



ETHNOGRAPHIC COLLECTION OF ALBERTO VOJTĚCH FRIČ IN THE NÁPRSTEK MUSEUM

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ABSTRACT: Alberto Vojtěch Frič (1882–1944) was a Czech botanist, explorer and ethnologist. He made four exploratory journeys to South America (Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, Argentina, Bolivia), at first led by his interest in cacti, later due to a desire of getting to know more about life and culture of the native people from the region of Gran Chaco and Mato Grosso. During his trips he collected a lot of valuable ethnographical material from various tribes (Bororo, Kadiweu, Chamacoco, Pilagá, Sanapaná, Angaité, Toba, Lengua etc.) and part of it he donated to the Náprstek Museum in Prague. This article focuses on this part of his collection acquired mostly during his second journey (1903–1905). Based on the correspondence between Frič and his parents, friends, colleagues and the museum and on extracts from his notes, articles and books, it deals with the course of this trip and his collector's activity. The article is accompanied by photographs of representative objects from Frič's collection deposited in the Náprstek Museum with a personal comment from Frič's notes and with a list of all objects donated personally by A. V. Frič to the Náprstek Museum.

KEY WORDS: National Museum – Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures, Prague – Alberto Vojtěch Frič (1882–1944) – Brazil – Paraguay – Argentina – Gran Chaco – Mato Grosso – Bororo – Kadiweu – Caduveo – Pilagá – Sanapaná – Angaité – Toba – Lengua – Shavante – ethnographic collection.

Any potential author writing the biography of Alberto Vojtěch Frič (8. 9. 1882–4. 12. 1944) faces both a fascinating as well as a challenging task. This was a man of wide ranging interests and extraordinary character. Frič had an in depth knowledge of botany and dedicated himself to cultivating and classifying cacti. Later he became an explorer and ethnologist (he wrote the following to the editor of the Viennese magazine *Die Zeit*: *"It's been ten years since I left for Brazil to carry out botanical studies and came into contact with Indians for the first time. They endeared themselves to me from our very first meeting.*

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They made a great impression on me and I decided that it is better to study people rather than plants and insects, especially as I discovered that the Indians are dying out while the plants and insects remain."²). During his travels Frič earned money doing all kinds of work – as he himself wrote: *"In the long list of my past occupations you will find, amongst others, harbour labourer, heron and seal hunter, war correspondent, cattle breeder, horse tamer, shoe-black, civil servant, army doctor etc"* (Crkal 1983: 72). He also photographed, published and lectured. He tried his hand at trading, was actively interested in politics and after the First World War attempted to make his way in diplomacy only to return at the end to his first love – cultivating cacti. Towards the end of his life he dedicated himself to experiments with crossbreeding of different crops, some of which, though never used, proved successful. The legacy of Frič's work is spread over many locations – some of his correspondence and other writings, photographs and ethnographic collections are stored in the Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures and also in other European and American museums.³ The list must also include the many articles published in various Czech and foreign magazines, the self-published magazine "Očista" in which he criticized the leaders of the newly created Czechoslovakia and several authors' publications. In the 1950s Čestmír Loukotka, a Czech specialist in American Studies, compiled (and translated, as Frič made notes in several languages) some of Frič's observations and diary entries which were kept in the family's archives. A copy is kept in the archive of the Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic.⁴

In his paper Josef Kandert (Kandert 1983: 111–146) gave a very detailed account of Frič's travelling exploits, inspired by his interest in the material and spiritual culture of the indigenous inhabitants of South America. Kandert's paper also describes Frič's collecting activities and the ethnographic knowledge he gained in the field – both on a scientific level as well as for the wider public domain. My own contribution focuses on Frič's first and second expeditions to South America and the ethnographic collection he donated, either personally or through others, to the Náprstek Museum. This collection resulted from these first two trips to South America, trips he then repeated several times.

Frič was barely eighteen when he first set off for South America (Brazil). It was certainly not an interest in ethnography that led him to make this trip. Having lost his

² The Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic (v.v.i.) – Centre of Scientific Information (SVI) – Documentary fund, Ms 445a, p. 16.

³ In order of the amount of Frič's collections:

Kunstkamera – Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography Russian Academy of Sciences Peterburg (Kunstkamera – Muzej antropologii i etnografii im. Petra Velikogo Rossijskoj Akademii nauk Sankt-Peterburg)

National Museum of the American Indian, George Gustav Heye Center New York

Museum of Ethnology Hamburg (Museum für Völkerkunde Hamburg)

Munich State Museum of Ethnology (Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde München)

Ethnological Museum Berlin (Ethnologisches museum Berlin)

Ethnological Museum Leiden (Museum Völkerkunde Leiden)

Museum of the Culture Basel (Museum der Kulturen Basel, formerly Museum für Völkerkunde und Schweizerisches Museum für Völkerkunde)

Museum of Ethnography University of Buenos Aires (Museo etnográfico Universidad de Buenos Aires)

The British Museum London

⁴ The Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic (v.v.i.) – Centre of Scientific Information (SVI) – Documentary fund, Ms 445a, b.

large collection of cacti he decided to travel to the plants' natural habitat and obtain replacements at source. He also wanted to find out more about the area where they grew and perhaps discover new types. Although largely self-taught Frič's knowledge of cacti was so extensive that his expertise was sought even by experts from abroad. Frič applied this same diligence and enthusiasm to the study of the indigenous inhabitants of South America to the extent that he was accepted into the ranks of lecturers at international American Studies conferences. He published scientific papers and became renowned in this field. It was on his first trip (1901–1902) as he travelled on the rivers Tieté, Verde and Verdinho on the way to the state of Mato Grosso, accompanied by a mixed race Portuguese and an Indian from the Kukura tribe⁵ that Frič came across some members of the Shavante tribe⁶ almost by accident. He spotted two Indians in a canoe and wanted to make contact, much to the dismay of his guides. Frič decided to attempt an exchange of goods instead. He laid out necklaces of beads and some knives on the shore and after a few days he found a bow and some arrows in their place. The expedition then tried to follow the trail of the Indians but they were not interested in a meeting and left poison covered thorns in the ground which killed one of Frič's dogs. The expedition decided not to attempt to follow them any further. Frič became ill with malaria but carried on travelling and it was only after his leg was badly mauled by a jaguar during a hunt and the wound became infected that he decided to return to São Paulo and then back to Europe. As soon as he returned to Prague Frič organised an exhibition in the department store at Nováks in Vodičkova Street, this was accompanied by a printed guide (**Guide to the exhibition of artefacts from Vojtěch Frič jr's trip to Brazil**). Altogether in this exhibition Frič presented ethnographic material from four Indian tribes – the Shavante, Cayapó (written by Frič as Caipó), Caiua (Cayuá) and Peruhibe⁸:

“Weapons of the Shavante Indian tribe (state Mato Grosso, Rio Verde do Sul).

2. Hunting bow from hard and flexible wood >pao preto< covered with liana bark >Embira< with a spare string.⁹

⁵ In Čestmír Loukotka's language classification in 1968 the Kukura tribe's dialect is quoted as being an extinct language which was spoken in central Rio Verde in the state of Mato Grosso (Loukotka 1968: 83). Frič's findings formed part of the basis for Loukotka's work.

⁶ Handbook of South American Indians, vol. 1, Washington 1946, p. 478 places the Shavante-Akwē tribe geographically to the west of the River Araguaia and states that the name Shavante is sometimes also assigned to the isolated group of the Shavante-Oti from São Paulo and the Shavante-Opaye group from Mato Grosso even though these two isolated groups have no connection to the Shavante-Akwē.

⁷ Stored in the Náprstek Museum's Collection department, coll. Frič, carton 3/7.

⁸ In his Classification of South American languages, Čestmír Loukotka presents several language groups under this name: south Cayapó, where he states that it is a question of an imprecise name of a language whose original name is unknown and which was originally spoken in the southern region of the Mato Grosso, and the Cayapó group, which he originally places geographically in the inland Brazilian state of Goiás, then later to the Pará state between the Araguaia and Tapajoz rivers (Loukotka 1968: 78-79). Presumably the items obtained by Frič relate to the first of the two groups. However both are grouped into the gé language family. Loukotka places the Caiua (Cayuá) dialect geographically in Paraguay, in the Monday river region (Loukotka 1968: 107), an area that Frič never visited on his first trip, he must therefore have made a mistake about the name of the tribe or he obtained the items in southern Brazil through intermediaries. The Peruhibe dialect is never mentioned by Loukotka. Maybe Frič named a group of native people after the geographical name – Peruíbe is a municipality in São Paulo state, Brazil. It's meaning in the Tupi language was “river of sharks”.

⁹ Entry no. 1 was a collection of agates.

3–6. **Hunting arrows**, approximately 1.5 metres long, the tips being made up of up to 60 angled teeth.

7–9. **Arrows for hunting birds**, with wooden spindles in place of arrowheads which are used to stun the birds.

10. **Fighting bow**, with a spare string.

11–15. **Arrows** with reverse incisions adorned by the feathers of the black vulture, the sign that these are to be used in combat.

16. **Arrow** with a metal head shaped with a stone made from a piece of hinge taken from an abandoned hacienda.

All the weapons of the warrior Shavante tribe are made by using stone and shell tools. The hunting weapons are usually fitted with the feathers of the mutuma (wild turkey) or eagle – the feathers of the vulture >oruba< are for combat.

17–18. **Spindles** for weaving fibres made by the above mentioned Indians from wood and metal ribs from an umbrella taken from a hacienda.

19. **Indian pipe** made from wild bamboo

20. and from the seed of the pipe tree (*Scutia Buxifolia*).

21. **Shell** for polishing Shavante weapons.

22. **Cabosa**, a pumpkin bowl.

Caipó Indian tribe (state Mato Grosso and Goiás, R. Verde de Norte).

23. **Fighting bow** with string made from gravata fibre (*Bromeliaceae*).

24–25. **Hunting arrows** with mutuma and yellow arara bird feathers.

26–28. **Children's arrows** for shooting practice with yellow arara bird feathers.

29. **Hammock**, woven from gravata fibre.

30–31. **Hunting bows** of the tame tribe Cayuá.

32–33. **Arrows** of the Cayuá Indians.

34. **Bow** of the so called civilised Peruhibe Indian tribe, found south of Santos on the coast.

35–36. **Arrows** as above.

37. **Arrow** for hunting birds.

The above two tribes use metal tools."¹⁰

There were 36 ethnographic objects from a total of 135 exhibits. In 1903 Frič donated 20 artefacts from his collection to the Náprstek Museum. These included 7 from the Shavante Indians (4 hunting arrows, a reel for weaving strings, a bowl made from a pumpkin and a roll of tobacco). There were also 2 from the Cayapó Indians (arrows) and 1 from the Peruhibe (arrow) as well as some items used by Brazilian colonists (clay bowls, stirrups, tin bowl for collecting natural rubber and a picture of St Peter) and two agates. The agates were transferred to the mineralogy department of the National Museum. From the rest of the collection 10 pieces still remain to this day in the museum.¹¹

Frič set off again on his second trip the very next year. He left in August 1903 and returned in September 1905. This time Frič prepared in advance; he gathered current information on the culture of the indigenous population of the area where he was going, he visited the ethnographic museum in Bremen and Vienna and contacted

¹⁰ Průvodce po výstavce sbírek z cesty Vojtěcha Friče jr. do Brazílie (Guide to the exhibition of artefacts from Vojtěch Frič jr's trip to Brasil), Prague, 8 pp.

¹¹ See supplementary table.

American Studies expert Karl von den Steinen. It is possible to recreate his progress through letters sent to family and friends and by articles he later published. He sailed to Montevideo from Madeira and spent several weeks in Uruguay collecting cacti. This was in order to repay the cash advance the Belgian firm De Laet had given him before he set off. Frič then went on to Paraguay. Here he undertook an expedition at the request of the local government to map the course of the River Pilcomayo. This river flowed through the territories of the Toba and Pilagá Indian tribes and the neighbouring Lenguas tribe. Frič spent Christmas 1903 with the Pilagá at the Estero Patiño marsh. Several members of this Indian tribe accompanied him on his travels. From Estero Patiño he headed north-west with the aim of discovering the reason for the death of the Ibarreta traveller. He visited Lacalda and Lagadik, Pilagá Indian villages and made it to the northern branch of the Pilcomayo, home to the Sotegraik Indian tribe. However Frič did not meet any members of this tribe, he found the village abandoned so he only collected a few items left behind (ear hoops, spoons and shells used as bowls). On his return Frič stayed in Pilagá territory where he was visited by Karraim Indians who lived west of there. They brought bows and arrows to sell. In January 1904 he returned to Asunción where he studied what remained of the Indian tribe Payaguá. Members of this tribe had settled in shabby houses in Choro on the outskirts of Asunción. In March Frič travelled to Gran Chaco where he encountered the Sanapaná tribe (in the Puerto Casado area) and the Angaité (near Calera Marsal). In June he crossed the border into Brazil to meet the Kadiweu (around Santa Ana) and in August he was back in Paraguay where he befriended the Chamacoco (Fuerte Olimpo, Bahía Negra). In the Autumn he travelled to Mato Grosso in Brazil in search of the Bororo whose territory bordered on that of the Cayapó Indians.

