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Maximilian Prince of Wied-Neuwied and his Ethnographic Collection from Eastern Brazil, 1815-1817: Preliminary Notes

Maximiliano Príncipe de Wied-Neuwied e sua coleção etnográfica do Brasil oriental, 1815-1817: notas preliminares

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Abstract: Maximilian Prince of Wied's *Reise nach Brasilien* (1820-1821) is one of the most important accounts of travels in Brazil in the early nineteenth century and a significant source of ethnographic information on the Botocudos and their neighbors. While both Wied's writings and drawings relating to the latter subject matter have been widely discussed and appreciated, his ethnographic collection assembled on this occasion, now mostly preserved at the Linden-Museum in Stuttgart, surprisingly has never received the attention it deserves as the second earliest truly ethnographic collection of Brazilian ethnography (preceded only by the Rodrigues Ferreira collection in Portugal). This preview of a more detailed discussion describes its scope and contents, the history of its collection and preservation, and its potential for a better knowledge of the historical ethnography of eastern Brazil.

Keywords: Maximilian Prince of Wied-Neuwied; ethnographic collection; Linden-Museum Stuttgart; Brazilian ethnography; Botocudos; Brazil; 19th century.

Resumo: *A Viagem ao Brasil* (1820-1821) do Príncipe Maximiliano de Wied-Neuwied é um dos mais importantes relatos de viagem pelo Brasil do início do século XIX e uma importante fonte de informações etnográficas sobre os botocudos e seus vizinhos. Embora os escritos e desenhos de Wied relativos ao último assunto tenham sido amplamente discutidos e apreciados, sua coleção etnográfica reunida naquela ocasião, agora principalmente preservada no Linden-Museum em Stuttgart, surpreendentemente nunca recebeu a atenção que merece como a segunda mais antiga coleção verdadeiramente etnográfica da etnografia brasileira (precedida apenas pela coleção Rodrigues Ferreira em Portugal). Esta apresentação preliminar de uma discussão mais detalhada descreve seu alcance e conteúdo, a história de seu acervo e preservação, e seu potencial para um melhor conhecimento da etnografia histórica do Brasil oriental.

Palavras-chave: Maximiliano Príncipe de Wied-Neuwied; coleção etnográfica; Linden Museum Stuttgart; etnografia brasileira; Botocudos; Brasil; século XIX.

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Just a few years after the opening of Brazil to researchers from abroad, Maximilian Prince of Wied-Neuwied (1782-1867), a German aristocratic naturalist, undertook an expedition to Brazil that lasted from July 1815 to May 1817 and led through the states Rio de Janeiro, Espírito Santo, Bahia, and Minas Gerais. While focused on the exploration of the rich zoological diversity of the country, he did not fail to pay attention to the condition of the human population. As a former student in Göttingen of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, one of the founders of physical anthropology, who together with Alexander von Humboldt had encouraged the Prince to go to Brazil as a country whose natural history was still largely unknown, he took a special interest in the indigenous peoples, visiting the descendants of the Goytacaz in the village of São Pedro dos Índios (São Pedro da Aldeia) in September 1815, the Puri, Coroado, and Coropo (Koropó) in October 1815, the Patacho (Pataxó) in July 1816, the Mashacari (Maxakali) in October 1816, and the Camacan (Kamakã) in March 1817. While these visits were relatively short, Maximilian spent about six weeks in August and September 1816 among the Krekmun-Botocudo along the Rio Belmonte (Jequitinhonha), whose relatives on the Rio Doce he had seen in January 1816 mostly only from a distance.

Maximilian's travel account (Wied-Neuwied 1820-1821), illustrated with engravings based upon his own drawings, became an instant classic, was reprinted several times and translated into English, French, Italian, Dutch, and more than a century later also into Portuguese (Wied-Neuwied 1820; 1821-1822; 1821-1823; 1822-1823; 1940). Although making up only a small part of the book, his insightful and detailed observations on the indigenous peoples remain important not only because he was "the first to visit Brazil with the explicit intention to study the indigenous peoples in their own homes", but also because his chapter on the Botocudo was "the first monograph of a Brazilian tribe written by a scientist" (Baldus 1958, 95, 101). Wied's watercolor drawings, which in hindsight Maximilian himself felt to be unsatisfactory, have received acclaim as important examples of ethnographic illustration (e.g., Röder 1954; Oberem 1954; Trimborn 1955; Löschner 1982; Löschner and Kirschstein-Gamber 1988) as have his wordlists of indigenous languages, many of them now extinct (e.g., Huppertz 1954, 80-108; Loukotka 1968, 68-75; Seki 1987-1989).¹

Maximilian's huge natural history collection, now mostly preserved in New York, but also in Wiesbaden and elsewhere, has been of continued interest since the nineteenth century (see, e.g., Engländer 1995; Hoffman and Geller-Grimm 2013). The same cannot be said of his ethnographic collection, except for the objects Maximilian used to illustrate his travel account, despite the fact that it is the second earliest substantial collection of

1 Some additional ethnographic and linguistic information collected by Maximilian and generally overlooked by anthropologists and linguists is not only found in the supplements, corrections, and additions to the travel account, but also in his four-volume publication on Brazilian amphibians, mammals, and birds (Wied-Neuwied 1824-1832, 1850).

