
BARAGOVA ZBIRA IN NJEN POMEN ZA NEEVROPSKO ETNOLOGIJO V SLOVENSKEM ETNOGRAFSKEM MUZEJU

Marija Mojca Terčelj

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Izoleček

ABSTRACT

Prispevek govori o prihodu in oblikovanju neevropskih zbirk v Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju. Podrobneje je predstavljena Baragova zbirka, ki obsega predmete vsakdanjega življenja Indijancev Ottawa in Ojibwa. Avtorica utemeljuje tezo, da je bil Friderik Baraga v prvi vrsti misijonar, da pa njegovo znanstvenoraziskovalno delo na etnološkem področju daleč presega religiozne okvire. Značaj muzejske zbirke to nedvomno dokazuje.

The article describes the acquisition and formation of non-European collections in the Slovene Ethnographic Museum. It deals in greater detail with the Baraga Collection of objects from the everyday life of the Ottawa and Ojibwa Native Americans. The author advances the thesis that Frederic Baraga was in the first place a missionary, but that his scientific and research work in the field of ethnology goes far beyond a religious context. The nature of the collection proves this beyond any doubt.

Slovenski etnografski muzej se danes lahko pohvali ne le z bogatim fondom zbirk slovenske kulture, ampak z zelo pestrim in muzejsko cenjenim izborom **neevropskih zbirk**, zlasti zbirk iz 19. in začetka 20. stoletja. Zbirke obsegajo vse kontinente, zlasti bogate pa so azijske in afriške. Če jih delimo po kronologiji prihoda v muzej, lahko rečemo, da imamo¹:

1. **Zbirke**, ki jih je Slovenski etnografski muzej podedoval od Kranjskega deželnega muzeja. Etnografski muzej jih je pridobil **med letoma 1823 in 1923**. To so zbirke iz črne Afrike misijonarja in raziskovalca Ignacija Knobleharja (200 predmetov), kapitana Perčiča (pribl. 50 predm.), Mladiča, Lista, Laurina, Flereta

¹ Boris Orel, O etnografskih zbirkah iz Afrike, Amerike in Azije v Etnografskem muzeju v Ljubljani. Slovenski etnograf 6-7 (1953-1954), Ljubljana 1954, str. 139-144.

in Baumgartnerja, ki obsegajo donacijo majhnega števila izbranih predmetov; zbirke iz severne Afrike, zlasti Egipta, C. Vetterja, Zupančiča, Drolla, Pirschitza, Smoleta in Laurina z nad 90 predmeti; zbirke iz Azije, med katerimi je treba posebej omeniti kitajsko zbirko misijonarja Turka iz Hankova s 163-imi predmeti, misijonarja Šu-ja, itd. Tu je bilo tudi več donatorjev manjšega števila predmetov. **V to obdobje spadajo predmeti iz Severne Amerike, ki so jih muzeju darovali slovenski misijonarji med Indijanci Ojibwa in Otawa, misijonar Irenej Friderik Baraga - 47 predmetov, Ivan Čebul - 8 predmetov in M. Topolansky 1 predmet.** V Baragovi zbirki je en predmet - kamnita sekira - ki jo je Baragi ob odhodu v Evropo daroval misijonar Franc Pirc.

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2. Zbirke, ki jih je Slovenski etnografski muzej pridobil **med letoma 1923 in 1945** (161 predmetov). Med njimi je ena najpomembnejših in muzejsko najvrednejših - zbirka predmetov Pigmejcev iz Centralne Afrike, ki jo je leta 1930 muzeju daroval dr. Lambert Ehrlich. Dr. Ehrlich je zbirko dobil v dar od Paula Schebeste, enega poveljstvenih predstavnikov dunajske antropološke šole, s katero je imel slovenski etnolog neposredne stike. Zbirka obsega 96 predmetov, relativno dobro ohranjenih, in ima toliko večjo muzejsko vrednost, ker jo podpira znanstveno bogat opus Schebestovih antropoloških študij. Druga zbirka je Naglasova (60 predmetov) in tretja je zbirka dr. Ivana Švegla, diplomata v različnih državah; zato zajema predmete različnih kultur, več ali manj zbranih *ad hoc*, vendar muzejsko obdelanih. Tako je na primer Šveglovo donacijo ekvadorske *chance* študijsko podrobno opisal dr. Božo Škerl v Slovenskem etnografu².

3. Zbirke, ki v muzej prihajajo **po letu 1945**. Te bi lahko razdelili v tri skupine:

a. Zbirke, ki so jih posamezniki, ki so bili po nacionalnem poreklu ali delu povezani z oddaljenimi kulturami, muzeju darovali ali prodali in ki predstavljajo **starejše predmete**: npr. Skušкова kitajska zbirka, ki je zelo kompleksna in sistematična; Le Cottova zbirka iz Oceanije, ki zajema predmete iz začetka 20. stoletja; Codellijeva zbirka iz Afrike; sem bi všteli tudi fotografski prispevek njegovega uslužbenca Poljanca. Naštete zbirke imajo precejšnjo muzejsko vrednost: zaradi svoje raziskovalne in estetske sistematike.

b. Zbirke, ki so jih muzeju darovali ali prodali posamezniki, ki so živeli v tujini, se podrobneje seznanili s tamkajšnjimi kulturami in sistematično zbirali predmete: lep primer je bogata in sistematična zbirka dr. Aleša in Vere Bebler ali pa Petkovškova afriška zbirka.

c. Državne donacije neuvrščenih in posamezni darovi, ki povedo več o

² Božo Škerl, Čanca v zbirkah ljubljanskega Etnografskega muzeja. Slovenski etnograf 6-7 (1953-1954), Ljubljana 1954, s. 147-156.

odnosu darovalcev do različnih kultur kot o kulturah samih, saj zaradi nesistematičnosti nimajo večje muzejske vrednosti.

