



Belo zlato

ZGODBE O BOMBAŽU

White gold

STORIES OF COTTON

BELO ZLATO: Zgodbe o bombažu

WHITE GOLD: Stories of Cotton

Urednica / Editor

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PREDGOVOR

/ FOREWORD

NATALIJA POLENEC
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Slovenski etnografski muzej (SEM) se vrsto let vključuje v evropske projekte, ki ponujajo vedno nove možnosti umeščanja naših izkušenj in praks v evropski prostor. Pri tem izpostavljamo svoje specifike in v skladu z njimi širimo vsebinsko in metodološko delovanje. Zlasti na področju obravnave zunajevropskih zbirk se SEM z vključenostjo v evropske projekte vpenja v aktualne razprave na tem področju, ki evropske muzeje med drugim usmerjajo od skupne skrbi za dediščino z izvornimi skupnostmi do vračanja njihovih predmetov. K razmislekom o tem, kako interpretirati zunajevropske zbirke z evropske periferije, SEM nagovarja tudi projekt *Etnografski muzeji in muzeji svetovnih kultur kot prostori skrbi* (2019–2023), ki ga soustvarjamo še z dvanajstimi evropskimi muzeji s temi zbirkami.

Projekt je bil zasnovan kot odziv na podnebne spremembe, ki jih vedno bolj občutimo tudi v našem prostoru, in na potrebo po blaženju njihovih posledic. Njegov namen je sodelujoče muzeje umestiti v razpravo o človekovem vplivu na okolje in muzejske strokovnjake spodbuditi k oblikovanju trajnejših praks tako na ravni delovanja ustanov kot v odnosih z ljudmi oziroma skupnostmi in njihovo dediščino. Projekt v ospredje postavlja ekološko znanje iz zunajevropskih zbirk ter poskuša v sodelovanju z muzejskimi kustosi, raziskovalci, aktivisti in umetniki spodbujati k razmislekom o bolj trajnostnih praksah bivanja na planetu.

For years, the Slovene Ethnographic Museum (SEM) has been taking part in European projects that bring us always new opportunities for sharing our experience and practices in the European arena. Through such collaborations we expand the range of topics and methodologies involved in our work, while staying true to our specific mission. Participating in European projects is especially important in the context of non-European collections, as they allow us to take part in topical discussions that guide museums towards, among other things, collaborating with original communities in the efforts for the preservation of heritage as well as in taking steps towards the repatriation of their artefacts. Interpreting non-European collections from the European periphery is one of the aspects of SEM's participation in the *Ethnographic and World Cultures Museums as Spaces of Care* project (2019-2023), which connects us with twelve other European ethnographic museums holding such collections.

The project was conceived as a reaction to climate change and the need to mitigate its impacts, which are increasingly felt also in our part of the world. Its aim is to engage the participating museums in the discussion on the human impact on the environment, and to motivate museum professionals to shape more sustainable practices, both at the level of their practice as institutions and in terms of their relationships with people and communities, and their heritage. The project spotlights the ecological

Rezultati projekta niso le razmisleki, izmenjava strokovnih mnenj, izvedeni dogodki ter rezidenčna gostovanja umetnikov in strokovnjakov, temveč tudi razstave, ki zbirke povezujejo s proučevanjem in razumevanjem današnjega časa. Zato je izbira teme o pridelovanju bombaža od prvobitnih agrarnih procesov do industrializacije, kapitalizma in globalizacije simbolno uokvirila dve zbirki iz SEM: misijonarsko zbirko iz Bengalije v vzhodni Indiji ter zbirko barona Antona Codellija in njegovega sodelavca Lea Poljanca iz Toga. Sporočilnost razstave pa je mnogo več od zgodovinskega razumevanja proizvodnje. Govori o povezavah med vsemi celinami, ki jih je ustvarila proizvodnja bombaža, o ekoloških vprašanjih, ki se vežejo na izkoriščanje zemlje in ljudi, ter ne nazadnje o potrošništvu.

S tovrstnimi projekti SEM sledi svojemu poslanstvu »muzeja o ljudeh in za ljudi«. K aktualizaciji zbirk prispeva ne le skozi historične interpretacije, temveč tudi v perspektivi globalnega razmisleka o prihodnosti človeštva, ki sloni tudi na razumevanju dediščine.

knowledge gained from non-European collections, and in collaboration with museum curators, researchers, activists, and artists encourages people to explore ways towards more sustainable practices of living on our planet.

Project outcomes span more than just reflections, exchange of expert opinions, events, and artists and experts' residencies, but also exhibitions that reveal the connections between our collections and the understanding and exploration of the time we call ours. The production of cotton, from its first agrarian processes to industrialisation, capitalism, and globalisation thus lends itself as a subject that symbolically frames two collections held by our museum: the collection from the Bengal mission in East India, and the collection that Baron Anton Codelli and his collaborator Leo Poljanec brought back from Togo. But the exhibition brings much more than the insight into the understanding of cotton production through history. It reveals intercontinental connections created by cotton production, and ecological issues resulting from the exploitation of land and people, and last but not least, opens up the question of consumerism.

Through projects like this, SEM pursues its mission of a "museum about and for the people". It sheds new light on the collections not only through historical interpretations, but also in terms of a global reflection on the future of humanity, which after all, is informed also by our understanding of heritage.



UVOD / INTRODUCTION

TINA PALAIĆ

Slovenski etnografski muzej
/ Slovene Ethnographic Museum

SEM kot prostor skrbi

Etnografski muzeji in muzeji svetovnih kultur so zaradi zgodovine njihovega nastanka, njihovih zbirk in muzeoloških praks, ki se v odzivu na lokalne in globalne izzive nenehno preizprašujejo in preoblikujejo, pomembno prizorišče naslavljanja ključnih problematik sodobnega časa. Projekt *Etnografski muzeji in muzeji svetovnih kultur kot prostori skrbi* (2019–2023) te muzeje umešča v središče razprav o podnebnih spremembah in družbeni neenakosti, s poudarkom na skrbi za zamišljanje in ureničevanje bolj trajnostne prihodnosti. Sofinancira ga program Ustvarjalna Evropa Evropske skupnosti, v njem pa poleg Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja (SEM) sodeluje še dvanajst muzejev.¹

Muzeji so projekt zasnovali kot odziv na okoljsko krizo, ki poraja strah in tesnoba glede prihodnosti našega planeta. Naslavlja šest med seboj povezanih tem, v okviru katerih muzeji preizprašujejo svojo vlogo in potencial za ohranjanje dediščine v luči skrbi za planet in njegovo prihodnost. Te teme so: *Področja skrbi, Ekološka znanja,*

SEM as a space of care

Shaped by the history of their inception, ethnographic and world cultures museums with their collections and museological practices, which are constantly re-examined and reshaped in response to the local and global challenges alike, stand as important arenas where key issues of today are addressed and discussed. *The Ethnographic and World Cultures Museums as Spaces of Care* project places such museums at the centre of discussions on climate change and social inequality, emphasising the concern for envisaging and fashioning more sustainable futures. Co-funded by the EU's Creative Europe programme the project brings together 13 museums.¹

The participating museums conceived the project as a response to the climate crisis, which has become the source of our collective anxiety about the future of our planet. It is organised around a set of themes with which museums re-examine their role and potential in the preservation of heritage in light of our concern for the planet and its future, namely *Matters of Care, Ecological Knowledge,*

¹ Vodilni partner projekta je Weltmuseum Wien (Dunaj, Avstrija), partnerji pa so še: Musée royal de l'Afrique centrale (Tervuren, Belgija), National museums of World Culture (Leiden/Amsterdam/Berg-en-Dal, Nizozemska), Musée des Civilisations de l'Europe et de la Méditerranée (Marseille, Francija), National Museums of World Culture (Stockholm/Göteborg, Švedska), LindenMuseum (Stuttgart, Nemčija), Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico »Luigi Pigorini« (Rim, Italija), Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Cambridge, Velika Britanija), Museu de cultures del món (Barcelona, Španija), Museum am Rothenbaum Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK) (Hamburg, Nemčija), National Museum of Denmark (Kopenhagen, Danska) in Pitt Rivers Museum (Oxford, Velika Britanija).

In addition to SEM, project partners include the Weltmuseum Wien (Vienna, Austria) as project coordinator, and the Musée royal de l'Afrique centrale (Tervuren, Belgium), National museums of World Culture (Leiden/Amsterdam/Berg-en-Dal, the Netherlands), the Musée des Civilisations de l'Europe et de la Méditerranée (Marseille, France), National Museums of World Culture (Stockholm/Göteborg, Sweden), the LindenMuseum (Stuttgart, Germany), the Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico »Luigi Pigorini« (Rome, Italy), the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Cambridge, United Kingdom), the Museu de cultures del món (Barcelona, Spain), the Museum am Rothenbaum Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK) (Hamburg, Germany), the National Museum of Denmark (Kopenhagen, Denmark), and the Pitt Rivers Museum (Oxford, United Kingdom).



Oblikovanje trajnostne prihodnosti, Od ohranjanja do skrbi in Skrb v svetu, ki si ga delimo z drugimi. Muzeji želijo s projektom bolj aktivno pristopiti k ozaveščanju o okoljskih spremembah in njihovem vplivu, k razvijanju novih strategij in pristopov k blaženju posledic teh sprememb ter k uresničevanju novih pristopov k skrbi za dediščino v tesnem sodelovanju z izvornimi skupnostmi. Ob tem naslavljajo pereča vprašanja dostopa do virov in njihove neenake porazdelitve, vključno z dediščinskimi viri.

Oblikovanje trajnostne prihodnosti v SEM

Oblikovanje trajnostne prihodnosti je projektna tema, ki se zgodovine vpetosti evropskih družb v kolonialni projekt loteva skozi osvetljevanje (zgodovinskega) prisvajanja zemlje in virov, podjarmljanja ljudi v kapitalistične namene in njihovih učinkov v sodobni družbi. Muzejske zbirke služijo po eni strani kot izhodišče za razmislek o kolonialnih praksah izkoriščanja staroselskih znanj in njihovega naravnega okolja, po drugi strani pa kot vir navdiha za oblikovanje bolj trajnostnih načinov skrbi za planet, ki nam lahko danes pomagajo pri blaženju posledic podnebnih sprememb. SEM se v to temo vključuje z eksperimentalno razstavo o izjemno pomembni surovini, ki je soustvarila globalni kapitalistični sistem in s tem sooblikovala svet, v katerem živimo. Ta surovina je bombaž.

Pridelovanje bombaževca ima večtisočletno zgodovino. Spremembe v proizvodnji bombaža so bile do industrijske

Designing Sustainable Futures, From Preservation to Care, and Care in a World We Share with Others. The project serves as a means for museums to take a more active approach to raising awareness about changes in the environment and their impact, developing new strategies and approaches to mitigating these changes, and to using these new approaches to heritage preservation in close co-operation with indigenous communities. At the same time they tackle the pressing issues of access to resources and their unequal distribution, including heritage resources.

Designing sustainable futures at SEM

Designing sustainable futures is a work package that looks at the colonial history of European societies by shedding new light on the (historical) appropriation of land and resources, subjugation of people in the name of capitalism, and their impacts on contemporary society. On the one hand, museum collections serve as a starting point for reflection on colonial practices of exploitation of indigenous knowledge and its natural environment, and on the other hand they provide clues to more sustainable ways of caring for the planet that can help mitigate the impact of climate change. In this context, SEM participates in these efforts with an experimental exhibition featuring a raw material of exceptional importance, one that has helped shape the global capitalist system and with it the world in which we live – cotton.







Razstava Belo zlato: Zgodbe o bombažu. Foto: Blaž Verbič.

The exhibition White Gold: Stories of Cotton. Photo: Blaž Verbič.

revolucije izjemno počasne, konec 18. stoletja pa se prične zaradi vzpostavitve novih oblik organizacije proizvodnje, trgovine in potrošnje oblikovati imperij bombaža, kot globalne povezave in tokove, povezane z bombažem in izdelki, narejenimi iz njega, imenuje Sven Beckert. Sledenje bombažu nas tako vodi do začetkov modernega sveta ter nam pomaga razumeti procese industrializacije in globalizacije, v povezavi s tem pa tudi sodobne družbene strukture, ki ohranjajo družbene neenakosti.

V SEM v zgodbo bombaža vstopamo z dvema muzejskima zbirkama iz začetka 20. stoletja: misijonarsko zbirko iz Bengalije v vzhodni Indiji ter z zbirko barona Antona Codellija in njegovega sodelavca Lea Poljanca iz Toga. Obe delno osvetljujejo proizvodnjo bombaža in izdelovanje bombažnih tkanin, nastali pa sta kot stranski produkt siceršnjega udejstvovanja njunih zbiralcev v obeh deželah – pokristjanjevanja misijonarjev in vzpostavitve prve radiotelegrafske postaje med takratnim Togolandom in nemškim kolonialnim imperijem. V luči globalnih povezav in izmenjav obe zbirki govorita tudi o vpetosti slovenskega prostora v kolonialne procese, kar se v obeh primerih kaže zlasti z ustvarjanjem in utrjevanjem vednosti o Drugih.

Bombaž tudi danes ostaja v središču povezav, spletenih med različnimi deli sveta. Številni kmetje po svetu se pri njegovi proizvodnji srečujejo z velikimi izzivi, od spremenjnih vremenskih vzorcev zaradi podnebnih sprememb in zdravstvenih težav zaradi uporabe pesticidov do slabe

The history of cotton spans millennia. Until the industrial revolution cotton production had not seen many advances, but this changed at the end of the 18th century with new forms of production, trade and consumption, which led to the creation of the empire of cotton, as Sven Beckert calls the global connections and flows associated with cotton and cotton-made products. The history of cotton thus takes us to the beginnings of the modern world and helps us understand the processes of industrialisation and globalisation, and in turn also contemporary social structures that perpetuate inequality.

Dating into the early 20th century, SEM's collections weave two new threads into the cotton story: one comes with the collection from the Bengal mission in East India, and the other with the collection that Baron Anton Codelli and his collaborator Leo Poljanec brought back from Togo. Both shed some light on cotton production and the manufacture of cotton fabrics, and both are a by-product of their collectors' activity, which in the case of the Bengal mission was focused on converting people to Christianity, and in the case of Togo on setting up the first radiotelegraph station between what was then Togoland and the German Colonial Empire. In the context of global connections and exchanges both collections also testify to the involvement of Slovenian actors in the colonial processes, something that in both cases manifests itself through the creation and building of knowledge of Others.



državne regulacije te industrije. Z namenom razumeti današnje razmere v obeh državah je SEM sodeloval z dr. Kaniko Gupta, umetnostno zgodovinarico in aktivistko, ki indijska tradicionalna znanja in mitologijo povezuje z razmisleki o ohranjanju narave. Terensko raziskavo je opravila v vzhodni indijski državi Odiša. V Togu je raziskavo opravila Ana Reberc, mlada raziskovalka na Inštitutu za slovensko izseljenstvo in migracije na ZRC SAZU, ki v svojem delu povezuje migracije in dediščino. Množična potrošnja in predvsem vzpon hitre mode, ki zahtevata nenehno menjavanje oblačil, ustvarjata pritisk tudi na začetek dobavne verige tekstilne industrije, torej na proizvajalce bombaža. Pravzaprav se ni nič spremenilo: povpraševanju po bombažu še vedno poskušamo zadostiti tako, da uničujemo okolje in življenja številnih kmetov, ki se z delom nenehno borijo za preživetje.

Razstava *Belo zlato: Zgodbe o bombažu* te tematike še zdaleč ne osvetli v njeni kompleksnosti, je pa eden od kamenčkov v mozaiku, s katerim želimo odpirati razpravo o globalnih povezavah in izmenjavah ter njihovih učinkih. Dopolnjujejo jo prispevki strokovnjakov z različnih koncev sveta, objavljeni na spletni strani SEM, in obširen spremljevalni program.

Today, cotton still remains at the centre of connections spun between different parts of the world. Many farmers involved in its production are facing big challenges, from changes in weather patterns induced by climate change and pesticide-related health problems to poor state regulation of the industry. To shed light on the present-day situation in both countries, SEM cooperated with Dr. Kanika Gupta, art historian and activist whose reflections on nature preservation are informed by traditional Indian knowledge and mythology. Her field research was conducted in the eastern Indian state of Odisha. Ana Reberc, young researcher at the Slovenian Migration Institute at Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (ZRC SAZU) went to Togo, focusing her research on the connections between migrations and heritage. Mass consumption, and even more so the rapid rise of fast fashion that both push us to constantly buy new clothes, put pressure also on the upstream of the supply chain in the textile industry, i.e. cotton producers. Indeed, nothing has changed: we are still trying to satiate the demand for cotton by destroying the environment and lives of many farmers who are constantly struggling to survive with their work.

The exhibition *White Gold: Stories of Cotton* does not provide a full picture of this issue in all its complexity, but it offers a pebble in the mosaic that aims to open up a discussion on global connections and exchanges, and their impacts. It is accompanied by contributions from experts from various parts of the world, which are posted on SEM website, and a wide array of side events.

Predstavljanje Indije in njenih ljudi skozi "bombažne oči"

INDIA AND ITS PEOPLE THROUGH "COTTON EYES"



TINA PALAIĆ

Slovenski etnografski muzej

/ Slovene Ethnographic Museum

O bombaževcu

ABOUT THE COTTON PLANT

Vse se začne s semenom ...

Bombaževca (lat. *Gossypium*) je rastlina, katere semenska vlakna uporabljamo kot tekstilno surovino. Danes ga gojijo v več kot 75 državah, pridelovanje bombaža in zaposlitev v tekstilni industriji pa sta vir osnovnega zaslužka stotin milijonov ljudi. Za bombaž je primerno široko geografsko območje s tropskim in subtropskim podnebjem, saj zahteva najmanj 200 dni med pozebama in povprečno poletno temperaturo 25 stopinj Celzija. Najbolje uspeva na območjih z dolgimi in vročimi poletji, z obilico vode in sušo proti koncu cvetenja, kar prepreči, da bi vlakna zgnila.

Na svetu obstaja približno 50 divjih vrst bombaževca, vendar njihova vlakna za nadaljnjo obdelavo niso primerna. V večtisočletni zgodovini pridelovanja bombaža so ljudje vzgojili štiri različne vrste bombaževca, ki dajejo dolga, močna in bela vlakna, primerna za predenje, tkanje in nadaljnjo obdelavo. Te vrste so:

Gossypium barbadense je grmovnica z rumenimi cvetovi in dolgimi vlakni (34–54 mm), ki imajo visoko trdnost, izvira pa iz Južne Amerike.

Gossypium arboreum je približno dva metra visok in širok grm z rumenimi ali vijoličnimi cvetovi, ki proizvaja kratka vlakna, izvira pa iz Indije in Pakistana.

Gossypium herbaceum izvira iz podsaharske Afrike in Arabije, zraste lahko tudi do dva metra visoko, ima majhne rumene cvetove z vijolično sredico, njegova vlakna so dolga približno 5 cm.

It all begins with a seed ...

Cotton (*Gossypium*) is a plant cultivated for its fibre, which is used as a raw material in the manufacture of fabrics. It is cultivated in more than 75 countries, providing income to hundreds of millions of people in the cotton production and textile industry. The cotton plant is cultivated across tropical and subtropical regions of the world. It requires at least 200 frost free days and an average summer temperature of 25 degrees Celsius. Best qualities are obtained in regions with long hot summers, high moisture levels, and a dry season at the end of the flowering period, which protects the fibres from rotting.

There are about 50 wild cotton varieties in the world, but their fibres are not suitable for processing. Through the millennia-long history of cotton cultivation people domesticated four species of cotton that produce long, spinnable fibres suitable for weaving and further processing, namely:

Gossypium barbadense, a shrub with yellow flowers and long, strong fibres (34-54 mm), native to South America; *Gossypium arboreum* is a branched shrub native to India and Pakistan that grows approximately two metres tall; it has yellow or purple flowers and produces short-staple fibres;

Gossypium herbaceum is native to sub-Saharan Africa and Arabia, where it grows up to two metres in height. It has small yellow flowers with a purple centre, and produces approximately 5 cm long fibres;

Gossypium hirsutum, Filippo Parlatore (1816–1877):
Le specie dei cotonei, 1866.



Gossypium hirsutum izhaja iz Mehike in danes v proizvodnji bombaža prevladuje (približno 90 % vsega bombaža na svetu proizvedemo iz te vrste). Gre za približno en meter visoko drevo, ki ima 16–32 mm dolga vlakna z dobro trdnostjo in visokimi raztezki.

Bombaž ima pred sorodnimi rastlinami, kot sta lan in konoplja, pomembno prednost, saj slednji pred pridobivanjem vlaken za tkanje zahtevata dolgotrajnejši proces staranja. Za živali, ki dajejo vlakna, je treba skrbeti,

Gossypium hirsutum is native to Mexico and is the most widely planted species of cotton in the world (accounting for about 90% of world production). It is an about one metre tall shrub with strong, 16–32 mm long, high elongation fibres.

Cotton has an important advantage over species such as flax or hemp, which both require a time-consuming retting process to extract fibres. Fibre-producing animals need looking after, whereas cotton is picked straight from the

bombaž pa pridelovalci pobirajo neposredno z rastline. Kmetje seme bombaževca posejejo v jarke, med katerimi je približno 90 cm razdalje, in jih prekrijejo z zemljo. Grm oziroma majhno drevo bombaževca prvič zacveti po približno dveh mesecih, cvetenje pa traja štiri do šest tednov. Ko cvet odpade, bombažna kapsula potrebuje še približno tri mesece, da dozori in lahko oberemo vlakna. Od setve do žetve tako mine približno 160 do 200 dni. Po žetvi je treba iz vlaken očistiti semena, nato pa jih spresti v niti, iz katerih tkejo bombažno tkanino. Po barvanju tkanine iz nje sešijejo oblačila.

Bombaž je v naših življenjih mnogo bolj prisoten, kot si običajno mislimo. Poleg tega, da je pogosta sestavina oblačil in mnogih tkanin, ki jih uporabljamo v gospodinjstvu, ga najdemo v kavnih filtrih in knjigah, iz njegovih semen pa pridelujejo tudi rastlinsko olje za kuhanje. Evrobankovci so tiskani na čisti bombažni papir, kar jim zagotavlja daljšo obstojnost.

Imena za bombaž, ki jih poznamo v Evropi, Aziji in v delih Afrike, odlikavajo zgodnje trgovske poti bombaža. V številnih jezikih južne in zahodne Evrope je beseda bombaž etimološko povezana z variacijami arabske besede *qatn*, kar kaže na trgovce, ki so ga prodajali ob obalah teh dežel. Tako najdemo *cotton* v angleščini, *catoen* v nizozemščini in *coton* v francoščini. V španščini (*algodón*) in portugalsščini (*algodão*), kjer je bil islamski vpliv trajnejši, se je ohranila arabska predpona -al-. V vzhodni Evropi in osrednji Aziji nam besede za bombaž razkrivajo trgovske poti skozi Iran in Turčijo z variacijami besed *pambeh* in *pamuk*. Med njimi so na primer *pamuk* v bosanščini in bolgarščini, *pamut* v madžarščini, *bavovna* v ukrajinščini, *bavlina* v češčini in *bombaž* v slovenščini. Hindujska beseda *kapaas* pozna lokalne indijske različice, na primer *kapasa* v Gudžaratu, *karpasa* v Bengaliji in *kappa gachha* v Odiši, od tam pa se je izraz za bombaž razširil v Indonezijo (*kapas*) in Kambodžo (*kabbas*). Na Kitajskem

plant. Cotton seeds are planted in furrows that are spaced about 90 cm apart and covered with soil. The cotton plant produces its first flowers about two months after sowing and the flowering period lasts four to six weeks. When the flowers fall off, the cotton capsule needs about three months to mature, at which stage fibres can be harvested. Cotton is therefore ready for harvesting approximately 160 to 200 days after sowing. After harvest, fibres are cleaned (deseeded), then spun into a yarn. Finally, yarns are interwoven to produce cloth. When the cloth is dyed, it is ready to be made into clothes.

Cotton is more ubiquitous than we might think. Not only in our clothes and various household fabrics, it is used also in coffee filters and books, and its seeds are used to make cooking oil. The euro banknotes are pure cotton fibre, which improves their durability.

Names for cotton in Europe, Asia, and parts of Africa follow the early trade routes through which cotton products travelled to different parts of the world. In many languages of Southern and Western Europe the word cotton is etymologically related to variations of the Arabic word *qatn*, a reference to the traders who sold cotton on the coasts of these lands. In English it is known as *cotton*, in Dutch as *catoen* and in French as *coton*. Owing to the lasting Islamic influence, the Arabic prefix *al-* still persists in Spanish (*algodón*) and Portuguese languages (*algodão*). Variations of the words *pambeh* and *pamuk* used for cotton in Eastern Europe and Central Asia reveal the course of trade routes through Iran and Turkey. In Bosnian and Bulgarian it is called *pamuk*, in Hungarian *pamut*, *bavovna* in Ukrainian, *bavlina* in Czech, and *bombaž* in Slovenian. The Hindi word *kapaas* comes in several local Indian variations, e.g. as *kapasa* in Gujarat, *karpasa* in Bengal and *kappa gachha* in Odisha, from where the word for cotton spread to Indonesia (*kapas*) and Cambodia (*kabbas*). In China they call it *mian*, and in

bombažu rečejo *mian*, kar je vplivalo na korejski *myeon*. Nemška različica *baumwolle*, ki ima več variacij v skandinavskih državah, na primer *bomuld* v danščini ter *bomull* v norveščini in švedščini, kaže na zgodnje zmotne predstave o pridobivanju bombaža.

V Evropi so do 19. stoletja prevladovala lanena in volnena oblačila. Manjše količine bombaža so sicer uvažali že v času Grkov in Rimljanov, a je bil za Evropo nekaj eksotičnega. Mnogo Evropejcev si ga je zamišljalo kot mešanico rastline in živali – kot neke vrste rastlinsko jagnje. V srednjeveški Evropi je tako krožila zgodba o majhni ovci, ki raste na rastlini in se s stebлом nagiba do tal po hrano in vodo. Popotnik John Mandeville je v delu *Potovanja Sira Johna Mandevilla*, ki je med bralce prvič zaokrožilo med letoma 1357 in 1371, narisal sliko bombaža in ob njej zapisal:



Korea *myeon*. The German word *baumwolle* and its variations in Scandinavian countries, like *bomuld* in Danish and *bomull* in Norwegian and Swedish on the other hand, are remnants of early misconceptions about where cotton came from.

Until the 19th century clothes in Europe were made predominantly of linen and wool. Although it was imported in small quantities already at the time of ancient Greeks and Romans, cotton was still an exotic fabric in Europe. In the imagination of many Europeans it was a plant-animal hybrid – a kind of a vegetable lamb. In medieval Europe there circulated a story of little sheep growing on plants, and bending down to eat and drink. In his travelogue *The travels of Sir John Mandeville*, which first circulated between 1357 and 1371, Sir John Mandeville drew the cotton plant as he imagined it:

»Tam raste [Indija] čudovito drevo z drobcenimi jagenjčki na koncih njegovih vej. Te veje so tako upogljive, da se ukrivijo do tal in jagenjčkom omogočijo, da se hranijo, ko so lačni.«

John Mandeville, *Potovanja Sira Johna Mandevilla*.

“There grew there [India] a wonderful tree which bore tiny lambs on the ends of its branches. These branches were so pliable that they bent down to allow the lambs to feed when they are hungry.”

John Mandeville, *The travels of Sir John Mandeville*.

TINA PALAIČ

Slovenski etnografski muzej

/ Slovene Ethnographic Museum

Dolga zgodovina pridelovanja bombaža

THE LONG HISTORY OF
COTTON PRODUCTION

Bombaž kot globalna dobrina

Pred približno 5000 leti so ljudje na indijski podcelini prvi odkrili, da lahko iz bombažnih vlaken izdelujejo niti. Neodvisno drug od drugega in skoraj simultano so uporabnost bombaža odkrili tudi na obalah današnjega Peruja, kmalu pa še v vzhodni Afriki. Znanje o gojenju, predenju in tkanju, ki so potekali na bolj ali manj omejenih lokalnih območjih, se je iz teh središč širilo z obstoječimi trgovskimi in migracijskimi potmi. Ko so evropski trgovci v začetku 16. stoletja pripotovali v Indijo, je bila ta glavni svetovni proizvajalec bombaža in bombažnih tkanin z uveljavljenim trgom v Indijskem oceanu in tudi širše. Bombaž so pridelovali tudi v drugih azijskih deželah, na primer na Kitajskem, kjer pa se je uveljavil šele v času dinastije Yuan (1271–1368). Različnim območjem, ki so gojila bombaž, je bilo skupno, da je bil obseg njihove proizvodnje majhen, da je bila v domeni gospodinjstev in da kmetje niso bili odvisni samo od bombaža, ampak so ga običajno gojili ob drugih poljščinah.

V evropski tekstilni proizvodnji in potrošnji je bil bombaž do 19. stoletja manj prisoten. Tkanine so izdelovali iz volne in lanu, v srednjem veku pa so pričeli kombinirati tudi lan in bombaž. Za izdelovanje teh tkanin so nekatera mesta v severni Italiji in južni Nemčiji v 13. in 14. stoletju kupovala bombaž iz Libanona in Sirije, od koder so ga uvažali beneški trgovci, nato pa se je njegova proizvodnja razširila še v Francijo in Anglijo. Vzpon in propad proizvajalcev teh tkanin sta bila odvisna od uvoza surovega bombaža z območij izven Evrope, pri čemer Evropejci na gojenje bombaža niso imeli vpliva. Ko so konec 15. stoletja prispeli na druge celine in z domačini vzpostavili trgovske stike, so se Evropejci vključili v trgovino z bombažnimi tkaninami, ki so jo obvladovali Arabci in trgovci iz južne Indije.

Cotton as a global good

It was the people on the Indian subcontinent who first discovered, some 5000 years ago, that cotton fibres could be spun into yarn. Almost simultaneously, and independently, cotton was discovered for its uses also on the coasts of present-day Peru, and soon also in East Africa. The local knowledge of its cultivation, spinning and weaving spread from these centres through existing trade and migration routes. When European traders arrived there in the early 16th century, India was the leading world producer of cotton and cotton fabrics, with a well-established market in the region of the Indian Ocean and beyond. Cotton was produced also in other Asian countries like China, where its cultivation developed under the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368). These cotton-growing regions were similar in that their production was small-scale and in the hands of smallholders who did not depend on cotton alone, but usually grew it alongside other crops.

Until the 19th century cotton did not have much of a presence in Europe, where fabrics were still predominantly made of wool and linen. It was only in the Middle Ages that cotton was used in mixed yarns with linen. To make these fabrics, in the 13th and 14th century several cities in Northern Italy and South Germany began to buy cotton from Lebanon and Syria. It was imported by Venetian merchants, and its production then spread to France and England. The rise and fall of producers of these fabrics depended on the imports of raw cotton from regions outside Europe, but Europeans had no influence on the production of cotton. With their arrival on other continents at the end of the 15th century, when Europeans established trade relations with local populations, they also joined the trade in cotton fabrics, which was dominated by Arab and South Indian merchants.

