
THE NATIVE AMERICAN COLLECTION OF FRIDERIK BARAGA: COMPARATIVE AND CONTEXTUAL ASPECTS¹

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285

IZVLEČEK

Etnografski predmeti, ki jih je Friderik Baraga leta 1837 podaril Kranjskemu dežel-nemu muzeju v Ljubljani, so bistvenega po-mena za krajevno in časovno opredelitev regionalnih stilov indijanske umetnosti na območju Velikih jezer v Severni Ameriki. Ker so Baragovi stiki z Ojavo in Očipvejci v letih 1831-1836 dobro dokumentirani in ker lahko izluščimo dodatne informacije iz raznih seznamov teh predmetov, ki so jih sestavili v času njihove pridobitve v muzeju, zbirka lahko pomaga osvetliti drugo, slabše dokumentirano gradivo.

Splošna obravnava problemov, ki so lastni interpretaciji zgodovinsko zbranih etnografskih primerkov in pomen teh predmetov za zgodovinsko etnografijo sta v tem članku ponazorjena s primerjalno analizo izbranih predmetov iz Baragove zbirke.

ABSTRACT

The ethnographic artifacts deposited by Father Friderik Baraga in 1837 in the Carnio-lian Provincial Museum of Ljubljana is of substantial importance for the local and tem-poral attribution of regional styles of the Native arts in the Great Lakes region of North America. Since Baraga's contacts with Ottawa and Chippewa Indians between 1831 and 1836 are well documented, and since addi-tional information can be derived from various lists of the objects prepared at the time of their accession, the collection can help to shed light on other, less well documented materials.

A general discussion of the problems inherent in the interpretation of historically collected ethnographic specimens and their importance for historical ethnography is illu-strated by comparative perspectives on selected artifacts from the Baraga collection.

¹ An earlier version of this paper was delivered at the symposium "Slovenski misijonar Irenej Friderik Baraga (1797-1868) in njegov prispevek k etnologiji," Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana, 16-20 June 1997. I wish to express my gratitude to Ralf Čeplak, curator of the SEM - Museum of Non-European Cultures in Goričane, for permitting me to study the North American material here discussed in December 1992. I am also indebted to the various other museums and their personnel, who over the years made available to me some of the comparative material presented below. Special thanks also to Sylvia S. Kasprzycki, with whom the problems relating to the Baraga collection were thoroughly discussed, and to Professor Zmago Šmitek, who provided hints to and copies of secondary literature on Baraga.

Artifacts, collecting, and historical ethnography

In the study of cultures, artifacts provide a major, but all too often neglected source of information. As man-made forms, artifacts reflect culturally specific technical traditions, functional (and sometimes emotional) needs, and the variation represented by their makers' abilities to conform to socially accepted standards. As visual forms, they are not only an expression of cultural style, but also potential signs to which culturally specific meanings may be attributed. Created to help their users interact with the natural and social environment, they play an enormously important role in production, exchange, and consumption both in a primarily economic and a wider social sense.

286

In the history of European penetration and transformation of the cultures of the world in the modern age, the collecting of artifacts as documents of cultural difference represents a tradition predating the rise of ethnography and cultural anthropology as disciplines of Western scholarship, which attempt to catalog and explain the cultural variation of mankind. Since the sixteenth century, exotic artifacts were preserved in public and private collections of artificial and natural curiosities for a variety of reasons, including the value assigned to them because of their remote origin, the unusual nature of their shapes and materials, and their reflection of a generalized cultural otherness. They were regarded as trophies commemorating the subjection of faraway countries, as proof of the existence of desirable natural resources, or as documents of the versatility and possible usefulness of the inhabitants, but also of the need to convert them to Christianity and to share with them the blessings of Western civilization. Very often, the specific uses and meanings of such artifacts within their cultures of origin were disregarded, and often even the exact provenance of exotic objects was not thought of as essential for the esteem in which they were held by their European collectors. With the appropriation of such artificial rarities by the Western culture of collecting, the uses and meanings assigned by their culture of origin were replaced by different uses and meanings more appropriate for their new owners.

During the Age of the Enlightenment, ethnography was established according to a pattern originally conceived for natural history, and artifacts became part of the descriptive inventory used to define the characteristics of specific peoples or "races." Ideally, verbal and visual documents produced by European observers were to supplement the collecting of material objects and to supply the contextual information necessary for an understanding of their role in their culture of origin. With this new goal in mind, separate ethnographic collections were established since the late eighteenth century, often as part of natural history museums. One of the problems of these collections, however, was the absence of professional ethnographers who would be able to assemble artifacts and the related documentary material according to the enlightened theory of ethnographic collecting. Instead, museums were happy and content to receive

exotic artifacts from whoever had come into contact with faraway peoples for professional or private reasons and had been curious enough to obtain specimens of local manufacture. By and large, these collections assembled by travelers, traders, missionaries, or government agents were lacking most of the essential information needed to explain artifacts in terms of their culture of origin. In fact, their collecting strategies did not significantly differ from those of the pre-Enlightenment collectors. Such collections inspired by non-professional interests indeed continued to be accepted and preserved in museums even after the professionalization of anthropology in the late nineteenth century.

Given the fact that these early collections clearly do not meet the explanatory needs of anthropology, the question must be faced whether such materials serve any useful ethnographic purpose. As material documents, artifacts are unmediated sources of information on their culture of origin. But as merely physical objects, they also only reflect purely physical properties of form, such as shape, color, or mass, and the technological means involved in their production. By analyzing these forms and their patterns of wear in conjunction with analogical reasoning, certain conclusions may be reached about their use and function. In the absence of an independently transmitted knowledge of the culturally specific symbolic system, however, their original meaning must ultimately remain unknown. It should likewise be borne in mind that artifacts only represent individual forms of cultural expression, and that without further evidence there are severe problems in the assessment of their cultural representativity.

Despite these limitations, there are several good reasons for seriously and critically studying artifacts in non-professionally assembled collections. One is the fact that certain types of culturally relevant information are hardly ever (and to some extent can even hardly be) documented in written or pictorial form, so that a disregard for artifacts also implies a disregard for certain aspects of culture. At the same time, historically collected artifacts must be seen as irreplaceable documents of historical cultures (and consequently important evidence in studies of culture change). Since the early days of anthropology, when artifacts (and other cultural forms) of "primitive" peoples were regarded as windows allowing us to look at a primeval past, we have learned that cultures are continually undergoing change, even though some of their features may represent aspects of continuity. Without adequate historical information, there is ultimately no reliable method to predict the amount of continuity or the direction of changes.

Cultural changes also mean that it is problematic to interpret artifacts dating from one period with contextual ethnographic information relating to another time horizon. This is particularly true for regions like northeastern North America, where intensive collecting began long before the arrival of the first professional ethnographers. As it turns out, objects from periods significantly predating the standard ethnographic accounts often make little sense when viewed in the context of the latter. Wooden war clubs, such as the one collected by Friderik

Baraga in the early 1830s among the southwestern Chippewa,² were even then largely reduced to a ceremonial or symbolic function and had to some extent ceased to be used as functional weapons. Thus, Chippewa ethnography of the twentieth century has little to offer that would explain the role of clubs in warfare. Even where artifact types or design patterns have persisted over the centuries, very often their functions and meanings have either gradually shifted or abruptly changed by a process of substitution.

Artifacts, in other words, are potential sources for the historical ethnography of a people that need to be looked at in the context of historical-ethnographic data.

288

In order to make meaningful use of historically collected artifacts for the purposes here described and to interpret them in an appropriate cultural frame of reference, however, information on the time and the place of an object's manufacture and/or use are of vital importance. Unfortunately, these data are not always readily available, either because the collectors were not aware of their significance, or because such information was lost in the history of transfers from the original collector to the museum.

Dating poses the lesser problem, because it is often known when a traveler made a trip (especially if it was to a faraway place), even if the exact place where he may have obtained a specific object remains unknown. The accession date of an artifact by the museum always provides at least a *terminus ante quem*, which sometimes may be fairly close to the collecting date. Useful and reliable time markers associated with the object itself are trade goods, such as silk ribbons or specific types of glass beads. It should nevertheless be obvious that a documented date is always preferable to one established by inference, and that every reliable date improves our knowledge of the temporal distribution of artifact types or styles, which in turn may be used to date undocumented objects.

To firmly place an historically collected artifact in space is altogether a much more difficult matter. Some early objects come with information hardly more specific than, e.g., "North America," and even if they do, the question remains what this designation actually means. Artifacts were often not acquired from their makers or users, but through middlemen or traders, who may or may not have been interested in conveying to the buyer even the information available to them. Obviously, the market value of an object could be raised by associating it (correctly or not) with the name of a famous previous owner or with a people notorious in the imagination of potential collectors. As a result, artifacts of diverse origins are often attributed by collectors to just a handful of better known peoples.

Far more commonly, however, historically collected ethnographic objects are not at all associated with any cultural provenance, right or wrong. Attributions

² This widely scattered indigenous population is today known under various names spelled in many different ways (cp. Golob 1997: 215–216). It is here referred to as "Chippewa" (and the language as "Ojibwa") according to the standards established by the Handbook of North American Indians (Trigger 1978).

of origin found in museum inventories and catalogs are habitually made by curators, dealers, and private collectors alike on the basis of comparisons with other, similar items. The reliability of such secondary attributions obviously decreases greatly if they are based on material that has no documented provenance of its own.

The documentation of Friderik Baraga's ethnographic collection

What has so far been said highlights the importance of the small number of reasonably well documented early collections and the artifacts they include. Many of these ethnographic type specimens, however, have never been properly identified, described, or published. Despite its modest size, Father Friderik Baraga's collection, assembled between 1831 and 1836 in connection with his missionary work among the Ottawa and particularly among the southwestern Chippewa could possibly qualify as such a landmark collection. Before exploring on the basis of a few selected examples the contributions of this material to the historical ethnography of the western Great Lakes region of North America, we need to look at the documentation of Baraga's ethnographic collection and its problems. 289

Until now, the Baraga collection (as well as the artifacts collected by other Slovenian missionaries in the Great Lakes region of North America) has attracted little attention other than those of local scholars. Since the 1950s, a series of increasingly sophisticated essays have been published by Orel (1954), Štrukelj (1974, 1979), and Golob (1997), which have presented the objects and their documentary background, and which have attempted to put the artifacts in a wider comparative perspective. While the success of their comparative discussions was severely limited by the availability of data on comparable artifacts, these publications have laid an important basis for a critical evaluation of the Slovenian missionary collections from North America.

It should be noted at the outset that Baraga was not an ethnographer, even by the standards of his time. While his collection did serve, together with his book, to satisfy the curiosity of his readers, his intended audience was not the world of scholarship, but his compatriots in Slovenia, and more especially the pious contributors to his missionary efforts. As Kasprzycki (1998) has indicated, Baraga's approach to material culture was decidedly informed by his missionary outlook. The collection is strong in documenting useful things, especially household utensils (such as birchbark containers, wooden bowls and ladles, mats), transportation, bows and arrows, etc. It is relatively weak in dress and ornament, with moccasins being the major exception, in ceremonial items (except for pipes, which also had non-religious uses), and in leisure activities.³

Baraga's book on the history, character, customs and usages of the North-

³ Baraga 1837: 60.

American Indians (1837), published at the same time he deposited his collection in Ljubljana, illustrates another problem that also affects the assessment of the artifacts. In his book, the missionary freely combines his own observations among the Ottawa and Chippewa with what he had taken from published sources on other tribes,⁴ largely because for him (as for many of his contemporaries) "North American Indians" was a meaningful category of cultural classification.⁵

Friderik Baraga's collection appears to be well documented. We know from his own writings about the exact locations of his missionary work among the Ottawa and Chippewa of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota between 1831 and 1836. In addition to scattered references to the artifacts in his *History* and a printed list of the objects he donated to the Carniolian Provincial Museum which appeared in 1837 in the *Illyrisches Blatt*, Golob has recently published two slightly earlier manuscript lists, one of which was corrected and annotated by Baraga himself.⁶ Golob also summarizes what is known about the collection before it arrived in Ljubljana: When first approached in 1833 with a request to collect for the newly established Provincial Museum, Baraga excused himself because of his lack of time for strictly non-missionary activities; by February 1836, when he had decided to return to Europe in order to raise money for the missions, Baraga may have realized that such a collection could indeed raise the interest at home for his transatlantic congregation. The collection must have been ready by the time he left his station at La Pointe on the south shore of Lake Superior, although it is first explicitly mentioned in a letter written from London on 3 December

⁴ Cp. Požar 1973.

⁵ To some extent this is also true for Golob (1997), who often adduces comparative evidence from indigenous peoples totally unrelated to the southwestern Chippewa, and whose uncritical use of unreliable sources mars an otherwise valuable and useful publication.

⁶ Unfortunately, Golob (1997: 220–221) in publishing Freyer's list (illustrated in Golob's ill. 4) has added the section lettering which appears only on Jerin's list (his ill. 3). Moreover, at least the English translation of the German text includes several misleading errors. Thus, the introductory paragraph (taken from Freyer) does not read: "Father Friderik Baraga, missionary of the highly honoured Bishop of Detroit in North America, brought the following objects from the (Indian) tribe of the Očipwe" (Golob 1997: 220), but rather: "Mr. Friedrich Baraga, missionary and vicar of the reverend Mr. Bishop of Detroit in North America, delivered the following objects from Očipwe." This indicates that Freyer refers to "Očipwe" as a place, rather than a people. In Golob's translation, the first entries read: "a) objects made of birch bark: one round vessel /MAKAK/ containing tree sugar; - two little empty vessels; - round vessel filled with wild rice /MANOMIN/; - two little round vessels /ONAGAN/." A correct translation would read: "Industrial objects of the bark of the birch tree. One bark box /:Makak Indian:/ with tree sugar from North America. Two empty bark boxes. One bark box with Indian rice /:Manomin:/ . Two bark bowls /:Onagan:/ ." Unfortunately, Golob does not offer a full transcript and translation of the Jerin list, which not only has Baraga's annotations, but is in several respects more detailed and correct. The two sections corresponding to those quoted from the Freyer list read in translation: "From the Reverend Mr. Friedrich Baraga, missionary on the Lake Superior in the Northwest Territory in the United States of North America, Diocese Detroit, Michigan: 12 pieces industrial objects from the bark of the North American birch tree all of which produced by people from the American tribe of the Očipwe on Lake Superior, namely, one *Makak* (bark box) filled with tree sugar, (*Sinsibakwat*,) which is made from the sap of the North American sugar tree; two other empty bark boxes of various sizes; - a 4th suchlike little box, filled with a kind of rice, which on Lake Superior grows wild on wet ground, and which is called in the language of there *Manomin*; - two soup or drink bowls (*Onagan*)." This also makes it clear that the list published in the *Illyrisches Blatt* (1837) was not based upon Freyer's, but upon Jerin's list (Golob 1997: 222–224, especially note 72). Golob's translation of the published list is equally defective.

1836. Golob's conclusion, however, that all the artifacts (except for a few pieces that show signs of wear) were collected and even made between 24 February and 29 September 1836 by the Chippewa of La Pointe and/or Fond du Lac (Minnesota) cannot be uncritically accepted.⁷

Although Baraga was stationed as a missionary among the Chippewa of La Pointe in Wisconsin at the time he donated his collection (and the list published in the *Illyrisches Blatt* in 1837 identifies him as such), the several accession documents attribute only a few of the objects specifically to the Chippewa: The "industrial objects of North American birchbark" are said to be from the Chippewa of Lake Superior and both the netting of a pair of snowshoes and a beaded bag are identified as the work of Chippewa women. But the missionary had spent a much longer period of time among the Ottawa of Michigan, and had also visited various Chippewa groups in this state. Since the first suggestion to assemble a collection for the Provincial Museum had reached him when he was still among the Ottawa, it cannot be precluded that some of the pieces in the Baraga collection could in fact be of Ottawa origin.

A second problem is even more severe: Baraga was the first but not the only Slovenian missionary to work among the Ottawa and Chippewa and the Provincial Museum in Ljubljana is known to have received artifacts from at least two others: Father Franc Pirc is known to have donated one (or two) prehistoric artifact(s) from the Ottawa village of Arbre Croche in 1836, while in 1873 Father Ivan Čebul gave a small collection of Chippewa artifacts from Wisconsin or Minnesota. The Pirc items are easily identifiable, but for the Čebul material the available documentation is slightly ambiguous; of the five items listed in the year of acquisition, only three reappear in the 1888 catalog by Deschmann, but three new ones are mentioned. In addition, there are several other artifacts from the same general region without a documented collection history, which originally may have been collected by either of the three or a number of other Slovenian missionaries who had followed in the footsteps of Friderik Baraga,⁸ and who had worked among the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Menominee of the western Great Lakes region. Father Pirc is known to have sent several bark boxes decorated with porcupine quills made by the Ottawa women of Arbre Croche and Lacroix (Cross Village) (*Illyrisches Blatt* 1842), but others may also have shipped ethnographic material to their home country. Although there are no accession records for these items, the undocumented artifacts most likely came from this general source.

Because the ethnographic specimens at the museum in Ljubljana were renumbered several times, some doubts exist in the case of a few artifacts which pieces were collected by whom. In addition, there are at least two artifacts that certainly did not come from the Great Lakes region, but which were later cataloged

⁷ Golob 1997: 218–219, 233.

⁸ Cp. Golob 1997: 237–239, 242–245.

as Baraga objects instead of misplaced or lost objects which had appeared on the original list. Since a few other items known to have been donated by Baraga are also missing, there is room for speculation that such substitutions took place in other cases as well.

Artifacts from the Baraga collection

In view of the importance of the Baraga collection, it would be useful to offer a complete discussion of all of its artifacts in documentary, technical, cultural, and comparative perspective. Limitations of space make it impossible at this point to go beyond a brief and exemplary discussion of a few examples, which illustrate the problems discussed above in general terms.