Čeprav dozdajšnja strokovna literatura omenja, da je zbirka predmetov severnoameriških Indijancev Otawa in Ojibwa iz prve polovice 19. stoletja ena prvih neevropskih zbirk v Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju, takrat še Kranjskem deželnem muzeju³, želimo *explicito* poudariti, da je kar njegova **prva neevropska zbirka**. To poudarjamo, ker je prav Baragova zbirka pripomogla k oblikovanju Oddelka za neevropske kulture v Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju in ker predstavlja **lep zgled pravih znanstvenega muzeološkega pristopa tako etnologije Slovencev kot etnologije tujih kultur**.

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Zbirka je najverjetneje nastala leta 1835 ali pa 1836. O tem pričajo zgodovinski in pisani viri, zlasti Baragova korespondenca z Leopoldinino ustanovo na Dunaju in s sestro Amalijo v Sloveniji.⁴

Kaj je Barago vzbudilo k zbiranju predmetov?

Irenej Friderik Baraga je bil v prvi vrsti duhovnik, misijonar in kot tak predan eshatološkimi ciljem svojega poklica. Med letoma 1831 in 1835 je služboval med Indijanci Otawa na območju Dolnjega Michigana, leta 1835 pa je bil prestavljen na sever, med Indijance Ojibwa ob Gornjem jezeru. Z lingvistiko in etnologijo se je začel ukvarjati iz praktičnih razlogov svojega poklica, vendar pa bi njegovo delo ne imelo znanstvenega pomena, če ne bi bil intelektualec kompleksnega značaja, mnogoterih duhovnih sposobnosti in eruditske izobrazbe.

Najprej se je naučil indijanskih jezikov Otawa in Ojibwa, da je lahko prevajal religiozne tekste. Tako je lahko že v tridesetih letih 19. stoletja izdal indijanske slovnice in slovarje. In ko ga je Leopoldinina družba z Dunaja, ki je misijonarjem omogočala materialno in moralno podporo, zaprosila, da napiše knjigo o navadah Indijancev, se je dela lotil s profesionalno natančnostjo pravega znanstvenika. Pozimi 1835/36 je napisal etnološko monografijo *Geschichte, Character, Sitten und Gebräuche der nord-amerikanischen Indier*. Delo, ki je pisano po zgledu Heckewelderjevega Poročila o zgodovini, navedeh in šegah indijanskih ljudstev (*Account of History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations*. Philadelphia, 1819), je več kot zgledno. V njem je uporabil najsodobnejše znanstvene pristope: terensko opazovanje in lastne izkušnje, upoštevanje pisanih virov in literature. Pri tem se je oprl na pionirje ameriške etnologije: Heckewelderja, Thatcherja, Schoolcrafta in Carverja. Baragova etnološka monografija je sistematična in objektivna.

³ Boris Orel, O etnografskih zbirkah iz Afrike, Amerike in Azije v Etnografskem muzeju v Ljubljani. Slovenski etnograf 6-7 (1953-54), Ljubljana 1954, str. 141.

Dr. Pavla Štrukelj, Etnološka zbirka severnoameriških Indijancev Ojibwa iz 19. stoletja v Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju. Slovenski etnograf 25-26 (1972-73), Ljubljana 1973, str. 109.

⁴ Baragova misijonska pisma. Zbral in prevedel, uvod in opombe napisal Jože Gregorič. Ljubljana: Družina, 1983, str. 130-32.

Istočasno, pozimi 1835/36, je Baraga napisal dve deli z religiozno vsebino: molitvenik Otchipwe Anamie-Masinaigan in Jesus Obimadisiwin oma aking, knjigo evangeljskih tekstov. Odločil se je, da bo tako monografijo kot religiozne tekste natisnil v domovini. O tem priča pismo sestri Amaliji z dne 24. februarja 1836⁵ iz misijonske postaje pri Sv. Jožefu ob Gornjem jezeru, v katerem pravi:

“Če dam ti dve knjigi tiskati v Detroitu, ...bodo stroški za tisk in vezavo znašali okoli sedemsto tolarjev (nad 1400 goldinarjev)...Ljubljanski tiskar bo pod mojim vodstvom lahko ravno tako natisnil indijansko knjigo, kakor jo je tiskar v Detroitu, saj tudi tam ne razumejo niti ene indijanske besede.”

270 Skoraj gotovo se je Baraga podal na naporno pot čez Atlantik, da bi v domovini pridobil materialno podporo za svoj misijon. Po zgledu ostalih evropskih misijonarjev se je odločil, da v Sloveniji poišče sredstva za nadaljnje delo. Med obiskom v domovini, leta 1836-37, se je med drugim posvetil ustanavljanju tako imenovane Jožefove družbe.

Tako je razmišljal Baraga. Kako pa so razmišljali takratni slovenski intelektualci?

Filozofske ideje in socialne spremembe 18. stoletja, nacionalna gibanja tostran in onstran Atlantika ter nagel razvoj industrijske revolucije so v Evropi oblikovali koncept novonastajajočih muzejev, ki so z znanstvenimi metodami podpirali vesplošen družbeno-gospodarski razvoj, vzpodbujali bogato kulturno in razsvetljsko miselnost in pomagali pri porajajočem se narodnostnem prebujanju. V Sloveniji se je ideja modernega muzeja rodila leta 1809, ko so bile razmere zanjo dovolj zrele. Takratna francoska uprava je namreč podpirala napredno miselnost, razvijala šolstvo in znanost, Ljubljano pa prvič v zgodovini postavila za središče pomembne province. Kranjski deželni muzej je bil uradno ustanovljen leta 1821. Njegovi ustanovitelji so poudarjali kulturni in izobraževalni pomen ustanove in zahtevali znanstveni pristop pri hranjenju, vzdrževanju in prikazovanju zbirk. J. C. Schmidburg, predsednik deželnih stanov, se je leta 1823 s posebno spomenico obrnil na domače prijatelje znanosti:

“Naš domovinski muzej naj bi zajel prvenstveno vse s področja nacionalnega slovstva in narodne ustvarjalnosti. Prav tako naj združi vse, kar je ustvarila narava in človeška pridnost. Shrani naj vse spomine na usodo dežele in zasluge njenih prebivalcev.”

