much more noteworthy

since the destruction of historic buildings and other heritage sites in Port Louis some thirty years ago as part of a plan to develop the city prompted little public comment or reaction.<sup>1</sup>

The response to the proposed destruction of the Tamarin salt-pans reveals how much public understanding of the country's heritage has evolved in Mauritius in recent years. Until the beginning of the twenty-first century, Mauritians viewed their history largely through the prism of European, African, Indian, and Chinese migration to the island, migrations that were usually treated as separate and distinct from one another. Mauritian heritage was managed by the island's socioeconomic elite and focused on the French and British colonial eras. Following independence in 1968, the national government continued to pursue heritage management policies that had been established by colonial authorities, including perpetuating a top-down approach to preserving and interpreting the nation's past and maintaining the already existing list of national monuments, structures that invariably dated from the eras of French and British (1810–1968) colonial rule. Museums created by private interests defined the island's past in much the same way. A common feature of these governmental policies and private ventures was their failure to address the interests and concerns of the great majority of Mauritians who are the descendants of the hundreds of thousands of slaves and indentured laborers who reached the island during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Not unsurprisingly, many Mauritians had difficulty identifying with this definition of what constituted "national heritage." As a result, local communities did not become involved in protecting historical sites during the three decades after independence because they did not relate to these monuments in any meaningful way.<sup>2</sup> With the advent of the new millennium, however, Mauritians began to demonstrate greater concern about the material heritage associated with their slave and indentured ancestors. This growing public interest has led, in turn, to a new perception of the colonial past and the creation of a new framework of national heritage and memory that Mauritians use to define their identity and affirm their social and ethnic values in a multicultural society.<sup>3</sup>

While the dynamics of why Mauritian attitudes about heritage have changed in recent years remain to be determined, there is good reason to believe that archaeological research has facilitated the development of these new perceptions about the national experience. Because it offers a



distinctly scientific approach to recovering, analyzing, and contextualizing the material past, archaeology can provide individuals and communities in multicultural and postcolonial societies with a culturally neutral vantage point from which to better understand their heritage. In the case of Mauritius, archaeological heritage opens a new door to understanding nation-building in a land of complex, multilayered, and often fragmented memories and the sociopolitical negotiations between different ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups as they seek to construct a shared postcolonial memory.<sup>4</sup> As anthropological fieldwork on the island attests, public discourse about such matters is often a double-edged sword. On the one hand, Mauritians perceive the creation of a shared heritage as a necessary component of nation-building; on the other hand, heritage is also used regularly by different ethnic, religious, or other groups to define and affirm their identity.<sup>5</sup>

To better understand the relationship between heritage construction and social, economic, cultural, and political life in Mauritius, this chapter focuses on the various protagonists in modern Mauritian society and the ways in which they influence or contribute to negotiating a new shared sense of national heritage. Doing so requires us to consider themes such as “heritage and slavery” or “heritage and indenture” in order to put the dynamics of Mauritian multiculturalism in broader local, regional, and global perspectives.<sup>6</sup> Next, we will consider how the notion of “national heritage” has developed on the island. Central to this endeavor is examining how the material approach to cultural landscapes promoted by archaeologists has contributed to the construction of a common past. Lastly, we will consider the role that archaeological research has played in defining sociopolitical perceptions of the island’s two UNESCO WHSs and the ways in which materiality can contribute to the elaboration of heritage management policies and serve as a supra-ethnic intermediary in the process of national identity formation.

## HERITAGE, IDENTITY, AND ANCESTRY: FROM MULTIPLE COLONIAL PASTS TO BEACHSCAPE PARADISE

The process of defining cultural heritage in Mauritius is inextricably intertwined with individuals’ search for their origins. The island is quintessentially a land of immigrants who draw on a rich, multicultural heritage of African, Asian, and European origin. Mauritius remained

uninhabited until 1638 when the Dutch East India Company made the first of two ultimately unsuccessful attempts (1638–58 and 1664–1710) to colonize the island. Following its abandonment by the Dutch, the island was occupied in 1721 by French colonists who imported an estimated 89,000 to 101,000 slaves from West Africa, Mozambique, Madagascar, the Swahili Coast, and India to develop the island's infrastructure and labor on its agricultural estates.<sup>7</sup> The island's eighteenth-century population also included sailors of Indian and Southeast Asian origin, free craftsmen and artisans from South India, and even occasional free colored migrants from the Caribbean. At the time of its conquest by a British expeditionary force in 1810, the island housed some 78,000 men, women, and children, 65,400 of whom were slaves. Following the island's formal inclusion in the British Empire in 1814 and the development of the sugar industry, illegal slave trade introduced an estimated 52,550 African, Malagasy, and Southeast Asian slaves. The abolition of slavery in 1835 and the collapse of the postemancipation "apprenticeship" system in 1838 spurred the introduction of more than 452,000 indentured laborers, mostly from India but also from China, the Comoros, Madagascar, Mozambique, Southeast Asia, and Yemen. Approximately two-thirds of these workers remained permanently on the island. Some 1,500 convicts, mostly from India but also from Ceylon, also reached the colony between the mid-1810s and early 1830s. The nineteenth century likewise witnessed the arrival of "free passengers" from India, many of whom were merchants, as well as Chinese laborers and merchants who also became part of the colony's resident population.<sup>8</sup>

Since no Mauritian can define him- or herself as an autochthon or the descendant of an indigenous aboriginal population, identifying one's place of origin and attendant discourses about homeland affiliation are an essential component in the local process of heritage construction.<sup>9</sup> The island's various ethnocultural communities have sought since independence to establish strong links with the overseas societies and cultures from which their ancestors came. These diasporic points of reference are not limited just to identifying with particular geographical areas, but include supporting the use of specific languages and adopting what are perceived to be the traditional values associated with their ancestors' homeland. The stronger the connection with an ancestral place and culture, the more that link affirms a group's identity; the older the affiliation with the ancestral culture, the more noble that connection

is in the minds of postcolonial Mauritians. Cultivating such a sense of otherness on the basis of immaterial and material links with their ancestral place of origin has played a significant role in helping Mauritians from different ethnocultural backgrounds define themselves in a rapidly changing multicultural society.<sup>10</sup>

As noted earlier, most officially designated heritage sites in Mauritius are associated with the island's French and British colonial past. Although the Dutch were the first to occupy the island, the failure of this Dutch attempt at colonization resonates widely in modern Mauritian collective memory. No contemporary Mauritian communities refer to themselves as a product of this legacy, and the Dutch experience on the island does not figure in discussions about national identity despite the existence of an important archaeological site at Vieux Grand Port associated with Dutch settlement of the island and the fundamental role that the Dutch played in defining the island's geography, including giving it its modern name.<sup>11</sup> The Mauritian "nation" first took shape, instead, during the French colonial era, a period that witnessed the establishment of many of the island's cities and towns and a majority of place names, institutions, and memorials. That this material heritage is still conserved attests to the continuing importance of the French colonial past.<sup>12</sup> That many Mauritians continue to identify in various ways with a continental French motherland is likewise readily apparent in the widespread use of the French language in the media and interest in Francophone literature and culture.<sup>13</sup>

Although few modern Mauritians identify closely with Britain, the British colonial legacy also occupies an important place as one of the nation's foundational cultures and as a source of political legitimacy for those in the Indo-Mauritian population who have dominated national political life since independence.<sup>14</sup> Public perception of Britain is generally positive because the British colonial administration did not make sustained attempts to impose British culture or language on the island's inhabitants. The terms of the French capitulation in December 1810 included a British promise to respect the language, laws, religion, and customs of the local population, and as a result, French remained in widespread use as the principal language of administration, business, commerce, law, religion, and local culture. Economic power likewise remained in the hands of Franco-Mauritian merchants, traders, and estate owners. The British colonial administration encouraged the local sugar

industry's growth by developing necessary infrastructure, such as modern ports and an island-wide railroad system, and by supporting the introduction of hundreds of thousands of indentured laborers to work on the island's sugar estates following the abolition of slavery in 1835 and the termination of the apprenticeship system in 1838.<sup>15</sup>

While this Anglo-French legacy contributed significantly to modern concepts of Mauritian heritage, it rarely serves as a reference point for Mauritian Creoles (i.e., persons of African and Malagasy descent whose ancestors reached the island as slave laborers). Although Creoles possess an extremely rich oral culture and memories that posit a connection with Africa and Madagascar, identity negotiation for such individuals, who are often subsumed into the racial category of "Black" Mauritians, is a particularly complex process since they can rarely, if ever, activate an explicit connection with their ancestral homelands. As Megan Vaughan has noted, Mauritian Creoles tend to be defined not by what they are but by what they are not: French, Hindu, Muslim, Chinese, and so on.<sup>16</sup> Indeed, the term "creole," whether used to describe language or culture, refers to all things local. Being a "Creole" is thus often tantamount to being part of a less prestigious residual category. That slaves became acculturated to French colonial life ensured, moreover, that their descendants' ability to create or re-create a distinct African cultural identity remains a difficult undertaking. Because they are not empowered with a positive narrative about their origins, Creoles often suffer from the kind of marginalization in discussions about heritage that can easily contribute to the social tensions that are an integral part of contemporary Mauritian society.<sup>17</sup>

In light of these sociohistorical realities, the question arises whether modern Mauritians have managed to create common cultural references and, if so, how they have gone about doing so. What is clear is that in a society shaped by colonialism and immigration, Mauritian communities have come to refer to an "ideal" sense of ancestry that roots them in foreign lands. This dynamic, which can be defined as a "retroactive ancestral substitution," is similar to the process Hayden White uses to describe the history of the western world.<sup>18</sup> This process involves reinventing one's origins in order to accept and affirm changing identities: by imagining new ancestral narratives, individuals seek to define and legitimate their position in society. Culture and heritage are invariably involved in this process because they can easily symbolically embody a

group's narrative of its identity. This dynamic is particularly relevant to understanding the role that heritage plays in shaping modern Mauritian life, all the more so since scholars have noticed that social identities in postcolonial societies need to adapt to new contexts and develop another kind of ancestry, usually as a response to western epistemologies. Studies in South America, for example, have shown that the development of a notion of "nonhuman ancestry" can generate a linkage with the past that replaces ethnicity with ecological utopias as reference points in identity formation.<sup>19</sup>

This process of ancestral substitution is apparent in Mauritius's adoption of the famous dodo as the ultimate symbol of national identity. The modern image of the dodo, extinct since the seventeenth century, has evolved far beyond the scientific image of *Raphus cucullatus* described in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century accounts of the island.<sup>20</sup> The construction of the dodo's modern image began in the late nineteenth century when Lewis Carroll created the enchanting character that inhabits his classic novel *Alice in Wonderland*, first published in 1865. During the second half of the twentieth century, the dodo also became a symbol of the natural world's vulnerability in the face of human activity. Now used widely in promotional media and popular arts, the dodo has become an icon—a reinvented "ancestor"—that embodies a past that all Mauritians can share in common.<sup>21</sup> Local and international artists have used the dodo to create imageries that symbolize Mauritius in various ways, while local souvenir shops are filled with items featuring this trademark image.<sup>22</sup> For the modern Mauritian tourism industry, the dodo has become the symbol of the island as a reconstructed Arcadia, a paradise island of turquoise waters, palm trees, and white coral sand beaches that also embody a tropical eroticism.