Brazilian ethnography, preceded only by the collection of Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira in Lisbon and Coimbra, which dates from 1783-1792 (Soares and Ferrão 2005), but preceding those of Johann Baptist Spix and Carl Friedrich Philipp Martius in Munich and London (Spix and Martius 1823-1831; Zerries 1980; Helbig 1994), Johann Natterer, Emanuel Pohl, and Heinrich Schott in Vienna (Feest 2012; 2014), and Georg Heinrich Langsdorff in Sankt Petersburg (Manizer 1967). In his laudatory summary of Maximilian's achievements as a pioneer ethnographer of Brazil, Baldus (1958) even fails to note the existence of his ethnographic collection. In her survey of ethnographic collections from Brazil, Dorta (2009, 507) lists the collection in Stuttgart as consisting of ten Kamakañ objects. This information was based on a manuscript by Leonor Schumann, which in its published form (Schumann and Hartmann 1972) provided a more complete listing of artifacts based upon the inventory of the Linden-Museum whose problems will be discussed below. Only on rare occasions were items from Maximilian's collection illustrated in publications (e.g., Helbig 1994, 197-188, fig. 61; Kurella 2002, 92, 94, figs. 11-13). More often the illustrations from Maximilian's travel account were used instead (e.g., Métraux and Nimuendajú 1946, pls. 105, 112).

The following preview of a more detailed discussion describes the scope and contents of Maximilian's Brazilian collection, the history of its collection and preservation, and its potential for a better knowledge of the historical ethnography of eastern Brazil. I am arguing elsewhere that the Botocudo Quäck whom the Prince took with him to Germany, where he died in 1834 as the Prince's personal domestic, was part of this ethnographic collection (Feest in prep.), but I will here be concerned only with ethnographic objects.

During Wied's lifetime the main body of his ethnographic and natural history collections from Brazil was kept in Neuwied castle, subsequently enriched by similar collections from Maximilian's expedition to North America in 1832-1834 and material more or less accidentally received through donations or exchanges. Maximilian certainly donated and exchanged individual 'duplicate' objects, including one or more to Professor Blumenbach in Göttingen, and there may have been others as yet unidentified. Prior to his death in 1867, about 40 of the North American ethnographic objects were sold to the Royal Prussian *Kunstammer* in 1844 (Bolz 1995). In 1869 most of the vertebrate material, more than 4600 items, was sold to the American Museum of Natural History in New York, where it became the founding collection of the zoological department (Myers 2000, 7). Nobody appears to have been interested in what remained in Neuwied, presumably mostly ethnographic material, and it was hardly properly cared for.

In 1902 the collection was visited in Neuwied by Karl Count von Linden, who was looking for material to be incorporated into the collection of the Württemberg Association for Trade Geography and the Promotion of German Interests Abroad, which became the founding collection of the present Linden-Museum in Stuttgart

(hereinafter LMS). It is possible that at that time Count Linden obtained from the Wied family a necklace, said to be from Rio Grande do Norte, which was catalogued at the museum before 1904 as an exchange, without recording the exchange partner, but identifying Maximilian as the collector (LMS 35100). Since Maximilian never visited Rio Grande do Norte, which was created as a Brazilian province only in 1822, it is obvious that it could not have been collected by him during his travels in Brazil, but – if it had indeed been preserved in Neuwied – must have been acquired by him by other means.

The Wied family was aware that the collection might ultimately perish for want of proper conservation and lent the material to be restored and exhibited in connection with the Fourteenth International Congress of Americanists held in Stuttgart in 1904 and in the same year donated it to the museum (Schulze-Thulin 1976, 10). A discussion of the documentary evidence associated with this donation will be the major subject of this paper.

As for Göttingen, one of Maximilian's concerns on his trip to Brazil was to fulfill Blumenbach's request for the skull of a Botocudo as a specimen illustrating the cranial peculiarities of a cannibal. Wied risked the disapproval of some of the Botocudos in digging up a skull from a recent burial and had the bad luck that it was an extremely atypical one, a fact not recognized until much later (Lacerdo and Peixoto 1876, 50; Ehrenreich 1887, 61-62). Blumenbach also received from Wied a Botocudo hair sample (perhaps of Quäck's hair) and two portraits of his Botocudo domestic (Willscheid 2017, 97; Feest in prep.). The inventory of the ethnological collection of the University of Göttingen further lists a Botocudo necklace of beads made of seeds (cat. no. 184) as donated by Maximilian in 1818, immediately after his return from Brazil (Felgentreff and Martens 1992, 121), which is quite similar to another such necklace now in Stuttgart (LMS 36130). Two wooden lips plugs and two ear plugs of the Botocudo (cat. nos. 185-188) are listed merely as from the 'old collection', but were perhaps also collected by Wied, whose collection now preserved in Stuttgart includes five lip and ear plugs (LMS 36040-35044). In his description of the Botocudo skull sent by Maximilian, Blumenbach refers to the lip plugs as the cause for the loss of the lower frontal teeth (Wied 1820-1821, II, 70). It is, however, possible, that Blumenbach received the lip and ear plugs from Wilhelm Ludwig Eschwege, another one of his former students, who like Wied donated a Botocudo skull to Blumenbach (Sprengel 1877, 70-71).

The Wied Collection in Stuttgart

The transfer in 1904 to Stuttgart of what had remained of Maximilian's ethnographic collection was documented in a four-page handwritten "Register of those pieces of the collection of Prince Max of Wied that were given away to Stuttgart", dated "Neuwied, 26 July 1904".² It was apparently compiled by a member or an employee of the Wied family with no knowledge of the subject matter and without access to documentary information except for labels that must have been attached to some of the artifacts. This list (hereinafter referred to as L) encompasses 176 numbered lots of one or more items, arranged in no apparent order and embraces a total of 264 objects. Entries consist of the designation of the respective artifact and in only a few cases information on its provenance. That these identifications (and some others added to the list upon arrival in Stuttgart) were based on labels is indicated by the spelling errors resulting from careless copying and by the fact that at least one such label (of a North American object) has survived at the Linden-Museum.