Grof Franc Jožef Hanibal Hohenwart, prvi upravitelj Kranjskega deželnega muzeja in predsednik Kranjske kmetijske družbe, je tej muzejski vsebini dodal še eno razsežnost, ko je Friderika Barago, slovenskega misijonarja med Indijanci Otawa in Ojibwa, poprosil za njegov ameriški prispevek. Ta zamisel je rodila zgodovinske posledice, saj se istovetnosti dodobra zavemo šele ob primerjavi

⁵ Prav tam, s. 123-24.

z drugimi in drugačnimi kulturami. Stik in srečevanje z drugačnostjo nam pomagata pri izoblikovanju samorefleksije.

Čeprav je prezaposleni misijonar še leta 1833 napisal svoji sestri: "Če bi gospod grof Hohenwart vedel ali vsaj hotel verjeti, da imam spomladi, poleti in jeseni v svojem misijonu ves čas toliko dela, da nikoli niti četrt ure nisem prost, razen ponoči, bi mi rad oprostil, da mu ne pošljem nobenih prispevkov za ljubljanski muzej,"⁶ pa je že na svoji poti v Ljubljano, 3. decembra 1836, iz Londona sporočil:

*"Ko boš dobila to pismo, povej Jožefu, da sem iz Liverpoola v Trst na njegov naslov poslal zaboj, v katerem prinašam različne indijanske predmete."*⁷

Baraga je kljub pomanjkanju časa predmete vendarle zbral. Zakaj? Prav 271
verjetno je poleg domovinske dolžnosti čutil tudi hvaležnost za gmotno in moralno podporo, podobno kot v odnosu do Leopoldinine družbe - pri pisanju etnološke monografije *Geschichte, Character, Sitten und Gebräuche der nord-amerikanischen Indier*. Strokovno nepravilno in krivično do velikega znanstvenega potenciala bi bilo sklepanje, da je bila hvaležnost za podporo edini razlog tako velikemu znanstvenemu prispevku misijonarja Friderika Barage.

Čeprav je bil Baraga v prvi vrsti misijonar, njegovo znanstvenoraziskovalno delo na etnološkem področju daleč presega religiozne okvire, tako pri pisanju monografske študije o zgodovini, značaju in šegah severnoameriških indijancev kot pri **zbiranju predmetov, sistematičnem urejanju in inventariziranju zbirke**. V svojem etnološkem delu je **znanstveno objektivni**. Uspe mu potegniti mejo med misijonarskim odnosom in osebno prizadetostjo do nekaterih značajskih značilnosti in navad Indijancev ter treznim znanstvenim prikazom njihove kulture. **Sistematizacija njegovega raziskovalnega dela je jasna in notranje utemeljena**; prav po tem se razlikuje od podobnih etnoloških del tistega časa, ki svoje študije tako drobijo, da izgube rdečo nit, preglednost in berljivost. Enak pristop ima Baraga pri zbiranju predmetov indijanskih kultur Ojibwa in Ottawa, kjer ga vodi **notranja sistematizacija nastajajoče zbirke, oprta na predhodno znanstveno monografsko študijo**. In prav tu je največja vrednost njegove zbirke za nastajajoči ljubljanski muzej. Predmeti torej niso bili zbrani *ad hoc*, niti ne po zgledu tako imenovanih kabinetov čudes, kakor se je dogajalo z marsikaterimi prvimi muzejskimi zbirkami; Baragova zbirka je prava sodobna znanstvena muzejska zbirka, katere predmeti govorijo tako o:

a. **vsebini načina življenja** Indijancev Ottawa in Ojibwa iz prve polovice 19. stoletja (prav zaradi istočasne raziskave in publikacije monografske študije *Geschichte, Character, Sitten und Gebräuche der nord-amerikanischen Indier* (Ljubljana, 1837), kot o

b. **notranjem znanstveno-sistematskem pristopu raziskovalca**, saj je Baraga

⁶ Prav tam, str. 84.

⁷ Prav tam, str. 131.

predmete razdelil glede na **sistematiko** notranje vsebine po določenih **poglavjih**, **sodeloval** pa je tudi pri **prvi muzejski inventarizaciji predmetov**.

Po rokopisnem seznamu Henrika Freyerja, takratnega kustosa Kranjskega deželnga muzeja, ki ga zdaj hrani knjižnica Narodnega muzeja, je bil 25. aprila 1837 v Ilirskem listu št. 17/9 objavljen **prvi uradni seznam** novih muzejskih pridobitev: Verzeichniss der für das Landes-Museum eingegangenen Beitrege. Pod zaporedno številko 213, ki oznanja predmete "prečastitega gospoda Friderika Barage, generalnega vikarja detroitskega škofa - Friderika Reséja, in misijonarja pri Svetem Jožefu ob Gornjem jezeru, Michigan (rojeneda v Dobrniču na Spodnjem Kranjskem, 29. junija 1797 in izseljenega konec leta 1830 v Ameriko)", so navedeni naslednji predmeti:

a. Obrtni predmeti, narejeni iz lubja severnoameriške breze. Izdelali so jih ameriški prebivalci iz rodu Otchipwe (izg.: *otschipue* ali v kranjskem jeziku *ozhipve*) z Gornjega jezera.