Apart from to his parents Frič gave the most detailed account of his collecting activities in the field to the collector Josef Hloucha¹² and Josefa Náprstková. Josefa Náprstková was the widow of Vojta Náprstek, founder of the museum and she provided him with letters of introduction to Czech compatriots living in Brazil and Paraguay. During his second trip she also sent him some money for Frič was constantly battling under financial burdens. It is obvious from his letters how much he enjoyed his work and how much he valued his collections:

from his letter to Josefa Náprstková, Asunción 25. 1. 1904¹³

“My dear friend!

I have finally returned from my trip to Chaco [...] I received a negative reply from the Academy¹⁴ and only you out of all the others I wrote to deemed me worthy of a reply. I was very distressed at the prospect of having to sell my collections. [...] Such wonderful collections, around 500 artefacts from wild Indians, only known to two other hunters. They would have been lost to me and therefore to you. I opened the letter from the Academy – a negative reply and almost nothing in the rest – apart from one with 150 guldens. I needed at least 300, but it was better than nothing. [...] I went to change my clothes and walked to the post office to pick up three registered letters. And would you believe it, there was a cheque in two and a draft from Mrs Lora Kropf from the Prague Union Bank for 200 marks with a note saying they were

¹² Josef (Joe) Hloucha (1881–1957) – Czech expert on Japan, writer, traveller and collector.

¹³ Náprstek Museum’s Collection department, coll. Frič, carton 3/2.

¹⁴ He requested financial sponsorship from the Academy.

following my trip with great interest and were sending me a contribution. [...] So with Mr and Mrs Kropf's gift my collections have been saved for the Czech people and above all for the Náprstek Museum. Now I have a request for you. I am hoping to send one or two packages weighing three kilos with this letter. They contain small ethnographic items and are a gift to the Náprstek Museum from Mrs and Mrs Kropf and I would like you to thank them for it. I have just one condition, when I return I would like to borrow these items for an exhibition and also to draw or photograph them as I do not have time or photographic plates here. Therefore "Artefacts from Alberto Frič jr's trip donated by Mr and Mrs Kropf." [...] Unfortunately I do not have the means to bring back any heavy items with me, only small ones but they are beautiful things and the complete collection gives a full understanding of this nation. I used all I had with me to obtain them: necklaces, rosary beads, harmonicas, pocket knives which I bought from a Jew in Prague, even my medical scissors, trouser buttons and hunting knife. It all went. I even handed over handkerchiefs and instead used bandages to wipe my nose, shirts, underwear, slippers, absolutely everything [...] but my collections are now perfect, all a Museum could wish for. No other museum in the world will have the likes of the collection from Chaco but I would be grateful if you could dedicate one display cabinet for the collection that I could arrange and write the descriptions to go with it. I will sell some duplicate items to Mr Hloucha but on the condition that he also buys a cabinet because there is no point in keeping the items inside a box."

message to J. Náprstková, Asunción, 14. 3. 1904¹⁵

"Dear Mrs Náprstková. Please accept once more my sincere best wishes. I am writing to let you know that I am leaving tomorrow for northern Paraguay where I intend to cross into the Bolivian Chaco. My collections are already extensive with many unique items."

postcard to J. Náprstková, Puerto Casado, 6. 4. 1904¹⁶

"[...] have returned from the land of the Sanapaná Indians with approximately 300 items. Hitherto unknown artefacts include a violin, a drum from the local redskins, pipes in the shape of a human body with one leg or a crocodile head. I had to carry a large part on my own back as I only had two female Indian porters with me and male Indians do not carry anything. For this reason I do not have many duplicates."

from a letter to J. Náprstková, Angaité Indian village, 29. 4. 1904¹⁷

"I am sitting with my redskin Angaité friends [...] I am engaged in studying this little nation and I am buying various artefacts for the museum and myself, but so far I have discerned nothing or at least very little of their secret religious beliefs. In contrast my collections keep growing. I have found many new, hitherto undiscovered things such as violins, a drum, medical instruments etc."

from a letter to J. Náprstková, Calera Marsal, around 25. 5. 1904¹⁸

"I cannot give you the precise number of my collections. I estimate at least 500 items from the Tobas, Pilagá and Sotegraik Indians of central Chaco (Argentina). I also have a bit more than

¹⁵ Náprstek Museum's Collection department, coll. Frič, scrapbook No. 73, p. 33.

¹⁶ Náprstek Museum's Collection department, coll. Frič, scrapbook No. 73, p. 33.

¹⁷ Náprstek Museum's Collection department, coll. Frič, scrapbook No. 73, p. 29.

¹⁸ Náprstek Museum's Collection department, coll. Frič, scrapbook No. 73, p. 27.

200 from the Sanapaná redskins and much more from the Angaité. Certainly there are over 1000 items from the redskins alone without counting their drawings in my notebook which they drew with my [...] pencil. I also bought Chamacoco Indian feather decorations from a traveller who did not have any "piropiré" [money] [...] and so I used my large funds to buy more than 50 items. Now I will go there myself and complete the Chamacoco collection and also put together a Mbv́a Indian (Caduveos) one."¹⁹

from a letter to his mother, Curumbá, 3. 11. 1904²⁰

"I am getting ready to travel to the Bororo Indians. They have beautiful bows and arrows which will enrich and complete my collections. I am going to bring back quite a load, that is unless I meet with some disaster."

postcard to the Náprstek Museum, Cuiabá, 25. 12. 1904²¹

"I met up with a group of Bororo Indians en route from Curumbá to Cuiabá from whom I send you a sincere greeting. Through exchange I obtained 2 bows and 17 arrows, some beautiful shell earrings, 9 [unreadable] from Capybara teeth."

postcard to the Náprstek Museum, Mato Grosso, December 1904²²

"Sincere greetings and happy new 1905. As you can see I am still alive and so you can write to me. My collections have increased by 50 specimens."

from a letter to Josef Hloucha, Colonia Theresa Christina, Sao Lorenzo, Mato Grosso, 28. 12. 1904²³

"I spent this Christmas in the colony among a mixture of Brazilians and Bororo, partly in a village of these Indians on the left bank of the river. [...] I think you will be interested in what I have obtained from this fascinating tribe, the finer details of which you will find in Karl v. den Steinen's book. [...]

86 specimens of feather decorations 30–50 cm long mainly from arara and harpy eagle

11 pairs of decorations from the hooves of a huge badger, one specially decorated with arara feathers

9 headdress made from 48 enormous jaguar and jaguatirica [ocelot] claws

10 mother-of-pearl decorations which are worn in a hole in the lower lip. Beautiful mother-of-pearl work and braiding

4 sceptres decorated with feathers which the "bari" [witch doctor] uses to pierce boys' lips during christening

6 feather covered "parira" flutes used for enticing fish closer to shore

2 decorated hunting cabosas used to impersonate animal sounds

¹⁹ Meaning Mbayá – then known under the name Guaicuru. The Kadiweu tribe (written by Frič also as Caduveo or Caduveos) also originally belonged to this group of tribes. The orthography of the Kadiweu tribe varies – we found it also as Kadiwéu, Cadiguebo, Cadioeo, Caduveo, Caduvéo, Caduví, Kadiveo, Kadivéu, Kaduveo, Kaiwa, Guaicuru or Mbayá-Guaikurú. In the Frič's article in the magazine Man from 1906 this tribe is written as Kadiuéo.

²⁰ Náprstek Museum's Collection department, coll. Frič, carton 3/1.

²¹ Náprstek Museum's Collection department, coll. Frič, scrapbook No. 73, p. 53.

²² Náprstek Museum's Collection department, coll. Frič, scrapbook No. 73, p. 53.

²³ Náprstek Museum's Collection department, coll. Frič, carton 3/2.

2 arrows-harpoons for hunting crocodiles
 2 delicately worked arrows for hunting tigers [actually jaguars]
 5 knives made from ostrich, stag and doe bone, decorated with parrot feathers
 more than 20 "bá" one of which I am sending you in a letter for my mother [in a copy of the
 letter there is a note saying that he did not send it]. It is the only men's outfit. You will find
 a more detailed explanation in Steinen's book, it is a trifle indecent in a letter.
 5 bast pieces, which serve as the only item of clothing for women
 2 bodices made from tree bark
 3 woven decorations
 4 decorations from monkey teeth, one specimen being particularly decorative, consisting of over
 100 teeth
 6 decorations made of teeth, 4 incisors and 2 molars at the end, from a tiger (jaguar) and lion
 (puma)
 6 decorations from ocelot teeth
 4 pairs of tin earrings
 5 pairs of earrings made from thin wooden boards glued with feathers, beautiful work
 several fans which also serve as fruit plates
 1 example of a "pana", a musical instrument used at festivals
 1 example of an "Ika", a musical instrument used at funerals, 1m 20 cm
 2 rattles
 1 enormous "pariko" from arara feathers
 1 black and red cane, lovely work
 several children's dolls made from gourds and lots of other things, mainly finely worked
 weapons.
 So my collections are growing steadily. I already have a larger and more detailed collection from
 the Bororo-Coruado²⁴ than the Viennese Museum despite my straitened means and the disasters
 that have befallen me thus far."

continued 8. 1. 1905 "[...] the collection has grown by 150 specimens of which there are several
 which are particularly fine, in particular feather decorations, 10 headdresses made from tiger's
 claws and 5 pairs from armadillo hooves, I have more of these last two [...] Some headdresses
 have up to 35 claws, some of which are huge, nice feather decorations, feather earrings, one very
 fine and unique from capybara teeth covered with yellow and black feathers with three cones
 from arara coloured feathers."

from a letter to his parents, Colonia Theresa Christina 8. 1. 1905²⁵

"The last time I wrote to Mr Hloucha about my collections from this trip I had more than
 230 specimens. Last night I returned from a trip among the free Bororo Indians and came back
 with about 150–160 pieces which, together with what I have in the city (80), comes close to
 500 specimens."

²⁴ Meaning Coroado – one of the terms used to denote the Kaingang Indians in Brazil, sometimes this
 term was also used for the Bororo in the west – see Handbook of South American Indians vol. I,
 Washington 1946, p. 447, 419.

²⁵ Náprstek Museum's Collection department, coll. Frič, carton 3/1.

to J. Náprstková, Curumbá, 22. 2. 1905²⁶

"Today I returned from a short 3 day trip to the Chiquito Indians in Bolivia. I brought back an interesting basket, 2 straw hats, one of them unfinished, and a pan pipe made from 6 bamboo sticks."

to H. Kropf, Curumbá, 25. 2. 1905²⁷

"I am writing to inform you that I have returned alive, healthy but not very strong, from the land of the Coruado and will take the first boat to Paraguay in a couple of days. You will see the inventory of my collections (520 specimens) at the Náprstek Museum."

to his parents, Bahía Negra, 28. 2. 1905²⁸

"They are bothersome but I am so pleased that I have such wonderful collections. It is a pleasure to examine everything I have with me and even if I were to lose the rest of the items I have stored at other ports I would still have a good amount. [...] Altogether there are about 2500 specimens in 25 crates of various sizes and bundles of weapons and I feel I can be satisfied with my two years' work. I am almost certain to have about 1000 specimens for the Náprstek Museum."

It is clear from his correspondence that, during his second expedition, Frič was collecting ethnographic items with the intention of donating all of them – or at least a large part – to the Náprstek Museum. He kept Josefa Náprstková informed of his progress and the state of his collections even though it emerges from some of his letters that for a long time he did not receive any response from the Náprstek Museum (in a letter to Josef Hloucha in December 1904 he remarked sadly: *"If Vojta Náprstek were alive he would not let a whole year go by without a reply, unlike today's Náprstek Museum."*)²⁹. He may have wondered if it wasn't because of his conflict with another Czech traveller, Enrique Stanko Vráz,³⁰ who had close contact with the Náprstek Museum. However the lack of correspondence was more likely due to the confusion caused by the revolution in Argentina for his mother said to him in a letter sent from Prague and dated 9. 1. 1905: *"I met Mrs Náprstková who told me that she wrote to you yesterday and wants you to know that she has written every month and enclosed items for the Indians such as rings, dolls and magazines, so you've misjudged her and will have to apologise. It was all the fault of the revolution."*³¹ He collected for the museum despite the fact that he had certain reservations about his work (he was unhappy at the low level of erudition in this country – in May 1905 he sent a postcard from Leipzig to Josefa Náprstková where he writes: *"What I wouldn't give to be able to show you the museums and how well managed they are despite the fact that in many places they have much less than we do, and still they are ahead of us in terms of work and scientific approach."*)³² Frič also suspected that the Museum

²⁶ Náprstek Museum's Collection department, coll. Frič, carton 2/1.