### *The Ancestral Imagery of the Landscape and Its Commodification*

This image of Mauritius as a paradise island has been used not only by the tourism industry, but also by the government to promote the island and attract investors, especially from Asia, who can contribute to the country's economic growth by engaging in technological and financial ventures that serve a global capitalist economy. Slogans that describe Mauritius as a "new tiger economy" clearly emphasize the ideals of western capitalism and target new investors seeking profits and development in an idyllic setting. This postcolonial vision of the nation can be

understood as an alternative modernity driven by those Franco-, Indo- and Sino-Mauritians who have reappropriated the island's landscape in their desire to pursue capitalist agendas and projects. In so doing, they consciously attempt to emulate the success stories of cities such as Singapore and Hong Kong.<sup>23</sup>

Promoting these ideals of development and progress has entailed the reconstruction, if not destruction, of the island's coastal landscapes. Beaches and some lagoon areas have been transformed into a custom-made paradise complete with hotels and luxurious houses intended for the foreign investors' market. This commodification of the coastal landscape has not only altered the physical and historical relationship between the island and the Indian Ocean that surrounds it, but also profoundly changed perceptions of both coast- and oceanscapes.<sup>24</sup> There is now a substantial rupture, both real and figurative, between coastal landscapes as theatres of heritage and historical human interaction (e.g., zones of discovery, maritime trade, naval battles), and as venues for exotic, luxurious vacations and profitable investments. The National History Museum, formerly the Maritime Museum, in Mahébourg, for example, preserves important artifacts from the island's eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century colonial past but ignores the extent and complexity of the commercial and other ties that connected Mauritius with the wider Indian Ocean world, East Asia, and Europe during these centuries. Naval and coastal archaeology are likewise separated from the larger contexts that give them meaning. The tourism industry, for instance, promotes underwater heritage as essentially an extension of the island's beaches, a place where scuba divers can visit shipwrecks, both real and fake, with little regard to the ways in which such features are representative of and illustrate the extensive trade and maritime networks that are a hallmark of Mauritian and Indian Ocean history.<sup>25</sup> By isolating the country's maritime heritage in this way, these practices preclude the development of strong connections between the country's densely populated interior and its beaches, lagoons, and other seascapes. As a result, while heritage is seen as having a role to play in Mauritian tourism, only certain aspects of an ostensibly "authentic" Mauritian cultural landscape are emphasized. Popular tourist attractions reinforce the image of a beautiful and idyllic setting in which Mauritians of all backgrounds live together harmoniously in a "rainbow" nation.

Many local investors in the tourism industry are the descendants of Franco-Mauritian sugar estate owners who invested in coastal resorts as a way to diversify their interests after the economic crisis of the 1980s. The Franco-Mauritian community has accordingly been at the forefront of negotiating recognition of the coastal landscape as natural heritage and shaping the narrative that is used to project an image of Mauritius as an attractive place for international guests. However, their narrative seeks to avoid portraying the kind of property speculation that guides large-scale development in negative terms, and advances the notion that property development is a legitimate way to diversify the country's economy because, by serving the well-being of international tourists, it encourages the country's growth.<sup>26</sup>

In this context, landscape is often reduced to reinventing and promoting the island's coast as a pleasant, interesting, and exotic area. Tangible heritage can be used to reinforce this image: an old building or monument can easily function as a material symbol of an idyllic past. Intangible heritage and memory can serve the same purpose: performances of the dance known as *séga* and local music and celebrations of the richness and diversity of Indo-Mauritian cuisine can likewise be used to support images of various aspects of the Mauritian life in the past as well as the present. In modern settings such as restaurants, hotels, and convention centers, these activities, commonly managed by a small business elite and invariably intended for selected customers, especially foreign tourists or investors, are often perceived as an expression of slave and indentured heritage.<sup>27</sup> As such, heritage is shaped to meet the aspirations of an ideal image of Mauritius; foreign audiences are offered the opportunity to appreciate and experience manifestations of "authentic" Mauritian identity, while Mauritians see, in the commodification of their heritage, the expression of a homogenous Mauritian identity that everyone recognizes.

## HERITAGE, IDENTITY, AND POLITICS

Following independence in 1968, the new government gradually articulated a vision for the nation that rested ultimately on the same principle of sociopolitical organization, one based on notions of "communal" representation that had been a prominent feature of British colonial policy. This attempt to use a communally based multiculturalism to

establish social stability and coherence has been a regular feature of national political life over the last forty-five years. Political parties, for example, regularly use the slogan *unité dans la diversité* (unity in diversity) to attract voters. Policies to foster the country's cultural development rely on the same motto and reflect the desire of the country's leading political groups to achieve and maintain social harmony in a pluralistic Mauritius. This cultural policy likewise constitutes part of the "Mauritianization" process initiated after the country became independent.<sup>28</sup>

General perceptions of heritage, and tangible heritage in particular, and the construction of national identity have been shaped in distinct ways by the ambivalent role that this notion of "multiculturalism" plays in Mauritian politics. Following independence, governmental decolonization strategies strongly promoted equality among Mauritians in keeping with the constitutional prohibition of any form of discrimination on the basis of race, place of origin, political opinion, color, creed, or sex. At the same time, the constitution guaranteed the freedom of expression needed to establish cultural associations and/or schools. Before it was amended in 1972, the constitution divided the country's population into four ethnic groups: Hindus (51 percent), Muslims (16 percent), Sino-Mauritians (2.9 percent), and the General Population (28.7 percent), which encompassed all other persons. The electoral system also recognized this ethnic division in order to guarantee that representatives from each of these groups sat in parliament. The extent of this commitment to ensuring that no minority ethnic group is excluded from or underrepresented in parliament is best illustrated by the fact that the constitution includes a provision allocating eight out of a total of seventy seats to an election's "best losers." Although intended to ensure that all groups in Mauritian society are represented in government, the best-loser system does not always guarantee that such actually happens. One consequence of these constitutionally mandated ethnic categories has been the need for modern Mauritians to consciously define themselves as part of a distinctive ethnic group.<sup>29</sup>

Other governmental policies have reinforced, albeit unintentionally, these potentially discriminatory categories. Since 1982, for example, censuses have replaced the category of "ethnicity" with that of "ancestral language," a term that also implies religious affiliation. As such, language has become an indirect indicator of ethnicity. Reference to such ethnic-linguistic affiliation restricts mobility between population



categories: once citizens are registered under a particular category, they are expected to respect it for life. Mauritians are likewise supposed to bequeath their ethnic affiliation to their children. This expression of Mauritian multiculturalism does not, moreover, include provisions for “hybrid” categories such as those born of mixed racial or intercultural unions and those deemed Créoles or *mulâtres* (mulattos). The rigidity inherent in this system effectively restricts individuals’ ability to move from one ethnic or linguistic group to another and relegates those of hybrid background to the margins of society. Nowhere is this truer than for the country’s Creoles, who are unable to identify with a specific ethnicity or ancestral homeland or appropriate a language as their own since Creole (Kréol) is the lingua franca used by all Mauritians, regardless of their ethnic identity or background, on a daily basis.<sup>30</sup>

This particular sense of multiculturalism is closely associated with historically defined racial, labor, and gender categories and roles. Implicit in these ancestral categories and roles is the notion that modern Mauritians have to fit into the pattern established for their culturally or ethnically defined group and, eventually, embrace the moral values traditionally associated with it. Standard historical narratives tend, for instance, to recognize only four major population groups: white French planters and masters, black African slaves, Indian indentured workers, and Chinese merchants. In these narratives, those outside these categories, such as “Malay” slaves from Southeast Asia, African or Chinese indentured laborers, working class white Europeans, Indian sailors and merchants, and the descendants of multicultural or interracial unions, almost invariably remain unrepresented within this standard four-part conceptualization of Mauritian society.<sup>31</sup>

Because it automatically associates elements of the past with distinct sociocultural categories, this kind of multiculturalism makes the process of identifying a common heritage and constructing a collective historical memory particularly difficult. One consequence is a proliferation of ethnically based commemorations that can contradict a national collective memory. This propensity for national cultural heritage to be viewed through the prism of particular groups’ ideology means that minority groups’ history and memory are often only partly acknowledged.<sup>32</sup> Examples of such behavior in postcolonial Mauritius include both the formation of specific counter-histories<sup>33</sup> and the celebration of “national” holidays that emphasize social, political, or religious events

of importance to particular communities.<sup>34</sup> The most prominent examples of such activities are the holidays that commemorate the abolition of slavery (February 1) and the arrival of indentured laborers (November 2). The February 1 holiday, celebrated officially at Le Morne, a place closely associated in popular memory with slave resistance, honors the memory, sacrifices, and suffering of the mostly African and Malagasy ancestors of modern Creoles. The November 2 holiday in turn is closely associated with the advent of a new era in the island's history that began when the first indentured Indian laborers reached the island. This holiday's official observance occurs at the Aapravasi Ghat, the UNESCO WHS identified with indentured labor migration, and is widely interpreted as celebrating the achievements of Indo-Mauritians.<sup>35</sup>

#### MEMORIES, NEGATIVE MEMORIES, AND HERITAGE: COLONIAL NARRATIVES

The (re)generation and perpetuation of negative memories has been an integral part of social and cultural life in postcolonial Mauritius. A number of scholars and observers have pointed out that while Franco-Mauritians have not denied their ancestors' involvement with slavery or denied the crucial role that slaves and indentured laborers played in the colony's economic development, they have tended to gloss over various realities of these labor systems in their histories of colonial Mauritius.<sup>36</sup> This particular sense of collective memory first took shape during the mid-nineteenth century with the founding of the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences in 1847. This institution, modeled on the learned societies found throughout eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe, emphasized the role that the colony's French and British "founding fathers" played in the island's development, especially its economic development. To this end, the society concentrated on improving the "colonial cultivation generally" and, more particularly, that of the "only staple [sugar] and its intelligent manufacture."<sup>37</sup> Shortly after its establishment, the society inaugurated the practice of holding annual agricultural exhibitions that celebrated the best sugars, the latest techniques for manufacturing sugar, and local and regional produce. In 1859, the society created a subcommittee to support the publication of scientific, literary, and historical works. This committee, composed of members of the Franco-Mauritian elite, gradually assumed responsibility

for recognizing the contributions that various individuals had made to the colony's development, a process that included erecting statues of some of these personalities and monuments to commemorate their contributions.