Posoda (makak), napolnjena z drevesnim sladkorjem *sisibakwat*, ki ga pridelujejo iz sokov ameriškega sladkornega drevesa; **dve drugi prazni posodi** različnih velikosti; **četrti, prav takšna posodica**, je napolnjena z divjim rižem, ki raste na močvirnih tleh ob Gornjem jezeru. Imenujejo ga *manomin* in je njihovo osnovno živilo; **skodelici za juho ali pijačo (onagan)**; **model kanuja (zhiman)** iz brezovega lubja - ogrodje je iz zelo lahke in trde ameriške cedrovine, z jadrom in dvema vesloma, v pomanjšani obliki; **pet pomanjšanih kosov brezovega lubja** za prekrivanje šotorske strehe.

b. Hišna oprema in leseni izdelki: **majhni otroški skodelici** in tamkajšnja **otročka žlica**; **leseni žlici za odrasle (emikwar)**, kakršne visijo poleg ognjišča v kočah domačinov, ki niso vajeni jesti ob določenih urah in skupaj. Nad ognjiščem visi kotel z rižem, ribami ali divjačino, iz katerega si vsakdo kadar koli vzame hrano. Kotel napolnijo le zjutraj, potem pa si vsakdo ves dan lahko jemlje hrano; **manjši rogoznici iz ločja (anakan)** - takšno rogoznico ima vsakdo v koči, jemljejo pa jo tudi na potovanja, da ne sedijo in ležijo na golih tleh; pomanjšana, iz trave **pletena vreča (mashkimod)**; zibelka ali **otročka nosilnica (tikinagan)**, narejena za poglavarjevo družino - zgornji rob je umetelno izrezljan, na **pregrinjalo** so indijanska dekleta uvezla umetelen figuralni okras; **krplje (agimag)** z vezalkami in umetniško pleteno mrežo med okviri.

c. Oblačila: **par nevestinih čevljev (makisinin)**, ki so jih ustrojile domačinke iz srnine kože, okrašenih z zelenimi svilenimi nitmi in vezenih s pobarvanimi hrbtnimi razcepljenimi ščetinami ježevca; **par napol izvezanih dekliških čevljev**; **par vsakdanjih ženskih čevljev**.

d. Moška bojna oprema: **bakrena ost sulice (shimagan)** - samorodni baker je lahko dobiti na površini zemlje kot neobdelan kos ali list, oblikovali pa so ga z brušenjem; **glavi mirovne pipe (opwagan)**, umetelno rezljani iz rdečega glinavca - ena glava je okrašena s kositrnimi lističi; **dolgi cevi za tobačno pipo** - ena je do polovice umetelno ovita z ježevčevimi ščetinami in okrašena s

pisanimi ptičjimi peresi in zeleno obarvano konjsko žimo, druga je okrašena z razcepljenimi ježevčevimi hrbtnimi bodicami. Ti pipi se imenujeta pipi miru, saj take uporabljajo, ko pride do nesporazuma. Možje iz plemena, ki zazna napetost, predajo pipo nasprotnikom, da bi izvedeli, kaj lahko pričakujejo od njih. Če ti potegnejo nekaj dimov, je to znak miru in prijateljstva, če ne, pomeni, naj se pripravijo na sovražnost; **mošnja za tobak** (*kichkibitagan*) iz nestrojene cevaste kože rjave podlasice, ki se angleško imenuje *fisher*, francosko *pecan*. Konci štirih tačk so okrašeni s pisanimi trakovi. Prvotni prebivalci Amerike nosijo tako okrašen tobačni meh za pasom; **podobni mošnji za tobak** iz nestrojene svetlorumene kunine kože; **torbica za tobak** iz rdečih volnenih niti in nizi steklenih biserov, delo ženske Ojibwe; **usnjena nožnica** (*mokoman*), lično vezena in ovita z na drobno narezanimi in pobarvanimi bodicami ameriškega ježevca; **osem puščic in loka** (*mitigwab*); **bojni kij** (*pagamagan*), izdelan iz trde drevesne korenine.

e. Prirodne: **košček cedrovine** (*gijik* ali kot v francoščini *gishik*); naravne in pobarvane **ježevčeve bodice** - ameriški staroselci krasijo z njimi predmete in vezejo oblačila; **polovica rogovja** (*eshkan*) velikega ameriškega losa; več **ahatov** in **karneolov**; kroglica **pirita**, dobljena v Gornjem jezeru; **peruti** pisanega **ptiča** (*moningwaneka*), dobljeni na otoku Sv. Mihaela v glavni misijonski postaji Svetega Jožefa.

f. Knjige: 1. **Jesus obimadisiwin oma aking** (Jezusovo življenje na zemlji); 2. **Ojibwe anamie - masinaigan** (molitvenik). Avtor obeh je Friderik Baraga, *makate-okwanaie* (črna suknja - katoliški misijonar), izšli sta leta 1837 pri založbi Bailly v Parizu.

g. Bakrorez: **Podoba nove katedrale Sv. Ane** v Detroitu.

h. Kovanci: dva srebrna in en bakren: **1 Thaler** - Mehška Republika 1834; **pol dolarja** - ZDA 1836; **1 cent** - ZDA 1836.

Prvo inventarizacijo predmetov Baragove zbirke hranijo inventarne knjige Narodnega muzeja (1895-1914). Leta 1923 je bil ustanovljen **Kraljevi etnografski muzej**, ki je v letih 1924 in 1925 od Narodnega muzeja prevzel narodopisni del zbirke (a. - d.). Z razdelitvijo predmetov prvotne zbirke med tri muzejske hiše (Narodni muzej, Etnografski muzej in Prirodoslovni muzej) je razpadla njena prvotna celovitost. Zbirka je bila po drugi svetovni vojni le občasno razstavljena (leta 1973 v razstavnih prostorih Oddelka za neevropske kulture v Goričanah in leta 1991 v okviru misijonarskih razstav po različnih krajih Slovenije).