²⁷ Náprstek Museum's Collection department, coll. Frič, carton 3/2.

²⁸ Náprstek Museum's Collection department, coll. Frič, carton 3/1.

²⁹ Náprstek Museum's Collection department, coll. Frič, carton 3/2.

³⁰ Enrique Stanko Vráz (1860–1932) – Czech traveller and photographer, he visited Africa, South, Central and North America, Asia and New Guinea. He donated several collections to the Náprstek museum from his travels.

³¹ Náprstek Museum's Collection department, coll. Frič, carton 1/3.

³² Náprstek Museum's Collection department, coll. Frič, scrapbook No. 73, p. 295.

valued Vráz's collections more than his own. In a letter to the Náprstek Museum in October 1904 he writes:³³ *"Here is the reason why I am actually writing to you: In my last post I received a cutting from a newspaper dated 22/5 (although not a single line from the Náprstek Museum). I enclose the cutting which brought me a sense of real disappointment and also surprise. I specifically requested that it should be made public that those specimens are a gift from the Kropf family and I am convinced that any newspaper would have printed those few words. It was a great disappointment for me as I believed that at least I could count on this small thing being done given that I am working in dangerous conditions with limited means. I am doing all this in order to bring back as full a collection as possible from these tribes which I have always intended to give to the Náprstek Museum. I was further surprised by the following lines "sent to the Museum from Gran Chaco in the South American pampas where years ago Creveaux was murdered." I cannot understand how the Náprstek Museum could let this be printed. Where else should people have knowledge of geography if not in the Museum of ethnography? Did I not expressly state that I was travelling in Central Chaco in the marshes? The pampas are more than 1000 km south from there. The Pampas Indians have long since been killed off with poison, alcohol and weapons, the only exception being a few women and their children who lived with soldiers and missionaries. Creveaux died in Pilcomayo, about 50 leagues further north on the same river that I travelled on and so he could not then have been killed in the South American pampas! Listen, how can a traveller dare entrust his collections, the result of many months of hard work, effort, danger, condemned to live with self-deprivation like a savage, eat what the redskins eat, live under the open sky through storms, spend whole months without seeing a single civilized person and have one's life constantly hanging by a thread. How is a traveller to entrust his collections to a Museum that writes "collections from South America" and instead of cataloguing them under Paraguay puts them under somewhere in the Pampas? Then along comes an expert and reads [unreadable] so he brought this back from the pampas, whereupon the expert must say: this was no traveller, he just bought this in some city and is presenting it as his own collection! He will say this is a liar because every geography school book states that the Pampas Indians were killed off a long time ago. My collections will be ranked on the same level as Vráz's collections which were bought in Manaos or some other port where the tame Indians make them for the tourists. However someone who has never studied and has no knowledge of this subject will consider the brilliantly coloured feathers and finished decorations brought by Vráz much more appealing than my dirty items with the smell of Indian sweat still on them. [...] I think that it is necessary to take greater care in the organising and cataloguing of collections, even if to uneducated people they may seem small and of no value. Upon my return you will see what other countries say about them". And in fact most of the specimens that Frič brought back from his second trip did end up abroad. Before setting off on his third trip Frič seems to have requested the Náprstek Museum to give him storage space for the collections he was currently keeping for himself but he was refused – see text on the card stored in the museum archive: "15th May requested cabinets for his own personal collection, when his wish was not granted he moved to Hodkovičky on the 18th of May 1906."³⁴ Frič set off on his travels that year and in the Autumn of 1907 Josefa Náprstková died. The museum was then in charge of the trusteeship and most of the collections Frič brought back from his last two trips (1906–1908 and 1909–1912) to visit the indigenous people of Paraguay, Argentina and Brazil, found their way to foreign museums or private collectors despite*

³³ Náprstek Museum's Collection department, coll. Frič, scrapbook No. 73.

³⁴ Náprstek Museum's Collection department, coll. Frič, scrapbook No. 73.

the fact that during his third trip (October 1907) he made a will bequeathing 10 crates of ethnographic collections, stored in various locations in Argentina to the Náprstek Museum³⁵ in the event of his death. For financial reasons at the beginning of 1920 Frič also offered the Náprstek Museum the rest of the ethnographic specimens that he had kept for himself. The museum refused – probably due to his controversial stance towards the ruling government – and so the collections made their way to New York. After World War II a couple of hundred items from Frič's estate came to the Náprstek Museum (though unfortunately most of them without precise details). Among them were archaeological artefacts from Frič's excavation on the coast of Brazil which he carried out during his third expedition to South America. So the majority of Frič's ethnographic collections are spread over museums in Petersburg, New York, Hamburg, Munich, Berlin, Leiden, Basel and Buenos Aires. There is even one item in a museum in London. In his article Professor Kandert proposes that during his second expedition Frič obtained around 2400 ethnographic specimens, from his third trip he obtained approximately 1500 artefacts from his archaeological excavations in Brazil and 1500 ethnographic ones and during his last ethnographic collecting trip he supposedly obtained around 2000 items for his collections, this makes 7400 pieces in total. However if we add up exhibits in various museums that are labelled as part of A. V. Frič's collection (Kandert 1983: 116–122) this comes to a total of 5186 specimens. If we estimate that during his second expedition, when he really began to focus on collecting ethnographic items, he amassed 2400 pieces then from the point of view of numbers alone this trip was the most "fruitful". Clearly, however, success cannot be measured purely in terms of numbers alone, it also depends on the nature of the items and how they are selected, which alters with experience. Another limiting factor is the actual quantity of artefacts made by the indigenous people, i.e. the amount of articles in actual use. Frič of course also collected so-called duplicates which he then "divided" among various museums. He also kept an eye on what they already had in their collections and so had a clear view of what they might be interested in. His approach to collecting was systematic and scientific in spirit. He devised his own type of inventory cards (small cards with photographs or a picture and a description of the item, including its provenance and function). Frič was interested in the contextual reality within which these items were used and he understood how the material culture was interlinked with the religious beliefs of those who made them. Furthermore he did not look down on the Indians as intellectually inferior but rather treated them as equals. Frič kept part of the collections for himself and even after he had to give up the idea of establishing his own museum he allowed interested visitors to view them in his own home. He only parted with them when his interest in cacti was reawakened and he lacked the funds for a trip to Mexico.

In the Náprstek Museum's inventory and acquisition registers Frič is named as the collector on a total of 830 items. 283 were donated by the collector in person (partly via Mr and Mrs Kropf) in 1903 and 1905. The rest were acquired by the museum mainly in 1946 from Mr Tomek, an antiques dealer (presented as part of A. V. Frič's estate) and then some single items in 1947, 1949, 1950, 1952, 1954, 1959 1960, 1967, 1969, 1986 and 1998 (again from Mr Tomek and also from Frič's relatives and acquaintances). Almost 300 ethnographic items³⁶ donated by the collector himself and for the most part with

³⁵ Náprstek Museum's Collection department, coll. Frič, carton 12/29.

³⁶ See supplementary table.

their origin meticulously recorded come from the Brazilian Shavante (7 pieces), Cayapó (2 pieces), Peruhibe (1 piece), Bororo (44 pieces) and Kadiweu (9 pieces) tribes. There are also items from the Paraguay Angaité (48 pieces), Sanapaná (33 pieces), Payaguá (2 pieces), Lengua (2 pieces) and Chamacoco (26 pieces) tribes. From Paraguay and Argentina there are items from the Pilagá (63 pieces) and Toba (32 pieces). One of the items is labelled as being from the Guató³⁷ tribe on the Brazilian-Bolivian border and 4 items from Gran Chaco region have no precise origin.

The tribes Frič met with in the Paraguayan and Argentinian Gran Chaco had been mainly semi-nomadic hunters and gatherers but their culture quickly succumbed to the destructive influences of colonialism and the infiltration of elements from western culture. The indigenous population were forced to adapt to new living conditions. With the reduction both in size of hunting area as well as the number of animals available for hunting came new opportunities for the Indians to earn a living – working for the colonists. There were also new and tempting goods available to them for sale. Last but not least the missionaries voiced their support for this change in living (and clothing) style in an attempt to turn the indigenous population into settled farmers. It is interesting to note that even then there existed a form of “Indian tourism” – according to an extract from Frič’s lecture in Hamburg: *“Any Paraguayan views a trip into central Chaco as madness or stupidity. As soon as anyone mentions such an excursion he is inundated with tales of murder and pillage. They are perfectly satisfied with a trip to those poor Toba michi³⁸ in the brickworks (the brickworks opposite Asuncion where the Indians worked) to assuage their curiosity. This can be done easily in a day trip. Anyone wishing to undertake such an excursion hires a guide, a cheery Italian trader and deer hunter called Alesio Molieri. For 1 pound he takes tourists to the brickworks bringing with him bows, arrows and feather decorations. These are more or less genuine articles (he has a widespread production of these items) and the tourists can use them to obtain photographs alongside members of all manner of both possible and impossible tribes upon payment of 3 pesos. The Indians remove the token scraps in which they are “dressed” and instantly turn into the wildest of savages. Both parties are satisfied: the Indians get to buy alcohol, Mr Molieri has his pound and the tourists leave with full notebooks and many photos. They use these later to corroborate their tales which they embroider with accounts of their sad experiences in the wild Chaco and upon their return to Europe they not only repeat them but also put them in print.”*³⁹ Despite Frič’s scepticism and his belief that the culture of the original inhabitants of South America that he’d met was condemned to extinction this has not yet completely come to pass. Most of the tribes he visited still have descendants to this day – however their material culture and worldly knowledge has undergone marked changes. The results of Frič’s collecting activities provide a unique source for a comparative study.

³⁷ Frič believed that the Payaguá and Guató were originally one tribe which separated after a war with their neighbours, the Mbayá and settled opposite each other in the river basin (Frič 1977: 127).

³⁸ Toba-michi – according to A. V. Frič this is a term to denote the “civilized” Toba tribe: *“Opposite Asunción we meet the so called Toba-michi Indians (Little Toba). They are Toba of diverse origins who were expelled by the other members of their tribe, they live among the Paraguayans, have incorporated some Spanish words into their vocabulary and are “cristianos” [Christians]. They have completely changed their customs, are totally exploited, dirty and dress in rags of European origin.”* (Frič 1918: 64) Central Toba later calls Toba-guazú.

³⁹ The Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic (v.v.i.) – Centre of Scientific Information (SVI) – Documentary fund, Ms 445b, p. 499.

Photos:

The items chosen as illustrations for the article from the full range of the collection are primarily those which include a personal comment from Frič's notes.

1. Arrow for hunting birds, reed shaft and wooden tip. Shavante tribe, Brazil, length: 140.5 cm, inv. no. 45 923.

"From my first trip I brought back an arrow with a ball for hunting birds. Vráz declared this was a fake, his reason being that he did not recognise it and had never seen one before".⁴⁰ "Then I bought [in the Angaité Indian village] about 6 arrows with a little ball on the end for the sole purpose of disproving Vráz's prattle that I had either faked those I'd brought back from Brazil or that one of the redskins had modified it for his own use."⁴¹

2. A deerskin decorated on the cured side with a painted brown geometrical shape. Toba tribe, Paraguay/Argentina, 91 x 76 cm, inv. no. 13 325.

3. A shirt woven from string made from twisted yellowish brown plant fibres, partially dyed with natural dye (brownish red and black). Pilagá tribe, Paraguay/Argentina, length: 75 cm, width: 56 cm, inv. no. 45 897.

