

## TWO RARE NORTH AMERICAN PIPES DONATED BY BARON OF SENFTENBERG

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**ABSTRACT:** This study examines two rare indigenous North American pipes from the Náprstek Museum in Prague, donated by the Baron of Senftenberg prior to 1862. The first, pipe NpM Inv. No. 21.168, is a flat-stemmed, quill-decorated catlinite pipe attributed to the Ioway or Chiwere-speaking tribes and likely dates to around 1820. The other, pipe NpM Inv. No. 21.134, a finely carved steatite bowl with a cut-out wooden stem, is attributed to the south-western Chippewa and likely made before 1850. Both pieces are significant for their exceptional craftsmanship, rarity, and potential to shed light on early regional and tribal pipe styles, which remain poorly documented. The study employs comparative visual analysis to identify stylistic and iconographic features typical of eastern Prairie and western Woodland cultures. Due to the lack of collection data, attribution is cautious and based on parallels with documented specimens in major museum collections. The pipes likely served secular or social functions, though they may have held some symbolic meaning. As examples of early 19<sup>th</sup>-century indigenous artistry, they enrich our understanding of pre-reservation material culture in the American Midwest.

**KEYWORDS:** Baron of Senftenberg – Ioway – Chippewa – catlinite pipe – steatite pipe – quill-plaited pipe stem – perforated pipe stem

### Introduction

The Náprstek Museum's collection of indigenous North American pipes ranks amongst the most valuable collections of that type in Europe. Some of the most elaborate, highly crafted pieces were collected from the Minnesota Sioux (Dakota) by Vojta Náprstek in 1856. Other smoking pipes of similar type, period, and provenance, formerly displayed together with those of Náprstek, came from other sources. Two pipes donated to the museum by the Baron of Senftenberg prior to 1862 stand out [Pls. 1–4]. Though being of different style and origin, both are items deserving closer examination.

Most objects collected from indigenous inhabitants of North America were acquired during the early reservation period, i.e. during the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century or later. Surviving objects collected on the Plains, Prairies, and in the western Woodlands prior to the Civil War and especially prior to 1850 are rare.<sup>2</sup> With a few exceptions, they did not enter museum collections as a result of systematic scientific research but rather as souvenirs, 'curiosities', or gifts brought from expeditions by early explorers, adventurers, government officials, aristocrats, scientists, missionaries, artists, and other collectors, who were typically not trained in cultural anthropology

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<sup>2</sup> See e.g. Feder 1965.

and did not keep ethnologically sufficient records, if they kept any records at all. Because of insufficient documentation, there are considerable gaps in our knowledge of earlier tribal styles, which differ significantly from styles of later periods. Objects kept in museums have at least an accession date, prior to which they were made, although the period can be relatively long. With no other collection data, which is the case of the Baron of Senftenberg pipes in the Náprstek Museum, the provenience of objects can be attributed on the basis of comparative analysis – provided the availability of reliable comparative material – which would suggest the period of manufacture of the unidentified objects and their tribal or at least regional provenience. Objects of later periods can be taken into consideration, presuming the development over time of a particular style is known, described, and analysed. In general, tribal styles of earlier periods have not yet been sufficiently studied, analysed, systemised, and understood due to the scarcity of data available. Intertribal trade and the exchange of goods – common amongst the indigenous peoples of North America – are factors often underestimated and not always sufficiently considered by scholars when attempting to attribute objects of unknown origin. Even with sound collection data, the recorded identity of an object can be erroneous because the object may not have been produced by the tribal group from which it was collected. This is especially the case of those objects, in the production of which some groups specialised, and thus became suppliers to groups less specialised in the craft. Due to the dynamics of historical changes within a particular region, such as cession of territory, missionary activities, and the consequent dramatic changes in lifestyle, many traditional techniques were abandoned. Early loss of traditional knowledge makes it even harder to track the origins of surviving objects. The two Senftenberg pipes in the Náprstek Museum discussed here represent pieces of a puzzle, which, if correctly understood and put in their right place, could at least partly contribute to our knowledge of earlier styles, their tribal or regional identity, and development. The present paper is an attempt to shed some light on indigenous pipes from the American Midwest and thus to contribute to a better understanding of two important objects in the the Náprstek Museum collections.

## The donor

Museum records state that the two pipes were donated by the Baron of Senftenberg (Žamberk) to the Museum of the Kingdom of Bohemia (Muzeum Království českého) and incorrectly date the donation to 1863. The Parishes were representatives of an old British nobility with a vast network of business and political contacts in London, Scotland, the USA, Hamburg, and the Austrian Empire. Parish & Co was a large business enterprise operated by several members of the family. The Senftenberg priory, including twenty-two communities with a total of 15,000 inhabitants, was purchased by John Parish (1774–1858) from Alfred I. Prince Windisch-Graetz in 1815. John was politically active mainly in Austria in the early 1800s. However, he later developed an interest in science besides taking care of his newly acquired estates in eastern Bohemia. As a renowned astronomer, he built an observatory and kept contacts with leading astronomers and other scientists of his time. John Parish passed away in 1858. Being childless, his property was inherited by his nephew George (1807–1881). George travelled a lot and temporarily lived in New York, Boston, Hamburg, and Paris.<sup>3</sup> Although the pipes were reportedly acquired by the Museum of the Kingdom of Bohemia – the later National Museum (Národní Muzeum) – in 1863, they are already mentioned in the first printed catalogue of the museum, published in

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<sup>3</sup> *Heraldická ročenka*, 2009.

1862.<sup>4</sup> It is likely that the pipes were donated prior to 1858, when John Parish was still alive, or that they came from his estate and were presented to the museum by his nephew.

How the pipes found their way into Parish's collection is unknown. As an educated person with broad interests, John Parish could have collected various 'curiosities'. Since the two pipes were apparently the only ethnographic objects in Parish's collection, it is unlikely that he acquired them from dealers. It is more likely that they were 'curiosities' received as gifts from relatives or friends of the same social class. Obtaining the pipes through contacts with Bohemian expatriates in the United States, who could also have been a source of the artefacts, is rather unlikely because the Parishes were relative newcomers in Bohemia. Direct acquisition from Native Americans is doubtful, because none of the Parishes is known to have had such contacts. The documentation provides no clue regarding the provenience of the pipes or the period of their manufacture or acquisition. They were individual 'curiosities', rather than a more complex collection, transferred to the Náprstek Museum in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### Senftenberg pipe NpM Inv. No. 21.168 – description and attribution [Pls. 1–2]

The bowl of pipe NpM Inv. No. 21.168, made of catlinite, is of the kind produced on the eastern Prairies in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, with its conical head resembling that of the chimney of a steam locomotive. It is 14.5 cm long, elbow-shaped with carved concave-convex rings on the bowl, and a large rectangular crest extending upwards from the slender shaft. The bowl is very similar to the Warnock pipe bowl,<sup>5</sup> attributed by Ted Brassler to the Ioway.

The stem is relatively slender, 100 cm long, 38 mm wide at its proximal end and 25 mm wide at its distal end. It is 12 mm thick in the middle, tapering towards the edges, where the thickness is about 4–5 mm. There are notches with unclear significance on either side of the wider end of the stem. Grooves with traces of vermillion are carved along each side.

The colour scheme of the quillwork is based on the dominating orange with white and yellow, brown-black and pale blue, now nearly faded. The colours were once certainly deeper, but close inspection of both sides did not confirm that the orange could once have been red. Although no chemical analysis of the dyes used was made, it can be assumed that bloodroot was used for the orange, black walnut for the brown-black and a plant containing berberine for the yellow. Experiments with bloodroot made by the author of this essay provided identical golden-orange shades. The Lower Missouri territory is within the range of the plants mentioned. Both bloodroot and black walnut are recorded to have been used as porcupine quill dyeing agents by native peoples.<sup>6</sup>

The quills are braided on two thin vegetable cords, either of native (nettle fibre) or trade thread. The work is very neat and intricate. The quillwork has become loosened towards the top, perhaps due to slight wood shrinkage over the period of two centuries, resulting in design distortion.

As for the design, each side of the stem is different. One side is decorated with seven triangular motifs, the other with four cross-barred hourglass designs. Number seven occurs in various native rituals, so its use might not have been accidental.<sup>7</sup> As discussed below, these triangular motifs seem to have been a conventional Ioway design.

The 'scalp' (in fact a piece of horse tail) attached to the stem by a buckskin thong is probably a remnant of horsehair decoration that once embellished the stem. There are no traces of other

<sup>4</sup> *Die archäologischen Sammlungen im Museum des Königreichs Böhmen*, 1862, p. 45.

<sup>5</sup> WC, Inv. No. WC8810007.

<sup>6</sup> Densmore 1929, p. 163.

<sup>7</sup> Fletcher 1893, p. 453.

pieces of decoration such as a bird scalp. If they once had been there, they must have been lost a long time ago.

Without other decoration such as a horsehair pendant, bird scalp, etc., it is difficult to determine which side of the stem is dorsal and which is ventral, because decorative motifs executed in the quill on each side appear on either side on other stems studied for comparison. This question may not be of importance, yet when it comes to displaying the complete pipe in the museum, the stem should be positioned correctly. Because the pegs fitting the stem into the bowl are seldom perfectly straight, connecting the stem and the bowl might show which way is more natural. The author of this article suggests that the triangle-designed side is probably dorsal.

Based on the comparative material discussed below, it can be concluded that pipe NpM Inv. No. 21.168 is most likely of Chiwere, or, more specifically, Ioway origin and was made around 1820 or even earlier. Although there is a partial loss and damage, the pipe is generally in a good condition. The craftsmanship is extraordinary. Surviving pipes of this type, now about two centuries old, are rare and valuable items, therefore pipe NpM Inv. No. 21.168 deserves appropriate recognition.