Baragova zbirka spada med najstarejše zbirke Kranjskega deželnege muzeja. V primerjavi z Zoisovo zbirko mineralov, Hohenwartovo zbirko školjk, Hrdeckijevo zbirko starin, Repežičevo numizmatično zbirko, Zupanovim slovstvom in Hladnikovimi herbariji je bila **neevropska zbirka po obsegu sicer majhna, po svoji znanstvenoraziskovalni in muzeološki vrednosti pa izredno pomembna**. V takratni Kranjski deželni muzej, ki je nastajal na podlagi domačih zbirk, je vnesla nove geografske, kulturne in tematsko-konceptualne

razsežnosti. Identiteta muzeja je tako že v zgodnjem obdobju začela preraščati regionalne okvire. Za Slovence je bila vsekakor novost.

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Letos, dvesto let po rojstvu Ireneja Friderika Barage in v trenutku, ko odpiramo vrata novi muzejski stavbi Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja na Metelkovi 2 v Ljubljani, smo zbirko predmetov severnoameriških Indijancev Ojibwa in Otawa spet razstavili, in sicer kot **vzorčni** primer bodočih **študijskih razstavnih postavitev**.⁸ Pri tem nas ni vodilo golo dejstvo obletnice misijonarjevega rojstva, kot tudi ne zgolj le razstavni prikaz (pokaz!) prve neevropske zbirke, ampak smo hoteli prikazati zlasti **vzorec študijske zbirke**. Baragova zbirka je za to primerna, ker ne govori le o **kulturni vsebini predmetov** (tu o nam drugačnih, oddaljenih kulturah), ampak o **metodoloških smernicah etnologije** in o **muzejski sistematizaciji**. Namen **stalne postavitve študijskih zbirk** v Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju je prav v **prikazu razvoja in metodologije etnološke vede**, v razvojnem vidiku strokovnega pristopa h kulturi in načinu življenja Slovencev in drugih, recimo temu, oddaljenih kultur. Prav zato Baragova zbirka predmetov indijanskih kultur Ojibwa in Otawa iz srede 19. stoletja v tej svoji zadnji razstavni obliki **ohranja notranjo strukturo raziskovalca in zbiralca** samega. Tako se je Baraga zapisal tudi v zgodovino slovenskega muzealstva, kjer ostaja lep zgled muzejskega načina zbiranja, študijske obdelave zbranega ter inventarizacije in predstavitve muzejskih predmetov.

⁸ Glej: Inja Smerdel, Projekt, imenovan Slovenski etnografski muzej. Etnolog 6/ 1996, str. 17-58.

THE BARAGA COLLECTION AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE TO NON-EUROPEAN ETHNOLOGY IN THE SLOVENE ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUM

Marija Mojca Terčelj

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The Slovene Ethnographic Museum can pride itself today not only on its rich holdings of collections of Slovene culture, but also on a very varied and highly valued selection of **non-European collections**, particularly collections from the 19th and early 20th centuries. The collections include all continents and the Asian and African ones are particularly rich. A chronological classification of the collections, that is according to when they were acquired by the museum, provides us with the following survey¹:

1. Collections inherited by the Slovene Ethnographic Museum from the Carniolian Provincial Museum. The Ethnographic Museum acquired them between **1823 and 1923**. These are the Black African collections of missionary and explorer Ignacij Knoblehar (200 objects), captain Perčič (approx. 50 objects), Mladič, List, Laurin, Flere and Baumgartner - donations consisting of a few selected objects; the North-African collections, in particular from Egypt, donated by C. Vetter, Zupančič, Droll, Pirschitz, Smole and Laurin with over 90 objects; the Asian collections, among which special mention must be made of the Chinese collection of missionary Turk from Hankow with 163 objects, of missionary Šuja etc. Here too there are several donors of small numbers of objects. **To this period also belong the objects from North America, donated to the museum by Slovene missionaries who were active among the Ojibwa and Ottawa Native Americans: missionary Irenaeus Frederic Baraga - 47 objects; Ivan Čebul - 8 objects and M. Topolansky - 1 object.** The Baraga Collection also contains one object - a stone axe - that was given to Baraga upon his departure to Europe by missionary Franc Pirc.

2. Collections acquired by the Slovene Ethnographic Museum between **1923 and 1945** (161 objects). Among them, the collection of objects from the Central African Pygmies, donated to the museum by Dr. Lambert Ehrlich in 1930, is

¹ Boris Orel, O etnografskih zbirkah iz Afrike, Amerike in Azije v Etnografskem muzeju v Ljubljani. Slovenski etnograf 6-7 (1953-1954), Ljubljana 1954, pp. 139-144.

particularly important and precious. Dr. Ehrlich was given the collection as a present by Paul Schebesta, one of the leading representatives of the Viennese anthropological school with whom the Slovene ethnologist was in direct contact. The collection counts 96 objects, is relatively well preserved and its museum value is additionally enhanced because it is scientifically supported by Schebesta's extensive anthropological studies. The second collection is the Naglas Collection (60 objects) and the third the collection of Dr. Ivan Švegel, who was in diplomatic service in several countries and the collection therefore contains objects of different cultures, more or less gathered *ad hoc*, but which have been treated as museum objects. Svegel's donation of an Ecuadorian *chance* has been described in a detailed study by Dr. Božo Škerl and published in Slovenski etnograf².

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3. Collections acquired by the museum after 1945. They can be divided into three groups:

a. Collections donated by individuals who were connected with faraway cultures either by their origin or through their professional activities and who donated or sold the collections to the museum. The collections consist of **older objects**: e.g. The Skušek Chinese Collection, which is very complex and systematic; The Le Cott collection from Oceania, which contains objects from the early 20th century; The Codelli African collection which includes the photographic material provided by Codelli's employee Poljanec. The listed collections have a considerable museum value because of their systematic research and aesthetics;

b. Collections donated or sold to the museum by individuals who lived abroad for some time, acquired intimate knowledge of the local culture and systematically collected items: perfect examples are the rich and systematic Bebler Collection and the Petkovšek African Collection;

c. Official donations from non-aligned countries and individual gifts which provide more information on the attitude of the donors to individual cultures than on the cultures themselves since they lack a systematic approach and therefore have no major museum value.