*"The men bring women back presents from the hunt [...] an Indian woman is happy with a well cured deerskin. This she then decorates according to her own fashion and it becomes a complete outfit. That is why when the men set for a hunting trip the women try and supply them with everything they might need. They gather leaves from the wild pineapple tree (*Bromelia caraguata*) in the forest. These are then soaked, all the thorns removed and the fibres are twisted together into string which they then use to weave "Ljagoviks", hunting sacks, nets for fruit and even shirts, often painted and decorated." (from Frič's lectures on the Toba and Pilagá)⁴²*

"The inland Indians are much better dressed. They wear shirts made from woven caraguatá fibre or wool which protects them from thorns." (Frič 1918: 64–65)

4. Small string bag made from twisted yellowish brown plant fibres, partially dyed with natural dye (reddish brown and greyish black), decorated with a woven geometric pattern. Pilagá tribe, Paraguay/Argentina, 24 x 19.3 cm, inv. no. 13 301.

5. Woman's bracelet made from deerskin. Pilagá tribe, Paraguay/Argentina, length: 19.5 cm, inv. no. 66 394.

"Among the Pilagá [...] where the woman always chooses her husband [...] she draws a pattern with coal on a certain tree, the chosen man presents himself at this tree and the next day both return home as man and wife [...] the woman then uses an axe to cut the drawn shape into the tree. This embellishment can also be found on knitted hunting bags which the young Indian husband receives as a wedding gift from his wife. It is also painted on all the leather pieces worn

⁴⁰ From letter to the Náprstek Museum 10. 10. 1904, Náprstek Museum's Collection department, coll. Frič, scrapbook No. 73.

⁴¹ Extract from his travel diary – see The Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic (v.v.i.) – Centre of Scientific Information (SVI) – Documentary fund, Ms 445b, p. 296.

⁴² The Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic (v.v.i.) – Centre of Scientific Information (SVI) – Documentary fund, Ms 445b, p. 58.

by married women." (Frič 1918: 51–52) "Of course these Indian courtships do not always run smoothly. Should there be several women interested in a particular young man and he cannot make up his mind... this leads to fights [...] Among the Pilagá fist fights are popular [...] Many ladies arm themselves with bracelets made from deerskin, sometimes even including the hooves which they use as knuckelduster. Under the bracelets they often attach piranha jaws with razor sharp teeth [...]" (Frič 1977: 16) "Even though the women resolve many other issues with this method, the main reason for these fights is jealousy. When the Indians bring down a deer during a hunt they bring their wives or relatives bracelets with hooves to prove they were thinking of them on the way. Very jealous women are often armed with ten or more bracelets." (Frič 1918: 59)

6. Wooden ear plugs. Pilagá tribe, Paraguay/Argentina, diameter: 4.5 cm, width: 3 cm, inv. no. 13 257 and 13 258.

"Apparently Pilagá men and women recognise each other instantly [...] their custom of making a large hole in their ear lobes which they make bigger using an elastic twisted ring made from palm leaves and into which they insert, on ceremonial occasions plugs made from light wood up to 18 cm in circumference. If the hole is so large that the palm leaves cannot increase the size they then use the weight of heavy and wide plugs made from Curupay wood [*Anadenanthera colubrina*] or palo santo [*Bulnesia sarmientoi*] to further increase the size. When the Pilagá are hunting or on the move they tie their ear lobes up in a knot so that they do not hang down and get in the way. However only old men, and women who are no longer vain, do this. They do not even wear plugs in the village." (Frič 1918: 67)

7. Cactus needles for tattooing. Pilagá/Toba tribe, Paraguay/Argentina, length: 4.8–6.2 cm, inv. no. 13 362.

"On the opposite bank of the river I discovered a plant hitherto unknown to me, *lagadik-leé* [...] It is a certain type of cactus covered with thick needles from the *Cereus Corine* family. They are much valued by the Toba tribe who use the needles for tattooing. They buy them from the Pilagá and even I exchanged ethnographic objects for them [...] The Toba women beautify themselves with tattoos made by using the *Lagadik-leé* needles and the juice from the *Ginipapo* fruit (*Genipa americana*) which creates blue images. The tattoos usually consist of a double cross with round horns on the forehead, a double straight line right to the tip of the nose and a web on the cheeks." (Frič 1918: 53, 67)

8. Pouch made of ostrich skin decorated with small mother-of-pearl discs and brown and red wool tassels, with wooden and bone playing dice. Pilagá tribe, Paraguay/Argentina, pouch dimensions: 25.6 cm x 17.4 cm, dice dimensions: max 1.1 x 0.8 x 0.8 cm, inv. no. 13 367 a–e.

"They whiled away the time in the heat of the afternoon by playing a game of chance with bone dice carved with various symbols which they threw on the ground with their right hands. Before the dice fell to the ground they would smack their left hands for luck."⁴³

⁴³ The Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic (v.v.i.) – Centre of Scientific Information (SVI) – Documentary fund, Ms 445b, p. 19.

9. Wooden fire starting tools. Toba tribe, Paraguay/Argentina, length: max. 21.1 cm, inv. no. 13 343 a–d.

"Since there are no stones in the Chaco the Toba and Pilagá still use the method of rubbing wooden sticks to start a fire, even though they get metal from the white men. On the other hand the Lengua tribe, whose territory stretches beyond the Cordillera, have a sharpening steel." (Frič 1918: 67)

*"Everything the natives use has a connection with a religious belief. The fire starter [...] which I have shown is called marriage. The upper layer of wood is called a man (male), the lower, woman (female). Men often have names such as sky while women are often called earth. The husband sleeps above the earth which gives birth to the child, the sun and this separates them from each other [...]"*⁴⁴

10. A woollen band – headband – red with glass beads (yellow, white, red and blue) and small discs of polished shell. Toba tribe, Paraguay/Argentina, length: 26 cm width: 3.5 cm, inv. no. 13 317.

11. A red woollen hair band, with sewn on shell discs. Pilagá tribe, Paraguay/Argentina, length: 75 cm, width: 4 cm, inv. no. 13 366.

12. Band worked in red wool and dark brown cotton, with sewn on white mother-of-pearl buttons on the right side. Toba tribe, length: 66 cm, width: 4.5 cm, inv. no. 13 292.

"Snail shells are polished into a round shape and pierced to make buttons which serve as jewellery. Women wear them strung together like necklaces while the men sew them onto bands dyed red with cochineal [Cochineal, red dye obtained from the dry female bodies of the insect Dactylopius coccus]." (Frič 1918: 66)

"I never saw them use feathers as decorations apart from ostrich and "tidiudin" feathers in their hair. These Indians [Toba and Pilagá] are more dressed than decorated [...] However they use anything they can get from us to create their own decorations. So they will take a tin can to decorate their leather bracelets and ear plugs. Instead of shell discs they use our porcelain buttons. Glass beads are used throughout central Chaco for payment instead of money. Men use them to decorate their plaits, the women use them for their necks and chest. There are two types of bead: The finer ones are used by the sugar refineries in Jujui and Salta while the rougher beads, bought in Asunción and Formosa are used by hunters in exchange for mink fur and deerskin, wax and heron feathers. These two types are available for exchange from one end of the Chaco to the other and can be found everywhere." (Frič 1918: 66)

13. "Pariko", ceremonial headdress from Ara and Amazonian parrot feathers, fixed to a string and inserted between two wooden splinters. Bororo tribe, Brazil, height: 69 cm, width: 76 cm, inv. no. 13 371.

14. Chest decoration made from armadillo claws, decorated with small mother-of-pearl discs and red feathers. Bororo tribe, Brazil, width: 21.5 cm, inv. no. 45 798.

15. Headdress made from jaguar claws attached to a wooden hoop. Bororo tribe, Brazil, length: 46 cm, inv. no. 13 372.

⁴⁴ From private correspondence, Náprstek Museum's Collection department, coll. Frič, carton 3/2.

16. Chest decoration made from wood and animal teeth. Bororo tribe, Brazil, length: 29 cm, height: 2.6 cm, inv. no. 13 201.

17. Labret made from small mother-of-pearl discs and one made of bone. Bororo tribe, Brazil, length: 15 cm, inv. no. 13 215.

18. Penis pouch made from a palm leaf. Bororo tribe, Brazil, length: 12.1 cm, inv. no. 13 226. With a handwritten annotation from Frič, "*Ba – the only male item of clothing from the Coroado. To be delivered to the Náprstek's – Frič.*"

*"They brought me a large parikó, which is a diadem made with ara feathers to decorate the head and then a whole witch's outfit so that I might be decently "dressed" in order to take part at the next celebrations (the maridó and manó celebrations). Apart from the diadem the medicine man's outfit included two pairs of claws, one hanging over the other. These claws came from an extremely rare and almost extinct species of armadillo – *Dasyphus gigas*. Another component of the outfit was a pair of rattles made from a pumpkin and several bracelets from brightly coloured feathers. Later I was also given a headman's crown from jaguar claws and a necklace made of the incisors from the same beast. There was a prolonged debate on how to attach a tembetá [labret]. They brought me several to choose from, each more beautiful than the other. There were ones made of horn rings, others were mother-of-pearl chains, there were even some with feather decorations but as my lip was not pierced there was no way to pull the adornment through so all they could do was to glue the tembetá on with warm resin mixed with wax [...] I was a little concerned by the "clothing" called Ba (penis pouch) made from a palm leaf which is the only thing the Bororo consider clothing (everything else is decoration) [...] My entire festive outfit is in the Náprstek museum in Prague."* (Frič 1977: 119)

19. Bone dagger decorated with yellow and red toucan and parrot feathers. Bororo tribe, Brazil, length: 25 cm, inv. no. 13 200.

"A dagger made of the sharpened femur of the ostrich with feather decorations. Profesor Steinen believed it to be an ornament, but in reality it is used as a secret weapon by those who have no knives. It is concealed in the hair, very skilfully among the feathers and a special ornament of foxtail with small black and white feathers." (Frič – Radin 1906: 400)

20. Corset from bark. Bororo tribe, Brazil, diameter: 28 cm, height: 16.7 cm, inv. no. 13 192.

*"An older cousin is getting ready for her wedding [...] and is preparing her trousseau. However she does not spin flax or weave cloth – why should she when she feels so comfortable and free au naturel. But she wheedles her daddy and pleads with her uncles to go hunting by the S. Laurenco stream of the Rio Araguaya where there is a particularly good jatoba tree trunk [jatobá, *Hymenaea courbaril*] and bring her back a new "corset". Just as our young ladies want a very narrow one, the Bororo want a very high one."*⁴⁵

21. Dolls made from palm leaves with a belt made of bark imitating a corset. Bororo tribe, 9.4 x 3.7 cm and 7.2 x 3.3 cm, inv. no. 13 193 and 13 196.

"The dolls are made from folded palm leaves with detailed differentiation of the sexes: for example the female dolls have a corset made of Jatoba bark and aprons made of Jatoba bast. One

⁴⁵ From the letter to J. Náprstková 22. 2. 1905, Náprstek Museum's Collection department, coll. Frič, carton 2/1.

even has an imitation monkey tooth breast ornament made from small bits of wood and cotton. They often have a belt of black cloth signifying menstruation. Male dolls are characterised by not being clothed at all, no attempt is even made to imitate a ba or penis pouch. One of the dolls is covered in downy feathers to signify it has just been born, normally feathers are used to imitate hair. The figures vary in size between 6 cm and 12 cm in length and 2.5 to 5 cm in width. Very often several dolls are tied together and hung on a wall in the house. But dolls are not made just from palm leaves. Often they make them out of gourds covered in feathers." (Frič – Radin 1906: 399–400)

22. Dolls made from bone wrapped in cotton rags and bound with woollen threads. Pilagá tribe, Paraguay / Argentina, length: 3.8, 4.6 and 15.6 cm, inv. no. 13 358, 13 359 and 27 361.

"Girls have a little more time for playing [...] and it is mainly with dolls. Even as a child the maternal instinct beats in the heart of every woman. Thus a child of the Pilaga dresses and undresses, washes and feeds her simply dressed doll made of ostrich bone, just as the Kadiweu with her nicely carved doll, the Bororo with her straw doll, the black child with a dressed corn cob and our own child with her elegant Parisian doll."⁴⁶

23. Wooden figure, Kadiweu tribe, Brazil, height: 14.5 cm inv. no. 13 330.

"Boggiani⁴⁷ committed a sin when he used the term idols in his book "I Caduvei" simply to make his collections more significant. It is a simple thing to do and I myself did the same until I learned to think. Undoubtedly you also obtained similar "idols" from the timbú tree [timbó, *Enterolobium contortisiliquum*], which are made in Asunción. These items are nothing more than puppets, dolls, which the Indian children use in their games. They take great care of them even when they grow up and once they die these dolls are used to decorate their grave posts along with the rest of their belongings. For a long time I too believed Boggiani's conclusions but on my last trip just before I returned to Buenos Aires I interviewed several Indians in Forte Olimpo. These Indians had been slaves of the Kadiuéo and they assured me that these objects were not "Kadiuéo saints" but simply dolls. At that moment I remembered that I had seen children playing with these "idols" on the floor in the corner of a toldo [term for a native dwelling]. In my view this is not how "idols", objects of worship in a religious sect, are treated. [...] That is why I am suspicious of all accounts where various learned experts refer to a human or animal figure as an idol. Another such favourite term is "amulet". In many cases it is simply a child's toy, and the fact that it is beautifully worked reflects the Indians' love of their children. The fact that these dolls can sometimes serve the purpose of being reminders of the dead person and that they are placed on the grave post or carried by relatives is something I mentioned in an article that was printed in the magazine *Man* in 1906 no. 45 (Notes on the grave posts of the Kadiuéo). However even in this instance they are simply reminders of the deceased and these bits of wood are never treated with the same religious reverence as for example in the Catholic church or other religions."⁴⁸

⁴⁶ From the letter to J. Náprstková 22. 2. 1905, Náprstek Museum's Collection department, coll. Frič, carton 2/1.