### **Notes on pipes of the eastern prairie type and comparative evidence**

Since pipe NpM Inv. No. 21.168 is an early Plains/Prairie type with a long quill-decorated wooden stem and a catlinite bowl, other pipes of this type and period should be of primary interest for comparison.

Papers published on the subject of Plains and Prairie pipes have so far paid much more attention to describing bowls than to stems, providing an outline of the various types, with bowls of extraordinary sculptural qualities receiving special consideration. While bowls excavated from prehistoric mounds are a major focus of the related literature, most historically collected bowls in museum collections are poorly documented and often mismatch stems and bowls. Quill-decorated pipe stems have so far been little researched, described, and analysed. The study probably most relevant for the subject of this essay is West's text,<sup>8</sup> which will be referred to below along with other relevant sources.

Catlinite is a soft argillite of reddish-brown colour quarried primarily in southern Minnesota, which was used as the material for pipe bowls by a number of tribes centred around the territory of contemporary Minnesota and Iowa, i.e. the eastern Sioux (Dakota or Santee, Yankton/Yanktonai), the Siouan tribes of the Chiwere (Ioway, Missouriia, and Otoe) and the Dhegiha groups (Kansa–Osage, Omaha–Ponca, and Quapaw), the Pawnee, Sauk and Fox, Menominee, and others. Due to the proximity of these peoples to the Mississippi–Missouri river system, they were amongst the earliest inhabitants of the Plains/Prairie area to get in contact with Europeans penetrating the inland along the streams, especially after the French established St. Louis near the confluence of the two rivers in 1764. Presumably, a number of early pipes of the type here discussed were acquired from the tribes mentioned during the period of those early contacts.

The Pipestone quarry had once been exploited by the Ioways and Otoes, who were ousted by the Yankton Sioux around 1700.<sup>9</sup> Although the Sioux took control of the quarry, making pipes an important commodity of their trade, the neighbouring eastern prairie tribes such as the Ioways or the more distant Pawnees retained access to the material and a strong tradition in producing highly aesthetic pipes. According to painter George Catlin, who visited and described

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<sup>8</sup> West 1934.

<sup>9</sup> Brassler 2009, p. 88.

the quarry in 1836, ‘...the Pawnees and Sioux manufacture[d] more pipes of the red pipe stone than any of the other tribes, the Pawnees may be said to be the most ingenious of the two, for design...’<sup>10</sup> It was less easy for peoples more distant from the quarry to obtain the valued material, especially in times of war, although the pipestone quarry itself was considered neutral ground to allow other tribes access to the stone. While visiting a Mandan village, Catlin noted:

This tribe has but a very few [pipe bowls] made of the red pipe stone; only such, I think, as are bartered for with the Sioux or received as presents, for the chief told me that none of the Mandans had for great many years been to the Red pipe Stone Mountain, owing to the hostility of the intervening tribes...<sup>11</sup>

Prince Maximilian zu Wied-Neuwied, who visited the Mandans during his expedition (1832–1834) made a similar observation: ‘They obtain the red pipe-heads chiefly from the Sioux...’<sup>12</sup> He also remarked about members of the Omaha, Otoe, and Ioway tribes he met on the same expedition: ‘The men carried in their hands their tobacco pipes, made of red or black stone, adorned with rings of lead or tin, which they generally obtain from the Sioux, at a high price...’<sup>13</sup> Prince Maximilian also mentioned smoking a ‘Sioux pipe’ with a chief of the Crows, whom he had encountered in a Hidatsa village.<sup>14</sup> Pipes were apparently traded and presented in all directions even to considerably distant tribes.

A number of native craftsmen produced pipe bowls or complete pipes for sale to both other native smokers and white tourists. Two Sioux makers are reportedly known by name: Running Cloud and One-legged Jim.<sup>15</sup> Fort Leavenworth and Fort Snelling were primary markets for ornate pipes made by the Pawnees and Eastern Dakotas (Santee Sioux), respectively. Amongst the buyers were traders, Indian agents, military men, artists, and scientists, some of whom became serious pipe collectors.<sup>16</sup>

Pipes were prized gifts, presented to respected individuals of high status while establishing peace and partnership with them at council meetings. George Catlin witnessed such a council, where the Minneconjou Lakota chief One Horn presented his festive regalia including a pipe to the Indian agent Major Stanford. Catlin described the event as follows:

After these words he took off his beautiful war-eagle head-dress, his shirt and leggings, his necklace of grizzly bears’ claws and his moccasins; and tying them together, laid them gracefully down at the feet of the agent as a present; and laying a handsome pipe on top of them, he walked around into an adjoining lodge, where he got a buffalo robe to cover his shoulders, and returned to the feast, taking his seat which he had before occupied.<sup>17</sup>

When a delegation of Pawnee, Omaha, Otoe, Missouriia, Kansa, and Ioway representatives led by the Pawnee chief Sharitahrish had an audience with President Monroe in Washington,

<sup>10</sup> Ewers 1979, p. 34.

<sup>11</sup> Ewers 1979, p. 50.

<sup>12</sup> Wied 2023, 2, p. 178.

<sup>13</sup> Wied 2023, 1, p. 148.

<sup>14</sup> Wied 2023, 1, p. 193.

<sup>15</sup> Ewers 1986, pp. 59, 84.

<sup>16</sup> Ewers 1979, p. 17; Ewers 1986, p. 209; Paper 1989, p. 74.

<sup>17</sup> Catlin 1842, 1, p. 229.

DC in 1822, a similar gift-giving ceremony was witnessed.<sup>18</sup> A number of government and military officers are recorded to have obtained pipes as diplomatic gifts from indigenous chiefs at peace negotiations: Colonel Leavenworth, commandant at Fort Malden Major Cast, William Macomb, and others. Catlin made claims that he had received a number of pipes as gifts or for very low prices:

During my stay amongst the Sioux, as I was considered by them to be great medicine, I received many pipes and other little things from them as presents, given to me in token of respect for me, and I ... purchased a great many others, for which, as I was 'medicine' and a 'great white chief!' I was necessarily obliged to pay very liberal prices.<sup>19</sup>

At least fourteen pipes from the original Catlin collection found their way to the Penn Museum via Catlin's biographer Thomas C. Donaldson. Sadly, no data providing clues for the tribal origin of these pipes exist. These facts are illustrative of the way early pipes typically came into the possession of Europeans and Euro-Americans and subsequently entered museum collections.

There are a number of surviving Plains or Prairie pipes collected prior to and around 1850, held by the Peabody Museum of Ethnology and Archaeology, the National Museum of National History, the National Museum of American Indian, the American Museum of Natural History, the Penn Museum, the British Museum, the Musée du quai Branly, or the Bernisches Historisches Museum, to name but a few.<sup>20</sup> The provenience of most of those pipes has not been recorded. 'Sioux' or 'Dakota' seem to be the most frequent attributions added to the museum records. A collection history documenting the direct acquisition from native owners exists for just a handful of objects.

It is more difficult to determine tribal provenience of early pipe bowls than of early stems, the latter, often decorated with quillwork, offers more clues for identification. Rather, regional styles which were fashionable in particular periods can be tracked. A number of pipe bowls survived without matching stems. The bowl size and shape were affected by the availability of metal tools that could only be acquired through trade and the need to reduce their weight to achieve a proper balance with the elongated wooden stems popular in the early period. Hence, catlinite pipe bowls of the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century are generally somewhat smaller and of different shapes than those made in later periods. Other than the L- or T-shaped pipes with tubular bowls of later periods, early pipes of the Plains or Prairies were typically elbow-shaped with a conical bowl sometimes with a small prow and carved concave-convex rings on the bowl and/or base, and a crest or fin extending upwards from the slender base. Effigy bowls were also quite popular.

Catlinite pipe bowls collected by Colonel DePeyster at Michilimackinac between 1770–1780<sup>21</sup> are of western Woodlands or eastern Plains/Prairie origin, perhaps acquired from Indian delegations of that area. The Peabody Museum of Ethnology and Archaeology houses a number of pipe bowls of the type described above, all made between 1800 and 1850. No tribal identity can be determined due to missing documentation.<sup>22</sup> Perhaps the closest in design to the Baron

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<sup>18</sup> Viola 1976, p. 30.

<sup>19</sup> Catlin 1842, 1, p. 233.

<sup>20</sup> See below for the list of museums and private collections mentioned in the paper, and their abbreviations, referred to throughout the text.

<sup>21</sup> NML, Inv. Nos. 58.83.6.2, 58.83.6.3, 58.83.6.4; Jones, 2007, pp. 35–36, Figs. 5a–d.

<sup>22</sup> McLaughlin 2003, pp. 241–249.

of Senftenberg pipe NpM Inv. No. 21.168 is a specimen from the Warnock Collection,<sup>23</sup> allegedly made by the Ioway around 1820. Other very similar pipe bowls are two Peabody Museum of Ethnology and Archaeology specimen.<sup>24</sup> The Senftenberg bowl NpM Inv. No. 21.168 falls into the same category as the above-mentioned pipe bowls, which suggests it was made by an eastern Prairie maker probably during the first quarter of 19<sup>th</sup> century or even earlier.