Though the specialist literature of the past refers to the collection of objects from the North-American Ottawa and Ojibwa, gathered in the first half of the 19th century, as one of the first non-European collections in the Slovene Ethnographic Museum - then still the Carniolian Provincial Museum³ - we would like to emphasise *explicite* that it is indeed the museum's **very first non-European**

² Božo Škerl, Čanca v zbirkah ljubljanskega Etnografskega muzeja. Slovenski etnograf 6-7 (1953-1954), Ljubljana 1954, pp. 147-156.

³ Boris Orel, O etnografskih zbirkah iz Afrike, Amerike in Azije v Etnografskem muzeju v Ljubljani. Slovenski etnograf 6-7 (1953-54), Ljubljana 1954, p. 141.

Dr. Pavla Štrukelj, Etnološka zbirka severnoameriških Indijancev Ojibwa iz 19. stoletja v Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju. Slovenski etnograf 25-26 (1972-73), Ljubljana 1973, p. 109.

collection. The reason for this emphasis is that it was precisely the Baraga Collection which was instrumental in the establishment of the Department of non-European Cultures in the Slovene Ethnographic Museum, and also because it is an **excellent example of a correct scientific and museum's approach to the ethnology of the Slovenes as well as to the ethnology of foreign cultures.**

The collection most probably originates from 1835 or 1836. There are historical and written sources to confirm this, especially Baraga's correspondence with the Leopoldina Foundation in Vienna and with his sister Amalija in Slovenia.⁴

What stimulated Baraga to collect the objects?

Irenaeus Frederic Baraga was in the first place a priest and missionary 277 and as such devoted to the eschatological goals of his calling. From 1831 to 1835 he served among the Ottawa in the area of lower Michigan, and was transferred to the North, to the Ojibwa on Lake Superior, in 1835. He started to occupy himself with linguistics and ethnology for practical professional reasons, but his work would have no scientific significance, if he had not been an erudite and talented intellectual endowed with a complex nature.

Baraga began by learning the Ottawa and Ojibwa languages in order to translate religious texts. This enabled him to publish "Indian" grammars and dictionaries as early as the 1830s. And when the Leopoldina Foundation in Vienna, which supported missionaries materially and morally, asked him to write a book on the customs of the Native Americans he took to the task with the professional accuracy of a true scientist. In the winter of 1835/36 he wrote the ethnological monograph *Geschichte, Character, Sitten und Gebräuche der nord-amerikanischen Indier*. Modelled after Heckewelder's *Account of History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations* (Philadelphia, 1819) Baraga's achievement is quite exemplary because he used the latest scientific methods - field observation and his own experiences and he also took account of written sources and literature. His approach was based on that of the pioneers of American ethnology: Heckewelder, Thatcher, Schoolcraft and Carver. Baraga's ethnological monograph demonstrates his systematic approach and objectivity.

At about the same time - the winter of 1835/36 - Baraga also wrote two works of a religious nature: a prayer book - *Otchipwe Anamie-Masinaigan* and a compilation of biblical texts - *Jesus Obimadisiwin oma aking*. He decided to have both the monograph and the religious books printed in his native country. This is confirmed by his letter to his sister Amalija from February 24, 1836⁵, sent from his missionary post at St. Joseph's on Lake Superior, in which he writes:

⁴ Baragova misijonska pisma. Zbral and prevedel, uvod and opombe napisal Jože Gregorič. Ljubljana: Družina, 1983, pp. 130-32.

⁵ Ibidem, pp. 123-24.

"If I have these two books printed in Detroit, the expenses for printing and binding will amount to approximately seven hundred dollars (more than 1400 guilders). A Ljubljana printer is skilled enough to print an Indian book under my direction as much as a Detroit printer because there too they do not understand a single Indian word."

It is quite certain that Baraga decided to make the arduous journey across the Atlantic Ocean and to his native country in order to gather material support for his mission. Inspired by other European missionaries he decided to gather the means to continue his work in Slovenia. During his visit to the Slovenia in 1836-37 he devoted himself among others to the establishment of the so-called Joseph Society.

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So far Baraga. But what about the attitude of contemporary Slovene intellectuals?

The philosophical ideas and social changes of the 18th century, the national movements in the Old World as well as in the New World, and the rapid spreading of the industrial revolution were in Europe instrumental in shaping the concept of a new museum, a museum which through scientific methods was to promote general social and economic development, stimulate a rich cultural and enlightened mentality and uphold the growing national awakening. In Slovenia, the idea of a modern museum was born in 1809 when the conditions for it had matured. The then French government indeed supported progressive ideas, promoted education and science and made Ljubljana the centre of a important province for the first time in its history. The Carniolian Provincial Museum was officially founded in 1821. Its founders emphasised the cultural and educational significance of the institution and required from it a scientific approach to the preservation, conservation and presentation of its collections. J. C. Schmidburg, the president of the provincial government, addressed the domestic friends of science in a special memorandum in 1823:

"Our museum of local history is to primarily comprise everything from the areas of national literature and national creativity. It shall also combine everything created by nature and by man's industry. Let it preserve all memories of the fate of this country and of the merits of its inhabitants."