The creation of the Historical Records Committee by British colonial authorities in 1889 reinforced this approach to national memory. Like the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences, the committee's principal goal was to honor the personalities who had contributed to island's development as a British colony. In keeping with its legally mandated responsibility for historical places and monuments, the committee pressed the colonial government in 1928 to establish a legal framework for heritage and invited the governor to accord legal standing to some historic buildings. At the same time, the committee generated the first list of the colony's heritage on the grounds that since the "the most interesting" of the island's ancient monuments, such as old forts, coastal batteries, and public buildings, were in a "state of dereliction that predicts their forthcoming disappearance," it was necessary to prevent the "most venerable souvenirs of our great ancestors" from disappearing into oblivion.<sup>38</sup> The colony's first ordinance governing heritage, issued in 1938, created the Ancient Monuments Board, established the process for listing structures as heritage, and articulated how such heritage was to be preserved and managed.<sup>39</sup>

Modern Franco-Mauritian narratives can be seen as continuing this nineteenth-century narrative with its emphasis on the social, cultural, and economic legacy that metropolitan France left modern Mauritius. This legacy can be used to justify or legitimize Franco-Mauritian claims to and rights in important assets such as land, commercial and business enterprises, and financial institutions. The argument that their contribution to the country's development was so significant is, in turn, deemed to be significant enough to preclude possible claims for reparations by the descendants of the island's slave and indentured workers.<sup>40</sup>

Three of the country's major private museums—the Blue Penny Museum, the Château de Labourdonnais, and L'Aventure du Sucre—reflect this approach to the country's past. The first of these institutions, the Blue Penny Museum, is closely associated with the country's land-owning elite. The museum, established by the Mauritian Commercial Bank in 2001, is often described in tourist guide books as a "must-see" in Mauritius. The museum displays the bank's extensive collection of

artifacts, including works of art, historical objects, a rich numismatic and philatelic collection, and historic colonial-era documents. The section of the museum devoted to Mauritian history focuses on European exploration of and maritime activities in the Indian Ocean, with a particular emphasis on Port Louis's founding by Mahé de Labourdonnais, the most famous of the colony's French governors (1735–46). The material objects displayed in the museum's exhibits and their accompanying narrative focus on French colonization of the island's virgin landscape and the crucial role that Europeans played in the development of modern Mauritius. The museum building itself and the Caudan Waterfront, the modern shopping area in Port Louis where it is located, reinforce this narrative. The fragments of the old stone walls that once characterized this old dock area, its warehouses, and other port facilities were left in place only as decorative elements. As a result, public memory of not only the colonial port, but also the slaves, convicts, indentured laborers, and others who passed through or worked in this area is effectively masked by shops, restaurants, and a hotel intended to cater to foreign tourists.<sup>41</sup>

The Château de Labourdonnais, located in the northern district of Pamplemousses, is a private structure recently converted into a public museum. The château, constructed originally in 1859,<sup>42</sup> was meticulously restored in 2009 to provide a venue in which to display original furniture and other objects that illustrate the life and history of the property's owners. Only a few of the objects on display refer to the house as the seat of power from which the surrounding sugar estate was governed. This important aspect of the château's history is submerged instead in a narrative about the island's history that makes hardly any reference to the enslaved and indentured men, women, and children who worked on the estate.<sup>43</sup>

A similar focus on national history characterizes the permanent exhibits at L'Aventure du Sucre, the most visited museum in Mauritius. The museum, which is housed in a sugar factory that ceased operating only in 1999, occupies a site where sugar has been manufactured since 1797. L'Aventure focuses in great detail on the process of producing sugar, from the cultivation and harvesting of sugarcane to the processing of cut cane and the manufacture of refined sugar.<sup>44</sup> In this account of industrial activity, the organization and use of the slave and indentured laborers who worked in the cane fields and labored in the sugar

works are discussed in terms of the panregional systems of forced and free labor that flourished during eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In this narrative, the history of sugar production is contextualized as a global venture in which everyone played an essential role in supporting the country's economy. This theme of sugar as a unifying thread in Mauritian history downplays the human suffering often associated with such colonial enterprises. The narrative surrounding other examples of surviving heritage, such as abandoned sugar mills, sugar estates' colonial-era houses, workers' barracks, the nineteenth-century railway network, and old port infrastructure, that are an integral part of Mauritian culture likewise view these structures in terms of how the nation was built around the sugar chimney.

The trials and tribulations experienced by those who traveled to and lived on the island during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries could potentially serve as the basis of a shared national memory. In many instances, however, both literary and historical accounts of colonial life minimize the realities faced by the island's inhabitants. An early example of this attitude can be found in J. H. Bernardin de St. Pierre's famous novel, *Paul et Virginie*. The novel, first published in 1788 at the height of the French Enlightenment, implies that slaves' lives could be very good so long as their masters were nice to them. The novel also depicts its principal characters, Paul and Virginie, as beautiful, healthy, and vigorous children of Mauritius who live close to nature, away from the corrupting influence of civilization. In so doing, their characters celebrate the beauty of the island's tropical climate and landscape and represent the European pioneers who successfully colonized the island.<sup>45</sup>

This tendency to emphasize the beauty of the island's landscapes, the uniqueness of its now largely destroyed tropical forest, and the struggles of the colony's early settlers figure prominently in other heritage sites. The Botanical Garden at Pamplemousses, for example, celebrates human domination, and the victory of the colonial order in particular, over an untamed tropical environment. The garden, renamed in 1988 in honor of Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, the first prime minister of an independent Mauritius, was established in 1735 by the French botanist Pierre Poivre. Poivre imported seeds and plants from around the world in an attempt to develop Mauritius into a "spice island" that would lessen France's dependence on Asian sources of supply for these commodities.<sup>46</sup> Although the Natural History Museum in Port Louis houses

an important taxidermic collection of endemic birds collected by European amateurs, scientists, and botanists, most visitors come to see one of the few complete dodo skeletons in existence. Mahébourg's Maritime Museum was established in 1950 to display artifacts retrieved during the dredging of port's harbor, including those associated with the famous naval battle between the French and the British at the Ile de la Passe in 1810. Although renamed the National History Museum in 2000, the museum continues to emphasize the island's naval past and the lifestyle of the colonial white elite.<sup>47</sup>

*Politics and Practices: Mauritian National  
Monuments and Archaeology*

This vision of the nation's past, with its focus on colonial life and events, is also made manifest in the list of national heritage monuments and sites recognized by the National Heritage Fund Act of 2003. The act established the National Heritage Fund (NHF), which is charged with identifying, protecting, managing, and enhancing Mauritian national heritage, and nurturing a sense of belonging through valorizing the past.

The NHF maintains a list of 173 monuments and sites recognized officially as "heritage of national interest" that date from the early eighteenth century into the postindependence era.<sup>48</sup> A review of the structures on this list reveals the extent to which it fails to reflect the island's complex, multilayered heritage. Memorial monuments and graves account for 46 percent of all such sites, followed by colonial (mostly French) buildings (20 percent), colonial military sites and structures (17 percent), various features (mainly sugar mills and chimneys) associated with the island's sugar industry (9 percent), and miscellaneous colonial structures (8 percent). When examined in greater detail, the monuments in question reflect the conceptualization of national heritage in largely preindependence terms. In short, the list is representative of the notion of heritage that emerged in nineteenth-century Mauritius with its attendant emphasis on commemorating colonial personalities or events that shaped the history of the colonial elite (fig. 10.1).

For this reason, many of these sites remain largely irrelevant points of reference in the lives of most Mauritians, much less in their sense of national heritage. This indifference is compounded by the fact that few mechanisms exist to link heritage with contemporary Mauritian society. It is remarkable that the list of national monuments does not contain

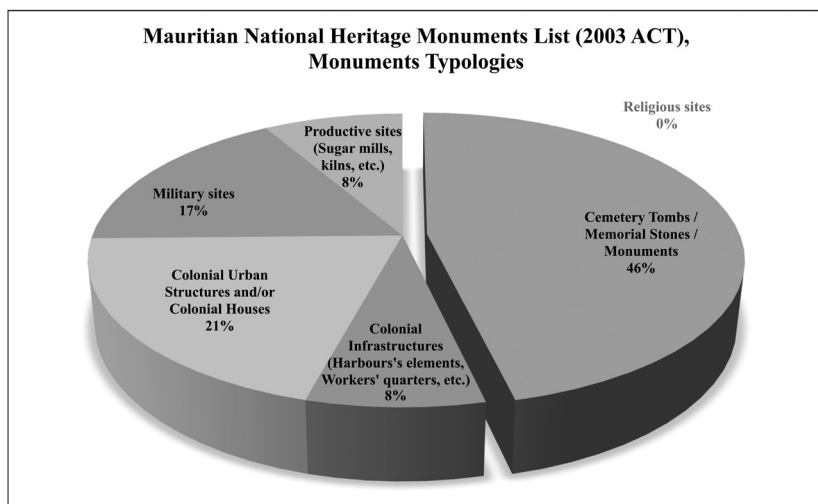


FIGURE 10.1. Monument typologies on the Mauritian list of national monuments, according the National Heritage Fund Act (2003) and its following amendments. (Created by Diego Calaon.)

any religious sites, as religion and religious practices are key elements in the process of appropriating a national shared identity, but their inclusion would have entailed a contested negotiation that NHF preferred to avoid.<sup>49</sup> The NHF does little to situate the monuments and sites that it does recognize in relevant contexts. Some sugar factory chimneys, for example, are not viewed or treated as part of the larger industrial complex of which they were an integral part. The act also fails to encourage the notion of “buffer zones” that would restrict or ban development around such sites, or to include topographical or environmental data about the sites in question. Last, but far from least, the act does not include mechanisms that would permit a site’s heritage significance to be properly assessed or the monument’s materiality to be managed in ways that would ensure its conservation and preservation.

Only seven sites have been added to the list of national heritage sites since 2003. It is interesting to note that the official approach to these sites remains much as before. Inclusion of Père Gabriel Igou’s tombstone on the national heritage list in 2007, for example, did not include provision for this early eighteenth-century artifact’s preservation or the collection of associated living memory.<sup>50</sup> Two years later, the addition of Round Island, the first environmental site to be listed as part of the

country's heritage, failed to specify whether it was being included because of its significance as a site of natural or historical heritage. The imprecision that often surrounds the designation of national heritage monuments and sites is perhaps best illustrated by the proposal in 2015 to list the stone feature known commonly as the Bassin des Esclaves as a site of historical memory, although there is no documentary, material, or other evidence that it was actually used by slaves. In short, its cultural significance rests entirely on the oral history associated with it.<sup>51</sup>

Despite their problematic nature, these examples demonstrate that Mauritians are developing a more complex idea of heritage. This more sophisticated understanding is also reflected by the Mauritian government's formally embracing new notions such as the need for buffer zones around heritage sites. It should be noted, however, that this concept has, so far, only been applied to the island's two UNESCO WHSs. UNESCO requires such sites to be protected from development that might compromise their historical or cultural value and integrity, and the success of the nomination dossiers for the Aapravasi Ghat (inscribed in 2006) and the Le Morne Cultural Landscape (inscribed in 2008) was contingent on the government's formal commitment to establish and maintain such zones.