Vzpostavljanje globalnega imperija bombaža

Občutno povečanje uvoza bombažnih tkanin v Evropo je omogočil vzpon evropskih podjetij v Aziji v prvi polovici 17. stoletja. Svoje družbe so tam ustanovili Britanci, Nizozemci, Danci in Francozi, ki so v Indiji kupovali bombažne tkanine; nekatere so v jugovzhodni Aziji zamenjali za začimbe, druge pa prodali na evropskih in afriških trgih. Ta sistem, ki je ohranjal odvisnost evropskih trgovcev od lokalnih posrednikov in lokalnega kapitala, je trajal dve stoletji, Evropejci pa so bili ob drugih deležnikih le del trgovske mreže. Kmalu so pričeli iskati alternativne in cenejše vire bombažnih izdelkov od azijskih, pri čemer so se obrnili na zahod. Na ameriških tleh so vzpostavili plantaže, na katerih je delala zasužnjena delovna sila, ki so jo pripeljali iz zahodne Afrike. Zasužnjene ljudi so Evropejci kupovali s steklenimi biseri, kovinami in orožjem ter z izdelki indijskih tkalcev. Bombaž je tako povezal vse štiri celine: z izdelki indijskih tkalcev so Evropejci na afriški obali kupovali zasužnjene ljudi, ki so delali na plantažah v Ameriki, od koder so kmetijske dobrine uvažali v Evropo.

Evropejci so v tropskih in subtropskih deželah dolgo trgovali z drugimi dobrinami, predvsem s sladkorjem, rižem, kavčukom in indigom. Bombaž so sprva gojili na karibskih otokih, kjer so plantažniki izsekavali široka območja vegetacije okoli plantaž, kar je porušilo ekosistem. Suša in škodljivci so napadli poljščino, gojenje bombaža je izčrpalo prst, sveža zemlja pa ni bila več na voljo. Večina karibskih otokov je izkusila enega od najzgodnejših primerov okoljske katastrofe, ki jo je ustvaril človek. Večje količine bombaža so konec 18. in v začetku 19. stoletja v Evropo uvažali tudi iz Brazilije in Otomanskega imperija, a so potrebe hitro naraščale. Zatem so plantažniki več zemlje za gojenje bombaža našli na ameriških tleh, kjer pa se je njegova proizvodnja razmahnila šele v prvi polovici 19. stoletja. K izjemnemu dvigu

Establishment of the global empire of cotton

The importation of cotton fabrics to Europe took off with the growing influence of European trading companies in Asia in the first half of the 17th century. These were established by the British, Dutch, Danish and French, who bought cotton fabrics in India and exchanged some of them for spices in Southeast Asia, or sold them in European and African markets. The system, which perpetuated the dependence of European traders on local agents and local capital, persisted for two centuries, and Europeans along with other stakeholders were only a part of the trade network. Soon they started looking for alternative sources of cotton products that were cheaper than Asian, and they found them in the West. They set up plantations in the Americas, which relied on slave labour imported from West Africa. Europeans bought enslaved people in exchange for beads, metal products, arms, and textiles produced by Indian weavers. Cotton thus connected four continents: European traders used Indian textiles to buy enslaved people on the coasts of Africa to work on plantations in the Americas, from where agricultural goods were imported to Europe.

For a long time, Europeans had traded with tropical and subtropical lands in other goods, mainly in sugar, rice, rubber, and indigo. Initially, cotton was grown in the Caribbean, where planters cleared large areas of vegetation around their plantations and thus destroyed the ecosystem. Drought and pest outbreaks destroyed the crops, cotton cultivation exhausted the soil, and there was no more fresh land available. Most Caribbean islands have suffered one of the earliest examples of human-induced environmental disasters. At the turn of the 18th century Europe imported large quantities of cotton also from Brazil and the Ottoman Empire, but its needs were growing rapidly. Planters thus found more land for cotton



Launey in Goebel. Picking cotton, Savannah, Ga., early Negro life. Savannah, Georgia: Launey & Goebel photographers, 1867 - 1890.

Vir / source: Library of Congress, www.loc.gov/item/2015650292/.

proizvodnje surovega bombaža so prispevali zaslužnjeni ljudje, ki so jih prodajali na plantaže, zlasti v Alabama, Misissippi in Louisiano, ki so postale »bombažne države«, ter razvoj mehanizacije, ki je pomembno skrajšal čas dela in povečal donosnost pridelka. Bistvena je bila tudi dostopnost sveže zemlje, ki so jo Evropejci našli v notranjosti teh držav in pri tem izpodrivali staroselce. Prisilo in nasilje, potrebna za mobilizacijo zaslužnjene delovne sile, lahko primerjamo le z ekspanzionistično vojno in razlašanjem ameriških staroselcev. Kaj podobnega se v Anatoliji ali Gudžaratu ne bi moglo zgoditi.

Bombaž pa ni preobrazil le globalne trgovine, temveč tudi potrošnjo, zlasti v Evropi. Ustvaril je nove potrošniške navade, povečan interes za bombažne tkanine pa je vplival na upad drugih tekstilnih industrij v Evropi. Evropske vlade so sicer med letoma 1686 in 1774 prepovedale uvoz indijskega bombaža, kar pa ni zmanjšalo potrošnje, temveč je intenziviralo izdelovanje bombažnih tkanin v Evropi ter vodilo v procese mehanizacije in industrializacije, ki so proizvodnjo povečali. Proizvajalci v Evropi so morali poleg količine doseči kvaliteto uvoženih izdelkov, zato so se zgledovali po azijski tehnologiji, ki je prispevala k inovacijam v procesu in produktu. Pri pridobivanju bombaža se je tako razvila dvostopenjska proizvodnja: gojili so ga na plantažah na ozemljih izven Evrope, v evropskih tovarnah pa so iz njega izdelovali tkanine, v kar je bilo vključenih ogromno plačanih delavcev. Uvedba strojev, ki so proizvodnjo olajšali in pospešili, ter državno reguliranje trgovine in potrošnje sta prinesla skokovit gospodarski razvoj, ki ga poznamo pod imenom industrijska revolucija. V bombažni industriji so delale večinoma ženske, vključeni pa so bili tudi številni otroci. Prevlada žensk je to delo naredila nevidno, saj so ga zasenčile druge industrije, kjer so prevladovali moški, na primer rudarstvo, železarstvo in železničarstvo. Delavke so bile večinoma s podeželja, od koder so se v 18. in zgodnjem 19. stoletju v Britaniji in

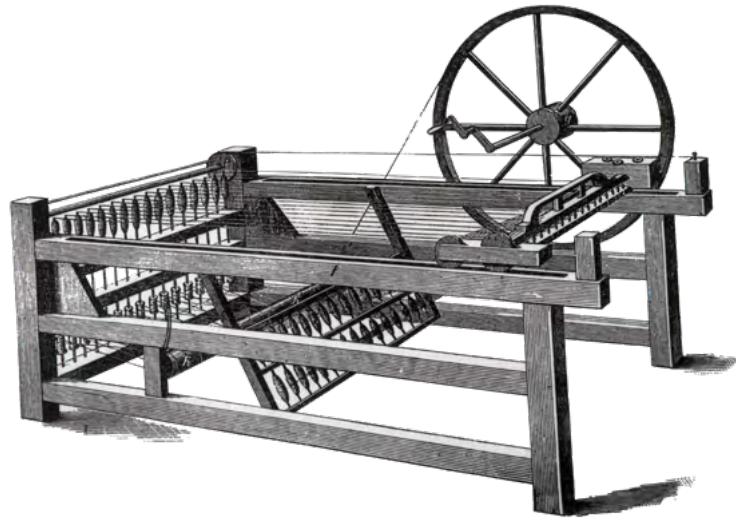
farming in the Americas, where cotton production only really took off in the early 19th century. This exceptional rise in raw cotton production was largely on account of enslaved people who were sold to plantations, mainly in Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, which became known as the "cotton states". The other important factor was mechanisation, which significantly increased labour productivity and raised yields. Also important was the fresh soil that Europeans found in the interior of these states and appropriated it from native peoples. The violence and coercion required to drive slave labour can only be matched by the violence of the war of expansion and expropriation of Native Americans. It was something that could not have happened in Anatolia or Gujarat.

Cotton transformed not only the global trade, but also consumption, especially in Europe. It changed consumer preferences, and the increased interest in cotton fabrics led to the decline of other textile industries in Europe. Between 1686 and 1774, European governments implemented a series of bans on the trade and consumption of Indian cotton cloth, but this did not help reduce consumption. What's more, it only intensified the production of cotton fabrics in Europe, which led to mechanisation and industrialisation, and in turn increased production. European manufacturers had to match not only the quantity, but also the quality of the imported products, so they turned to Asian technology, which contributed to innovations in both the process and the product. Cotton cultivation and processing thus became a two-stage process: cotton was grown on plantations outside Europe, and European mills spun it into cloth with the labour of many wage workers. The introduction of machines, which made production easier and faster, and state-regulated trade and consumption became the drivers of rapid economic development known as the industrial revolution. The majority of workers in the cotton industry were

Uvedba strojev, ki so proizvodnjo olajšali in pospešili, ter državno reguliranje trgovine sta prinesla skokovit gospodarski razvoj, ki ga poznamo pod imenom industrijska revolucija. Na sliki je izboljšana verzija predilnega stroja Jenny, ki ga je leta 1764/1765 izdelal James Hargreaves.

The introduction of machines, which made production easier and faster, and state-regulated trade became the drivers of rapid economic development known as the industrial revolution. The illustration shows an enhanced version of a spinning Jenny that was invented in 1764/1765 by James Hargreaves.

R. Färbach, *Die Geschichte der Textil-industrie*, 1932



kasneje drugod po Evropi v mesta zgrinjale množice ljudi, ki so iskali priložnost za zaslužek in preživetje.

Industrija bombaža je v prvi polovici 19. stoletja ameriške države izstrelila na globalni ekonomski zemljevid. Zaznamovali so jo izkoriščanje prostranstev rodovitne ameriške zemlje, dostopen kapital in zlasti delo zaslužnjenih ljudi. Ko so v ameriški državljanski vojni (april 1861–april 1865) prepovedali izvoz bombaža, po vojni pa razglasili odpravo suženjstva, je v evropskih državah nastopila »bombažna lakota«. V nepredvidljivem in negotovem ozračju so začele panično iskati nove vire belega zlata.

women, and children worked there in large numbers as well. This made such work invisible as it was overshadowed by other industries like mining, iron working, and the railway industry, which predominantly employed men. At the turn of the 18th century working women came mainly from the countryside, joining masses of people looking for ways to make a living in cities of Britain, and later also elsewhere in Europe.

In the first half of the 19th century the cotton industry put the United States on the world economic map. Its main features were exploitation of vast expanses of fertile land, available capital, and in the first place slave labour. But when cotton exports were banned during the American Civil War (April 1861 – April 1865) and slavery abolished in its aftermath, European countries found themselves in the grip of the “cotton famine”. In these precarious and unpredictable circumstances, they started frantically looking for new sources of white gold.

Kolonialni bombaž

Evropski proizvajalci tkanin so nove vire bombaža iskali na vseh celinah. Britanci so se obrnili zlasti na Indijo, pa tudi na Egipt in afriške dežele. Na svetovni trg je vstopil brazilski bombaž, v manjši meri pa tudi argentinski, kitajski in bombaž iz osrednje Azije. Ruski imperij je v iskanju virov belega zlata koloniziral obširna območja v Srednji Aziji. Nemčija, Francija in Portugalska so poskušale okrepiti svojo vlogo v kolonijah in iz njih črpati surovi bombaž.

Bombažna industrija se je v drugi polovici 19. stoletja bistveno spremenila. Evropski trgovci so v proizvodnjo in trgovino z bombažem pritegnili več svetovnih regij, za njihovo nadzorovanje pa so skrbele nacionalne države. Te so z uveljavljanjem svoje zakonodaje in investicijami ustvarjale svetovni trg bombaža. Z vključitvijo vanj so kmetje in s tem njihovo preživetje postali odvisni od globalnih gibanj cene bombaža, na katera niso imeli vpliva. Zato so se na prelomu stoletja pridelovalci bombaža na določenih območjih že srečali z lakoto. Cene bombaža so zlasti konec 70. in konec 90. let 19. stoletja padle, cene hrane pa so se zvišale. V tem obdobju so potekali prvi nemiri in protesti, uperjeni proti trgovcem, posojevalcem denarja in visokim davkom.

Colonial cotton

European textile producers looked for new sources of cotton on all continents. The British turned in the first place to India, but also to Egypt and other African countries. The cotton from Brazil also entered the market, and to some extent also cotton from Argentina, China, and Central Asia. In its search for white gold the Russian Empire colonized vast stretches of Central Asia. Germany, France and Portugal also tried to consolidate their role in the colonies in order to secure their raw cotton supplies.

The cotton industry changed dramatically in the second half of the 19th century. European merchants engaged several regions across the world in cotton production and trade, but their control was in the hands of nation states. By enforcing their own legislations and through investments these states shaped the global cotton market. Entering this market, farmers, and their livelihood, became dependent on global trends in the cotton price, something they had no control over. As a result, at the turn of the century cotton producers in certain parts of the world had already encountered hunger. In the late 1870s and at the end of the 1890s the prices of cotton fell, whereas the prices of food rose. This was the time of the first upheavals and protests against traders, moneylenders, and high taxes.

Ameriški kmetje so si po vojni hitro opomogli in kmalu ponovno postali vodilni svetovni proizvajalci surovega bombaža in tudi bombažnih izdelkov. Leta 1900 so bile Združene države Amerike druga najpomembnejša proizvajalka bombažnih tkanin za Veliko Britanijo. Industrializacija proizvodnje bombaža je z vratolomno hitrostjo potekala tudi v Nemčiji in Rusiji, na Japonskem in v Indiji. Države so si prizadevale zavarovati svoje vire surovega bombaža in politično nadzorovati tista območja, kjer je rasel bombaž. Industrijski kapitalizem je temeljil na kombinaciji kapitala in državne moči, kar je imelo pomembne posledice za evropske kolonije: kljub dostopni surovini in delovni sili, v nekaterih primerih pa tudi kapitala, v kolonijah do industrializacije ni prišlo ali pa je bila neuspešna. Evropske države so nadzorovale globalne trgovske tokove, druge so v njih le sodelovale kot oskrbovalke s surovinami. Rezultat teh procesov je bil razkol med globalnim severom in jugom, ki še danes strukturira sodobni svet.

Razstava *Belo zlato: Zgodbe o bombažu* v ospredje postavlja proizvodnjo bombaža v Indiji in Togu od začetka 20. stoletja do danes, zato si v nadaljevanju podrobneje ogledimo oba primera.

American farmers recovered soon after the war, and reentered the global market as the leading producers of raw cotton and cotton products. In 1900, the United States was one of the most important cotton textile producers, second only to Great Britain. Mechanisation of the cotton textile industry increased at a breakneck pace also in Germany and Russia, and it was no different in Japan and India. Countries were eager to protect their sources of raw cotton as well as to exert political control over the cotton growing regions. Industrial capitalism relied on the combination of capital and state power, which had important implications for European colonies: despite available raw material and labour, in certain cases even capital, colonies did not benefit from industrialisation because it either failed or never began to take place. European countries controlled global trade flows in which other countries participated only as suppliers of raw materials. The result of these processes was a divide between the Global North and South, which continues to shape the modern world today.

The exhibition *White Gold: Stories of Cotton* puts a spotlight on the cotton production in India and Togo from the early 20th century to today. This is how it went.





Smukanje bombaža, Haryana, Indija, 2022. Foto: Kanika Gupta.
Cleaning the cotton, Haryana, India, 2022. Photo: Kanika Gupta.

Indija

Britanska vlada je pričela gojenje bombaža v Indiji spodbujati že v zgodnjem 19. stoletju kot del poskusa povečati raznolikost britanske trgovine in tekmovati z ameriško proizvodnjo bombaža. Leta 1820 je v Kalkuti ustanovila Indijsko kmetijsko in vrtnarsko družbo, do leta 1830 pa je Britanska vzhodnoindijska družba na celotnem območju, ki ga je nadzorovala (severna in severozahodna Indija), vzpostavila več eksperimentalnih kmetij. Programi izboljšanja pridelovanja bombaža so vključevali uvedbo ameriške vrste bombaža, mehanizacijo ter pomoč ameriških plantažnikov, ki so gojili bombaž. Britanci so v Indijo želeli prenesti celoten paket ameriških praks kultiviranja bombaža, a so bili neuspešni. K temu so prispevali slabše prilagajanje tujih vrst bombaža na indijsko zemljo, podnebne razmere, manjši dostop do sveže zemlje v Indiji v primerjavi z ZDA in slabša združljivost dinamike rasti teh vrst s preživetvenimi vzorci indijskih kmetov. Tuji bombaž je zorel predolgo, kar je oviralo pridelovanje hrane lokalnih kmetov, pridelek pa je bil v primerjavi z lokalnimi vrstami manjši. Indijske vrste bombaža so bile zaradi krajših vlaken sicer manj zaželeni, saj niso ustrezale britanskim tekstilnim strojem, a so jih zaradi omenjenih razlogov gojili še naprej.

»Bombažna lakota« je v 60. letih 19. stoletja sprožila dodatne intervencije Britancev v indijsko tekstilno industrijo, med njimi zlasti investicije v infrastrukturo, uvajanje

India

The British government started promoting cotton farming in India already in the early 19th century as part of its efforts to diversify British trade and compete with American cotton production. In 1820, the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India was set up in Calcutta, and by 1830 the British East India Company (EIC) had established several experimental farms all over the EIC-controlled area (North and Northwest India). The aim was to introduce, with the help of American cotton planters, cultivation of American cotton varieties and mechanisation. The British wanted to introduce the whole package of American cultivation practices, but their attempts were unsuccessful. This was partly due to poor adaptation of foreign cotton varieties to Indian soil and climate conditions, lesser access to fresh soil compared to the U.S., and incompatibility of foreign cotton varieties with local Indian peasant livelihood patterns. Foreign varieties took too long to mature, which disrupted subsistence farming practices, and the yield was lower compared to the local varieties. Indian cotton varieties were not initially preferred by the British textile industry, as their short fibres were unsuitable for the machines employed in Britain, but they continued to cultivate them for said reasons.

The "cotton famine" of the 1860s triggered a series of additional interventions in the Indian textile industry, in particular investments in infrastructure, introduction of a

kolonialne zakonodaje in spodbujanje inovacij. Zaradi vojne v Ameriki je zrasla cena bombaža, kar je številne indijske kmete prepričalo, da so opustili gojenje drugih poljščin in se posvetili bombažu. Za nakup orodja in semen so se morali zadolžiti, plačilo za delo pa so dobili šele, ko so bombaž obrali. To je vzpostavilo nadzorovanje dela ljudi prek posojil, s čimer so kmetje zapadli v dolžniška razmerja. To je dolgoročno uničilo zaščitno mrežo vaških družbenih odnosov. Čeprav se je domača proizvodnja tkanin nadaljevala – ob ročnem predenju so začeli uporabljati mehanizirane kolovrate –, se je mnogo indijskih predilcev in tkalcev vključilo v svetovni trg proizvodnje bombaža, saj zaradi njegovih visokih cen niso mogli več konkurirati britanskemu tekstilu. Tako se je v Indiji razmahnil trg s tkaninami, izdelanimi v Evropi, severni Ameriki in na Japonskem.

Neodvisnost Indije leta 1947 je prinesla prehransko krizo, ki so jo v 60. letih poskusili reševati s t. i. zeleno revolucijo. Ta je posegla tudi na področje gojenja bombaža. ZDA so v Indiji vzpostavile vrsto kmetijskih razvojnih projektov, ki so vključevali uporabo visoko donosnih bombažnih semen, povečano uporabo kemikalij, razvoj namakalnega sistema in elektrifikacijo. Konec 20. stoletja so bombažno industrijo v Indiji zaznamovali napadi škodljivcev in posledično slabše letine, kar je povečalo zadolževanje kmetov. Pestijo jih tudi zdravstvene težave, povezane z zastrupitvijo s pesticidi. Težave z donosnostjo gojenja bombaža, zadolževanje kmetov in slabšanje njihovega zdravja so posledica neoliberalnih ekonomskih politik in zahtev industrializiranega kmetijstva. Kombinacija teh razlogov je v Indiji povzročila val samomorov, ki je med letoma 1995 in 2015 terjal več kot 300.000 življenj.

Danes v Indiji obstajata dve možnosti gojenja bombaža: pridelovanje iz genetsko modificiranih hibridnih semen in gojenje organskega bombaža. Genetsko modificiran bombaž so v Indiji prvič komercialno uvedli leta 2002.

legal framework that governed cotton production in the colony, and promotion of innovations. With the American Civil War driving up the cotton prices, many Indian farmers decided to abandon other crops on account of cotton. To buy seeds and tools cotton farmers were forced to take out loans, but they only received payment when the cotton was picked. Their labour was now controlled through loans, pushing farmers further into debt. In the long run, this destroyed the safety net of social relationships which their villages had provided before. Although domestic textile production continued – along with handlooms they started using mechanical spinning wheels – many Indian spinners and weavers joined the global cotton production market, because high prices of Indian cotton meant they were no longer competitive with English cotton textiles. Cheaper textiles made in Europe, North America or Japan, thus swamped the Indian markets.

After it had become independent in 1947 India was hit by the food crisis, and to solve it, the government in the 1960s launched the so-called “green revolution”, which extended to cotton farming. The U.S. set up a number of agricultural development projects in India, which involved using high-yield cotton seeds, increased use of chemicals, development of an irrigation system, and electrification. At the end of the 20th century the cotton industry in India suffered yield losses due to pest infestations, which forced farmers to take on even more debt. Pesticides, too, have had toxic effects on people’s health. Uncertain returns in cotton farming, growing debts, and deterioration of farmers’ health are the result of neoliberal economic policies and requirements of industrialised agriculture. Put together, these reasons led to a wave of farmer suicides, which took more than 300,000 lives between 1995 and 2015.

Today, farmers in India have two options for growing cotton: genetically modified hybrid seeds or organic

Zaradi obljub o povišanem donosu in zmanjšanju uporabe pesticidov je do leta 2017 prevladal in danes obsega 95 % vsega pridelanega bombaža. Pridelovalcem je na voljo izjemno široka ponudba semen, a imajo o njih malo znanja, zato semena pogosto menjujejo. Izgubljata se lokalno in izkustveno znanje, s tem pa tudi razumevanje, kaj pomeni dobro kmetovanje. Paradoksalno se je poraba pesticidov v zadnjem obdobju ponovno povečala, kar ima vpliv na zdravje ljudi, vodne vire in proizvodnjo hrane.

Po drugi strani v zadnjih letih indijski kmetje zagotavljajo večino organskega bombaža na svetovnem trgu. Za organsko kmetovanje, ki zahteva sledenje visokim standardom, prinaša pa manjši donos, jih poskušajo različne organizacije pritegniti s subvencijami in zagotavljanjem infrastrukture. Medtem ko so pridelovalci genetsko spremenjenega bombaža podvrženi nezanesljivim informacijam o semenih in kemikalijah, ki jih uporabljajo, večina pridelovalcev organskega bombaža sodeluje v zadrugah. Te omogočajo skupno odločanje in učinkovitejše obvladovanje tveganj, zagotavljajo pa tudi stabilnost in možnost alternativ, na primer gojenje drugih poljščin. V posameznih indijskih državah in regijah so prisotne različice tega splošnega pregleda, podrobnejši vpogled v razmere v indijski zvezni državi Odiša pa nam bosta v besedilu *Kappa: Bombažna kriza* ponudila dr. Kanika Gupta in Akash Kumar Sahu.

cotton. Genetically modified cotton was first introduced in India for commercial cultivation in 2002. Because it promised higher yields and reduced use of pesticides, it became predominantly used by 2017, and today accounts for 95% of all cotton produced in India. With an exceptionally wide range of seeds available, but little knowledge to help them choose, farmers frequently switch between seeds. Local knowledge and experience are progressively being lost, and with them the understanding of good farming practices. Ironically, recently the use of pesticides has increased again, which in turn affects people's health, water resources, and food production.

On the other hand, Indian farmers now provide most of the global organic cotton supply. There are different organisations that provide infrastructure and subsidies to help them convert to organic farming, which requires meeting high standards, but brings lower returns. And while farmers using genetically modified cotton receive unreliable information about their seeds and the chemicals they use, most organic cotton farmers are organised in cooperatives. These facilitate joint decision-making and effective risk management, while providing stability and alternatives, such as growing other crops. There are different practices in different states and regions of India. For the purposes of this exhibition, Dr. Kanika Gupta and Akash Kumar Sahu present the situation in the federal state of Odisha in their paper *Kappa: the cotton crisis*.





Batik, Togo, 2022. Foto: Ana Reberc.

Batik, Togo, 2022. Photo: Ana Reberc.

Togo

V obdobju med ameriško državljansko vojno in prvo svetovno vojno je zahodna Afrika pričela okrevati od transatlantske trgovine z zasužnjenimi ljudmi. Vzpostavljane novih političnih in ekonomskih institucij je prekinil interes evropskih imperijev, ki so tam iskali nove priložnosti. Na ozemlju, ki je kasneje postalo nemška kolonija Togo, so bombaž za lokalne potrebe gojili že dolgo, a v izvozni ekonomiji Toga ni igral nobene vloge. V času »bombažne lakote« so si nekateri domačini, ki so živeli blizu obale, izposodili denar za vzpostavitev plantaž in kupili zasužnjene ljudi, ki so gojili bombaž za francoske in angleške trgovce. Omejevanje suženjskega dela v ZDA je tako spodbudilo majhen porast suženjskega dela v Togu za gojenje bombaža. V 70. letih 19. stoletja so cene bombaža padle in tisti kmetje, ki so zaradi pridelovanja bombaža opustili gojenje poljščin za svojo prehrano, so se znašli v nezavidljivem položaju: zaslužek jim ni omogočal preživetja. Proizvodnja bombaža se je v večjem obsegu v Togo vrnila 30 let kasneje pod nemško kolonialno vladavino.

Nemčija je pri kolonizaciji Afrike ogromno energije vlagala v razvoj novih kmetijskih pridelkov za trg (zlasti palmovo olje, kakav in bombaž). V tem obdobju je imela eno največjih predilskih industrij v Evropi in s tem velike potrebe po surovem bombažu. Leta 1884 so Nemci na ozemlju današnjega Toga in vzhodne Gane vzpostavili protektorat, imenovan Togoland (za svoje kolonije so

Togo

For West Africa, the period between the American Civil War and World War I was the time of recovery from the transatlantic slave trade. The establishment of new political and economic institutions was interrupted by the interests of European empires looking for new opportunities in the region. Cotton had been grown for local use in what later became the German colony of Togo for a long time, but its role in Togo's export economy was insignificant. During the cotton famine some Togolese who lived near the coast borrowed money to set up plantations and buy enslaved people to grow cotton for French and English merchants. The struggle against slave labour in the United States thus provoked a small increase in slave labour to grow cotton in Togo. In the 1870s, cotton prices fell and the farmers who had abandoned food crops to grow cotton found themselves in a precarious situation as they could no longer make a living from farming. Large-scale cotton production returned to Togo 30 years later under the German colonial rule.

In its efforts to colonise Africa, Germany invested a lot of energy into developing new cash crops (in the first place palm oil, cocoa, and cotton). At the time, Germany's spinning industry was one of the largest in Europe and this had a big impact on its demand for raw cotton. In 1884, Germany established a protectorate in the territory of present-day Togo and East Ghana, so-called Togoland (and

razglasili še nekatera druga območja v Afriki). Njihovo uvajanje komercialnega bombaža v Togo so nekateri drugi evropski kolonialni imperiji tistega časa, ki so si prav tako prisvojili ozemlja v Afriki, razumeli kot primer t. i. »dobrega kolonializma« in Togo videli kot »vzorčno kolonijo«. Cilj nemškega kolonializma je bil vzpostaviti nadzor nad ozemljem in iz države črpati surovine. Nemško trgovsko podjetje, ki je skrbelo za promocijo kolonialnega bombaža, je tako nemško vlado prepričalo, da bo s proizvodnjo bombaža okrepila svojo moč v Togu, vzpostavila ekonomsko odvisnost domačinov od Nemčije in Nemce naredila za prave gospodarje te regije.

Nemci so se zanašali na domačo tradicijo proizvodnje bombaža. Sklepali so, da bodo domačini prepoznali prednosti komercialnega gojenja bombaža in da bo izobraževanje kmetov vodilo k proizvodnji bombaža za svetovni trg po njihovi lastni in svobodni volji. Gojenje bombaža so opredelili kot Volkskultur tega območja, torej kot del ljudske kulture domačinov, ki so jo želeli razvijati s pomočjo znanj z ameriškega juga. V Togo so povabili agronome z inštituta Tuskegee v Alabami (s polnim imenom Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute), da bi nemške kolonialiste in lokalne prebivalce naučili gojiti bombaž za izvoz. James N. Calloway, John Robinson, Allen Burks in Shepherd Lincoln Harris, sinovi nekdanjih zaslužjenih ljudi iz Alabame, so kot sodelavci inštituta Tuskegee v Togu delovali med letoma 1901 in 1909. V tem času so ustanovili vzorčno plantažo bombaža in kmetijsko šolo za domačine. Prišleki iz Alabame so pričakovali, da se bodo srečali z razlaščenimi ljudmi, ki jim ne bo preostalo drugega kot delati na plantažah, domačini pa so bili lastniki zemlje in materialnih virov. Tudi cene surovega bombaža, ki so jih ponujali Nemci, so bile prenizke, da bi kmete spodbudile k opustitvi gojenja poljščin v zameno za monokulturo. Bile so celo nižje od cen, ki so jih za surov bombaž ponujali lokalni predilci in tkalci. V tem času se

proclaimed several other colonies elsewhere in Africa). Contemporary observers saw the introduction of commercial cotton farming into Togo as an example of "good colonialism" and viewed Togo as a "model colony". The aim of German colonialism was to establish control over the territory and to gain direct access to raw materials. A German trading company that was in charge of promoting colonial cotton explained to the German government that introducing cotton cultivation for the world market would bolster the power of the German state in Togo and make Togolese economically dependent on Germany, thus establishing the Germans as the true masters of the region.

The Germans relied on the traditional cotton production practices. They assumed that the Togolese would recognise the advantages of commercial cotton production and that educating farmers would lead them to produce cotton for the world market at their own free will. They defined this as Volkskultur, or "folk culture", suggesting that this was their traditional farming practice which they wanted to develop further by utilizing the knowledge from the American South. The Germans turned to agronomists from the Tuskegee Institute of Alabama (Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute) to teach German colonialists and local people to cultivate cotton for export. James N. Calloway, John Robinson, Allen Burks and Shepherd Lincoln Harris, sons of former enslaved people from Alabama, were sent by the Tuskegee Institute to help in Togo between 1901 and 1909. During this time they set up a model cotton farm and a cotton school for the Togolese. The guests from Alabama assumed to be faced with abject population who had no choice but to work on plantations, but the Togolese owned both their land and material resources. The raw cotton prices offered by the Germans were too low to persuade farmers to abandon crops for a monoculture. The prices they were offered by the Germans were even lower than what the local spinners and weavers offered to pay for raw

je proizvodnja bombaža povečala, a to ni omogočilo samozadostnosti Nemcev pri oskrbi z bombažem. Njihov poskus, da bi preoblikovali kmetijstvo v Togu, v katerem bi domačini namesto poljščin za prehrano gojili le bombaž za izvoz, ni bil uspešen.