This list must have presented quite a challenge to Count von Linden who needed to assign provenances to objects in order to integrate them into a collection organized on the basis of ethnic and/or geographic principles. Lacking himself any expertise on the indigenous cultures of the Americas, Linden had to rely on the assistance of others. In the case of the North American items, this was the German-American artist and amateur ethnographer Frederick Weygold, whose knowledge of Wied's North American travel book and the associated illustrations by Karl Bodmer permitted him to suggest reasonable and generally correct attributions (Corum and Feest 2017, 30-31). Count von Linden added these attributions in pencil to the original transfer list (written in ink), without disclosing the source of this information. Similar additions were made to the list for non-North American items, some in pencil and some in ink, apparently by different hands. In some cases the illustrations of artifacts in the travel account must have provided the necessary evidence for these identifications.

Looking at the list (and at the collection) it becomes instantly obvious that many of the items could not have been collected by the Prince on his visits to Brazil in 1815-1817 and to North America in 1832-1834. This is true not only of objects from Siberia, East Asia, and Indonesia, but also from several regions of the Americas never visited by Maximilian, such as the American Arctic, the Pacific Northwest Coast, Mesoamerica, or the Guianas. When the collection was catalogued after 1904, the inventory followed the arrangement of the original list so that objects with the same documented or attributed provenance do not appear in sequence, nor is there any indication which of them were field-collected and which had come into Maximilian's possession as gifts or in exchange.

2 The author wishes to express his gratitude to Doris Kurella, the Linden-Museum's curator of the American collections, for actively supporting his research on Maximilian's Brazilian collection and for patiently dealing with his numerous questions.

The Linden-Museum's book catalog includes a number of reattributions and identifications of objects in various hands, most of them unsigned and none of them dated, and some of them more likely than others. Thus, for example, what appeared on the 1904 list as a "corn mill" (L 4) and initially identified as made of "serpentine (?)" and from "Central America" is now correctly listed as a seal-oil lamp from Greenland (LMS 35974). Other reattributions were never entered into the museum's book catalog, but some of these corrections are found in the electronic data base, which however does not refer to the previous misidentifications. A small plaited river cane basket listed in 1904 without provenance (L 33) was attributed on this list and cataloged as "South American" (LMS 36066), and identified by William Sturtevant as "Cherokee" when it was exhibited in 1968 during the International Congress of Americanists.³ An unprovenanced "small basket of bast" (L 103) was attributed to "Brazil" (LMS 36105) and identified as a woodsplint basket from the Great Lakes region of North America by the author in 2015. A "filter of coconut fibers" (L 82) and a "cap made of a coconut leaf" (L 61, later changed to "filter") were first cataloged as "South American" (LMS 36074, 35049) and later attributed more specifically to Brazil, but upon inspection in 2015 turned out to be conical caps from Guiana (see Feest 2020).

Unfortunately, the Wied collection at the Linden-Museum has suffered severe losses over the past century, mostly in the course of World War II. Of 122 objects of a possible South American origin on the 1904 list, only 59 have survived to this day, plus three more not listed in 1904 and the necklace probably received in 1902.⁴ The largest losses are among the bows and arrows: only two of 19 bows and five of 40 arrows have been preserved, accounting for 52 of the 63 missing items.

Reconstructing Maximilian's Brazilian collection

Given the circumstances under which the catalog of Maximilian's Brazilian collection in Stuttgart had been compiled, it may be useful to attempt to reconstruct the collection on the basis of the documentary evidence available. This includes primarily records of acquisitions as noted in his travel book and the illustrations of objects in the book (including portraits and scenes). These data can be compared with the attributions found on the 1904 list and in the museum's book catalog. The likelihood of these attributions can at least in some cases be evaluated by the evidence supplied by objects collected by other travelers during the 1810s and 1820s.

3 In the catalog of Maximilian's North American collection, published eight years later (Schulze-Thulin 1976), it was still not recognized as a North American item.

4 In 2015 the electronic data base of the Linden-Museum also identified five objects from North America, Asia, or the Pacific as South American and included among the ethnographic objects the plate from Maximilian's book illustrating the use of Botocudo lip and ear plugs that had come from Neuwied along with the objects.

São Lourenço Niteroi

Shortly after his arrival in Rio de Janeiro, Maximilian visited in August 1815 the aldeia São Lourenço Niteroi, a former Jesuit missionary village among the Goytacaz and the only place near Rio still inhabited by descendants of the aboriginal population. Although Wied does not explicitly state that he collected any objects in the village, he showed his keen interest in the material culture of the inhabitants, noting the red pottery locally made in a variety of shapes, reed mats, hammocks, coconut dippers with wooden handles, gourd bowls, unspecified items of dress and ornament, bows and arrows, and guns (Wied-Neuwied 1820-1821, I, 33, 37-38). In his diary, Maximilian included a sketch of the shapes the ceramic vessels (Huppertz 1954, 39), which remains unpublished.

The 1904 list includes a “pottery bowl, engraved” (L 35, LMS 36010), a “painted gourd bowl” and a “small gourd bowl, painted black” (L 32, 91, LMS 35005, 36089), all of them subsequently attributed to “South America”. Since none of them have survived, it is impossible to tell whether they could have been from São Lourenço Niteroi or from some other place in Brazil or elsewhere. Jean-Baptiste Debret (1834-1839, I, 53, pl. 34, poterie fig. 1) illustrates a lidded vase called *camucis* by the Coroados and *talha* by the “Cabocles de Saint-Laurenz”.⁵ Fig. 3 of the same plate illustrates four bowls with simple engraved designs from the “civilized savages” of Minas Gerais, and one may wonder whether this may also have been the case of Maximilian’s engraved pot. (Perhaps not coincidentally, fig. 2 shows a coconut dipper with a wooden handle.) Drawings of Coroado pottery were also made by Friedrich Sellow (Zischler, Hackethal and Eckert 2013, 168, fig. 8).