Count Franz Joseph Hannibal Hohenwart, the first director of the Carniolian Provincial Museum and chairman of the Carniolian Agricultural Society added another dimension to those mentioned above when he asked Frederic Baraga, a Slovene missionary among the Ottawa and Ojibwa, to collect an American contribution for the museum. **This idea had historical consequences since we can only become truly aware of our own identity through comparisons with other and different cultures. Contacts and encounters with "the different" help us to form our self-reflection.**

Though the missionary complains about being overburdened and in 1833 writes to his sister: "If count Hohenwart knew or at least wanted to believe that in spring, summer and autumn I have so much work to do in my mission that I have no free time at all, except at night (I'm writing this letter between eleven and twelve at night), he would certainly forgive me for not contributing objects to the Ljubljana Museum"⁶, he sends the following message from London on December 3, 1836 when he is already on his way to Ljubljana:

"When you receive this letter, please tell Jožef, that I sent from Liverpool to his address in Trieste a crate which contains various Indian objects"⁷

Despite his lack of time **Baraga thus had indeed collected objects**. The question is **why**? It is very likely that beside seeing it as a patriotic duty he was also grateful for the material and moral support as he was in his relations with the Leopoldina Foundation - the ethnological monograph *Geschichte, Character, Sitten und Gebräuche der nord-amerikanischen Indier* was written on the foundation's initiative. But it would be professionally incorrect and unjust toward missionary Frederic Baraga's high scientific potentials to presume that gratitude was the only reason for his major scientific contribution. 279

Though Baraga was in the first place a missionary, his scientific research work in the ethnological field goes far beyond a religious context, both in writing the monograph on the history, character and customs of the North-American Indians as well as in collecting objects, arranging them systematically and assisting in making up an inventory of the collection. In his ethnological work Baraga is scientifically objective. He manages to draw a line between his attitude as a missionary attitude and his personal aversion against certain character traits and customs of the Native Americans on the one hand and his earnest scientific presentation of their culture. **The systematisation of his research work is clear and coherent** and that is what makes his work stand out among similar contemporary ethnological endeavours, in which the authors are so obsessed with detail that there is no clear line or order in their works, making them hard to read. Baraga extends the same approach to the objects of the Ojibwa and Ottawa cultures which he collects: he is led by the **internal systematisation of the growing collection, which is based on the prior scientific monograph**. It are these qualities which make the collection so highly valuable for the newly established museum in Ljubljana. The objects were not collected *ad hoc* nor did Baraga try to imitate the so-called cabinets of curiosities we find in so many early museum collections. Baraga's collection is a authentic, modern scientific museum collection, in which the objects inform us:

a. On **the content of the way of living** of the Ottawa and Ojibwa in the first half of the 19th century (precisely because of Baraga's collateral research and

⁶ Ibidem, p. 84.

⁷ Ibidem, p. 131.

publication of the monograph *Geschichte, Character, Sitten und Gebräuche der nord-amerikanischen Indier* (Ljubljana, 1837), and also on the

b. internal scientific systematic approach of the researcher since Baraga classifies the objects into certain **chapters** according to the **systematic nature** of their content and, in addition, he also **collaborates** in making up **the museum's first inventory of the objects**.

Based on a hand-written list from Henrik Freyer, the then curator of the Carniolian Provincial Museum, now in the library of the National Museum, *Illyrisches Blatt* (no. 17/9) published on April 25, 1837 the **first official list of the museum's latest acquisitions**: *Verzeichniss der für das Landes-Museum eingegangenen Beiträge*. Under successive number **213**, which refers to objects (donated by) "Father Frederic Baraga, general vicar of the Detroit bishop Frederic Resé and missionary at St. Joseph's on Lake Superior, Michigan (born in Dobrnič in Lower Carniola on June 29, 1797, who went to America in late 1830)", the following objects are listed:

a. handicraft objects, made of bark from the North-American birch. They were made by Native Americans from the Ochipwe tribe (pron.: *otschipue* or in Carniolian /Slovene/ *ozhipve*) on Lake Superior.

Vessel (makak), containing tree sugar (*sisibakwat*); made of the juice of the American sugar tree; two further little vessels of different sizes; a fourth similar little vessel, filled with wild rice which grows in the swamps of Lake Superior. They call it *manomin* and it is their staple food; two cups used for soup or drinks (*onagan*); **model of a canoe** (*zhiman*) made of birch bark - the frame is made of the very light and hard American cedar, with a sail and two paddles, in miniature execution; **five pieces of birch bark in miniature** for covering the roofs of tents.

b. House utensils and wooden objects: two small children's cups and a local **children's spoon**; **two wooden spoons for adults** (*emikwar*), which hang beside the fireplace in the huts of the natives who are not used to eat at regular hours or together. Above the fireplace hangs a kettle filled with rice, fish or game from which everybody who wants can take food whenever he wants. The kettle was filled only once, in the morning, and for the rest of the day everybody could help himself to food; **two mats made of reed**, **miniatures** (*anakan*) - everybody in the tent has such a mat and they also take it with them on their travels so as not to sit or lie on bare ground; miniature **woven bag** (*mashkimod*) made of grass); cradle or **baby carrier** (*tikinagan*), made for the chief's family - the top edge is carved artistically, on the cloth Indian girls embroidered an artistic figural ornament; **snowshoes** (*agimag*) with laces and artistically woven net in the frame.

c. Clothes: **pair of bride's shoes** (*makisinan*), made of deerskin, tanned by the native women, decorated with green silk threads and embroidered with painted cleft porcupine quills; **one pair of half-embroidered girl's shoes**; **one pair of common women's shoes**.

d. Men's battle gear: **copper spear point** (*shimagan*) - native copper was available on the surface of the ground as rough pieces or sheets and were worked by grinding them; **two heads of peace pipes** (*opwagan*), artistically carved from red (clay) stone - one head is decorated with tin foil; **two long pipe-stems for tobacco pipes** - one is half-way artistically wrapped in porcupine quills and decorated with coloured bird feathers and with horse hair, dyed green, the other one is decorated with cleft porcupine quills. The pipes are called peace pipes because they were used in case of misunderstandings. The men from a tribe who sensed tension handed the (lit) peace pipe to their opponents to find out what they could expect from them. If they drew at the pipe, it meant peace and friendship, but if they did not, it was time to prepare for hostilities; **one tobacco pouch** (*kichkibitagan*), made from the raw tube-like hide of a brown weasel, in English called Fisher and in French *pecan*. The ends of the weasel's legs are decorated with multi-coloured ribbons; the Indians wore these decorated pouches fastened to their belts; **two similar tobacco pouches**, made of the raw light yellow hide of a marten; one tobacco bag, woven from red wool threads with rows of glass beads, made by Ojibwa women; **one sheath** (*mokoman*), nicely decorated and wrapped in finely cut and dyed quills of the American porcupine; **eight arrows and two bows** (*mitigwab*); **one battle club** (*pagamagan*), made from a very hard tree root.