Stems can be more indicative of their age and tribal origin. Although dimensions vary considerably, the most typical stem of the early Plains/Prairie style was flat, often not much less than one meter long (but even up to 140 cm) and about 12 mm thick, tapering toward the edges, wider at its distal end and considerably narrower at the proximal end, made of ash wood, with bands of braided quillwork wrapped around the upper part of the stem, often with horsehair attached to the middle section, covered with a strip of quillwork or a mallard duck scalp (or, alternatively, a loon scalp; woodpecker scalp and beak was also used, sometimes placed near the stem's mouth end). Popular quillwork designs were made up of one, two or more orange, orange-red or red sections, alternating most often with white sections, each separated by brown-black lines. Stems with this design are represented in a number of collections and most often identified as 'Sioux'. The Dakota chief Wankea Tonka is thought to have presented such a pipe at the treaty of Mendota in 1851.<sup>25</sup> In the 1820s, Charles Bird King painted portraits of the Ioway chiefs Nan-che-ning-ga [Fig. 1] and Ne-O-Mon-Ne, both holding this type of pipe stem. The pipe presented to President James Monroe by the Ioway chief Walking Cloud<sup>26</sup> falls into the same category,<sup>27</sup> as does the pipe stem presented to Duke Paul Wilhelm of Württemberg by a Kansa chief, which passed through the Arthur Speyer collection,<sup>28</sup> now with a wrong bowl, to the Canadian Museum of History.<sup>29</sup> It can be assumed that this type of simple and neutral design, apparently shared by various local groups, was merely decorative and perhaps typical of pipe stems made for trade. The simple and bold design is somewhat reminiscent of surviving early Yankton Sioux quillwork.



Fig. 1. Charles Bird King: Ioway chief Nan-che-ning-ga (No Heart); Smithsonian American Art Museum, Inv. No. 1985.66.258, 362 (public domain).

<sup>23</sup> WC, Inv. No. WC8810007.

<sup>24</sup> PMAE, Inv. Nos. 99-12-10/53099.1, 99-12-10/53101.1; McLaughlin 2003, p. 241.

<sup>25</sup> WHS, Inv. No. 1955.367.

<sup>26</sup> NMNH, Inv. No. E1762.

<sup>27</sup> Ewers 1981, pp. 64–65, Fig. 2.

<sup>28</sup> Benndorf and Speyer 1968, p. 106, Cat. No. 196.

<sup>29</sup> Feest 2023, pp. 221–223; Stolle 2023, pp. 262–263.

More complex designs not infrequently incorporating explicit thunderbird imagery seem to be associated with Minnesota River Dakotas, as seen on documented pipe stems collected by Náprstek, Beltrami and others, and in old photographs of Santee Sioux chiefs taken in 1858.<sup>30</sup> Similar motifs are occasionally to be found on other items made by Minnesota Dakotas, specifically double ear pouches, with typical colour combinations comprising of white, orange or red, blue, deep brown or black and a pinch of yellow.

The material culture of the Dhegiha and Chiwere and other Missouri river tribal groups underwent a dramatic change after the 1830s, leaving almost no trace of the earlier styles. Little is known about their early pipe stem decoration. Surviving artefacts decorated with porcupine quills made by these peoples prior to that period are extremely rare and isolated. The provenience of the handful of long-stemmed pipes made prior to 1850 or even 1800 within the approximate region cannot be determined with certainty due to the almost complete lack of reliable data and comparative material. Not a single surviving quill-decorated pipe stem of Pawnee origin has so far been identified with certainty. Siouan groups shared a number of religious and cultural concepts including decorative motifs and symbols. However, the way such motifs were used, executed or stylised was probably somewhat indicative of individual groups or proveniences. Apparently, some of the pipe stems in question, including the Senftenberg pipe NpM Inv. No. 21.168, do not fit the 'Dakota' paradigm and were likely made by Middle or Lower Missouri peoples. Visual analysis of design motifs and other features may help shed more light on the early style of this region.

Amongst the earliest known pipe stems of the eastern Plains/Prairie are four round stems in the Museo de América, Madrid, decorated with a quill-braided band, which may go back to the collection of Franco Davila, collected before 1762,<sup>31</sup> for which no provenience was recorded. MAM Inv. No. 2826 [Fig. 4a] is of special interest because its design resembles that of the Senftenberg pipe. Of a similar period and character are two stems attributed without evidence to the Sauk.<sup>32</sup> They are also quite rounded and may be traced to the collection put together between the 1760s and 1780s by Jean Denis Fayolle, acquired in 1785 by the Marquis de Serent, and catalogued in 1792 at the Cabinet d'Histoire naturelle de Versailles.<sup>33</sup> Two quilled stems have survived in the Musée d'Histoire Naturelle de Lille.<sup>34</sup> They were probably part of a transfer from the collection of the Bibliothèque Municipale de la Ville de Versailles and thus may have come from the same source as the MQB pipes.<sup>35</sup> One of the stems has a tag inscribed 'Missouri', probably indicating the Missouri River as the area of its origin rather than the Missouri tribe.

Despite having been collected at a much more easterly location – Fort Miami or Fort Michilimackinac – a quill-braided pipe stem of the eastern Prairie type was acquired between 1790 and 1795 by the British Army officer Major Andrew Foster (1768–1806).<sup>36</sup> An Otoe pipe, which appeared in 2011 at a Bonhams auction (lot 5440), reportedly collected by H. Bruce Greene, Florida, from an Otoe family, is another object relevant to this study. The stem has been attributed to the (ca.) 1770s and the bowl to the (ca.) 1830s. Although auction houses tend to date objects to earlier dates to increase their value, the stem is undoubtedly of the period and region discussed in this essay.

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<sup>30</sup> Wa-kin-yan-to-wa, second from left, seated; PMEA, Inv. No. 2004.29.5858; Shakopee II.; PMEA, Inv. No. 2004.1.144.80.

<sup>31</sup> Sánchez Garrido 1992, p. 24, Figs. 14, 26, 28.

<sup>32</sup> MQB, Inv. Nos. 71.1934.33.48 D, 71.1934.33.49 D.

<sup>33</sup> Feest 2007, pp. 59, 64, 67, 86.

<sup>34</sup> MHNL, Inv. Nos. 990-2-3233 A, 990-2-3233 B.

<sup>35</sup> Feest 2007, p. 73.

<sup>36</sup> NMAI, Inv. No. 24/2027.

Several early pipe stems, obviously of an eastern Prairie provenience, have survived in the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University. One of them<sup>37</sup> was attributed to the Ioway or the Missouriia.<sup>38</sup> Another pipe stem<sup>39</sup> features cross-barred hourglass designs and despite being said to have been collected from a Nez Percé chief, its provenience may be attributed to the eastern Prairies. Hourglass designs appear on a pipe stem collected together with several other objects at Fort Leavenworth in 1838,<sup>40</sup> probably by Col. Thomas Swords, quartermaster of Fort Leavenworth. The tribal identity of the stem's maker is unknown. While collected in the heartland of the Kansa territory, Fort Leavenworth was also frequented by a number of neighbouring Prairie tribes.

A pipe with triangular motifs on the quill braiding was collected by Milford Chandler and attributed to the Ioway, ca. 1820–1840.<sup>41</sup> A similar pipe in the Warnock collection<sup>42</sup> has also been attributed to the Ioway. The attributions are based on their similarity to several Ioway and Missouriia clan pipes collected and described by Alanson Skinner during his field research with these tribes,<sup>43</sup> now in the Milwaukee Public Museum, representing a distinct style of a much earlier period than when Skinner acquired them. Penney,<sup>44</sup> however, suggested that many of the pipes (particularly the bowls) collected by Skinner had been acquired from the Ioway through trade. Nevertheless, the quill decorations on these stems, which are practically the only reliably documented early Ioway pipe stems, provide a clue for attributing similar other pipes to the Ioway.

## Notes on the stem design and motifs

Because 'the pipe-stems were always held in greater esteem than the bowls',<sup>45</sup> a closer look should be taken at the stem design elements, starting with the best-documented stems collected by Skinner. Christian Feest suggested that:

One could consider the possibility that the designs on pipe stems, especially of the Chiwere and Dheghia people, were the property or privileges of certain clans, just as the hair-cuts of adolescents and other artefacts. The question of such clan privileges has never been sufficiently explored, partly because by the time of ethnographic research much of the old knowledge had already been lost.<sup>46</sup>

The quillwork decoration on the stems under discussion consists of a narrow band wrapped around the stem, made by braiding single porcupine quills between two sinew, vegetable, or commercial threads. The area covered by this quillwork decoration on the very early objects often covers the proximal half of the stem. Some other decorations such as horsehair, feathers, loon, and mallard duck scalps or quilled buckskin thongs were often attached to stems. These decorations did not always survive due to their vulnerability to moths and other insects.

<sup>37</sup> PMAE, Inv. No. 99-12-10/53105.2.

<sup>38</sup> McLaughlin 2003, p. 233.

<sup>39</sup> PMAE, Inv. No. 99-12-10/53110.2.

<sup>40</sup> AMNH, Inv. No. 50/852.

<sup>41</sup> DIA 81.237, 81.258; Penney 1992, pp. 267–268.

<sup>42</sup> WC, Inv. No. WC8810007.