Archaeological excavation and research holds out the promise of dramatically expanding the parameters of modern Mauritian discourse about heritage. Although persons of Indian descent account for approximately two-thirds of the nation's population, only 3 percent of the current list of national heritage sites is associated with indentured immigration, while just 1.5 percent of such sites are associated with slavery. A review of archaeological projects (excavations, topographic studies, artifact analysis, archaeo-anthropological studies) completed during the last two decades reveals, however, that 19 percent of the sites in question are associated with indentured laborers or their descendants while 18 percent are clearly related to slavery, including its intangible heritage and memories. Of those, 39 percent have focused on colonial cities, fortifications, and production sites, while the remaining 24 percent of these projects have been devoted to environmental or global issues tied closely to the island's social complexity (figs. 10.2 and 10.3).<sup>52</sup>

Although there is increasing public interest in archaeological research, the NHF has remained only marginally involved because there are no legal regulations to control the country's archaeological



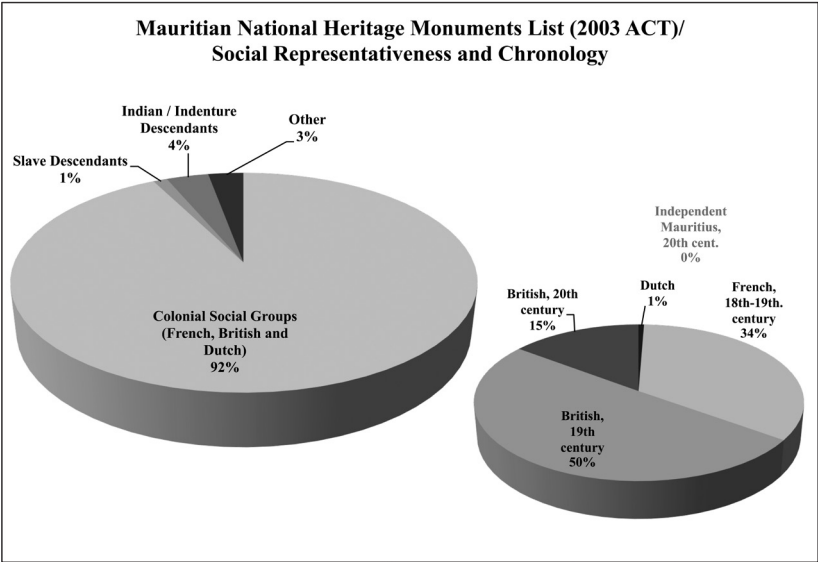


FIGURE 10.2. Social representativeness and chronology of the monuments listed in the National Heritage Fund Act (2003) and its following amendments.

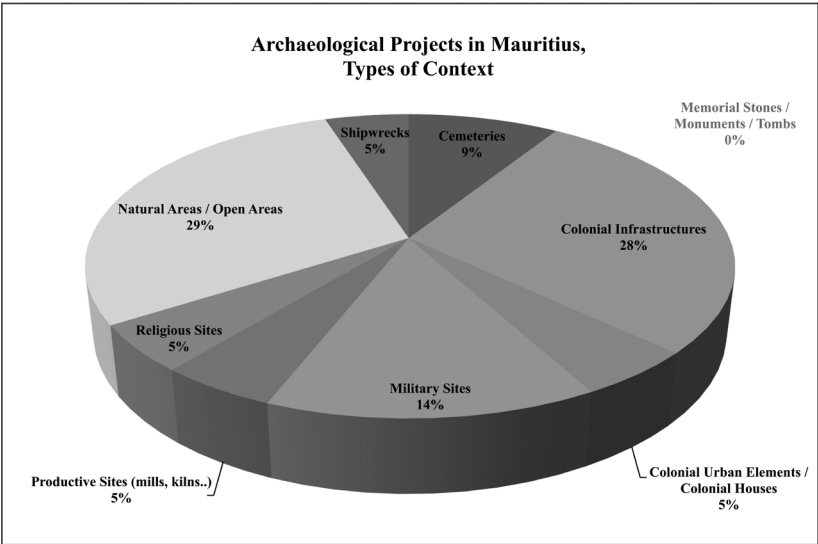


FIGURE 10.3. Context type for the archaeological projects in Mauritius (1997–2015).  
(Created by Diego Calaon.)

resources. Excavations and research are promoted mainly by local institutions, such as the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund (AGTF), the Le Morne Heritage Trust Fund, the National Parks and Conservation Services, the Mauritian Oceanographic Institute, the University of Mauritius, and the Mauritius Museums Council, or by foreign (mostly European and American) universities in collaboration with these Mauritian institutions. Although the legal instruments needed to address issues surrounding archaeological research do not exist, there is evidence that those at the lower levels of the country's administrative and political system are fully aware that the material approach to heritage is essential to understanding and managing the nation's past (see table 10.1, providing a list of archaeological projects).

An overview of archaeological projects that are currently underway provides an opportunity to better appreciate their impact on the ways in which heritage is being constructed in early twenty-first-century Mauritius. We may note, in the first instance, that the majority of these projects have elicited considerable public interest and that most have involved local community participation in research activities. Archaeology is accordingly clearly contributing to creating a new sense of heritage because it provides people with a tangible, rather than just emotional, attachment to specific sites. Since almost every project includes a study of the local landscape as part of the process of understanding the site's physical characteristics, it affords an opportunity for people to better understand the ways in which human intervention has transformed that landscape and environment. Because these projects also seek to situate these sites in larger contexts, they are also an important way in which local communities can develop a greater "sense of place" that allows them to appreciate the global historical contexts in which their ancestors lived and they themselves now live).<sup>53</sup> An increasing interest in the materiality of past daily life can be also outlined following oral history and ethnographically oriented projects; for example, investigating the traditional manufacturing and the use of daily objects connected with work in the sugar fields is contributing to making everyone's memory part of the global Mauritian history (fig. 10.4).<sup>54</sup>

The impact of these archaeological projects on Mauritian heritage extends beyond developing the kind of data that allow people to reconsider a site's cultural value and significance. The need for scientific information to assess heritage significance prompted the University of

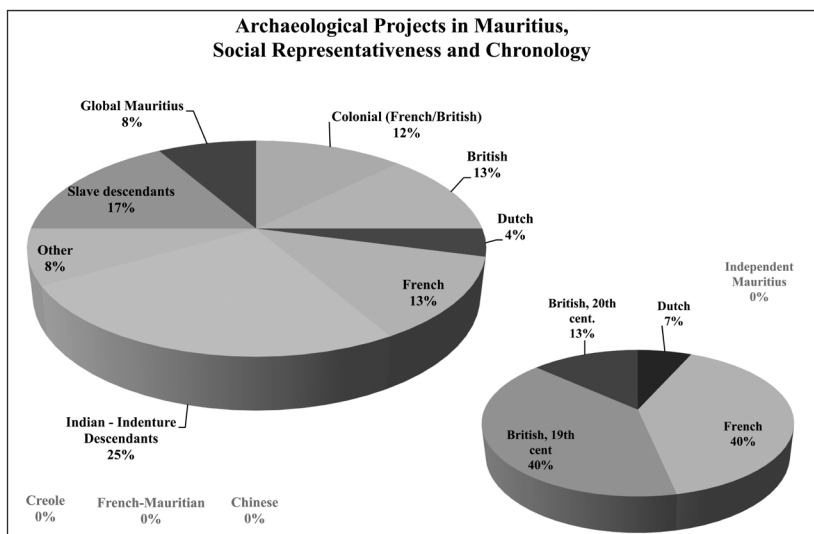


FIGURE 10.4. Social representativeness and chronology of the archaeological contexts studied by the archaeological projects in Mauritius (1997–2015).

Mauritius to inaugurate programs such as a Bachelor of Honors in history in which archaeology and heritage are integral components. At the same time, the island, once hardly acknowledged in archaeological debates about slavery or diasporas in the Indian Ocean world, has become a subject of increasing interest by scholars interested in studying the dynamics of identity creation, maintenance, and change that accompanied the global movement of people and goods in the colonial world.

#### UNESCO, WHSS, AND NEW MATERIAL PERSPECTIVES ON MAURITIAN HERITAGE

The idea of “world heritage” promoted by UNESCO has contributed in recent years to both a new perception of heritage in Mauritius and the development of new heritage policies, especially following the government’s nomination of the Aapravasi Ghat and the Le Morne Cultural Landscape for inscription as WHSs. The Aapravasi Ghat, which consists of the remains of the old immigration depot in the heart of Port Louis’s harbor area, was inscribed as a WHS in 2006 to commemorate where the modern indentured labor diaspora, which scattered some 2.2 million Africans, Asians, Melanesian, and other (mostly non-European)

TABLE 10.1. Main archaeological projects in Mauritius, 1975–2015. (Created by Diego Calaan.)