Ob izbruhu prve svetovne vojne leta 1914 so ozemlje Toga zasedli Britanci in Francozi, leta 1922 pa sta tudi formalno nastala britanski in francoski Togoland. Leta 1946 sta oba Togolanda postala skrbniški ozemlji Združenih narodov, leta 1957 pa je britanski Togoland postal del neodvisne Gane, francoski pa leta 1960 neodvisna Republika Togo. Po neodvisnosti Toga so politični odločevalci rešitev problema revščine v državi videli v izboljšanju kmetijskega sektorja. Po seriji suš in posledičnih lakot v 70. letih je tedanji predsednik Eyadéma Gnassingbé pozval k vračanju k zemlji in kmetijstvu, kar je poimenoval »zelena revolucija« (1977–1988). Reforme, ki so sledile, so pomagale pri razvoju kmetijstva, kar je omogočilo tudi začetek izvažanja bombaža, a so ukrepi delovali le kratek čas. Državo je poleg korupcije in nedelovanja institucij pestila politična nestabilnost.

V zadnjem obdobju je cilj države pospešiti industrializacijo in namesto surovin izvažati izdelke. V ta namen so junija 2021 le nekaj kilometrov od prestolnice Lomé odprli prvi industrijski in logistični park, imenovan industrijska platforma Adétikopé. V tem kompleksu poleg bombaža predelujejo kakav, kavo, sojo, riž, indijske oreščke in les. Bombažni sektor je danes najbolj strukturiran kmetijski podsektor v Togu. Je gonilo razvoja ruralnih območij in nacionalne ekonomije. Na proizvodnjo bombaža v zadnjem obdobju pomembno vplivajo podnebne spremembe, zlasti višanje temperatur in spremenjeni vzorci padavin. Pomemben izziv v naslednjih letih bo ustrezno raziskati vplive podnebnih sprememb na proizvodnjo bombaža in ranljivost kmetovalcev ter razviti primerne strategije blaženja njenih posledic.

cotton. The cotton production in this period increased significantly, but not enough for Germany to be self-sufficient in cotton. The German attempt to transform Togolese agriculture so that the people would switch from growing food crops to cotton for exports, failed.

At the outset of World War I in 1914 the British and French invaded Togoland, and in 1922 it was formally divided between them into the British and French Togoland. In 1946, the two Togolands became United Nations' trust territories. In 1957 the British part joined independent Ghana, whereas the French part became the independent Republic of Togo in 1960. Following Togo's independence, political decision-makers saw the solution for the country's poverty in the development of the agricultural sector. After a series of droughts and resulting food shortages in the 1970s, then president Eyadéma Gnassingbé launched what he called the "green revolution", promoting the return to the countryside and agriculture (1977–1988). The reforms that followed helped boost the country's agricultural development, enabling it to start exporting cotton, but these improvements were short-lived. The country was a victim of corruption, institutional inaction, and political turmoil.

Recently, the country has made it its goal to accelerate industrialisation and export products rather than raw materials. In June 2021, Togo launched the Adétikopé industrial platform, the first industrial and logistics park in the country, situated only a few kilometres from the capital of Lomé. In addition to cotton they process cocoa, coffee, soybeans, rice, cashew nuts, and wood. Today, the Togo's cotton sector is the most structured agricultural subsector in Togo, and remains an engine of growth in rural areas and in the national economy. Climate change, in particular rising temperatures and varying rain patterns, have an important impact on cotton production. Assessing the impact of climate change on cotton production and the vulnerability of cotton farmers as well as developing

V Togu se je spomladi 2022 s temi vprašanji ukvarjala Ana Reberc, ki rezultate svoje raziskave podaja v besedilu *Včasih je bila zemlja rodovitna in deževna obdobja so bila obilna*.

strategies that can mitigate its effects will be important challenges in the coming years. In spring 2022, Ana Reberc went to Togo as part of her research into these issues. The results of her fieldwork are presented in the paper *The soil used to be fertile and rains abundant in the wet season*.

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Jezero Togo, po katerem je poimenovana država. Togo, 2022. Foto: Ana Reberc.
Lake Togo, from which the country derives its name. Togo, 2022. Photo: Ana Reberc.





RALF ČEPLAK MENCIN, TINA PALAIĆ

Slovenski etnografski muzej

/ Slovene Ethnographic Museum

Bengalski misijon: predstavljanje Indije in njenih ljudi skozi »bombažne oči«

THE BENGAL MISSION:
REPRESENTATIONS OF INDIA AND ITS
PEOPLE THROUGH "COTTON EYES"

Slovenski etnografski muzej hrani bogato gradivo, ki razkriva številna srečevanja prebivalcev slovenskega ozemlja z ljudmi z drugih celin. K temu gradivu so v veliki meri prispevali misijonarji, ki so v domovino pošiljali poročila in predmete. Misijonske družbe so doma izdajale publikacije in prirejale razstave predmetov iz misijonov. Misijonarji so tako pridobivali finančno in idejno podporo za svoja udejstvovanja, hkrati pa rojake seznanjali s kulturami ljudi, med katerimi so delovali. V prvi polovici 20. stoletja je ponoven porast misijonskih aktivnosti Slovincem omogočil spoznavanje s kulturami Azije in Afrike. Družba sv. Petra Klaverja za afriške misijone je v stavbi na Taboru poleg lazariške cerkve Srca Jezusovega v Ljubljani razstavljala predmete iz različnih afriških držav, v Grobljah pri Domžalah je muzejsko zbirko s predmeti iz misijonov v Afriki in Aziji ustvarilo misijonsko središče lazaristov, pri jezuitski cerkvi Sv. Jožefa na Poljanah v Ljubljani pa je bil odprt »Bengalski« oziroma »Indijski muzej«, posvečen misijonu jugoslovanskih jezuitov v Bengaliji. Bengalski misijon je bil med svetovnima vojnama na Slovenskem dobro poznan.

The Slovene Ethnographic Museum holds numerous materials about encounters between Slovenians and people from other continents. Many were contributed by missionaries who sent reports and objects to their homeland. At home, missionary societies published various publications and organised exhibitions of the objects collected at the missions. This way, the missionaries obtained financial and moral support for their activities as well as informed their compatriots about the culture of the people among whom they worked. Increased missionary activity in the first half of the 20th century expanded Slovenian horizons with new knowledge about the cultures of Asia and Africa. The Society of St. Peter Claver for African missions exhibited objects from different African countries in its building at Tabor next to the Lazarite Church of the Sacred Heart in Ljubljana, and the Lazarite mission centre established a museum collection with objects from African and Asian missions at Groblje near Domžale. The Jesuit Church of St. Joseph in Ljubljana's Poljane district opened the "Bengal" or "Indian museum" dedicated to the mission of Yugoslav Jesuits in Bengal. The Bengal mission was well-known in Slovenia in the interwar period.

Misijonarjenje v Bengaliji

Zgodovina stikov Evropejcev z indijsko podcelino je dolga več stoletij. Vanjo sodijo tudi misijonska prizadevanja. V 19. stoletju so se ponovno pričeli uveljavljati katoliški misijoni, zlasti na območju Bengalije, kjer so pričeli delovati angleški jezuitski misijonarji, ki pa so leta 1846 zapustili Kalkuto. Leta 1859 so z delom v Bengaliji začeli belgijski jezuiti, ki so ustanovili več misijonskih postaj, a je njihova dejavnost zaradi pomanjkanja sredstev in ljudi pričela kmalu usihati. Ko je papež Benedikt XV. leta 1919 izdal apostolsko pismo *Maximum illud*, ki je predvidelo odmik od ideje nacionalnih misijonov k transnacionalnosti Cerkve ter njihovo prihodnost videlo v združevanju moči različnih redov in nacionalnosti, so belgijski jezuiti k pomoči pri delu povabili misijonarje iz drugih držav. Takratni voditelj jugoslovanske province pater Anton Prešeren se je z belgijskim provincialom dogovoril za prihod slovenskih in hrvaških misijonarjev v Bengalijo. Dodeljeno jim je bilo področje 24 Parganas.

V Bengalijo sta leta 1925 prva odšla hrvaška jezuita, leta 1928 pa je tja odšla prva Slovenka, loretinka Barbara Kajnič (1892–1984). Jezuit Stanko Poderžaj (1904–1976) je bil član prve skupine slovenskih misijonarjev, ki je v Zahodno Bengalijo prispela leta 1929. Z njim sta prišla še misijonarja France Drobnič (1902–1963) in Janez Udovč (1895–1978), kasneje pa so se jim pridružili še drugi. Jugoslovanski misijonarji so večinoma bivali v Kurseongu, mestu pod Himalajo, kjer so se v Marijinem semenišču usposabljali in izobraževali jezuitski misijonarji v Bengaliji.

Missionary work in Bengal

The history of European encounters with the Indian subcontinent goes back centuries, and was shaped also by missionary work. The 19th century saw the reemergence of Catholic missions, especially in Bengal, where British Jesuit missionaries had already worked, but left Calcutta in 1846. Belgian Jesuits came to Bengal in 1859 and set up several mission stations, but owing to the lack of resources and staff their activity soon waned. In 1919, when Pope Benedict XV issued the apostolic letter *Maximum illud*, which called for missionaries to transcend national boundaries in line with the universal and transnational mission of the Church, and envisioned their future in mobilising different orders and nationalities, the Belgian Jesuits invited missionaries from other countries to join in their efforts. The head of the Yugoslav Jesuit province, Father Anton Prešeren, made an agreement with the Belgian Provincial for Slovenian and Croatian missionaries to take over missionary tasks in Bengal, namely in the 24 Parganas district.

The first to leave for Bengal were two Croatian Jesuits in 1925, followed by the first Slovenian woman missionary in 1928, a Loreto Sister Barbara Kajnič (1892–1984). Jesuit Stanko Poderžaj (1904–1976) was a member of the first group of Slovenian missionaries to arrive in West Bengal in 1929 together with France Drobnič (1902–1963) and Janez Udovč (1895–1978), who were later joined by other missionaries. Most Yugoslav missionaries were stationed in St. Mary's Seminary in Kurseong, a town under the Himalayas, where Jesuit missionaries in Bengal received



Stanko Poderžaj sedi v svoji pisarni v Kurseongu. V sobi je knjižna omara, na steni za Poderžajem pa sta sliki misijonarjev Friderika Barage in Ignacija Knobleharja, ki sta ga verjetno navdihovala pri misijonarskih prizadevanjih. Vir: *Bengalski misijonar*, 1933.

Stanko Poderžaj in his office in Kurseong. He is sitting against the background of a bookshelf, and the pictures on the back wall are portraits of missionaries Friderik Baraga and Ignacij Knoblehar, who seem to have inspired his work as a missionary. Source: *Bengal Missionary*, 1933.

Slovenski misijon tam nikoli ni deloval v velikem obsegu, saj je primanjkovalo ljudi, pa tudi družbene spremembe v Evropi so vodile k zmanjševanju števila misijonarjev. Novim misijonarjem je pot zaprla tudi Indija, ki je po razglasitvi samostojnosti leta 1947 uveljavila stroge pogoje za priseljevanje tujcev. Poderžaj je vse do smrti leta 1976 deloval pod Himalajo.

their education. The Slovenian mission there was never very big as there were not enough people, and social changes in Europe also contributed to the declining influx of missionaries. After it had declared its independence in 1947, India too imposed strict restrictions on immigration, which also reduced the presence of foreign missionaries in the country. Poderžaj remained active under the Himalayas until his death in 1976.





»Bengalski« nabiralnik za zbiranje sredstev v podporo Bengalskemu misijonu. Indijska zbirka SEM. Foto: Tomo Jeseničnik.

“Bengal” collection box for donations to support the Bengal mission. SEM Indian collection. Photo: Tomo Jeseničnik.

Seznanjanje rojakov z Indijo

Naloga misijonarjev je bila seznanjati rojake v domovini z njihovim delom. Prispevke so lahko objavljali v več katoliških časopisih ali v knjižni obliki. Med plodovitejšimi pisci je bil misijonar Stanko Poderžaj, ki se mu posvečava v nadaljevanju. Prispeval je številna besedila, ki so tematsko segla na področja naravoslovja, tehnike, kulture in religije. Svojo pot v Indijo je popisal v trinajstih delih pod naslovoma *V imenu gospodovem* in *S pota v Indijo*, ki so med letoma 1929 in 1931 izšli v reviji *Katoliški misijoni*. Leta 1930 je začel izdajati list *Bengalski misijonar* kot prilogo *Glasnika srca Jezusovega*, ki je do začetka druge svetovne vojne izhajal v Ljubljani. Več desetletij je pisal za *Misli*, informativni mesečnik za versko in kulturno življenje Slovencev v Avstraliji, ki so ga tam izdajali slovenski frančiškani. Napisal je tudi štiri knjižna dela, med njimi *Pod Himalajo: ob ustanavljanju jugoslovanske misijonske pokrajine Družbe Jezusove v Bengaliji* (1929) ter *Bengalčevi bogovi* (1936).

Poderžaj je svoje izkušnje s poti in življenje v vzhodni Indiji bralcem predstavljal skozi misijonarjevo perspektivo, ki jo je pomembno oblikovala evropska vednost o Indiji tistega časa. Opozarjal je predvsem na poganstvo domačinov in poudarjal pomen pokristjanjevanja. Tako je ob božiču leta 1973 v reviji *Misli* zapisal: »Za letošnji božič vsem priporočam v molitev te naše poganske ovčice, ki so še zunaj hlevca, pa jih Ljubezen v njem tako privlačuje.« Tudi v delu *Bengalčevi bogovi*, v katerem opisuje lokalna praznovanja v koledarskem letu, v uvodu komentira: »Če

Introducing India to people at home

The missionaries were to present their work also to their compatriots at home. They published their reports in several Catholic newspapers and in books. Missionary Stanko Poderžaj was among the most prolific writers. He contributed numerous articles on various subjects, from natural history, technology, and culture to religion. He described his journey to India in thirteen parts under the title *In the name of the Lord* and *From the Indian journey*, which were published between 1929 and 1931 in the journal *Katoliški misijoni* [Catholic Missions]. The *Bengalski misijonar* [Bengal Missionary] was launched in 1930 as a supplement to the monthly journal *Glasnik srca Jezusovega* [Journal of the Sacred Heart of Jesus], which was published in Ljubljana until the beginning of World War II. For several decades, he also wrote for *Misli* [Thoughts], an informative monthly magazine for religious and cultural life of Slovenians in Australia, which was published by Slovenian Franciscans in Australia. He also wrote four books, including *Pod Himalajo: ob ustanavljanju jugoslovanske misijonske pokrajine Družbe Jezusove v Bengaliji* [Under the Himalayas: upon the establishment of the Yugoslav missionary province of the Society of Jesus in Bengal] (1929) and *Bengalčevi bogovi* [Bengali Gods] (1936).

Poderžaj shared his travel experience and life in East India with his readers through the perspective of a missionary, which was shaped by the European knowledge of India at the time. He frequently wrote about Bengali

duh v resnici črta svoje poteze v meso in njega žitje, je nazadnje vendarle ves človek veren izraz duše, ki je v njem. V tej luči motrimo Bengalca, in njegovo vedenje pred bogovi nam bo dosti zanimivejše. Odkrili bomo na njem marsikaj lepega, razkrila pa se nam bo tudi v vsej strašni goloti praznosta poganstva in z njo zevajoča rana, na kateri izkrvaveva štiridesetmilijonski narod.»

Njegovi sestavki imajo pogosto propagandni in moralizatorski namen, zlasti ko piše o razlikah med Indijci in Evropejci. Svoje ugotovitve podaja avtoritativno in posplošeno. V potopisu se med drugim na primeru žvečenja betla zgraža nad lokalnimi navadami: *»Čudno se nam je zdelo, da imajo vsi domačini po teh krajih tako čudno krvavordeča usta. Nekaterim se je iz ust cedila neka gnusna tekočina enake barve in od časa do časa je brizgnilo od njih po rdečeprstenih tleh in po cementnem tlaku železniške postaje. Kasneje sem izvedel, da večina preprostih Indijcev žveči takozvani bétel, neke vrste poprov list, ki ga pa na poseben način poprej prirede.»* Poderžaj se mestoma zahvali za podporo, ki jo je prejemal njegov misijon. Po dveh kratkih zgodbicah, s katerima opiše sprejetje krščanstva pri domačinih, je leta 1975 v reviji *Misli* zapisal: *»Gornje naj bo skromen poskus hvaležnosti do MISLI in bralcev, predvsem pa zahvala tistim dobrim dušam, ki z molitvijo, žrtvami in tudi avstralskimi dolarji spremljajo misijonarjevo delo v poganski Bengaliji. Bog povrni vsem skupaj!«*

pagans while stressing the importance of Christianisation. In the 1973 Christmas edition of *Thoughts* magazine he wrote: *"This Christmas I commend to you our pagan lambs who are still at the doors of our stable, but so drawn by the Love it holds inside, so you may include them in your prayers."* In *Bengali Gods* he describes local celebrations, commenting: *"If the spirit truly carves its features into flesh and its being, then the entire human being is a faithful expression of the soul it carries within. Seen in this light, a Bengali and his behaviour before gods becomes much more fascinating. We will discover in him a beauty as well as the void of paganism in all its dreadful bareness, and with it a gaping wound through which the forty-million nation bleeds."*

His writings are often a form of moral propaganda, especially when he discusses the differences between Indians and Europeans, offering patronising and generalized conclusions. In his travelogue, for example, he is put off by the betel leaf habit: *"We thought it strange how blood-red the grin of local people was. We saw some of them with disgusting fluid of the same colour dripping from their mouths, and from time to time it spurted on the red soil and the cement paving of the railway station. Later I learned that most simple Indians chew so-called betel, a kind of a pepper leaf, which requires special preparation before it is used."* Here and there, Poderžaj also expresses his gratitude for the support received by his mission. In 1975 he published two short stories in the *Thoughts* magazine, in which he described conversion to Christianity. He concluded by commenting: *"The above is my humble attempt to express gratitude to THOUGHTS and its readers, and most of all my thanks to all those kind souls who pray, sacrifice, and donate Australian dollars for the work of missionaries in heathen Bengal. May the Lord repay you!"*

Paternalistični odnos do domačinov in poudarjanje pomena pokristjanjevanja lahko razbiramo tudi iz deklamacije Bengalčkov pozdrav, objavljene v knjigi *BENGALČKI – otroške igrice in prizori za misijonske prireditve*. Izšla je leta 1937 v zbirki Indijska knjižnica, ki jo je izdajal Bengalski misijon.

His patronising attitude towards the local people and insistence on the importance of converting them to Christianity are evident also in the declamation *Bengalčkov pozdrav* [Greetings from a Bengali boy] published in the book *BENGALI CHILDREN – childrens' games and scenes for mission events*. It was published in 1937 in the Indian Library collection, published by the Bengal mission.

BENGALČKOV POZDRAV!

Joj, koliko Vas je,
Kako je veselo moje drobno srčece,
saj ve, da mislite na nas uboge
poganske Bengalije sinove.

Mnogo, oj, premnogo nas je,
In vsi živimo v poganskih zmotah še.
Od vas pričakujemo pomoči,
Da lepši bodo dnevi v naši zemlji vroči.

Zato pozdravljeni toplo, srčno,
Naj bo v plačilo vedno vam lepo!
Bengalčki bomo pa za vas molili
In vas nikoli, oj nikoli ne (po)zabili!

GREETINGS FROM A BENGALI BOY!

How many You are,
How happy my little heart is,
Knowing that we are on your mind,
The sons of heathen Bengal.

We are many, oh, too many,
All of us still living in heathen illusions.
We look to you for help,
To make our days nicer in our hot land.

So we welcome you warmly, heartily,
Wishing you all the best forever on end!
We, little Bengalis, will pray for you in return,
And you will never, ever be forgotten!

Misijonske razstave

V drugi polovici 19. stoletja se je razmahnilo predstavljanje naravnih in kulturnih bogastev svetovnih regij. Evropski imperiji so z namenom pridobivanja podpore kolonializmu prirejali kolonialne razstave, ki so poudarjale ekonomske dosežke in družbeni napredek kolonij pod njihovo vladavino. Kolonialne razstave so se pričele prepletati s t. i. svetovnimi razstavami, na katerih so države z vseh celin na izbrano temo prispevale svoje izdelke in predmete, pogosto s poudarkom na industriji, kmetijstvu in umetnosti. Nekatere prireditve so prikazovale tudi žive predstavnike različnih zunajevropskih ljudstev. Zbiranje predmetov in dokumentov v misijonih pa je vodilo k prirejanju misijonskih razstav v matičnih deželah.

Misijonsko razstavljanje je spodbudila velika misijonska razstava, ki jo je leta 1925 pod pokroviteljstvom papeža Pija XI. v Vatikanu zasnoval katoliški duhovnik Wilhelm Schmidt. V osrednjem delu razstave, ki je bila namenjena etnološkim vsebinam, je Schmidt razstavil predmete, zbrane v misijonih po vsem svetu, in z njimi poskušal dokazati svojo teorijo o obstoju primarnega monoteizma, od katerega so se ljudstva z materialnim razvojem oddaljila. Šele katoliška vera naj bi ta ljudstva popeljala nazaj k monoteizmu. V Ljubljani misijonskim razstavam sledimo v leto 1923, razmahnile pa so se zlasti v 30. letih 20. stoletja. Indijske predmete so lahko obiskovalci videli na številnih dogodkih, med njimi na Ljubljanskem velesejmu leta 1930, na prireditvi Ljubljana v jeseni tri leta kasneje, izključno Indiji pa je bila posvečena razstava na

Mission exhibitions

Presentations of natural and cultural riches of the world were very popular in the 19th century. Looking for more support to colonialism European empires held colonial exhibitions that showed off the economic achievements and social progress of the colonies under their rule. Colonial exhibitions began to intertwine with so-called world expositions to which countries from all continents contributed products and objects relating to the given subject, often with an emphasis on industry, agriculture, and art. Certain events even showed representatives of non-European peoples. Missions also held exhibitions in their homelands, showcasing the objects and documents they collected through their work.

The impetus came from the grand Vatican Mission Exposition organised in 1925 under the patronage of Pope Pius XI and designed by Catholic priest Wilhelm Schmidt. In the central part of the exhibition, the Ethnology Room, Schmidt displayed objects sent by missions across the world, with the aim to corroborate his theory of the existence of primeval monotheism, which was subsequently corrupted through the material evolution of peoples. Catholicism was to help these peoples revert back to monotheism. The first mission exhibitions in Ljubljana date back to 1923, but they became really popular in the 1930s. Visitors could see Indian objects at numerous events, including the 1930 Ljubljana Grand Fair, then again three years later in Ljubljana, and at the exhibition dedicated exclusively to India at the Ljubljana



Misionarji so predmete iz različnih krajev indijske podceline pošiljali v jezuitski samostan v Ljubljani in jih razstavljali na različnih prizoriščih. Vir: *Bengalski misijonar*, 1933.

Missionaries sent items from different places of the Indian subcontinent to the Jesuit monastery in Ljubljana, and exhibited them in various venues. Source: *Bengal Missionary*, 1933.

Ljubljanskem velesejmu leta 1937. Predmete iz misijonov so razstavljale tudi same misijonske družbe. Misijonu jugoslovanskih jezuitov v Bengaliji je bil posvečen »Bengalski« oziroma »Indijski muzej« v Ljubljani.

Na zadnji strani Poderžajeve knjige *Bengalčevi bogovi* je povabilo k obisku »Indijskega misijonskega muzeja« v Ljubljani, kjer so si lahko obiskovalci ogledali številne indijske predmete. Razstavljeni so bili »krasen bengalski tiger«, ki »nima para v nobenem muzeju Jugoslavije«; »strahotna kača udav (piton, boa)«; »pisani indijski metulji in hrošči«, kamor spadajo še »razni zastopniki zverjadi, mnogo krasno barvanih ptic, zbirka indijskih sadežev in pridelkov«; »dragocene bengalske vaze«, poleg njih pa še »lepotičje, nakit, umetni ročni izdelki, kuhinjsko

Grand Fair in 1937. Mission societies also exhibited objects collected by missions. The "Bengal" or "Indian museum" in Ljubljana was dedicated to the mission of Yugoslav Jesuits in Bengal.

The back page of Poderžaj's book *Bengali Gods* offered an invitation to visit the "Indian mission museum" in Ljubljana, where visitors could see numerous objects from India, including a "fine Bengali tiger without compare in any museum of Yugoslavia", "a terrifying boa constrictor", "colourful Indian butterflies and beetles" and "various specimens of wild animals, myriad beautifully coloured birds, a collection of Indian fruits and produce", "precious Bengali vases" alongside "adornments, jewellery, artisanal handicraft, kitchen utensils and other tools, sculptures of

in gospodarsko orodje, kipi bengalskih prebivalcev in obrti, pletenine, potrebščine za lov, ribolov, dragi sariji; »indijska umetnost«, kamor spadajo »krasni lesorezi, barvotiski, slike iz indijskih pravlji in legend, slike in kipi božanstev, junakov, pokrajin in stavb, bogoslužni in čarovniški predmeti raznih verstev in pokrajin«; ter nazadnje »slike naših misijonarjev«. Misijonarji so poleg indijske flore in favne zbrali številne predmete, s katerimi so poskušali rojakom prikazati življenje domačinov, med katerimi so delovali.

Indijski predmeti v Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju

Slovenski etnografski muzej je misijonsko zbirko iz Bengalije pridobil po letu 1949 prek Federalnega zbirnega centra (FZC).¹ Večinoma gre za majhne kipce, okrasne in uporabne predmete iz medenine ter indijsko zbirko barvnih tiskov z začetka 20. stoletja. Med letoma 1964 in 2001 je bila zbirka shranjena v Muzeju neevropskih kultur v Goričanah, pozneje pa v novem Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju na Metelkovi v Ljubljani. Muzej je zbirko ves čas dopolnjeval, k čemur sta poleg manjših donacij in nakupov v 60. in 70. letih 20. stoletja prispevala zlasti indijski študent Jayant Gosalia in njegova žena Kokila. Poleg indijskega nakita in nekaj drugih predmetov je muzej od njiju odkupil predvsem vezanine, pregrinjala, sarije in druge tkanine. Zadnji indijski predmeti, ki jih je muzej pridobil leta 2020, spadajo v zapuščino zakoncev Ravnik – Hinterlechner.

Bengali people and crafts, knitwear, fishing and hunting gear, expensive sarees“, “Indian art“, which includes “splendid woodcuts, colour prints, pictures from Indian fairy tales and legends, images and sculptures of deities, heroes, landscapes and buildings, items used in worship and witchcraft of different religions and lands“, and finally, “pictures of our missionaries“. In addition to Indian flora and fauna, the missionaries also collected items that were to recreate the life and customs of the people among whom they worked.

Indian objects at the Slovene Ethnographic Museum

The Slovene Ethnographic Museum obtained the Bengal mission collection after 1949 through the Federal Collection Centre (FCC).¹ The bulk of the collection consists of small sculptures, brass decorative and household articles, and the Indian print collection from the early 20th century. Between 1964 and 2001, before it was moved to the new Slovene Ethnographic Museum at Metelkova Street in Ljubljana, the collection was kept at the Museum of Non-European Cultures in Goričane. The collection was constantly updated with minor donations and purchases made in the 1960s and 1970s, but the largest acquisition was obtained from the Indian student Jayant Gosalia and his wife Kokila. The museum thus acquired not only Indian jewellery and several other items, but also embroideries, bedspreads, sarees, and other textiles. The last Indian objects acquired by the museum in 2020 belong in the bequest of the Ravnik – Hinterlechner family.

¹ Federalni zbirni center, ki je deloval med letoma 1945 in 1948, je bil ustanovljen z namenom zbiranja in zavarovanja predmetov kulturno-zgodovinske vrednosti, ki so bili v povojni Jugoslaviji z vrsto zakonov podržavljeni.

Active between 1945 and 1948, the Federal Collection Centre was established to collect and protect objects of cultural and historical value that were nationalised through a series of laws in post-war Yugoslavia.

Na razstavi *Belo zlato: Zgodbe o bombažu* prikazujemo indijske sarije, ki predstavljajo bogato oblačilno kulturo Indijk. To lahko razbiramo tudi iz razstavljenih tiskov, ki spadajo v okvir bazarske umetnosti. Razstavljeno gradivo nas po eni strani usmerja k vprašanju o medkulturnih in medverskih stikih misijonarjev z domačini, zlasti pa o njihovih zbiralnih aktivnostih in konstruiranju vednosti o ljudeh v Zahodni Bengaliji. Poleg tega gradivo razpira vprašanja o družbenem kontekstu, v katerem so se znašli jugoslovanski misijonarji. V protikolonialnem ozračju gibanja za indijsko neodvisnost so v tem obdobju v ospredje prišla tudi vprašanja etničnih in spolnih hierarhij v indijski družbi, kar v nadaljevanju z obravnavo predmetov iz muzejske zbirke osvetljuje dr. Kanika Gupta.

The exhibition *White Gold: Stories of Cotton* shows Indian sarees that represent the opulent clothing culture of Indian women. The same can be discerned from the prints of so-called bazaar art. On the one hand, the materials on display open up questions on intercultural and interreligious contacts between missionaries and Indian people, and their activities aimed at collecting and constructing knowledge about the people in West Bengal. On the other hand, they open up questions on the social context in which Yugoslav missionaries found themselves at the time. In the anti-colonial climate of the Indian independence movement this period also saw the emergence of issues relating to ethnic and gender hierarchies in Indian society, something that will be presented in more detail by Dr. Kanika Gupta in her paper on the objects from the museum collection.

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Indijska zbirka sarijev in tiskov iz zgodnjega 20. stoletja

INDIAN COLLECTION
OF SAREES AND PRINTS
FROM THE EARLY 20TH
CENTURY



Sariji v muzeju

Slovenski etnografski muzej hrani številne indijske tkanine, med katerimi so vezenine, pregrinjala in sariji. Sari je tradicionalno indijsko oblačilo, ki ga v različnih slogih nosijo ženske po vsej državi. Gre za kos tkanine brez šivov, dolžina pa se razlikuje od regije do regije. Pred prihodom sodobnih strojev so tako kot vsa druga oblačila in tekstil tudi sarije tkali ročno, predvsem iz bombaža in svile. Tradicija ročnega tkanja se je v Indiji do danes ohranila v številnih vaseh ali skupinah tkalcev.

Na razstavi *Belo zlato: Zgodbe o bombažu* so razstavljeni trije sariji. Sari s posebno kombinacijo rdeče in bele barve v vzorcu nosijo predvsem v Bengaliji. Sarija, ki so ju najverjetneje pridobili misijonarji v jugoslovanskem bengalskem misijonu, sta bila ročno tkana iz bombaža v sambalpur-skem slogu tkanja. Sambalpur je ime regije v Odiši, ki je še danes znana po živi tradiciji ročnega tkanja. Tehnika tkanja se imenuje *ikat*, pri kateri nit najprej zavežemo in pobarvamo, nato pa jo ročno tkemo na statvah. Ta tehnika se izvaja v številnih delih sveta in v številnih regijah Indije. Najbolj razširjene so tkanje Patola iz Gudžarata, Pochampally iz Telangane in Sambalpuri iz Odiše. Vsak od teh slogov ohranja posebne vzorce, ki so značilni samo zanj, le naravna barvila so danes nadomestila barvila na kemični osnovi. Slog Sambalpuri je poznan predvsem pri kasti Meher v Odiši. Sarije danes izdelujejo iz bombaža in svile ter eksperimentirajo z vzorci, na katere je vplivala evropsko-ameriška vizualna kultura. Kljub temu so tradicionalni motivi ohranili svojo veljavo. Ti med drugim vključujejo kalaš (glineni lonec), cvetlične motive in ptice. Na razstavljenih sambalpurskih sarijih lahko vidimo tradicionalne motive, kot so cvetlični vzorci, pav in školjka.