It has already been noted that two artifacts⁹ attributed to the Baraga collection are not from the Great Lakes region and are most unlikely to have been donated to the museum by the missionary. One is a club (cat. no. E. 2866) of quadrangular cross-section with intricate incised designs, which Golob¹⁰ correctly identifies as South American or Brazilian. A fairly large number of examples of this general type are known from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century collections, most of them without adequate documentation; attributions range from the Antilles through the Guyanas to northern Brazil,¹¹ with the best evidence for a provenience from the Wapishana and their neighbors on the upper Rio Branco River in Brazil and in southern Guyana.¹² The specimen in the Slovenski etnografski muzej most likely dates from the second half of the eighteenth century and must have been substituted before 1888¹³ for the ball-headed club in the Baraga collection (cat. no. E. 2829; Fig. 1), which in turn had been misplaced among the museum's African material.¹⁴ Golob correctly concluded that the South American club should not be attributed to Friderik Baraga's collection.¹⁵ How it entered the museum, so far remains unknown.

⁹ A third artifact misattributed to Baraga is a European wooden horn (cat. no. E. 2901; Golob 1997: 295–297, no. 56), which Štrukelj (1974: 137) mistook for a sort of Chippewa courting flute. Golob (1997: 297) suggests it may have been made for Čebul according to a Carniolian pattern to call his Native congregation to mass. But Čebul actually used a *Strombus* shell for this purpose (which he donated to the museum in 1873), and the instrument called a "shawm" by Deschmann (1888) is attributed by him to the Baraga collection. If there ever was a Chippewa musical instrument in the collection (none is noted in the accession documents of 1837), it was a flute. The horn never had anything to do with Baraga, Čebul, or the Chippewa.

The same is probably true for the basket (E. 2876; Golob 1997: 254–255, no. 11, attributed to the Čebul collection). It does not look like a Native American splint basket; in addition, the description given by Štrukelj (1974: 130) is of a different basket, and it is quite possible that the two baskets have since been confused in the collection.

¹⁰ Golob 1997: 286–288, no. 50.

¹¹ In addition to the evidence presented by Golob, cp. Feest 1985: 241–242; Dietschy 1939: 166–173, pl. 4, figs. 21a–e.

¹² The proper identification of this object was made by the present author in December 1992.

¹³ Deschmann 1888: 156, no. 40.

¹⁴ Identified in the African collection in December 1992 by Sylvia S. Kasprzycki.

¹⁵ Golob 1997: 286.

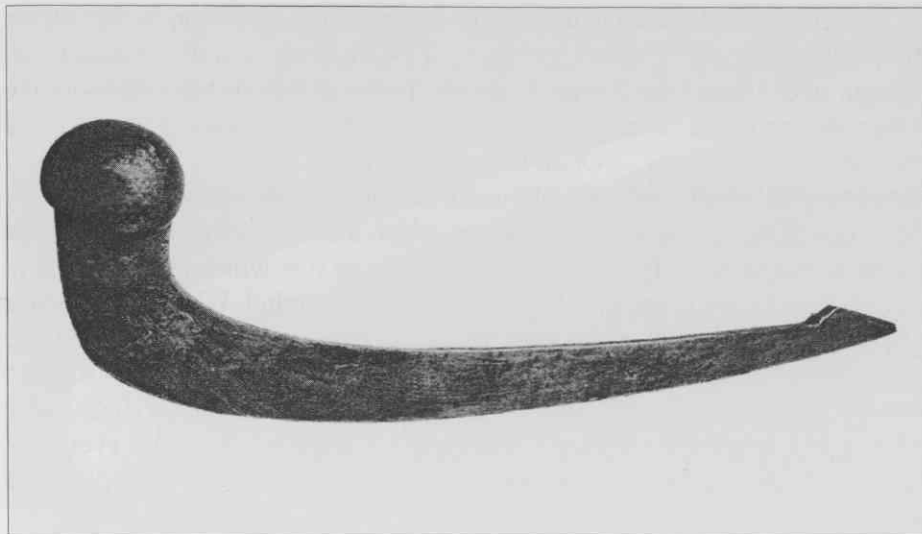


Figure 1: Ball-headed club ("pagamagan"), hickory. Length 65 cm. Southwestern Chippewa, collected in 1835–1836. Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana, cat. no. E 2829 (Friderik Baraga coll.) (photo F. Golob). ♦ Slika 1: Bojni kij z okroglo glavo ("pagamagan"), hikori. Dolžina 65 cm. Jugozahodni Očipvejci, zbran 1835–1836. Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana, kat. št. E 2829 (zbirka Friderika Barage) (foto F. Golob).



Figure 2: Ball-headed club, hawthorn (?), metal inlay, hot file marks. Length 57 cm. Southwestern Chippewa, Minnesota, collected in 1823. Civico Museo E. Caffi, Bergamo, cat. no. Beltrami 26a (G. Costantino Beltrami coll.) (photo C. F. Feest). ♦ Slika 2: Bojni kij z okroglo glavo, glog, kovinski vložek, vžgani znaki. Dolžina 57 cm. Jugozahodni Očipvejci, Minnesota, zbran 1823. Civico Museo E. Caffi, Bergamo, kat. št. Beltrami 26a (zbirka G. Costantina Beltramija) (foto C. F. Feest).

The ball-headed club in the Baraga collection is described in the *Illyrisches Blatt* as “a battle club (*Pagamagan*) made of a very firm tree root.”¹⁶ In his book, Baraga noted that “the North American Indians” before the arrival of the Europeans had used “a short battle club ... which they used to crush the skulls of their wounded enemies. ... Of all their old weapons, they only have preserved the battle club, which they still make use of for the same purpose as their ancestors had done.”¹⁷ From this description alone, which mentions neither the weapon’s material, nor its form, it would be impossible to be sure which of the two types of club used by the Chippewa the missionary had in mind. While the gunstock club was used primarily in the western Great Lakes region and to its west, the ball-headed club was widely distributed from the middle and northern Atlantic coast to the western Great Lakes.¹⁸ Although there is substantial variation in the shapes and decorative features of this type, no useful typology has ever been attempted, and in many instances it is difficult to make a case for a plausible attribution.

Among the other documented southwestern Chippewa clubs, one in the collection assembled in 1823 among the southwestern Chippewa in Minnesota by Giacomo Costantino Beltrami and now preserved in Bergamo¹⁹ (Fig. 2) is slightly shorter but similarly shaped, and is decorated with hot file marks and metal inlays. Similar fire decorations and pictographic incisions appear on another item collected in the 1830s by Nathan Sturges Jarvis at Fort Snelling in Minnesota.²⁰ In the Peabody Essex Museum,²¹ there is a rather similar Chippewa example collected in 1825, which has a metal blade set into the ball. Metal blades may have replaced earlier horn or bone spikes, such as the one seen on a Plains Ojibwa example collected before 1825,²² which Golob uses as a comparison to Baraga’s club; the shaft of this piece is differently shaped (slightly ridged rather than flat, and with an excrescence on the upper half of the shaft), but the lower end and the curvature of the front end are indeed similar. Golob’s second comparative example,²³ while also attributed to the “Ojibwa,” is rather different from those

¹⁶ *Illyrisches Blatt* 1837: 68, no. 32.

¹⁷ Baraga 1837: 148.

¹⁸ Cp. Dietschy 1939: 122–134, pl. 2, figs. 12a–b, 13a–c.

¹⁹ Museo Civico E. Caffi, Bergamo (cat. no. 54; Vigorelli 1987: 67, 93, no. 54.; Feest and Kasprzycki 1998: fig. 47).

²⁰ Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, NY (cat. no. 50.67.84; Feder 1964: 58, #49, fig. 49).

²¹ Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA (cat. no. E 6642, George Cutler coll.).

²² Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien (cat. no. 419, Joseph Klinger coll.; Feest 1968: 68, no. 101, pl. 9c; Feest and Kasprzycki 1993: 76–77; Golob 1997: 170, 286, ill. 59). For a spiked ball-headed club with a similar excrescence, collected in 1832–1836 by Nathan Sturges Jarvis and attributed by him to the Menominee, see Feder (1964: 37, 54, fig. 19).

²³ British Museum, London (cat. no. 1949 Am 22 146; King 1982: 83, 95; Golob 1997: ill. 58, caption transposed with that for ill. 60). For another type of Chippewa ball-headed club, see Hodge et al. 1973: 103. More closely related appear to be clubs without documented provenance in the Museum of Mankind, London, no cat. no. (King 1982: 85, fig. 90c) and in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (cat. no. IV B 177, F. Köhler coll., collected prior to 1845; Krickeberg 1954: pl. 39a).

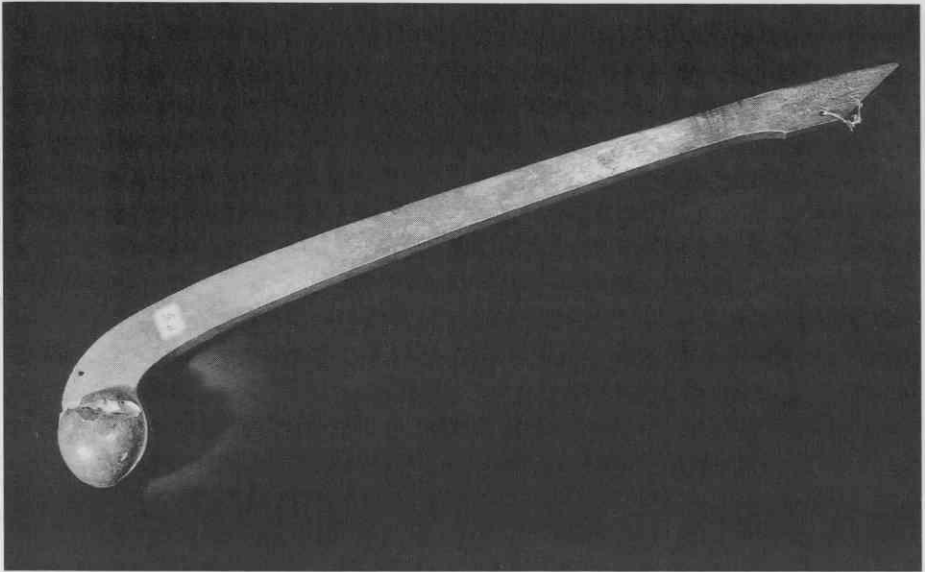


Figure 3: Ball-headed club ("pagamagan"), wood (old damage on the ball), incised decoration. Ottawa, Arbre Croche or Cross Village, Michigan, collected in 1851–1853. Formerly in the collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien, deaccessioned in 1964 (Martin Pitzer coll.) (photo E. Mandl). ♦ Slika 3: Bojni kij z okroglo glavo ("pagamagan"), les (stara poškodba na glavi), vrezano okrasje. Otavci, Arbre Croche ali Cross Village, Michigan, zbran 1851–1853. Prej v zbirki Etnološkega muzeja na Dunaju, odstopljen 1964 (zbirki Martina Pitzerja) (foto E. Mandl).

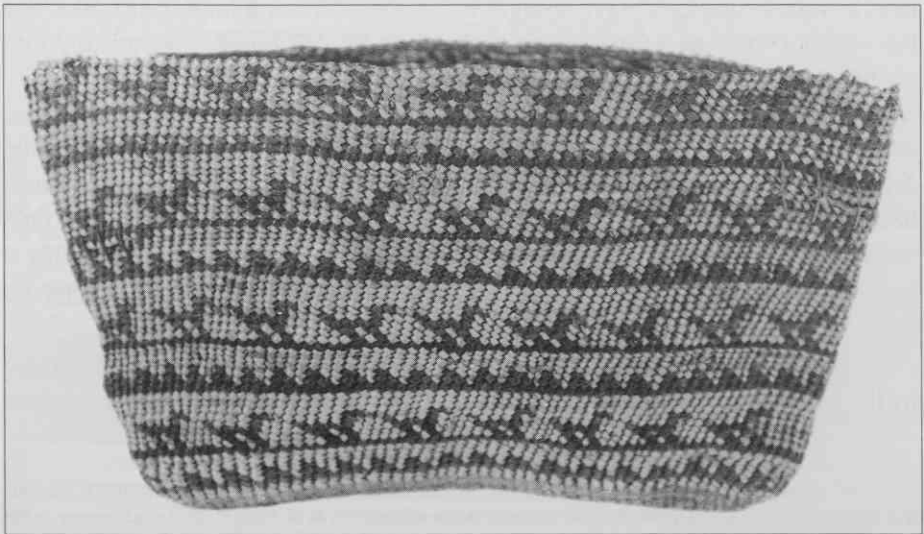


Figure 4: Flat bag, wrapped twining, rush, maidenhair fern, bear grass. Width 18 cm. Attributed to the Clatsop, lower Columbia River valley, ca. 1860. Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana, cat. no. E 2865 (misattributed to the Friderik Baraga coll.) (photo F. Golob). ♦ Slika 4: Ploska torba, pletena z ovijanjem, ločje, venerini lasci, medvedja trava. Širina 18 cm. Pripisan Clatsopim v spodnji doline reke Columbie, ca. 1860. Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana, kat. št. E 2865 (zmotno pripisan zbirki Friderika Barage) (foto F. Golob).

noted above. On the other hand, the Ottawa clubs in the collection assembled in 1851–1853 in the mission settlements of Arbre Croche and Lacroix by Martin Pitzer²⁴ (Fig. 3) illustrate the fact that the cultural differences between the southwestern Chippewa and their Ottawa relatives were only gradual.

The second item attributed to the Baraga collection but definitely not belonging to it, is a flat basketry bag (cat. no. E. 2865; Fig. 4) identified by Golob with an entry on the list published in the *Illyrisches Blatt*: “a sack woven of grass (*machkimod*), in small scale.”²⁵ While the description would seem to fit the artifact in general terms, it is certainly not a “*mashkimod*” (the general Ojibwa term for “bag”). There were several types of typical southwestern Chippewa (and Ottawa) fiber bags, which were woven in a variety of characteristic twining (and rarely also plaiting) techniques of native vegetal yarns (apocynum, nettle fiber, basswood bark, cedar bark, etc.) and/or imported woolen yarns and were decorated with the images of mythological beings or geometric patterns.²⁶ These types were generally found in the western Great Lakes region, and it is presently impossible to define specific tribal characteristics.

It is, however, possible to state that the bag E. 2865 is not a product of the western Great Lakes region, but was produced in the lower Columbia River valley on the southern Northwest Coast of North America. A very similar, slightly larger rush bag with wrapped twining in maidenhair fern and bear grass in Rotterdam (Fig. 5)²⁷ is attributed to the Wasco (of the middle Columbia), but was apparently acquired without documentation in 1954. Wasco flat bags are very rare, but those that exist have straight to tapering (rather than flaring) sides and the style of their decorative designs is markedly different.²⁸ Technically and stylistically similar, on the other hand, are baskets of the Clatsop (Lower Chinook) near the mouth of the Columbia River and of their Tillamook neighbors to the south.²⁹ Designs include sawtooth bands and rows of quadrupeds, including deer and apparently also dogs. The animals on the obverse of E. 2865 may indeed be such dogs (and not “underwater panthers,” as Golob suggests). Based on a comparison with examples of Clatsop baskets collected in the 1830s and 1840s, it is more likely that E. 2865 was made during the second half of the nineteenth century.

The partial confusion between the Baraga and Čebul collections is illustrated by the cradleboard wrapper decorated with silk ribbon appliqué (E. 2869), which

²⁴ Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien (cat. no. 131.731; Feest 1968: 38, fig. 9c). Here illustrated is a second club from the Pitzer collection, deaccessioned by the Vienna museum in an exchange with Arthur Speyer, Jr. For another early 19th century Ottawa club, see Hodge et al. 1973: 104.

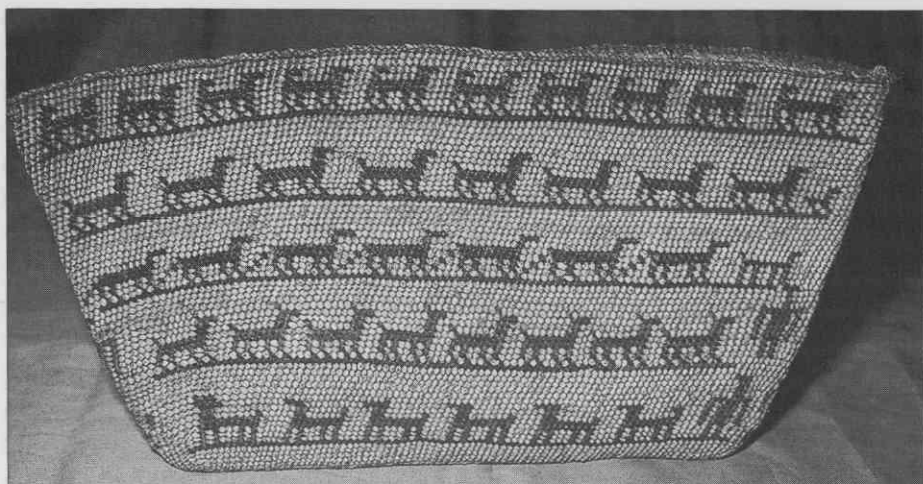
²⁵ Golob 1997: 256–257, no. 15; *Illyrisches Blatt* 1837: 68, no. 16.

²⁶ Cp., e.g., Hodge et al. 1973: 84–88; Brassier 1976: 64; Feest 1984: 14–16, 29–31, 35–37; Phillips 1986.

²⁷ Museum voor Volkenkunde, Rotterdam (cat. no. 35.040).

²⁸ Schlick 1994: 68, 167.

²⁹ Marr 1984: 49–51, figs. 11–17.



297

Figure 5: Flat bag, wrapped twining, rush, maidenhair fern, bear grass. Width 28 cm. Attributed to the Clatsop, lower Columbia River valley, second half on the nineteenth century. Museum voor Volkenkunde, Rotterdam, cat. no. 35.040 (accessioned in 1954, no documented collection history) (photo C. F. Feest). ♦ Slika 5: Ploska torba, pletena z ovijanjem, loče, venerini lasci, medvedja trava. Širina 18 cm. Pripisan Clatsopim v spodnji dolini reke Columbie, druga polovica 19. stoletja. Etnološki muzej, Rotterdam, kat. no. 35.040 (pridobljen 1954, ni dokumentiranega historiatu o pridobitvi) (foto C. F. Feest).