nr.	Project Name	District	Year	Institution / Researchers	Type of Archaeological Investigation	Typology / Archaeological Context	Main Social Group	Main Chronological Period	Description
1	Underwater Archaeological Researches (Archeomar Project: Coureur, St. Gerain, Magicienne, Sirius, Banda, Speakers wrecks etc.)		1975–2014	Mauritius Museum Council / Mauritian Marine Conservatory Society	Underwater Excavations / Underwater Surveys	Shipwreck	Colonial (French/ British)	1715–1810	Shipwrecks
2	Martello Tower	Black River	1997–1998	Historical Society, Mauritius	Analysis of Standing Structures	Military Site	French	1715–1810	Fort /
3	Vieux Grand Port, Archaeological Excavation at Fort Hendricks	Grand Port	1997–2005	Amsterdam Archaeological Center / National Museum Council, Mauritius	Excavations / Surveys / Analysis of Artifacts	Colonial Infrastructure	Dutch	1638–1710	First Dutch Colony
4	Île aux Aigrettes	Grand Port	2003	Geoffrey and Francoise Summers / National Heritage Fund, Mauritius	Survey	Productive site (mill. kiln, etc.)	British	1900–1968	Limekiln and other colonial infrastructures
5	Aapravasi Ghat 2003-04, Archaeological Excavation in the UNESCO Site Area	Port Louis	2003–2004	Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund / Amitava Chowdhury	Archaeological excavations / Analysis of Artifacts	Colonial Infrastructure	Indian–Immigrants	Global History	Immigration Depot
6	Île de la Passe Archaeological Project	Grand Port	2003–2010	Geoffrey and Francoise Summers / National Heritage Fund, Mauritius	Surveys / Excavations / Analysis of Standing Structures	Military Site	French	1715–1810	French and British batteries / caserns
7	Le Morne Mountain, Survey and Excavation	Riviere Noire	2004	Le Morne Trust Fund / Amitava Chowdhury	Surveys / Excavations	Natural Area / Open Area	Slave descendants	1715–1810	Morne Brabant Mountain / caves / plateau
8	The Dodo Project		2004–2008	University of Mauritius / Natural History Museum London	Surveys / Excavations	Natural Area / Open Area	Other	Global History	Pre-contact period environmental research
9	Mont Choisy	Pamplemousse	2008	Mauritius Archaeology and Cultural Heritage / Krish Seetah	Excavations / Analysis of Artifacts	Natural Area / Open Area	British	Global History	Environmental researches
10	Aapravasi Ghat 2009, UNESCO Site, Excavation in the Sugar Warehouse (BRIC)	Port Louis	2009	Aapravasi Ghat trust Fund / Jayshree Mungrur	Excavations / Analysis of Artifacts	Colonial Infrastructure	Indian–Immigrants	Global History	Immigration depot
11	Le Morne Mountain, Survey (plateau)	Riviere Noire	2009–2010	Mauritius Archaeology and Cultural Heritage / Le Morne Trust Fund	Surveys	Natural Area / Open Area	Slave descendants	1715–1810	Morne Brabant Mountain / caves / plateau

12	Le Morne Cemetery	Riviere Noire	2009–2014	Mauritius Archaeology and Cultural Heritage / Le Morne Trust Fund / Krish Seetah	Excavations / Surveys / Analysis of Artifacts / Osteological Analysis	Cemetery	Slave descendants	1715–1810	Slave (or slave descendant) cemetery
13	Flat Island Project	Riviere du Rempart	2009–2014	Mauritius Archaeology and Cultural Heritage / Aapravasi Ghat trust Fund / Krish Seetah	Excavations / Surveys / Analysis of Artifacts	Colonial Infrastructure	British	1810–1900	Quarantine island, / hospitals / military quarters / cemetery / lighthouse
14	Trianon Project, Workers' Barracks	Plaines Whillems	2010–2012	Mauritius Archaeology and Cultural Heritage / Aapravasi Ghat trust Fund / Krish Seetah	Excavations / Surveys / Analysis of Artifacts / Analysis of Standing Structures	Archaeology of Sugar Plantation / Estate	Indian–Immigrant grants	1810–1900	Colonial stone barracks / living quarters
15	Aapravasi Ghat 2010-13; UNE-SCO Site, BRIC–Beekrusing Ramlallah Interpretation Center Excavation	Port Louis	2010–2013	Aapravasi Ghat trust Fund / Aapravasi Archaeology and Cultural Heritage / Diego Calaon	Excavations / Analysis of Standing Structures / Analysis of Artifacts	Colonial Infrastructure	Indian–Immigrant grants	Global History	Immigration depot
16	Environmental and Colonialism (Trou aux Cerfs, Trois Caverns)	Whole Island	2010–2014	Mauritius Archaeology and Cultural Heritage / Krish Seetah	Surveys / Coring Campaigns	Natural Area / Open Area	Global Mauritius	Global History	Natural sites
17	Black River Gorges	Riviere Noire / Savanne	2010–ongoing	Le Morne Trust Fund / Black River Gorges National Park	Survey	Natural Area / Open Area	Slave descendants	Global History	Natural site / caves / gorges
18	Vagrant Depot	Riviere Noire	2010–2014	Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund	Survey / Analysis of Standing Structures	Colonial Infrastructure	Indian–Immigrant grants	1810–1900	Prison
19	Château Labourdonnais	Pamplemousse	2011–2014	Domain de Labourdonnais	Analysis of Standing Structures	Colonial Urban Element / Colonial House	French	1715–1810	Colonial master house
20	Bois Marchand, Indentured Cemetery Area	Pamplemousse	2011–ongoing	Mauritius Archaeology and Cultural Heritage / Aapravasi Ghat trust Fund / Krish Seetah	Excavations / Surveys / Analysis of Artifacts / Osteological Analysis	Cemetery	Indian–Immigrant grants	1810–1900	Cemetery
21	Studies in Sugar Estates (Beau Valon, Forbach)	Grand Port	2012	Geoffrey and Francoise Summers / Aapravasi Ghat trust Fund	Surveys / Excavations / Analysis of Standing Structures	Archaeology of Sugar Plantation / Estate	Colonial (French/British)	1810–1900	Sugar estates
22	World War II Cultural Heritage Project	Grand Port	2012–2014	Geoffrey and Francoise Summers	Surveys / Excavations / Analysis of Standing Structures	Military Site	Other	1900–1968	Military batteries
23	Archaeology of Religion in Mauritius	Whole Island	2013–ongoing	Mauritius Archaeology and Cultural Heritage / Sasa Caval	Surveys / Excavations / Analysis of Standing Structures	Religious Site	Global Mauritius	Global History	Archaeology of religious practices
24	Bras d'Eau National Park (ex Sugar Estate)	Whole Island	2014–ongoing	Mauritius Archaeology and Cultural Heritage / Aapravasi Ghat trust Fund / Julia Haines	Surveys / Excavations / Analysis of Standing Structures / Analysis of Artifacts	Archaeology of Sugar Plantation / Estate	Colonial (French/British)	Global History	Sugar estate / living quarters / production areas / agricultural fields

contractual workers throughout and beyond the colonial plantation world between the 1830s and early twentieth century, began. The Le Morne Cultural Landscape, in the southwestern part of the island, was inscribed in 2008 as a memorial to slave resistance and maroonage.<sup>55</sup>

The nomination of these two sites for World Heritage status must be seen, at least in part, as important investments by the Mauritian government to enhance the fourth pillar of the country's economy: the tourism industry.<sup>56</sup> Mauritian tourism is now moving beyond its traditional focus on the island as an exotic beach resort to target a broader audience in line with the emergence of a more expansive hospitality market and international property development. Hospitality no longer encompasses just hotels, leisure parks, and related activities, but now includes other kinds of tourism (e.g., cultural, "green" or environmental, medical) as well as hosting international conferences, training seminars, and so on, while property developers increasingly seek crossborder opportunities. In these contexts, WHSs can become an important resource that has the potential to drive socioeconomic development. The inscription of local sites on the world heritage list has generally been perceived as a catalyst for the kind of new investments that can create global opportunities.<sup>57</sup>

The globalization of tourism and the development of cultural tourism in particular have deepened Mauritians' awareness of the need not only to make their past tangible, but also to safeguard it and transmit it to future generations. One consequence of this changing perception of heritage has been for governmental institutions to play a stronger role in developing heritage in line with its global tourism aspirations. By appropriating the process of creating heritage and memory, the Mauritian state has also sought to discourage the kind of independent public discourse about heritage that accompanies the complex negotiations about identity produced by the ongoing creolization of Mauritian society.<sup>58</sup>

Recent UNESCO policies have promoted a liberal, multicultural approach to world heritage. Because such policies tend to affirm and reinforce cultural difference, they highlight rather than minimize the differences between ethnic groups. As a result, the process of heritage construction can easily crystalize people's perceptions of the historical, moral, and ethical values that contribute to recognizing a particular site as heritage.<sup>59</sup>

In the case of Mauritius, it would be too simplistic to argue that the decision to nominate the Aapravasi Ghat as a WHS was part of an

explicit agenda by some of the country's political parties to celebrate the important role that Indian and Hindu indentured immigrants played in creating a modern country and society. The same can be said about the efforts to inscribe the Le Morne Cultural Landscape as a political response to calls by descendants of the island's slaves to receive reparations for the exploitation and suffering endured by their ancestors. Here it is important to remember that slavery and indenture both have universal value, not only in the Indian Ocean but also elsewhere in the globe, and the public discourse in Mauritius about nominating both of these sites for world heritage status generated the kind of discussion and debate that contributed in a positive manner to the process of heritage construction. For Mauritians, the world heritage framework enunciated by UNESCO and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) has been instrumental in shedding new light on the nation's past. More specifically, UNESCO and ICOMOS requirements have spurred the kind of scientific research and the development of outreach programs<sup>60</sup> that encouraged local communities to view their own historical experience in broader social, economic, and political contexts. By encouraging Mauritians to adopt a more multilayered understanding of their history, this research has helped to establish a transversal image of the past in which everyone, regardless of their ancestry, worked and lived together in a society that now forms one nation.<sup>61</sup>

Because the WHS nomination process requires the establishment of administrative and cultural institutions dedicated to protecting and managing sites inscribed on the world heritage list, the Mauritian government has supported the two organizations—the AGTF, established in 2001, and the Le Morne Heritage Trust Fund, established in 2004—responsible for overseeing these sites. In addition to endowing these organizations with boards of directors that include representatives from government ministries, other cultural institutions, and the general public, these organizations house technical and research units charged with producing management plans that include specific policies to develop a site's intangible as well as tangible values.

As a result of these organizations' work, the government has adopted a new approach to managing heritage. Before the Aapravasi Ghat and Le Morne Cultural Landscape's inscription as WHSs, sites deemed to be of national importance were simply listed as such without any provision being made for their protection, conservation, and

development. Not unsurprisingly, this approach did little to raise local communities' awareness of heritage sites in their area. Since 2006, however, the Mauritian government has demonstrated increasing support for the development of instruments to conserve, manage, and promote these sites, including archaeological research, exhibitions, educational, and cultural activities related to tangible and intangible heritage.