Ročno tkan sari v sambalpurskem slogu. Indijska zbirka SEM.
Foto: Tomo Jeseničnik.

Handwoven saree weaved in Sambalpuri style. SEM Indian collection.
Photo: Tomo Jeseničnik.

Sarees in the museum

The Slovene Ethnographic Museum keeps many Indian fabrics, including embroideries, bedspreads and sarees. Saree is a traditional Indian piece of clothing worn by women in different styles across the country. It is a single piece of fabric without any stitches and the length varies from region to region. Before the arrival of modern machinery, like all other clothing and textiles, saree was handwoven primarily in cotton and silk. The tradition of handloom weaving survives in India in many villages or clusters of weavers.

There are three sarees exhibited at the exhibition *White Gold: Stories of Cotton*. Saree with a particular combination of red and white in the pattern is worn in Bengal. The other two sarees (probably acquired by missionaries in the Yugoslav Bengal Mission) were handwoven in cotton in the Sambalpuri style of weaving. Sambalpur is the name of a region in Odisha in and around which handloom weaving is still a living tradition. The weaving technique is called *ikat*, in which the thread is tied and dyed first and then handwoven on a loom. This technique is practiced in many parts of the world and in many regions of India. The most proliferate of these are Patola weaving from Gujarat, Pochampally weaving from Telangana and Sambalpuri weaving from Odisha. Each of these retains special patterns unique to them. However, natural colour dyes have been replaced by chemical-based colours. Sambalpuri weaving is practiced primarily by the Meher caste in Odisha. It is done in cotton and silk. These days the weavers are experimenting with designs that are influenced by European-American visual culture. Traditional motifs have, however, retained their hold. These comprise of kalash (earthen pot), floral motifs and birds among others. The two Sambalpuri sarees displayed at the exhibition have traditional motifs like floral patterns, peacock and conch shell.

Indijski tiski kot bazarska umetnost

V Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju je tudi 493 indijskih tiskov z začetka 20. stoletja. Znani so pod imenom bazarska ali koledarska umetnost. Natisnjene podobe kažejo, kako so si Indijci na prelomu stoletja na novo zamišljali svoje bogove in sami sebe, razbiramo pa lahko tudi izjemno oblačilno kulturo. Najdemo jih na koledarjih, za nizko ceno pa so jih prodajali tudi na bazarjih. Najpogostejše so jih izdelovali s postopkom litografije. Nanje je pomembno vplivala zahodna vizualna kultura, v njih pa se odraža tudi interes kolonialistov, ki jih je zanimalo prikazovanje prebivalcev Indije, njihovih oblačil in šeg, pa tudi tradicionalnih poklicev. Prvi tisk tako prikazuje gospo iz Pandžaba, ki skupaj z dvema otrokoma dela na kolovratu. Tisk je nastal leta 1931. To je bilo v času, ko sta ročno predenje in tkanje v Indiji že zelo trpela zaradi britanske politike in uvedbe strojne proizvodnje tekstila.

Lakšmi devi, brahmanska boginja bogastva in blaginje, je na naslednjem tisku prikazana s sovo. Običajno jo povezujejo s sloni, v vzhodni Indiji pa pogosto tudi s sovami. Sova je tradicionalno povezana z Alakšmi, Lakšmino sestro dvojčico, ki v nasprotju z Lakšmi pomeni nesrečo. Zdi se, da so v sodobnem času v vzhodni Indiji to povezavo opustili. Na tisku vidimo, da pod boginjo izvajajo obred njenega čaščenja. Sedi na gmoti zemlje, ki nekoliko spominja na obliko južnega dela indijskega polotoka. Obred poteka ponoči, v vodi vidimo odsev lune. Tisk je okrašen z bleščicami. Tiske so s srebrnimi ali zlatimi

Indian prints as bazaar art

The Slovene Ethnographic Museum holds 493 Indian prints from the early 20th century. These are known by various names, for instance, Bazaar art or calender art. The prints mark a new beginning in the way Indian people imagine their Gods and their own selves, and also reveal a remarkable dress culture. This imagery manifested itself from the early 20th century on calendars, and prints were available at extremely low prices in the markets. They were heavily influenced by European-American visual culture and made with the modern technologies of artprint making, most importantly lithography. They also reflect the interest of the colonialists in depicting the people of India, their dress and customs, as well as their traditional occupations. One of the prints shows a lady from Punjab at work on a spinning wheel along with two of her children. It was originally made in 1931. In the 19th and 20th century India, yarn spinning and handloom weaving suffered heavily due to British policies and the introduction of machine produced textiles and clothing.

Lakshmi devi, the Brahmanical goddess of wealth and prosperity, appears in the next print with an owl. She is popularly associated with elephants but in eastern India owls are seen often. Traditionally owl has been associated with Alakshmi, Lakshmi's twin sister, who is everything opposite to Lakshmi, that is, bad luck. However, this association seems to have been given up in modern times in eastern India. Below the goddess a ritual is being



Predilka iz Pundžaba v družbi dveh otrok prede na kolovrat. Indijska zbirka tiskov, SEM.

A Punjabi woman spinning her charkha in the company of two children. Indian print collection, SEM.

bleščicami krasile ženske v nekaterih skupnostih, kot je kasta četiar v južni Indiji. Na mnoge podobe so nalepile kose blaga kot oblačila. Tako so krasile tudi natisnjene podobe igralk in druge posvetne podobe.

conducted in her worship. She is seated on a mass of land the shape of which somewhat resembles the map of the Indian southern peninsula. It is evident that the ritual is being conducted at night and we see the moon's reflection in the waters. The print was further embellished with silver sparkling particles. Women in some communities, such as the Chettiar caste in South India, embellished the prints with silver or gold particles. Even patches of fabric are pasted on many images as garments for the characters in the image. The same process was also carried out on photos of actresses and other secular imagery.



Lakṣmi devi, brahmanska boginja bogastva in blaginje.
 Indijska zbirka tiskov, SEM.

Lakshmi Devi, Brahmanic goddess of wealth and prosperity.
 Indian print collection, SEM.

Propagandni tiski so eden od žanrov indijske bazarske umetnosti. Obravnavajo temo indijskega gibanja za neodvisnost, pri čemer kot pripadnike indijskega naroda predstavljajo le najvišjo hindujsko kasto, izbrane voditelje iz te kaste pa kot zaščitnike naroda. Indija je na naslednjem tisku upodobljena kot brahmanska boginja z zvezanimi rokami in razpuščenimi lasmi, njeni zagovorniki pa so štirje moški, upodobljeni nad njo. To so Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, M. A. Ansari in Bipin Chandra Pal, indijski nacionalisti in borci za svobodo, vsi pripadniki višjih kast.

There is an entire genre of prints within Bazaar art which deal with the theme of the Indian independence movement. These have been termed as Propaganda prints, not simply because they deal with issues of nationalism, but also because they depict the Brahmanical patriarchal world of Hinduism as the sole stakeholder of India as a nation and its chosen leaders as the protectors of this nation. India in the selected print is depicted as a Brahmanical goddess with her hands tied and hair open. Her chosen defenders in this print are four men, depicted above her, namely Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, M.A. Ansari and Bipin Chandra Pal, all Indian nationalists and freedom fighters, and all upper caste men.



102. भारत माता । BANDI BHARAT MATA. भारत माता ।

Indija kot brahmanska boginja s štirimi
zaščitniki, upodobljenimi nad njo.
Indijska zbirka tiskov, SEM.

India represented as a Brahmanical
goddess with four advocates above
her. Indian print collection, SEM.

Mati Indija
v vezah.

V Indiji 19. stoletja so se v višjih družbenih slojih oblikovala nova pričakovanja glede vloge sodobne indijske ženske. Večinoma so se zaradi pričakovanj svojih mož pričele seznanjati z evropskim sistemom izobraževanja. Ženska je morala biti izobražena, da je lahko služila kot vredna spremljevalka indijskega moškega z angleško izobrazbo. Imela je dostop do življenja zunaj svojega gospodinjstva, vendar znotraj strogo določenih meja. Na enem od tiskov ženska leži na divanu s skodelico v roki. Na tisku piše, da gre za skodelico kave, morda pa pije čaj, ki ga je v tem času britanska vlada ženskam prepovedala. Oblečena je v polprozoren sari, ki jasno kaže, da je tisk namenjen moškim.

Misijonarji so na bazarju kupovali tudi tiske s podobami indijskih igralk tistega časa. Na začetku 20. stoletja je večina igralk izvirala iz gospodinjstev t. i. nautch deklet ali kurtizan. Status kurtizan v Indiji se je razlikoval glede na kraj in čas. V 18. in 19. stoletju so bile kurtizane družbeno uveljavljene. Najboljše med njimi so bile umetnice, skladateljice, skrbnice glasbene in plesne tradicije, dobro so poznale poezijo in literaturo ter v svojih mestih slovele po bistrumnosti, intelektu in talentu za pogovore z najznamenitejšimi moškimi. Ena izmed njih je bila filmska igralka Miss Zubeida.

In 19th century India, new expectations of the role of the modern Indian woman were emerging in the upper sections of society. Mostly because of the expectations of their husbands, they were introduced to European systems of education. The modern Indian woman is expected to be educated but only to be able to serve as a worthy companion to an Indian man with English education. She has access to life outside of her household but within the boundaries demarcated stringently. One of the prints shows a female reclining on her bed having coffee or perhaps tea (an English prohibited drink for women in those times). She is draped in a semi-transparent saree clearly showing that the print is intended for male consumption.

Missionaries also bought prints of Indian actresses of the time at the bazaar. In early 20th century India most of them came from the households of the so-called nautch girls or courtesans. The status of courtesans in India differed with place and time. In 18th and 19th century India, the institution of courtesans was well established and the best among them were artists, composers, keepers of music and dancing traditions, well versed with poetry, literature and famous in their respective towns for their wit, intellect and talent for conversation with the most remarkable men. One of them was the film actress Miss Zubeida.

MARKO FRELIH

Slovenski etnografski muzej

/ Slovene Ethnographic Museum

Belo zlato iz Toga v muzejski zgodbi

WHITE GOLD OF TOGO
IN THE MUSEM STORY

V ponedeljek, 21. aprila 1958, je Pavla Štrukelj, kustosi-
nja v Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju, napisala kratko
poročilo o afriški zbirki, ki si jo je ogledala zaradi poten-
cialnega odkupa. Iz poročila je razvidno, da je obiskala
lastnico zbirke različnih predmetov, ki so prvotno pripadali
Leonu Poljancu. Ključni podatek za razumevanje celotnega
konteksta zbirke je v poročilu zabeležen v sledečem
stavku: »Leon Poljanec je spremljal l. 1912-1914 barona
Codellija na potovanju v Afriko.« Ob tem se takoj postavi
vprašanje, kdo je bil baron Codelli in zakaj je v Poljančevi
družbi potoval v Afriko.

Anton Codelli in radiotelegrafska postaja v Togu

Anton Codelli (1875–1954) je odrasčal v Ljubljani in na
Dunaju, kjer je leta 1894 končal šolanje na Terezijanski
akademiji (Theresianum). Nekaj časa je preživel v avstrijski
vojni mornarici, s katero je potoval do Kitajske in Japonske,
nato pa je zaradi zdravstvenih težav mornarico zapustil ter
se posvetil strojništvu in elektrotehniki. Kot samouk se je
kmalu razvil v vsestranskega izumitelja s številnimi patenti
doma in v tujini. Zanimanje za radiotehniko ga je pripeljalo
v stik z nemško telekomunikacijsko družbo Telefunken iz
Berlina, kjer je opravil krajši tečaj iz telegrafije, nato pa
je za družbo postavil telegrafske postaje v Dalmaciji za
potrebe avstrijske vojne mornarice. Čeprav po poklicu ni
bil inženir, ga je takratni tehnični direktor Telefunkna grof
Georg von Arco povabil k sodelovanju pri vzpostavitvi
brežžične povezave med Berlinom in nemškimi afriškimi
kolonijami.

On Monday, 21 April 1958, Pavla Štrukelj, the curator
at the Slovene Ethnographic Museum, wrote a short
report on the African collection that she had examined
for potential purchase. The report reveals that she had
visited the owner of various objects that had previously
belonged to Leon Poljanec. The key piece of information
in the report that sheds light on the context of the col-
lection is encapsulated in the following sentence: “Leon
Poljanec accompanied Baron Codelli on his journey to
Africa between 1912 and 1914”. So who was Baron Codelli
and why did he travel to Africa in Poljanec’s company?

Anton Codelli and the radiotelegraph station in Togo

Anton Codelli (1875-1954) spent his childhood in
Ljubljana and studied in Vienna, where he graduated in
1894 from the Theresianum Academy. He briefly served in
the Austrian War Navy, sailing as far as China and Japan,
but left the army for health reasons and began to study
mechanical and electrical engineering. A self-taught man
he soon became an all-round inventor who held numerous
patents registered at home and abroad. His interest in
radio engineering led him to contact the German tele-
communications company Telefunken in Berlin, where he
completed a short course in telegraphy. He subsequently
set up a radiotelegraph station in Dalmatia for Telefunken
to serve the needs of the Austrian War Navy. Even though
he was not a trained engineer, Count Georg von Arco,
technical director at Telefunken, invited him to help set
up a wireless connection between Berlin and German
colonies in Africa.



Na območju Kamine so še danes ostanki radiotelegrafske postaje, 2016.

Foto: Marko Frelih.

The remains of a radiotelegraph station can still be seen in the Kamina area, 2016.
Photo: Marko Frelih.

Med nekaterimi mesti v Togu je že delovala obalna telegrafska povezava, komunikacija z Evropo pa je potekala po mednarodnih podmorskih kablilih. Ta način komuniciranja je bil zelo negotov, saj bi lahko bila v primeru političnih napetosti kabelska povezava prekinjena, zato so si Nemci prizadevali za vzpostavitev brezžične povezave med Nemčijo in Togom. Codelli je v takratno nemško kolonijo Togoland pripotoval leta 1911, da bi pri tem projektu sodeloval z nemškimi inženirji. Po končanih terenskih ogledih so za postavitev osrednje radiotelegrafske postaje določili kraj Kamina blizu mesta Atakpamé. Iz glavnega pristaniškega mesta Lomé je v Atakpamé že peljala 164 km dolga železniška proga. Nemci so vso zahtevno tehnično opremo izdelali in sestavili v Nemčiji, jo nato razstavili ter po delih pripeljali z ladjami do Loméja in od tam z vlakom do Kamine, kjer so stroje in

While several towns in Togo had already been connected with telegraph lines, communication with Europe took place via international submarine cables. But cable communications were far from secure, as they could easily be cut off when political situation escalated, so the Germans wanted to establish a wireless connection between Germany and its colonies. Codelli arrived in then German colony of Togoland in 1911 to work on this project together with German engineers. Having examined several locations they decided to set up the radiotelegraph station at the village of Kamina near the town of Atakpamé. At the time, the capital port city of Lomé had already been connected with Atakpamé with a 164-km-long railway line. The Germans built and assembled all intricate technical equipment for the radio station in Germany, then disassembled and sent it on ships to Lomé, and from there by

Radiotelegrafska postaja v Kamini, 1914.
Dokumentacija SEM.

Radiotelegraph station in the village of
Kamina, 1914. Documentation SEM.



druge naprave ponovno sestavili. Že v prvi polovici leta 1914 sta na postaji potekala uspešno testiranje oddajanja signala in komunikacija z okoli 5200 kilometrov oddaljeno matično postajo Nauen pri Berlinu in s 3000 kilometrov oddaljeno postajo Windhoek v Nemški jugozahodni Afriki.

Začetek prve svetovne vojne je prekinil razvoj radiotelegrafске postaje, saj se je bojevanje odvijalo tudi na afriški celini. Nemci so se morali braniti pred Angleži in Francozi, ki so pritiskali na Kamino. Tako je vrhovno vojaško poveljstvo v Berlinu ukazalo razstrelitev postajnega kompleksa. V noči s 24. na 25. avgust 1914 so s pomočjo dinamita v petih urah postajo spremenili v ruševine. Dan kasneje so se Nemci v Kamini uradno predali in tako je bila dosežena prva zavezniška zmaga v prvi svetovni vojni.

railway to Kamina, where they reassembled the parts. In the first half of 1914 they successfully tested the station, transmitting signals to the parent station in Nauen near Berlin 5200 km away, and to Windhoek station in then German South West Africa 3000 km away.

When World War I broke out in Europe, the conflict spread to the African continent, which put an end to further development of the radiotelegraph station. The British and French troops invaded Togoland and advanced towards Kamina, so the German high command in Berlin ordered the destruction of the station. On the night of August 24–25, 1914, the station was blown up and turned into ruins in mere five hours. The next day, the Germans in Kamina officially surrendered, which marked the first Allied victory of WWI.

Dejavnosti Leona Poljanca v Togu

Codelliju sta se leta 1912 v Togu pridružila Hinko Kesler in Leon Poljanec (1891–1958). Kesler je iz Toga kmalu odpotoval v nemško kolonijo Kamerun, kjer je prav tako za Telefunken delal na radiotelegrafski postaji v Douali. O njem nimamo veliko podatkov, saj zapisi o njegovem bivanju v Afriki niso nikjer objavljeni. Njegovo afriško zbirko je muzej pridobil leta 1961, obsega pa predmete in fotografije. Leon Poljanec, po imenu bolj znan kot Leo, je bil Codellijev prijatelj, saj je njegova sestra Ana učila baronove otroke. Poljanec se ob prihodu v Kamino ni ukvarjal s tehničnimi posli, temveč je bil zadolžen za oskrbo ekipe s hrano, pijačo in ostalo opremo, urejal pa je tudi plačila delavcem na gradbišču. V novem življenjskem okolju se je hitro navdušil nad lovom in fotografiranjem, zbiral pa je tudi različne predmete. Poljanec je v Kamini ostal do poletja 1914, ko je bilo konec nemške oblasti v zahodni Afriki. Ob vrnitvi domov je bil mobiliziran v avstro-ogrsko vojsko. Po drugi svetovni vojni je živel v Slovenj Gradcu, kjer je leta 1958 umrl, pokopan pa je v Ljubljani.

Tehnična ekipa na gradbišču v Kamini je bila dobro opremljena s fotografsko opremo. Codelli je poskrbel, da so bile fotografirane vse dejavnosti na terenu, saj je fotografije potreboval za arhivsko dokumentacijo in strokovna poročila. Med fotografi je bil gotovo tudi Poljanec, ki je že takrat razmišljal, kako bo doma organiziral javna predavanja s prikazovanjem lastnih fotografij. Fotografiral je predvsem izven Kamine, med dolgotrajnimi lovskimi ekspedicijami, med njegovimi motivi pa so bili zlasti narava ter domačini pri različnih opravilih in njihova bivališča. Živali se pojavijo redko, predvsem kot lovski plen.

Leo Poljanec's work in Togo

In 1912, Hinko Kesler and Leon Poljanec (1891–1958) joined Codelli in Togo. Kesler soon left for the German colony of Kamerun to work on Telefunken's radiotelegraph station in Douala. There is not much information available about him, because there are no published records of his stay in Africa. The museum acquired his African collection of objects and photographs in 1961. Leon Poljanec, known as Leo, was Codelli's friend, and his sister Ana was the baron's children's teacher. Upon his arrival, Poljanec's work in Kamina was not of technical nature. He was in charge of supplying the construction site team with food, drinks and other equipment, and also took care of site workers' payments. In his new settings he quickly took interest in hunting and photography, and began to collect various objects. Poljanec stayed in Kamina until the summer of 1914, when the German rule in West Africa ended. Upon his return home he was mobilised to serve in the Austro-Hungarian army. After World War II until his death in 1958 he lived in Slovenj Gradec, but he is buried in Ljubljana.

The technical team on the Kamina site was well-supplied with photographic equipment. Codelli made sure that everything that went on on-site was photographed, because he needed the photographs for his archives and technical reports. One of the photographers must have been Poljanec, who at the time already contemplated organising public lectures with his photographs at home. He took most of his photos during his long hunting expeditions outside Kamina. His favourite motifs were nature, local people going about their daily chores, and their homes. Animals rarely appear in his photographs and are shown mainly as hunting trophies.

Predstavljanje izkušnje iz Toga domačemu občinstvu

Poljanec je verjetno kmalu po vrnitvi v domovino izbral 82 fotografij in jih preslikal na steklo kot diapozitive. Vse diapozitive je opremil s komentarji v slovenskem jeziku, ki jih je zapisal z navadnim svinčnikom v zvezek. Leta 1952 je besedilo v krajšem tipkopisu na devetih straneh priredil za predavanje, ki naj bi trajalo trideset minut. Poleg predavanj, ki ju je izvedel za Rdeči križ v Zagrebu (1916) in v zdravilišču Bilin na Češkem (1918), je o svoji izkušnji govoril v različnih krajih po Sloveniji, časopisi pa so njegovo predavanje napovedali z naslovom *Dve leti ob suženjski obali Afrike*. V Sloveniji je predaval vsaj petnajstkrat:

27. marec 1922 – Ljubljana (Klub trgovskih akademikov)
27. januar 1931 – Slovenj Gradec (Sokolsko društvo)
30. januar 1931 – Maribor (Ljudska univerza)
9. marec 1931 – Celje (Ljudska univerza)
3. maj 1931 – Vransko (Sokolsko društvo)
5. maj 1931 – Ljubljana (Planinsko društvo)
4. marec 1932 – Ljubljana (na radiu in v Prosvetni zvezi)
6. marec 1932 – Novo mesto (Prosvetna zveza)
7. marec 1932 – Škofja Loka (v samostanu in Prosvetni zvezi)
marec 1952 – Slovenj Gradec (Ljudska univerza in gimnazija)
marec 1952 – Dravograd (Ljudska univerza)
februar 1953 – Črna (nižja gimnazija)
januar 1955 – Slovenj Gradec (nižja gimnazija)
februar 1955 – Slovenj Gradec (nižja gimnazija)
marec 1955 – Slovenj Gradec (nižja gimnazija)

Sharing Togo experience with audiences at home

It was probably soon after his return home that Poljanec selected 82 photographs and transferred them to glass to make lantern slides. Each slide was accompanied by a commentary in Slovenian, and he kept a notebook with these commentaries written in pencil. In 1952 he prepared a 30-minute lecture in a short typescript on nine pages. These lectures were held for the Red Cross in Zagreb (1916) and in Bilin health resort in the Czechia (1918), but he presented his Togolese experience also across different Slovenian towns. The newspapers announced his lectures under the title *Two years on the slave coast of Africa*. He held at least fifteen lectures in Slovenia:

27 March 1922 – Ljubljana (Trade Academy Club)
27 January 1931 – Slovenj Gradec (Sokol Society)
30 January 1931 – Maribor (People's University)
9 March 1931 – Celje (People's University)
3 May 1931 – Vransko (Sokol Society)
5 May 1931 – Ljubljana (Alpine Club)
4 March 1932 – Ljubljana (on radio and at Educational Association)
6 March 1932 – Novo Mesto (Educational Association)
7 March 1932 – Škofja Loka (at the monastery and Educational Association)
March 1952 – Slovenj Gradec (People's University and Grammar School)
March 1952 – Dravograd (People's University)
February 1953 – Črna (Junior high school)
January 1955 – Slovenj Gradec (Junior high school)
February 1955 – Slovenj Gradec (Junior high school)
March 1955 – Slovenj Gradec (Junior high school)

Nekatere fotografije, ki jih je Poljanec uporabil na svojih predavanjih, prikazujejo tudi pridelovanje bombaža, najbrž v okolici Kamine, saj natančne lokacije posnetkov niso znane. Na njih lahko vidimo pakiranje surovega bombaža v prenosne žaklje, predenje, tkanje na statvah in sodobni šivalni stroj sredi vasi. Poljanec je s fotografijami in predmeti, ki jih je prinesel iz Toga in zelo verjetno pokazal na predavanjih, občinstvu posredoval tiste informacije o domačinih in njihovi kulturi, ki jih je uspel zbrati in so se mu zdele pomembne. Tako je v komentarju ene od fotografij z besediščem tedanjega časa zapisal, da so domačini v okolici Kamine izdelovali samo belo blago, tkalci iz etnične skupine Hausa pa so tkali trakove s črtastim vzorcem v različnih barvah: *»Tu vam je ročna statva, posneta je po vzorcu Hausov. Širina izdelane tkanine dosega največ 10–15 cm. To jih predvsem razločuje od naših, so pa tudi bolj debelonitne in surove. Trakove po potrebi sešijejo. Domačini izdelujejo samo belo blago, Hausi pa sestavljajo pestre tkanine, ki jih prodajajo po vsej zapadni Afriki.«*

Poudaril je, da so ženske pri izdelovanju svojih preprostih oblačil raje uporabljale poslikano evropsko blago, ki je bilo cenejše od domačega tekstila. V glavnem so si telo ovile z velikim kosom blaga, ki so ga imenovala avo. Nekatere so si še z dolgimi pisanimi šali različno oblikovale pokrivalo na glavi, medtem ko drugih oblačil niso nosile. Telo so si krasile z železnimi in bakrenimi obroči, s steklenimi biseri in školjkami. Poljanec je fotografiral dekle Akakbe, ki je hodilo od vasi do vasi, da bi si poiskalo moža. Ob fotografiji je zapisal: *»Tu vam je domačinka, hodila je po vaseh, da bi dobila drugega moža. Fotografiral sem jo, ko je plesala pred kapokovim deblom. Da bi se bolj priljubila, okrasila se je s peštrim avojem, na vratu ji je visela volnena verižica na tej pa bakreni kravji zvonček. Roke in noge si je okrasila s školjkami kavri. Bila je to žena po imenu Akakbe, videl pa sem slično deklico, ki je hodila po vaseh, nabirala prispevke za malike, doma pa se posvečala*

Some of the photographs Poljanec showed in his lectures depict cotton farming. The precise location is unknown, but we can assume they were taken around Kamina. The photographs show the Togolese packing raw cotton into sacks, spinning, and loom weaving, and we can also see a modern sewing machine standing in the middle of the village. With the photographs and objects he brought back from Togo and probably showed in his lectures, Poljanec shared with his audiences the knowledge of the Togolese and their culture which he had acquired in Africa and found important enough to relate. In one of his commentaries he wrote, using the vocabulary of the time, that the locals of Kamina only produced white cloth, whereas the Hausa people wove narrow strips with a striped pattern in different colours: *“Here’s a handloom like the one used by the Hausa people. The maximum width of the fabric made on this loom is 10-15 cm. This is the main feature that distinguishes these fabrics from ours, but they are also thicker and rougher. The strips are sewn together as needed. The local people make white cloth only, but the Hausa compose various fabrics that they sell across West Africa.”*

He stressed that women preferred to use European cloth for their simple attire, because it was cheaper than the fabric they produced at home. Most of them wore avo, a large piece of cloth which they wrapped around their body. Some of them also wore a headdress with long, colourful scarves wrapped in different ways around their head, but apart from that, they did not wear other garments. They adorned their bodies with iron and copper rings, glass beads and shells. Poljanec also took a photograph of a young woman called Akakbe, who walked from one village to another in search of a husband. He noted: *“Here’s a local woman, she went from village to village to find herself another husband. I took this photograph as she was dancing under a kapok tree. To be more endearing*



Tkanje na ročnih statvah, Togo, 1912-1914. Foto: Leo Poljanec.

Weaving on a handloom, Togo, 1912-1914. Photo: Leo Poljanec.



Moderen šivalni stroj na dvorišču, Togo, 1912-1914. Foto: Leo Poljanec.

A modern sewing machine standing in a yard, Togo, 1912-1914. Photo: Leo Poljanec.

malikovanju.» Med fotografiranjem je deklica poplesavala pred mogočnim kapokovim deblom, tako da je Poljancu uspelo narediti serijo petih zapovrstnih posnetkov.

Zgovoren je tudi Poljančev posnetek modernega šivalnega stroja, ki je postavljen na dvorišču med ilovnatimi kočami. V svojem komentarju posnetka je omenil, da je šivilja stekla proč, ko ga je zagledala. Ko je na prigo-varjanje le prišla nazaj, mu je pojasnila, da se je ustrašila njegovega fotoaparata. Poljanec je zapisal: »Na strojčku, ki si ga postavi pod drevesom, sešije tkanine v avoje in druga podobna oblačila. Ko je šivilja zagledala moj aparat, je takoj odšla. Sprva nisem vedel zakaj, ko sem jo pa pozval, naj se vrne, mi je odgovorila, da je v moji škatli vrag, ki se ga boji.«

she put on a colourful avo and a wool necklace around her neck, which had a little copper cowbell attached to it. She decorated her hands and legs with cowrie shells. The woman's name was Akakbe, but I saw another girl like her walking the villages, she collected donations for idols, and she regularly worshiped idols at home.” During their photo session the girl danced under a mighty kapok tree and Poljanec shot a series of five consecutive photos.

Poljanec's photo of a modern sewing machine standing in a yard between mud huts also speaks volumes. In his commentary, Poljanec mentioned that the seamstress ran away when she saw him. When he finally persuaded her to come back, she explained that she had been spooked by his camera. Poljanec commented: “*On the machine that she sets under the tree she sews the fabrics into avos and similar garments. The seamstress left as soon as she saw my camera. I couldn't understand why and when I asked her to come back she said there was a devil in my box and it frightened her.*”



Akakbe pred kapokovim deblom. Togo, 1912-1914.
Foto: Leo Poljanec.

Akakbe in front of a kapok tree. Togo, 1912-1914.
Photo: Leo Poljanec.



Leo Poljanec v Togu, 1912-1914. Dokumentacija SEM.

Leo Poljanec in Togo, 1912-1914. Documentation SEM.

Poljančeva zbirka iz Toga

V začetku avgusta 1959 je muzej odkupil dvajset predmetov iz Poljančeve zapuščine. Odkup je obsegal diapozitive na steklu, posamezne liste fotografskega albuma s fotografijami in nekaj arhivskega gradiva. Vse skupaj je bilo v večji potovalni usnjeni torbi, ki v dokumentaciji ni nikjer omenjena. Stekleni diapozitivi so bili shranjeni v treh zavojih, oviti s trakastim kosom blaga. Zavoji so bili nato zaviti v pravokoten kos blaga, ki je bil inventariziran, trije trakovi pa so ostali brez inventarne številke. Leta 1960 je muzej odkupil še tri oblačila ljudstva Hausa in usnjene škornje. Na seznamu predmetov, ki ga je kustosinja Pavla Štrukelj pripravila leta 1985, je zapisala: »*Haljasta obleka, modre barve z belim vložkom ob vratnem izrezu (podobno tuniki), dobro ohranjena. To je verjetno delo trgovskega plemena Hausov v tem delu Afrike kot tudi dvoje ogrinjal in mehki škornji.*«

Izdelki tkalcev in krojačev v Poljančevi zbirki so po številu skromni, kljub temu pa sta med njimi dva tipa oblačil, ki sta bila na prelomu iz 19. v 20. stoletje v zahodni Afriki najbolj razširjena: obleka *bubu* (boubou) z razkošno okrasno vezeno iz bombažne preje in večbarvno ogrinjalo *kente*. Pavla Štrukelj je marca 1960 vse predmete inventarizirala, med njimi tudi tekstilne izdelke. Informacije o oblačilih je poiskala v nemški in angleški literaturi, ki jo je vključila v zapis v inventarni knjigi, pod opisom oblačil pa je narisala tudi tkalski vzorec oziroma vzorec vezene na obleki. K Poljančevim komentarjem fotografij je tako dodala muzeološko razumevanje oblačilne kulture Togovcev. Poglejmo si nekaj njenih opisov iz inventarne knjige.