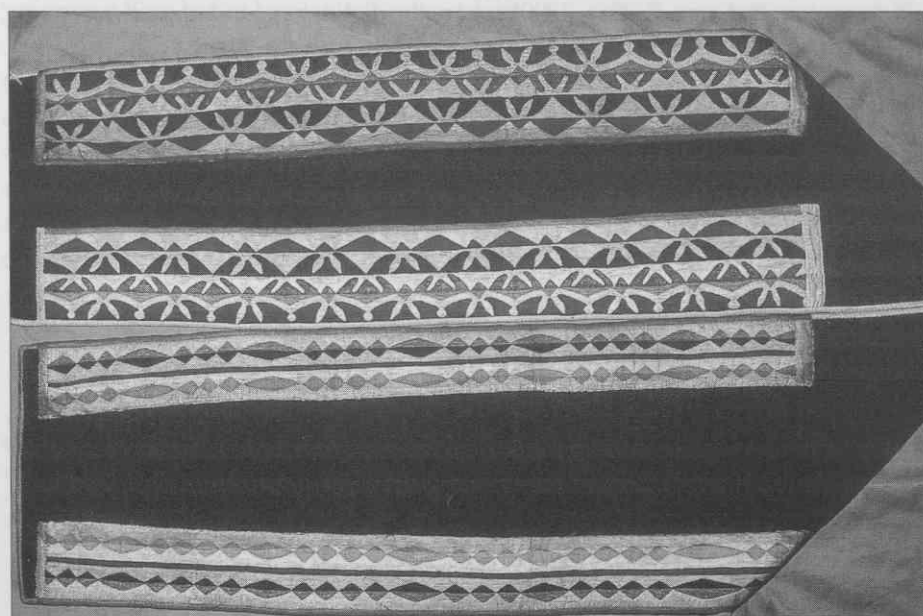


Figure 6: Cradle wrapper, cloth, silk ribbon appliqué. Length 134 cm, width 18 cm. Southwestern Chippewa, Green Bay Agency, Wisconsin, mid-nineteenth century. Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, cat. no. IV B 7611 (Walter Wyman coll.) (photo C. F. Feest). ♦ Slika 6: Preveza za zibelko, blago, aplikacije iz svilenih trakov. Dolžina 134 cm, širina 18 cm. Jugozahodni Očipvejci, Green Bay Agency, Wisconsin, sredina 19. stoletja. Etnološki muzej, Berlin, kat. št. IV B 7611 (zbirka Walterja Wymana) (foto C. F. Feest).

Golob attributes to the Čebul collection.³⁰ While no such item is known to have belonged to the ethnographic material donated by Čebul, the account of the Baraga collection in the *Illyrisches Blatt* refers to a “wide wrapper of cloth, in which a girl from there has artificially embroidered figures” as belonging to the cradleboard.³¹ Deschmann mentions it as number “22. Piece of cloth sewn with silk ribbons of various colors.” While assigning his numbers 17 through 21 to the Čebul collection, 23 to Pirc, and 24 through 40 to Baraga, 22 is not explicitly identified, although it is listed at the end of the Čebul sequence.³² There is, however, no reason whatsoever to assume the loss of Baraga’s wrapper and the appearance of an otherwise undocumented Čebul wrapper just to explain away Deschmann’s mistake. A similar piece collected in 1905 by Walter Wyman among the southwestern Chippewa of the Green Bay Agency in Wisconsin is now in Berlin (Fig. 6).³³ There are no historical or stylistic reasons why this piece could not date to the 1830s, since ribbon appliqué was well established in the region by the early nineteenth century.³⁴

A slightly different problem is posed by the group of quill-decorated birchbark containers at the Slovenski etnografski muzej. The accession records list four such *makaks* in the Baraga collection and one in the Čebul collection. Deschmann repeats this information, but does not specify the number of *makaks* in the Baraga collection.³⁵ Today, however, there is a total of eight such containers. Of these, two (cat. nos. E. 2886, 2890)³⁶ share the distinctive kind of quill-wrapping of the edges also found on the two birchbark bowls in the Baraga collection (cat. nos. E. 2826, 2897)³⁷ and thus should have the same origin. E. 2894,³⁸ whose edge is wrapped with root splints (rather than brown quills, as Golob suggests), has the same basic cut and careful sewing with root splints as the two *makaks* previously mentioned, and thus may also safely be assigned to the Baraga collection. All these items have indeed consistently been identified as Baraga pieces in the various inventories of the museum. The same is true as far as the

³⁰ Golob 1997: 294–295, no. 55.

³¹ Golob 1997: 243; *Illyrisches Blatt* 1837: 68.

³² Deschmann 1888: 155.

³³ Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (cat. no. IV B 7611, Walter Wyman coll., Chippewa, Green Bay Agency, Wisconsin). Other silk ribbon appliqué cradleboard wrappers from the western Great Lakes include the following: Denver Art Museum, Denver, CO (cat. no. 1939.9, ex A. G. Heath coll., attributed to “Ottawa, Ontario, 1810”; Conn 1980: 13, 22, fig. 15); State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI (cat. no. 1954.1621, Walter Wyman coll. 1901, ex Grignon coll., Menominee, Butte des Morts, probably before 1850); Neville Public Museum, Green Bay, WI (Menominee).

³⁴ Cp. Conn 1980: 12–13.

³⁵ *Illyrisches Blatt* 1837: 67; Golob 1997: 200, 243; Deschmann 1888: 155, no. 33.

³⁶ Golob 1997: 249–251, nos. 1–2.

³⁷ Golob 1997: 253–254, nos. 7–8. For these vessels, compare the more crudely made southwestern Chippewa birchbark bowls collected in 1823 by Beltrami (Vigorelli 1987: 55–56, 84–86). Even more similar, including the quill-wrapped rims, are two such bowls of undocumented provenance collected before 1835 in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (cat. nos. IV B 29, IV B 79, Nagler coll.).

³⁸ Golob 1997: 252–253, no. 6.

Čebul attribution of box E. 2891³⁹ is concerned, which is characterized by the use of thread both for the straight side seams and for the attachment of the wooden reinforcement at the rim. Of the remaining four birchbark containers, two are similar in size and shape to E. 2891: Of these two, however, E. 2893⁴⁰ has the same technical characteristics as E. 2891 with which it also shares certain stylistic features of the quillwork, while E. 2892⁴¹ differs strikingly in its basic cut and the use of root splints for sewing and wrapping. Although Golob only “attributes” (on the basis of an earlier inventory) E. 2892 to the Baraga collection, and has no doubt that E. 2893 was part of it, it seems at least highly likely that E. 2893 came from the same source as E. 2891.

In all likelihood, E. 2892 can be attributed to the Baraga collection; in addition to the differences to the two other boxes, there are marked similarities to a box collected among the southwestern Chippewa in 1830 in the Peabody Essex Museum,⁴² which argue for this solution of the problem.

The collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna contains a large number of similar small *makaks*, which came from the same missions in which the Slovenian missionaries were working. While most of the boxes similar to E. 2891 and 2893 from the Johann Georg Schwarz collection⁴³ are without documented provenance, a similar set from the Martin Pitzer collection was obtained in 1851–1853 at the Ottawa villages of Arbre Croche and Cross Village (Lacroix).⁴⁴ Whether the two boxes in Ljubljana were given to the museum by Ivan Čebul must remain in doubt. Although Čebul is not known to have worked in the Ottawa missions (and is said to have spent most of his time before 1873 in Wisconsin), it would nevertheless not be inconceivable for him to have brought these pieces to Europe. On the other hand, the style in which the two boxes are made seems too early for a collection assembled in the early 1870s.

Of the remaining two birchbark vessels, E. 2945 is an eight-sided container with a round lid,⁴⁵ whose edges are trimmed with silk and cotton ribbons in a style that is well documented (and even distinctive) for the Ottawa of the Arbre Croche region. A nearly identical example is found in the Pitzer collection of 1851–1853 in Vienna.⁴⁶ E. 2895 is a rectangular lidded box on a low pedestal with a short carrying strap of plaited porcupine quills (Fig. 7).⁴⁷ Golob compares it to a Menominee box in the Johann Georg Schwarz collection in Vienna, but similar

³⁹ Golob 1997: 251, no. 3.

⁴⁰ Golob 1997: 252, no. 5.

⁴¹ Golob 1997: 251–252, no. 4.

⁴² Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA (cat. no. 53456, ex Andover Newton Theological School coll., Boutwell coll.).

⁴³ Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien (cat. nos. 12038–12041, Johann Georg Schwarz coll.).

⁴⁴ Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien (cat. nos. 131742–131746, Martin Pitzer coll.).

⁴⁵ Golob 1997: 262–263, no. 21.

⁴⁶ Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien (cat. no. 131765, M. Pitzer coll.; Graham 1983: 35).

⁴⁷ Golob 1997: 261–262, no. 20.

pieces are also documented for the Ottawa and Chippewa in the period around 1830 (Fig. 8).⁴⁸ A fairly unusual feature in this type of work is the addition of representations of four women on the small sides of E. 2895 contrasting with the predominantly floral designs. Perfectly identical female figures are shown on one side of an undocumented *makak* attributed (for no apparent reason) to the Menominee of Wisconsin in the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Hull.⁴⁹ Another unprovenanced birchbark box in the Linden-Museum in Stuttgart (Fig. 9) showing representations of women (in a slightly different manner) in addition to men in canoes, conical lodges, and various animals is from the collection of Prince Maximilian of Wied, who traveled in the United States in 1832–1834.⁵⁰ While the date fits our ideas about the chronology of styles in western Great Lakes quillwork on birchbark, Maximilian never came near the region where such boxes were produced. We must therefore assume that he received it as a present either during his trip or after his return to Europe. The possibility that he obtained it when visiting Niagara Falls is much less likely, since the market there was dominated by the local Native population.

Since those boxes decorated with other than floral or geometric designs were obviously designed for the sale to Whites, the prime candidates for their manufacture are those Native groups which had an easy access to the respective markets: the Ottawa of the Arbre Croche region (with both Mackinac and Detroit as their markets), the Menominee (with Green Bay), or the Chippewa living in the area of Mackinac and Sault Ste. Marie. On the basis of this reasoning, the Chippewa of La Pointe or Fond du Lac may virtually be excluded as producers at the time the boxes were made in the 1830s.

It has already been noted that in 1841 Father Franc Pirc sent quill-decorated bark boxes made by the Ottawa women of Arbre Croche and Cross Village to his faithful supporters in Slovenia. Theoretically, any of the four problematic boxes just described could have been part of this 1841 shipment, although E. 2895 may date a little earlier, and E. 2945 was probably made somewhat later. Baraga cannot be excluded as the source for E. 2895 and (less probably) for E. 2891 and 2893. Čebul is the least likely candidate to have collected any of the birchbark boxes now in the Slovenski etnografski muzej.

A similar problem exists with regard to the seven pairs and two single moccasins presently at the Slovenski etnografski muzej. Two pairs, which were

⁴⁸ Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien (cat. nos. 11992, 11993, Ottawa, ca. 1830, Johann Georg Schwarz coll.; Graham 1983: 29, 34); Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA (cat. no. 53440, Chippewa, collected in 1831 by Miles Boutwell, ex Andover Newton Theological School coll.; Monroe et al. 1996: 22, 33, fig. 13). Further such boxes are found in the Milwaukee Public Museum (cat. no. 352, ex Wisconsin Natural History Society coll., "Chippewa") and in the Bernisches Historisches Museum (cat. no. Ca 22, collected before 1845 by H. Morlot, "Canada").

⁴⁹ Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, PQ (cat. no. III-N-37ab, ex Arthur Speyer coll.). The other side depicts a Calumet dance.

⁵⁰ Linden-Museum, Stuttgart (cat. no. 36054, Maximilian Prince of Wied coll.; Kussmaul 1982, 1: 244). There are at least three other quill-decorated birchbark items of a related style in the Maximilian collection.



Figure 7: Lidded birchbark box, porcupine quill embroidery. Height 19 cm. Western Great Lakes, ca. 1830–1840. Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana, cat. no. E 2895 (no documented collection history) (photo F. Golob). ♦ Slika 7: Škatla iz brezovega lubja s pokrovom, vezenje iz bodic ježevca. Višina 19 cm. Zahodno območje Velikih jezer, ca. 1830–1840. Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana, kat. št. E 2895 (ni historiat o pridobitvi) (foto F. Golob).

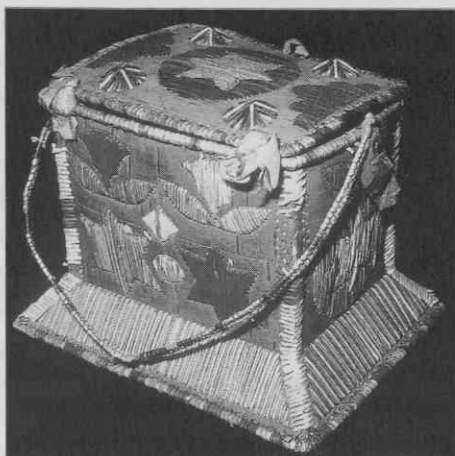


Figure 8: Lidded birchbark box, porcupine quill embroidery, silk ribbon, paper. Height 11 cm. Ottawa, Arbre Croche, Michigan, c. 1830. Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien, cat. no. 11993 (Johann Georg Schwarz coll., probably ex Friedrich Résé coll.) (photo C. F. Feest). ♦ Slika 8: Škatla iz brezovega lubja s pokrovom, vezenje iz bodic ježevca, svilen trak, papir. Višina 11 cm. Otavci, Arbre Croche, Michigan, c. 1830. Etnološki muzej, Dunaj, kat. št. 11993 (zbirka Johanna Geорга Schwarzarja, verjetno iz zbirke Friedricha Réséja) (foto C. F. Feest).

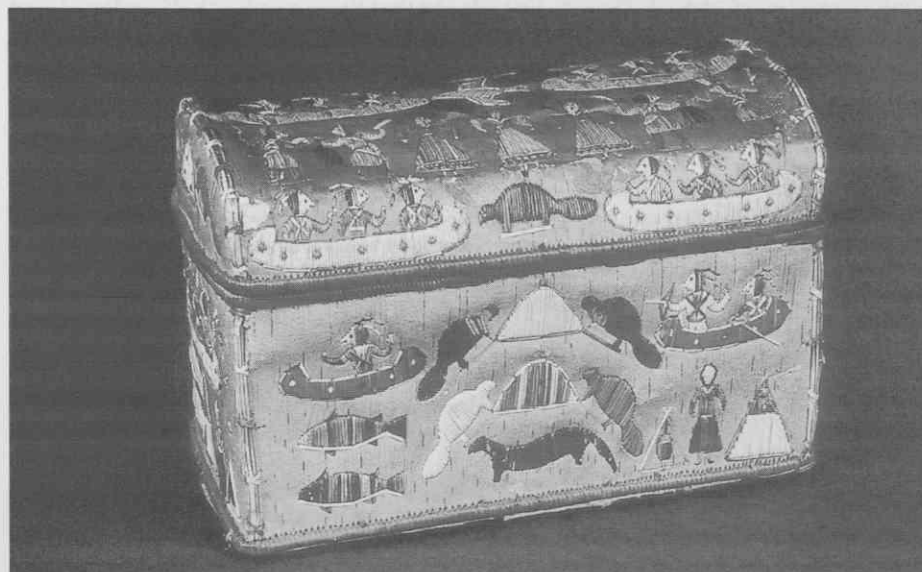


Figure 9: Lidded birchbark box, porcupine quill embroidery. Height 17 cm. Western Great Lakes, probably 1832–1834. Linden-Museum, Stuttgart, cat. no. 36054 (Maximilian Prince of Wied coll.) (photo U. Didoni). ♦ Slika 9: Škatla iz brezovega lubja s pokrovom, vezenje iz bodic ježevca. Višina 17 cm. Zahodno območje Velikih jezer, verjetno 1832–1834. Muzej Linden, Stuttgart, kat. št. 36054 (zbirka princa Maximiliana von Wied.) (foto U. Didoni).

only recently cataloged (E. 18155, 18156),⁵¹ can instantly be left out of consideration, because they combine quillwork with silk embroidery in a manner typical for Métis or northern Athapaskan work. They are unlikely to be, as Golob suggests, part of a donation by Franc Pirc. On the other hand, the accession records document only three pairs of Chippewa women's moccasins as received from Friderik Baraga,⁵² and (presumably one pair of) "sandals" (or moccasins) from Čebul.⁵³ Deschmann⁵⁴ repeats this information without further additions. The remaining specimens were thus probably received only after 1888, although they must have been collected at an earlier time.

One of the pairs donated by Baraga is described as "Indian bridal shoes of deerskin decorated with green silk ribbons and embroidered with dyed split bird quills."⁵⁵ Although the green silk has now almost completely disappeared and the quills are porcupine quills rather than bird quills, the description is clear enough to allow the identification of E. 2917⁵⁶ as the pair in question. The Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna has a very similar pair from the collection of Johann Georg Schwarz. The Schwarz material includes the former collection of Bishop Résé of Detroit, in whose diocese Baraga's missions were located.⁵⁷ Although the Schwarz moccasins are without documented provenance, the similarity with the Baraga pair suggests that it was also obtained by the Slovenian missionary, probably at La Pointe, and presented to his bishop.⁵⁸

Two other pairs (cat. nos. E. 2914, 2916)⁵⁹ have quillwork of superior quality, but lack the silk ribbon appliqué on cloth ankle flaps of the "bridal shoes"; one of the pairs is unfinished. There is little doubt that these are the "half-embroidered girl's shoes" and the "pair of ordinary woman's shoes" of the Baraga donation.⁶⁰ The strong Métis influence in the quillwork may suggest a possible origin in Fond du Lac, Minnesota. In his book, Baraga⁶¹ notes that moccasins were being

⁵¹ Golob 1997: 272–273, nos. 36–37.

⁵² *Illyrisches Blatt* 1837: 68. The Freyer list mentions only two pairs of moccasins. Since only part of the earlier Jerin list (upon which the published version is based) has been published, it is presently impossible to ascertain whether the third pair represents an addition or whether its omission from the Freyer list was a mistake.

⁵³ Golob 1997: 243.

⁵⁴ Deschmann 1888: 154–155.

⁵⁵ *Illyrisches Blatt* 1837: 68.

⁵⁶ Golob 1997: 271, no. 33.

⁵⁷ Feest and Kasprzycki 1993: 16–17.