This new governmental approach to heritage is visible in other ways. The UNESCO requirement that WHSs must be protected by a buffer zone has led recently to the issuance of new plans to control development in the buffer zone surrounding the Aapravasi Ghat. This zone is an important historic urban landscape filled with structures that reflect Port Louis's evolution as a city. As a result, these elements of the city's, and ultimately the nation's, tangible and intangible heritage are now being safeguarded and enhanced. In marked contrast to developments some thirty years earlier, rapid urban "development" now has to deal with the immaterial value of memory.<sup>62</sup>

The role that archaeology can play in shaping national heritage is perhaps best illustrated by activities conducted by AGTF.<sup>63</sup> Since 2003, AGTF has conducted and supported a program of archaeological research in order to develop a fuller understanding of the Aapravasi Ghat's history as the depot through which hundreds of thousands of indentured laborers, mostly from India but also from Africa, Asia, and elsewhere, landed in Mauritius between 1849 and the 1920s. In addition to shedding new light on the site's development as an immigration depot, these excavations helped situate the depot more firmly as an integral part of the global economic system that emerged during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Excavations revealed, for example, that the part of the Trou Fanfaron in which the depot is located was also used as a landing place by the French *Compagnie des Indes* during the eighteenth century. These excavations also provided an opportunity to investigate the topography and industrial development of this key area in Port Louis. By deepening our understanding of the ways in which the immigration depot was connected closely with other port facilities, this research has underscored the ways newly arrived indentured immigrants became involved in the island's globalized economy and how their sense of cultural identity was challenged and ultimately modified by the materiality of colonial infrastructure.<sup>64</sup>



Archaeology likewise played a significant role in preparing the dossier that nominated the Le Morne Cultural landscape as a WHS, given the limited number of archival sources that made explicit reference to maroon activity and slave resistance in the area around the site. Archaeological excavations found, for example, material traces of temporary human occupation on Le Morne itself, evidence that gave substance, albeit problematic substance, to local oral traditions that maroon slaves took shelter on the mountain.<sup>65</sup> While more extensive research has suggested that the mountain's topography precluded the establishment of a permanent maroon settlement on its summit, this research encouraged excavations of the so-called "maroon cemetery" near Le Morne and in the vicinity of the village of Makak. This research has yielded important new insights into the lives of the island's early nineteenth-century inhabitants of African and/or Malagasy origin, including the ways in which these individuals related to the landscape in which they resided.<sup>66</sup>

Throughout its history, Mauritian society has been shaped by a series of complex interactions with the wider world, interactions that began with the island's colonization by the Dutch in 1638 and continue to the present. Since independence in 1968, Mauritians have sought to come to terms, both individually and collectively, with the social, economic, cultural, and political legacy of their complex and multifaceted colonial past and their place and identity in a modern state and society. An inherent part of this endeavor has been to discuss and debate what it is to be Mauritian. Heritage plays an increasingly important role in this process of negotiating what it means to be part of a nation that espouses the idea of *unité dans la diversité*.

The inscription of the Aapravasi Ghat and the Le Morne Cultural Landscape as WHSs has played a major role in encouraging many Mauritians to begin viewing their history and heritage in broader, international contexts. Their doing so has also given local identities new forms of expression. Because of its emphasis on recovering, analyzing, and contextualizing materiality, archaeological research has contributed to this development of new, more truly national perspectives on the Mauritian past. By providing scientifically based, culturally neutral insights into the country's rich, complex, and multilayered history, archaeology promises to provide all Mauritians with new opportunities to better understand not only the nature, dynamics, and realities of their past, but also the ways in which they can build a vibrant postcolonial nation and society.

## NOTES

1. On Port Louis's rapid development, see Joe Ravtez, "New Futures for Older Ports: Synergistic Development in a Global Urban System," *Sustainability* 5 (2013): 5100–18.

2. For a history of heritage policies in Mauritius, see Corinne Forest, "Management and Conservation of Heritage: Challenges and Opportunities for the Future," in Teelock et al., *Angajé*, vol. 3, *Post-indenture Mauritius*, 209–21. See also Jocelyn Chan Low, "Memory, Identity and Heritage in a Multi-ethnic Island: The Case of Mauritius," in *Island as Crossroads: Sustaining Cultural Diversity in Small Island Developing States*, ed. Tim Curtis (Paris: UNESCO, 2001), 69–94.

3. For example: Boswell, *Challenges*; Nagamah Gopauloo and Sooryakanty Gayan, "Perspectives on Cultural Policies in Mauritius," in "Heritage," special issue, *Journal of Mauritian Studies* 5 (2010): 7–41; Sooryakanty Nirsimloo-Gayan, "On the Possibility of a Shared Cultural Heritage," *Journal of Mauritian Studies* 4, no. 1 (2007): 44–49; Hans Ramduth, "Heritage: A Postmodern View," in "Heritage," special issue, *Journal of Mauritian Studies* 5 (2010): 43–50; and Anna K. Soper, "Developing Mauritianness: National Identity, Cultural Heritage Values and Tourism," *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 2, no. 2 (2008): 94–109.

4. On heritage as a cultural process, see Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (New York: Routledge, 2006). For a definition of heritage and the history of the processes of heritage construction, see: Niamh Moore and Yvonne Whelan, *Heritage, Memory and the Politics of Identity: New Perspectives on the Cultural Landscape* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007); Susie West and Jacqueline Ansell, "A History of Heritage," in *Understanding Heritage in Practice*, ed. Susie West (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 7–46; Marie-Thérèse Albert, Roland Bernecker, and Britta Rudolff, eds., *Understanding Heritage: Perspectives in Heritage Studies* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013); and Peter F. Biehl et al., eds., *Identity and Heritage: Contemporary Challenges in a Globalized World* (New York: Springer, 2015). On heritage and politics, see the articles by Rodney Harrison ("What Is Heritage?," 5–42; "The Politics of Heritage," 154–96), Rodney Harrison and Audrey Linkman ("Understanding the Politics of Heritage," 43–80), and Anne Lawrence ("Heritage as a Tool of Government," 81–114) in Rodney Harrison, ed., *Understanding the Politics of Heritage* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).

5. For example: Jean Michel Jauze, "Patrimoine et identité dans les villes mauriciennes," in *Les quais ou voyages transculturels: Mélanges en l'honneur du Professeur Edmond Maestri*, ed. Edmond Maestri and Prosper Ève (Saint-Denis, Réu.: CRESOI, 2004), 269–81; Sandra Carmignani, "Figures identitaires créoles et patrimoine à l'île Maurice," *Journal des*

*Anthropologues* 104–5 (2006): 265–85; Catherine Nadia Boudet and Julie Peghini, “Les enjeux politiques de la mémoire du passé colonial à l’île Maurice,” *Transcontinentales* 6 (2008): 13–36; Thomas Hylland Eriksen, “Containing Conflict and Transcending Ethnicity in Mauritius,” in *Internal Conflict and Governance*, ed. Kumar Rupesinghe (Houndmills, Eng.: Macmillan, 1992), 103–29; Eriksen, “Nationalism, Mauritian Style: Cultural Unit and Ethnic Diversity,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 36, no. 3 (1994): 549–74; Eriksen, “Symbolic Power Struggles in Inter-cultural Space” (lecture delivered at the symposium Culture in the Global Village, Lund, Sweden, 14–16 January 1993), <http://hyllanderiksen.net/Symbolic.html>; Patrick Eisenlohr, *Little India: Diaspora, Time, and Ethnolinguistic Belonging in Hindu Mauritius* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); and Eisenlohr, “Mediality and Materiality in Religious Performance: Religion as Heritage in Mauritius,” *Material Religion* 9, no. 3 (2013): 330–48.

6. On the notion of global heritage and global archaeological heritage in particular, see the introduction in Lynn Meskell, *Global Heritage: A Reader* (Chichester, Eng.: John Wiley and Sons, 2015). On the relevance of archaeological research for local communities in Mauritius, see: Krish Seetah, “‘The Minister Will Tell the Nation’: The Role of the Media for Archaeology in Mauritius,” *World Archaeology* 47, no. 2 (2015): 285–98; Seetah, “Objects Past, Objects Present”; and Colwell-Chanthaphonh, Le Chartier, and Jacquin-Ng, “Search for Makak.”

7. Richard B. Allen, “A Traffic of Several Nations: The Mauritian Slave Trade, 1721–1835,” in Teelock and Alpers, *History, Memory and Identity*, 165.

8. Multicultural Mauritius has long been of interest to historians and social scientists. Significant studies include: Adele Smith Simmons, *Modern Mauritius: The Politics of Decolonization* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982); Toni Arno and Claude Orian, *Ile Maurice, une société multiraciale* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1986); Larry W. Bowman, *Mauritius: Democracy and Development in the Indian Ocean* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991); M. Carter, *Servants, Sirdars and Settlers*; Teelock, *Bitter Sugar*; R. Allen, *Slaves, Freedmen, and Indentured Laborers*; C. Anderson, *Convicts in the Indian Ocean*; Vaughan, *Creating the Creole Island*; Boswell, *Le malaise créole*; Eisenlohr, *Little India*; Pineo and Lim Fat, *From Alien to Citizen*; and Chazan-Gillig and Ramhota, *L’Hindouisme mauricien*. For a preliminary genetic assessment of the contemporary Mauritian population, see Fregel et al., “Multiple Ethnic Origins.”

9. For example: Sandra Carmignani, “Mémoires déchaînées autour du Morne: Esclavage, créolité et patrimoine à l’île Maurice” (PhD diss., Université de Lausanne - Suisse, 2010); and Carmignani, “Figures identitaires créoles.”

10. On shifting heritages and recasting memories in the Indian Ocean, see Boswell, "Multiple Heritage, Multiple Identities." On the issues surrounding slave descendant ancestral identities, see Boswell, *Le malaise créole*. On Hindu-Indian legacies, see Mathieu Claveyrolas, "L'ancrage de l'hindouisme dans le paysage mauricien: Transfert et appropriation," *Autrepars* 56, no. 4 (2010): 17–37. On the concept of "otherness," see Bhabha, *Location of Culture*; and Thomas Nicholas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

11. On the Dutch in Mauritius, see P. J. Moree, *A Concise History of Dutch Mauritius, 1598–1710: A Fruitful and Healthy Land* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1998). For a report on the archaeology of Vieux Grand Port's Fort Frederik Hendrik, see Floore and Jayasena, "In Want of Everything?"

12. On Franco-Mauritian identity, see Catherine Boudet, "Les abolitions de l'esclavage à Maurice et la construction d'une identité franco-mauricienne," in *Esclavage et abolitions dans l'océan Indien (1723–1860)*, ed. Edmond Maestri (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2002), 255–65; Boudet, "La construction politique d'une identité franco-mauricienne (1810–1968): Le discours identitaire comme gestion de la contradiction," *Kabaro* 3, nos. 3–4 (2005): 23–45; Boudet, "Les Franco-Mauriciens: Une diaspora pollinisés," *Revue européenne des migrations internationales* 23, no. 3 (2007): 2–19; and Boudet, "Le rôle du 'péril hindou' dans la mise en place de la démocratie consociative à l'île Maurice (1947–73)," *Revue canadienne des études africaines* 46, no. 2 (2012): 177–93. For a recent study of this population, see Tijo Salverda, *The Franco-Mauritian Elite: Power and Anxiety in the Face of Change* (New York: Berghan Books, 2015).

13. Peter Hawkins, *The Other Hybrid Archipelago: Introduction to the Literatures and Cultures of the Francophone Indian Ocean* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007); and Srilata Ravi, *Rethinking Global Mauritius: Critical Essays on Mauritian Literatures and Cultures* (Trou d'Eau Douce, Mus.: L'Atelier de l'écriture, 2012).

14. For example, Julie Peghini, "Les impasses du multiculturalism: Politiques, industries et tourisme culturels à l'île Maurice" (PhD diss., Université de Paris - Vincennes-Saint-Denis, 2009).