The same is true for some of the bows and arrows now missing. Of two hammocks in the collection, one listed in 1904 as a “grass skirt” (L 104), first cataloged as South American, and later correctly identified as a Brazilian hammock (LMS 36106), is of a neo-Brazilian type and could have been from São Lourenço or from anywhere else.

São Pedro dos Índios (today: São Pedro da Aldeia)

This former Jesuit mission established among the Goytacaz in the present state of Rio de Janeiro was visited by Maximilian in September 1815 (Wied-Neuwied 1820-1821, I, 76-77; 1850, 24). Here he collected the pellet bow illustrated on his plate 13, fig. 1, which appears on the 1904 list as “bow, double sinew” (L 174) and in the catalog as “bow for shooting pellets, South America” (LMS 36230), later amended to “Eastern Brazil” (Figure 1).

In São Pedro dos Índios Maximilian also noted hammocks and grey pottery, which offers an alternative possible provenance for the now lost pottery bowl (LMS 36010) and hammock (LMS 36106) noted above.

5 Wied-Neuwied (1820-1821, I, 131) cites the term *camucis* for Coroado funerary pottery after the *Corografia brasílica* (II, 54), which makes it unlikely that he collected examples himself.



*Geräthschaften, Zierrathen und Waffen der Puris,
Botocudos, Maschacaris und der Küstenindier.*

Figure 1. “Utensils, ornaments, and weapons of the Puris, Botocudos, Maschacaris, and the coastal Indians” showing pellet bow from São Pedro dos Índios (1, LMS 36230), Maxacali bow and arrow (2, 3, now missing at LMS), Botocudo lip and ear plug (4, 5, probably from the set LMS 36040-35044), feather head ornament (6, LMS 36166), and hand-held ax (8, never transferred to LMS), and Puri hammock (7, LMS 36152). After Wied-Neuwied (1820-1821, pl. 13.).

Coroado and Koropó

In October 1815 Maximilian paid a visit to the Coroados and Koropós living at São Fidélis on the Paraíba do Sul in the state of Rio de Janeiro, where he saw items of material culture generically similar to those he had previously encountered: hammocks, ceramic vessels, gourd bowls, bows and arrows, and white cotton clothes. Among the more unusual items were burden baskets made of palm leaves of a type he collected among the Puri (see below), but his travel account does not any acquisitions of Coroado or Koropó objects.

Puri

Also at São Fidélis and in a nearby camp Maximilian bartered with the local Puris for a variety of artifacts. In exchange for rosaries, woolen caps, red handkerchiefs, mirrors, knives, and other trifles he obtained “a great many bows, arrows, and carriage-baskets” as well as headbands of monkey skin, necklaces, and at least one hammock (Wied-Neuwied 1820-1821, I, 135, 141-143).

The hammock was given to him by a Puri man in exchange for a knife and was illustrated on plate 13, fig. 7, of Wied’s book (see also Löschner and Kirschstein-Gamber 1988, 191, fig. 216, less recognizable on page 105, fig. 94 and in Wied-Neuwied 1820-1821, I, pl. 3). It certainly corresponds to the one that appeared on the 1904 list as “hammock” (L 138) and was cataloged as from “South America” (LMS 36152, specified in the electronic database as from “Eastern Brazil”). A “string of threaded, hard black berries, in the front part of the center of which there were interwoven the corner teeth of apes, ounces [jaguars], cats, and other animals of prey, . . . worn around their neck or over their breast and one shoulder” was acquired in São Fidélis and illustrated on plate 12, fig. 5, next to another Puri necklace (fig. 6). The necklace of berries can be recognized as LMS 36129, but would not have been identifiable on the 1904 list where it appears as a necklace without provenance; it was first catalogued as “South American” and later, obviously based upon the illustration, attributed to the Puri. There is no trace of the second necklace, which appeared to be “composed of the peeled bark of certain plant growths” resembling dentalium shells in shape but were later recognized as the shells of an aquatic larva (Wied-Neuwied 1820-1821, I, 135, and note **; 1850, 39-40; Huppertz 1954, 46).

One of the burden baskets collected in the Puri camp was illustrated on plate 13, fig. 7 (Fig. 1; see also Löschner and Kirschstein-Gamber 1988; 105, fig. 94). It figures on the 1904 list as “carrying basket, S[outh] Am[erica]” with a later annotation “Coroado tribe” (L 134).⁶ It was accordingly catalogued as Coroado and only later correctly identified as Puri (LMS 36148). The mistake may have occurred because Maximilian mentions such baskets also for the Coroado. Two quite similar baskets were collected 1819 by Heinrich Wilhelm Schott as a member of the Austrian expedition to Brazil, who had visited both

6 The electronic database erroneously calls it a “baby carrying basket”.

the Puri and Coroado (Weltmuseum Wien, cat.nos. 632, 633). The original shipment list offered no provenance, but they were catalogued as Coroado baskets, perhaps on the basis of labels now lost (Feest 2012, 23; 2014, 66-67, fig. 3). The same type of basket was illustrated by Debret (1834-1839, I, 53, pl. 34, vannerie figs. 1, 2), probably based on specimens then in the Museu Nacional in Rio de Janeiro. Fig. 1, which more closely resembles both Maximilian's and Schott's pieces, was identified as Puri, fig. 2 as Coroado. Another illustration of a carrying basket, presumably Coroado, is found in Eschwege (1818, xv-xvi, pl. 2, fig. q).

Bows and arrows were the items most commonly traded by the Puris and Maximilian must have ended up with a number of them in his collection. On plate 12, figs. 1-4, of his travel account, he illustrated a bow and three types of arrows: one with a broad bamboo point for warfare, one with a barbed wooden point, and a blunt arrow for hunting birds and small animals (Wied-Neuwied 1820-1821, I, 138-139; Löschner and Kirschstein-Gamber 1988, 107, fig. 96). His comparison of Puri and Coroado bows and arrows suggest that he may also have collected those of the Coroado. The 1904 list includes a substantial number of bows and arrows, none of them with a documented provenance, many of them with questionable attributions made in the process of the cataloguing, but none assigned to the Puri or Coroado. In the absence of most of the bows and arrows, no comparison is possible with Wied's illustrations.