⁵⁸ Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien (cat. no. 12022, Johann Georg Schwarz coll.; Feest 1968: 59–60, no. 74, fig. v/74, misattributed to the Miami).

⁵⁹ Golob 1997: 269–271, nos. 30, 32.

⁶⁰ Beltrami (1828, 2: pl. II, figs. 1, 3) illustrates two broadly similar pairs presumably collected in 1823 in Minnesota. One of them is identified as "Sioux," the other as a pair of (southwestern) Chippewa women's moccasins. Other comparable moccasins include: Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, NY (cat. no. 50.67.22ab, collected by N. S. Jarvis, 1833–1836, attributed to the Chippewa; Feder 1964: 49, 51, fig. 31); Museo Luigi Pigorini, Rome (cat. no. 3645, ex Museo Kircheriano coll., "Canada").

⁶¹ Baraga 1837: 58, 59, 61.

made by the women from skins tanned by themselves, and that the moccasins of the men were heavily decorated with beads and ribbons. Interestingly, all the moccasins in his collection are those of women, of which he also says that they are decorated with a multitude of beads and ribbons. Quillwork, which is represented by all three pairs, is not even mentioned in the text.

One simple and almost undecorated pair (E. 2615)⁶² has consistently and credibly been identified as the pair donated by Ivan Čebul.

This leaves for consideration one pair and two single moccasins without information on their provenance. All three of them are possibly Ottawa, although they may date from different periods and may have entered the museum at different times. E. 1030⁶³ does not even have an inventory number of the old National Museum, the present museum's precursor, and seems to date from the 1850s, when Father Mrak, another Slovenian missionary and Baraga's successor as Bishop of Marquette, was stationed at Arbre Croche. If the two single moccasins (E. 2918, 2919)⁶⁴ are indeed Ottawa and date from the 1830s, both may have been collected by Father Pirc. E. 2918 (Fig. 10) is a particularly interesting piece which combines stylized floral quillwork⁶⁵ with line appliqué beadwork over silk ribbon appliqué. The beadwork style, in which straight lines are outlined with zigzag lines, is highly suggestive of Ottawa work. A beaded pair now in the Detroit Institute of Arts (Fig. 11) nicely illustrates this technique.⁶⁶

303

Unfortunately, the three animal skin tobacco pouches from the Baraga collection (and one from the Čebul collection) have not survived,⁶⁷ but there is a fingerwoven yarn and glass bead pouch, described in the *Illyrisches Blatt* as a "tobacco pouch woven from red wool threads with rows of glass beads; an artistic product of the Otchipwe women" (cat. no. E. 2868; Fig. 12).⁶⁸ Fingerwoven yarn pouches with geometric designs in white glass beads dating from the late

⁶² Golob 1997: 270–271, no. 31.

⁶³ Golob 1997: 266–269, no. 29.

⁶⁴ Golob 1997: 271–272, no. 33–34.

⁶⁵ A pair of moccasins (now fitted with hard leather soles) in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, Cambridge, MA (cat. no. 27-15-10/98245; Isaac 1990: 32–33) has a similar plaited square quilled on the center of the vamps. It is said to have been collected by Capt. William Phelps among the Chippewa in 1841, although the museum thinks that the artifact is of Iroquoian/Huron style and should date to after 1865, because of the use of an aniline dye. I believe that this argument is as invalid (because what appears to be an aniline dye may actually be a natural dye) as Golob's suggestion (1997: 272) that the gilt thread outlining the quilled design indicates a production of the artifact after 1850.

⁶⁶ Detroit Institute of Arts (cat. no. 81.64ab; collected by Mary Shurtleff at Cross Village; Penney 1992: 96–97, no. 32). Although collected at an Ottawa village and done in an Ottawa style of beadwork, the pair has been called "Chippewa" by Penney and by earlier authorities (Hodge et al. 1973: 38–39, no. 143). The same style appears on a beaded beaver skin in the Pitzer collection (Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien, cat. no. 131734, collected in 1851–1853 among the Ottawa, probably at Cross Village; Feest 1968: 47, pl. 5; 1984: 40).

⁶⁷ For descriptions, see *Illyrisches Blatt* (1837: 68) and (Golob 1997: 243). The fact that none of them appears in Deschmann (1888) may indicate that they were no longer in the collection by 1888. The Čebul pouch was apparently lost by 1876 (Golob 1997: 244).

⁶⁸ *Illyrisches Blatt* 1837: 68; Golob 1997: 258, no. 16.

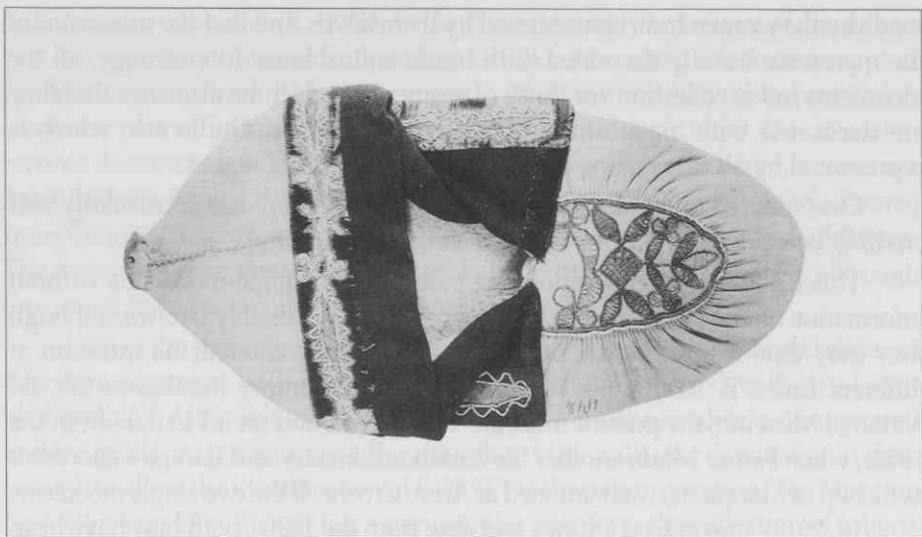


Figure 10: Moccasin, tanned buckskin, cloth, silk ribbon, porcupine quill, and glass bead appliqué. Length 26.5 cm. Ottawa, Michigan, ca. 1840. Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana, cat. no. E 2918 (attributed to Friderik Baraga coll., but more likely Franc Pirc coll.) (photo F. Golob). ♦ Slika 10: Mokasin, strojena jelenova koža, blago, svilen trak, vezenje z bodicami ježevca, aplikacije iz steklenih biserov. Dolžina 26.5 cm. Otavci, Michigan, ca. 1840. Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana, kat. št. E 2918 (pripisan zbirki Friderika Barage, vendar je bolj verjetno, da je iz zbirke Franca Pirca) (foto F. Golob).



Figure 11: Moccasins, tanned buckskin, cotton fabric, silk ribbon and glass bead appliqué. Length 28 cm. Ottawa, Cross Village, Michigan, ca. 1850. Detroit Institute of Arts, cat. no. 81.64a-b (Richard A. Pohrt coll., ex Mary B. Shurtleff coll.) (photo Founders Society Purchase). ♦ Slika 11: Mokasina, strojena jelenova koža, bombažna tkanina, svilen trak in aplikacije iz steklenih biserov. Dolžina 28 cm. Otavci, Cross Village, Michigan, ca. 1850. Detroiti Inštitut za umetnosti, kat. št. 81.64a-b (zbirka Richarda A. Pohrta, prej v zbirki Mary B. Shurtleffa) (foto Founders Society Purchase).



Figure 12: Shoulder bag, red and green wool yarn, white glass beads. Width 22 cm. Southwestern Chippewa, La Pointe, Wisconsin, collected in 1835–1836. Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana, cat. no. E 2868 (Friderik Baraga coll.) (photo F. Golob).♦
Slika 12: Naramna torbica, rdeča in zelena volnena preja; beli stekleni biseri. Širina 22 cm. Jugozahodni Očipveji, La Pointe, Wisconsin, zbrana 1835–1836. Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana, kat. št. E 2868 (zbirka Friderika Barage) (foto F. Golob).

eighteenth century are sometimes attributed to the Chippewa,⁶⁹ although none appears to be documented as such. The Baraga pouch, which technically and stylistically differs somewhat from these older examples may be the earliest such item to be definitely associated with the Chippewa. Its provenance from La Pointe is supported by the existence of a very similar pouch in the Indian Dormitory on Mackinaw Island, collected in La Pointe in 1854 (Fig. 13). Other comparable Chippewa pouches collected about twenty years later among the southwestern Chippewa of Minnesota⁷⁰ have more complex beadwork designs and woven beadwork straps. The strap of the Baraga pouch, by contrast, has a design reminiscent of patterns commonly found on early nineteenth-century Chippewa and Ottawa garters.⁷¹

The extent to which individual pieces in single collections may add to our understanding of stylistic distributions and relationships is also illustrated by the knife case from the Baraga collection (cat. no. 2879; Fig. 14). In European and

⁶⁹ E.g., Benndorf and Speyer 1968: 90–91, fig. 49.

⁷⁰ Sammlung des Instituts für Ethnologie, Universität Göttingen (cat. no. Am 3138; collected between 1855 and 1862 by Hermann Domeier among the Chippewa near Chengwatana, Minnesota; Feest and Kasprzycki 1998: fig. 87); Grand Rapids Public Museum, Grand Rapids, MI (cat. no. 37513; attributed to “Chippewa; c. 1860”; Olson et al. 1977: 70, #83); Science Museum of Minnesota, St. Paul, MN (cat. no. A79:4:73; Bishop H. B. Whipple collection, Chippewa; ca. 1860; Casagrande and Ringheim 1980: 77, #73); Chandler-Pohrt collection (“Chippewa, c. 1860”; Hodge et al. 1973: 55, no. 206).

⁷¹ E.g., Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien (cat. no. 131790, collected in 1851–1853 by Martin Pitzer among the Ottawa of Cross Village or Arbre Croche, MI; Feest 1968: 41, no. 11; 1984: 54); Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, MI (cat. no. 81.77a–b, collected among the Ottawa of Cross Village, MI; Penney 1992: 80–81, no. 14); Detroit Institute of Arts (cat. no. 81.294a–b, “Chippewa or Ottawa, 1820–1840; collected by Milford Chandler on Beaver Island, MI); Cranbrook Institute of Science, Bloomfield Hills, MI (cat. no. 4078, attributed to “Ojibwa, c. 1820” and collected by Milford Chandler on Walpole Island, ON; Olson et al. 1977: 60, no. 48). The same style is found on a pair of leggings attributed to the southeastern Chippewa and collected on Walpole Island, Ontario (Cranbrook Institute of Science, Bloomfield Hills, MI; cat. no. 4080; Penney 1992: 92–93, no. 27), but note that the Native population of Walpole Island is made up of Chippewas, Ottawas, and Potawatomis.



Figure 13: Shoulder bag, red and green wool yarn, white glass beads. Southwestern Chippewa, La Pointe, Wisconsin, collected in 1854. Indian Dormitory, Mackinaw Island (photo C. F. Feest). ♦ Slika 13: Naramna torbica, rdeča in zelena volnena preja; beli stekleni biseri. Jugozahodni Očipvejci, La Pointe, Wisconsin, zbrana 1854. Indian Dormitory, Mackinaw Island (foto C. F. Feest).



Figure 14: Knife case, tanned buckskin, porcupine quills. Length 21 cm. Southwestern Chippewa, collected in 1835–1836. Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana, cat. no. E 2879 (Friderik Baraga coll.) (photo F. Golob). ♦ Slika 14: Nožnica, strojena jelenova koža, bodice ježevca. Dolžina 21 cm. Jugozahodni Očipvejci, zbrana 1835–1836. Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana, kat. št. E 2879 (zbirka Friderika Barage) (foto F. Golob).

American collections, there are a few dozens of knife cases from the Great Lakes region of North America made of leather and ornamented with dyed porcupine quills. The use of knife cases in North America probably originated during the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century as a result of the adoption of European steel knives, which were much sharper than the older stone, bone, or reed knives and therefore could not simply be carried without a sheath protecting the wearer. Two types of knife cases can be distinguished according to the manner in which they were worn. One type was suspended around the neck, is symmetrical in shape, and may be recognized by the strings or straps by which it worn suspended in front of the breast. Belt-worn knife cases represent the other and probably later type; they are asymmetrical and show different means of attachment to the belt. If we had only written evidence to rely upon, we would hardly know that knife cases were used at all. The few descriptions that survive, barely describe the manner of wearing, but there are no indications of the many different shapes and decorative patterns which often are specific to certain regions or cultural groups.⁷²

Father Baraga's *Geschichte, Character, Sitten und Gebräuche der nord-amerikanischen Indier* is one of the few sources which actually notes that knife cases were worn attached to the belt,⁷³ and indeed the knife case in his own collection is also of this type. It is largely because only one published report of belt-worn knife cases (which, moreover, was unknown to Baraga) exists prior to

⁷² Cp. Feest in preparation.

⁷³ "They also have a large knife always suspended from their belt in a sheath" (Baraga 1837: 61).

1837,⁷⁴ that we can infer that his description was based on personal observation. It is because we know that the knife case in his collection is not an Ottawa type, that we can safely assign his observation to the Chippewa. The only Ottawa knife cases that we can document are neck-worn, although this does not preclude the possibility that they had started to use belt-worn knife cases by the 1830s.

In some respects, the knife case from the Baraga collection is unique. It has long, quill-wrapped fringes ending in loops hanging in three sections from the top, center, and lower end of its curved side and from the lower border of a small decorative panel of woven quillwork sewn to the upper end of the knife case.⁷⁵ The closest similarities are with four examples whose decorative panels are of appliqué (rather than woven) quillwork. Three of them appear to come from much further west,⁷⁶ have only two sections of long fringes at the top and bottom of the curved side, and two of them have further appliqué quillwork along the edge or in the lower portion of the sheath. The fourth knife case was collected in 1823 by Beltrami and is attributed by him to the "Sioux."⁷⁷ Unfortunately, some of Beltrami's attributions are patently wrong, and it seems unlikely that he obtained this knife case among the Dakota of Minnesota, but either on the Red River or among the southwestern Chippewa of Minnesota.

The eight-pointed star on the Baraga case appears in woven quillwork on other artifacts as well, such as, for example, a pouch from the Jarvis collection,⁷⁸ attributed at the Brooklyn Museum to the Red River (Métis), or on a cradleboard collected by Mrs. William Boutwell in the 1850s among the southwestern Chippewa.⁷⁹ It is, however, also a common motif in southwestern Chippewa woven beadwork. There are indeed two possibly pre-1850 knife cases of the same general type with the eight-pointed star in woven beadwork, both of which may also be of southwestern Chippewa origin (Fig. 15).⁸⁰

⁷⁴ Weld's account (1807: letter 35) is apparently based upon observations among the Iroquois. An earlier reference to neck-, belt-, and leg-worn knife cases (B. 1978: 181), not published until recently, refers to the Native peoples of French Canada in general.

⁷⁵ Golob 1997: 260–261, no. 19.

⁷⁶ Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, ON (cat. no. 960.115.8; Best and McClelland 1977: 10, 18, no. 7) is attributed to the Cree or Blackfoot; Folkens Museum-etnografiska, Stockholm, cat. no. 1854.2.14 (collected in 1842–1844 on the Upper Missouri by Armand Fouché d'Otrante). John Painter collection, attributed to "Eastern Plains, c. 1840" (Painter 1992: 35, 37, no. 17); this has the same quill appliqué pattern as the case in the Royal Ontario Museum.

The type is related to a symmetrical type with asymmetrical looped fringes and quill and/or bead appliqué; cp. Painter (1992: 35–37, no. 16) for references to seven examples; also Batkin (1995: 70–71) for an example with the quill-appliqué pattern of the Royal Ontario Museum and Painter cases noted above. These cases are generally attributed to the Cree or Métis.

⁷⁷ Beltrami collection, Filottrano (Laurencich-Minelli 1990: 246–247, figs. 11–12; cp. Beltrami 1828, 2: pl. II, fig. 5).

⁷⁸ Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, NY (cat. no. 50.67.16; Feder 1964: 49, no. 15); attribution on exhibition label, 1991.

⁷⁹ Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA (cat. no. E 25409, ex Andover Newton Theological School coll.; Monroe et al. 1996: 160, 174).

⁸⁰ Neville Public Museum, Green Bay, WI, (cat. no. 11,214, attributed to "Ojibwa, c. 1830"; Olson et al. 1977: 68, no. 75). National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen (cat. no. EHC 122; collected before 1850, probably in Wisconsin). Cp. also National Museum of Natural History, Washington, DC (cat. no. T 1085; "Chippewa, c. 1835"; Hodge et al. 1973: 91).