e. Natural produce: **one little piece of cedar wood** (gijik or as in the French *gishik*); natural and dyed **porcupine quills**; Indians used them to embroider clothes and decorate objects, - **one half of the antlers** (*eshkan*) of the big American elk (moose); - several **agates** and **cornelians**; one **ball of pyrite** from the waters of Lake Superior; **two feathers** of a multi-coloured bird (*monengwaneka*), found on the island of St Michael near the main missionary post of St Joseph.

f. Books: 1.) **Jesus Obimadisiwin Oma Aking** (Jesus' Life here on earth); 2.) **Otchipwe Anamie - Masinaigan** (Ojibwa Prayer-book). The author of both books is father Frederick Baraga (*mekate-okwanaie*) ("Black Robe" or catholic missionary). They were published by the Parisian publishing house Bailly in 1837.

g. Copperplate engraving: **View of the new cathedral of St Ann in Detroit** h.) coins: two silver and one copper coin; - 1 **Thaler** - Mexican Republic 1834; **half a dollar**, USA 1836; - 1 **cent**, USA 1836

This first inventory made up of the objects in the Baraga Collection is preserved in the inventory books of the National Museum (1895-1914). In 1923 the **Royal Ethnographic museum** was founded which in 1924 and 1925 took over from the National Museum the ethnographic part of the collection (a. - d.). This division of the objects from the original collection between three museums (the National Museum, the Ethnographic Museum and the Natural History Museum) destroyed the original integral collection. Because of the lack of

exhibition space the collection was exhibited only occasionally after the Second World War (in 1973 in the exhibition premises of the Department of non-European Cultures in Goričane and in 1991 in the context of missionary exhibitions in various places in Slovenia).

The Baraga collection belongs to the oldest collections of the Carniolian Provincial Museum. Compared with the Zois Collection of Minerals, the Hohenwart Collection of Conches, the Hradecki Collection of Antiques, the Repežič Numismatic Collection, the Zupan Literature Collection and the Hladnik Herbarium, this non-European collection is, though small in size, of exceptional significance because of its museum value, based on scientific research. To the then Carniolian Provincial Museum which was established on the basis of domestic collections it introduced new geographic, cultural, thematic and conceptual dimensions. The identity of the museum thus started to exceed its regional limits right from the beginning. And the collection was certainly a novelty for the Slovenes.

This year, two hundred years after the birth of Irenaeus Frederic Baraga and at a time when we are arranging the new premises of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum in 2 Metelkova Street in Ljubljana, we exhibited the collection of objects from the North-American Ojibwa and Ottawa once more, this time as a **model** for the **future study exhibitions**.⁸ We were motivated not just by the obvious fact of the missionary's anniversary or by a mere wish to present in an exhibition the first non-European collection, but our particular goal was to present a **model of a study collection**. The Baraga Collection is highly befitting in this sense because it does not only witness to the **cultural content of objects** (in this case to different and faraway cultures), but also to the **methodological guidelines of ethnology** and to a museum's **systematisation**. The objective of the permanent display of study collections in the Slovene Ethnographic Museum is indeed precisely to **demonstrate the development and methodology of the ethnological discipline**, the developmental aspects of a professional approach to the culture and on the way of living of the Slovenes and of other faraway cultures. For this very reason the Baraga Collection of objects from the Native American cultures of the Ojibwa and Ottawa from the mid-19th century in this latest exhibition preserves the internal structure given to it by the researcher and collector himself. It is indeed in this way that Baraga's name survives in the history of Slovene museum because his collection is still a fine example of a professional approach to collecting items, study them, make up an inventory and present them to the public.

⁸ Cf.: Inja Smerdel, The project entitled the Slovene Ethnographic Museum. *Etnolog* 6/ 1996, pp. 17-58.

BESEDA O AVTORICI

Marija Mojca Terčelj, mag., etnologinja in filozofinja, je kustosinja Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja za stike Slovencev z neevropskimi kulturami. Kot nova raziskovalka Oddelka za etnologijo in kulturno antropologijo Filozofske fakultete v Ljubljani je med letoma 1990 in 1993 v presledkih raziskovala kozmologijo, medicino in obredja rodovitnosti med Indijanci Zoques v Mehiki. V Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju je zaposlena od leta 1996. V letu 1997 je v muzeju pripravila študijsko razstavo z naslovom Baragova zbirka predmetov iz Severne Amerike, leta 1998 pa razstavo in obsežni katalog z naslovom Iz dežele sončnega sijaja in mesečevih senc : Beblerjeva indonezijska zbirka. Vzporedno pripravlja doktorsko nalogo z naslovom Sokejevska kozmologija kot interpretacijski model in kot predmet etnološke (antropološke) razlage.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Marija Mojca Terčelj is an M.A. in ethnology and philosophy and curator at the Slovene Ethnographic Museum for the Relations between the Slovene and Foreign Cultures. As a new researcher at the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology of the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana she studied with intervals from 1990 to 1993 the cosmology, medicine and fertility rites among the Zoques Indians of Mexico. She has been employed at the Slovene Ethnographic Museum since 1996. In 1997 she prepared in the museum a study exhibition entitled The Baraga Collection of objects from North America, and in 1998 the exhibition and extensive catalogue entitled From the land of sun shine and moon shadows: The Bebler Indonesian Collection. She is also working on her doctoral dissertation on the subject Zoques cosmology as an interpretation model and as the object of ethnological (anthropological) explanation.