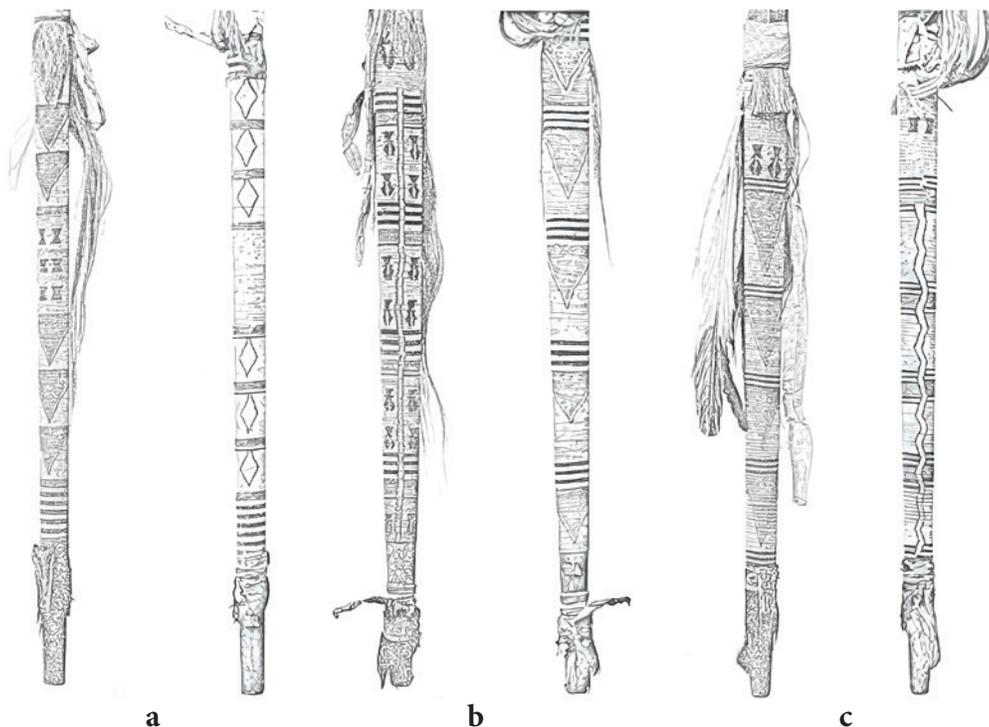
<sup>43</sup> Skinner 1926; West 1934, 1, pp. 270–277.

<sup>44</sup> Penney 1992, p. 269.

<sup>45</sup> West 1934, 1, p. 271.

<sup>46</sup> Christian Feest, *pers. comm.*, 2025.

Abstract symbols were often polysemantic and by no means of uniform meaning across cultural boundaries. Thus, the iconography used on stem decorations is so far insufficiently understood and requires further research and analysis. As the knowledge of ancient symbols was largely forgotten, it is now difficult, if not impossible, to interpret these symbols correctly with certainty. The following remarks should be taken merely as a contribution to this discussion.



**Fig. 2.** Drawings of the Ioway clan pipes; Buffalo Female clan: a. MPM, Inv. No. 30135, b. MPM, Inv. No. 30133; Buffalo Male clan: c. MPM, Inv. No. 30536; *left*: dorsal sides, *right*: ventral sides. (Illustration: Jan Dolejš, Lukáš Navrátil).

All the Skinner clan pipe stems decorated with quillwork<sup>47</sup> [Figs. 2–3] feature the same motif that was presumably to be considered diagnostic for the Ioway, implying an Ioway provenience of the other stems mentioned above: the ‘hollow pyramidal figures’, typically separated by several lines. The pyramidal figures or triangles are thought to represent woodpecker bills.<sup>48</sup> Real woodpecker scalps and beaks are attached to a number of pipe stems including several clan pipes collected by Skinner. A row of typically seven complete beaks of ivory-billed woodpecker (*Campephilus principalis*, now considered extinct) or pileated woodpecker (*Dryocopus pileatus*), often including the bird scalps and skulls, are sometimes attached to round or oval pipe

<sup>47</sup> Ioway Buffalo Female clan: MPM, Inv. Nos. 30135 and 30133; Buffalo Male clan: MPM, Inv. No. 30536, Owl clan; MPM, Inv. No. 31491, and Missouri Female Buffalo clan; MPM, Inv. No. 30145.

<sup>48</sup> McLaughlin 2003, p. 234.

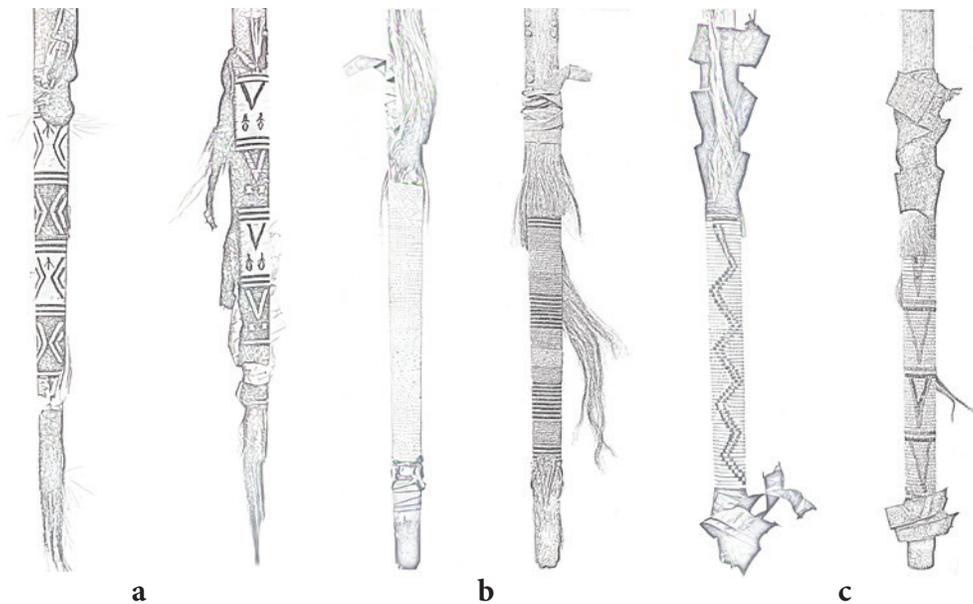


Fig. 3. Drawings of the pipes; Ioway Owl clan: a. MPM, Inv. No. 31491; Missouri Female Buffalo clan: b. MPM, Inv. No. 30145, c. Inv. No. 30146; *left: dorsal sides, right: ventral sides.* (Illustration: Jan Dolejš, Lukaš Navratil).

stems of the so called ‘calumets’, as is the case of the Pigeon clan pipe<sup>49</sup> collected by Skinner. The ivory-billed woodpecker is not reliably documented to have ever lived on Ioway territory, so their parts could probably only have been acquired through trade from the south-eastern forest dwellers. The ‘pyramidal’ motif per se might not have been restricted to the Chiwere group or Ioway specifically, but the way these triangles are executed and arranged seems to be indicative as a conventional Ioway (or Chiwere) design.

The design composed of repeated triangles also appears on the dorsal side of pipe stem MAM Inv. No. 2826, with square or diamond motifs on the ventral side [Fig. 4a], and the pipe stem collected by Milford Chandler [Fig. 4d].<sup>50</sup> The dorsal side of the Peabody Museum stem<sup>51</sup> [Fig. 4c] is decorated with seven orange triangles on a white background. The Warnock stem<sup>52</sup> [Fig. 5] features four pairs of triangular designs on its dorsal side. The presence of similar triangular motifs on the Senftenberg pipe stem NpM Inv. No. 21.168 suggests a provenience of the pipe from the same group. This is also true of one of the Lille pipe stems<sup>53</sup> [Fig. 4b] whose design is strikingly similar to that of the Senftenberg stem.

Motifs identified as bison tracks or legs are found on the Ioway Buffalo clan pipe stems [Fig. 2b, *left, 2c, left*]. The same motif appears on the Bonhams auction Otoe pipe stem [Fig. 6]. Similar

<sup>49</sup> MPM, Inv. No. 30137.

<sup>50</sup> DIA, Inv. Nos. 81.237, 81.238.

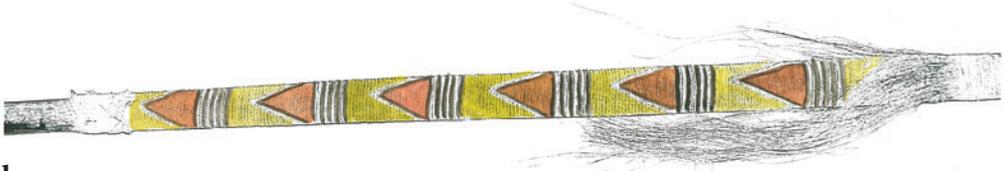
<sup>51</sup> PMAE, Inv. No. 99-12-10/53105.2.

<sup>52</sup> WC, Inv. No. WC8810007.

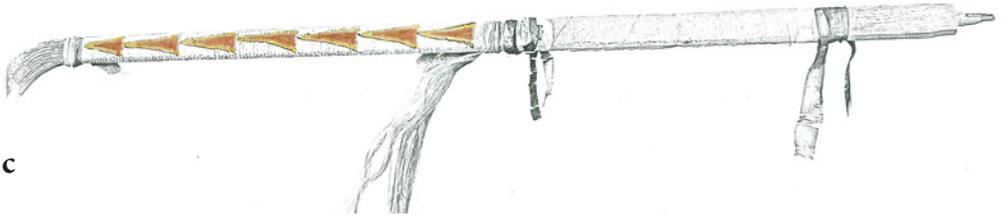
<sup>53</sup> MHNL, Inv. No. 990-2-3233\_A.