Poljanec's Togo collection

At the beginning of August 1959 the museum purchased twenty objects from Poljanec's legacy. The acquisition comprised lantern slides, sheets from the photo album and archival materials. It came in a large, leather travel bag, which is not mentioned anywhere in the archival documents. The lantern slides were kept in three bundles wrapped with a strip cloth. These bundles were then wrapped in a rectangular piece of cloth which was inventoried, whereas the three strips were not given an inventory number. In 1960 the museum purchased three items of clothing worn by the Hausa people, and leather boots. In 1985, the curator Pavla Štrukelj prepared a list of items, noting: "*A robe-like dress, blue with a white insert at the neck (similar to a tunic), well preserved. This, as well as two robes and soft boots, is probably the work of the Hausa people, the tradespeople who live in this part of Africa.*"

Poljanec's collection has few examples of weavers' and tailors' work, but it offers two types of garments that were the most popular in West Africa at the turn of the 19th century: a *boubou*, ornately decorated with cotton yarn embroidery, and a colourful *kente* wrap. In March 1960 Pavla Štrukelj made an inventory of all objects, including textiles. She found information on the garments in German and English literature, which she noted in the inventory log, and drew the pattern of the embroidery featured on the garment under the description. She thus added to Poljanec's commentaries a museological insight into the Togolese clothing culture. Here are some of her descriptions from the inventory log book.

Moška obleka (EM 8852)

»'Haussatobe', moško oblačilo, imenovano tudi 'Pegatka'. Bombažno blago je plavo-belo v črtah tkano. Tipičen vzorec ornamenta v zgornjem delu oblačila je napravljen z belo nitko. Oblačilo ima 235 cm ramenske širine; 170 cm spodnje širine; 126 cm dolžine in 120 cm spodnje odprtine. Oblačilo je haljaste oblike; odprtine za roke imajo skoraj velikost dolžine oblačila. Rob oblačila pri spodnji odprtini je podložen z vijoličastim črtastim blagom, širokim 22 cm. Notranji del vratnega izreza pa ima nekaj našitih belih krpic. Ornament je stiliziran: krogi – v sredi kvadratno polje; prepleteni četverkotniki; rombi, trikotniki in jezikom podobni podaljški. Tehnika vezenja je polno vezenje in verižni vbod. Taka oblačila so po vsem Sudanu¹ tkali in krojili moški. Imeli pa so tudi v novo sudanski kulturi prave obrtnike za ta oblačila. Stanje dobro.«

Men's dress (EM 8852)

"Haussatobe", a men's garment also known as the "guinea fowl". The blue-white cotton cloth is strip-woven. The typical ornament pattern on the upper part of the garment is made using a white thread. The garment measures 235 cm across the shoulders; 170 cm at the bottom; 126 cm in length, and 120 cm at the lower opening. It is shaped like a tunic; armholes are almost as long as the length of the garment. The hem at the bottom hole is lined with purple strip cloth 22 cm in width. The neckline has several white backing fabrics sewn underneath. The ornament is stylised: circles – a field of squares in the middle; interlocking rectangles; diamond shapes, triangles, and tongue-like extensions. The embroidery techniques are buttonhole stitch and chain stitch. Such garments were woven and tailored by men across Sudan.¹ In Sudan they also had craftsmen specialised in making such garments. Good condition."

¹ Sudan se kot geografska regija imenuje obsežno območje južno od sahela. Na vzhodu meji na državo Sudan.
The geographical region of Sudan comprises a vast area to the south of Sahel. To the east, it borders on the State of Sudan.



Oblačilo bubu (boubou) je bilo zelo razširjeno v višjih družbenih slojih; moški so obleko nosili kot znamenje prestiža. Glavna značilnost oblačila je okrasna vezenina, ki ima poseben simbolni pomen, saj zaščiti lastnika s kombinacijo likov z magičnim učinkom. Zbirka iz Toga, SEM. Foto: Tomo Jeseničnik.

Boubous were very popular with upper social classes and men wore them to show their high social status. The main feature of the garment is the decorative embroidery, which has special symbolic significance as it protects the owner with a combination of patterns believed to have magical properties. Togo collection, SEM. Photo: Tomo Jeseničnik.



Ogrinjalo je sešito iz dolgih ozkih trakov v različni barvni kombinaciji. Na zunanjo površino so našiti okrasni vzorci. Tkanje ozkih trakov sodi med najstarejše oblike tkalske tehnike. Iz sešitih večbarvnih trakov je nastalo ogrinjalo, ki so ga moški nosili v enem kosu, ženske pa so blago uporabile v dveh delih. Ogrinjalo poznamo pod imenom kente. Zbirka iz Toga, SEM. Foto: Tomo Jeseničnik.

The robe is made of long narrow strips in different colour combinations sewn together. Decorative patterns are sewn on the exterior. Strip weaving is one of the oldest weaving techniques. The colourful strip cloth was made into a robe that men wore in a single piece and women in two pieces, and is known as kente. Togo collection, SEM. Photo: Tomo Jeseničnik.

Ogrinjalo (EM 8853)

»Dolžina: 262 cm; širina: 190 cm. Ogrinjalo, veliko; bombažno blago. Blago je podolž sešito iz samih 10 cm širokih trakov, enake dolžine. Tudi krajna trakova na obeh straneh sta enaka dolžini blaga. Med ostalimi trakovi so v določenih razdaljah vtkane krpice 5-9 cm; d. 8,5 cm. Trakovi so tkani na ozkem horizontalnem moškem tkalnem stolu in imajo črtast vzorec v pestrih barvah – črna, zelena, rdeča, oranžna, rjava, temnoplava, rumena, bela, temno rdeča. Trakovi med vtkanimi krpicami imajo prešit ornament, narejen z oranžno barvo nitke povrh črtastega vzorca. Krpice, barvno črtaste počez, so tkane v stebrih z ovijanjem. Uporabljena je črna, rumena, zelena, rdeča, temnoplava in bela barva. Blago je verjetno pripravljeno za nošnjo kot oblačilo. Napravil ga je Hausa obrtnik. Blago je dobro ohranjeno; le na nekaterih mestih je nitka popustila med posameznimi trakovi.«

Ogrinjalo (EM 8854)

»Dolžina: 190 cm; širina: 111 cm. Ogrinjalo, manjše; bombažno blago. Blago je po dolžini sešito s črno nitko iz 11 cm širokih trakov, ki imajo dolžino blaga. Na eni strani imata dva trakova širino 7 cm. Blago ima na enem koncu še prišit trak s š. 11 cm pravokotno na blago, sešito podolž. Ogrinjalo ima črtast linearni ornament v pestrih barvah – svetlo plavo, bela, temno plava, rumena, rdeča, zeleno-rumena. Trakovi so tkani na ozkih horizontalnih moških statvah. Blago je bilo uporabljeno kot oblačilo. Delali so ga Hausa obrtniki. Stanje dobro.«

Wrap (EM 8853)

»Length: 262 cm; width: 190 cm. Wrap, large; cotton fabric. The fabric is made of 10-cm-wide strips of equal length sewn together lengthwise. The selvedge on both sides is also the length of the fabric. Inlay blocks are woven between other strips at specific spacing; these blocks are 8.5 cm long. The strips are woven on men's narrow horizontal loom in a striped pattern in bright colours – black, green, red, orange, brown, dark blue, yellow, white, dark red. Strips between weaved-in inlays have an ornament embroidered with an orange thread running on top of the striped pattern. Inlays with vertical stripes in different colours, with a thicker texture of vertical threads. The colours are black, yellow, green, red, dark blue and white. The fabric is probably meant to be worn. It was made by a Hausa craftsman. It is well preserved, only the thread between strips has become loose in certain places.»

Wrap (EM 8854)

»Length: 190 cm; width: 111 cm. Robe, small; cotton fabric. The fabric is made of 11-centimetres-wide strips the length of the fabric, sewn together lengthwise with a black thread. Two strips on one side are seven centimetres wide. An 11-cm-wide strip of cloth is sewn to one end of the fabric, lengthwise. The robe has a linear, striped ornament in different colours – light blue, white, dark blue, yellow, red, yellow-green. The strips are woven on a men's narrow horizontal loom. The fabric was used as a garment. It was made by Hausa craftsmen. Good condition.»

Pavla Štrukelj je leta 1972 v Muzeju neevropskih kultur v dvorcu Goričane, v dependanci Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja, pripravila razstavo *Oblačila Afričanov južno od Sahare*. V uvodu kataloga je zapisala: »Načrtno pripravljena razstava afriških oblačil, ki zajema glavna kulturna zgodovinska obdobja, je prva te vrste v Jugoslaviji.« Oblačila so za razstavo posodili tudi Afričani, ki so v okviru študentskih izmenjav v gibanju neuvrščениh študirali v Ljubljani. Iz Poljančeve zbirke je bila na razstavi zagotovo na ogled moška obleka (EM 8852), saj je njen okrasni vezeninast vzorec na naslovnici kataloga. V besedilu avtorica poda splošni opis tega oblačila: »Islamska noša obsega več kosov oblačil pri moških in ženskah. Moški nosijo navadno hlače in srajco in povrh haljasto oblačilo ter turban ali fes na glavi. Ohlapno dolgo in široko oblačilo imenujejo **bubu**; v centralnem Sudanu mu pravijo **tobe** ali pegatka v osrednji Afriki. Oblačilo je krojeno podobno kot nekdanji tako imenovani **sebleh**; to je prav za prav halja, ki pa izvira še iz ženskega oblačila v dobi kalifov. Oblačilo ima srajčni kraj, je lahko izdelano iz enobarvnega blaga, navadno modrega; krasi ga bogat vezen ornament, napravljen s svileno belo nitjo. Tako okrašena so ta oblačila v zahodni Afriki in v Sudanu.« Zelo verjetno je avtorica razstave predstavila vsaj en primer, če ne celo obe ogrinjali iz Poljančeve zbirke. Za razstavo je bilo bolj zanimivo ogrinjalo (EM 8853) s sešitimi trakovi in okrasnimi našitimi vzorci. Ogrinjalo poznamo pod imenom kente, Pavla Štrukelj pa se je temu tipu oblačila posebej posvetila z opisom tehnike tkanja: »Statve so ozke, navpične in vodoravne; na njih tkejo trakove, široke komaj za dlan. Iz tkanih trakov sešijejo velik kos blaga. To je oblačilo, imenovano kente, je nekrojeno, vzorec pa ima vtkan.«

Tkanje ozkih trakov sodi med najstarejše oblike tkalske tehnike. Skupaj sešiti trakovi po celotni dolžini predstavljajo zelo znan tip oblačila z imenom kente. Iz sešitih

In 1972 Pavla Štrukelj put on an exhibition entitled *African attire to the south of the Sahara* at the Museum of Non-European Cultures at Goričane Castle, a dislocated unit of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum. In the introduction to the catalogue she wrote: "This special exhibition of African clothing through the main cultural and historical periods is the first of its kind in Yugoslavia." Some of the garments on show were contributed also by African students who studied in Ljubljana as part of the student exchanges that took place within the non-aligned movement. The exhibition featured the man's dress from Poljanec's collection (EM 8852), and its decorative embroidered pattern appeared on the catalogue cover. The author described it in general terms: "The Islamic attire of both men and women comprises several pieces of garments. Men usually wear trousers and a shirt, and over them a robe, and a turban or fez on the head. The long and wide robe is called a **boubou**; in central Sudan it is called a **tobe** and a guinea fowl in Central Africa. It is tailored in a fashion similar to the once known **sebleh**, a robe that has its predecessor in female clothing from the time of caliphs. It is cut like a tunic and can be made of a single colour fabric, usually in blue; it is decorated with an ornately embroidered ornament made with a white silk thread. This is a traditional decoration for such garments in West Africa and Sudan." The author of the exhibition probably presented at least one, if not both robes from Poljanec's collection. The strip-woven robe (EM 8853) with decorative patterns sewn over the strips was especially interesting for the exhibition. It is known as kente, and Štrukelj described also the weaving technique for this garment: "The loom is narrow, vertical and horizontal; it is used to weave strips no wider than the palm of the hand. From these strips they sew a large piece of cloth. The garment is called kente, it is not cut, and the pattern is woven-in."

večbarvnih trakov je nastalo ogrinjalo, ki so ga moški nosili v enem kosu, ženske pa so blago kente uporabile v dveh delih. En kos blaga so si ovile okoli pasu in je prekrival noge do stopal, z drugim kosom pa so pokrile zgornji del telesa, da so si podobno kot moški z delom ogrinjala prekrile levo ramo. Nošnja kenteja je zelo sorodna načinu uporabe rimske toge. Barvno bogat kente s figuralnimi ali geometrijskimi vzorci je bil znak prestiža in pripadnosti višjemu družbenemu sloju. Izvor oblačila kente je nejasen, saj se od sredine 19. stoletja s to vrsto blaga povezuje območje ljudstva Ašanti (Asante region) v južnem delu Gane in Ewe (Ewe) v južnem delu Toga vse do meje z Beninom.

Moško oblačilo bubu iz Poljančeve zbirke je bilo leta 2014 na ogled v Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju na razstavi *Magija amuletov*. Obleka z okrasno vezenino je bila predstavljena kot primer zaščite človeka s pomočjo kombinacije likov z magičnim učinkom. Lastnika varujejo motiv spirale, mrežasti vzorec in tri stilizirana krilata »angelska« bitja. Pod vratom je motiv dveh rezil, t. i. »nožev«, ki imata prav tako apotropejski pomen. Podobne vzorce najdemo med razkošnim okrasjem obleke, ki jo je okoli leta 1880 v Senegal pridobil nemški geograf Oskar Lenz. Oblačilo je danes v zbirki Muzeja sveta na Dunaju (Weltmuseum Wien).

Strip weaving is one of the oldest weaving techniques. The strips of equal lengths are sewn together to produce a full sized cloth called *kente*. The colourful strip cloth was made into a robe that men wore in a single piece and women in two pieces. Women wrapped one piece of cloth around the waist, so that it covered their legs to the feet, and the other piece around the upper part of the body, so that it covered their left shoulder, similarly to how men wore it. A *kente* is worn much the same way as a Roman toga. The multi-coloured *kente* with figurative or geometric patterns was a symbol of prestige and was worn by members of the upper echelons of society. The origin of *kente* remains unclear. From the mid-19th century onwards it has been associated with the Asante region in the south of Ghana and with the Ewe region in the south of Togo through to the border with Benin.

The men's *boubou* from Poljanec's collection was featured at the exhibition *The magic of amulets* at the Slovene Ethnographic Museum in 2014. The robe with decorative embroidery was presented as an example of how people protected themselves with a combination of patterns believed to have magical properties. The spiral motif, a grid pattern and three stylised "angelic" creatures with wings serve to protect the owner. Below the neck is the so-called two knives pattern, which also has an apotropaic significance. Similar patterns are featured in the opulent decorations of the dress acquired around 1880 by the German geographer Oskar Lenz in Senegal. Today, it is part of the Weltmuseum Wien collection.

Dokumentarni film *V nemškem Sudanu*

Iz arhivskih virov je razvidno, da je tudi baron Anton Codelli iz Toga, morda pa tudi iz katere druge afriške države, prinesel obsežno zbirko različnih predmetov, predvsem orožje. Čeprav v njegovi zbirki ni oblačil ali drugega tekstila, je pomembno prispeval k poznavanju zgodovine pridelovanja bombaža in tkalstva v Togu. Med bivanjem v Kamini je spoznal nemškega popotnika, pisatelja in snemalca Hansa Schomburgka. Snemalna tehnika je vzbudila zanimanje pri Codelliju, ki je z različnimi inovativnimi postopki izboljšal snemanje na terenu, predvsem pa ohranjanje filmskega traku v zahtevnih klimatskih razmerah. Iz sodelovanja s Schomburgkom sta nastala filmska projekta, ki ju je v celoti finančno podprl Codelli, ki je med drugim postal lastnik celotne snemalne opreme. Za zgodovino filma je pomemben prvi igrani film na afriških tleh *Bela boginja iz Wangore* z nemško igralko Meg Gehrts v glavni vlogi. Film je bil leta 1914 predvajan v Londonu, nato pa je za njim izginila vsakršna sled.

Na srečo je v Nemški nacionalni knjižnici znanosti in tehnologije v Hannoveru še ohranjen 76-minutni dokumentarni film *V nemškem Sudanu* iz leta 1914. Člani filmske ekipe so se v začetku novembra 1913 iz Kamine odpravili v notranjost Toga. Kot je v svoji knjigi zapisala Meg Gehrts, jih je pot najprej vodila v kraj Sokodé. Pred tem so se ustavili še v vasi Paratau, kjer so srečali in posneli kralja območja Tchaoudjo. To je bil zelo priljubljen Uro (kralj) Djabo, ki je daleč naokoli slovel po demokratičnem vladanju. V okolici kraja Bafilo so snemali obiranje bombaža in tkanje, v kraju Banjeli pa so dokumentirali železarje in kovače pri delu. Nato so šli proti severu do reke Oti in na območje ljudstva Tamberma. V severnem Togu so se srečali še z različnimi ljudstvi, večjo pozornost so pri snemanju namenili ljudstvu Konkomba. Po šestih mesecih se je filmska ekipa vrnila v Kamino.

Documentary film *In German Sudan*

Archival sources tell us that Baron Anton Codelli also brought back from Togo, and perhaps also from other African countries, an extensive collection of various objects, especially arms. Even though his collection does not comprise clothing or textiles of any kind, Codelli contributed important information on the history of cotton production and weaving in Togo. During his stay in Kamina he met a German adventurer, writer and cameraman Hans Schomburgk. Codelli took keen interest in film and camera equipment, and with different innovative techniques he improved not only the quality of films shot on location, but also the methods of preservation of celluloid film in challenging climatic conditions. His collaboration with Schomburgk resulted in two film projects financed entirely by Codelli, who also became the owner of the entire filmmaking equipment. An important contribution to film history was the first feature-length film to be shot in Africa, *The white goddess of Wangora*, featuring German actress Meg Gehrts in the leading role. The film was shown in London in 1914, but was subsequently lost.

Fortunately, the German National Library of Science and Technology in Hannover still keeps the 76-minute-long documentary film *In German Sudan* from 1914. At the beginning of November 1913, members of the film crew left Kamina on an expedition to the interior of Togo. In her book, Meg Gehrts reported that their first destination was the town of Sokodé. On the way there they stopped in the village of Paratau, where they met with and filmed the king of the Tchaoudjo region. His name was Uro (king) Djabo and was known far and away as a very democratic ruler. In Bafilo and its surroundings they filmed cotton picking and weaving, and in the village of Banjeli they filmed ironworkers and blacksmiths at work. They continued northwards to the Oti River and the Tamberma region. In the north of Togo

V filmu izstopajo dolgi prizori, ki prikazujejo različne obrti v celotnem procesu od pridobivanja surovine do končnega izdelka. Med drugim lahko sledimo pridelovanju bombaža na plantažah, tkanju tkanin, ki jih ustvarjajo tkalci v kraju Bafilo in jih potem krojači sešijejo v oblačila, ter prodaji tkanin in oblačil na odprti tržnici. Snemalec in režiser Hans Schomburgk je leta 1922 v svoji potopisni knjigi opisal tehniko tkanja in tkalnice v Bafilu, kar je skupaj z dokumentarnim filmom za raziskovalce tkalskih tehnik izjemen vir za preučevanje kontinuitete določenih tkalskih elementov v tej vasi, ki se ohranjajo še danes.²

Celoten posnetek o bombažu, tkanju in prodaji izdelkov na tržnici je dolg okoli 10 minut. Osrednji naslov tega dela filma je *Bombažna industrija v nemškem Sudanu* (Baumwolle-Industrie im Deutschen Sudan). Posamezne tematske odlomke tega dela filma je Schomburgk v montaži ločil s kadrom, v katerem je z naslovom nakazal vsebino posameznih poglavij.

Filmski posnetek iz leta 1914 je izjemen primer dokumentacijskega gradiva ter pomemben arhivski vir za raziskovanje zgodovine bombažne industrije v Togu in primerjalno v Afriki ter po svetu. Fotografsko gradivo, ki sta ga ohranila baron Anton Codelli in Leo Poljanec, lahko razumemo kot dobro izhodišče za raziskovanje različnih pojavov iz obdobja nemške kolonialne politike v Togu konec 19. in v začetku 20. stoletja. Razstavni projekt to gradivo preučuje skozi vprašanje proizvodnje bombaža. Posamezne fotografije z motivi o gojenju bombaža, tkanju in oblačilih dopolnjujejo dokumentarno filmsko pripoved, oblačila in kosi tkanine iz Poljančeve zbirke pa pomenijo konkreten stik z dragoceno dediščino domačinov iz Toga, ki so se ukvarjali z nabiranjem bombaža, predenjem, tkanjem, šivanjem in krojenjem.

they met with various peoples and spent quite a while with the Konkombwa people. The film crew returned to Kamina after six months.

The most striking parts of the film are long scenes showing different crafts through the entire process, from the extraction of raw materials to the final product. We can see people growing cotton on plantations, weavers working on their fabrics in Bafilo, and tailors sewing them to make garments, and how these fabrics and garments are sold in the market place. The cameraman and director Hans Schomburgk described the weaving technique and weaving mills in Bafilo in his 1922 travelogue, which together with the documentary film serves as an exceptional source of information in the research on the continuity in specific weaving elements in this village that are still used today.²

The entire video recording on cotton, weaving and selling of the products in the local market is about ten minutes long. The main title of this section of the film is *Cotton industry in German Sudan* (Baumwolle-Industrie im Deutschen Sudan). When Schomburgk edited it, he separated the sections of this part of the film with a cut in which he indicated the contents of individual chapters.

The 1914 film recording is an exceptional document and an important archival source in the research of the history of Togolese cotton industry, and comparatively in Africa and the world. The photographic materials preserved by Baron Anton Codelli and Leo Poljanec serve as a good starting point for the research into different phenomena in German colonial policy in Togo in the late 19th and early 20th century. The exhibition project looks into these materials through the question of cotton production. The photographs depicting cotton farming, weaving, and attires complement the documentary film narrative, and the garments and fabrics from Poljanec's collection provide a direct contact with the valuable legacy of the Togolese who picked cotton, spun, weaved, sewed and tailored.

² Glej / See: <https://ne-np.facebook.com/vaelco/videos/centre-de-tissage-de-bafilo-togo/753137822506360/>, ogledano 30. 11. 2022. / viewed on 30. 11. 2022.

Pflücken der Baumwolle	Obiranje bombaža	Cotton harvesting
Gepflückte der Baumwolle	Smukanje bombaža	Cotton picking
Baumwolle wird als Steuer zu einer Station getragen	Bombaž nosijo na postajo kot plačilo davka	Cotton carried to a station as tax payment
Entkernen der Baumwolle	Razkosavanje bombaža	Cotton ginning
Spinnen	Preja	Spinning
Spulen	Navijanje preje na motek	Winding yarn on the bobbin
Ein Knabe zeigt die Handhabe der Spule	Deček kaže ravnanje z motkom	A boy demonstrates how to handle a bobbin
Ein Blick auf die Webstühle bei Baffilo	Pogled na statve v Bafilu	View of the looms in Bafilo
Weber bei der Arbeit	Tkalec pri delu	Weaver at work
Weber mit Schiffchen	Tkalec s čolničkom	Weaver with a weaving bobbin
Hand- und Fußbetrieb des Webestuhls	Ročno in nožno upravljanje statev	Manual and foot operation of the loom
Frauenweberin. Die ältesten Webeart	Tkalka. Najstarejša tkalska tehnika	A weaver. The oldest weaving technique
Jeder Faden muß einzeln durchgeführt werden	Vsako nit je treba posebej napeljati	Each thread must be drawn separately
Das fertige breite Tuch	Končano široko sukno	Finished wide cloth
Die gewebten Stücke werden auf dem Markt verkauft	Tkani izdelki se prodajajo na tržnici	Woven products are sold at the market
Die schmalen Stücke werden vom Schneider zusammengenäht	Krojač sešije skupaj ozke kose	The tailor sews the narrow pieces together
Ein fertiges Tuch wird auf dem Markt verkauft	Dokončan kos tkanine se prodaja na tržnici	The finished fabric is sold at the marketplace

Naslovi posameznih poglavij v filmu *V nemškem Sudanu*.

Titles of individual chapters in the film *In the German Sudan*.

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Kapaa: bombažna kriza

*Sodobno pridelovanje bombaža
v indijski zvezni državi Odiša*

KAPAA: THE COTTON CRISIS
Contemporary cotton cultivation
in Odisha, India





Ročno tkanje, Odiša, Indija, 2022. Foto: Kanika Gupta.

Hand weaving, Odisha, India, 2022. Photo: Kanika Gupta.

Avtorja prispevka sva terensko delo v indijski zvezni državi Odiša s prekinitvami opravila med januarjem in marcem 2022. Zaradi časovnih in finančnih omejitev tega projekta je terensko delo potekalo samo v okrožjih Balangir in Sonepur. Za svojo raziskavo sva ju izbrala, ker je v okrožjih Kalahandi in Rayagada (Altenbuchner 2017) komercialna pridelava bombaža prisotna že dlje časa in je bila tako do določene mere že dokumentirana. Ko govoriva o okrožjih Kalahandi in Rayagada, se opirava na sekundarne vire. Na območju Sonepurja, kjer gojenje bombaža v zadnjem času narašča, sva se pogovarjala s kmeti, ki so najeli velika zemljišča, za delo na poljih pa delavce, običajno iz bližnjih vasi. Pogovarjala sva se tudi z vodjo predilnice bombaža.

The authors conducted fieldwork in the Indian state of Odisha intermittently between January and March 2022. Within the limited duration and financial constraints of this project, fieldwork has been conducted only in Balangir and Sonepur. Those two regions were chosen for this study since Kalahandi and Rayagada regions (Altenbuchner 2017) have seen commercial cotton farming for a longer time and a little bit has previously been published about these areas. Therefore, the authors rely on secondary sources to discuss the Kalahandi and Rayagada regions. Cotton cultivation has increased in recent years in the Sonepur region. For this research, the authors interviewed farmers who have leased very large landholdings and employ others, mainly local villagers, to labour in the fields. The manager of the local cotton spinning mill has also been interviewed.

Uvod

Odiša (še) ni na seznamu največjih proizvajalk bombaža v Indiji. Čeprav so tam okrožja, npr. Kalahandi, kjer že dlje časa pridelujejo bombaž, pa njegova proizvodnja v Odiši v zadnjem času narašča bolj kot kdajkoli prej. Kmetje z območij, kot je Andra Pradeš, prihajajo v Odišo iskat zemljo – neobdelano ali pa tako, kjer so prej več generacij pridelovali riž –, da bi gojili bombaž iz gensko spremenjenih semen z uporabo kemičnih gnojil in pesticidov. Pridelek nato večinoma izvažajo v Bangladeš, na Kitajsko, v Pakistan ali indijsko zvezno državo Maharaštro, kjer se je kakovost zemlje, na kateri pridelujejo bombaž, že tako poslabšala, da ne more več dati dostojnega pridelka. Prej neobdelana zemlja, ki so jo našli v Odiši, sicer sprva daje dober pridelek novozasajenega komercialnega bombaža, a to ne traja dolgo.

Odiša ima dolgo tradicijo ročnega tkanja bombažnih tkanin, iz katerih izdelujejo vse vrste oblačil. S prihodom industrije so se oblačilne navade spremenile. Lokalno tradicijo so nadomestili vzorci globalizacije, ki so posledica kolonializma. V Odiši je danes ročno tkana bombažna tkanina bolj izjema kot pravilo. Bombaž, ki ga tam pridelajo na račun rodovitne zemlje in zdravega okolja, ni namenjen lokalni potrošnji. Izvažajo ga v Bangladeš in na druga območja, kjer množično proizvajajo oblačila, ter ga prodajajo na potrošniških trgih po vsem svetu.

Introduction

Odisha is not yet on the list of largest cotton-producing states in India. Though there are regions within Odisha, like Kalahandi, which have been producing cotton for some time, cotton farming is increasing in the state in recent times at an unprecedented scale. Farmers come to Odisha from places like Andhra Pradesh in search of land – whether uncultivated or leased from multigenerational rice farmers – to grow cotton using genetically modified (GM) seeds, chemical fertilisers and pesticides. The produce is primarily sold to Bangladesh, China, Pakistan, or the Indian state of Maharashtra, where the cotton-growing soil quality has already gone too low to give a good yield. Initially, the soil in the virgin lands of Odisha, newly introduced to commercial cotton, gives a good yield but this, of course, is temporary.

Cotton fabric has been handwoven for generations in Odisha to make all kinds of clothing. With the coming of the industrial setup, the way people dress has completely transformed. Local tradition has surrendered to patterns of globalisation which are themselves a repercussion of colonialism. Handwoven cotton in Odisha is no longer the mainstream trend. The cotton Odisha produces, at the cost of its soil and ecology, is not meant for local consumption. The exported cotton is used to mass-produce clothing in Bangladesh and other places and sold to a consumer-based market across the world.

Pridelovanje bombaža v Odiši: nekoč in danes

Odiša ima tisočletja dolgo zgodovino tkanja na ročnih statvah. Indijski mislec Kautilja v *Arthashastra* (Shamashastry, 1929) pove, da je bil bombaž iz Kalinge (starodavnega indijskega kraljestva, ki se deloma prekriva z današnjo Odišo) med najboljšimi. Čeprav so ga pridelovali za lokalno uporabo in trgovino, je njegova proizvodnja postopoma upadala. V vzhodni Odiši ga je v kolonialnem obdobju kot vodilna monokultura izpodrinil riž (Das, 1976). Zgodovina pridelovanja bombaža, še posebej v zahodni Odiši, do danes še ni bila celovito raziskana. Na tem območju bombaž ni bil tradicionalna kultura in šele v sedemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja so ga začeli uvajati kot komercialni pridelek z razmeroma visokim in takojšnjim donosom. Nadomestil je tradicionalne pridelke, kot so riž, stročnice in proso, ki so bili namenjeni prehrani in prodaji na lokalnih tržnicah. Za njegovo proizvodnjo so potrebovali znanje kmetov iz drugih regij (v tem primeru iz države Andra Pradeš), podjetja za kmetijsko proizvodnjo in tudi nekaj vladne podpore. Čeprav so bili zato začetki komercialne proizvodnje bombaža težki, je danes temu namenjenih več kot 30 odstotkov zemlje, na kateri so zadnjih petdeset let večinoma gojili stročnice in proso.