15. On the provisions of the 1810 capitulation, see Charles Giblot Ducray, *Île Maurice, ancienne Île de France: Histoire et anecdotes* (Port Louis, Mus.: Croix du Sud, 1965), 116. For an overview of British Mauritius, see Vijaya Teelock, *Mauritian History: From Its Beginnings to Modern Times* (Moka, Mus.: Mahatma Gandhi Institute, 2001). On the development of the Mauritian sugar industry, see R. Allen, "Capital, Illegal Slaves, Indentured Labourers."

16. Vaughan, *Creating the Creole Island*, 3.

17. On modern Mauritian Creole identity, see Boswell, *Le malaise créole*. See also Lynn Meskell, "Negative Heritage and Past Mastering in Archaeology," *Anthropological Quarterly* 75, no. 3 (2002): 557–74. On the role of Creole (Kréol) as a language in modern Mauritius, see Patrick Eisenlohr, "Creole Publics: Language, Cultural Citizenship, and the Spread of the Nation in Mauritius," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 49, no. 4 (2007): 968–96.

18. Hayden White, "What Is a Historical System?," in *The Fiction of Narrative: Essays on History, Literature, and Theory, 1957–2007*, ed. Robert Doran (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2010), 126–35.

19. Ewa Domanska, "Retroactive Ancestral Constitution, New Animism and Alter-Native Modernities," *Storia della Storiografia. Histoire de l'Historiographie/History of Historiography, Geschichte der Geschichtsschreibung* 65, no. 1 (2014): 61–76.

20. On the dodo and its extinction, see Richard Grove, *Green Imperialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

21. This idea was first suggested by Vaughan (*Creating the Creole Island*, 1–5).

22. For a detailed study of the dodo's virtual images and its role in Mauritian symbolism, see Laetitia van den Heuvel, "Dodo's Virtual Reality," in *Globalisation and the South-West Indian Ocean*, ed. Vinesh Y. Hookoomsing and Sandra Evers (Leiden and Réduit: Netherlands International Institute for Asian Studies and University of Mauritius Press, 2000), 77–90.

23. On Mauritius and alternative modernity, see N. L. Aumeerally, "'Tiger in Paradise': Reading Global Mauritius in Shifting Time and Space," *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 17, no. 2 (2005): 172–74. For an overview of the dilemmas of the western modernities in historical theory, see Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar, *Alternative Modernities: A Millennial Quartet Book* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 1–23. For recent criticism of the idea of alternative modernity, see Arif Dirlik, "Thinking Modernity Historically: Is 'Alternative Modernity' the Answer?," *Asian Review of World Histories* 1, no. 1 (2013): 5–44.

24. This type of commodification is not confined to Mauritius, but is a consequence of the exploitation of mass tourism around the world. See, for example: Noel B. Salazar and Yujie Zhu, "Heritage and Tourism," in Meskell, *Global Heritage*, 240–58; and Matthew Kurtz, "Heritage and Tourism," in West, *Understanding Heritage*, 205–39.

25. Auguste Toussaint wrote extensively on the island's trade and maritime history during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; for example: Toussaint, *Early American Trade with Mauritius* (Port Louis, Mus.: Esclapon, 1954); Toussaint, *La route des îles*; Toussaint, *Le mirage des îles: Le négoce française aux Mascareignes au XVIIIe siècle* (Aix-Provence, Fra.:

Edisud, 1977); and Toussaint, *Les frères Surcouf* (Paris: Flammarion, 1979). On the slave trade to Mauritius, see R. Allen, *European Slave Trading*, esp. chaps. 3 and 5. Mauritian trade and commerce after the 1820s has received little scholarly attention. Underwater archaeology in Mauritius is, unfortunately, often associated with treasure hunting. For an overview of known shipwrecks around the island, see the Mauritian Marine Conservation Society's website at <http://www.mmcs-ngo.org>. See also Yann von Arnim, "L'Archéologie sous-marine à Maurice, un historique," *Mauritius Institute Bulletin* 11, no. 1 (2003): 33–38. The Mauritian Archaeology and Cultural Heritage (MACH) project, based at Stanford University, is promoting a survey of the island's coastal and lagoon heritage in collaboration with the Mauritius Oceanography Institute.

26. For example, Thomas Meisenhelder, "The Developmental State in Mauritius," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 35, no. 2 (1997): 281. On labor in contemporary Mauritius, see Richard Anker, Raymond Torres, and Rajendra Paratian, *Mauritius* (Geneva: International Labour Office, 2011).

27. For example, Rajendra Paratian, "L'évolution du secteur des services à l'île Maurice," *Annuaire des pays de l'océan Indien* 11, nos. 1986–89 (1991): 237–64.

28. On "Mauritianization" and multiculturalism in the decolonization process, see: Julie Peghini, "'L'unité dans la diversité' à Maurice: Un modèle d'inspiration indienne," in *Indianité et créolité à l'île Maurice*, ed. Catherine Servan-Schreiber (Paris: Édition de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2014), 75–100; and Peghini, "Les impasses du multiculturalism," 468–80. See also: Catherine Nadia Boudet, "Nationalisme, décolonisation et consociation à l'île Maurice: L'émergence d'un mauricianisme stratégique (1945–1967)," *Revue canadienne des études africaines* 47, no. 3 (2014): 385–403; and Boudet and Peghini, "Les enjeux politiques." On multiculturalism in the Mauritian education system and the country's self-promoted image internationally, see: N. L. Aumeerally, "The Ambivalence of Post-colonial Mauritius. Policy versus Practice in Education: A Reading of Official and Popular Multiculturalism," *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 11, no. 3 (2005): 307–23; and Aumeerally, "Tiger in Paradise." The Mauritian model of "ethnic" compromise and pluralism has been discussed in Bowman, *Mauritius*, 63–68. On ethnicity and pluralism in Mauritius, see also: Barbara Carroll and Terence Carroll, "Accommodating Ethnic Diversity in a Modernizing Democratic State: Theory and Practice in the Case of Mauritius," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 23, no. 1 (2000): 120–42; Eriksen, "Nationalism, Mauritian Style"; and Eriksen, "Containing Conflict."

29. On ethnicity in the Mauritian constitution and electoral system, see: Aumeerally, "Ambivalence of Post-colonial Mauritius," 308; Boudet and Peghini, "Les enjeux politiques," 13–15; and Peghini, "'L'unité dans la diversité.'"

30. Peghini, “‘L’unité dans la diversité,’” 18; and Aumeerally, “Ambivalence of Post-colonial Mauritius.” The government identifies eight main ethnolinguistic groups: four among the Indo-Mauritian community (Hindus, Tamouls, Telegus, Marathis); the Franco-Mauritian population; those of African descent (who speak French and Creole); and Sino-Mauritian (who speak Hakka or Cantonese).

31. On the link between a specific social or ethnic group and the attendant need for it to adhere strictly to its moral and religious code, see Aumeerally, “Ambivalence of Post-colonial Mauritius,” 307–8.

32. In its 2011 report, the Truth and Justice Commission, established in 2008 to investigate the legacy of slavery and indenture in the country, notes that the negative consequences of slavery and indentured labor are still discernible in contemporary Mauritian society and continue to impede social justice. More specifically, the Commission reports that public ignorance about the history of slavery and indenture and slaves’ and indentured laborers’ contributions to society perpetuate stereotyping, racism, underdevelopment, poverty, and cultural amnesia. The commission also found that the country’s political system seems to have prevented groups, especially descendants of the colony’s slave population, from participating fully in both private and public sectors of national life. Truth and Justice Commission, ed., *Report of the Truth and Justice Commission*, vol. 1, *Report of the Truth and Justice Commission* (Port Louis: Government of Mauritius, 2011), 281–89.

33. For example: A. Beejadhur, *Les Indiens à l’île Maurice* (Port Louis, Mus.: Typographie Moderne, 1935); Emrith, *Muslims in Mauritius*; and R. Sooriamorthy, *Les tamuls à l’île Maurice* (Port Louis, Mus.: Olympic Printing, 1977).

34. National holidays that celebrate the island’s religious diversity, for example, include five different Hindu festivals (Thaipooosam Cavadee, Maha Shivaratri, Ougadi, Ganesh Chaturthi, Diwali), the Muslim celebration marking the end of Ramadan (Eid al-Fitr), and the Christian holidays of All Saints’ Day and Christmas Day.

35. For example: Chan Low, “Memory, Identity and Heritage,” 72–77; and Jocelyn Chan Low, “Les enjeux actuels des débats sur la mémoire et la réparation pur l’esclavage à l’île maurice,” *Cahiers d’Études Africaines*, 44, nos. 173–74 (2004): 401–18.

36. For example: Hervé de Rauville, *L’île de France contemporaine* (Paris: Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1909); Noël Merrier d’Unienville, *L’île Maurice et sa civilisation* (Paris: G. Durassié and Co., 1949); and Noël, *L’Esclavage à l’Isle de France*.

37. *Transactions of the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences*, vol. 2 (Port Louis, Mus.: Royal Society of Arts and Sciences of Mauritius, 1847–48), parts 1 and 5.



38. Mauritius National Archives: X18/1, Honorary Secretary of the HRC to Magistrate E.D., 5 May 1933.

39. Pierre de Sornay, *Isle de France, île Maurice* (Port Louis, Mus.: General Printing and Stationery Company, 1950), 494.

40. Boudet and Peghini, "Les enjeux politiques," 15; and Boudet, "Les Franco-Mauriciens."

41. For example, Boudet and Peghini, "Les enjeux politiques," 16–18.

42. Stéphane Sinclair and Johann Wiehé, *Christian Wiehé (île Maurice, 1807–1878): Sucre et raffinement* (Mus.: Jacques Wiehé and Stéphane Sinclair, 2010).

43. The château's official website proclaims that its purpose is "to present the Château de Labourdonnais as a cultural place following the concept of a *château* in a natural setting, where its history, flora, orchards, cuisine and Mauritian expertise would be highlighted." See <http://chateaulabourdonnais.com/en/mauritius-museum.html>.

44. The introduction to the museum's homepage reflects this perspective: "Once lusted after as much as gold, as much sought after as Indian spices, as sweet on the palate as silk is round a woman's neck, sugar has enjoyed an extraordinary existence, leaving a profound impression on the history and identity of Mauritius. Travelling through the museum, visitors learn about the deeply intertwined history of sugar and Mauritius, how it has all led to the harmonious, smiling and multicultural society it is today" ("The Adventure Begins Here," <http://www.aventuredusucre.com/en>).