Pataxó

In July 1816 near Villa do Prado on the Rio do Prado (Sucurucú) Maximilian was happy to encounter a group of Pataxós who "brought large balls of black wax for sale, and we procured a number of bows and arrows of them, in exchange for knives and red handkerchiefs" (Wied-Neuwied 1820-1821, I, 284). Pataxó bows and arrows are discussed extensively by Wied and compared with those of the Puri and Botocudo. But with the exception of a brief reference to bags made of vegetable fiber strings, there is little information on Pataxó material culture or on further collecting activities (Wied-Neuwied 1820-1821, I, 273, 286). The encounter was a brief one since nobody was able to speak their language, although Wied was able at some point to record a Pataxó wordlist. No Pataxó items were illustrated in Maximilian's book.

Although the 1904 list does not refer to any of the objects in Maximilian's collection as Pataxó, the Linden Museum's book catalog identifies six bows and thirteen arrows as such (LMS 36170-35182, 36184-36189), based on an early annotation of the 1904 list that may go back to labels then still attached (L 154-157, 159-160). There is no good reason why Count Linden or any of his staff should have used the Pataxó attribution without some documentary evidence, and the spelling "Patachos" on the list reflects Maximilian's usage. At some later point of time, however, one tapir claw rattle, five netted bags of vegetable fiber strings, and one bow with a bamboo string (L 38, 52, 175),



Figure 2. Netted bag of undocumented provenance, attributed to the Pataxó, but more likely Botocudo or perhaps Maxacali (LMS 36031).
Photograph: Christian Feest.

originally catalogued as “South American,” were also attributed to the “Patascho” (LMS 36013, 36030-36034, 36231). Those which have survived appear as such also in the museum’s electronic database, where surprisingly two more bags (LMS 36032b, 36033b) were added that are found neither on the 1904 list, nor in the book catalog.

The bow with a bamboo string is unlikely to have come from the Pataxó or anywhere else in eastern Brazil, since Maximilian in his extensive discussion of the bows would have mentioned this unusual feature. It is therefore unlikely to have been collected by Maximilian and must have been received by him later from an unknown source.

As for bags (Figure 2), the Prince reported that “every man carries on his back a bag, or sack, made of *embira* (bast) or other strings, which hangs around his neck, and serves to hold various trifles,” and he shows them being worn by two Pataxó men in one of his plates (Wied-Neuwied 1820-1821, I, 286; pl. 7). The illustration does not permit an identification of the technique of manufacture and only roughly indicates the shape and construction of these bags. The seven bags now attributed to the Pataxó are a heterogeneous group of different shapes as well as techniques of manufacture. Especially the range of different netting techniques makes their provenance from a single source unlikely. While some of the bags may be Pataxó, most of them are probably not, and some



Figure 3. Tapir hoof rattle of undocumented provenance, attributed to the Pataxó, but almost certainly Kamaká (LMS 36013). Photograph: Christian Feest.

a loan a group of ethnographic objects belonging to the crown estate (Krongut) of the kings of Württemberg, which after the end of the monarchy in 1918 became property of the state of Württemberg (Schulze-Thulin 1976, 10). This collection includes three tapir hoof rattles (LMS 19117-19119). Two of them have survived and are virtually identical with LMS 36013. This similarity initially gave rise to the suspicion that they could have ultimately been collected by Maximilian as well and that they had entered the crown estate through Duke Paul of Württemberg, himself an aristocratic naturalist

may be from the Maxakali, where Maximilian saw similar bags (Wied-Neuwied 1820-1821, I, 376-377), from the Botocudo, or from the Kamakañ. I am not aware of Pataxó or Maxakali bags in other collections; for a documented Botocudo bag in Maximilian's collection see below; and there are three Kamakañ bags in the collection of Spix and Martius in Munich (Museum Fünf Kontinente, cat.nos. 518-520). The Ethnologisches Museum Berlin has a similar bag without a specific attribution (cat.no. V B 174), collected before 1820 by Ignaz von Olfers, whose collection includes also Botocudo objects. Only a detailed technical analysis may eventually shed more light on this matter.

The sudden appearance of the bags LMS 36032b and 36033b is particularly puzzling and because of their absence on earlier documents may indicate a different source.

The attribution of the tapir claw rattle (LMS 36013; Figure 3) to the Pataxó is even more unlikely. Maximilian does not refer to them or illustrate them in his travel account, nor are any documented examples known from other collections. Their more likely origin from the Kamaká will be discussed below.

However, in 1901 the predecessor of the Linden-Museum had received as

and collector with strong interests in indigenous peoples of North and South America and thus a possible recipient of objects collected by Maximilian.

Apart from the fact that it would have been odd for Prince Maximilian to give three such rattles to Duke Paul and retain only one from himself, the Linden-Museum's book catalog, apparently based on data transferred together with the objects, gives their provenance as "Mucury River, Brazil." This river, spelled "Mucuri" by Maximilian, was visited by him in 1816. He reports that the major indigenous populations living along its banks were hostile Pataxós (along with Macunis, Malalis, Capuchos, Cumanachos, Panhami, and Maxacali), with whom no contact was made and from whom no objects were obtained (Wied-Neuwied 1820-1821, I, 234). It was this association of the Pataxó with the Mucuri River in Wied's account that may have been the source of the attribution of LMS 36018 to the Pataxó.