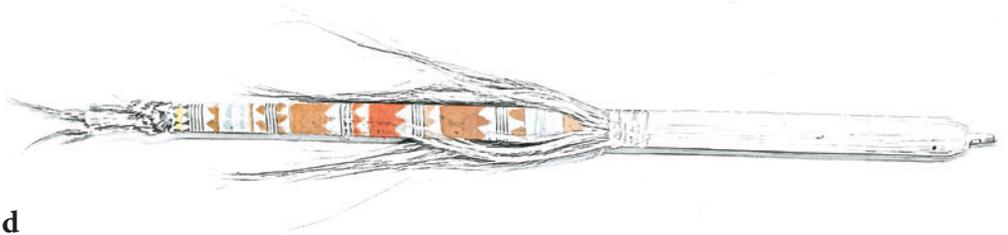
a



b



c



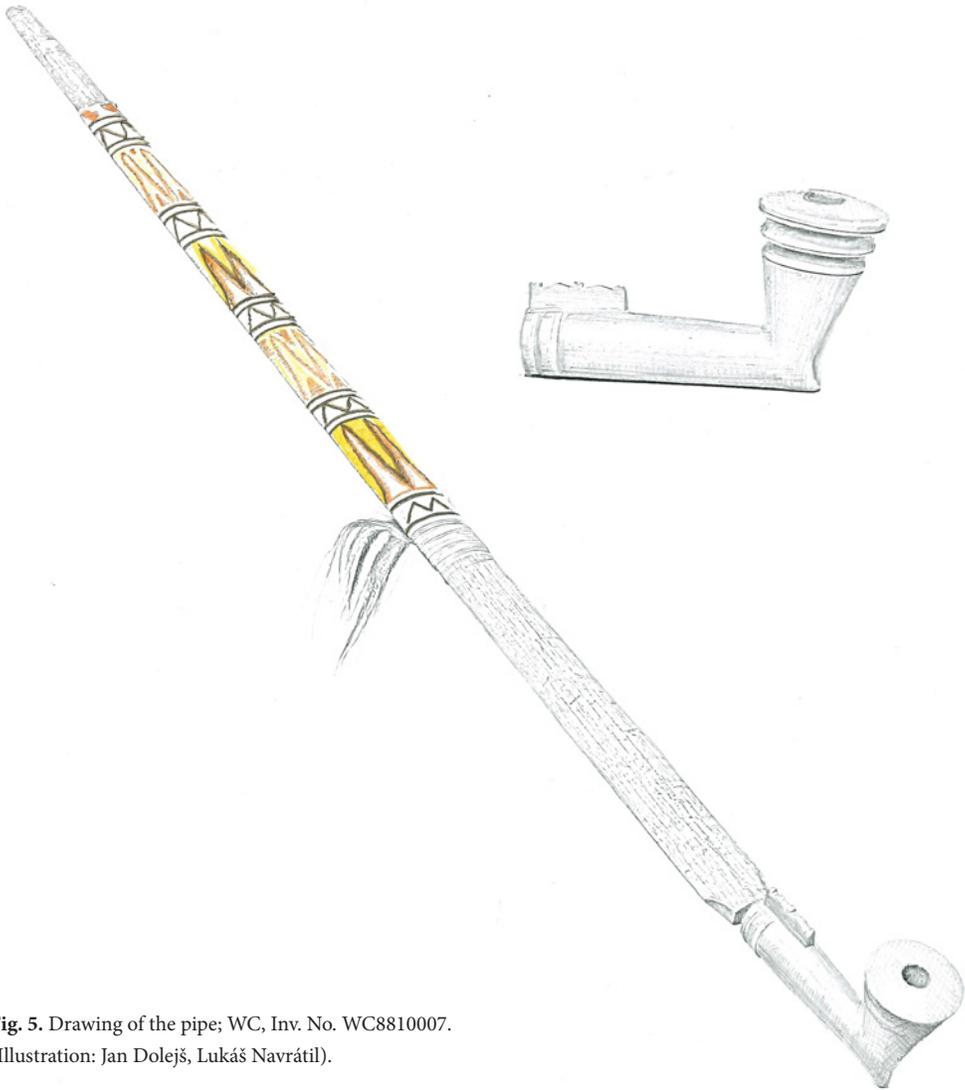
d

**Fig. 4.** Drawings of the pipes; a. MAM, Inv. No. 2826, b. MHNL, Inv. No. 990-2-3233\_A, c. PMAE, Inv. No. 99-12-10/53105.2, d. DIA, Inv. No. 81.237. (Illustration: Jan Dolejš, Lukáš Navrátil).

motifs are executed as pewter or lead inlays on some Sioux pipe bowls. Their interpretation as ‘thunderbird talons’ is probably a speculation of little value. An association of this design on pipe bowls with the mythical buffalo calf is more likely.<sup>54</sup>

A straight lengthwise axis appears on the dorsal side of Buffalo Female clan pipe MPM Inv. No. 30133 [Fig. 2b]. A similar axis is found on the ventral side of the Bonhams auction Otoe pipe [Fig. 6b]. The Warnock collection pipe stem Inv. No. WC8810007 is decorated with four

<sup>54</sup> See Ewers 1986, p. 57.



**Fig. 5.** Drawing of the pipe; WC, Inv. No. WC8810007.  
(Illustration: Jan Dolejš, Lukáš Navrátil).

pairs of triangular motifs on its dorsal side and a long white stripe on red background on the underside.<sup>55</sup>

A lengthwise zig-zag line appears on the Ioway Buffalo Male clan pipe stem MPM Inv. No. 30536 and the Missouri Buffalo clan pipe stem MPM Inv. No. 30145 [Figs. 2c, 3b]. This motif was unquestionably shared by all local groups – it can be seen on several portraits of individuals across the whole Great Plains area painted by Catlin, on pipe stems of diverse tribal origin in his pipe portfolio, and on a pipe stem from the pre-1841 War Department collection, reputedly

<sup>55</sup> Brassler 2009, p. 88.



**Fig. 6.** Bonhams auction Otoe pipe stem details; a. front, b. back. (Illustration: Jan Dolejš, Lukáš Navrátil).



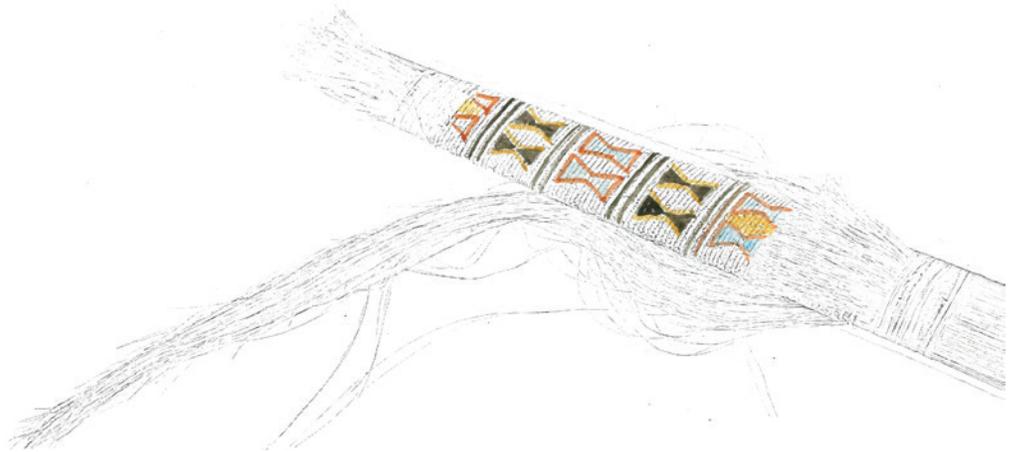
**Fig. 7.** Drawings of the pipes; a. MQB, Inv. No. 71.1934.33.49, b. MHNL, Inv. No. 990-2-3234 B, c. BM, Inv. No. Am1893,1024.1.b. (Illustration: Jan Dolejš, Lukáš Navrátil).

from the Upper Missouri.<sup>56</sup> Yankton Sioux chief Smutty Bear presented a pipe stem with a similar zig-zag line<sup>57</sup> to Major Jonathan Leet Bean, Indian agent for the Upper Missouri. A horned serpent represented as a zig-zag line appears on a pipe stem acquired from T. B. Donaldson and probably formerly collected by George Catlin.<sup>58</sup> Zig-zag lines often represent supernatural power manifested as a lightning,<sup>59</sup> yet in a different context they may be interpreted as supernatural serpents or the water element.<sup>60</sup>

Double or multiple zig-zag lines appear on the ventral sides of the following stems: one of the MQB pipes [Fig. 7a],<sup>61</sup> the ‘Missouri’ Lille pipe [Fig. 7b], the Bonhams Otoe pipe [Fig. 6b], and an ‘Eastern Sioux’ pipe at the British Museum [Fig. 7c].<sup>62</sup>



**Fig. 8.** Drawings of the pipes; a. MQB, Inv. No. 71.1934.33.48 D, b. MBQ, Inv. No. 71.1934.33.49 D.  
(Illustration: Jan Dolejš, Lukáš Navrátil).



**Fig. 9.** Drawing of the pipe; AMNH, Inv. No. 50/852. (Illustration: Jan Dolejš, Lukáš Navrátil).

<sup>56</sup> NMNH, Inv. No. E5357; see also the very similar pipe stem from the War Department collection illustrated by Seth Eastman in Schoolcraft 1851–1857, 2, Pl. 71.

<sup>57</sup> NMAI, Inv. No. 23/9321.

<sup>58</sup> NMAI, Inv. No. 2/3334.