45. On the novel's adoption as a quasi-foundational myth of the island, see Suzanne Chazan-Gillig, "De l'abolition de l'esclavage à l'interprétation ethnique de la question nationale à l'île Maurice," *Annuaire des pays de l'océan Indien* 17 (2003): 337–40. Two officially recognized national heritage monuments refer directly to this legend, the most prominent of which is the statue *Paul et Virginie* in the compound of the municipality of Curepipe. The original statue, now preserved in the Blue Penny Museum, was created by Prosper d'Epinay pursuant to an 1881 commission from the municipality of Port Louis. The monument at Poudre d'Or commemorating the *Saint Géran*, a French East India Company ship wrecked in 1734 off the island's coast with the loss of 149 sailors, 13 European passengers, and 30 slaves is the second such monument. Bernardin de St. Pierre appropriated the ship's destruction as part of Paul and Virginie's story.

46. Madeleine Ly-Tio-Fane, *Mauritius and the Spice Trade: The Odyssey of Pierre Poivre* (Port Louis, Mus.: Esclapon, 1958).

47. Only 25 percent of the museum's displays include information about the island's slave and indentured populations. On Mahébourg's history, see Lilian Berthelot, *Mahébourg, ville virtuelle: La capitale d'antan* (Rose Hill, Mus.: Editions de l'Océan Indien, 2002). On the issues surrounding depiction of the island's slave and indentured populations in Mauritian



museums, see Corinne Forest, “Memory and Representations of Slavery and Indenture in Mauritius: Towards the Recognition of Silent Heritage,” in Truth and Justice Commission, *Report*, vol. 4, *History, Economy, Society and Memory*, 799–874.

48. For a history of heritage legislation in Mauritius, see Forest, “Management and Conservation of Heritage.” The list of national heritage sites was updated in 2005, 2006, 2007, and 2009.

49. See Šasa Čaval, this volume.

50. Igou was the first vicar of the parish of St. Louis.

51. The *bassin* is near a cemetery used the slavery era. Popular tradition holds that it was where slaves were bathed before being sold at auction, a tradition that may reflect general awareness about how slaves were treated upon their arrival in the Americas.

52. For a preliminary assessment on archaeology’s potential role in studying indentured labor, see Teelock, “Potential of Archaeology.” The MACH project has promoted archaeological campaigns in different sites; for details see Krish Seetah et al., “The Mauritian Archaeology and Cultural Heritage Project: Exploring the Impact of Colonialism and Colonisation in the Indian Ocean,” *Antiquity* 85, no. 330 (2011), <http://antiquity.ac.uk/projgall/seetah330/>; Seetah, “Objects Past, Objects Present”; Seetah, “‘Minister Will Tell the Nation’”; Seetah, “‘Our Struggle’: Colonial Legacies on Island Paradise,” *Shima* 4, no. 1 (2010): 99–112; and Diego Calaon et al., “Archaeological Insight of the ‘Indenture Experience’: The Case of the Trianon Barracks,” in Teelock et al., *Angajé*, vol. 2, *The Impact of Indenture*, 121–38. Reports of the research conducted under Geoffrey Summers’s direction are available online: <http://www.mauritius.metu.edu.tr>.

53. On the notion of “sense of place,” see John Schofield and Rosy Szymanski, *Local Heritage, Global Context: Cultural Perspectives on Sense of Place, Heritage, Culture and Identity* (Farnham, Eng.: Ashgate, 2011). On the role that the kind of materiality with which archaeology is synonymous can play in encouraging local communities to engage with and take heritage seriously, see Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Thomas J. Ferguson, *Collaboration in Archaeological Practice: Engaging Descendant Communities* (Lanham, MD: Altamira Press, 2008). On the debate in heritage studies about archaeology, ethics, and local communities, see Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Charlotte Joy, “Communities and Ethics in the Heritage Debates,” in Meskell, *Global Heritage*, 112–30.

54. An effort to build a living archive of oral traditions and intangible cultural heritage is promoted by the NHE, AGTE, and Le Morne Heritage Trust Fund. Interesting interdisciplinary projects are demonstrating how much the knowledge of making objects using the available local materials is contributing to building a consciousness of a multifaceted, rich, and truly Mauritian heritage. See Diana Haise and Martin Mahando, this volume.

55. See the UNESCO website: Aapravasi Ghat (<http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1227>), and Le Morne Cultural Landscape (<http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1259>).

56 The five pillars of Mauritius's growth are sugar, textiles, tourism, and financial services, see African Center for Economic Transformation, *2014 African Transformation Report. Growth with Depth* (Accra, Gha.; ACET, 2014), Annex 2, 190.

57. On tourism as third pillar of the nation's economy, see the Ministry of Tourism's webpage at <http://tourism.govmu.org/English/Pages/Overview-of-Tourism-Sector-in-Mauritius.aspx>. For a discussion of cultural heritage and tourism in Mauritius, see Soper, "Developing Mauritianess." Recent trends in the Mauritian tourism industry are reflected in private and semiprivate business reports: World Travel and Tourism Council, "Travel and Tourism. Economic Impact 2015, Mauritius," 2015, <https://www.wttc.org/-/media/files/reports/economic%20impact%20research/countries%202015/mauritius2015.pdf>; and Bhavik Desai, Melvyn Chung Kai To, and Vikash Tulsidas, *The Mauritian Tourism Industry. June 2014* (Port Louis, Mus.: AXYs Stockbroking, 2014), <http://isnuomokbusta.lt/pdf/the-mauritian-tourism-industry-c5d8.pdf>. On Mauritius as an international travel destination, see: Prabha Ramseook-Munhurrin, V. N. Seebaluck, and Perunjodi Naidoo, "Examining the Structural Relationships of Destination Image, Perceived Value, Tourist Satisfaction and Loyalty: Case of Mauritius," *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 175 (2015): 252–59; and Perunjodi Naidoo, Prabha Ramseook-Munhurrin, and Ramesh Durbarray, "Tourists' Perspective of the Brand Image of Mauritius," *International Journal of Management and Marketing Research* 3, no. 3 (2010): 95–106.

58. On the relationship between cultural heritage and tourism, see: Sophia Labadi and Peter G. Gould, "Sustainable Development: Heritage, Community, Economics Heritage," in Mesckell, *Global Heritage*, 196–216; Helaine Silverman and Richard W. Hallet, "Cultural Heritage under the Gaze of International Tourism Marketing Campaigns," in *A Companion to Heritage Studies*, ed. William Logan, Máiréad Nic Craith, and Ullrich Kockel (Chichester, Eng.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015), 177–88; Tim Winter, "The Political Economies of Heritage," in Anheier and Isar, *Heritage, Memory and Identity*, 70–81; and Kurtz, "Heritage and Tourism." For recent work on identity issues and cultural heritage and tourism practices in the southwestern Indian Ocean, see Boswell, "Multiple Heritage, Multiple Identities."

59. For a recent overview of the complex interaction between UNESCO's supranational policies and national identities and political programs, see Lynn Mesckell and Christoph Brumann, "UNESCO and New

World Orders,” in Meskell, *Global Heritage*, 22–42; Meskell, “Globalizing Heritage,” in Meskell, *Global Heritage*, 1–21; Albert, Bernecker, and Rudolf, *Understanding Heritage*; and Yudhishtir Raj Isar, “UNESCO and Heritage: Global Doctrine, Global Practice,” in Anheier and Isar, *Heritage, Memory and Identity*, 39–52. On the effects of the liberal multicultural view of heritage, see: Lynn Meskell, “Gridlock: UNESCO, Global Conflict and Failed Ambitions,” *World Archaeology* 47, no. 2 (2015): 225–38; and Chiara De Cesari, “World Heritage and Mosaic Universalism,” *Journal of Social Archaeology* 10, no. 3 (2010): 299–324.

60. Outreach programs were developed to disseminate research results and raise awareness of the outstanding universal value of the WHSs, including educational kits for teachers and the wider audience.

61. On Mauritian political discourse about memory and heritage, see Boudet and Peghini, “Les enjeux politiques.” On the practices introduced following the Aapravasi Ghat’s inscription as a WHS, see Corinne Forest, “Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site: A Change in the Perception of Heritage in Mauritius,” in Teelock et al., *Angajé*, 3:193–208.

62. The Ministry of Housing and Lands, for example, issued buffer zone regulations in June 2011.

63. For an updated contribution on the discourse of the diasporic identification and designated heritage at Aapravasi Ghat, see Candice Lowe Swift, “Privileging the Diaspora in Mauritius: Making World Heritage for a Multicultural Nation,” *Diaspora* 16, no. 3 (2007): 287–322.

64. For a comprehensive overview of the site, see *A Unique Place in Time and Space: A Pictorial Presentation of the Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site and the Indenture Experience in Mauritius (1834–2014)* (Port Louis, Mus.: Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund, 2014). On archaeological research at the Aapravasi Ghat, see: Diego Calaon, “Industrial Archaeology at Aapravasi Ghat: Goods, Ports and People Histories,” *Newsletter Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund* 9 (2011); Amitava Chowdhury, “Towards an Archaeological Heritage Management of Aapravasi Ghat,” *Journal of Mauritian Studies* 2, no. 1 (2003): 8–104; Amitava Chowdhury and Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund, *The Aapravasi Ghat, Past and Present: Archaeological Investigations* (Port Louis, Mus.: Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund, 2003); and Summers, “Excavated Artifacts.” On the site’s nomination as a WHS, see Forest, “Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site”; Forest, “Management and Conservation of Heritage”; and Forest, “Heritage in Post-colonial Mauritius: The Contribution of World Heritage Status” (paper presented to the International Conference on Living with World Heritage in Africa, Johannesburg, South Africa, 26–29 September 2012).

65. For a published version of such traditions, see Ramdoyal, *Tales from Mauritius*, 1–7. For an overview of the issues currently surrounding

the memory of slavery in Mauritius, see Anne Eichman, “The Heritage of Slavery and Nation Building: A Comparison of South Africa and Mauritius,” in *Slavery, Memory and Identity: National Representations and Global Legacies*, ed. Douglas J. Hamilton, Kate Hodgson, and Joel Quirk (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012), 63–76. For a general assessment of the contested nature of public memories of slavery, see Ana Lucia Araujo, *Politics of Memory: Making Slavery Visible in the Public Space* (New York: Routledge, 2012); Araujo, *Shadows of the Slave Past: Memory, Heritage, and Slavery* (New York: Routledge, 2014); and Douglas J. Hamilton, Kate Hodgson, and Joel Quirk, introduction in Hamilton, Hodgson, and Quirk, *Slavery, Memory and Identity*, 1–14.

66. Krish Seetah et al., “Le Morne Cemetery: Archaeological Investigations - The 2010 Season; Excavation, Results and Interpretation,” in Truth and Justice Commission, *Report*, vol. 3, *Contemporary History, Culture and Society*, 221–64; Appleby et al., “Non-adult Cohort”; Seetah, “Objects Past, Objects Present”; and Colwell-Chanthaphonh and de Salle-Essoo, “Saints and Evil.”