The spelling "Mucury" may indicate a somewhat later acquisition of the rattles in the crown estate. The Swiss traveler Johann Jakob Tschudi visited the "Mucury" River in 1858, when (except for a small group of Malalis) the Botocudo had replaced the Pataxó as the dominant indigenous population; most of the groups mentioned by Maximilian were still remembered, but not the Pataxó (Tschudi 1866-1869, II, 213-217, 255-259; cp. Ottoni 1858). Tschudi also reported extensively on the presence of several German colonies in the vicinity (Tschudi 1866-1869, II, 233, 245-246). As will be shown below, the tapir hoof rattles were, however, neither Pataxó, nor Botocudo, but Kamaká, and were perhaps sent to Stuttgart by one of the emigrants on the Mucury who, however, must have obtained them elsewhere.

One of the three rattles supposedly from the "Mucury" (LMS 19177) became the only evidence for Pataxó hoof rattles cited by Izikowitz (1935, 61), who attributed it to the collection of Maximilian and to the Pataxó. The only other tapir hoof rattles encountered in his survey were from the Kamaká, western Amazonia (Yamamadi, Tucuna), and the Chaco (Mataco, Ashlushlay, Choroti, Toba) (Izikowitz 1935, 60-61).

Maxacali

In October 1816 Maximilian paid a short visit to a Maxacali aldeia on the Rio Pardo, where he found the inhabitants already "rather civilized." Bows and arrows were still in general use, and their bows differed from those of other indigenous peoples by having a longitudinal groove on the front of the staff for holding a second arrow. Maximilian acquired one with a notch at the end of the staff for the attachment of the string, which he illustrated, along with an arrow, on plate 13, figs. 2 and 3 (Figure 1). In this connection he refers to having obtained identical weapons used by Maxacalis living on the Ilha do Pão on the upper Jequitinhonha – proof that his collection included objects not field-collected by himself. He also recorded their use of bags similar to those of the Pataxó, but only notes the acquisition of Maxacali weapons in exchange for knives (Wied-Neuwied 1820-1821, I, 375-376 and note *).

No item on the 1904 list was identified as Maxacali and none was catalogued as such at the Linden-Museum. A later annotation in the book catalog, however, identifies LMS 36223 (part of a lot of five bows without provenance, L 172) as a “Maschakali” bow, perhaps based on the distinctive feature noted Maximilian. Since this object has not survived, this suggestion could not be verified. The possible presence in the collection of as yet unidentified Maxacali bags has already been noted.

Botocudo (Krekmun and perhaps others)

Most of Maximilian’s Botocudo collection was assembled during his sojourn among the Krekmun on the Rio Jequitinhonha in August and September 1816. The 1904 list, however, supplies evidence that he did obtain at least one object during his earlier visit to the Rio Doce in January 1816. L 136 (LMS 36150) is identified as a “travel bag of the Linares,” referring to the Botocudos living in the vicinity of Linhares in the state of Espírito Santo who were then at war with the Brazilian army (Wied-Neuwied 1820-1821, I, 48, 50). It seems likely that the bag was obtained from a member of the local military, although one of his drawings showing two Botocudo men on the Rio Doce in January 1816 indicates that there were also some direct contacts (Löschner and Kirschstein-Gamber 1988, 95, fig. 84). It was illustrated on plate 14, fig. 3, of Maximilian’s book.

Immediately after his arrival on the Jequitinhonha the Prince began to trade for “weapons, bags, and other implements” in exchange for knives, red handkerchiefs, glass beads, and other trifles. As elsewhere, bows and arrows were the goods the Botocudos most readily offered in these transactions (Wied-Neuwied 1820-1821, I, 334-335, 338-339).

In addition to the bag from the Rio Doce, seventeen of the objects at the Linden-Museum can be documented as having been collected among the Botocudo on the basis of Maximilian’s published drawings. These include a fire drill with a long shaft that was cut into two for shipment to Germany (L 57, LMS 36039; Wied-Neuwied 1820-1821, II, 18; pl. 14, fig. 2), three spatulas for the removal of the pulp from coconuts, described on the list of 1904 and in the museum catalog as “bone daggers” (L 75; LMS 36064-36065a; Wied-Neuwied 1820-1821, II, 33; pl. 14, fig. 7), and a knife with a blade of scrap iron (L 74; LMS 36063; Wied-Neuwied 1820-1821, II, 12; pl. 14, fig. 6). Two speaking tubes made from the tail of a giant armadillo (Figure 4) are referred to on the 1904 list and in the book inventory as “trumpets” (L 54-55, LMS 36036-35037; Wied-Neuwied 1820-1821, II, 16; pl. 14, fig. 1; 1824-1832, II, 517; 1850, 85-86). A fan-shaped head ornament of yellowtail (japu) feathers was reported by Maximilian as obsolescent (LMS 36166; Wied-Neuwied 1820-1821, II, 12-13; pl. 13, fig. 6; 1824-1832, III, 1198; Fig. 1). Three penis sheaths of issara palm leaf are most likely all of Botocudo origin, although Maximilian’s describes those of the Kamakā as identical (L 97, LMS 36095-36097; Wied-Neuwied 1820-1821, II, 10, 224; pl. 14, fig. 4).



Figure 4. Botocudo speaking tube made of armadillo tail, collected among the Krekmun on the Rio Jequitinhonha, August or September 1816 (LMS 36037). Photograph: Christian Feest.

Maximilian illustrates both men's and women's earplugs and both may be now in Stuttgart (L 58, LMS 36040-36044; Wied-Neuwied 1820-1821, II, 5-9; pl. 14, figs. 4, 5); 36044 may be the woman's earplug because it is considerably smaller, as indicated by Maximilian. The 1904 list and the book catalog refer to them as "5 lip- and earplugs," but they are indistinguishable and may all be earplugs. Two of the plugs in Göttingen, perhaps collected by Maximilian, are respectively inscribed "lower lip" and "mouth" (cat. nos. 185-186) but differ little from the other two that were cataloged as "earplugs" (cat. nos. 187-188). The plugs from the Pohl collection in the Weltmuseum Wien were likewise cataloged as earplugs (cat.nos. 700-705) and lip plugs (cat.nos. 706-707), although not significantly differing from one another.