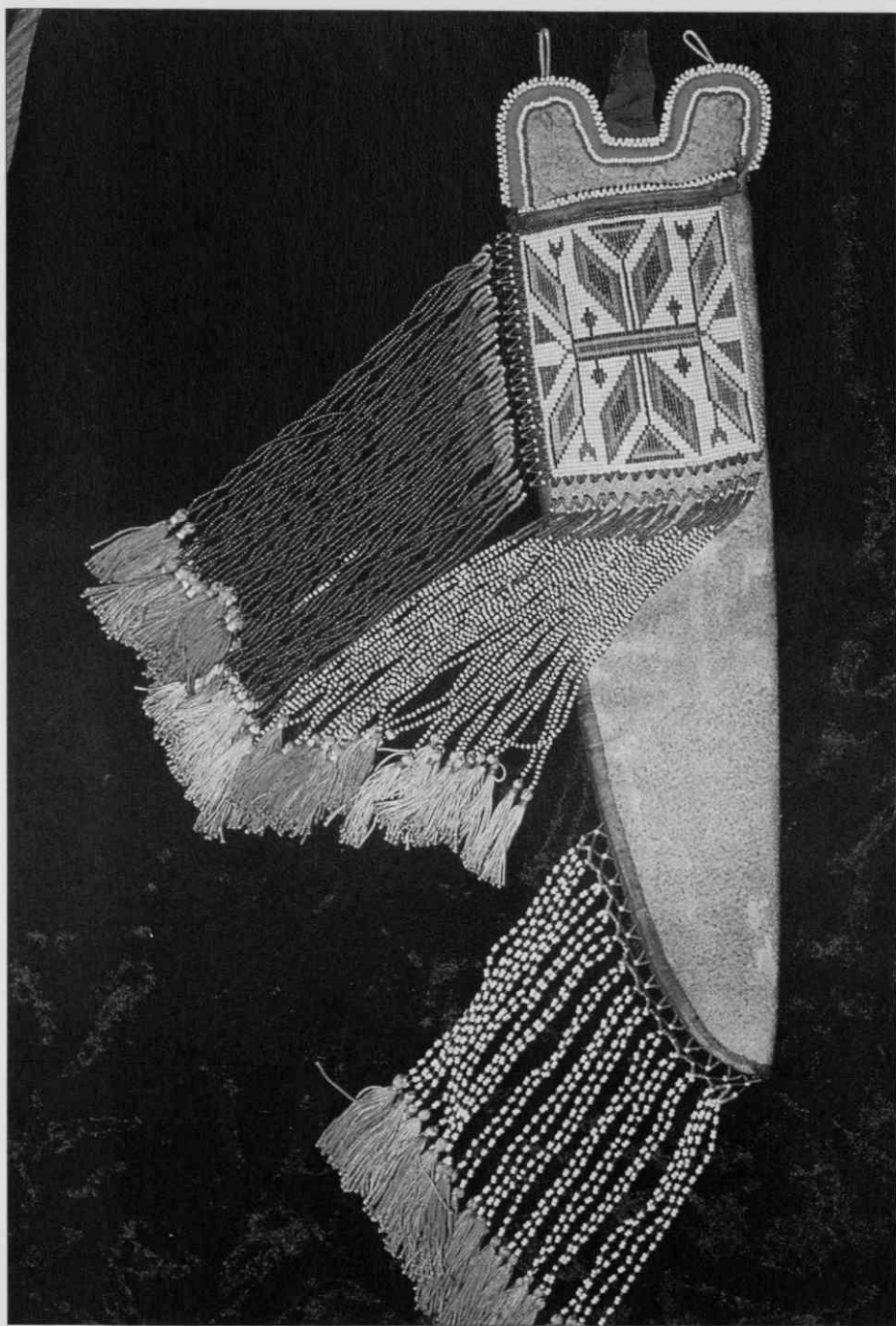


Figure 15: Knife case, tanned buckskin, glass beads. Length 32 cm. Southwestern Chippewa, collected before 1845. National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen, cat. no. E.H.c. 122 (photo C. F. Feest). ♦ Slika 15: Nožnica, strojena jelenova koža, stekleni biseri. Dolžina 32 cm. Jugozahodni Očipvejci, zbrana pred 1845. Narodni muzej Danske, Kopenhagen, kat. št. E.H.c. 122 (foto C. F. Feest).

In summary, it may be said that despite some minor problems with the attribution of some of the objects, the Friderik Baraga collection provides interesting evidence for styles of artifacts among the southwestern Chippewa of La Pointe and Fond du Lac in the early 1830s, although it may include a few objects Father Baraga had obtained elsewhere. Although it is only a small group of highly selected items, it is one of a modest number of collections with reasonably accurate documentation that date from the first half the nineteenth century. It is therefore of substantial help in dating and placing other artifacts from less well documented collections and in helping to piece together some of the puzzles offered by the historical ethnography of material culture of Native North America.

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ZBIRKA INDIJANSKIH PREDMETOV FRIDERIKA BARAGE: PRIMERJALNI IN KONTEKSTUALNI VIDIKI¹

Christian F. Feast

313

Predmeti, zbiranje in zgodovinska etnografija*

Pri študiju kultur so predmeti pomemben, vendar prepogosto zanemarjen vir informacij. Predmeti kot človekovi izdelki zrcalijo tehnično izročilo in funkcionalne (ter včasih čustvene) potrebe, ki so značilne za neko kulturo. Hkrati poročajo o raznovrstnosti izdelovalcev in o njihovi sposobnosti, da se prilagodijo družbeno sprejetim normam. Kot likovne oblike niso samo izraz kulturnega stila, ampak tudi možni znaki, ki jim lahko pripisujemo svojstvene kulturne vsebine. Ker so izdelani zato, da uporabnikom pomagajo pri interakciji z naravnim in socialnim okoljem, igrajo tako v primarnem gospodarskem kot v širšem socialnem smislu izredno pomembno vlogo pri proizvodnji, izmenjavi in porabi.

V zgodovini evropskega prodiranja v svetovne kulture in njihovega preoblikovanja v moderni dobi je bilo zbiranje predmetov kot prič kulturnih razlik tradicija, ki je cvetela pred vzponom etnografije in kulturne antropologije kot zahodnih znanstvenih strok, ki skušata razvrstiti in pojasniti kulturno raznolikost človeštva. Od 16. stoletja naprej so ekzotične predmete vključili v javne in zasebne zbirke umetnih in naravnih čudes iz vrste razlogov. Med temi razlogi je bila vrednost predmetov zaradi njihovega daljnega izvora, nenavadnost njihovih oblik in materiala in podoba, ki so jo posredovali o neki posplošeni kulturni drugačnosti. Nanje so gledali kot na trofeje v spomin osvojitvi daljnih dežel, kot na dokaze, da so tam koristna naravna bogastva ali kot na dokaze o spretnostih domorodcev in o njihovem možnem izkoriščanju. Poleg tega so služili

* Termin *zgodovinska etnografija* je prevod besedne zveze *historical ethnography*, ki jo je uporabil avtor sam v prispevku, poslanemu uredništvu Etnologa v angleškem jeziku. (Op.ur.)

¹ Prejšnjo verzijo tega članka sem predstavil na simpoziju "Slovenski misijonar Irenej Friderik Baraga (1797–1868) in njegov prispevek k etnologiji," Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana, 16.–20. junij 1997. Rad bi se zahvalil Ralfu Čepelaku, kustosu SEMa – Muzeja za neevropske kulture v Goričanah, ki mi je decembra 1992 dovolil, da sem preučil indijansko gradivo, ki ga tu obravnavam. Zahvaljujem se tudi drugim muzejem in njihovem osebju, ki mi je dalo na razpolago razno primerjalno gradivo o obravnavani temi. Posebna zahvala gre Sylvii S. Kasprzycki, s katero sva problematiko Baragove zbirke temeljito predelala, in profesorju Zmagu Smitku, ki mi je dal napotke za sekundarno literaturo o Baragi in kopije te literature.

kot dokaz, da je treba ta daljnja ljudstva spreobrniti h krščanstvu in z njimi deliti pridobitve zahodne civilizacije. Zbiralci so zelo pogosto zanemarjali posebno uporabo in pomen teh predmetov v njihovi izvirni kulturi, evropskim zbiralcem marsikdaj natančni izvor eksotičnih predmetov niti ni bil bistvenega pomena za oceno njihove vrednosti. S tem, ko si je evropska kultura zbiranja prisvajala te redkosti, so uporabe in vsebine, ki jim jih je dajala njihova izvorna kultura, zamenjali drugačni pomeni in uporabe, ki so se novim lastnikom zdeli bolj primerni.

314 V dobi razsvetljenstva se je etnografija oblikovala v skladu z vzorcem, ki so ga prvotno vzpostavili za naravoslovne vede in predmeti so postali del opisnega aparata, ki so ga uporabljali za opredeljevanje značilnosti določenih ljudstev ali "ras". Besedno in likovno gradivo evropskih opazovalcev je v najboljšem primeru dopolnjevalo zbiranje snovnih predmetov in nudilo kontekstualno informacijo, potrebno za razumevanje vloge predmetov v njihovi izvorni kulturi. Ob upoštevanju tega novega cilja so od poznega osemnajstega stoletja naprej ustanovili posebne etnografske zbirke, pogosto v okviru naravoslovnih muzejev. Eden izmed problemov teh zbirk pa je bilo pomanjkanje strokovnjakov - etnografov, ki bi bili sposobni povezovati predmete in dokumentarno gradivo v skladu z razsvetljensko teorijo etnografskega zbiranja. Namesto tega so se muzeji zadovoljevali s tem, da so eksotične predmete sprejemali od kogarkoli, ki je iz poklicnih ali zasebnih razlogov prišel v stik z oddaljenimi ljudstvi in ki je bil dovolj radoveden, da je zbiral primerke domačih izdelkov. Zbirke, ki so jih zbrali popotniki, trgovci, misijonarji ali vladni uslužbenci, so večinoma brez ključnih podatkov, ki bi omogočili interpretacijo predmetov v smislu njihove izvorne kulture. Tako se je način zbiranja le neznatno razlikoval od pristopa zbiralcev v predrazsvetljenski dobi. Take zbirke, ki so nastale na osnovi neznanstvenih interesov, so muzeji namreč še najprej sprejemali in hranili tudi po uveljavitvi znanstvene antropologije proti koncu devetnajstega stoletja.

Zaradi dejstva, da te zgodnje zbirke očitno ne ustrezajo pojasnjevalnim potrebam antropologije, se moramo soočiti z vprašanjem, ali je gradivo te vrste kakorkoli uporabno za etnografijo. Kot materialne priče so ti predmeti neposredni viri informacij o posamezni izvorni kulturi. Vendar zgolj kot fizični predmeti so samo izraz povsem fizičnih lastnosti, tj. oblike, barve, teže in tehnoloških sredstev, uporabljenih za njihovo izdelavo. Z analizo oblik in vzorcev obrabe in z analognim sklepanjem lahko pridemo do določenih sklepov o njihovi uporabi in funkciji. Zaradi odsotnosti neposredno (samostojno) posredovanega znanja o sistemu simbolov, ki je značilen za določeno kulturo, nam njihov prvotni pomen vendarle ostane neznan. Poleg tega velja upoštevati, da predmeti predstavljajo samo posamezne oblike kulturnega izražanja in da se brez dodatnih dokazov soočamo s hudimi problemi pri ocenjevanju, kako značilen je določen predmet za neko kulturo.

Kljub tem omejitvam nam vendar ostane vrsta dobrih razlogov za resno in kritično preučevanje predmetov, zbranih v nestrokovno oblikovanih zbirkah. Najprej je tu že samo dejstvo, da so kulturno pomembni podatki nekaterih vrst le redko dokumentirani v pisni ali likovni obliki (in do neke mere nikoli ne bodo), tako da bi zanemarjanje predmetov pomenilo tudi zanemarjanje določenih vidikov neke kulture. Poleg tega moramo na zgodovinsko zbrane predmete gledati kot na nenadomestljive dokumente zgodovinskih kultur (in posledično kot na pomembne dokaze pri raziskavah kulturnih sprememb). Od začetka antropologije, ko so na predmete (in na druge oblike kulture) "primitivnih" ljudstev gledali kot na okna, ki nam omogočajo pogled v prapreteklost, smo spoznali, da se kulture stalno spreminjajo, čeprav nekatere lastnosti lahko pomenijo elemente kontinuitete. Brez primernih zgodovinskih podatkov nazadnje ni zanesljive metode, s katero bi lahko napovedovali obsega kontinuitete ali smeri sprememb. Kulturne spremembe tudi pomenijo, da je interpretacija predmetov iz ene dobe v okviru etnografskih podatkov, vezanih na drug časovni horizont, dokaj vprašljiva. To velja posebno za območje severovzhodne Severne Amerike, kjer se je intenzivno zbiranje začelo dolgo pred prihodom prvih poklicnih etnografov. Posledica tega je, da predmeti, ki datirajo iz obdobja dolgo pred standardnimi etnografskimi poročili, pogosto nimajo posebnega pomena, če jih preučujemo v kontekstu poznejših obdobja. Leseni bojni kiji, ki jih je Friderik Baraga zbral med južnozahodnimi Očipvejci v zgodnjih tridesetih letih 19. stoletja,² so takrat imeli samo še obredno ali simbolično funkcijo in njihova funkcionalna uporaba kot orožje je skoraj povsem izginila. Etnografija Očipvejcev dvajsetega stoletja nam ne more povedati veliko v smislu vloge kijev pri vojskovanju. Celo kadar so tipski izdelki ali vzorci oblikovanja preživeli do današnjega dne, so se njihove funkcije in vsebine bodisi postopno spreminjale ali - zaradi procesa nadomeščanja - nenadoma spremenile.

Z drugimi besedami: predmeti so možni viri za zgodovinsko etnografijo nekega ljudstva, na katere je treba gledati v kontekstu zgodovinskih in etnografskih podatkov.

Za koristno uporabo v preteklosti zbranih predmetov v tu navedenem smislu in za njihovo interpretacijo v ustreznem referenčnem kulturnem okviru pa so vendar podatki o času in kraju izdelave nekega predmeta oziroma njegove uporabe nadvse pomembni. Na žalost pa ne razpolagamo vedno s temi podatki, bodisi zato, ker se zbiralci niso zavedali njihovega pomena ali zato, ker so se podatki izgubili v toku historiat predmetov od prvotnega zbiralca do prihoda v muzej.

Datiranje je pravzaprav manjši problem, ker je ponavadi znano, kdaj je

² To zelo razpršeno prvotno prebivalstvo poznamo danes pod različnimi imeni v različnih pravopisnih oblikah (glej Golob 1997: 215–216). V tem članku v skladu z normami, ki jih določa *Handbook of North American Indians* (Trigger 1978), uporabljam ime "Očipvejci" (za njihov jezik pa pojem "očipvejščina") (Op. prev.: v angleškem izvirniku *Chippewa* za ljudstvo, *Ojibwa* za jezik).

nekdo potoval (zlasti če je šlo za daljnje kraje), tudi če ne vemo, kje je dobil določen predmet. Datum pridobitve nekega predmeta v muzeju vedno pove vsaj datum *ante quem*, ki je včasih lahko zelo blizu dejanskemu datumu zbiranja. Koristne in zanesljive časovne kazalce, povezane s samim predmetom, nudi trgovsko (menjalno) blago, npr. svileni trakovi ali stekleni biseri določene vrste. Kljub temu pa je vendar, jasno, da je dokumentiran datum boljši kot datum, izračunan s sklepanjem, in da vsak zanesljiv datum prispeva k našemu znanju o časovni razširjenosti tipov predmetov in stilov, ki ga nato lahko uprorabljammo za datiranje nedokumentiranih predmetov.

316 Zanesljivo prostorsko lociranje zgodovinsko zbranih predmetov je znatno težji problem. Nekaj zgodnjih predmetov spremljajo podatki o izvoru, ki se omeji na "iz Severne Amerike", in tudi takrat, ko je vsaj to navedeno, se moramo spraševati, kaj ta zemljepisna opredelitev pravzaprav pomeni. Predmeti so bili pogosto pridobljeni ne pri izdelovalcih ali uporabnikih, ampak preko posrednikov ali trgovcev, ki morda niso imeli interesa, da bi povedali prave podatke, če so jih sploh imeli. Očitno se je tudi tržna vrednost nekega predmeta lahko povečala, če so predmet povezovali (pravilno ali ne) z imenom slovitega prešjnega imetnika ali z ljudstvom, ki ima v domišljiji možnih zbiralcev večjo veljavo. Zaradi tega so zbiralci predmete različnega izvora pogosto pripisali zgolj peščici bolj znanih ljudstev.

Še bolj običajna pa je bila praksa, da zgodovinsko zbranih predmetov sploh niso povezovali z nobenim kulturnim izvorom, ne s pravim in ne z napačnim. Podatki o pripisanem izvoru, ki jih najdemo v inventarnih knjigah in katalogih, so običajno delo kustosov, trgovcev in zasebnih zbiralcev in temeljijo na primerjavah z drugimi, podobnimi predmeti. Zanesljivost takih sekundarnih opredelitev je seveda močno okrnjena, če temeljijo na gradivu, ki nima lastnega dokumentiranega izvora.

Dokumentiranost etnografske zbirke Friderika Barage

Vse, kar smo zgoraj povedali, samo še poudarja, kako pomembne so maloštevilne relativno dobro dokumentirane zbirke in predmeti v njih. Mnogi etnografski tipski predmeti pa vendar nikoli niso bili ustrezno identificirani, opisani ali objavljeni. Zbirko gospoda Friderika Barage, zbrano v letih 1831-1836 med misionarskim delom pri Otavcih in zlasti pri južnozahodnih Očipvejcih, bi kljub skromnem obsegu lahko šteli med zbirke - mejnike. Preden se bomo s pomočjo nekaj izbranih primerov lotili ocene prispevka tega gradiva k zgodovinski etnografiji zahodnega območja Velikih jezer v Severni Ameriki, si moramo najprej ogledati dokumentacijo Baragove etnografske zbirke in njene probleme.

V preteklosti je Baragova zbirka (skupaj s predmeti, ki so jih zbrali drugi slovenski misijonarji na območju Velikih jezer v Severni Ameriki) pritegnila zanimanje skoraj izključno domačih strokovnjakov. Od petdesetih let naprej je

bila objavljena vrsta vse bolj temeljitih študij - Orel (1954), Štrukelj (1974, 1979) in Golob (1997) - ki so predstavile predmete in njihovo dokumentarno ozadje in ki so skušale predmete umeščati v širšo primerjalno perspektivo. Čeprav je bil domet teh primerjalnih razprav močno omejen zaradi pomanjkanja podatkov o primerljivih predmetih, so te objave ustvarile pomembno izhodišče za kritično vrednotenje zbirk slovenskih misijonarjev iz Severne Amerike.