Zahodno Odišo že dlje časa pestijo suše, padavine pa postajajo vse bolj neredne. Zaradi dolgih sušnih obdobji velja zahod države za manj ugodnega kot obalne regije, kjer namakanje omogoča gojenje monokultur z visokimi donosi. Po drugi strani pa je ta del države vroča točka

Cotton farming in Odisha: past and present

Odisha has a rich tradition of cotton handloom since ancient times. The *Arthashastra* of Kautilya (Shamashastry, 1929) mentions cotton from Kalinga (an ancient Indian kingdom whose boundaries roughly overlap with present-day Odisha) to be among the best. Although there was cultivation of cotton for local use and trade, it gradually declined during the colonial period in favour of rice monoculture in eastern Odisha (Das, 1976). The study of historical cotton is yet not comprehensive, in particular in western Odisha. Cotton was not a traditional crop there; in 1970s it emerged as a commercial crop that could fetch comparatively higher and immediate returns. However, it meant shifting from traditional crops such as rice, pulses, and millets for subsistence and consumption in local markets. This entailed depending upon the know-how of farmers from outside the region (in this case Andhra Pradesh), agricultural input companies, and little government support. Though all of this made commercial cotton cultivation difficult at first, today as much as 30 percent of the land is dedicated to cotton, shifting mainly from pulses and millets in the last 50 years.

Western Odisha has long been a drought-prone region, and rainfall has become increasingly irregular. This, combined with long dry spells of weather, caused the region to be perceived as less prosperous than the coastal Odisha regions, which have a monoculture of high-return crops grown with irrigation. However, it has its uniqueness

biotske raznovrstnosti in omogoča gojenje različnih pridelkov. Tu so živele in se uspešno razvijale številne avtohtone skupnosti. Zanimivo je, da je v zadnjem obdobju pridelovanje bombaža priljubljeno predvsem na območju KBK, ki ima slab sloves kot »zaostalo« in »revno«. KBK označuje nekdanja okrožja Kalahandi, Balangir in Koraput, oziroma osem današnjih okrožij, in sicer Kalahandi in Nuapada (prej Kalahandi), Balangir in Sonepur (prej Balangir) ter Koraput, Rayagada, Nawrangpur in Malkangiri (prej Koraput). Ta gričevnata pokrajina je bolj sušna kot riževa polja na ravninah vzhodne Odiše. Tu reke tečejo po ozkih dolinah, omejeno območje, na katerem lahko po kanalih speljejo vodo za namakanje, pa je še vedno bolj primerno za gojenje riža. Zanimivo je, da se v bolj gozdnatih pokrajinah v okrožjih Malkangiri, Koraput in Nawrangpur, ki mejijo na Čatisgarh, ter tistih, kjer delujejo skupine maoističnih upornikov naksalitov¹ (Banerjee 1984, 2006; Mukherjee 2007; Roy 2011; Singh 2012; Sundar 2016; Samaddar 2018), pridelovanje bombaža še ni uveljavilo.

Območje KBK je bogato z naravnimi viri, kot so minerali in gozdovi. Številne gozdne skupnosti so tu gojile različne pridelke in tako pomagale ohranjati biotsko raznovrstnost, zdaj pa v želji po zaslužku postopoma prehajajo na bombaž. Trajnostno pridelavo močno ogrožata pomanjkljiva državna politika in nepoznavanje problematike pridelovanja bombaža. Čeprav vlada v Odiši ni odobrila

in maintaining a wide variety of crops along with being a biodiversity hotspot. Many indigenous communities have lived and thrived there. It is interesting to observe that cotton farming has been mainly popular lately in the KBK region of Odisha, infamous for its 'backwardness' and 'poverty'. KBK stands for the erstwhile Kalahandi, Balangir and Koraput districts which now translate to eight districts namely Kalahandi and Nuapada (carved out of Kalahandi), Balangir and Sonepur (carved out of Balangir), and Koraput, Rayagada, Nawrangpur, and Malkangiri (carved out of Koraput). This region is comparatively drier and has undulating terrain unlike the rice-growing plains of eastern Odisha. Though there are rivers in the region, their basins are narrow. The limited area where canal water irrigation is available still prefers rice cultivation. It is more interesting to note that among all these Malkangiri, Koraput, and Nawrangpur, the ones which are more forested, contiguous with Chhattisgarh, and more Naxalite-Maoist¹ prone (Banerjee 1984, 2006; Mukherjee 2007; Roy 2011; Singh 2012; Sundar 2016; Samaddar 2018), have not yet given way to cotton cultivation.

The KBK region has been very rich in natural resources like minerals and forests. Numerous forest communities traditionally cultivated a wide array of crops and helped maintain the biodiversity in the area but are now gradually shifting to cotton in the hope of more returns. Lack of government policy on cotton farming has been a big

¹ Maoistični uporniki, znani kot naksaliti, so podtalno levičarsko gibanje, ki je večinoma prisotno na gozdnatih območjih vzhodne Indije. Od svojega nastanka uporabljajo različne metode, delujejo pa na različnih območjih Indije pod vodstvom številnih frakcij. Njihov skupni cilj naj bi bila samouprava, naklonjena revnim prebivalcem. Njihov proti institucijam uperjen nekonformizem se pogosto manifestira v obliki nasilja, ki ga bodisi izvajajo sami ali pa drugi nad njimi. Gibanje, ki je bilo razglašeno za protinacionalno, je prepovedano, območje, na katerem deluje, pa je močno ogroženo. Gozdovi in ljudje, ki tu živijo, so postali tarča rudarskih družb, ki tu v imenu modernizacije iščejo minerale. Gozdne družbe so veliko pretrpele zaradi interesov kapitala, ki mu pri iskanju dobička dodatno pomaga vlada, to pa je pripomoglo k temu, da so se uporniškimi naksalitom pridružili številni člani teh skupnosti. Njihov boj sta poskušala dokumentirati Arundhati Roy (2011) in Sanjay Kak (2013), o njem pa govori tudi Shishir Jha v svojem nedavnem igrano-dokumentarnem filmu »Tortoise under the Earth« (Želva pod zemljo, 2022).

Naxalism-Maoism is an underground leftist movement primarily in the forested regions of eastern India. They have used a wide range of strategies over the years, operating in various parts of India and led by numerous splinter organizations, with the unifying goal of promoting pro-poor self-government. Their anti-establishment stance often spills out as violence, both by and against them. The movement has been banned and called anti-national. However, the regions it operates in are under a severe threat. In the name of modernisation, the forests and its people are targeted by mining companies for the mineral rich soil. The forest communities have suffered immensely in the hands of vested industrial interests aided by the government; this has led to the Naxalites-Maoists drawing many of their recruits from among these communities. Arundhati Roy (2011) and Sanjay Kak (2013) have attempted at documenting this struggle. A recent fiction-documentary film called 'Tortoise under the Earth' made by Shishir Jha (2022) also delves on the same theme.

Dr. Kanika Gupta in Akash Kumar Sahu,
Indija, 2022. Arhiv Kanike Gupta.

Dr. Kanika Gupta and Akash Kumar Sahu,
India, 2022. Kanika Gupta's Archive.



proti škodljivcem odpornega bombaža (Bt) in je prepovedala na herbicide odporne sorte (HT), to zasebnih akterjev očitno ne ovira pri prodoru v podeželsko gospodarstvo v regiji. Skoraj vsa semena, ki so danes v državi prosto v prodaji brez potrebnega dovoljenja, so semena gensko spremenjenih sort Bt in HT. Pomanjkljiva zakonodaja omogoča prodajo semen po visokih cenah in spodbuja uporabo škodljivih pesticidov. Tudi neformalni »predujmi« (posojila), ki jih ob začetku setve ponujajo trgovci, kmete uklepajo v spone visokih obrestnih mer in režijskih stroškov. Ti se tako hitro znajdejo v začaranem krogu dolga, iz katerega se je težko izviti.

impediment to its sustainable cultivation. Though the State Government of Odisha has not approved the BT varieties and has banned Herbicide Tolerant (HT) varieties of cotton, neither of these seem to deter the private players from making huge inroads into the deepest rural economy of the region. Almost all of the seeds now sold openly in the state without required permission are of BT and HT varieties. Lack of regulation is leading to overcharging for seeds and pushing the use of harmful pesticides. Often the informal 'advance' (moneylending) given to farmers by the traders at the beginning of the sowing season binds them into a trap of high-interest rates and huge overhead charges. The farmers can easily fall into a debt cycle difficult to get out from.





Okrožja indijske zvezne države Odiša, kjer se v zadnjem obdobju krepi pridelovanje bombaža.

Districts of the Indian state of Odisha, where cotton cultivation has been increasing in recent years.

Odiša: dirka k bombažu

Rayagada in Kalahandi

Rayagada je eno najbolj gozdnatih okrožij v Odiši. Glede na popis prebivalstva iz leta 2011 več kot polovica njegovih prebivalcev sodi med uradno priznane staroselske skupnosti (Scheduled Tribes). To okrožje je bilo med prvimi v Odiši, ki so v 70. in 80. letih prejšnjega stoletja začela z gojenjem bombaža, k čemur je zagotovo prispevala njegova obmejna lega na meji z zvezno državo Andro Pradeš, kjer so že takrat na obsežnih območjih pridelovali bombaž. Prvi kmetje so prišli iz Andre Pradeš iskat »nova« zemljišča in poceni delovno silo, sledila pa so jim semena in podjetja za kmetijsko proizvodnjo.

Čeprav je okrožje Kalahandi v Odiši znano po bogastvu naravnih virov, njegovi prebivalci danes živijo v skrajni revščini. V zadnjih štiridesetih letih so na tem območju nastale številne plantaže bombaža. Središča pridelovanja bombaža v Kalahandiju so v okolici mest Narla, Lanjigarh, Kesinga in Dharmagarh. Ob tem se moramo vprašati, ali je premik h gojenju bombaža v Kalahandiju strategija za preživetje (Mishra 2010). V najboljšem primeru je ta premik prinesel začasno olajšanje v času, ko zemlja še ni bila obremenjena z gensko spremenjenim bombažem, ki je sčasoma zahteval vedno večje količine umetnih gnojil, katerih raba iz leta v leto vztrajno narašča. V nasprotju s Sonapurjem so to območje že doletele neizogibne posledice tehnološko naprednega bombaža in njegovih kemičnih sopotnikov (Panda 2019; PARI 2019).

Odisha: race towards cotton

Rayagada and Kalahandi

Rayagada is one of the most forested districts in Odisha with over 50 percent of its population belonging to Scheduled Tribes (Census 2011). This district has been among the first to grow cotton in Odisha in the 1970s-80s. It certainly owes to the fact that the region has been contiguous to the state of Andhra Pradesh which already had large swathes growing cotton. The initial farmers migrated from Andhra Pradesh in search of 'new' lands and cheap labour, followed by cotton seeds and agricultural production companies.

Although Kalahandi region in Odisha is known for its wealth of natural resources, its inhabitants today live in abject poverty. The past 40 years have witnessed the introduction and rise of cotton plantations in the region. In Kalahandi, the area around Narla, Lanjigarh, Kesinga, and Dharmagarh are the main cotton hotspots. It is pertinent to question, is a shift to cotton cultivation a coping strategy (Mishra 2010) in Kalahandi? At most, it has offered temporary relief, only in the initial years when the soil was yet new to genetically modified cotton seeds and an ever increase in the amount of chemical fertiliser needed, which surely and steadily grows each year. Unlike Sonapur, this region is already witnessing the inevitable repercussions of this technologically advanced cotton crop along with its chemical paraphernalia (Panda 2019; PARI 2019).

Balangir

Patnagarh in Khaprakhol tvorita bombažni pas okrožja Balangir. Po besedah *Biharilala Sahuja*, kmeta iz vasi Matikhai v Khaprakholu, so bombaž na tem območju pričeli gojiti na začetku 90. let 20. stoletja. Takrat je vlada imenovala prvega »uradnika, pristojnega za bombaž«, ki je očitno veliko prispeval k njegovemu uveljavljanju na tem območju. Tako kot številni kmetje v regiji je tudi *Sahujeva* družina začela pridelovati bombaž izključno zaradi njegove finančne donosnosti, saj je z njim zaslužila skoraj dvakrat več kot prej s stročnicami in žiti. Z bombažem je tudi lažje trgovati kot npr. z rižem, ki so ga lahko prodajali samo na lokalnih tržnicah (mandis). Poleg tega vlada zmanjšuje obseg javnih naročil za riž z lokalnih tržnic, zato se ljudje usmerjajo k pridelovanju bombaža. *Madan Kathar* je najemniški kmet iz vasi Anandapur v bližini Patnagarha. Z bombažem se ukvarja od leta 2011. Pred tem je gojil arašide in stročnice, občasno pa je delal tudi kot ribič in delavec na kmetiji. Pravi, da je gojenje bombaža kot vzgoja otroka, saj se moraš za dobro letino truditi vse leto. Pred tem je potrebe po delovni sili zadovoljila njegova družina, pri bombažu pa zaradi številnih postopkov, ki jih zahteva njegovo pridelovanje, ne gre brez najetih rok. Po njegovih besedah Bt bombaž zahteva več skrbi in napora kot predhodne različice. *Krushna Chandra Mishra*, poslovodja obrata za čiščenje bombaža v bližini mesta Balangir, se baha, da je imel njegov obrat pomembno vlogo pri uveljavljanju bombaža na tem območju. Trdi, da ljudi izobražuje o dobrih praksah gojenja bombaža, a zdi se, da jim kmetje v praksi ne sledijo. Obrat večino bombaža izvozi v Bangladeš.

Proizvodnja bombaža je v Balangirju že pustila vidne sledi. *Sahu* obžaluje izgubo samozadostnosti pri stročnicah, ki jih mora zdaj kupovati na trgu. Ne le, da je hrana tam dražja, *Sahu* zaradi pesticidov, ki jih uporablja, dvomi tudi v njeno kakovost. Tudi *Kathar* in njegov sosed se

Balangir

Patnagarh and Khaprakhol have been the cotton-producing belt of Balangir district. *Biharilal Sahu*, a farmer from Matikhai village in Khaprakhol, says cotton was introduced in the area in the early 1990s. That was when the first 'cotton officer' was appointed in the area by the government and who also seems to have a deep impact in popularising cotton farming in the area. *Sahu's* family, like many farmers in the region, shifted to cotton exclusively for the monetary returns that it brought, almost double of what they earlier got for pulses or cereals. It is also more readily marketable than crops such as rice, which needs to be sold only at local mandis (markets). The government is reducing the procurement of rice from the mandis leading to people shifting away from it towards cotton. *Madan Kathar* is a tenant farmer in Anandapur village near Patnagarh. He has been growing cotton since 2011. Earlier he used to grow groundnut and pulses, apart from being a fisherman and farm labourer at times. He says that growing cotton is like raising a child, it takes effort round the year to get a profitable yield. Earlier he only required labour of his family, but cotton cannot do without hired labour in its many processes. He also says that BT cotton needs more care and effort than earlier varieties. *Krushna Chandra Mishra*, manager at a ginning mill near Balangir, boasts of his mill's role in popularising cotton in the area. He claims of educating people about the best practices of cotton farming, yet little seems to be followed on the ground. Most of the cotton in the mill is exported to Bangladesh.

However, the grave consequences of cotton farming are already visible in Balangir. *Sahu* laments they now have to depend on the market for their pulses requirement which they were earlier self-sufficient in. Apart from those bought food items now being dearer, he also doubts their quality, given the amount of pesticide he himself uses. Both *Kathar* and his neighbour echo *Sahu's* complaint of growing

podobno kot *Sahu* pritožujeta zaradi vse višjih stroškov pridelave in nepredvidljivega vremena, ki ogroža njun pridelek. V pogovoru so nam tisti, ki so tako kot *Sahu* razmeroma uspešni kmetovalci, jasno povedali, da se želijo vrniti k pridelovanju zelenjave, a dvomijo, da je to pri bombažu mogoče. *Kathar* pravi, da bo vztrajal pri bombažu, dokler bo dobičkonosen. Vsem pa je skupno upanje, da se njihovim otrokom ne bo treba ukvarjati z gojenjem bombaža in kmetovanjem na splošno. Leta 2020 je *Rechek Banchor*, kmet zakupnik iz vasi Kodobeda, ki sodi v sklop Agalpurja v Balangirju, zaužil pesticid in naredil samomor, potem ko je izgubil letino bombaža. Za gojenje bombaža je vzel posojilo 25.000 rupij, ki jih ni mogel vrniti (The New Indian Express, september 2021).

Sonepur

Sonepur je regija, v katero se zgrinja nov val kmetov iz Andre Pradeš, ki zavzemajo »pusta«, prej (kmetijsko) neizkoriščena zemljišča ali pa jih zakupijo od lokalnih kmetov (ki so pred tem tam gojili riž ali druge lokalne pridelke) in na njih gojijo bombaž. Ker so tu šele nedavno zasejali semena gensko spremenjenega bombaža, zemlja pa prej ni bila izpostavljena umetnim gnojilom in pesticidom, zaenkrat še dobro rodi. Ta zgled se hitro širi. Ko so videli, kako kmetje iz Andre pobirajo dobičke, so jih začeli posnemati tudi lokalni kmetje. Vendar pa posnemanje ni dovolj. Lokalni kmetje še niso izpopolnili postopkov gojenja bombaža, zato z njimi ne dosegajo največjih možnih donosov, čeprav njihova zemlja še ni zastrupljena in bi lahko bogato obrodila. Kmetje se še vedno učijo in morda nevede zanemarjajo pravilne postopke hranjenja pridelka, zato je kakovost njihovega bombaža slabša, tako da na prostem trgu dosega nižje cene.

Himanshu Purohit, kmet iz okrožja Sonepur, je zavzel neobdelano zemljo, ki jo je najprej očistil in pripravljal za

input costs and uncertainty of the crop due to increased unpredictability of the weather. When we spoke to them, relatively well-off ones like *Sahu* emphatically told us about their desire to shift back to growing vegetables but were doubtful of their viability in the face of cotton. *Kathar* said he would continue with cotton as long as it remains profitable. None of them wants their children engaged in cotton farming and hope they chart their future away from farming. In 2020, another tenant farmer *Rechek Banchor* of Kodobeda village of Agalpur block in Balangir consumed pesticide and committed suicide after his cotton crop failed. He was not able to return the 25,000 rupees debt he took for cotton cultivation (The New Indian Express, September 2021).

Sonepur

Sonepur is the region that is witnessing a fresh wave of farmers coming from Andhra Pradesh and taking up either 'barren', that is, hitherto unused land (for agricultural purposes), or taking land on lease from local farmers (who had till date been cultivating rice or other local crops) to cultivate cotton. Since the soil is recently introduced to genetically modified cottonseed and harsh chemical-based fertiliser and pesticide, it is, as of now, giving a profitable yield. The trend is picking up fast. Local farmers witness this profit going into the hands of Andhra farmers and have begun to copy the entire procedure. But a copy is, after all, a copy. The local Odia farmers have not yet perfected the cotton cultivation, as a result of which, though their soil is yet not poisoned and capable of giving high profits, their methods do not give the maximum possible returns. The farmers are still learning or perhaps unknowingly ignoring proper storage methods and conditions which decrease the quality of cotton thus fetching a lower price for it in the open market.

gojenje bombaža. Za isti namen je zakupil tudi zemljišča lokalnih kmetov. Skupaj ima sto akrov zemlje, namenjene gojenju bombaža. Zaposluje delavce, tako moške kot ženske, iz bližnjih vasi. V povprečju ženske prejmejo 150, moški pa 200 rupij na dan. Moškim je večinoma dodeljena bolj »tvegana« oziroma nevarna naloga razprševanja kemičnih gnojil in pesticidov, ki škodijo zdravju. Čeprav je moral *Himanshu Purohit* v proizvodnjo bombaža vložiti veliko vsoto denarja, mu je v treh letih uspelo ustvariti dobiček. V letu 2022 je bombaž prodal zasebnikom v Maharaštri, kjer se je njegova komercialna proizvodnja zmanjšala.

Tholikonda Sarman Raju (T S Raju) je kmet iz zvezne države Andra Pradeš, ki v Odiši goji bombaž od leta 2005. Iskal je zemljo in tu jo je zakupil od lokalnih kmetov. Začel je v kraju Anandapur, a ko so se začeli s pridelovanjem bombaža ukvarjati tudi lokalni kmetje, je moral poiskati novo lokacijo. Danes goji bombaž na območju Ulunda v okrožju Subarnapur, kjer ima med 70 in 80 akrov zemlje. Na zemljiščih, ki jih je vzel v zakup, so prej rasla številna (več kot meter visoka) drevesa palaš (*Butea monosperma*), ki jih je moral izkrciti, da je zemljišče postalo »primerno za uporabo« (gojenje bombaža). Pravi, da hibridno seme Bt1 uporablja, odkar je pred osemnajstimi leti prišlo na tržišče. Pove, da je bombaž, vzgojen iz gensko spremenjenih semen Bt1, odporen na določene škodljivce, vendar ta odpornost traja le deset let. Takrat je potreben prehod na Bt2, a tudi ta po desetih letih izgubi odpornost. Nekoliko zadržano da vedeti, da razume, kako to vpliva na degradacijo tal in pridelka. Ko smo govorili z njim, je nadzoroval tovornjak, ki je prišel iz Maharaštre po njegov bombaž. Za pomoč pri natovarjanju je najel može iz vasi. Pojasnil je, da sta bili zadnji dve letini bombaža v Maharaštri slabi, zato prihajajo ponj v Odišo. Iz bližnje vasi sta po plačilo prišli tudi delavki na njegovih poljih. Večinoma zaposluje ženske, ki jim plača 150 rupij na dan. Tukajšnja zemljo je

Himanshu Purohit, a farmer from Sonepur district, for instance, has taken up 'barren' land, which he had to 'clear' and make usable for cotton cultivation. He also has land on lease from local farmers for the same purpose. His total land holdings for cotton production are approximately 100 acres. He employs labour from nearby villages which includes both men and women. In average, women get 150 rupees and men 200 rupees per day. Men generally do the 'riskier', in fact, hazardous task of spraying chemical fertiliser and pesticides in the fields which is devastating for health. Though *Himanshu Purohit* had to invest heavily in cotton production, he has managed to make a profit in the 3 years in which he began cultivating cotton. This year (2022) he has sold his cotton to private parties in Maharashtra since the state has seen a fall in commercial cotton production.

Tholikonda Sarman Raju (T S Raju) is a cotton farmer from Andhra Pradesh who has been cultivating cotton in Odisha since 2005. He came searching for land and took it on lease from local farmers. Initially, he cultivated in a place called Anandapur in Odisha, but eventually, the local farmers began farming cotton themselves and so he had to shift. As of now, he has 70-80 acres of land in the Ulunda block of Subarnapur district of Odisha in which he grows cotton. When he took this land on lease it had many Palaash trees (of about 4 feet in height) all over which he had to clear to make the land 'usable' (for cotton). He has been using hybrid BT1 seeds ever since they appeared in the markets, according to him 18 years ago. He says the use of BT1 (a variety of genetically modified cotton seeds) makes the crop resistant to certain pests but only for ten years. Then one is forced to shift to BT2 which too will fail in ten years. Somewhat reluctantly, he indicates that he understands the degradation that the crop and the soil go through. When we spoke to him, he was supervising a truck that had arrived from Maharashtra to buy his

zakupil za dve leti, in če lokalni kmetje zakupa ne bodo podaljšali, bo v Odiši poiskal novo lokacijo.

Številni kmetje, tako tisti iz Andre, ki so prišli v Odišo obdelovat »svežo« zemljo, kot odiški kmetje, ki posnemajo njihove prakse, so povedali, da so bombaž sejali na prej neobdelani zemlji, ki je bila zaraščena in jo je bilo treba očistiti. To pomeni, da se proizvodnja bombaža vse bolj širi na prej gozdnata področja. Kmetje se pogosto pritožujejo, da njihove pridelke uničujejo sloni. *Himanshu Purohit* je povedal, da jih odpelje gozdna straža, vendar ta ščiti živali in ne pridelkov. Sloni so inteligentna, občutljiva in čustvena bitja. Znano je, da imajo dober spomin in da so ga sposobni prenašati na naslednje generacije. Odišo obdajajo gosti gozdovi, med njimi gozd Phulbani in rezervat slonov Dasapalla. Še pred nekaj sto leti je bila celotna regija veliko bolj gozdnata kot danes, poseljevale pa so jo različne živali, še posebej sloni. Odiša je že od nekdaj znana kot območje slonov. Že rimski učenjak Plinij je poročal, da je imel kralj Kalinge v svoji vojski 700 slonov (Mohanty 2010). Tudi *Arthashastra*, starodavna indijska zbirka razprav o politiki in gospodarstvu, ter klasična besedila v sanskrtu, kot npr. *Raghuvamsa*, občudujejo poročajo o slonih iz kraljestva Kalinga. Nič čudnega torej, da slone vleče nazaj tja, kjer je bil še nedavno njihov dom, čeprav so zdaj tam polja bombaža.

cotton. He took the help of men from the local village to get the cotton loaded on the truck. For two years, he said, cotton produce has not been so good in Maharashtra and therefore, people from Maharashtra are buying from Odisha. There were also two women from the local village who had worked as labourers in his fields and had come to collect their payments. He generally employs women who are paid 150 rupees per day. He has a lease here for two years, and if the local farmers do not extend the lease after this period, he will shift elsewhere within Odisha.

Many farmers, those from Andhra who come to Odisha in search of 'fresh' land for cotton cultivation as well as local Odia farmers who copy the former's practices have mentioned that they have sowed cotton on uncultivated land. This 'barren' land obviously had some vegetation that had to be cleared. It naturally implies that forested land is being increasingly cultivated for cotton. Many farmers have often complained that elephants come and ruin the crop. *Himanshu Purohit* said that the forest guards come to drive the elephants away but to protect the animals and not the crops. Elephants are intelligent, sensitive and emotional beings. It is also known that they have a sharp memory and are also capable of passing it down to their next generations. This region of Odisha is surrounded by dense forests, for instance, Phulbani forest and Dasapalla elephant reserve. The whole region must have been far more forested only a few hundred years ago, inhabited by animals, especially elephants. Odisha is historically known for its elephants. The Roman scholar Pliny says that the king of Kalinga had 700 elephants in his army (Mohanty 2010). *Arthashastra*, the ancient Indian treatise on polity and economy and classical Sanskrit texts like *Raghuvamsam* also speak highly of the elephants of Kalinga. It is rather to be expected that elephants try to find their way back to their homes which existed just a few years ago, and which have now been converted into cotton fields.

Za kaj gre?

Gojenje bombaža v Odiši se širi. To je še posebej očitno na območju Sonepurja, kjer se zanj odloča vse več odiških kmetov. Tudi mediji pozdravljajo širjenje proizvodnje bombaža v okrožju Kalahandi. A Odiša še ni ena večjih proizvajalk bombaža v Indiji. Bo to postala v naslednjih desetletjih? In če bo, za kakšno ceno?

Vsak negativni vpliv na naravo se sčasoma prenese na vse oblike življenja, tako ljudi kot živali. Zaradi modernih postopkov kmetovanja živinoreja močno upada, s tem pa je omejen tudi dostop do gnoj. To ne bi bilo tako problematično, če bi kmetje še vedno pridelovali tradicionalne pridelke, saj bi lahko s kompostiranjem in mulčenjem nadomestili izgubljeni gnoj. Skoraj vsi kmetje se zavedajo, da so velike količine kemičnih gnojil in pesticidov (od katerih so številni prepovedani) škodljive. Čeprav si kmetje predstavljajo, kako strupena so lahko za človeka, pa razumejo, da za gojenje tržnih pridelkov, kot je bombaž, tako rekoč nimajo druge možnosti kot kemična gnojila. Tla so zaradi ogromnih količin gnojil, ki niso primerna zanje, postala trda, izgubila so mehko in zračno strukturo, ki so jo imela, ko so tu gojili stročnice.

A kmetje v zahodni Odiši imajo nujnejše skrbi. Vsako novo sezono sanjajo o tem, kako bodo svoje otroke poslali v šolo in jih poročili ter poskrbeli za svoje bližnje, ki so zboleli; in ko iz zemlje poženejo prvi posevki, postanejo vse te skrbi še bolj resnične. Pravijo, da morajo trdo delati, ne glede na to, kaj gojijo. Večji dobiček, ki ga obljublja bombaž, je pomembnejši od njegovega vpliva na okolje. Na splošno velja, da posamezen kmet vsak zase ne ocenjuje ali načrtuje za dvajset let naprej. Čeprav lahko sočustvujejo z nesrečnimi kmeti, ki so gojili bombaž v Vidarbhi, so njihove roke zvezane zaradi omejenih možnosti, ki jih imajo. Tako se, čeprav je negativni vpliv gojenja bombaža že postal viden, vse več zemlje namenja

What is at stake?

The spread of cotton farming is increasing in Odisha. This is clearly evidenced from the region of Sonepur where Odia farmers are taking it up at a large scale. There are news articles that celebrate a higher production of cotton from the Kalahandi region. Indeed, Odisha is not yet a great cotton growing state in India. But will it be one in the next few decades? If yes, then at what cost? Any negative impact on nature will eventually transfer to all life forms, be they humans or animals. Livestock rearing has massively declined among farmers owing to modern farming techniques, and with them, their manure too is gone. This still wouldn't have been a big problem if the farmers had stayed with the local crops and could have been mitigated by practices such as composting and mulching. Almost all farmers are conscious that the huge amount of chemical fertilizer and pesticides (many officially banned) going into the soil are harmful. Though farmers can imagine how poisonous these can be for the human body, they accept that there is hardly any option for them other than using chemical fertilizer for the cultivation of cash crops like cotton. The soil has also turned hard, it no longer had the soft and aerating nature that it had earlier when legumes were grown, now owing to the copious amount of alien fertiliser not suitable for the land.

For farmers in western Odisha, the concerns are more immediate. For any coming season, they dream about sending their children to school, marrying them, taking care of their sick; all this they see becoming more real upon seeing the first sprouts of their crops. They say that they must work hard irrespective of the crop. That cotton gives better monetary return is just a part of dreaming of more, its effect on the environment secondary. Farmers individually generally don't assess or plan for twenty years in future. Even though they can relate if someone tells them

njegovi proizvodnji. Zato je tako pomembna vloga vlade, ki bi morala preudarno načrtovati dolgoročno prihodnost in nemudoma ukrepati. Žal pa se mora vlada še le dobro seznaniti s to problematiko, poleg tega pa v Indiji podnebne spremembe in njihov vpliv še vedno niso sprejete kot prednostna naloga. V političnem dialogu se ta tema redko uvrsti na dnevni red.

about the tragedy of cotton farmers in Vidarbha, their hands are tied to the limited options available to them. Therefore, although some negative impact of cotton cultivation is already beginning to be seen, still more land is coming under cotton cultivation. That is where the role of the government becomes important, to rehabilitate now, insightfully plan for long-term future and start working for it right away. Unfortunately, the government is yet to take note of this situation in its entirety and in India, climate change and impact is still not a priority. It is rarely the agenda in political dialogue.

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Včasih je bila zemlja rodovitna in deževna obdobja so bila obilna

THE SOIL USED TO BE FERTILE
AND RAINS ABUNDANT IN
THE WET SEASON





Že obrano bombažno polje. Togo, 2022. Foto: Ana Reberc.

An already harvested cotton field. Togo, 2022. Photo: Ana Reberc.