It has already been noted that a necklace of whitish berries in Göttingen (cat.no. 184) corresponds to one preserved in Stuttgart (LMS 36130); the latter comes from the lot L 125 just as a similar necklace of black berries (LMS 36129) and was probably correctly attributed in the museum's catalog to the Puri on the basis of Maximilian's illustration. It should however be noted that the Botocudo also used black berries for this purpose, which were only not to be found on the Rio Doce (Wied-Neuwied 1820-1821, II, 12; pl. 14, fig. 5; cp. Weltmuseum Wien, cat.nos. 708-711).

Two objects illustrated by Maximilian do appear neither on the 1904 list, nor in the inventory: one is a hand-held ax blade of nephrite, the other one a drinking vessel of a bamboo internode (Wied-Neuwied 1820-1821, II, 20, 35; pl. 13, fig. 8, pl. 14, fig. 8).

Except for the bag from the Rio Doce and the plugs, none of the objects now identified as Botocudo appear as such on the 1904 list. Since Maximilian recorded his acquisition of bags on the Jequitinhonha, some of the bags on the 1904 list (L 55, LMS 36030-36034; see also Wied-Neuwied 1820-1821, I, vig. 11; Löschner and Kirschstein-Gamber 1988, 113) may in fact be Botocudo. However, six arrows and two bows (L 161, 162, 169, LMS 36190-36195, 36209-36210), of which only one arrow (LMS 36195) has survived, were attributed to the "Botoc." by an early annotator of the list, perhaps once again based on labels attached to them. As pointed out above, Maximilian did collect

Botocudo bows and arrows, discussed them at length (Wied-Neuwied 1820-1821, II, 19-25), and illustrated them several times (e.g. Löschner and Kirschstein-Gamber 1988, 95, fig.). Not illustrated by Maximilian but attributed to the Botocudo probably on the same basis as the bows and arrows is an object initially listed as “one stick” (L 163, LMS 36196). It is tempting to think that this may be one of the sticks used in the famous Botocudo stick fight witnessed by Maximilian, and the sticks shown in his illustration of the fight do in fact resemble the object in Stuttgart (Wied-Neuwied 1820-1821, I, 366-370; pl. 11). LMS 36196 is substantially shorter than the sticks illustrated, but may have been trimmed for easier transportation.

Yet another tapir hoof rattle of a different type that does not appear on the 1904 list was later entered into the catalog under a number originally reserved for one of two bags made of armadillo skin (L 141, LMS 36156) and attributed to the Botocudo. Such rattles were not observed or collected by Maximilian among the Botocudo, and the mysteriously emerged piece should probably be identified as Kamakā (see below).

Kamakā

Maximilian devotes two plates in his book to the illustration of eight objects obtained from the Kamakā, more than for any other group (except the Botocudo), although his visit in March 1817 was a very brief one. This is at least partly explained by the fact that the sedentary Kamakā had a richer inventory of material culture than the nomadic peoples (Wied-Neuwied 1820-1821, II, pls. 21, 22; see also pls. 19, 20, and the drawings in Löschner and Kirschstein-Gamber 1988, 139-141, figs. 146-148; 145, fig. 152).

Although the 1904 list identifies no object as Kamakā, the illustrations permit such an identification of two feather headdresses (LMS 36164, 36165; pl. 22, fig. 1; Löschner and Kirschstein-Gamber 1988, 140-141, figs. 147-148; see Figure 5), a gourd rattle (LMS 36158; pl. 22, fig. 2; Löschner and Kirschstein-Gamber 1988, 145, fig. 152), a striped bag (LMS 36149; pl. 21, fig. 5; very similar bags appear in Maximilian’s drawings: Wied-Neuwied 180-1821, II, pl. 19; Löschner and Kirschstein-Gamber 1988, 139, fig. 146; 192-193, figs. 217-218), two women’s aprons (LMS 36108, 36109; pl. 21, fig. 4; Löschner and Kirschstein-Gamber 1988, 140, fig. 147), and a hand-held tapir hoof rattle (LMS 36128, although the object illustrated on pl. 22, fig. 3, is not identical with the one in the collection; see also Löschner and Kirschstein-Gamber 1988, 141, fig. 148; 145, fig. 152). The attribution to the Kamakā was later added to the book inventory, where all were initially listed merely as South American. Whether another striped netted bag (listed in 1904 as a “coca bag”, an unlikely use in eastern Brazil, L 142, LMS 36157) was also made by the Kamakā, by another group visited by Maximilian, or elsewhere, cannot presently be determined. A bow and arrow (LMS 36203; pl. 21, figs. 1-3) were catalogued as “Camacan” based upon a pencil annotation on the 1904 list that may have been copied from a label. Since they have not been preserved, it is



Figure 5. Kamaká headdress collected in March 1817 (LMS 36164).
Photograph: Anatol Dreyer, Linden-Museum.

impossible to determine whether the bow and which of the two arrows illustrated by Maximilian, if any one of them, ended up in Stuttgart (for Kamaká bows, see also the drawings in Löschner and Kirschstein-Gamber 1988, 192-193; figs. 217-218). Feather headdresses, tapir hoof rattles worn around the neck or held in hand, gourd rattles, and women's aprons are also referred to in Maximilian's text, which likewise notes that weapons (i.e. bows and arrows) were among the principal items of trade of the Kamaká with the neo-Brazilians (Wied-Neuwied 1820-1821, II, 219, 220, 224).