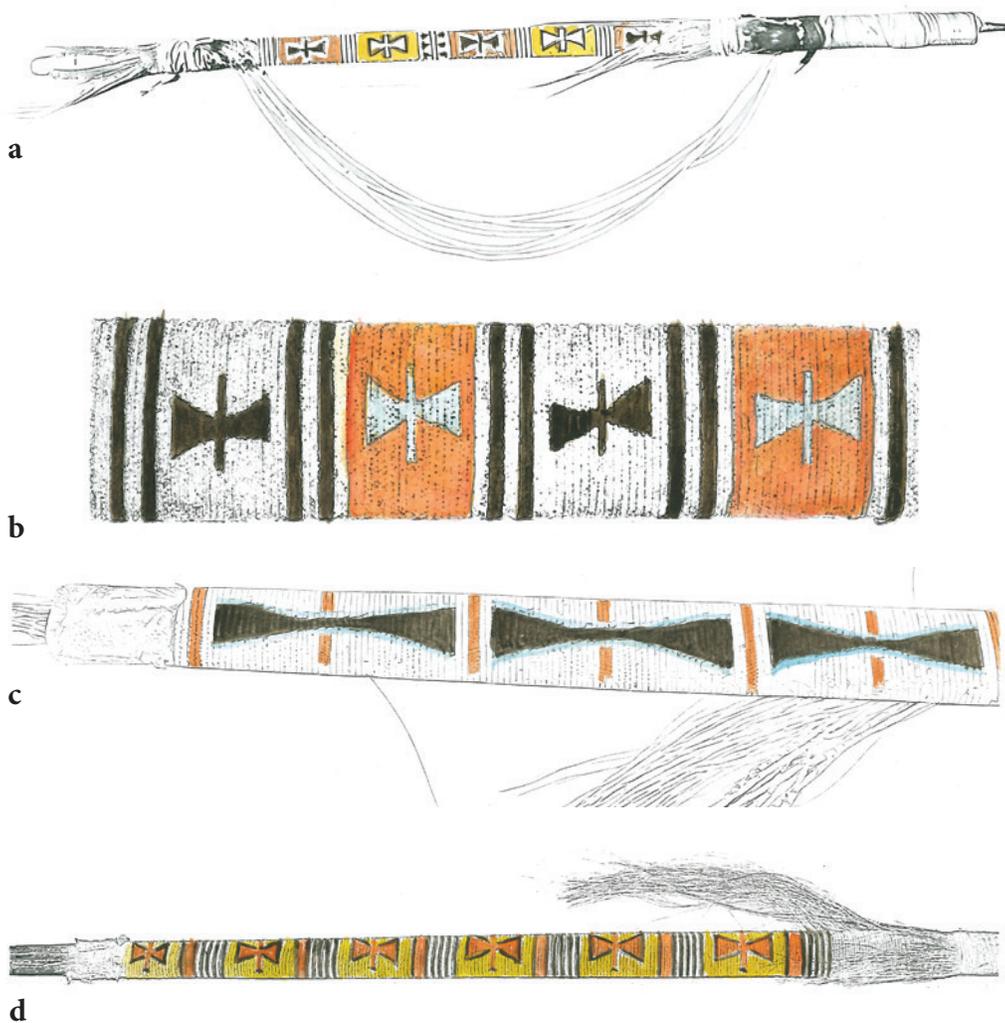
<sup>59</sup> See Wissler 1907.

<sup>60</sup> See Phillips 1986.

<sup>61</sup> MBQ, Inv. No. 71.1934.33.49.

<sup>62</sup> BM, Inv. No. Am1893, 1024.1.b.

The hourglass design is a motif frequently appearing on the eastern Prairie pipe stems, although it does not on either of the documented Skinner pipes discussed above. Both of the MQB pipe stems referred to [Fig. 8]<sup>63</sup> have a composition of seven or nine of these motifs along one side of the stem, respectively. The Fort Leavenworth pipe [Fig. 9]<sup>64</sup> is decorated with double-hourglass designs arranged along the stem.



**Fig. 10.** Drawings of the pipes; a. PMAE, Inv. No. 99-12-10/53110.2, b. PM, Inv. No. 38372, c. PEM, Inv. No. E3691, d. MHNL, Inv. No. 990-2-3233 B. (Illustration: Jan Dolejš, Lukáš Navrátil).

<sup>63</sup> MBQ, Inv. Nos. 71.1934.33.48 D, 71.1934.33.49 D.

<sup>64</sup> AMNH, Inv. No. 50/852.

One of the Peabody Museum pipe stems [Fig. 10a]<sup>65</sup> features cross-barred hourglass designs, as does one of the most probable Sioux pipes, likely collected by Catlin [Fig. 10b],<sup>66</sup> and a probably Sioux pipe collected by Captain Douglas around 1820 [Fig. 10c].<sup>67</sup> Both the Náprstek Museum Senftenberg pipe stem and the nearly identical Lille pipe stem [Fig. 10d]<sup>68</sup> are decorated with crossed hourglass designs on one side. In 1823 the Italian explorer Costantino Beltrami collected a pipe, probably from the Eastern Sioux of Minnesota with double-crossed hourglass designs on its stem (now in the Casa Beltrami in Filottrano).<sup>69</sup>

The hourglass design has been interpreted as abstract thunderbirds<sup>70</sup> or stars.<sup>71</sup> Two triangles meeting at their point could also represent a prayer,<sup>72</sup> indicating the intersection between the upper and the lower realms of the spiritual world.

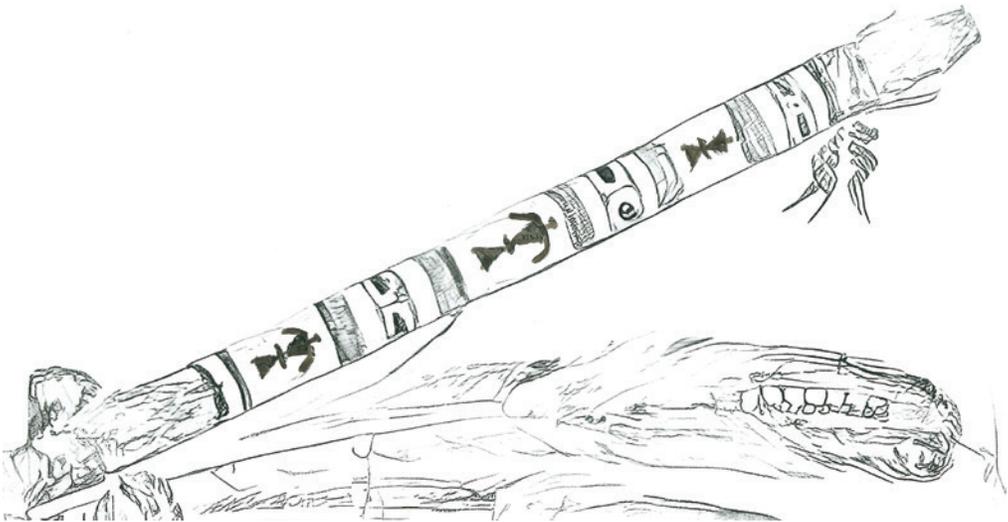


Fig. 11. Redrawing of the stem detail from 'Paul Kane: A "Cree pipe"'; SMA, Inv. No. 31.78.145. (Illustration: Jan Dolejš, Lukáš Navrátil).

Canadian painter Paul Kane rendered a 'Cree pipe' in one of his many watercolours [Fig. 11].<sup>73</sup> It is in fact a standard Eastern Sioux pipe with an added fan of eagle feathers. The quill decoration on its stem is of interest: three thunderbirds, stylised as cross-barred hourglasses with added wings and heads. Emphasis on realistic thunderbird iconography is typical of the Eastern Sioux. According to French geographer Joseph Nicollet, '...the (Pipestone) quarry was opened by the great spirit of thunder, and one cannot visit it without being greeted by his rumblings and

<sup>65</sup> PMAE, 99-12-10/53110.2.

<sup>66</sup> PM, Inv. No. 38372.

<sup>67</sup> PEM, Inv. No. E3691.

<sup>68</sup> MHNL, Inv. No. 990-2-3233 B.

<sup>69</sup> Vigorelli 1987, p. 103.

<sup>70</sup> McLaughlin 2003, p. 236.

<sup>71</sup> Kroeber 1983, Pl. XXVIII.

<sup>72</sup> Morrow 1981, p. 145.

<sup>73</sup> SMA, Inv. No. 31.78.145.

the lightning and storms that accompany them...<sup>74</sup> Hence the strong tradition reflected in the tribe's pipe design.

Two most likely Sioux pipes),<sup>75</sup> both probably collected by Catlin, feature realistic thunderbird renderings on the dorsal sides and striped hourglass designs on the ventral sides, suggesting the meaning of the hourglass in this case is other than the thunderbird. Alanson Skinner recorded an interpretation of a simple hourglass motif as a 'coup or brave deed on the part of the owner', given by his Menominee informant.<sup>76</sup> In its general concept, that explanation seems to be quite close to the interpretation of a cross-barred hourglass motif on a Lakota moccasins, which Clark Wissler received from his Lakota informant: 'The hour-glass figures represent a struggle for the possession of a wounded man, the two triangular parts represent the opposing parties, and the red cross-bar the wounded man on the ground.'<sup>77</sup> From the most general point of view, the two triangles meeting at their point evoke a clash of two opposing powers, being them earthly or supernatural. The cross bar seems to be an abstract rendering of an individual between them, like a fallen warrior or a vulnerable earthly smoker praying for favour and balance between the two spiritual powers in his life. An iconographic symbol, simple in its graphic form, can in fact evoke rather complex, multilayer connotations, which can result in varied interpretations. Still, these interpretations in a way express the same inner principle.

### **Pipe NpM Inv. No. 21.134 – description and attribution [Pls. 3–4]**

The elegant bowl of pipe NpM Inv. No. 21.134 was made from a black stone, probably steatite, also called soapstone, talc-schist, or chlorite schist, with considerable sense of aesthetics: its proportions are well-balanced. It is executed with craftsmanship suggesting an experienced maker. The bowl is 12 cm long, decorated with four incised parallel lines at its top. The shaft is slender with a large crest as is typical of Chippewa pipes. Another feature seen on other Chippewa bowls is the perforation of the crest – in this case a circular hole with two slots along each side. The top edge of the crest is decorated with subtle engraving. Its outline and the outline of the circular hole are accentuated with tiny indented dots. The mouth end of the shaft is decorated in a similar manner – with engraved lines and dots. The head of the bowl is slightly cylindrical, whilst the shaft's cross section is rectangular.

The wooden stem of pipe NpM Inv. No. 21.134 is 88.2 cm long. It is painted black on its outer surface and wrapped with brass wire at intervals in four places. Holes of various shapes are drilled and incised through the stem. All four suits in a deck of cards are represented on it: hearts, clubs, diamonds, and spades, plus other shapes like drops and lens. The inner sides of the holes are painted red. The red and black (or blue) colour combination on pipe stems was popular with the Chippewa and Menominee.<sup>78</sup>

Although there is a note on the museum card saying that such pipes were used to 'declare war', it is likely the collector's unsubstantiated opinion. At least among the Prairie tribes, pipes sent to potential allies at war were covered with red paint.<sup>79</sup>

Based on the comparative material discussed below, the pipe can be attributed to the South-western Chippewa of Minnesota or Wisconsin. It was probably made around 1850 or even earlier.