Terensko raziskavo o pridelovanju bombaža v Togu v zahodni Afriki sem opravila med 3. in 29. marcem 2022. Prebivala sem v prestolnici Lomé in obiskala več krajev v državi. Zanimali so me sledovi iz časa nemške kolonizacije Toga, predvsem pa vplivi podnebnih sprememb na pridelovanje bombaža in kako se s tem soočajo kmetovalci, ki jim je pridelovanje belega zlata edini ali eden izmed glavnih virov zaslužka.¹ Pri organizaciji in tolmačenju so prostovoljno sodelovali gostiteljica dr. Patabadi in študenti anglistike z Oddelka za anglistiko Univerze v Loméju, na pomoč so pogosto priskočili tudi znanci in mimoidoči. Opravila sem več razgovorov z agronomi (raziskovalci, svetovalci, profesorji), s predstavniki različnih kmetijskih organizacij, predstavnic nevladne organizacije in novinarko spletnega portala s področja ozaveščanja o podnebnih spremembah ter pridelovalci bombaža.

Glavne zagate, s katerimi sem se soočala, so bile kratkotrajna priprava in nedostopnost literature v angleščini, pomanjkljivo znanje francoščine (v Togu poleg lokalnih jezikov primarni jezik komunikacije in uradni jezik), nezkušenost s tovrstnim terenskim delom, nepoznavanje lokalne kulture in družbene ureditve ter časovne in finančne omejitve. Za Togo je značilna izrazita hierarhična

My field research on cotton cultivation in Togo, West Africa, was conducted between 3 and 29 March 2022. I stayed at the capital city of Lomé and visited several Togolese towns and villages. I was interested in the traces left behind by the German colonial rule in Togo, and in the first place in the impact of climate change on cotton cultivation and how it has affected the farmers who depend on white gold as the sole or one of the main sources of their livelihood.¹ My hostess Dr. Patabadi and students from the English Department at the University of Lomé, volunteered to help me organise my activities and offered interpretation assistance, and often my acquaintances and passersby also lent a hand. I conducted numerous interviews with agronomists (researchers, consultants, professors), representatives of various agricultural organisations, a representative of an NGO and a journalist of an online portal that raises awareness of climate change, and cotton farmers.

The main challenges in my work were the short time I was given to prepare for the project and lack of English literature sources, my poor knowledge of French (which is the official language in Togo and the primary language used in communication apart from local languages), lack

¹ Terensko delo je financiral program COST Action v sklopu projekta Traces as Research Agenda for Climate Change, Technology Studies, and Social Justice (TRACTS). Omogočil je izvedbo Short term scientific mission (STSM), ki podpira raziskovalne obiske doktorskih študentov oziroma raziskovalcev na začetku njihove akademske poti. The fieldwork was financed by the Short Term Scientific Mission (STSM) which supports research mobility of PhD students and early career researchers under the auspices of the COST Action Traces as Research Agenda for Climate Change, Technology Studies, and Social Justice (TRACTS).

Zemljevid prikazuje regiji v Togu, kjer je Ana Reberc opravljala terensko delo.

A map of the regions in Togo where Ana Reberc conducted her fieldwork.



družbena ureditev, zaradi katere je bil dostop do terena otežen, saj nisem mogla izpeljati potrebnih postopkov za dostop do mnogih ključnih akterjev. Sogovornikom je bilo težko razložiti, kaj pomeni delo antropologinje in čemu opravljam to raziskavo. Kot dobro situirana belka iz Evrope sem zasedala posebno pozicijo, ki mi je po eni strani omogočala dostop do nekaterih krajev, a hkrati oteževala razumevanje vsakodnevnega življenja domačinov in njihovega simbolnega sveta. Zaradi specifičnosti delovne naloge (posneti videointervjuje) ter časovnih in finančnih omejitev sta v kratkem času, preživetem s kmetovalci, prevladovala izvajanje intervjujev in posredovanje tehnologije. Kljub omejitvam mi je ob pomoči lokalnega prebivalstva uspelo pridobiti osnovne informacije o organizaciji bombažnega sektorja, ključnih problemih pridelovanja bombaža in pristopih k ozaveščanju o podnebnih spremembah ter izvesti videointervjuje z enajstimi kmetovalci v treh vaseh širom države ter s tem orisati ključne, čeprav omejene vidike pridelovanja bombaža v Togu.

of fieldwork experience, poor knowledge of local culture and social system, financial constraints, and time limitations. The social system in Togo is extremely hierarchical, which proved to be a major obstacle in the field, as I was unable to make the arrangements necessary to gain access to many key actors. Often, the people I spoke to found it hard to understand what being an anthropologist meant and why I was conducting this research. As a well-to-do white European woman I was in a special position that on the one hand allowed me access to certain places, but at the same time prevented me from fully understanding their daily life and the symbolic world they occupy. Due to the specifics of my project requirements (to record video interviews) as well as the financial and time constraints, the dominating methods I used in the short time I spent with the farmers were interviews and the use of technology. Despite limitations I was able to obtain, with the help of the local people, the basic information on the organisation of the cotton sector, the key problems of cotton production, and approaches to raising awareness on climate change, and to conduct video interviews with eleven farmers in three villages from different parts of the country. This allowed me to outline the key, albeit limited, aspects of cotton production in Togo.







Ostanki pomola, ki so ga kolonialisti zgradili za izvoz različnega blaga. Lomé, Togo, 2022. Foto: Ana Reberc.

The remnants of the pier colonialists built to export various goods. Lomé, Togo, 2022. Photo: Ana Reberc.

Včasih je bila zemlja rodovitna in deževna obdobja so bila obilna

»Nemci so nas kolonizirali, nato pa, kot nam je bilo povedano, Francozi. A to ni poanta. Ostale so sledi, kot so železnice, ceste ... Oni [Nemci] so postavili tračnice,« je pripomnil pridelovalec bombaža *Yakase Isoha*, ko sem ga povprašala o zgodbah iz časa kolonializma. Več sogovornikov je izrazilo pronemške občutke; nemško kolonizacijo pogosto vrednotijo pozitivno in jo primerjajo z negativno vrednoteno francosko, čas nemškega kolonializma jim vzbuja ponos in večkrat poudarijo nemški prispevek k razvoju države. A kot je jasno razvidno iz dokumentarnega filma o Togu (*Im Deutschen Sudan*, Schomburgk, 1914), ki ga je v času mojega obiska v različnih krajih v državi prikazoval nemški režiser Jürgen Ellinghaus, so domačini pod nemškim nadzorom opravljali vse težko delo, da so lahko kolonizatorjem plačali davke za zaščito. Čeprav sta dokumentirana in v šoli obravnavana tako brutalnost kolonialnega režima kot upor proti njemu, je zaradi različnih (tudi političnih) vplivov danes pogosta germanofilija. Kot dalje razlaga pridelovalec *Sambate Palinda*, so v Togu že pred prihodom Nemcev gojili bombaž, a je bil ta namenjen proizvodnji tradicionalnih oblačil. Šele Nemci so proizvodnjo bombaža preoblikovali v industrijo, uvedli nove tehnike proizvodnje, povečali produktivnost in zgradili železniške proge za lažji prevoz do пристanišča v Loméju.

Zgodovina pridelovanja bombaža v Togu je dolga, polna vzponov in padcev. Intervjuvani pridelovalci še pomnijo, da so bile starejše generacije zaradi pridelovanja bombaža v veliko boljšem položaju. »Bili so preskrbljeni.

The soil used to be fertile and rains abundant in the wet season

“It was the Germans who colonised us, and after them, we were told, came the French. But that’s not the point. There are still traces of their rule. Like railways and roads; they [Germans] laid the tracks,” commented *Yakase Isoha*, the cotton farmer whom I approached to tell me about the colonial period. In the month I spent there I spoke to many who expressed their pro-German sentiments. Many of them still have a positive attitude towards German colonisation and frequently compare it with the negative French presence; the German colonial period seems to make them proud and they frequently stress its contribution to the country. But the ethnographic documentary film on Togo (*Im Deutschen Sudan*, Schomburgk, 1914), which was screened at the time of my visit in various towns across the country by German director Jürgen Ellinghaus, tells a different story as it depicts the Togolese doing all the hard work under German supervision, only to be able to pay the Germans taxes for protection. Even though the brutality of the colonial regime and resistance against it are well documented and taught at school, Germanophilia is a common trend for various, including political, reasons. *Sambate Palinda*, one of the cotton farmers, explains that cotton had been grown in Togo before the arrival of the Germans, but it was grown to produce traditional garments. It was Germans who transformed cotton production into an industrial product; they introduced new production techniques, increased productivity, and built railway lines for easier access to the port in Lomé.

The long history of cotton production in Togo has been full

Še naši starši so, glede na površino, ki so jo obdelovali, pridelali štiri, pet ton. Zdaj njihovi otroci obdelujemo tudi večje površine, a ne pridelamo toliko. Ko so pridelovali bombaž, so bili ponosni. Zaradi bombaža so zgradili hiše, kupili avtomobile in motorje,« doda *Awedeou Boutoyi*. Z razlogom so bombaž poimenovali belo zlato, *l'or blanc*, donosi so bili visoki in cene prav tako, kar je omogočilo, da so v petletju veliko zaslužili. Pridelovanje bombaža je (bilo) pomembna gospodarska dejavnost države, v kateri se večina prebivalstva še vedno preživlja na samooskrbnih družinskih kmetijah, eno ali več poljščin pa gojijo za prodajo. Čeprav bombaž praviloma ne dojemajo kot tradicionalne poljščine, so jo gojili že njihovi očetje, ki so jim predali svoje znanje, pove *Kokou Bitanam*: »Dal mi je, moj oče, kaj? Znanje. [...] Ker me je podučil, danes nisem v skrbeh. To sem si zapomnil. Če lahko nekaj storim danes, je to zavoljo njegove izobrazbe. Če lahko premagam težave današnjega življenja, je to zaradi očeta, njegov poduk me je naredil takšnega.« Zemljo so obdelovali z veliko manj sredstvi in tehnološkimi izboljšavami, kot so prilagojena semena, herbicidi in mehanizacija. Imeli so visoke donose in bombaž prodajali po visokih cenah; pomenil je pomoč pri razvoju in zadovoljevanju potreb ter pridelovalcem vlival ponos.

Če bi vsi opustili pridelovanje bombaža, bi ljudje naokrog hodili goli

Pridelovalci, s katerimi sem se pogovarjala, so se za bombaž odločili pragmatično, ko so videli, koliko so njihovi starši ali sovaščani zaslužili z gojenjem: »Dedek vsako leto pridelava več kot deset ton, ne glede na vreme,« razloži *Sambate*. Večina se je z bombažem spoznala prek staršev. Sinovi so preprosto nadaljevali z gojenjem, saj so videli, da poljščina podpira družino. »Najprej se je treba naučiti očetove službe, preden najdeš svojo,« pravi *Essohana Katanga*: »Če dobiš pisarniško službo,

of ups and downs. The farmers I interviewed still remember that the older generations of cotton growers were in a much better position. "They had enough to live on. Even our parents produced about four, five tons, depending on how much land they farmed on. Now we, their children, work on much bigger areas, but cannot produce as much. They were proud of growing cotton. Cotton allowed them to build houses, buy cars and motorbikes," added *Awedeou Boutoyi*. It was for good reason that they called cotton white gold, *l'or blanc*; the yields were high and so were the prices, which allowed them to make a lot of money in five years. The production of cotton has been an important economic activity and most of the population still make their livelihood with family subsistence farms and grow one or several crops for the market. Although cotton is not usually perceived as a traditional crop, it was grown already by their fathers, who passed on their knowledge, says *Kokou Bitanam*: "What did my father give me? Knowledge. [...] Because he passed it on, I don't have to worry today. That's what I learned. If I am able to do something today, it is because of what he taught me. It is thanks to my father that I am able to deal with the challenges of life today; I can, because he taught me to." In the past, they had far less resources and technological improvements to work with, such as modified seeds, herbicides and mechanisation. But the yields were good and cotton was sold at high prices; it facilitated progress and helped people to provide for their needs, and, most importantly, it made producers proud.

If everybody stopped growing cotton, people would walk around naked

The farmers I spoke to decided to grow cotton for pragmatic reasons, because they saw how much their parents and other villagers earned with cotton farming: "Every year, my grandfather produces more than ten tons, no matter the weather," explains *Sambate*. Most of them were

odlično, sicer pa se lahko vrneš h kmetovanju, pridelovanju bombaža.« Sogovorniki bombaž gojijo od pet do trideset let. Mnogi so začeli že v času izobraževanja, eden izmed njih je študent geografije *Sambate*, ki je začel pridelovati bombaž leta 2015, ko je bil star sedemnajst let, in z dvema tonama pridelka zaslužil dovolj, da si je kupil motor. Prodaja pridelka mu omogoča, da lahko študira (enako velja za druge, npr. *Katanga*), in pričakuje, da mu bo omogočila nadaljevanje študija na magisteriju in morda celo na doktorskem študiju. Nekateri pa so se po študiju vrnili in prevzeli kmetije, kot *Bitanam*, ki je moral po očetovi smrti poskrbeti za družino, ali vzpostavili lastne kmetije, kot je bilo v primeru *Katange* iz vasi *Soumdina Powai*. Številni so se iz severnega dela države preselili na jug, da bi tam gojili bombaž, vendar se je to v zadnjih letih izkazalo za jalovo početje.

Pri pridelovalcih bombaža gre praviloma za v Togu prevladujoče samooskrbne družinske kmetije z lastno ali najeto zemljo, ki del zemlje namenijo gojenju dobičkonosne poljščine. Za razliko od zelenjave, namenjene prodaji, bombaž raste tudi v sušnem obdobju. Pridelovalce pritegne predvsem to, da ob prodaji pridelka zaslužijo večjo količino denarja naenkrat, kar jim omogoča večje naložbe: nakup zemlje in motorja (brez katerega so težko mobilni), gradnjo hiše in šolanje otrok. »Vsi pridelovalci bombaža bodo ob koncu leta nekaj storili. Če ne bo kupil motorja, bo zgradil lepo hišo, če ne bo hiša, bo kupil zemljo. Torej, če prideluješ bombaž, boš na koncu zagotovo imel kaj pokazati,« razloži *Katanga*. Tako prislužen denar jim omogoča zadovoljevanje potreb in preskrbo družine. V mnogih primerih je to edini zaslužek, ki ga imajo, zato z njim naredijo vse: omogoča varnost in udobje, boljše in lažje življenje ali vsaj to, da se družina prebije skozi leto. Ob visokih donosih in odkupni ceni ni boljšega kot biti pridelovalec bombaža: kmetje si lahko privoščijo avtomobile, nekateri celo potujejo v tujino. Ob dobrih pogojih

introduced to cotton farming through their parents, and as their sons they simply continued to grow it, because they saw how the crop provided for the family. "You have to learn your father's job before you find your own," says *Essohana Katanga*: "If you get an office job, fine, but you can always go back to farming, cotton growing." My interviewees have been growing cotton for five to thirty years. Many began already as students, like *Sambate*, a geography student who started growing cotton in 2015, when he was only seventeen, and with a yield of two tons he earned enough to buy himself a motorcycle. The income he gets by selling his crops allows him (and others like *Katanga*, for example) to study, and he expects to be able to finish his master's and even doctoral study the same way. Some came back home after graduating and took over the farms, like *Bitanam*, who had to take care of his family after his father died, or they started their own farms like *Katanga* from the village *Soumdina Powai*. Many people left their homes in the north of the country to move to the south and grow cotton, but in recent years this turned out to be a futile venture.

Cotton farmers in Togo predominantly come from subsistence family farms that own or lease the land, and dedicate a part of this land to growing a cash crop. Unlike food crops grown for the market, cotton grows also in the dry season. The farmers are mainly attracted by the possibility to make more money at once, which makes it possible for them to make investments, such as buying land, building a house, buying a motorcycle (and thus ensure their mobility), paying tuition for their children. "Come the end of the year, all these cotton growers will do something with their money. If they don't buy a motorcycle, they'll buy a house, if not a house, some land. So if you grow cotton, you will definitely have something to show for it at the end of the day," explains *Katanga*. Cotton money provides for their livelihood and takes care of the family. For many, this is the only income they have, and it provides for everything, comfort and security,





Tržnica v vasi Togoville, kjer poteka blagovna menjava med kmeti in ribiči. Togo, 2022. Foto: Ana Reberc.

The Togoville market, where goods are traded between farmers and fishermen. Togo, 2022. Photo: Ana Reberc.

zaslužijo več kot učitelji ali državni uslužbenci z diplomami in licencami.

Svoje delo kot kmetovalci nekateri razumejo tudi kot božje poslanstvo, saj če bi vsi delali v pisarnah, ne bi imeli kaj jesti. Še posebej bombaž vidijo kot pomembno poljščino, kot se nazorno izrazi *Katanga*: »Brez bombaža bi znoreli, [...] iz njega delamo oblačila, da zaščitimo lastna telesa. Brez bombaža, menim, da bi bili drugačni ali pa bi se vsem zmešalo.« Če ne bi pridelovali bombaža, bi Togo propadel, pravijo, saj bombažna industrija predstavlja velik segment državne ekonomije in ji zelo koristi. Vasi, v katerih ga pridelujejo, so postale prepoznavne in so v ponos celotni skupnosti, razloži *Esso Peleyi* iz vasi *Lakouda*: »Prej smo rekli Lakouda, ta vas, je prva v gojenju bombaža.«

Organizacijska struktura

Po osamosvojitvi Toga leta 1960 je kmetijski sektor, znotraj njega pa sektor proizvodnje bombaža, razvil raznolike in hierarhične strukture prepletenih organizacij, ki se ukvarjajo s kmetovalci, proizvodi, raziskovanjem in trgom. Te postopoma razvijajoče se strukture (leta 1964 je bil na primer ustanovljen francoski Raziskovalni inštitut za bombaž in eksotični tekstil [*Institut de recherches du coton et des textiles exotiques, IRCT*]) so nadomestile ali reorganizirale predhodne kolonialne in neokolonialne organizacije. Vzpostavil se je zapleten sistem diferenciranih in institucionaliziranih kmetijskih struktur, ki vplivajo na sodobno delovanje sektorja ter so ključne za razumevanje in načrtovanje ukrepov za blaženje vpliva podnebnih sprememb na pridelovanje bombaža.

a better and easier life, or least helps them to make ends meet. When the yields and cotton prices are high, there's nothing better than being a cotton farmer: farmers can afford to buy themselves a car, some even travel abroad. In good conditions they can make more money than teachers or public servants with degrees and licences.

Some cotton farmers see their work as godsend, because if they all worked in offices, they wouldn't have much to put on the table. Especially cotton is seen as an important crop, or as *Katanga* says: "...we would all go crazy without cotton; [...] we use it to make our clothes, to protect our bodies. I think we would all be different without cotton, or we would just lose our minds." Togo would collapse without cotton, they say, for the cotton industry is such a significant segment of the country's economy, its mainstay. The villages where cotton is grown have gained prominence, and the entire community takes pride in them, explains *Esso Peleyi* from the village *Lakouda*: "We used to say that Lakouda, this village, is the leading cotton producer."

Organisational structure

In 1960, when Togo became independent, the agronomy sector and within it the cotton production sector, developed diverse and hierarchical structures of interrelated organisations that deal with farmers, products, research, and the market. These gradually evolving structures (such as the French Cotton and Exotic Textiles Research Institute [*Institut de recherches du coton et des textiles exotiques, IRCT*] established in 1964) replaced or reorganised previous colonial and neocolonial organisations. The result is a complicated system of differentiated and institutionalised agronomic structures that shape the contemporary operation of the sector and play a key role in understanding and planning the measures to mitigate the impact of climate change on cotton production. A well-organised sector, state-led development plans, and cooperation between producers, engineers,

Dobra organiziranost sektorja, državni razvojni načrti ter sodelovanje med pridelovalci, tehniki, raziskovalci in državnimi uslužbenci imajo velik potencial za reševanje težav, povezanih s podnebnimi spremembami. Čeprav so bili predstavniki organizacij v času opravljanja terenskega dela v glavnem nedostopni, tako da nisem pridobila dovolj poglobljenih informacij, v nadaljevanju podam vsaj splošen oris te strukture.

Bombažni sektor je hierarhično prostorsko organiziran: od državne ravni do petih regij, ki so dalje razdeljene v 35 prefektur, te pa v kantone, ki zajemajo skupek vasi. Vsaka vas se deli v nekaj lokalnih skupin proizvajalcev (*groupements de producteurs de coton, GPC*), v primeru majhnih vasi ali majhnega števila proizvajalcev se lahko ti povežejo v skupino iz več vasi. Vsaka raven je zastopana v organizacijskih strukturah, ki predstavljajo okrog 150.000 proizvajalcev bombaža v državi (Africanews, 2021). Kmetovalci so organizirani v Nacionalno federacijo skupin proizvajalcev bombaža (*La fédération nationale des groupements de producteurs de coton, FNGPC-COOP-CA*) s petimi regionalnimi centri, ki so razdeljeni v manjše enote vse do lokalnih GPC. Poslanstvo federacije je zastopanje proizvajalcev in njihovih partnerjev v odnosu do Nove organizacije za bombaž iz Toga (*Nouvelle Société Cotonnière du Togo, NSCT*), države in donatorjev, zagotavljanje tehnične podpore in izobrazbe kmetovalcev, pomoč pri razvoju medsebojne solidarnosti med kmeti in izboljšanje organizacij (tudi lastne) na področju proizvodnje bombaža. FNGPC je del večje nacionalne organizacije Koordinacija organizacij kmetov iz Toga (*Coordination Togolese des Organisations Paysannes, CTOP*), ki koordinira 20 vključenih federacij, zadrug in organizacij iz različnih kmetijskih sektorjev. Namen CTOP je promocija, politično predstavljanje ter zastopanje interesov, pravic in vrednot trajnostnih samooskrbnih družinskih kmetij. Ta organizacija je del mednarodne mreže Via campesina,

researchers, and state officials have a significant potential in addressing the challenges of climate change. Although I was unable to get in touch with representatives of these organisations during my stay there, and could not gather the information that would allow me to get the full picture, I will try to briefly outline this structure.

The cotton sector is hierarchically structured into administrative units, from the state level through five regions that are further divided into 35 prefectures, and these into cantons, which are subdivided into villages. Each village is further divided into cotton producer groups (*groupements de producteurs de coton, GPCs*), and small villages or a small number of producers can be organised in a group that brings together several villages. Each of these levels has representation in organisational structures that represent, work with, or directly consist in about 150,000 cotton producers in the country (Africanews, 2021). Farmers are organised into the National Federation of Cotton Producers' Groups (*La fédération nationale des groupements de producteurs de coton, FNGPC-COOP-CA*) with five regional centres that are divided into smaller units down to the local GPCs. The Federation's mission is to represent producers and their partners in relation to the New Togolese Cotton Company (*Nouvelle Société Cotonnière du Togo, NSCT*), the state, and donors, to provide technical support and education for the farmers, to assist them in fostering solidarity between farmers, and to improve organisation (including their own) in the field of cotton production. FNGPC is a member of the Togolese Coordination of Farmers' Organisations (*Coordination Togolaise des Organisations Paysannes, CTOP*), a larger national organisation which coordinates 20 participating federations, cooperatives, and organisations from different agricultural sectors. Its aim is to promote, provide political representation for and advocate the interests, rights, and values of sustainable, subsistence family farms. CTOP is a member of the international Via campesina network,

mednarodnega gibanja kmetov, deluje pa prek voljenih predstavništev iz vsake federacije, ki sestavljajo predsedstvo. Posebno pozornost posvečajo mladim kmetom in kmeticam, ki imajo svoje delegate in delegatinje v vsaki sodelujoči federaciji.

Pomembno vlogo pri pridelovanju bombaža in reševanju težav zaradi podnebnih sprememb imajo raziskovalne institucije Univerze v Loméju in Univerze v Kari z lastnimi agronomskimi oddelki in raziskovalnimi centri, pa tudi Nacionalni agronomski raziskovalni inštitut (*Institut Togolais de Recherche Agronomique, ITRA*). Poslanstvo ITRA je razvoj in profesionalizacija kmetijstva, sestavljajo pa jo štirje regionalni raziskovalni centri v različnih agroekoloških conah (CRAL, CRAF, CRASS in CRASH). Za premostitev razkoraka med raziskovanjem in kmetovalci skrbi Inštitut za tehnično svetovanje in podporo (*L'Institut de Conseil et d'Appui Technique, ICAT*), ki kmete izobražuje o novih dognanjih, sredstvih in postopkih.

Osrednja organizacija v bombažnem sektorju, ki neposredno zadeva pridelovalce, je leta 2020 privatizirana NSCT, ki je v lasti korporacije OLAM (51 %), FNGPC (25 %) in Toga (24 %). Ta kmetom s pomočjo posojil omogoča nakup potrebnih materialov za gojenje bombaža: pesticidov (herbicidov, insekticidov), (mineralnih) gnojil in sanitetnega materiala, ter ima monopol nad odkupom proizvedenega bombaža. Pridelovalci so plačani po fiksnih cenah globalnega trga (s pomočjo lobiranja nekaterih deležnikov), pri čemer se odšteje vsota posojila. Država je v zadnjih letih ogromno sredstev namenila za izgradnjo industrijske cone s tekstilnim parkom za predelavo surovega bombaža, s čimer želi povečati vrednost izvoznega produkta.

Od semena do ploda

Bombaž je v Togu poljščina, s katero je lahko začeti, saj od kmeta zahteva zgolj čas in zemljo, vse surovine pa

an international farmers' movement that operates through elected representatives of each federation that constitute the presidency. Special attention is paid also to young farmers of both genders, who have their delegates within each of the participating federations.

Research institutions of the University of Lomé and the University of Kara with their agronomy departments and research centres as well as the Agricultural Research Institute of Togo (*Institut Togolais de Recherche Agronomique, ITRA*) also play a major role in cotton production and in dealing with climate-change induced problems. ITRA's mission is the development and professionalisation of agriculture. It consists of four regional research centres in different agro-ecological zones (CRAL, CRAF, CRASS and CRASH). The Technical Advice and Support Institute (*Institut de Conseil et d'Appui Technique, ICAT*) provides unified extension services to agricultural producers, educating them about new findings, resources and procedures.

The central cotton sector organisation that directly concerns cotton producers is the NSCT, which was privatised in 2020 and is now jointly owned by the OLAM corporation (51%), FNGPC (25%) and Togo (24%). The NSCT has in place a system of financing to allow its farmers access to all consumables required to grow cotton: pesticides (herbicides, insecticides), (mineral) fertilisers, and personal protective equipment, and has monopoly over the purchase of the cotton produced. Producers are paid at fixed prices in the global market (with the assistance of certain stakeholder lobbies), after deducting the loan amount. In recent years, in an attempt to boost the value of its export product the state has invested substantial amounts in building an industrial zone with a textile park for the processing of raw cotton.

From seed to fruit

It is not difficult to start growing cotton in Togo, because farmers only need to provide time and land, whereas the

na kredit priskrbi NSCT. Med pripravami na novo sezono FNGPC organizira skupinsko nabavo vseh surovin za vse pridelovalce, nato pa jih razdeli vse do lokalnih skupin GPC. Na lokalni ravni komiteji oziroma predsedniki skupnosti poskrbijo za hrambo in enakovredno razdeljevanje potrebščin med kmete. Prva faza pridelave pomeni pregled zemljišč, izbiro prave zemlje za gojenje bombaža in izpraznitev polj. Delo od začetka do konca poteka ročno s pomočjo preprostega orodja, brez mehanizacije.

Ko je zemlja pripravljena, je čas za sejanje, pri čemer pridelovalci sledijo navodilom, ki so se jih naučili od svojih staršev in dopolnili z znanjem kmetijskih svetovalcev, ki pogosto organizirajo izobraževanja. Sejanje lahko poteka v več obdobjih – zgodnjem, vmesnem in poznem, odvisno od dežja. Ko se začne prvo deževno obdobje, posejejo semena in upajo, da bo v prihodnjih tednih dovolj dežja, da bodo rastline vzklile. Zgodnje sejanje se lahko začne že maja, a so sogovorniki največkrat sejali od druge tretjine junija naprej, ne glede na agroekološko nišo, ki se med jugom in severom precej razlikuje. Čeprav bi lahko sejali vse do septembra, se zaradi bornega donosa omejijo na čas do sredine avgusta z zadnjim sejanjem. Med vrstami na polju pustijo 80 cm in med rastlinami med 25 in 40 cm. V vsako luknjo posejejo deset semen, ki potrebujejo teden ali dva za kaljenje. Na severu zaradi pomanjkanja vlage semen ne zakrijejo z zemljo. Izbor in križanje semen opravljajo raziskovalni inštituti, ki prilagajajo sorte glede na lokalno podnebje. Nove različice najprej preizkusijo na nekaj lokacijah, nato pa jih razširijo po celotni državi. Tako so še do nedavnega uporabljali bombažna semena tipa RNS129, sedaj pa RNS190, kmalu pa pričakujejo novo sorto, ki bo bolj odporna na sušo.

Dva ali tri tedne po sejanju sledi odstranjevanje plevela, po enem mesecu pa gnojenje. Organizacija FNGPC priporoča pet škropljenj v času rastne dobe, po potrebi tudi več. Prvič škropijo mesec dni ali 40 dni po sejanju,

NSCT provides all consumables on credit. In the course of preparations for the new season, the FNGPC organises collective buying of all agricultural consumables for all producers, and distributes them down to the local GPCs. At the local level, committees or community presidents ensure storage and equal distribution of materials among farmers. The first stage of cotton production involves preparing the land, which entails examination of land plots, selection of the soil suitable for cotton growing, and clearing the fields. The entire work process is manual, using only simple tools, without any machines.