⁴⁷ Guido Boggiani (1861–1901?) – Italian painter, photographer, traveller and collector, he was interested in the life of the Kadiweu and Chamacoco Indians who were presumably responsible for his death.

⁴⁸ From the letter to Dr. Lahittov in 1905 – see The Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic (v.v.i.) – Centre of Scientific Information (SVI) – Documentary fund, Ms 445b, p. 435.

24. Wooden grave post covered by red cloth and decorated with sewn on blue and white glass beads. Kadiweu tribe, Brazil, length: 156.5 cm, width: 5.1 cm inv. no. 22 760.

*„The so called grave-posts of the Kadiuéo are not in use to-day. Boggiani was the last to see them in the village itself, at Nalike, where they were employed as dress-hangers. The twelve pieces in my possession were obtained, under great difficulties, from an old cemetery. They are no longer to be found in the villages, as the owners have all died and the posts been turned into grave-posts in the adjacent cemeteries [...] The cemetery itself resembles an ordinary Kadiuéo village and contains a long house constructed of palm wood [...] Along the entire length of the house are arranged the beds of its former possessors, covered with painted ox skin. Under the beds is to be found the earthenware of the deceased. On the right-hand side of these beds a fairly deep stitch is dug, into which are thrown the bones of the dead person, placed either in a basket or, according to the old custom, in a sack. The body is then covered with earth and the posts, hung with their owners' former belongings, such as poncho, hat, weapons, etc., and with a figure carved out of light ombú wood [*Phytolacca dioica*] on the top, are firmly fixed above it. [...] When an Indian dies the <clothes-hanger> is transformed into a grave-post.“*

„Of the twelve grave-posts collected by me I have presented four to Berlin Museum, two are in Náprstek Museum, Prague, and six are in my own possession. Their carving, shape, and size vary considerably.“⁴⁹

25. Wooden club. Chamacoco tribe, Paraguay, length: 302 cm, inv. no. 22 761 (bought from Frič's estate).

“It falls to the women to provide all vegetable food stuffs, the men provide the meat, honey and larger fish and very occasionally some fruit. The woman must therefore be able to split open the crown of a palm tree and dig out the edible pulp. For this they use a machete (according to the shape we could call it more accurately an oar) from hard wood. This tool is also an invaluable weapon. The older the Chamacoco woman the more skilled she is in its use. Once an old woman even managed to club to death a jaguar with her machete, another time the women killed a deer [...] An older woman who has no one to look after her and no one who could bring down a large palm tree with an axe will provide herself with a machete up to three metres long and it will not take her long to master it. It is an unwritten rule that it is with this machete that a young Chamacoco woman desirous of getting married must beat an older woman to gain the right to marry a young man.“ (Frič 1977: 19) “Among the Chamacoco a young man is introduced to love making by an older widow. They become engaged but this is not formally recognized as it is considered unnatural. As an inexperienced hunter he hunts birds and catches fish for her while she, being able to provide a larger variety of food, cooks for him [...] Later when the young man makes his mark during battle or kills a larger animal he will return to the village and sing of his victory and everyone congratulates him. This is then proof that he is able to provide for a family. A young woman shows an interest in him [...] as if by chance they meet by the river where he goes to fish [...] They continue to meet in secret [...] and so the young girl is left with no alternative but to lie in wait somewhere for the older woman and challenge her to a duel [...]”⁵⁰

26. Small vessel made from a gourd and engraved with motifs (symbol for a fish dance for a successful fishing trip, goose, ostrich spirit, map etc.). Angaité tribe, Paraguay height: 12 cm, inv. no. 45 060 (bought from Frič's estate).

⁴⁹ From an article in *Man* magazine, issue VI, pp. 71–72, London 1906.

⁵⁰ The Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic (v.v.i.) – Centre of Scientific Information (SVI) – Documentary fund, Ms 445b, p. 196.

27. Gourd with an engraved motif of a steamship. Angaité tribe, height: 11.5 cm, diameter: 12.5 cm inv. no. 66 393 (bought from Frič's estate).

*"Even as early as my first trip to the Angaité Indians I observed various gourds which were irregularly covered in various engravings. It was only later that I discovered what their purpose was [...] such a gourd is a form of picture book or rather a pictorial history archive of the Angaité Indians [...] Each individual has his own gourd on which he records all sorts of things even dreams and such like. He also "writes" letters to his friends in distant villages."*⁵¹

*"In the last village I found several gourds on which the natives that had accompanied me on my first trip as far as the shores of Paraguay had drawn a steamship with a funnel and an anchor as a reminder. Other gourds were covered with religious images for which I was only given a partial explanation. The biggest role is played by the Ikhamha, evil spirits, human souls. When an Indian dreams something about a dead relative or when he hears something which he cannot explain then he draws an Ikhamha on his gourd for protection against the unknown. These images of the Ikhamha take many forms, usually with two heads or with several legs and a pair of eyes and ears for each side of the face. In most cases the native depicts the evil spirit in the form of a European. [...]"*⁵²

*"Many of the images are then used to create ornaments which are then used to decorate their fabrics, or they become personal signs and symbols. [...]"*⁵³

"Later inland I found gourd-sketches which depicted the sketcher's journey inland in my entourage among white people. The steamships made a great impression on him and he dedicated a whole gourd to this subject. Interestingly the underwater helm and wheels which he could not see and so could only deduce as well as the flag waving in the wind were depicted in faint, barely visible strokes." (Frič 1977: 97)

28. Wooden pipe bowl in the shape of a kneeling female figure. Kadiweu tribe, Brazil, height: 7.6 cm, width: 4 cm, inv. no. 22 678 (bought from Frič's estate).

"In contrast I have quite a good collection of nicely carved pipes [...] I hope that next month I get to meet the Mbwa [meaning Mbayá], the originators of this craft – they work the pipes in the shape of the whole body, the bowl is in the form of a beautifully carved head (it must be made clear that the beauty is in the eye of the collector as almost always this head takes the form of a "bombero", an evil spirit with huge eyes who steals women and children)." ⁵⁴

29. Wooden ocarina with a cross relief motif, decorated with glass beads (white, light green and light blue). Sanapaná tribe, Paraguay, dimensions 8.3 x 7 cm, length of bead decoration: 34 cm, inv. no. 45 734 (bought from Frič's estate).

"A chieftain's ocarina from the Machikuí family of the Sanapaná tribe decorated with the four

⁵¹ The Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic (v.v.i.) – Centre of Scientific Information (SVI) – Documentary fund, Ms 445b, p. 285.

⁵² The Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic (v.v.i.) – Centre of Scientific Information (SVI) – Documentary fund, Ms 445b, p. 271.

⁵³ The Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic (v.v.i.) – Centre of Scientific Information (SVI) – Documentary fund, Ms 445b, p. 285.

⁵⁴ From the letter to J. Náprstková 22. 2. 1904, Náprstek Museum's Collection department, coll. Frič, scrapbook No. 73, p. 29.

angled sign of the earth and the symbol for the sun and a cross: symbol of power over the world = Chieftain."⁵⁵

30. Comb made of horn. Sanapaná tribe, Paraguay, length: 12.1 cm, height: 6.9 cm, inv. no. 56 631 (bought from Frič's estate).

"And what does this mighty chieftain look like? A beautifully shaped body with a blanket wound around it, held tight with a belt, the chest and back covered with a piece of cloth cut in the middle and the ends tied. That is the entire outfit for a mighty chieftain. Hair as black as a raven's wing falls as far as his shoulders, held back with a large comb made from horn decorated underneath with small white feathers with black tips. Hundreds of small feathers bound together, woven into a rough cloth made from caraguata plants. [...] But when I bought his comb along with the feather decoration and put it into my own hair, he in turn donned my tropical helmet and it made him look truly hideous."⁵⁶

This article was written with the support of the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic (National Museum research plan: Personalities of Czech Science and Culture, MK 00002327202)

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Photographs by Jiří Vaněk

Sources:

Archive material from the Náprstek Museum's Collection department – coll. Frič, carton 1–13, Scrapbook no. 73 – formerly part of Archive of the Náprstek Museum Library.

Archive material from The Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic (v.v.i.) – Centre of Scientific Information (SVI) – Documentary fund, Ms 445a, b.

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DEYL Václav. *Lovec života* (Hunter of life), Prague 1954.

⁵⁵ Note on the back of a photograph of an object, Náprstek Museum's Collection department, coll. Frič, carton 9/6.

⁵⁶ The Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic (v.v.i.) – Centre of Scientific Information (SVI) – Documentary fund, Ms 445b, p. 270.



Fig. 1: Inv. no. 45 923.



Fig. 2: Inv. no. 13 325.



Fig. 3: Inv. no. 45 897.



Fig. 4: Inv. no. 13 301.

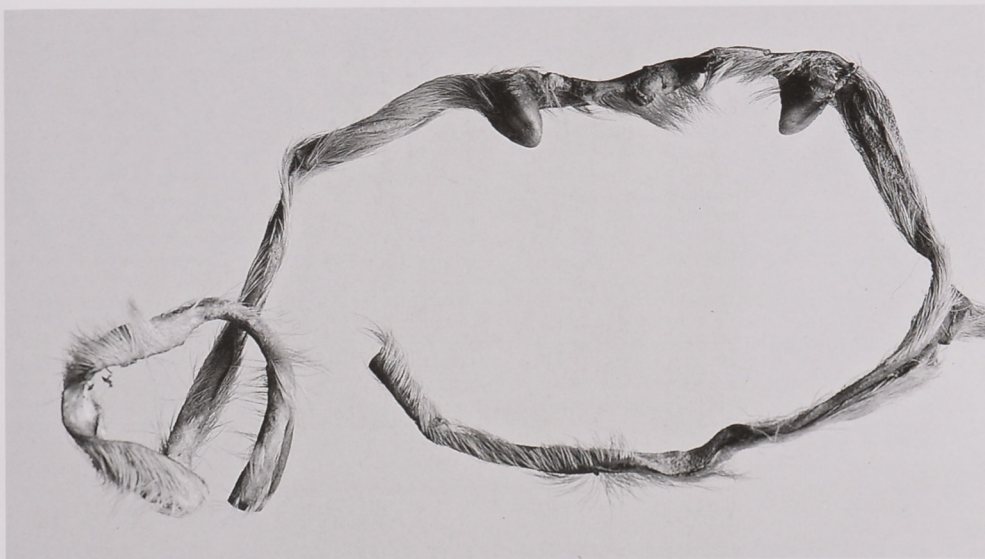


Fig. 5: Inv. no. 66 394.

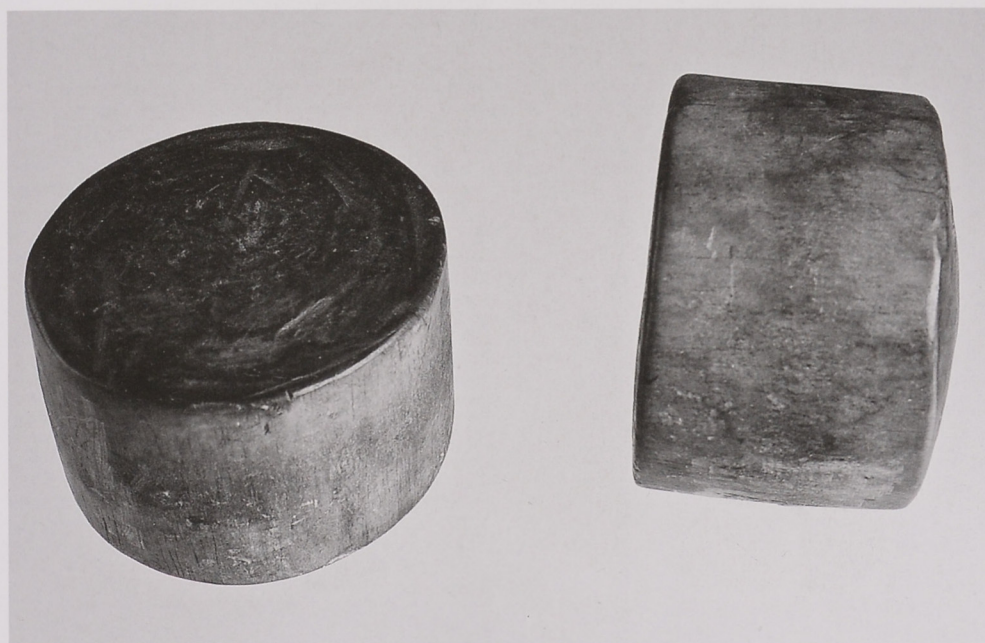


Fig. 6: Inv. no. 13 257 and 13 258.