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<sup>74</sup> Feest and Kasprzycki 1999, p. 113.

<sup>75</sup> PM, Inv. Nos. 45-15-1451, CG920930-2661.

<sup>76</sup> Skinner 1921, p. 260.

<sup>77</sup> Wissler 1904, p. 262, fig. 98.

<sup>78</sup> Kasprzycki 2018, p. 56; Skinner 1921, pp. 133, 268–269, 346.

<sup>79</sup> Catlin 1842, p. 235.

## General notes on western woodlands cut-out pipe stems and steatite elbow-shaped bowls

The NpM Inv. No. 21.134 donated by the Baron of Senftenberg, though lacking any relevant documentation, is apparently an early 19<sup>th</sup> century western Woodlands pipe. Such pipes were produced by the Minnesota and Wisconsin Chippewa, Menominee, and other tribes of this region between 1800 and 1850.

The South-western Chippewa used smooth black stone found in Wisconsin for bowls. However, various kinds of soft stone suitable for pipe-carving, including catlinite, were traded all over the Anishnaabe territory and far beyond. Crested elbow-shaped bowls are known to have been produced in Wisconsin and are typologically related to catlinite crested pipe bowls produced in the neighbouring eastern Prairie region.

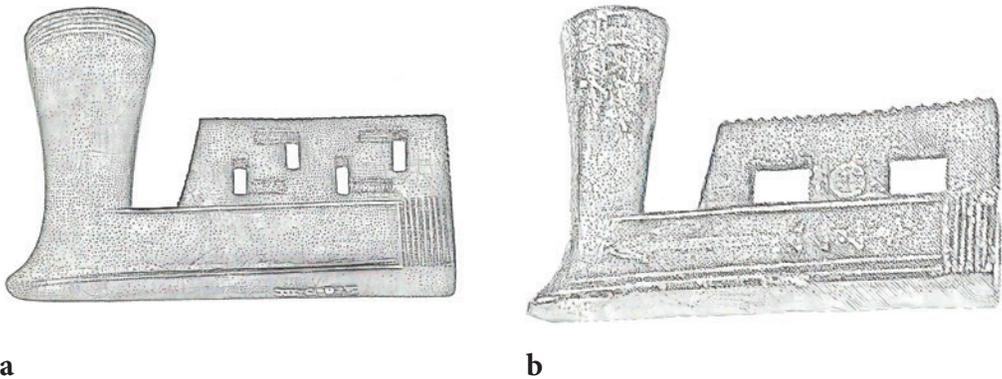


Fig. 12. a. Drawing of a pipe bowl attributed to the Chippewa; CMH, Inv. No. III-G-825, ex-collection Arthur Speyer, b. Drawing of a pipe bowl attributed to the Chippewa; present location unknown, formerly in the Chandler-Pohrt collection, Inv. No. 2664. (Illustration: Jan Dolejš, Lukáš Navrátil).

Very close in appearance to pipe bowl NpM Inv. No. 21.134 is a bowl from the ex-Speyer collection [Fig. 12a]<sup>80</sup> with a slight prow, supposedly made around 1850. It is carved of black steatite and nearly of the same shape as NpM Inv. No. 21.134. Some other surviving pipe bowls of this kind are made of Wisconsin catlinite. There are three specimens from before 1809 housed at the National Museum of Ireland<sup>81</sup> and another one dated 1840 in the Warnock collection.<sup>82</sup> There are other such pipes with a documented Chippewa origin.<sup>83</sup> Two pipe bowls attributed to the Chippewa dating to ca. 1860, of the same type as NpM Inv. No. 21.134, appear in the former Chandler-Pohrt collection [Fig. 12b]<sup>84</sup> and in the Uni-

<sup>80</sup> Benndorf and Speyer 1968, Cat. No. 172; now CMH, Inv. No. III-G-825; attributed to the Chippewa.

<sup>81</sup> Jasper Grant coll., NMI, Inv. Nos. 1902.360, 1902.361, 1902.362; attributed to the Chippewa/Ojibwa.

<sup>82</sup> WC, Inv. No. WC8903086.

<sup>83</sup> Rainy Lake: AMNH, Inv. No. 10.48; Lake Superior: PMAE, Inv. No. 69-31-10/2208; Pembina: PMAE, Inv. No. 78-52-10/15511.

<sup>84</sup> Chandler-Pohrt collection, Inv. No. 2664.



**Fig. 13.** Chippewa chief Ah-ah-shaw-we-ke-shick (Crossing Sky) holding a pipe of the type discussed; MNHS, Inv. No. AV1981.199.36. (public domain).

versity of Michigan Museum of Anthropology.<sup>85</sup> A number of similar pipe bowls are at the NMAI,<sup>86</sup> the BM,<sup>87</sup> and the MPM.<sup>88</sup>

The Minnesota Chippewa chiefs Ke-bay-nah-kay of the Leech Lake band, Ne-bah-quah-om (Big Dog), and Crossing the Sky of the Rabbit Lake band were all photographed in around 1860 holding crest pipes of the type discussed [Fig. 13].

Cut-out pipe stems are sometimes called ‘puzzle’ or ‘tricky’ pipe stems. Occasionally the entire stem was carved in an openwork pattern, the flue extending down one side of the stem. According to Densmore, the stems of ceremonial pipes were frequently more than 3 feet long and were elaborately decorated.<sup>89</sup> This statement should be read as applying to the period of her research, when traditional Chippewa culture was in its decline.

A number of pipe stems with simple cut out designs, such as circular or rectangular holes arranged on the sides along the longitudinal axis have been collected from or attributed to several different ethnic groups, but they are not of particular relevance for NpM Inv. No. 21.134. The cut-out design on this Senftenberg pipe is of the type sometimes referred to as ‘puzzle’ or ‘tricky’ because the perforations are arranged variously scattered across the axis and the sides, so the smoke channel cannot be carved or drilled along the central axis, but in alternative directions to avoid the perforations, sometimes along one side or in a crooked way, as revealed by radiography digital X-ray detector.<sup>90</sup> Single puzzle pipe stems have occasionally appeared

<sup>85</sup> MMA, Inv. No. 24651; see Hodge 1973, p. 24, Figs. 87–88.

<sup>86</sup> NMAI, Inv. Nos. 19/6284, 24/1909.

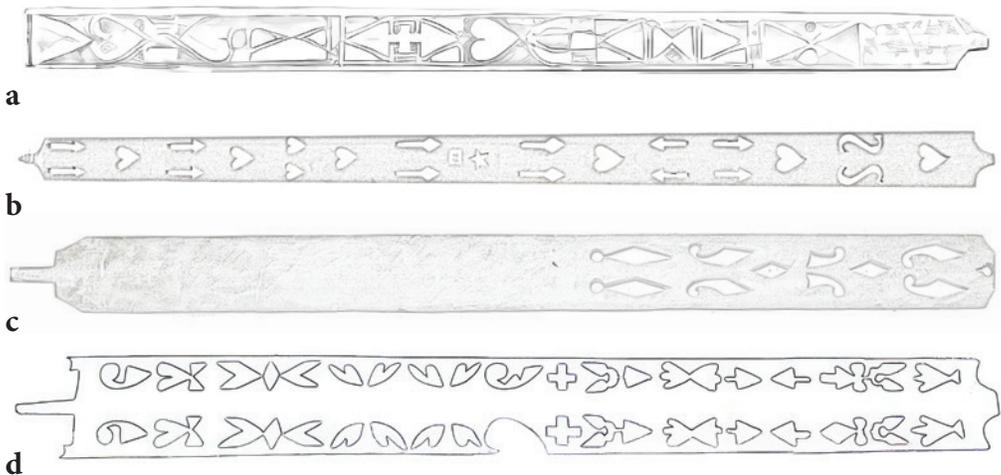
<sup>87</sup> BM, Inv. Nos. Am,Dc.37, Am.2568, Am,Dc.88.a.

<sup>88</sup> MPM, Inv. No. 2027.

<sup>89</sup> Densmore 1929, pp. 143–144.

<sup>90</sup> Brownstone 2011, p. 19.

in various publications but no comparative study exploring this topic in detail has yet to be published. Comparable objects are scattered in various collections and not always reliably documented. X-ray examination of a pipe stem collected at Fort Snelling by Dr. Nathan Sturges Jarvis<sup>91</sup> revealed the channel was redirected to one edge of the pipe stem. Similar ‘puzzle’ or ‘tricky’ pipe stems from Wisconsin or Minnesota are found in the McCord Museum [Fig. 14b]<sup>92</sup> and the DIA.<sup>93</sup> Of similar complexity as the Senftenberg pipe stem NpM Inv. No. 21.134b is one matched with an effigy bowl identified to have been made by the Manitoulin carver Pabahmesad [Fig. 14a].<sup>94</sup> Since the bowl shows no evidence of use and the stem is much worn, however, the two may not belong together.<sup>95</sup> The Menominee occasionally also made broad, flat, and thin stems, carved in open or lattice designs, and painted in various colours.<sup>96</sup> A well-documented Menominee cut-out pipe stem is in the Musée d’Ethnographie Fribourg [Fig. 14c]<sup>97</sup> collected around 1860 by Father Antoine-Marie Gachet.<sup>98</sup> A pipe stem with complex cut-out design, yet not a true puzzle stem, because the open spaces are arranged on the sides leaving the central axis intact, was collected by Bryan Mullanphy (Stonyhurst College) in 1825 on the Mississippi. It has been attributed to either the Dakota or Ojibwa but could equally be the Menominee.<sup>99</sup> A similar untrue puzzle pipe stem was donated to the Wisconsin Historical Society by F. E. Bridgman [Fig. 14d].<sup>100</sup> A Chippewa puzzle stem painted red and black, made prior to 1826, is now in the Peabody Essex Museum.<sup>101</sup>



**Fig. 14.** Drawings of the pipes; a. Inv. No. ROM, Inv. No. HD15A, b. McM Inv. No. ME986X.108-P1; c. MEF Inv. No. 2054; d. WHS Inv. No. 1954.2047. (Illustration: Jan Dolejš, Lukáš Navrátil).