In addition to the illustration and text reference in his travel book, Maximilian also specifically stated in his *Beiträge zur Naturgeschichte von Brasilien* that it were the Kamaká who "make their musical instruments from the hooves of tapir, which tell them the tact when dancing" (Wied-Neuwied 1824-1832, II, 544). A Kamaká tapir hoof rattle of a different variety was also depicted by Debret (1834-1839, I, pl. 33, instruments de musique fig. 2) from the collections of the Museu Nacional in Rio de Janeiro. Thus, there can be little doubt that the tapir hoof rattle (LMS 36013), later misattributed to the Pataxó, and another one misattributed to the Botocudo (LMS 36156), were also collected by him among the Kamaká and that the two similar pieces in the Krongut

collection should also be attributed to the Kamakā (LMS 19118, 19119). Jean Baptiste Douville, who visited both the Pataxó and Kamakā in 1833-1835, reported hoof rattles only for the latter (Métraux 1930, 260).

Other Brazilian objects

In addition to the objects that can be attributed to Maximilian's field collecting in Brazil on the basis of his illustrations, written account, and circumstantial evidence, other items in his collection have been assigned to Brazil with the implicit suggestion that he may have collected them there between 1815 and 1817. That this is unlikely for the necklace acquired in exchange before 1904 (LMS 35100) has already been shown above.

"A package of seeds" (L 87), catalogued as "Seeds for painting the face red" (LMS 36083), consists of dried seed pods of urucu (*Bixa orellana*) and would indeed fit Maximilian's interest in and descriptions of face painting (e.g., Wied-Neuwied 1820-1821, I, 156, 157, 352, 363, 367; II, 11-12; 1850, 93). It is also possible that two samples of vegetable fiber strings ("a package of cord samples", L 46, LMS 36024); "a roll of cords", L 99, LMS 36100) were part of his collection, although the latter is a ball of thread rolled up in a European manner. A piece of bark cloth (L 139, LMS 36153) is a less likely candidate because bark cloth is not known to have been used in eastern Brazil.

Two hats with cylindrical tops, one of plaited bands of leaves sewn together (L 30, LMS 36003; for a comparable hat of "traveling Brazilians" see Wied-Neuwied 1820-1821, II, fig. 2; Löschner and Kirschstein-Gamber 1988, 199, fig. 222), the other with a coiled brim (L 31, LMS 36004), have also been attributed to Brazil, although especially for the latter there are no known comparable examples, nor are such hats referred to in Maximilian's book. The same is true of a "club of gambiuna wood to fend off dogs" (L 146, LMS 36161); this curious practice is not described in the travel account, nor is gambiuna wood mentioned.

Of originally two "baskets" made of armadillo skin only one has survived (L 141, LMS 36155). They were made by Euro-Americans and mestizos in the second half of the 19th and in the 20th century especially in Paraguay (and probably wherever armadillos were found), but the distribution of their styles appears never to have been seriously studied. In the section on armadillos in his *Beiträge zur Naturgeschichte von Brasilien*, Maximilian refers to the Botocudo's speaking tubes made of armadillo tails, but not to armadillo baskets, so he probably never saw them during his expedition to Brazil (Wied-Neuwied 1824-1832, II, 517-535).

A rather unusual feather textile, woven of red-dyed chicken feathers (L 151, LMS 36167) has also been suspected to have come from Brazil. It is certainly not of indigenous manufacture, was never mentioned by Maximilian, and has no features that would favor Brazil as the place of its manufacture.

Significance of the Collection and of its Contents

Despite the unsatisfactory documentation of Maximilian's Brazilian collection, it deserves attention more than 200 years after having been put together in the field as one of the earliest collections of Brazilian ethnography. It sheds light on the practice of ethnographic field collecting by naturalists in the early nineteenth century as well as on the material culture of indigenous peoples of eastern Brazil. Together with the collections of the Austrian naturalists Natterer, Pohl, and Schott in Vienna, the Bavarian naturalists Spix and Martius in Munich, the collection of Ignaz von Olfers in Berlin, and scattered items found in other collections, Maximilian's collection provides unique insights into forms of indigenous artifacts and the techniques of their manufacture for which there are no other sources.

This essay has attempted to reconstruct the documentary history of the collection and to correct errors committed in its cataloguing that have in the past hampered isolated efforts to use the artifacts preserved in Stuttgart for comparative purposes. In her monumental monograph of looped textiles from South America, Seiler-Baldinger (1971), for example, also included the results of her studies of (probably only some of) the netted bags in the Linden-Museum, without placing in doubt the accuracy of the attributions found in the museum's book catalog. By failing to provide catalog numbers of the pieces in Stuttgart, Seiler-Baldinger makes it difficult to assign her outstanding technical analyses to specific artifacts whose actual provenance often differs from that recorded by the museum. Reliance on these erroneous data obviously mars the usefulness of her distribution maps of textile techniques. A future comprehensive and critical study of Maximilian's Brazilian collection may contribute to our better knowledge of textile techniques and other aspects of a historical ethnography of eastern Brazil.

The past decades have also seen the emergence of an interest by indigenous groups in their material heritage preserved in museums. In the case of the surviving indigenous peoples of eastern Brazil, the collections assembled by Maximilian and his contemporaries are often the only resources available for the study of their historical material culture. Reclaiming this material heritage in the absence of an unbroken continuity of artifact traditions, however, is only possible on the basis of a sound historical documentation of the cultural origins of the museum objects, which in the case of Maximilian's Brazilian collection has so far been less than perfect. Thus, the Pataxó, who recently went to Stuttgart as the place where their heritage was preserved, were looking at objects that, as I have shown, were not made by their ancestors, while of the twenty bows and arrows that may be attributed to the Pataxó only a single arrow has survived the ravages of time (Cardoso *et al.* 2018).

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