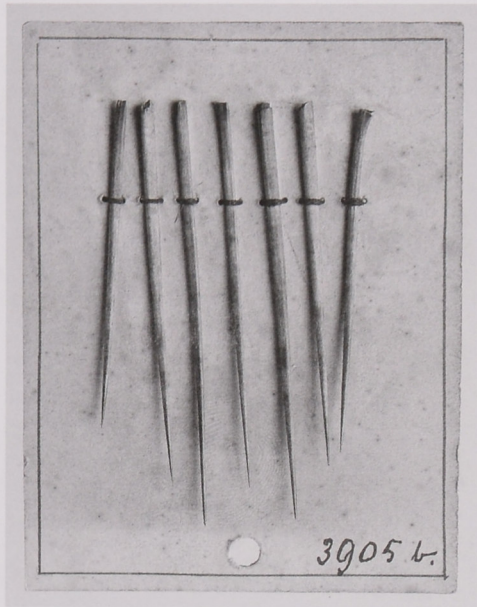


Fig. 7: Inv. no. 13 362.



Fig. 8: Inv. no. 13 367 a-e.

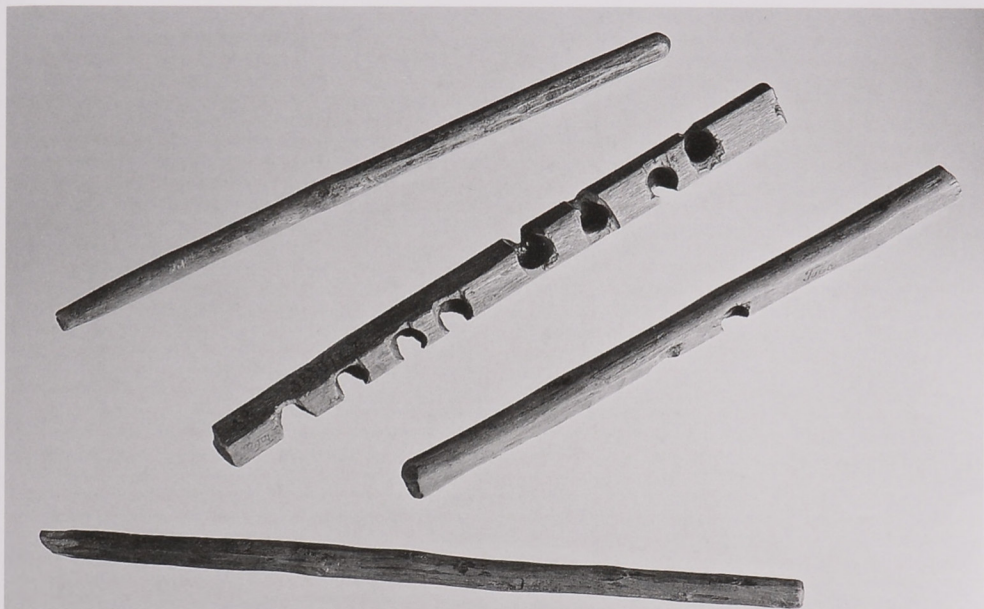


Fig. 9: Inv. no. 13 343 a-d.



Fig. 10: Inv. no. 13 317.



Fig. 11: Inv. no. 13 366.

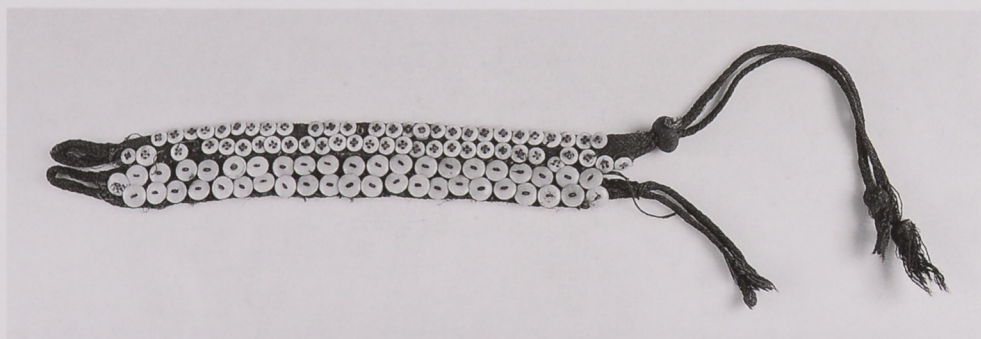


Fig. 12: Inv. no. 13 292.

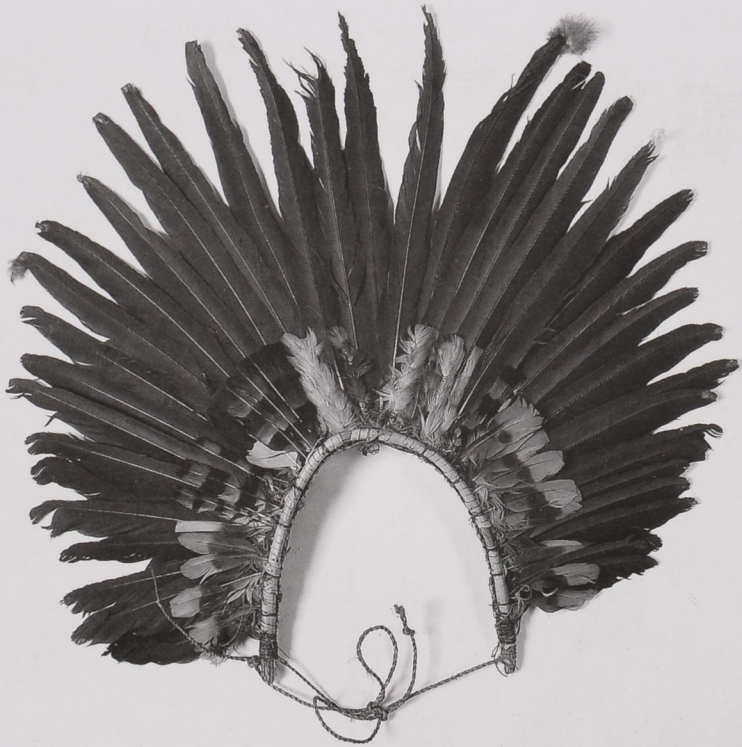


Fig. 13: Inv. no. 13 371.

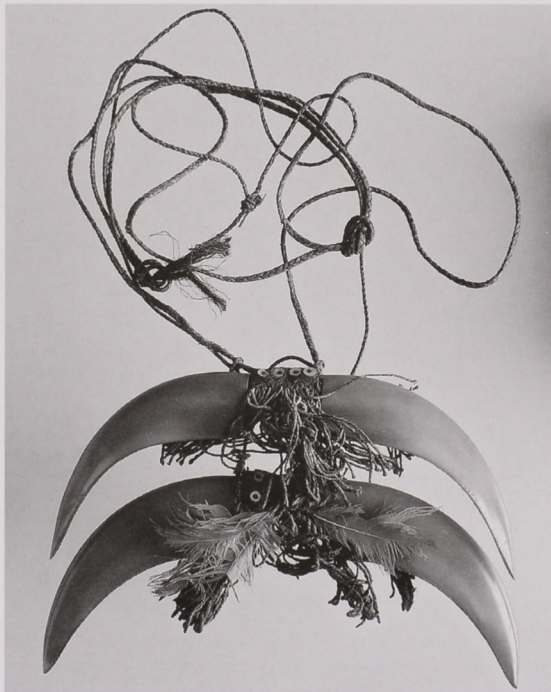


Fig. 14: Inv. no. 45 798.



Fig. 15: Inv. no. 13 372.

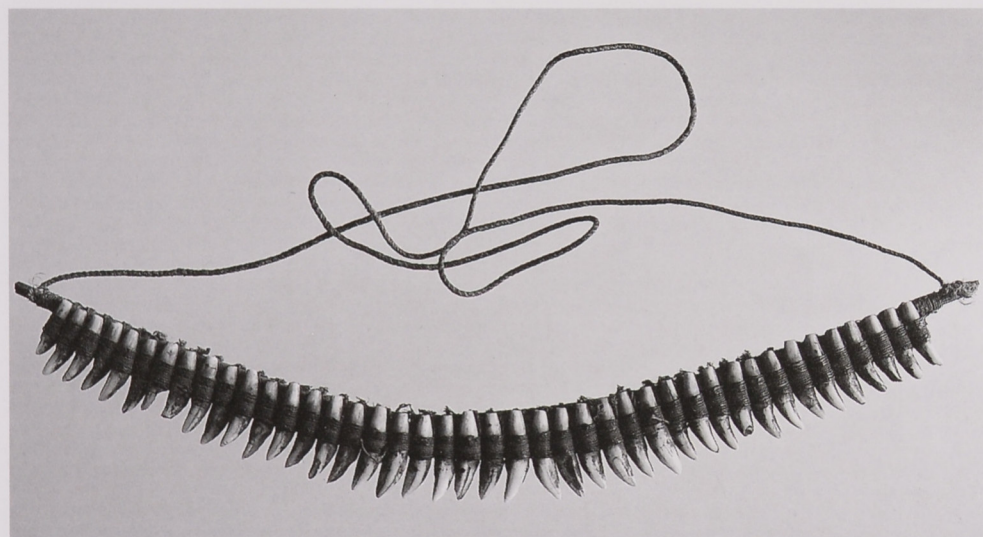


Fig. 16: Inv. no. 13 201.



Fig. 20: Inv. no. 13 192.

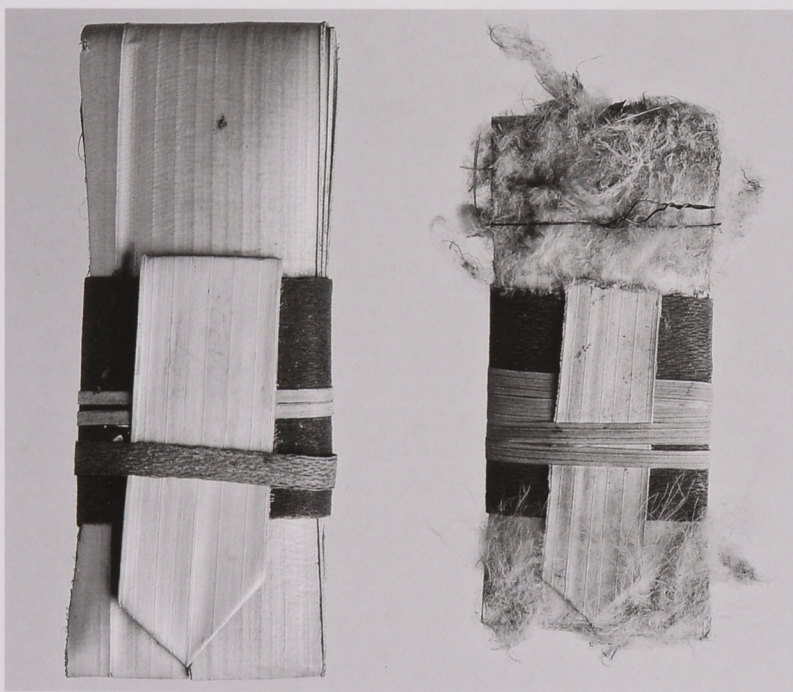


Fig. 21: Inv. no. 13 193 and 13 196.