Takoj na začetku naj pripomnimo, da Baraga tudi po normah svoje dobe ni bil etnograf. Čeprav sta njegova zbirka in knjiga nedvomno ustrezali radovednosti bralcev, Baragova ciljna publika vendarle niso bili znanstveni krogi, ampak njegovi rojaki v Sloveniji in zlasti pobožni darovalci njegovim misijonarskim prizadevanjem. Kot omenja Sylvia Kasprzycki (1998), je bil Baragov pristop k materialni kulturi odločilno pod vplivom njegovega misijonarskega nazora. V zbirki so ustrezno, celo dobro dokumentirani uporabni predmeti, zlasti gospodinjski pripomočki (posode iz brezovega lubja, lesene sklede in zajemalke, rogoznice), prevozna sredstva, loki in puščice. Precej slabše so dokumentirani oblačila in okraski (izjema so mokasini), obredni pripomočki (izjema so pipe, ki so jih Indijanci uporabljali tudi v neobredne namene) in pristočasne aktivnosti.³

Baragova knjiga o zgodovini, značaju, nraveh in šegah severnoameriških Indijancev (1837), objavljena v istem času, ko je v Ljubljani svojo zbirko izročil muzeju, ponazarja drug problem, ki prav tako vpliva na oceno predmetov. Baraga v knjigi prosto povezuje lastno opazovanje Otavcev in Očipvejcev z znanjem, ki ga je jemal iz objavljenih virov o drugih plemenih,⁴ v glavnem zaradi tega, ker je bil pojem "severnoameriški Indijanci" zanj (in za mnoge njegove sodobnike) smiselna kategorija kulturne razvrstitve.⁵

Za zbirko Friderika Barage bi lahko rekli, da je dobro dokumentirana. Iz njegovih del in korespondence zveemo za natančne lokacije njegovega misijonarskega dela med Otavci in Očipvejci v Michiganu, Wisconsinu in Minnesoti od 1831 do 1836. Poleg raztresenih omemb predmetov v njegovi Zgodovini in poleg tiskanega seznama predmetov, ki jih je podaril Kranjskemu deželnemu muzeju, objavljenega 1837 v Ilirskem listu, je Golob nedavno objavil dva nekoliko starejša rokopisna seznama, izmed katerih je Baraga enega popravil in opremil z opombami.⁶ Golob tudi povzame, kar je o zbirki znano, preden je

³ Baraga, 1837: 60.

⁴ Cf. Požar 1973.

⁵ Do neke mere velja to tudi za Goloba (1997), ki pogosto navaja primerjalno gradivo domorodnih ljudstev, ki nimajo nobene zveze z jugozahodnimi Očipvejci; njegova nekritična uporaba nezanesljivih virov pa nekoliko kvari sicer vredno in koristno knjigo.

⁶ Žal je Golob (1997: 220–221) pri objavi Freyerjevega seznama (Golob, slika 4) vključil označevanje s črkami, ki se pojavi samo na Jerinovem seznamu (Golob, slika 3). Poleg tega je vsaj v angleškem prevodu nemškega besedila več zavajajočih napak. Tako na primer v uvodnem odstavku (Freyerjevega seznama) ne piše: "Gospod Friderik Baraga, misijonar od visokospoštovanega gospoda škofa iz Detroita v Severni Ameriki, je prinesel od (Indijancev) rodu Otčipwe (pravilno Otchipwe) naslednje predmete" (Golob 1997: 220), ampak: "Gospod Friedrich Baraga, misijonar in vikar spoštovanega gospoda škofa Detroita v Severni Ameriki, je oddal naslednje predmete iz Očipwe." To kaže na to, da Freyer omenja "Očipwe" kot kraj(evno ime), ne kot ljudstvo. ▶

prišla v Ljubljano. Ko so Barago leta 1833 prvič prosili za zbiranje predmetov za novoustanovljeni Deželni muzej, se je Baraga opravičeval, da nima časa za povsem nemisijonarske dejavnosti. Do februarja 1836, ko se je odločil za vrnitev v Evropo zaradi zbiranja sredstev za misijone, pa se mu je verjetno posvetilo, da bi taka zbirka lahko dejansko povečala zanimanje doma za njegovo čezmorsko versko skupnost. Zbirka je morala biti pripravljena, preden je zapustil postajo La Pointe na južni obali Gornjega jezera, čeprav jo prvič omenja šele v pismu, napisanem v Londonu dne 3. decembra 1836. Vendar Golobovega sklepa, da so bili vsi predmeti (razen nekaj primerkov, na katerih so sledovi obrabe) zbrani in celo izdelani med 24. februarjem in 29. septembrom 1836 pri Očipvejcih iz La Pointa oz. Fond du Laca (Minnesota), ne moremo nekritično sprejeti.⁷

318

Čeprav je Baraga deloval kot misijonar med Očipvejci v La Pointu v Wisconsinu v času, ko je zbirko podaril (seznam predmetov, objavljen v Ilirskem listu iz 1837, ga navaja kot donatorja), več listin o pridobitvi samo nekaj predmetov izrecno pripisuje Očipvejcem: "Industrijski predmeti iz severnoameriškega brezovega lubja" so navedeni kot očipvejski (z Gornjega jezera) in tako mreža krpelj kot torba okrašena s steklenimi biseri sta opredeljena kot delo očipvejskih žensk. Vendar se je misijonar Baraga mudil precej dlje med Otavci v Michiganu, obiskal pa je tudi razne skupine Očipvejcev v tej državi. Ker ga je prva prošnja za sestavljanje zbirke za Deželni muzej dosegla, ko je bil še med Otavci, ne moremo izključiti možnosti, da so nekateri predmeti v Baragovi zbirki dejansko otavskega izvora.

Obstaja pa še bolj delikaten problem: Baraga je bil sicer prvi, vendar ne edini slovenski misijonar, ki je deloval med Otavci in Očipvejci in znano je, da je Deželni muzej v Ljubljani prejel predmete najmanj dveh drugih misijonarjev: za gospoda Franca Pirca vemo, da je 1836 podaril en (ali dva) prazgodovinska predmeta iz otavske vasi Arbre Croche, 1873 pa je gospod Ivan Čebul podaril majhno zbirko očipvejskih predmetov iz Wisconsin ali Minnesote. Pirčeva donacija je zlahka prepoznavna, glede Čebulovega gradiva pa je razpoložljiva

► V prevodu v Golobovi knjigi so prvi vpisi: "Izdelki, narejeni iz brezove skorje: okrogla posoda /MAKAK/, napolnjena z drevesnim sladkorjem; dve prazni okrogli posodici; okrogla posoda, napolnjena z divjim rižem /MANOMIN/, dve okrogli posodici /ONAGAN/." Pravilno bi bilo: "Industrijski predmeti iz brezovega lubja. Ena škatla iz breze /:Makak indijansko:/ z drevesnim sladkorjem iz Severne Amerike. Dve prazni brezovi škatli. Brezova škatla z divjim rižem /:Manomin:/ . Dve brezovi skledi /:Onagan:/." Žal Golob ne navaja dobesednega prepisa in prevoda Jerinovega seznama, na katerem ni samo Baragovih opomb, ampak je seznam z več vidikov bolj podroben in natančen. Odlomka, ki odgovorjata navedkoma iz Freyerjevega seznama, se v prevodu glasita: "Od očeta gospoda Friedricha Barage, misijonarja na Gornjem jezeru na severozahodnem območju Združenih držav Amerike, v detroitski škofiji, Michigan: 12 kosov industrijskih predmetov iz lubja severnoameriške breze, ki so jih vse izdelali pripadniki ameriškega plemena Očipwe na Gornjem jezeru, namreč en Makak (brezova škatla) polnjen z drevesnim sladkorjem, (Sinsibakwat), ki ga delajo iz soka severnoameriškega sladkornega drevesa; dve drugi prazni brezovi škatli različnih velikosti; - četrta podobna majhna škatla, polnjena z vrsto riža, ki raste divje na mokrih tleh in ki se v tamkajšnjem jeziku imenuje Manomin; - dve jušni ali pitni** skledi (Onagan)." Iz tega je tudi jasno, da seznam, objavljen v Ilirskem listu (1837), ne temelji na Freyerjevem, ampak na Jerinovem seznamu (Golob 1997: 222–224, zlasti opomba 72). V Golobu je prevod seznama podobno pomanjkljiv.

⁷ Golob 1997: 218–219, 233.

dokumentacija nekoliko dvoumna; izmed petih predmetov, navedenih v letu pridobitve, se samo trije ponovno pojavijo v Deschmannovem katalogu iz 1888, omenjeni pa so trije novi predmeti. Poleg tega je tu vrsta drugih predmetov iz istega širšega območja brez dokumentiranega historiatu zbirke; te predmete pa je lahko kot prvi zbral kdorkoli izmed treh misijonarjev ali izmed drugih slovenskih misijonarjev, ki so sledili Baragovim stopinjam⁸ in delovali med Otavci, Očipvejci in Menomini zahodnega območja Velikih jezer. Za Pirc vemo, da je poslal več škotel iz lubja, okrašenih z bodicami ježevca, ki so jih izdelale Otavke iz Arbre Croche in Lacroixa (Cross Village) (Ilirski list, 1842), vendar je mogoče, da so tudi drugi misijonarji v domovino pošiljali etnografsko gradivo. Čeprav za te predmete ni listin o pridobitvi in so torej nedokumentirani, so najverjetneje istega širšega izvora.

Ker so etnografske predmete v muzeju v Ljubljani večkrat preštevilčili, obstaja glede peščice med njimi vprašanje, ali je določenega zbral ta ali oni misijonar. Poleg tega vsaj dva predmeta gotovo nista z območja Velikih jezer, a so ju pozneje opredelili kot Baragova v zamenjavo za založena ali izgubljena predmeta, ki sta navedena na izvirnem seznamu. Ker manjka še nekaj drugih predmetov, za katere vemo, da jih je podaril Baraga, ne moremo izključiti možnosti, da je tudi v drugih primerih prišlo do podobnih zamenjav.

Predmeti v Baragovi zbirki

Glede na pomembnost Baragove zbirke bi bilo koristno, če bi vse predmete v njej v celoti obravnavali z dokumentarnega, tehničnega, kulturnega in primerjalnega vidika. Zaradi pomanjkanja prostora se moramo za zdaj omejiti na kratko in ilustrativno obravnavo nekaterih predmetov v ponazoritev problemov, ki smo jih zgoraj obravnavali na splošno.

Omenili smo že, da dva predmeta,⁹ pripisana Baragovi zbirki, nista z območja Velikih jezer in da je zelo malo verjetno, da ju je muzeju podaril misijonar Baraga. Eden je kij (kat. št. E. 2866) pravokotnega prereza z umetelno vrezanimi motivi, za katerega Golob¹⁰ pravilno ugotavlja, da je južnoamerškega ali brazilskega izvora. Dokaj veliko število primerkov tega splošnega tipa poznamo iz zbirk sedemnajstega in osemnajstega stoletja, večinoma brez primerne

⁸ Cf. Golob 1997: 237–239, 242–245.

⁹ Tretji predmet, ki je zmotno pripisan Baragi, je evropski lesen rog (kat. št. E. 2901; Golob 1997: 295–297, št. 56), ki ga je Štrukljeva (1974: 137) pomotoma imela za očipvejsko snubilno flavto. Golob (1997: 297) meni, da je bil rog morda izdelan za Čebula po kranskem vzorcu in da je z njim klical indijanske vernike k maši. Čebul pa je dejansko v ta namen uporabljal školjko vrste *Strombus* (in jo je 1873 podaril muzeju), instrument, ki ga Deschmann (1888) imenuje "šalmaj" in ga pripisuje Baragovi zbirki. Če je v zbirki kdaj bil kakšen očipvejski glasbeni instrument (dokumenti o pridobitvi iz 1873 ne omenjajo nobenega instrumenta), je gotovo bila flavta. Rog nikoli ni imel nobene zveze z Barago, s Čebulom ali z Očipvejci.

Isto verjetno velja za košaro (E. 2876; Golob 1997: 254–255, št. 11, pripisana Čebulovi zbirki). Ta ne izgleda kot indijanska košara, pletena iz viter; poleg tega gre pri opisu Štrukljeve za drugačno košaro (1974: 130), zato je povsem mogoče, da sta od takrat naprej dve košari v zbirki zamenjani.

¹⁰ Golob 1997: 286–288, št. 50.

dokumentacije; pripisujejo jim zelo različne izvore – z Antilskih otokov, Gvajane in severne Braziliije,¹¹ najbolj zanesljivi dokazi pa obstajajo za izvor iz plemena Wapishana in njihovih sosedov na zgornjem toku Rio Branco v Braziliji in v južni Gvajani.¹² Primerek iz Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja verjetno datira iz druge polovice osemnajstega stoletja in so ga pred letom 1888¹³ zamenjali s kijem z okroglo glavo iz Baragove zbirke (kat. št. E.2829; slika 1), ki so ga pomotoma dodali afriškemu fondu v muzeju.¹⁴ Golob pravilno sklepa, da južnoameriškega kija ni mogoče pripisati zbirki Friderika Barage.¹⁵ Kako je kij prišel v muzej, je za zdaj neznano.

320 Bojni kij z okroglo glavo iz Baragove zbirke je v Ilirskem listu opisan kot "bojni kij (*Pagamagan*) iz zelo trde drevesne korenine."¹⁶ Baraga v svoji knjigi omenja, da so "severnoameriški Indijanci" pred prihodom Evropejcev uporabljali "kratke bojne kije, s katerimi so ranjenim sovražnikom razbili lobanjo. Izmed vsega starega orožja so obdržali samo bojni kij in ga še vedno uporabljajo za iste namene kot njihovi predniki."¹⁷ Iz samega opisa, ki ne navaja snovi, iz katere je orožje izdelano, niti njegove oblike, je nemogoče z gotovostjo ugotoviti, kateri tip kija izmed dveh, ki so ju poznali Očipvejci, je imel v mislih misijonar Baraga. Medtem ko so ploski kij v glavnem uporabljali na zahodnem območju Velikih jezer in zahodno od njega, je bil bojni kij z okroglo glavo zelo razširjen med srednjo in severno obalo Atlantskega oceana in zahodom Velikih jezer.¹⁸ Čeprav obstaja vrsta različno oblikovanih in okrašenih kijev tega tipa, še nihče ni naredil ali skušal narediti uporabne tipologije, utemeljeno pripisovanje pa je pogosto zelo težavna naloga.

Izmed drugih dokumentiranih kijev jugozahodnih Očipvejcev je eden v zbirki, ki jo je 1823 med jugozahodnimi Očipvejci v Minnesoti zbral Giacomo Costantino Beltrami in ga sedaj hranijo v Bergamu.¹⁹ (slika 2) Kij je nekoliko krajši, vendar podobne oblike in je okrašen z vžganimi znaki in s kovinskimi vložki. Podobni vžgani okraski in piktografski vrezi so na drugem predmetu, ki ga je v 30-ih letih 18. stoletja zbral Nathan Sturges Jarvis v Fort Snellingu v Minnesoti.²⁰ V muzeju Peabody Essex,²¹ hranijo precej podoben očipvejski primerek, pridobljen leta 1825, ki ima v kroglo vsajeno kovinsko rezilo. Kovinska

11 Poleg dokazov, ki jih navaja Golob, glej Feest 1985: 241–242; Dietschy 1939: 166–173, pl. 4, slike 21a–e.

12 Pravilno je ta predmet opredelil avtor tega članka decembra 1992.

13 Deschmann 1888: 156, št. 40.

14 Pripis Sylvie S. Kasprzycki Afriški zbirki, decembra 1992.

15 Golob 1997: 286.

16 Ilirski list 1837: 68, št. 32.

17 Baraga 1837: 148.

18 Cf. Dietschy 1939: 122–134, pl. 2, sl. 12a–b, 13a–c.

19 Museo Civico E. Caffi, Bergamo (kat. št. 54; Vigorelli 1987: 67, 93, št. 54.; Feest in Kasprzycki 1998: slika 47).

20 Brooklinski muzej, Brooklyn (kat. št. 50.67.84; Feder 1964: 58, št. 49, slika 49).

21 Muzej Peabody Essex, Salem, Massachusetts (kat. št. E 6642, zbirka Georga Cutlerja).

rezila so lahko zamenjala starejše sulice iz rogovine ali kosti, kot jo lahko vidimo na primerku prirejskih Očipvejcev, zbranim pred 1825,²² ki ga Golob uporablja za primerjavo z Baragovim kijem; držaj primerka je drugačne oblike (je rahlo grebenast, ne pa raven, in ima odebelino na zgornjem delu držaja), vendar sta spodnji del in krivina prednjega dela dejansko podobna. Golobov drugi primerjalni primerek,²³ ki je ravno tako pripisan Očipvejcem, pa se znatno razlikuje od zgoraj omenjenih. Na drugi strani otavski kiji v zbirki, ki jo je v letih 1851–1853 v misijonskih naselbinah Arbre Croche in Lacroix zbral Martin Pitzer²⁴ (slika 3), ponazorujejo dejstvo, da so kulturne razlike med jugozahodnimi Očipvejci in njihovimi otavskimi sorodniki bile skoraj neznatne.

Drugi predmet, pripisan Baragovi zbirki, ki gotovo ne sodi vanjo, je ploska pletena torba (kat. št. E. 2865; slika 4), ki jo Golob opredeli z vpisom s seznama, objavljenega v Ilirskem listu: "Ena vreča /MACHKIMOD/, narejena v pomanjšanem merilu iz trave."²⁵ Čeprav se zdi opis na splošno primeren za ta predmet, gotovo ne gre za "*mashkimod*" (splošni očipvejski pojem za "torbo"). Jugozahodni Očipvejci (in Otavci) so poznali več vrst tipičnih torb iz vlaken, izdelanih z različnimi značilnimi tehnikami pletenja naravnih rastlinskih prej (trajnic, koprivnih vlaken, lubja ameriške lipe, cedrinega lubja itd.) oz. uvoženih volnenih prej, okrašene pa so bile s podobami mitoloških bitij ali z geometričnimi motivi.²⁶ Torbe teh vrst so bile splošno razširjene na zahodnem območju Velikih jezer, za sedaj pa je nemogoče opredeliti plemenske značilnosti.

Kljub temu je mogoče trditi, da torba E. 2865 ni izdelek z zahodnega območja Velikih jezer, ampak da je bila narejena v dolini spodnjega toka reke Columbie na jugu severozahodne obale Severne Amerike. Zelo podobna ji je za malenkost večja torba iz ločja, pletena z ovijanjem venerinih lascev in medvedje trave v Rotterdamu (slika 5)²⁷, ki jo pripisujejo Indijancem plemena Wasco (iz srednje Columbie), pridobljena pa je bila menda brez dokumentacije leta 1954. Ploske torbe Indijancev Wasco so zelo redke, tiste, ki jih poznamo, pa imajo ravne do prikonične (ne pa spodaj rahlo razširjene) stranice in stil okrasnih motivov je precej drugačen.²⁸ Tehnično in tudi stilsko podobne pa so na drugi strani torbe

²² Etnološki muzej, Dunaj (kat. št. 419, zbirka Josepha Klingerja; Feest 1968: 68, št. 101, pl. 9c; Feest in Kasprycki 1993: 76–77; Golob 1997: 170, 286, sl. 59). Za kij z okroglo glavo, s sulico in s podobno odebelino, ki ga je 1832–1836 zbral Nathan Sturges Jarvis in ga pripisal Menominom, glej Federja (1964: 37, 54, slika 19).