<sup>91</sup> BMB, Inv. No. 50.67.65; attributed by Feder 1965, pp. 54, 61, Fig. 43, to the (Eastern) Sioux.

<sup>92</sup> McM, ME986X.108-P1.

<sup>93</sup> DIA, Inv. No. 81.752, Chandler-Pohrt coll.

<sup>94</sup> ROM, Inv. No. HD15A.

<sup>95</sup> Brownstone 2011, p. 58.

<sup>96</sup> Skinner 1921, p. 363.

<sup>97</sup> MEF, Inv. No. 2054.

<sup>98</sup> Kasprzycki 2018, p. 56; Gachet also made a drawing of two other stems of this kind; see Kasprzycki 2018, p. 54, Fig. 53.

<sup>99</sup> BM, Inv. No. Am2003, 19.12.

<sup>100</sup> WHS, Inv. No. 1954.2047.

<sup>101</sup> PEM, Inv. No. E3694.

A couple of other coarser cut-out pipe stems were collected from the Chippewa, Potawatomi<sup>102</sup> or the Menominee, usually of a later period. As for craftsmanship, the Senftenberg pipe stem NpM Inv. No. 21.134 ranks among the finest pieces.

It is a question whether the puzzle pipe stems were at all produced by the Sioux. Some cut-out stems were collected at Fort Snelling (in present Saint Paul, Minnesota) or in its vicinity and were therefore attributed to the Sioux. Despite the fierce animosity between the Sioux and the Chippewa, exchange of goods and presents, especially at peace making councils, always existed. A number of black stone bowls were collected from the Sioux, the prominent owners of red catlinite quarry. The Menominee were traditionally on friendly terms with the Sioux, with whom they traded regularly and thus obtained highly prized catlinite from them. The Minnesota Sioux knew and probably occasionally used puzzle pipes, but it is not certain whether they were also their makers. It seems that the Anishinaabe and the Menominee were at least the most prominent makers of long puzzle stems.

A number of Anishinaabe pipes, bowls, or stems are decorated with incised hearts. This is a non-indigenous motif, adopted through missionary activities from Catholic iconography. Hearts were also a popular Métis art motif. On the Senftenberg pipe stem NpM Inv. No. 21.134 the heart motifs appear in combination with other designs found on playing cards: diamonds, clubs, and spades.

Native Americans were familiar with European games at early times. Seth Eastman depicted Chippewas playing checkers and Charles Deas painted Winnebagos playing the same game in the 1840s. The painter John Mix Stanley created at least two scenes of Indians playing cards, fascinated by the theme, which undoubtedly reflected his observations of frontier life of the 1840s and 1850s. Cover stock playing cards were a common appearance amongst Minnesota natives during the period. Cards were reportedly used as a wrap-around material while pipe bowls were being inlaid with tin or lead. Unsurprisingly, card symbols often appear as decorative designs on inlaid pipe bowls, typically black steatite on red catlinite pipes or vice versa ('Eastern Sioux', more likely the Menominee pipe bowl in the Bründl collection).<sup>103</sup>

## Discussion

Both the Baron of Senftenberg pipes housed by the Náprstek Museum are valuable and rare specimens. Their value is both cultural and historical. They are highly aesthetic masterworks: both of them represent prime quality craftwork for the respective ethnic group of their makers. Very few smoking pipes in collections worldwide were actually acquired as spoils of war. On the contrary, they were typically given as presents during peace negotiations or sold as collectible curiosities. The donor, the Baron of Senftenberg, had no direct contacts with Native Americans and was not personally involved in the colonisation process. He must have obtained the pipes through at least one middleman, most likely in Europe. Based on comparative analysis, NpM Inv. No. 21.168 can be attributed to the Chiwere group or perhaps Ioway, and NpM Inv. No. 21.134 to the (western) Chippewa. Although such analysis can sometimes give more adequate results than museum files, it is never completely reliable due to limited sources of information available. Thus, an object's ethnic attribution, however likely it may seem from an analyst's point of view, is always stated with some degree of probability and can never be entirely certain.

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<sup>102</sup> NMAI, Inv. Nos. 21/1909, 11/303.

<sup>103</sup> See Bründl 1999, p. 285, Nr. 281; NMAI, Inv. Nos. 10/3168, 17/6995.

Non-casual sacred pipes were typically held in sacred bundles. Certain taboos, rituals, and songs were associated with them, known only to the sacred bundle keeper. Sacred pipes were adorned with symbolic paraphernalia such as feathers of various birds, ermine skins, etc.

The Baron of Senftenberg pipes are pieces of ethnographic art but their significance as such religious objects is doubtful. Objects like the Senftenberg pipes were regularly produced for sale and were presented, bartered or sold to Europeans and Euro-Americans. The decorative playing card motifs on pipe NpM Inv. No. 21.134 support the pleasure function of the pipe.

George Catlin gave his explanation to the significance of the types of flat-stemmed pipes decorated with quill-braiding and discussed in the first section of this study: 'In plate 98, the pipes marked b [i.e. the same type as Senftenberg pipe NpM Inv. No. 21.168] are ordinary pipes, made and used for the luxury only of smoking...'<sup>104</sup> Despite various justified objections against the reliability of Catlin's statements, such a statement is no doubt based on numerous observations he made during his travels. The presence of clan symbols on the decoration would not necessarily mean the object was of special sacred character. The painter further explains that in the olden days, pipe smoking was by no means restricted to religious rituals:

In their native state they (Indians) are excessive smokers, and many of them (I would almost venture the assertion), would seem to be smoking one half of their lives. There may be two good reasons for this, the first of which is, that the idle and leisure life that the Indian leads ... induces him to look for occupation and amusement in so innocent a luxury, which again further tempts him to its excessive use, from its feeble and harmless effects on the system.<sup>105</sup>

A number of chiefs were portrayed by artists or photographers holding such valuable pipes as symbols of their rank and peace-making role. Such a 'pleasure pipe' could, however, be converted into a ritual object for personal contemplation or for a social, rather than truly religious ritual, although it can be objected that religious contents were persistent in any social rituals and social functions can hardly be separated from religious ones.

## List of museums and private collections mentioned in the paper:

American Museum of Natural History (AMNH)  
 British Museum (BM)  
 Brooklyn Museum (BMB)  
 Bründl collection  
 Canadian Museum of History (CMH)  
 Detroit Institute of Art (DIA)  
 Michigan Museum of Anthropology (MMA)  
 Milwaukee Public Museum (MPM)  
 McCord Museum (McM)  
 Musée d' Ethnographie Fribourg (MEF)  
 Musée d'Histoire Naturelle de Lille (MHNL)  
 Museo de América (MAM)  
 Musée du quai Branly (MQB)

<sup>104</sup> Catlin 1842, 1, p. 235.

<sup>105</sup> Catlin 1842, 1, p. 234.

Náprstek Museum (NpM)  
National Museum of Ireland (NMI)  
National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI)  
National Museum of Natural History (NMNH)  
National Museums of Liverpool (NML)  
Peabody Essex Museum (PEM)  
Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University (PMAE)  
Stark Museum of Art (SMA)  
The Penn Museum (PM)  
Warnock Collection (WC)  
Wisconsin Historical Society (WHS)

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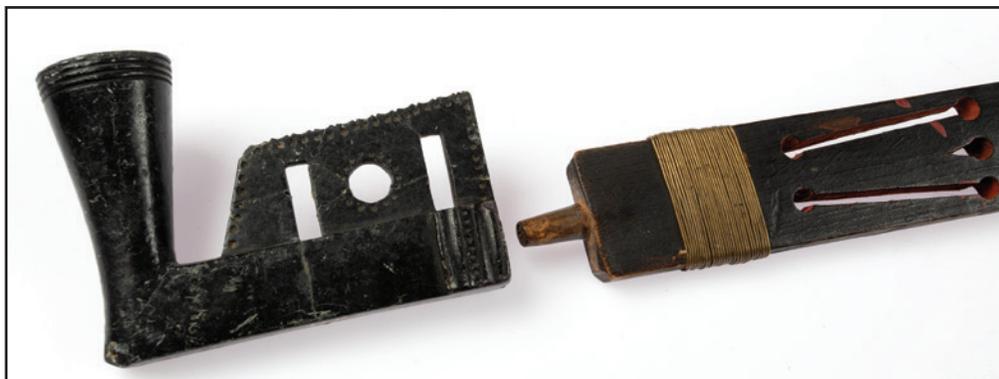
Pl. 1. Pipe NpM Inv. No. 21.168. (Photo: Jiří Vaněk).



Pl. 2. Details of the pipe NpM Inv. No. 21.168; a. pipe bowl, b. pipe stem – the dorsal side, c. pipe stem – the distal end; d. pipe stem – the ventral side. (Photo: Jiří Vaněk).



Pl. 3. Pipe NpM Inv. No. 21.134. (Photo: Jiří Vaněk).



Pl. 4. Details of the pipe NpM Inv. No. 21.134; a. pipe bowl, b. stem perforations. (Photo: Jiří Vaněk).