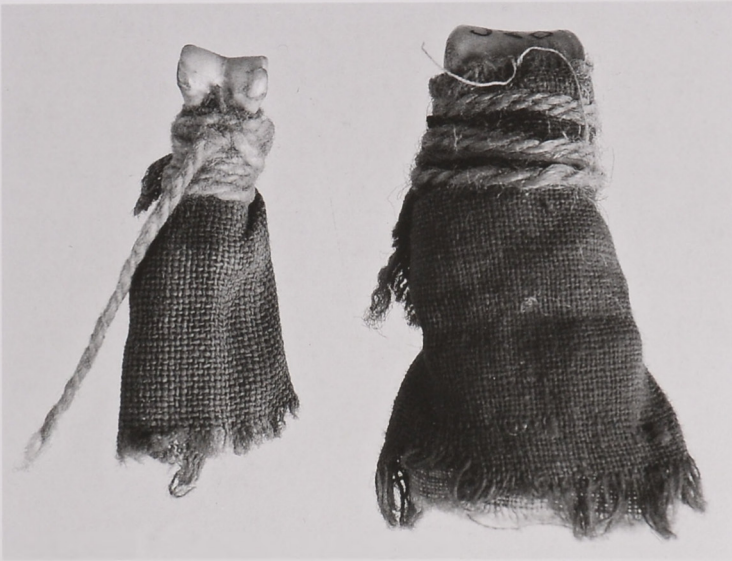


Fig. 22: Inv. no. 13 358, 13 359 and 27 361.



Fig. 23: Inv. no. 13 330.



Fig. 24: Inv. no. 22 760.



Fig. 25: Inv. no. 22 761.



Fig. 26: Inv. no. 45 060.



Fig. 27: Inv. no. 66 393.



Fig. 28: Inv. no. 22 678.



Fig. 29: Inv. no. 45 734.

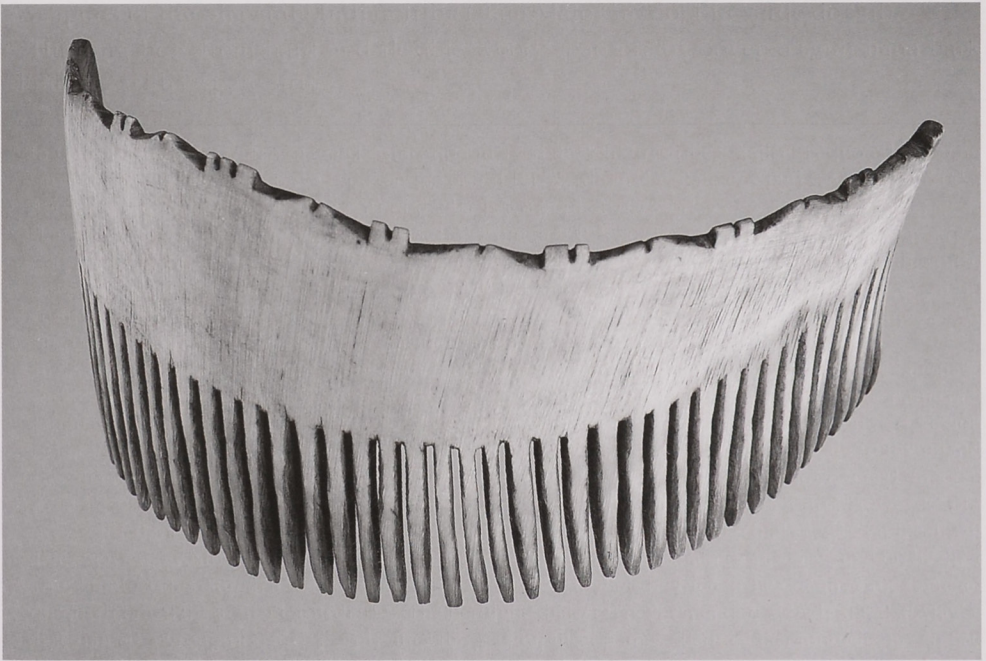


Fig. 30: Inv. no. 56 631.

Supplementary table

13 148		bow	wood	l = 149.7 cm	Sanapaná	Paraguay	1905
13 149		bow	wood	l = 141.5 cm	Sanapaná	Paraguay	1905
13 150		bow	reed, wood, iron	l = 202 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 151		bow	reed, wood, bone	l = 159.5 cm	Guató	Bolivia/Brazil	1905
13 152		bow	reed, wood, bone	l = 141.5 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 153		bow	reed, wood, bone	l = 154 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 154		bow	reed, wood	l = 151 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 155		bow	reed, wood	l = 141.5 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 156		bow	reed, wood	l = 149 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 157		bow	wood, bamboo	l = 149 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 158		bow	wood, bamboo	l = 144.8 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 159		bow	wood, bamboo	l = 156 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 160	vessel-gourd		gourd	l = 45 cm	Payagua	Paraguay	1905
13 161	vessel		clay	h = 14.4 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 162	arrow tip		wood	l = 42.5 cm	Sanapaná	Paraguay	1905
13 163	arrow tip		wood	l = 42.1 cm	Sanapaná	Paraguay	1905
13 164	arrow tip		wood	l = 40.6 cm	Sanapaná	Paraguay	1905
13 165	arrow tip		wood	l = 40.5 cm	Sanapaná	Paraguay	1905
13 166	arrow tip		wood	l = 55.2 cm	Sanapaná	Paraguay	1905
13 167	arrow tip		wood	l = 40.8 cm	Sanapaná	Paraguay	1905
13 168	arrow tip		wood	l = 40.6 cm	Sanapaná	Paraguay	1905
13 169	hair pin		wood, feather	l = 51.8 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 170	hair pin		wood, feather	l = 41 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 171	hair pin		wood, feather	l = 37.3 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 172	hair pin		wood, feather	l = 32.7 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 173	hair pin		wood, feather	l = 35.5 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 174	hair pin		wood, feather	l = 51.8 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 175	hair pin		wood, feather	l = 40.7 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 176	hair pin		wood, feather	l = 35.2 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 177	hair pin		wood, feather	l = 32 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 178	hair pin		wood, feather	l = 32 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 179	hair pin		wood, feather	l = 55.7 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905

13 180		hair pin	wood, feather	l = 27.5 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 181		arrow - shaft only	reed	l = 54 cm	Lengua	Paraguay	1905
13 182		arrow	reed, wood	l = 83 cm	Sanapaná	Paraguay	1905
13 183		arrow	reed, wood	l = 85 cm	Sanapaná	Paraguay	1905
13 184		arrow	reed, wood	l = 91 cm	Sanapaná	Paraguay	1905
13 185		arrow	reed, wood	l = 93.2 cm	Sanapaná	Paraguay	1905
13 186		arrow	reed, wood	l = 89.5 cm	Sanapaná	Paraguay	1905
13 187		arrow	reed, wood	l = 91 cm	Sanapaná	Paraguay	1905
13 188		arrow	reed, wood	l = 94,5 cm	Sanapaná	Paraguay	1905
13 189		arrow	reed, wood	l = 81.5 cm	Sanapaná	Paraguay	1905
13 190		arrow	reed, wood	l = 95 cm	Sanapaná	Paraguay	1905
13 191		arrow	reed, iron	l = 81.5 cm	Sanapaná	Paraguay	1905
13 192		belt	bark, bast	dia. = 28 cm, h = 16.7 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 193		doll	palm leaf	9.3 x 3.7 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 194		doll	palm leaf	8 x 3.3 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 195		doll	palm leaf	6.6 x 3.1 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 196		doll	palm leaf	7.5 x 3.3 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 197		doll	palm leaf	8.9 x 3.3 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 198		doll	palm leaf	6.3 x 3.5 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 199		roll of tobacco	plant material	l = 36 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 200		knife	bone, feather	l = 25 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 201		chest decoration	teeth, wood	l = 29.3 cm, h = 2,6 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 202		rattle	gourd	h = 15.5 cm, dia. = 9.8 cm	Sanapaná	Paraguay	1905
13 203		belt	cotton	l = 198 cm, w = 4 cm	Sanapaná	Paraguay	1905
13 204		pipe - bowl	wood	h = 6.8 cm	Sanapaná	Paraguay	1905
13 205	a,b	pipe	wood	l = 13.6 cm, h = 5.2 cm	Lengua or Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 206	a,b	pipe	wood	l = 17 cm, h = 6.1 cm	Sanapaná	Paraguay	1905
13 207		rattle	hooves (deer)	l = 50 cm	Sanapaná	Paraguay	1905
13 208		rattle	hooves (deer)	l = 23 cm	Sanapaná	Paraguay	1905

13 209		small chisel	boar tooth	l = 17.7 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 210		rattle	hooves (deer)	l = 21.4 cm	Sanapaná	Paraguay	1905
13 211		necklace	mother of pearl -small discs	l = 28.5/70 cm	Sanapaná	Paraguay	1905
13 212		necklace	mother of pearl -small discs	l = 74 cm	Sanapaná	Paraguay	1905
13 213		necklace	mother of pearl -small discs	l = 22/70 cm	Sanapaná	Paraguay	1905
13 214		necklace	mother of pearl -small discs	l = 15.5/78 cm	Sanapaná	Paraguay	1905
13 215		labret	mother of pearl -small discs	l = 15 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 216		"sceptre"	wood, feather	h = 52.5 cm	Payagua	Paraguay	1905
13 217	a,b	decoration (probably for hair)	feathers (ostrich)	l = 35 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 218		hair pin	wood, feather	l = 37.7 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 219		hair pin	wood, feather	l = 26.5 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 220		hair pin	feathers (ostrich)	l = 23.8 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 221		hair pin	wood, feather	l = 28.4 cm	Chamacoco	Paraguay	1905
13 222		hair pin	wood, feather	l = 34.7 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 223		decoration (probably for hair)	feathers (ostrich)	l = 36.5 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 224		head decoration (child)		dia. = 18.4 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 225		head decoration (child)		dia. = 18.5 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 226		penis pouch	palm leaf	l = 12.1 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 227		earrings	feathers (dark brown, dusty white), bark or leaf	l = 16.7 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 228		earrings	feathers (dark brown, dusty white), bark or leaf	l = 17.5 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 229		decoration (pendant)	feathers (ostrich)	l = 36 cm	Sanapaná	Paraguay	1905

13 230	decoration (belt or throw across chest)	feathers, red and yellow	l = 88 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 231	decoration (belt or throw across chest)	feathers (off white)	l = 142 cm	Lengua	Paraguay	1905
13 232	decoration (around neck?)	feathers (brown)	l = 25 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 233	head decoration (child)	feathers (white)	w = 20 cm	Sanapaná	Paraguay	1905
13 234	headdress	feathers (white)	l = 36 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 235	apron	feathers (white)	l = 19.5 cm	Sanapaná	Paraguay	1905
13 236	apron	feather (dark, ostrich)	l = 45 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 237	apron	feathers (dark, ostrich)	l = 54 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 238	apron	feathers (dark, ostrich)	l = 201 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 239	arrow	reed, wood	l = 92.3 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 240	arrow	reed, wood	l = 87.5 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 241	arrow	reed, wood	l = 90.5 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 242	arrow	reed, wood	l = 87.3 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 243	arrow	reed, wood, iron sheet	l = 70.5 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 244	arrow	reed, wood, iron sheet	l = 84 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 245	arrow	reed, wood	l = 71 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 246	arrow	reed, wood	l = 74.5 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 247	arrow	reed, iron	l = 126 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 248	arrow	reed, iron	l = 105 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 249	arrow	reed, wood	l = 75.7 cm (prob. partly broken)	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 250	arrow	reed, wood	l = 134.5 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 251	arrow	reed, wood	l = 87.5 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 252	arrow	reed, wood	l = 116.3 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 253	arrow	reed, wood	l = 135 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 254	arrow	reed, wood	l = 109.3 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905

13 255		ear plug	wood	dia. = 4.6 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 256		ear plug	wood	dia. = 4.7 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 257		ear plug	wood	dia. = 4.5 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 258		ear plug	wood	dia. = 4.4 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 259		piece of bark	bark, bast	l = 6.9 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 260		small knife made from a fish's jaw	bone	l = 3.9 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 261		ribbon	cotton, beads, shell discs	l = 55 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 262		pressed tobacco		dia. = 8 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 263		bark		l = 5.2 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 264		bark			Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 265		bark		l = 12.4 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 266		necklace	shell discs	l = 60 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 267		small bag	plant material	h = 9 cm, w = 11.1 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 268		small bag	plant material	h = 18.5 cm, w = 35 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 269		pouch	animal skin	36.5 x 15 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 270		belt	plant material	l = 93 cm, w = 2.3 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 271		horn for tinder	cattle horn	l = 15.4 cm	Pilagá	Paraguay	1905
13 272	a-c	pieces of splintered reed	reed	l = 15.2 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 273		tool for starting a fire	wood	l = 14.6 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 274		comb	horn	l = 14.9 cm, h = 6.4 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 275		ribbon	cotton	l = 98 cm, w = 2.5 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 276		rattle	deer hooves	l = 99 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 277		rattle	deer hooves	h = 14 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 278		rattle	deer hooves	h = 17 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 279		ball of string	wool	dia. = 5.7 cm	Angaité	Argentina	1905
13 280		belt	cotton	l = 150 cm, w = 5 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905