²³ Britanski muzej, London (kat. št. 1949 Am 22 146; King 1982: 83, 95; Golob 1997: sl. 58, podnapis je zamenjan s tistim za sl. 60). Za drugi tip očipvejskega kija z okroglo glavo glej Hodge et al. 1973: 103. Zdi se, da so s tem tipom tesneje povezani kiji brez dokumentirane provenience v Muzeju človeštva, London, brez kat. št. (King 1982: 85, slika 90c) in v Etnološkem muzeju, Berlin (kat. št. IV B 177, zbirka F. Köhlerja, zbrani pred 1845; Krickeberg 1954: pl. 39a).

²⁴ Etnološki muzej, Dunaj (kat. št. 131.731; Feest 1968: 38, slika 9c). Na tej sliki je drugi kij iz Pitzerjeve zbirke, ki ga je dunajski muzej odstopil oz. zamenjal z Arthurjem Speyerjem, Jr. Za drugi otavski kij z začetka 19. stol. glej Hodge et al. 1973: 104.

²⁵ Golob 1997: 256–257, št. 15; Ilirski list 1837: 68, št. 16.

²⁶ Cf. npr. Hodge et al. 1973: 84–88; Brasser 1976: 64; Feest 1984: 14–16, 29–31, 35–37; Phillips 1986.

²⁷ Etnološki muzej, Rotterdam (kat. št. 35.040).

²⁸ Schlick 1994: 68, 167.

Indijancev Clastop (Spodnji Chinook) blizu ustja reke Columbie in njihovih južnih sosedov Tillamook.²⁹ Motivi vključujejo nazobčane pasove in razne štirinožce, med drugim jelene in menda tudi pse. Živali na averzu predmeta E. 2865 so morda res psi (in ne "podvodni panterji", kot meni Golob). Če torbo primerjamo s primerki Clatsopovih košar, zbranih v 30-ih in 40-ih letih 19. stoletja, je bolj verjetno, da je bila torba E. 2865 izdelana v drugi polovici 19. stoletja.

Delno pomešanje Baragove in Čebulove zbirke je očitno tudi iz primera preveze za zibelko, okrašene s svilenimi aplikami (trakovi) (E. 2869), ki jo Golob pripisuje Čebulovi zbirki.³⁰ Za noben tak predmet ni znano, da bi pripadal etnografskemu gradivu, ki ga je muzeju podaril Čebul, poročilo o Baragovi zbirki v Ilirskem listu pa omenja "široko prevezo iz blaga, v katero je tamkajšnje dekle umetelno uvezla podobe", ki da sodi k zibelki.³¹ Deschmann jo omenja kot številko "22. Kos blaga, obšit s svilenimi trakovi raznih barv". Deschmann številke 17 do vključno 21 pripisuje Čebulovi zbirki, št. 23 Pircu in številke 24 do vključno 40 Baragi, številka 22 pa ni izrecno opredeljena, čeprav je navedena na koncu tistega dela seznama, v katerem so našete Čebulove donacije.³² Kljub temu ni nobene osnove za domnevo, da se je Baragova preveza izgubila in da se je od nekdaj pojavila sicer nedokumentirana Čebulova preveza samo zato, da bi pojasnili Deschmannovo pomoto. Podobno prevezo je Walter Wyman 1905 pridobil med jugozahodnimi Očipvejci v Green Bay Agency (Wisconsin) in jo hranijo v Berlinu (slika 6).³³ Ni zgodovinskih ne stilskih razlogov, zakaj ta primerek ne bi mogel datirati iz 30-ih let 19. stoletja, ker so se aplikacije iz trakov na tem območju uveljavile že na začetku 19. stoletja.³⁴

Nekoliko drugačen problem pomeni skupina posod iz brezovega lubja, okrašenih z bodicami, ki jih hranijo v Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju. Poročila o pridobitvah navajajo za Baragovo zbirko štiri take *makake* in eno za Čebulovo. Deschmann te podatke sicer povzame, ne da bi navedel števila *makakov* v Baragovi zbirki.³⁵ Danes pa imamo skupaj kar osem takih posod. Dve izmed njih (kat. št. E. 2886, 2890)³⁶ imata značilne z bodicami ovite robove, kot jih lahko vidimo

²⁹ Marr 1984: 49–51, slike. 11–17.

³⁰ Golob 1997: 294–295, št. 55.

³¹ Golob 1997: 243; *Ilirski list* 1837: 68.

³² Deschmann 1888: 155.

³³ Etnološki muzej, Berlin (kat.št. IV B 7611, zbirka Walterja Wymana. Očipve, Green Bay Agency, Wisconsin). Druge preveze za zibelke z aplikami iz svilenih trakov, ki izvirajo z zahodnega območja Velikih jezer, so v naslednjih muzejih: Denverski muzej umetnosti, Denver, Columbia (kat. št. 1939.9, prej v zbirki A. G. Heath, pripisana "Otavcem, Ontario, 1810"; Connecticut 1980: 13, 22, slika 15); State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin (kat. št. 1954.1621, zbirka Walterja Wymana. 1901, prej v Grignonovi zbirki, Menomini, Butte des Morts, verjetno pred 1850); Neville Public Museum, Green Bay, Wisconsin (Menominee).

³⁴ Cf. Conn 1980: 12–13.

³⁵ *Ilirski list* 1837: 67; Golob 1997: 200, 243; Deschmann 1888: 155, št. 33.

³⁶ Golob 1997: 249–251, št. 1–2.

tudi na dveh skledah iz brezovega lubja v Baragovi zbirki (kat. št. E. 2826, 2897)³⁷, in vse štiri naj bi torej bile istega izvora. E. 2894,³⁸ na kateri je rob obvit s trskami korenin (in ne z rjavimi bodicami, kot meni Golob), ima isti osnovni kroj in enako skrbno našite trske korenin kot oba *makaka*, ki smo ju zgoraj omenili, in jo torej lahko mirno pripisujemo Baragovi zbirki. Vsi ti predmeti so bili v raznih inventarnih knjigah muzeja dosledno opredeljeni kot Baragove donacije. Enake značilnosti pa ima tudi Čebulu pripisana škatla E. 2891³⁹, za katero je značilna uporaba niti tako za ravne stranske šive kot za pritrditev lesene ojačitve na robu. Izmed ostalih štirih posod iz brezovega lubja sta dve po velikosti in po obliki podobni kat. št. E. 2891. Prva izmed slednjih dveh, E. 2893⁴⁰, kaže iste tehnične značilnosti kot E. 2891 in ima nekatere podobne stilske lastnosti krašenja z bodicami. Druga, E. 2892⁴¹, se od E. 2891 jasno razlikuje po osnovnem kroju in po uporabi trsk korenin za šivanje in ovijanje. Čeprav Golob (na osnovi prejšnjega inventarnega seznama) Baragovi zbirki "pripisuje" samo E. 2892 in ne dvomi v to, da tudi E. 2893 sodi vanjo, se zdi vsaj zelo verjetno, da sta E. 2893 in E. 2891 istega izvora.

Predmet E. 2892 se po vsej verjetnosti lahko pripisuje Baragovi zbirki; poleg razlik v primerjavi z dvema drugima škatlama, je predmet izrazito podoben škatli, ki je bila leta 1830 pridobljena pri jugozahodnih Očipvejcih in jo zdaj hrani Muzej Peabody Essex.⁴² Ta podobnost pa govori v prid naši rešitvi problema.

Zbirka dunajskega Enološkega muzeja ima večje število podobnih majhnih *makakov*, ki izvirajo iz misijonov, v katerih so delovali slovenski misijonarji. Čeprav je večina škatel iz zbirke Johanna Georga Schwarza⁴³, ki so podobne E. 2891 in E. 2893, neznane provenience, je bil podoben komplet škatel v zbirki Martina Pitzerja pridobljen v letih 1851–1853 v otavskih vaseh Arbres Croche in Cross Village (Lacroix).⁴⁴ Ali sta obe škatli v Ljubljani v resnici donaciji Ivana Čebula muzeju, je vendar še dvomljivo. Čeprav za Čebula vemo, da ni deloval v otavskih misijonih (pravijo, da je večino časa pred letom 1873 preživel v Wisconsinu), ni povsem izključeno, da je ta dva predmeta prinesel v Evropo. Na drugi strani pa se zdi, da je stil izdelave teh škatel prezgoden za zbirko, ki naj bi bila zbrana na začetku 70-ih let devetnajstega stoletja.

Izmed ostalih dveh posod iz brezovega lubja je E. 2945 osmerokotna z

³⁷ Golob 1997: 253–254, nos. 7–8. Za te posode glej bolj surovo izdelane skledje iz brezovega lubja jugozahodnih Očipvejcev, ki jih je 1823 zbral Beltrami (Vigorelli 1987: 55–56, 84–86). Celo bolj podobni, vključno z robovi, ovitimi z bodicami, sta dve skledi nedokumentirane izvora, zbrani pred 1835, ki sta v Etnološkem muzeju v Berlinu (kat. št. IV B 29, IV B 79, Naglerjeva zbirka).

³⁸ Golob 1997: 252–253, št. 6.

³⁹ Golob 1997: 251, št. 3.

⁴⁰ Golob 1997: 252, št. 5.

⁴¹ Golob 1997: 251–252, št. 4.

⁴² Muzej Peabody Essex, Salem, Massachusetts (kat. št. 53456, prej v zbirki Andover Newton Theological School, Boutwellova zbirka).

⁴³ Etnološki muzej, Dunaj (kat. št. 12038–12041, zbirka Johanna Georga Schwarza).

⁴⁴ Etnološki muzej, Dunaj (kat. št. 31742–131746, zbirka Martina Pitzerja).

okroglim pokrovom,⁴⁵ z robovi, ki so okrašeni s svilenimi in bombažnimi trakovi in stilu, ki je dobro dokumentiran (in celo značilen) za Otavce na območju Arbre Croche. Skorej enak primerek najdemo v Pitzerjevi zbirki iz 1851–1853 na Dunaju.⁴⁶ E. 2895 je pravokotna škatla s pokrovom na nizkem podstavku, s kratkim nosilnim trakom iz pletenih bodic ježevca (slika 7).⁴⁷ Golob jo primerja z menominsko škatlo iz zbirke Johanna Georga Schwarza na Dunaju, vendar so podobni primerki dokumentirani tudi za Otavce in Očipvejce v obdobju okrog 1830 (slika 8). Dokaj nenavadna značilnost izdelkov te vrste so dodane podobe štirih žensk na ožjih stranicah E. 2895, ki odstopajo od prevladujočih cvetličnih motivov. Povsem identične ženske podobe so na eni strani nedokumentiranega makaka, ki se (brez vidnega razloga) pripisuje Menominom iz Wisconsina in ki ga hrani Kanadski muzej civilizacije v Hullu.⁴⁹ Druga škatla iz brezovega lubja neznane provenience je v muzeju Linden v Stuttgartu (slika 9) in kaže (na nekoliko dugačen način sicer) podobe žensk poleg podob moških v kanujih, koničastih šotorov in raznih živali; škatla je iz zbirke princa Maximiliana von Wied, ki je po Združenih državah potoval v letih 1832–1834.⁵⁰ Medtem ko časovna opredelitev ustreza našim predstavam o kronologiji stilov krašenja z bodicami ježevca na brezovem lubju na zahodnom območju Velikih jezer, pa Maximilian vendar nikoli ni bil blizu območju, kjer so take škatle izdelovali. Zato lahko domnevamo, da jo je prejel kot darilo bodisi med potovanjem po ZDA ali po vrnitvi v Evropo. Možnost, da jo je dobil pri obisku Niagarskih slapov, je manj verjetna, ker je tamkajšnji trg bil v rokah lokalnih plemen.

Ker so škatle okrašene z drugimi motivi kot s cvetličnimi ali z geometričnimi, so bile očitno namenjene prodaji belcem in je torej najbolj verjetno, da so jih izdelale tiste skupine Indijancev, ki so imele lahek dostop do ustreznih trgov: to so Otavci z območja Arbre Croche (njihova glavna trga sta bila Mackinac in Detroit), Menomini (trg: Green Bay) ali Očipvejci, ki so živeli okrog Mackinaca in Saulta Ste. Marie. Po drugi strani Očipvejce iz La Pointa ali Fond du Laca takorekoč lahko izključimo kot izdelovalce škatel, ki so nastale v 30-ih letih 19. stoletja.

Omenili smo že, da je gospod Franc Pirc leta 1841 svojim zvestim podpornikom v Sloveniji poslal škatle iz brezovega lubja, okrašene z bodicami,

⁴⁵ Golob 1997: 262–263, št. 21.

⁴⁶ Etnološki muzej, Dunaj (kat. št. 131765, zbirka M. Pitzerja.; Graham 1983: 35).

⁴⁷ Golob 1997: 261–262, št. 20.

⁴⁸ Etnološki muzej, Dunaj (kat. št. 11992, 11993, Otavci, ca. 1830, zbirka Johanna Georga Schwarza; Graham 1983: 29, 34); Muzej Peabody Essex, Salem, Massachusetts (kat. št. 53440, Očipvejci, 1831 zbral Miles Boutwell, prej v zbirki Andover Newton Theological School; Monroe et al. 1996: 22, 33, slika 13). Druge podobne škatle najdemo v Milwaukee Public Museum (kat. št. 352, prej v zbirki Wisconsin Natural History Society, "Očipvejci") in v Bernisches Historisches Museum (kat. št. Ca 22, pred letom 1845 zbral H. Morlot, "Kanada").

⁴⁹ Kanadski muzej civilizacije, Hull, PQ (kat. št. III-N-37ab, prej v zbirki Arthurja Speyerja). Na drugi strani je podoba pipinega (kalumetovega) plesa.

⁵⁰ Muzej Linden, Stuttgart (kat. št. 36054, zbirka princa Maximiliana von Wied; Kussmaul 1982, 1: 244). V Maximilianovi zbirki so vsaj trije drugi predmeti iz brezovega lubja, okrašeni z bodicami podobnega stila.

izdelke Otavk iz Arbre Croche in Cross Village. Teoretično bi lahko bila vsaka izmed štirih spornih škatek, ki smo jih zgoraj opisali, del te pošiljke iz 1841, čeprav je škatla E. 2895 lahko starejšega izvora in čeprav je bila škatla E. 2945 verjetno izdelana nekoliko pozneje. Barage pa ne moremo izključiti kot vira za E. 2895 in (manj verjetno) za E. 2891 ter 2893. Najmanj verjetni zbiralec katerekoli izmed škatek iz brezovega lubja, ki jih sedaj hrani Slovenski etnografski muzej, pa je Čebul.

S podobnim problemom se srečujemo v zvezi s sedmimi pari in z dvema posameznima mokasinoma, ki ji hrani Slovenski etnografski muzej. Dva para, ki so ju šele nedavno vpisali v katalog (E. 18155, 18156),⁵¹ lahko takoj izločimo, ker gre pri njiju za kombinacijo krašenja z bodicami in vezenja s svilo na način, ki je značilen za Métise ali za delo severnih Athapaskanov. Malo verjetno je, da so, kot meni Golob, del donacije Franca Pirca. Na drugi strani listine o pridobitvi dokumentirajo samo tri pare ženskih očipvejskih mokasinov kot donacijo Friderika Barage⁵² in (domnevno: par) "sandalov" (ali mokasinov) kot Čebulovo donacijo.⁵³ Deschmann⁵⁴ te podatke povzame brez dodatnih informacij. Ostali primerki so bili torej verjetno pridobljeni šele po letu 1888, čeprav so jih morali zbrati pred tem časom.

Eden izmed parov, ki jih je podaril Baraga, je opisan kot "en par indijanskih nevestinih čevljev iz srnje kože z zelenimi svilenimi trakovi, vezeni s pobarvanimi razcepljenimi (*ptičjimi?*) bodicami ježevca."⁵⁵ Čeprav je zelena svila že skoraj popolnoma izginila in čeprav gre za bodice ježevca ne pa za ptičje, je opis dovolj jasen, da nam omogoča identificirati predmet E. 2917⁵⁶ kot zadevni par. Etnološki muzej na Dunaju hrani zelo podoben par iz zbirke Johanna Georga Schwarzarja. Schwarzarjev fond vključuje gradivo iz prejšnje zbirke detroitskega škofa Réséja, poglavarja škofije, v kateri so bili Baragovi misijoni.⁵⁷ Čeprav so Schwarzarovi mokasini brez dokumentirane provenience, njihova podobnost z Baragovim parom nakazuje, da je ta par prav tako pridobil slovenski misijonar v La Pointu in ga podaril škofu.⁵⁸

Dva druga para (kat. št. E. 2914 in E. 2916)⁵⁹ imata bolj kakovostno izdelane okraske iz bodic, vendar so brez svilene aplikacije na blagu manšet "nevestinih

⁵¹ Golob 1997: 272–273, št. 36–37.

⁵² Ilirski list 1837: 68. Freyerjev seznam navaja samo dva para mokasinov. Ker je objavljen samo del prejšnjega Jerinovega seznama (na katerem temelji sedaj objavljeni seznam), je za sedaj nemogoče ugotoviti, ali gre pri tretjem paru za dodatek, oziroma ali je bila izpustitev s Freyerjevega seznama pomota.

⁵³ Golob 1997: 243.

⁵⁴ Deschmann 1888: 154–155.

⁵⁵ Ilirski list 1837: 68.

⁵⁶ Golob 1997: 271, št. 33.

⁵⁷ Feest in Kasprycki 1993: 16–17.

⁵⁸ Etnološki muzej, Dunaj (kat. št. 12022, zbirka Johanna Georga Schwarzarja; Feest 1968: 59–60, št. 74, slika v /74, pomotoma pripisan Miamom).

⁵⁹ Golob 1997: 269–271, št. 30, 32.