When the soil is prepared it is time to sow. Here, the farmers follow the instructions that have been passed on from their parents and enriched with the advice from agricultural consultants, who frequently organise training courses. Sowing can take place over several periods – early, interim, and late, depending on the rain. When the first rainy season begins, the seeds are sown, and people hope that the coming week will bring enough rain for the plants to grow. Early sowing can take place already in May, but the farmers I spoke to most often sowed from the second third of June onwards, irrespective of the agroecological niche, which is very different between north and south. Although they could sow until September, the last sowing takes place by mid-August, otherwise the yields may be too low. They sow in rows spaced 80 cm apart and allow 25 to 40 cm between plants, sowing ten seeds in each hole. It takes one to two weeks for seeds to germinate. In the north, seeds are not covered with soil due to the lack of moisture. The selection and crossing of seeds takes place at research institutes, which adapt seeds to the local climate. Before they are distributed across the country new variants are first tested on several locations. Until recently, they used RNS129 cotton seeds, but have switched to RNS190, and expect to soon introduce a new, more drought-resistant variety. Two or three weeks after sowing they deweed the

nato vsaka dva tedna, dokler rastline niso v cvetu. Bombaž potrebuje štiri do pet mesecev, da obrodi. Ponavadi oktobra in novembra cveti (odvisno od časa sejansa), kapsule ob obilnem dežju nabreknejo in se začnejo odpirati v suhem vremenu. Priporočeno je, da takrat bombaž poberejo v več etapah, torej takoj zatem, ko se posuši, a še preden se presuši in izgubi težo. Najprej se odprejo najnižje rastoče kapsule, ki jih najprej oberejo, nato pa ta postopek še dvakrat ponovijo z višje rastočimi. Ker imajo takrat veliko dela z drugimi poljščinami, se pogosto zgodi, da pobirajo vse naenkrat. Nabran bombaž s polj v pletenih košarah prenesejo v shrambe na lastni kmetiji ali v skupna skladišča. Po obiranju vsi iz zadruga prinesejo svoj bombaž na lokalne trge, kjer poteka lokalno organizirano tehtanje bombaža, ki je zaupano posebni skupini. Tehtanje, ki poteka novembra in decembra, predhodi prodaji decembra in januarja, ko skupaj spakirajo bombaž na tovornjake ter dodajo dokumente s podatki o proizvajalcih in teži. Nabito polni tovornjaki natlačen bombaž prepeljejo v tovarne, kjer ga ponovno stehtajo in glede na težo kmetovalcem izplačajo njihov dobiček (pri čemer upoštevajo odbitek surovin na kredit). Po prodaji oziroma ob plačilu lokalne skupnosti organizirajo veliko praznovanje, na katero povabijo tudi kmetijske svetovalce in druge vaščane, da se zahvalijo za pomoč skupnosti, organizacijam in tehnologom. Nekateri lokalni skupnosti, kot recimo v vasi *Soumdina Powai*, dobiček enakovredno razdelijo znotraj GPC, drugi pridelovalci zaslužijo individualno. Nato zemlja počiva do prihodnje sezone, pridelovalci pa težko prislužen denar porabijo za zagotavljanje preživetja družine.

fields, and fertilise them a month after sowing. The FNGPS recommends spraying five times during the growth season, or more, if necessary. The first spraying takes place a month or 40 days after sowing, and is repeated every two weeks until the plants start producing flowers. Cotton needs about four to five months for the cotton balls to ripen. It usually blooms in October and November (depending on when it was sown); in heavy rain the balls ripen, and burst open when the weather is dry. At this stage, it is recommended that cotton be picked in several stages, so that it is picked as soon as it is dry, but not so much that it loses weight. The bottom capsules are the first to open, so they are the first to be harvested. After that, they repeat the harvest with upper capsules. But as this is the time when they are very busy with other crops, they often have to harvest all at once. The harvested cotton is transported from the fields to on-farm storage or collective warehouses in woven baskets. After the harvest, all members of the cooperative bring their cotton to the local markets, where the cotton is weighed. This is entrusted to a special, locally organised group. The weighing takes place in November and December, before the cotton is sold in December and January, when they together load the cotton on lorries with accompanying documents containing information on the producer and weight. Fully loaded lorries take the cotton to the mills, where the cotton is weighed again, and the farmers are paid their profit, depending on the weight (excluding the deduction for loans). When the cotton has been sold or local community paid, they organise a big celebration. They invite agricultural consultants and other villagers to join the celebrations, where they thank the community, organisations, and technologists for their support. Certain local communities, such as the village of *Soumdina Powai*, distribute the profits equally within the GPC, whereas farmers in other communities receive their personal earnings. The soil then rests until the next season, and the producers use their hard-earned wages to provide for their families.





Delo in zabava v reki, regija Atakpamé. Togo, 2022. Foto: Ana Reberc.
Work and fun in the river, Atakpamé region. Togo, 2022. Photo: Ana Reberc.

Multidimenzionalne težave: cena, delo, zemlja

Nižja cena pridelka, višja cena surovin

Največja težava pridelovalcev bombaža je nizka odprodajna cena pridelka, ki je padla na 265 CFA (0,4 €) na kilogram nepredelanega bombaža; leta 2021 je bila še nižja, 225 CFA. Kmetje se vsako leto soočajo z istim problemom, saj cena, namesto da bi se zvišala, ostaja kvečjemu enaka ali se zniža. Želijo si, da bi bombaž lahko prodali po 350 ali 300 CFA na kilogram. Poleg nizke odkupne cene in čakanja na enkratno letno plačilo jih pestijo podražitve surovin in opreme, ki jo priskrbi NSCT. Dvignile so se cene produktov in gnojil: liter uree znaša 13,750 CFA (21 €), liter herbicida 6000 CFA (9 €), vreča organskega gnojila 12000 CFA (18 €) itn. Za uspešno pridelovanje bombaža, ki je zelo neodporen in zahteva veliko skrbi, je potrebno veliko surovin in dodatkov. Številni pridelovalci so se v zadnjih nekaj letih zadolžili, saj se na koncu računica ni izšla: manj pridelka, višji stroški pridelave in manjša odkupna cena so pomenili prenizek končni zaslužek, da bi pokrili stroške, kaj šele zaslužili. Mnogi še niso odplačali dolgov, številne je to odvrnilo od nadaljnjega pridelovanja bombaža. Težave so, kot so nakazali, sistemske. Razlagajo, da je bil NSCT pred privatizacijo zadolžen in v krizi ter kmetom ni redno plačeval, kar se je s prevzemom OLAM izboljšalo. Prav tako je spričo posredniške vloge NSCT jasna odvisnost od globalnega trga cen bombaža. Velika nihanja proizvodnje bombaža v Togu in še posebej velik upad proizvodnje v zadnjih nekaj letih povzročajo nenehne zagate, pri čemer pridelovalcem obljubljaajo, da bodo cene višje, če bodo

Multi-dimensional problems: price, labour, land

Lower crop prices, higher input prices

The most challenging problem that cotton producers are facing is the purchase price, which fell to CFA 265 (€ 0.4) per kilogram of seed cotton. In 2021, it was even lower at CFA 225. Every year, farmers are faced with the same problem as the price remains the same or lower, rather than going up. They wish they could sell cotton at CFA 350 or 300 per kilogram. In addition to low purchase price and a year of waiting for the single annual payment, they also have to deal with higher input prices for the products and equipment provided by the NSCT. These include products and fertilisers: urea costs CFA 13.750/litre (€ 21), herbicide is sold at CFA 6000/litre (€ 9), and a bag of organic fertiliser at CFA 12,000 (€ 18), for example. Cotton is very sensitive and requires a lot of care, products, and additives for a good crop. With their costs adding up, many cotton producers have been forced to take out loans in recent years: lower yields, higher production costs, and lower purchase price have translated into insufficient income that was not enough to cover the costs, let alone make a profit. Many still have not repaid their debts, and many have thus decided to give up growing cotton. They indicated that these problems were systemic. They explain that before it became partly privately owned, the NSCT was in debt and did not pay farmers regularly, which improved with the acquisition by OLAM. In addition, NSCT's agency means that they are dependent on the prices on the global cotton market. High volatility in the cotton production in Togo, and in particular

imeli večje donose. »Pravijo, da, no, preden gredo cene gor, mora biti ogromno bombaža, preden bodo dvignili ceno. Ampak donosi niso dobri,« razlaga *Boutoyi*, kar ob drugih težavah, ki pestijo kmete, ne omogoča pozitivne spremembe. Glavna posledica finančnih težav oziroma izgube dobička zaradi nizke odkupne cene je množično opuščanje pridelovanja bombaža. V vasi *Lakouda* se je število pridelovalcev z več kot 120 zmanjšalo na 40–51, pričakujejo pa še večji upad v prihodnosti. V okolici vasi *Soumdina Powai* jih je od 110 pridelovalcev ostalo 8. Glavni razlog za upad navede *Katanga*: »Če narediš poslovni račun, boš skozi leto videl, da si na izgubi. Če upoštevaš vse: delo, škropiva, obiranje, vse, vse, vse, vse, ne bo ostalo nič.« Ker se računica ne izide, so se mnogi zadolžili in padli pod prag revščine. Za samooskrbne družinske kmetije, kjer je bombaž lahko edina tržna poljščina, je to velik problem, saj kmetje nimajo sredstev za izboljšanje svojega položaja, da bi preskrbeli sebe in družino. Kot nadomestna poljščina, ki prinaša zaslužek, se je izkazala soja, ki se prodaja po 400 CFA (0,6 €) na kilogram. Večina tistih, ki so prenehali pridelovati bombaž, je začela pridelovati sojo; tudi številni pridelovalci bombaža to poljščino kombinirajo s pridelovanjem soje. Cene soje so višje in naraščajo, z njo je manj dela, obdelave in škropljenja, zaslužek pa je občutno večji.

Veliko dela, malo delavcev

Pridelovanje bombaža je težaško, časovno intenzivno delo, ki zahteva veliko dodatnih produktov (gnojilo, škropivo) ter veliko znanja o gojenju in uporabi gnojil. Delo, porabljen čas in energija pa ne kompenzirajo nizkega prihodka in donosa. Vse delo je opravljeno na roke s preprostim orodjem, kar je zamudno in počasno (zgolj enkrat so govorili o donaciji stroja za obiranje, ki pa se ni obnesel). Potreben čas in delo, da se pripravi njive, poseje, pognoji, opleje, poškropi in pobere pridelek,

a substantial decline in cotton production in recent years, are a cause of ongoing concern. At the same time, farmers are promised higher prices, if they produce higher yields. "They say that there has to be a lot of cotton, before they raise prices. But the yields aren't good," explains *Boutoyi*, and combined with other problems they are facing, this does not facilitate a change for the better. The main consequence of financial distress or loss of any profit due to low purchase prices is mass abandonment of cotton farming. The number of cotton farmers in the village of *Lakouda*, for example, dropped from more than 120 to 40–51, and is expected to decline further. In the area of the village *Soumdina Powai* only eight of previously 110 farmers still produce cotton. *Katanga* explains the key reason for this trend: "If you calculate your business outcome through the year, you will see that you are at a loss. Taking everything into account, the labour, pesticides, harvest, everything, you have nothing left." And because it does not add up, many have taken out loans and fell from what was a modest livelihood to below the poverty threshold. This is a huge problem for those subsistence family farms for which cotton is the only cash crop, because they have no means to improve their situation and provide for themselves and their families. Selling at CFA 400 per kilogram (€ 0.6), soybeans turned out to be a profitable alternative. Most of those who abandoned cotton farming turned to soybeans, and many cotton farmers grow soybeans along with cotton. Soybean prices are higher and still rising, soybeans are easier to grow and process, and need less spraying, but generate substantially higher returns.

A lot of work and few hands to do it

Cotton growing is hard and time-consuming work that requires high levels of inputs (fertilisers, pesticides) and a great deal of knowledge of how to use them properly. But despite all this hard work, time and energy invested, the

zahtevata delovno silo, ki pogosto ni dosegljiva. Nekateri kmetje so omenili, da s starostjo izgubljajo moč in delajo počasneje, drugi, da so samski, brez žene in otrok, ki bi sicer pomagali. Zaradi skromnega življenja in nizkih zaslužkov ni denarja za delavce, otroci, ki se šolajo izven vasi, pa družini ne morejo pomagati. Zaradi pomanjkanja dežja so obdobja, primerna za sejanje, kratka in redka. Čas rasti zahteva številna škropljenja z nevarnimi snovmi, ki jih lahko uporabljajo samo odrasli, kar še podaljša čas obdelovanja polj. *Bitanam* je zaskrbljen zaradi strupenih škropiv: »Vidimo, da onesnažuje ... Na primer, če škropim, če škropim danes in gre kdo po cesti, težko diha. Že voha, ob vetru, ne more dihati. Včasih mora iti hitro, sicer bo vdihnil škropivo.«

V času ročnega pobiranja je hkrati veliko dela z drugimi pridelki, namenjenimi preživetju. Ročno obiranje je časovno zamudno in naporno ter poteka v času velike vročine, pogosto pa v neposredni bližini polj ni vodnjakov, da bi se delavci odžejali. Nabran pridelek je treba nesti do skladišča, nato na trg, kjer ga stehtajo, in nazadnje naložiti bombaž na tovornjake. Težave še posebej povzroča prenos iz njive do shrambe, saj je pot lahko dolga in prečka goščave, potrebno je več ljudi ali kar najem taksijev. Posledično imajo pridelovalci manjša polja, ki jih počasneje obdelujejo, kar onemogoča, da je delo opravljeno pravočasno in na najboljši način. Če bombaža takoj ne spravijo, ga lahko na poljih uničijo vremenske razmere – če dežuje, vlakna izgubijo kvaliteto, seme v pridelku pa začne kaliti. Težave so lahko tudi s shranjevanjem. Če so shrambe iz zemlje, jih lahko napadejo termiti, ob nepredvidnosti lahko letina zgori, lahko pa se tudi zgodi, da do bombaža pridejo radovedni otroci in ga uničijo.

yields and in turn profits are still low. All the work is manual, using simple tools, which is slow and time-consuming (on one occasion they reported a donation of a cotton harvester, but the machine did not work out). To prepare the fields, fertilise, deweed, and spray them, and to harvest the crop they need extra hands, but these are often unavailable. Some farmers mentioned that as they grow older their productivity decreases as well, and others said they were single, with no wife or children to help them. With their modest means and low income they cannot afford to hire workers, and their children, who go to school outside their village, cannot help the family. With the shortage of rain the sowing periods have become shorter and scarcer. The growing period requires frequent spraying with toxic substances that can only be used by adults, which makes working the fields even more time-consuming. *Bitanam* worries about the toxic substances they spray: "We can see it pollutes ... When I spray, for example, and somebody walks down the road, they have trouble breathing. They can smell it, and if it's windy, they can't breathe. They have to walk by very quickly, otherwise they will inhale it."

When it is time to harvest (by hand), they are busy with other subsistence crops. Hand harvesting is time consuming and exhausting, and takes place in very hot weather, but often there are no water wells near the fields for farmers to drink from. The harvested crop has to be transported to the warehouse and then to the market to be weighed, and finally loaded on lorries. The transport from the field to the storage facility is especially challenging, as the distance can be long and can lead through thickets; it requires more hands and even hiring taxis. Farmers thus grow cotton on smaller fields and work more slowly, which makes it impossible to complete the work at the right time and in the best way. If cotton is not stored immediately, it can be ruined by the weather while still in the field – the rain impairs the quality of the fibres, and seeds in the crop begin to germinate.





Reka Kara v sušnem obdobju. Togo, 2022. Foto: Ana Reberc.

Kara river in the dry season. Togo, 2022. Photo: Ana Reberc.

Podnebje in zemlja

Podnebne spremembe pomembno negativno vplivajo na že tako težke razmere pridelovalcev bombaža v Togu. Zaradi neregularnosti padavin, večjih suš in poplav ter spremenjenih ritmov letnih časov se ob pomanjkanju tehnološke, pa tudi bolj splošne materialne podpore težko spopadajo s posledicami. »Nemogoče je, če bi bili bogati, bi kupili tanker, da bi namakali njivo. Lahko bi najeli letalo, helikopter, ki bi škropil površino. Nimamo denarja. Zato, kolikor Bog da. Ni poti. Ni poti,« težke razmere opiše *Katanga*.

Najbolj pereča težava je zagotavljanje zadostne vlažnosti za rastline, saj nimajo namakalnih sistemov, dežja je manj kot včasih, pride kasneje in je bolj nepredvidljiv. Večkrat se soočajo s sušami, ki trajajo dlje. Zaradi tega prihaja do sprememb v procesu pridelave od sejanja naprej: semena ne klijejo, rastline ne rastejo in imajo malo cvetov, cveti odpadejo ali so majhni. Včasih so lahko začeli sejati v začetku junija, vendar v zadnjih letih v tem času ni dovolj dežja, da bi rastline vzkile in zrasle. Zato včasih čakajo do julija ali celo avgusta, da pričnejo s sejanjem, kar pomembno zmanjša možnost dobrega pridelka. A v nekaterih regijah avgusta in septembra spet ni dežja, drugod pa ne novembra, torej v času, ko rastline potrebujejo dovolj padavin za rast. Če sejejo prehitro, morda ne bo dežja in seme sploh ne bo vzkilo. »So nazadovanja. Včasih je dež, včasih ga ni. Če ni dežja, je suša. Vidiš svoj bombaž, ki veni na polju. Ni ti udobno, ni ti udobno. V tistem trenutku si malo osramočen. Vidiš svoj trud, a dežja ni. Poskušaš pozabiti, a dežja ni,« o slabih letinah pove *Bitanam*. Kmetje nimajo vodovoda ali namakalnih

Storage, too, can be a problem. Mud silos can be attacked by termites, the crop can burn, if they are not careful, and even curious children at play can destroy cotton if it is not well-protected.

The climate and the soil

Climate change has a significant negative impact on the already precarious situation of Togolese cotton farmers. With erratic rainfall, more frequent and severe droughts and floods, and altered seasonal rhythms along with insufficient technological as well as general material support they find it increasingly difficult to deal with its consequences. "It's impossible. If we were rich, we'd buy a water tank to irrigate the fields. We could hire a plane, a helicopter to sprinkle water, but we don't have the money. So, we have what the Lord provides. There is no way. There is no way," is how *Katanga* describes their predicament.

Ensuring sufficient water for the plants is the most pressing issue, because they do not have irrigation systems, they do not receive as much rain as in the past, and what's even worse, it comes later in the year and is more erratic. Droughts have become more frequent and they last longer. As a result, the entire production process, from sowing to everything else, has changed: seeds do not sprout, plants do not grow and produce fewer flowers, flowers fall off or are small. They used to be able to start sowing at the beginning of June, but lately there has not been enough rain for the plants to germinate and grow. Sometimes they therefore wait until July and even August to start sowing, which significantly reduces the likelihood of a good crop. Some regions do not receive rain in August and September, others receive none in November, which is the time when the plants need sufficient rain to grow. If they sow too fast, there may not be enough rainfall for germination to occur. "There are setbacks. Sometimes there's rain and sometimes there isn't. If there's no rain, there's drought. You see your

sistemov in ne mehanizacije, imajo pa dovolj vodnjakov, vrtin, napajališč, rek, luž in vodnih črpalk za osebne potrebe, napojitev živine in škropljenje pridelka. Vendar so lahko vrtine zelo oddaljene od njiv, kar oteži delo. Kadar je preveč dežja na začetku, lahko dež spere gnojilo in bombaž ne raste. Kadar ga je, ko se približuje čas obiranja, preveč, uniči rastline, saj lahko kapsule odpadejo (kar se zgodi tudi, če ga je premalo) ali se vlakna uničijo. Rešitev bi bila mehanizacija, saj bi s traktorji v veliko krajšem času posejali polja (predvidevajo, da 3–4 hektarje na dan) in s tem zmanjšali verjetnost, da zamudijo najugodnejše trenutke za klitje semen in zgodnjo rast.

Za Togo so značilne manjše kmetije z manjšo površino zemlje, ki pa mora biti stalno v rabi, da kmetje preskrbijo družino. Kmetje pogosto niso lastniki zemlje, temveč jo najemajo. Stalna uporaba zemlje zmanjša njeno rodovitnost, intenzivna uporaba kemičnih gnojil (dovolj organskega si težko priskrbijo) in raznovrstnih škropiv pa zemljo dodatno degradira, razloži *Bitanam*: »Pesticidi, ki jih uporabljamo, počasi uničujejo zemljo. Uničijo gnojila v zemlji, vsi herbicidi, ki jih uporabljamo. Nimamo prostora, veliko prostora. A ker nimamo možnosti, uporabljamo herbicide na isti njivi. Tako herbicidi in pesticidi uničujejo zemljo. [...] Zdaj je polje šibko.« Insekticidi niso nujno učinkoviti, saj gosenice vztrajajo kljub škropljenju, kar še poslabša donos. A brez gnojenja zemlje in škropljenja rastlin zagotovo ostanejo brez pridelka. Bombaž uničujejo številni škodljivci in bolezni, težave pa imajo tudi s plevelom. Vsi sogovorniki so poudarili, da so donosi manjši kot pred nekaj leti. Včasih je hektar bombažnih polj obrodil med 1,5 in 2 toni, v zadnjem času pa je težko pridelati tono na hektar (če ni dežja, količina pade na 0,5 tone). Da bi povečali kmetijske površine, mnogi izsekavajo drevesa, pod katerimi poljščine ne bi rasle, to pa dodatno izsušuje in siromaši tla ter povzroča erozijo, obenem pa jemlje nujno potrebno senco. Zaradi vseh teh razlogov

cotton withering in the field. You're not comfortable, not at all. At that moment you feel a bit ashamed. You see all the work that you've put in, but there's no rain. You try not to think about it, but there's still no rain,» *Bitanam* comments on bad years. Farmers do not have water supply or irrigation systems, they do not have machines, but they have enough wells, wellbores, troughs, rivers, pools, and water pumps for their and livestock needs, and to sprinkle water on their crops. The problem is that the wellbores can be a good distance away from the fields, which makes their work even more difficult. When there is too much rain at the beginning, it can wash away the fertilisers and the cotton does not grow. Heavy rain towards the harvesting period destroys the plants, because the balls may fall off (which happens also when there is not enough rain), or the fibres get damaged. Mechanisation would be a solution, because tractors would allow them to sow the fields much more quickly (they expect they would sow three to four hectares a day) and thus reduce the likelihood of missing the best time for seed germination and early growth.

In Togo, there are many smallholder farms where farmers have to work on their land non-stop in order to provide for their family. The farmers are not always owners of the land, but have to lease it. With non-stop cultivation soil fertility declines, and combined with heavy use of chemical fertilisers (there are not sufficient organic fertilisers available) and various pesticides this leads to further degradation of their farmland, explains *Bitanam*: "We have seen how the pesticides we use degrade our soil, little by little. They destroy the nutrients in the soil, all these herbicides that we use. We do not have sufficient land. And in the absence of other alternatives, we use herbicides in our fields. So all these herbicides and pesticides destroy our land. [...] The fields are weak now." Insecticides are not always effective, because pests persist despite spraying, which only leads to more yield losses. But without fertilising and spraying their

se zmanjšujejo donosi, število pridelovalcev in velikost polj, pri čemer vse te spremembe doživljajo v času svojih življenj. Ni dolgo tega, kar so mladi pridelovalci prišli iz šol ali s severa na jug, da bi pridelovali bombaž, a so na lastni koži občutili, da iz tega bombaža ne bo srajce.

Raznovrstne rešitve

Sogovorniki si najbolj želijo dviga cene bombaža (upajo na 400 CFA/kg, a zadovoljni bi bili tudi s 300 CFA/kg), saj bi jim to omogočilo prepotrebne izboljšave obdelovanja zemlje: lahko bi si privoščili traktorje in namakalne sisteme. Nihče ni dal idej ali izrazil načrtov, kako bi to dosegli, razen da bi to moral urediti NSCT. Izmed rešitev, ki so že doživele implementacijo, študent geografije *Sambate* poudarja predhodno klitje semen v vodi: »Glede podnebnih problemov, ti problemi me najbolj motijo. A trudim se po najboljših močeh, posebej pri sejanju. Na primer, če želim sejati jutri, bom bombaževa semena dal v vodo dan prej. [...] Tudi če ni veliko dežja, je nekaj vlage v semenu in nekaj v zemlji. To je torej klitje.« Drug način je tradicionalna metoda s severa, kjer semen ne zagrnejo, temveč jih pustijo na odprtem. Velik poudarek je tudi na pogozdovanju oziroma kmetijskem gozdarstvu (sočasno gojenje dreves in posevkov na isti parceli), ki ga promovirajo tudi številne kmetijske organizacije, poslužujejo pa se ga tudi v vasi *Soumdina Powai*, kot opisuje *Katanga*: »Smo v procesu pogozdovanja. [...] To delamo, to počnemo, to razumemo malo po malo, malo po malo in bo v redu. Ko pogozdiš majhen del, še vedno pogozdiš malo tu in bo šlo s tabo v tvojo kulturo.« Pri organskem gnojenju zemlje že pomagajo prosto gojene kokoši, ki gnojijo zemljo okrog hiše, kmetovalci pa si prizadevajo zmanjšati oziroma nadomestiti mineralno gnojilo z organskim, tako da pridelujejo lastno organsko gnojilo iz živalskih iztrebkov oziroma kompost ter z uporabo kolobarjenja zmanjšujejo količino gnojenja in škropljenja. Da zmanjšajo možnost pojava vlage, termitov

crops they are sure to lose everything. Cotton is prone to different insect pests and diseases, and weeds also add to the problem. All farmers I spoke to stressed that the yields are lower than they used to be. Instead of between 1.5 and 2 tonnes per hectare in the past, the yields have now dropped to a tonne per hectare, if they are lucky (in the absence of rain even to 0.5 tonne). To gain more farmland many have resorted to cutting trees, which additionally dries out and in turn impoverishes the soil, leading to erosion and at the same time depriving them of the precious shade. For all these reasons, the number of farmers, the size of fields, and yields are declining, and the farmers see these changes unfold before their very eyes. It was not long ago that young farmers returned from school, or moved from the north to the south to grow cotton, but they soon discovered that their efforts will bear no cotton.

Solutions come in various forms

The most important for my interviewees are higher cotton prices (they are hoping for CFA 400/kg, but would be happy with CFA 300/kg), which would allow them to improve their farming practices: they would finally be able to afford tractors and irrigation systems. None of them had an idea or a plan as to how to achieve this, except that it should be arranged by the NSCT. *Sambate*, a geography student, pointed out a solution that has already been implemented, namely soaking seeds in water before sowing: "In the context of climate change, these are the problems that bother me the most. But I do my best, especially in sowing. For example, if I want to sow tomorrow, I will soak cotton seeds in water the day before. [...] Even when there is not much rain, there is some moisture in the seed and some in the soil. So this is germination." Another solution is a traditional method from the north, where the seeds are not covered with soil, but left in the open. A lot of attention is paid also to reforestation or agroforestry (integration of

in požarov pri shranjevanju bombaža, gradijo suhe in zračne shrambe, v katerih skrbijo za čistočo.

Najpomembnejši, najboljširnejši in najvidnejši način soočanja z raznolikimi težavami pa je sodelovanje in solidarnost pridelovalcev. V vasi *Soumdina Powai* sem intervjuvala tri pridelovalce hkrati, tudi zato, da na ta način pokažejo svojo povezanost, je povedal *Katanga* in nadaljeval: »Ko vem, da smo zedinjeni, vem, da če bom padel, me bo drug pobral. In če sem sam eno leto in zbolim, kdo mi bo pomagal? Zato moraš graditi skupino, da če si eno leto v težavah, ti na pomoč pridejo drugi.« Pridelovalci se združujejo v skupine znotraj vasi, v vaški skupnosti in med vasmimi. Skupino lahko tvori od štiri do sto pridelovalcev, odvisno od velikosti (okoliških) vasi in števila pridelovalcev. Pri delu sodelujejo, skupaj obirajo polja drug drugega in si delijo delo v lokalnem GPC. Biti del skupine, pravijo, privablja tudi druge, saj vsi prispevajo in imajo od tega korist. V vasi *Lakouda* imajo petčlansko ekipo z vodjo, ki dela skupaj, se pogovarja o problemih in o tem, kdaj je najprimernejši čas za opravila. Poleg tega drug drugemu pomagajo v primeru bolezni. V nekaterih skupnostih organizirajo mesečna srečanja, na katerih razpravljajo o težavah, načrtih in rešitvah. V ta namen povabijo tudi kmetijske svetovalce in druge strokovnjake, ki jim svetujejo, pridelovalci pa nato te predloge uvedejo v lastno delo. Pomaga jim kombiniranje tradicionalnih in prevzetih znanj prednikov s strokovnimi nasveti agronomov. Strokovnjaki delujejo kot svetovalci in organizirajo izobraževanja, posebej mlade kmete vključujejo v izobraževanja specialističnih vsebin. Nekatere vsebine so nasveti za uspešno pridelavo (kako in kdaj škropiti ter gnojiti), kako delati kompost, kako narediti operativni stroškovnik ipd. Pridelovalci so omenjali tudi specializacijo, kjer bi se osredotočili na dve do tri kulture, ali pa ravno obratno, diverzifikacijo, da na njivah vsaj nekaj uspe. To je povezano tudi z državnimi programi, kot sta *Agropoles* in *ZAAP*, s katerimi si prizadevajo za bolj

trees into crops), which is promoted by many agricultural organisations and is used also in the village of *Soumdina Powai*, as *Katanga* describes: "We are in the process of planting trees. [...] This is what we are doing, we are beginning to understand, little by little, and eventually it will be alright. When you reforest a small part, you reforest a bit more here, and it will become a part of your culture." Free-range chicken help produce more organic fertilisers, enriching the soil around the house, and farmers work hard to reduce or replace mineral fertilisers with organic ones by producing animal manure-based fertilisers and compost, and reduce the use of fertilisers and other chemicals with crop rotation. To reduce the occurrence of moisture, termites, and fires in cotton storage, they build dry and airy storage buildings, and keep them clean.

The most important, extensive, and prominent manner of dealing with diverse problems is cooperation and solidarity between farmers. In *Soumdina Powai* I therefore interviewed three cotton farmers together, so that they could demonstrate their alliance, or as *Katanga* stressed: "When I know we are together, I know that if I fall, somebody will be there to pick me up. And if I am alone and fall sick one year, who will be there to help me? You therefore have to build a group, so that if you are in trouble one year, others come to your rescue." Farmers form groups within the village, in the village community, and between villages. A group may consist of four to a hundred farmers, depending on the size of the (neighbouring) villages and the number of farmers. They work together, harvesting each other's fields and sharing work in the local GPC. They say that being a part of a group also attracts others to join, because they all contribute and they all share in the profits. In *Lakouda* they have a five-member team with an appointed leader working together. They discuss problems and decide on the most appropriate time for specific fieldwork, and help each other in case of illness. Certain communities organise

Ana Reberc s pridelovalci
bombaža. Togo, 2022.
Arhiv Ane Reberc.

Ana Reberc with cotton
farmers. Togo, 2022.
Ana Reberc's Archive.



specialistično in učinkovito proizvodnjo z visokimi donosi oziroma, splošneje, spodbujajo prizadevanje organizacij za državno pomoč in kmetijsko zavarovanje. »Želimo si, da bi bili kmetje kot državni uslužbenci. Ker kmetje zelo trpimo. Kmetje zelo trpimo,« pove *Binoube Balawya*. A hkrati se ne predajo, temveč vztrajajo, si solidarno pomagajo in čakajo na višje cene, državno in institucionalno pomoč ter sami prispevajo k izboljšanju pogojev. Mnogi, tudi *Sambate*, ki bo kmalu diplomiral na temo kvalitete prsti v severnem delu Toga, razmišljajo o prihodnjih načrtih: »Že imam svoj razvojni program. Zaradi bombaža vem, da lahko postanem kmetijski poslovnež, ker ko uporabim

monthly meetings where they discuss problems, plans, and solutions. They invite agricultural consultants and other experts who offer guidance that the growers implement in their practice. They combine traditional knowledge passed on by their ancestors with agronomic knowledge shared by their consultants. Experts function as consultants and organise training courses, especially specialist courses for young farmers. Here they receive advice for successful production (when and how to spray and fertilise), composting, how to make a cost analysis for their farms, and similar. Farmers also talked about specialisations that would allow them to focus on two to three crops, or vice versa,

svoje znanje, ki sem ga pridobil v šoli, znanje, ki ga imam od rojstva, in podeželsko znanje, če to združim v kmetijski dejavnosti, ki jo želim opravljati, bo to moderna praksa.«

diversification, in order to produce at least one successful crop. There are national programmes in place to facilitate this, such as *Agropoles* and ZAAP, which promote more specialised, efficient, high-yield production, and help organisations obtain state aid and agricultural insurance. “We would like for farmers to be treated as state employees. Because farmers suffer plenty. We really struggle,” says *Binoube Balawya*. But they do not give up, they persist and help each other selflessly, waiting for prices to rise, waiting for state and institutional support, while trying to improve their situation by themselves. Many, like *Sambate*, who will soon graduate with a thesis on soil quality in northern Togo, are planning their future: “I have already developed a programme, my development programme. I know that with cotton I can become an agricultural entrepreneur, because when I utilise the knowledge I have gained at school, and the knowledge I was given at birth, and traditional knowledge, if I utilise that in my agricultural practice, this would be a kind of modern practice.”

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