13 281		piece of armadillo shell		l = 6.1 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 282		toy-puzzle	gourd	h = 8.6 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 283		small pot	gourd	h = 9.1 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 284		pot	gourd	h = 12.3 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 285		belt	cotton	l = 203 cm, w = 3.5 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 286		pot	clay	h = 12 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 287		dark brown hair wig	hair	l = 75 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 288		belt	wool	l = 200 cm, w = 3 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 289		belt	wool	l = 198 cm, w = 7 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 290		belt	wool, beads, shell discs	l = 196 cm, w = 4,8 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 291		club for fighting	wood	l = 70 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 292		ribbon	wool, cotton, mother of pearl buttons	l = 66 cm, w = 4,5 cm	Toba	Argentina	1905
13 293		tobacco pouch	leather	l = 34 cm, w = 11.3 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 294		skirt	feather(ostrich)	l = 40 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 295		small net bag	plant material	12.5 x 26.5 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 296		small net bag	plant material	15 x 23 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 297		small net bag	plant material	21 x 12 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 298		small net bag	plant material	25 x 19 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 299		small net bag	plant material	25.5 x 22 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 300		small net bag	plant material	32 x 30 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 301		small net bag	plant material	24 x 193 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 302		small net bag	plant material	27 x 22.5 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 303		small net bag	plant material	24 x 17 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 304		small net bag	plant material	23 x 37 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 305		small net bag	plant material	37 x 22 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 306		sling for carrying a load (net)	plant material	l = 116 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905

13 307		arrow	reed, wood	l = 113 cm	Toba	Argentina	1905
13 308		arrow	reed, wood	l = 113.5 cm	Toba	Argentina	1905
13 309		arrow	reed, wood	l = 113.6 cm	Toba	Argentina	1905
13 310		arrow	reed, wood	l = 107.6 cm	Toba	Argentina	1905
13 311		arrow	reed, wood, metal	l = 110 cm	Toba	Argentina	1905
13 312		arrow	reed, wood, metal	l = 102.8 cm	Toba	Argentina	1905
13 313		pot	clay	dia. = 22.5 cm	Toba	Argentina	1905
13 314		belt	plant material	l = 59.5 cm, w = 2.2 cm	Toba	Argentina	1905
13 315		spindle with whorl	wood, baked earthenware	l = 35.2 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 316		string	wool	l = 120 cm	Toba	Argentina	1905
13 317		headdress- ribbon	wool, cotton, shell discs	l = 26 cm, h = 3.5 cm	Toba	Argentina	1905
13 318		string	plant material	l of roll = 8.4 cm	Toba	Argentina	1905
13 319		strap	leather	l = 45 cm	Toba	Argentina	1905
13 320		pouch	leather	l = 20 cm	Toba	Argentina	1905
13 321		hair ribbon	cotton, shell sequins	l = 73 cm	Toba	Argentina	1905
13 322		hair ribbon	wool, beads	l = 46 cm	Toba	Argentina	1905
13 323		piece of hair ribbon	wool, beads	l = 19 cm	Toba	Argentina	1905
13 324		vessel for water	gourd	h = 22 cm		Gran Chaco	1905
13 325		pelt	fur pelt	91 x 76 cm	Toba	Argentina	1905
13 326		small knife made from a fish's jaw	bone	l = 2.9 cm	Pilagá	Argentina	1905
13 327		satchel	leather	35 x 27 cm	Toba	Argentina	1905
13 328		small pillow	cloth	25 x 28	Kadiweu	Brazil	1905
13 329		case	bamboo	l = 16.5 cm	Kadiweu	Brazil	1905
13 330		small statue - anthropomor- phic	bamboo	h = 14.5 cm	Kadiweu	Brazil	1905
13 331		pipe mouthpiece	bamboo	l = 6.4 cm	Kadiweu	Brazil	1905

13 332		stick made from a branch	bamboo	l = 53 cm	Kadiweu	Brazil	1905
13 333		necklace	teeth (animal)	l = 38.5 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 334		shoulder decoration	feathers, string, plant material	l = 71.5 cm, h = 8 cm	Kadiweu	Brazil	1905
13 335		pouch	beads	19 x 15 cm	Kadiweu	Brazil	1905
13 336		belt	wool, beads	l = 259 cm, w = 2.6 cm	Kadiweu	Brazil	1905
13 337		string	plant material	l (roll) = 16.1 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 338		small pot	gourd	h = 12.5 cm, dia. = 16 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 339		pot	clay	h = 14.5 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 340		pipe bowl	wood	h = 4.7 cm	Angaité	Paraguay	1905
13 341		needle for opening veins	bone (jaguar)	l = 12.9 cm	Toba	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
13 342		pipe-bowl	wood	l = 12.5 cm	Toba	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
13 343	a-c	fire starting tool	wood	max l = 21.1 cm	Toba	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
13 344		tobacco pouch	leather, wool, shell discs	36.5 x 10.2 cm	Toba	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
13 345		hair decoration	wool, beads	l = 60 cm	Toba	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
13 346		ribbon	wool, shell discs	l = 54.5 cm	Toba	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
13 347		bag -net	plant material	26.5 x 22.5 cm	Toba	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
13 348		decoration/ string	hair	l = 97 cm	Toba	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
13 349		tool for knitting	wood, wool, string from plant fibre	l = 24.5 cm	Toba	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
13 350	a,b	string and ball of fibres	plant material	l = 10.3 and 17.5 cm	Toba	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
13 351	a-h	examples of string on a small board	plant material	31.2 x 16.2 (board)	Toba	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
13 352		needle	wood	l = 17.6 cm	Pilagá	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
13 353	a,b	ear stretching plugs	wood	dia. = 5.3 cm	Pilagá	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905

13 354		tool for weaving hair ribbons	wood	l = 16.4 cm	Toba	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
13 355		rattle	gourd, pebbles	h = 11.2 cm	Pilagá	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
13 356		rattle	deer hooves	l = 25 cm	Pilagá	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
13 357		tobacco pouch	leather, beads	40.5 x 10 cm	Pilagá	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
13 358		doll	bone, cloth	h = 3.8 cm	Pilagá	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
13 359		doll	bone, cloth	h = 4.6 cm	Pilagá	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
13 360		small net bag	plant material	12.8 x 13.4 cm	Pilagá	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
13 361		hair ribbon	wool, shell sequins	l = 121.7 cm, w = 1.5 cm	Pilagá	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
13 362		tattoo needles	cactus needles	l = 4.8 - 6.2 cm	Pilagá	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
13 363		comb	palm leaf stalks, reed, string	l = 10 cm	Pilagá	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
13 364		ball of string	plant material	l = 9.5 cm	Pilagá	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
13 365		bracelet	shell sequins, string	l = 14.2 cm	Pilagá	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
13 366		hair ribbon	wool, shell sequins	l = 75 cm, w = 4 cm	Pilagá	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
13 367	a-e	dice pouch	leather, shell, wood, bone, stone	25.6 cm x 17.4 cm	Pilagá	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
13 368		tobacco pouch	leather (ostrich)	44.5 cm x 11.7 cm	Toba	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
13 369		holdall	fur pelt	35 x 17 cm	Pilagá	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
13 370		pelt	fur pelt	60 x 42 cm	Pilagá	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
13 371		headdress	feathers	h = 69 cm, w = 76 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
13 372		headdress	claws	l = 46 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
22 675		rifle		l = 108 cm		Brazil	1903
22 700	a,b	stirrups	metal	l = 27 cm, h = 13 cm, w = 12.3 cm		Brazil	1903

22 760		grave post	wood, red cloth	l = 156.5 cm, w = 5.1 cm	Kadiweu	Brazil	1905
27 361		toy-doll	bone, cloth	l = 15.6 cm	Pilagá	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
44 754		hair decoration	wood, feather	l = 22.9 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
45 200		reel for weaving string	metal, wood	l = 16 cm, w = 5.2 cm	Shavante	Brazil	1903
45 321		bolas	stone, leather	l = 87 cm	Pilagá	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
45 729		hair pin	wood, feather	l = 53.9 cm	Chamacoco	Paraguay	1905
45 732		hair pin	wood, feather	l = 52.8 cm	Chamacoco	Paraguay	1905
45 741		decoration	feather, string from plant material	h = 27 cm, w = 35.5 cm	Chamacoco	Paraguay	1905
45 742		small apron	feather	l = 61 cm	Chamacoco	Paraguay	1905
45 743		decoration (prob. headdress)	feather, string from plant material	l = 142 cm	Chamacoco	Paraguay	1905
45 798		chest decoration	armadillo claws, feathers, mother of pearl discs, string	w = 21.5 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
45 897		shirt	plant material	l = 75 cm, w = 56 cm	Pilaga	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
45 899		headdress	feathers	h = 30.5 cm, dia. = 9.7 cm	Chamacoco	Paraguay	1905
45 900		decoration	feathers, string from plant material	l = 78cm	Chamacoco	Paraguay	1905
45 919		arrow	bamboo, wood, feather	l = 134 cm	Shavante	Brazil	1903
45 920		arrow	reed, wood	l = 110 cm	Peruhibe	South America	1903
45 921		arrow	bamboo, wood, feather	l = 140.5 cm	Shavante	Brazil	1903
45 922		arrow	reed, wood	l = 128.5 cm	Cayapó	Brazil	1903
45 923		arrow	reed, wood	l = 140.5 cm	Shavante	Brazil	1903
56 628		headdress	feather	h = 23 cm	Chamacoco- Tumrahá	Paraguay	1905
56 630		shoulder decoration	feather, string from plant material	l = 66 cm, w = 4.5 cm	Chamacoco	Paraguay	1905

63 872		hair pin	feather, wood	l = 32.7 cm	Chamacoco	Paraguay	1905
63 881		bundle of wool	wool	w = 15.5 cm		Gran Chaco	1905
63 883		headdress	claws from a wild cat	w = 20 cm	Bororo	Brazil	1905
63 884		decoration	feather, string from plant material	l = 74 cm, w = 10.5 cm	Chamacoco	Paraguay	1905
63 889		small knife made from a fish's jaw	bone	l = 3.7 cm, h = 2.3 cm	Pilagá	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
63 890		small bag	plant material	12.4 x 14.4 cm	Pilagá	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
63 898		hair pin	feather, wood	l = 63.6 cm	Chamacoco	Paraguay	1905
63 899		hair pin	feather, wood	l = 50.4 cm	Chamacoco	Paraguay	1905
63 900		hair pin	feather, wood	l = 53.2 cm	Chamacoco	Paraguay	1905
63 901		hair pin	feather, wood	l = 66 cm	Chamacoco	Paraguay	1905
63 902		hair pin	feather, wood	l = 34.1 cm	Chamacoco	Paraguay	1905
63 903		hair pin	feather, wood	l = 59.4 cm	Chamacoco	Paraguay	1905
63 905		headdress	feather	l = 45.5 cm, w = 13 cm	Chamacoco- Tumrahá	Paraguay	1905
63 906		headdress	feather	dia. = 21 cm	Chamacoco- Tumrahá	Paraguay	1905
63 910		headdress	feather	dia. = 20.5 cm	Chamacoco- Tumrahá	Paraguay	1905
63 936		decoration (prob. for head)	feather	dia. = 38 cm	Chamacoco- Tumrahá	Paraguay	1905
63 948		piece of leather	leather	21.5 x 10 cm		Gran Chaco	1905
63 953		headdress	feather, string from plant material	l = 86 cm, h = 21 cm	Chamacoco	Paraguay	1905
63 964		pendant decoration	feather, string from plant material	l = 109 cm	Chamacoco	Paraguay	1905
66 330		roll of tobacco		l = 9.5 cm, dia. = 1 cm	Shavante	Brazil	1903
66 394		bracelet	leather	l = 19.5 cm	Pilagá	Paraguay/ Argentina	1905
67 678		feather shirt	feather (ostrich)	86 x 88 cm		Gran Chaco	1905
67 679		decoration	feather, string from plant material	l = 27 cm, h = 17 cm	Chamacoco	Paraguay	1905
67 680		small apron	feather	l = 71 cm, h = 20.5 cm	Chamacoco	Paraguay	1905