čevljev"; en par pa je nedokončan. Skoraj ni dvoma, da so ti "polvezeni dekliški čevlji" in "par navadnih ženskih čevljev" del Baragove donacije.⁶⁰ Močan vpliv Métisov na okraske iz bodic kaže na možen izvor iz Fond du Laca v Minnesoti. Baraga v svoji knjigi⁶¹ omenja, da so ženske te mokasine izdelale iz kož, ki so jih same strojile in da so mokasini moških bili izdatno okrašeni s steklenimi biseri in s trakovi. Zanimivo je, da so vsi mokasini v njegovi zbirki ženski, za katere tudi piše, da so okrašeni s številnimi steklenimi biseri in s trakovi. Vezenje z bodicami, ki ga kažejo vsi trije pari, pa niti ni omenjeno v knjigi.

En par preprostih in skoraj povsem neokrašenih mokasinov (E. 2615)⁶² je bil dosledno in verodostojno identificiran kot par, ki ga je podaril Ivan Čebul.

326

Tako nam za obravnavo ostane en par in dva posamezna mokasina, za katere ni podatkov o njihovem izvoru. Vsi so verjetno delo Otavcev, čeprav lahko izvirajo iz različnih obdobj in so lahko prišli v muzej ob različnih časih. E. 1030⁶³ niti nima inventarne številke prejšnjega Narodnega muzeja, predhodnika sedanjega muzeja, in zdi se, da izvira iz časa okrog 1850, ko je duhovnik Mrak, slovenski misijonar in Baragov naslednik kot škof v Marquettu, deloval v Arbre Croche. Če sta oba posamezna mokasina (E. 2918, 2919)⁶⁴ zares otavskega izvora in če datirata izpred leta 1830, potem ju je lahko zbral duhovnik Pirc. E. 2918 (slika 10) je posebno zanimiv primer, ker združuje stiliziran cvetlični motiv bodic⁶⁵ s črtasto aplikacijo iz steklenih biserov čez aplikacijo iz svilenih trakov. Pri okrasnem vezanju iz bodic so ravne črte uokvirjene s cikcakastimi črtami, kar močno podpira sklep, da gre za delo Otavcev. Par mokasinov s steklenimi biseri, ki ga hrani Detroitški Zavod za umetnost (slika 11), lepo ponazarja to tehniko.⁶⁶

Treh mošenj za tobak iz živalske kože v Baragovi zbirki (in ene v Čebulovi

⁶⁰ Beltramijeva (1828, 2: pl. II, sliki 1,3) zbirka ima dva v grobem podobna para, domnevno zbrana 1823 v Minnesoti. En par je opredeljen kot "Sioux," drugi kot par (jugozahodnih) očipvejskih ženskih mokasinov. Druge podobne mokasine hranijo Brooklinski muzej, Brooklyn, (kat.št. 50.67.22ab, zbral N. S. Jarvis, 1833–1836, pripisan Očipvejcem; Feder 1964: 49, 51, slika 31, Muzej Luigija Pigorinija, Rim (kat. št. 3645, prej v zbirki Museo Kircheriano, "Kanada").

⁶¹ Baraga 1837: 58, 59, 61.

⁶² Golob 1997: 270–271, št.31.

⁶³ Golob 1997: 266–269, št.29.

⁶⁴ Golob 1997: 271–272, št.33–34.

⁶⁵ Par mokasinov (sedaj s podplati iz trdega usnja) v muzeju Peabody harvardske univerze, Cambridge, Massachusetts (kat. št. 27-15-10/98245; Isaac 1990: 32–33) ima podobno pleteno polje bodic v sredini oglava. Za ta par pravijo, da ga je 1841 pri Očipvejcih zbral kapetan William Phelps, vendar v muzeju menijo, da je irokeškega/huronskega stila in da zaradi uporabe anilinske barve najbrž datira iz časa po letu 1865. Menim, da ta argument ne drži (kar izgleda kot anilinska barva, je lahko dejansko naravno barvilo), tako kot ne drži Golobova navedba (1997: 272), da zlata obroba motiva iz bodic govori v prid nastanku po letu 1850.

⁶⁶ Detroitški Zavod za umetnost (kat. št. 81.64ab; zbrala Mary Shurtleff v Cross Village; Penney 1992: 96–97, št. 32). Čeprav je bil par zbran v otavski vasi in je izdelan v otavskem stilu vezanja s steklenimi biseri, so ga tako Penney kot strokovnjaki pred njim imeli za "očipvejskega" (Hodge et al. 1973: 38–39, št. 143). Isti stil vidimo na bobrovi koži, okrašeni s steklenimi biseri v Pitzerjevi zbirki (Etnološki muzej, Dunaj, kat. št. 131734, zbrana 1851–1853 pri Otavcih, verjetno v Cross Village; Feest 1968: 47, pl. 5; 1984: 40).

zbirki) žal ni več⁶⁷, vendar je ohranjena mošnja, s prsti stkana iz preje in z vpletenimi steklenimi biseri, opisana v Ilirskem listu kot "mošnja za tobak, tkana iz rdečih volnenih niti z vrstami steklenih biserov; umetniški izdelek očipvejskih žensk" (kat. no. E. 2868; slika 12).⁶⁸ Mošnje iz preje, tkane s prsti, z geometričnimi motivi in z belimi steklenimi biseri iz poznega devetnajstega stoletja včasih pripisujejo Očipvejem⁶⁹, čeprav menda še nobena ni bila dokumentirana kot taka. Baragova mošnja, ki se tehnično in stilsko nekoliko razlikuje od starejših primerkov, je morda najstarejši tak primerek, ki ga lahko nesporno povezujemo z Očipveji. Za to, da izvira iz La Pointa, govori obstoj zelo podobne mošnje v Indian Dormitory na otoku Mackinaw, zbrane v La Pointu leta 1854 (slika 13). Druge primerljive očipvejske mošnje, zbrane približno dvajset let kasneje med jugozahodnimi Očipveji iz Minnesote⁷⁰, imajo bolj zapletene vzorce iz steklenih biserov in tkane obramnice, izvezene s steklenimi biseri. Obravnica Baragove mošnje za razliko od njih kaže vzorce, ki spominjajo na tiste, ki so običajni za očipvejske in otavske podveze iz zgodnjega devetnajstega stoletja.⁷¹

Koliko posamezni predmeti iz posameznih zbirk lahko prispevajo k našemu razumevanju razširjenosti in povezav med raznimi stili, ponazarja tudi nožnica iz Baragove zbirke (kat. št. 2879; slika 14). V evropskih in ameriških zbirkah je ohranjenih nekaj ducatov nožnic z območja Velikih jezer v Severni Ameriki, ki so izdelane iz usnja in okrašene z barvanimi bodicami ježevca. Uporaba nožnic v Severni Ameriki verjetno datira iz poznega sedemnajstega ali zgodnjega osemnajstega stoletja in je sledila prevzemanju evropskih jeklenih nožev, ki so bili mnogo ostrejši kot starejši kamniti, koščeni ali trsni noži in jih že zaradi tega preprosto ni bilo mogoče nositi brez nožnice, ki je ščitila nosilca. Ločujemo lahko dva tipa nožnic glede na način, na katerega so jih nosili. V prvega sodijo nožnice, ki so jih nosili obešene okoli vratu; zanj je značilna simetrična oblika in ga lahko

⁶⁷ Za opise glej Ilirski list (1837: 68) in Goloba (1997: 243). Dejstvo, da Deschmann (1888) ne navaja nobene izmed njih, lahko pomeni, da jih že takrat ni bilo več v zbirki. Čebulova mošnja se je baje izgubila 1876 (Golob 1997: 244).

⁶⁸ Ilirski list 1837: 68; Golob 1997: 258, št.16.

⁶⁹ E.g., Benndorf in Speyer 1968: 90–91, slika 49.

⁷⁰ Zbirka Inštituta za etnologijo, Univerza v Göttingenu (kat. št. Am 3138; zbral Hermann Domeier med letoma 1855 in 1862 pri Očipvejih blizu Chengwatane, Minnesota; Feest in Kasprycki 1998: slika 87); Grand Rapids Public Museum, Grand Rapids, Minnesota (kat. št. 37513; pripisana Očipvejem; okrog 1860"; Olson et al. 1977: 70, št. 83); Minnesotski muzej znanosti, St. Paul, (kat. št. A79:4:73; zbirka škofa H. B. Whipple, Očipveji; ca. 1860; Casagrande in Ringheim 1980: 77, št. 73); zbirka Chandler-Pohrta (Očipveji, ca. 1860; Hodge et al. 1973: 55, št. 206).

⁷¹ Npr. v Etnološkem muzeju na Dunaju (kat. št.131790, zbral 1851–1853 Martin Pitzer pri Otavcih v Cross Village ali Arbre Croche, Minnesota ; Feest 1968: 41, št.11; 1984: 54); Detroiti inštitut za umetnost, Detroit, Minnesota (kat. št. 81.77a–b, zbran pri Otavcih v vasi Cross Village, MI; Penney 1992: 80–81, št. 14); Detroiti inštitut za umetnost (kat. št. 81.294a–b, Očipveji ali Otavci, 1820–1840; zbral Milford Chandler na Beaver Islandu, Minnesota I); Cranbrook Institute of Science, Bloomfield Hills, Minnesota (kat. št. 4078, pripisan "Očipvejem ca. 1820" zbral Milford Chandler na Walpole Islandu; Olson et al. 1977: 60, št. 48). Isti stil najdemo na paru gamaš, ki ga pripisujejo jugovzhodnim Očipvejem, zbran pa naj bi bil na Walpole Islandu, Ontario (Cranbrook Institute of Science, Bloomfield Hills, MI; kat. št. 4080; Penney 1992: 92–93, št. 27), vendar velja pri tem upoštevati, da na Walpole Islandu živijo tako Očipveji in Otavci kot Potawatomi.

prepoznamo po vrvi ali jermenu, ki je segal na prsi. Nožnice, obešene za pasom, predstavljajo drugi in verjetno poznejši tip; so asimetrične oblike in poznamo več načinov pritrditve na pas. Če bi se zanašali zgolj na pisne dokaze, morda niti ne bi vedeli, da so Indijanci uporabljali nožnice. Peščica opisov, ki se je ohranila, kvečjemu opisuje način nošenja, ni pa podatkov o številnih različnih oblikah in okrasnih motivih, ki so pogosto značilni za določeno območje ali kulturno skupino.⁷²

Knjiga škofa Barage *Geschichte, Character, Sitten und Gebräuche der nord-amerikanischen Indier* je eden izmed redkih virov, ki dejansko omenjajo, da so bile nožnice pritrjene na pas⁷³; nožnica v Baragovi zbirka pa je prav te vrste. Predvsem zaradi dejstva, da je bilo o nožnicah, nošenih za pasom, objavljeno samo eno poročilo pred 1837,⁷⁴ (Baraga pa tega poročila ni poznal), lahko sklepamo, da njegov opis temelji na lastnem opazovanju. Ker vemo, da nožnica v Baragovi zbirki ne sodi v otavski tip, njegovo opazovanje lahko mirno pripisujemo Očipvejcem. Edine otavske nožnice, ki jih lahko dokumentiramo, sodijo v tip nožnic, ki so jih nosili okrog vratu, čeprav to samo po sebi ne izključuje možnosti, da so nožnice za pasom začeli uporabljati pred 1830.

Z nekaterih vidikov je nožnica v Baragovi zbirki edinstvena. Ima dolge rese, ovite z bodicami, ki se končujejo v zankah in ki visijo v treh ločenih delih z vrha, s sredine in s spodnjega konca zavite strani nožnice ter s spodnjega roba drobnega okrasnega polja iz tkanih bodic, ki je prišit na zgornji konec nožnice.⁷⁵ Nožnica je najbolj podobna štirim primerkom z okrasnimi polji iz aplik iz bodic (ne pa s tkanimi polji). Za tri izmed njih menijo, da izvirajo iz področij, ki so bolj na zahodu⁷⁶; imajo samo po dva okraska iz dolgih res na vrhu in na dnu zavite strani nožnice, dve izmed njih imata aplik iz bodic ob robu ali v spodnjem predelu nožnice. Četrto nožnico je proti koncu 1823 zbral Beltrami in jo pripisal "Siouxom"⁷⁷. Beltramijevi pripisi so žal pogosto očitno zmotni in malo verjetno je, da je to nožnico dobil med Dakotami iz Minnesote; bolj verjetno jo je pri reki

⁷² Cf. Feest, v pripravi.

⁷³ "Imajo tudi velik nož, ki ga vedno nosijo v nožnici za pasom" (Baraga 1837: 61).

⁷⁴ Weldovo poročilo (1807: letter 35) menda temelji na opozovanjih pri Irokezih. Starejše poročilo o nožnicah, nošenih okoli vratu, za pasom in na nogi (B. 1978: 181), ki je bilo objavljeno šele pred kratkim, se nanaša na Indijance v Francoski Kanadi na splošno.

⁷⁵ Golob 1997: 260–261, št. 19.

⁷⁶ Kraljevi Ontario Museum, Toronto (kat.št. 960.115.8; Best in McClelland 1977: 10, 18, št. 7) je pripisana Creejem ali Blackfootom; Folkens Museum-etnografiska, Stockholm, kat. št. 1854.2.14 (zbral Armand Fouché d'Otrante 1842–1844 na zgornjem Missouriju). Zbirka Johna Painterja, nožnica je pripisana "Vzhodnim prerijam, ca. 1840" (Painter 1992: 35, 37, št. 17); ta nožnica ima isti vzorec aplik iz bodic kot tista v Kraljevem ontarijskem muzeju.

Tip je povezan s simetričnim tipom z asimetričnimi zankami iz res in z aplikami iz bodic ali iz steklenih biserov; gl. Painter (1992: 35–37, št. 16) za opombe o sedmih primerkih; in Batkina (1995: 70–71) za primerek, ki ima isti motiv aplik iz bodic kot nožnice iz Kraljevega ontarijskega muzeja in Painterjeve nožnice. Te nožnice se na splošno pripisujejo Creejem ali Métisom.

⁷⁷ Beltramijeva zbirka, Filottrano (Laurencich-Minelli 1990: 246–247, sliki 11–12; cp. Beltrami 1828, 2: pl. II, slika 5).

Red River ali med jugozahodnimi Očipvejci iz Minnesota.

Osmerokraka zvezda na Baragovi nožnici se na vezenju iz bodic pojavlja tudi na drugih predmetih, na primer na mošnji iz Jarvisove zbirke,⁷⁸ ki jo v brooklinškem muzeju pripisujejo območju Red Riverja (Métisom), ali na zibelki, ki jo je ga. William Boutwell v petdesetih letih 19. stoletja zbrala pri jugozahodnih Očipvejcih.⁷⁹ Vendar je ta motiv zelo razširjen tudi na tkanih okraskih iz steklenih biserov pri jugozahodnih Očipvejcih. Obstajata namreč dve nožnici, ki sta morda iz prve polovice 19. stoletja in ki sta istega splošnega tipa z osmerokrako zvezdo, tkano iz steklenih biserov, obe pa lahko izvirata od jugozahodnih Očipvejcev (slika 15).⁸⁰

Iz te razprave bi lahko povzeli, da zbirka Friderika Barage kljub nekaterim manjšim problemom pri opredelitvi izvora predmetov vsebuje zanimivo gradivo o stilih predmetov jugozahodnih Očipvejcev iz La Pointa in Fond du Laca na začetku tretjega desetletja 19. stoletja ne glede na to, da je med njimi morda peščica predmetov, ki jih je škof Baraga dobil drugod. Kljub temu, da gre za majhno skupino zelo izbranih predmetov, je Baragova zbirka ena izmed redkih iz prve polovice devetnajstega stoletja, ki je dokaj natančno dokumentirana. Zato je lahko pomemben pripomoček pri datiranju in lociranju drugih predmetov iz slabše dokumentiranih zbirk in pripomoček pri sestavljanju koščkov, ki skupaj tvorijo zgodovinsko etnografijo materialne kulture severnoameriških Indijancev.

LITERATURA: glej str. 310.

⁷⁸ Brooklinški muzej, Brooklyn, New York (kat. št. 50.67.16; Feder 1964: 49, št. 15); pripis je na razstavnih nalepkah, 1991.

⁷⁹ Muzej Peabody Essex, Salem, Massachusetts (kat. št. E 25409, prej v zbirki Andover Newton Theological School.; Monroe et al. 1996: 160, 174).

⁸⁰ Neville Public Museum, Green Bay, Wisconsin, (kat. št. 11,214, pripisana "Očipvejcem, ca. 1830"; Olson et al. 1977: 68, št. 75). Narodni muzej Danske, Kopenhagen (kat. št. EHc 122; zbrana pred 1850, verjetno v Wisconsinu). Glej tudi: Narodni naravoslovni muzej, Washington, DC (kat. št. T 1085; "Očipvejci, ca. 1835"; Hodge et al. 1973: 91).

BESEDA O AVTORJU

Christian F. Feest je 1969 doktoriral iz antropologije na dunajski univerzi. Preden je 1993 postal profesor antropologije na univerzi v Frankfurtu na Maini, je bil kustos Severno in srednjeameriških zbirk v Etnološkem muzeju na Dunaju od 1963 do 1993, na dunajski univerzi pa je predaval od 1975. Feestove raziskave so predvsem posvečene indijanski likovni umetnosti in materialni kulturi, zgodovini etnografskega zbiranja, etnozgodovini vzhodnega dela Severne Amerike ter antropologiji in likovnim upodobitvam. Izmed preko 170 objav na tem področju velja posebno omeniti *Das rote Amerika* (1976), *Native Arts of North America* (1980, 1993), *Indians in Europe* (1987) in več muzejskih katalogov. Dr. Feest je tudi urednik *European Review of Native American Studies*.

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Christian F. Feest received his Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of Vienna in 1969. He was curator of the North and Middle American collections of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna from 1963 to 1993 and was teaching at the University of Vienna since 1975, before becoming Professor of Anthropology at the University of Frankfurt am Main in 1993. His research interests focus on Native American visual arts and material culture, the history of ethnographic collecting, the ethnohistory of eastern North America, and the anthropology of visual representation. Among his more than 170 publications in this field are *Das rote Amerika* (1976), *Native Arts of North America* (1980, 1993), *Indians and Europe* (1987), and various museum catalogs. He is also editor of the *European Review of Native American Studies*.