



THE FAR NORTH

2000 YEARS OF AMERICAN ESKIMO AND INDIAN ART



*Aleut children herding young sea lions.
Watercolor by Ludovic Choris. Beinecke Rare Book and
Manuscript Library, Yale University*



THE FAR NORTH

2000 YEARS OF AMERICAN ESKIMO AND INDIAN ART

HENRY B. COLLINS
FREDERICA DE LAGUNA
EDMUND CARPENTER
PETER STONE

PUBLISHED FOR THE
ANCHORAGE HISTORICAL AND FINE ARTS MUSEUM
ANCHORAGE, ALASKA, BY THE
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EXHIBITION DATES

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART, WASHINGTON

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ANCHORAGE HISTORICAL AND FINE ARTS MUSEUM, ALASKA

June 10-September 9, 1973

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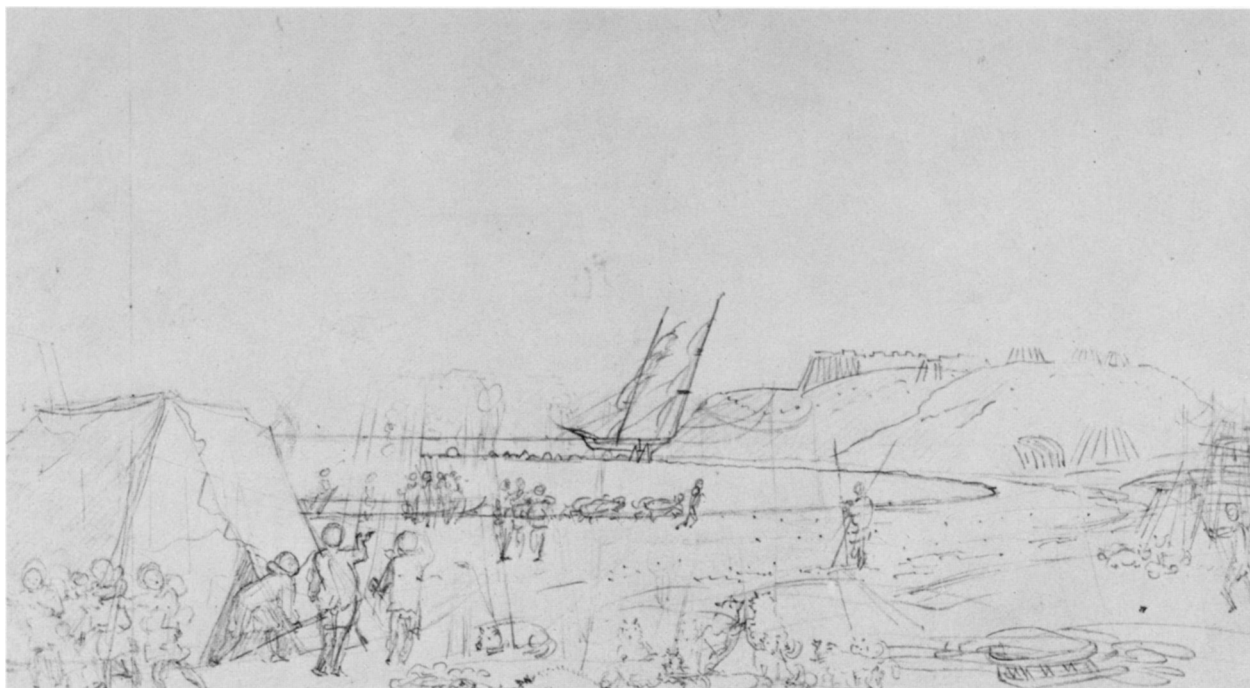
September 23-November 18, 1973

AMON CARTER MUSEUM OF WESTERN ART, FORT WORTH, TEXAS

December 6, 1973-February 3, 1974







St. Lawrence Island in Bering Strait.
Pencil sketch by Ludovic Choris. Beinecke Rare Book and
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LENDERS TO THE EXHIBITION

Alaska State Museum, Juneau
The American Museum of Natural History, New York
Anchorage Historical and Fine Arts Museum
Bernisches Historisches Museum
The Brooklyn Museum
Danish National Museum, Copenhagen
Deutsches Ledermuseum, Offenbach
Florida State Museum, Gainesville
Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary
Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte
Sheldon Jackson Museum, Sheldon Jackson College, Sitka, Alaska
Linden-Museum, Stuttgart
Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley
Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York
Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Leningrad
Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde, Rotterdam
The Museum of Primitive Art, New York
Museum of the University of Alaska, College
Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin
National Museum of Finland, Helsinki
National Museum of Man, Ottawa
National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington
Peabody Museum, Harvard University
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Portland Art Museum, Oregon
Princeton University, Museum of Natural History
Private Collection, New York
Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum, Cologne
Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh
Sitka National Monument, Alaska
Staatliches Museum für Naturkunde und Vorgeschichte, Oldenburg
St. Joseph Museum, Missouri
Taylor Museum, Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center
Tongass Historical Society, Ketchikan, Alaska
The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia





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THIS exhibition presents a panoramic selection of art from the native cultures of America's far north. It is drawn primarily from the great peninsula now called Alaska—after the native term meaning “the Great Land,” a vast geographic area which has played a unique role in the cultural history of our hemisphere. A good measure of the native populations of the Americas probably reached their future homes by way of its former “land bridge,” which once linked it with Asia. Today the original Eskimo peoples along the western coasts, and Indian tribes in the interior and southern coasts, continue to occupy their traditional homelands.

The Bering Sea and Arctic Ocean Eskimos share a cultural identity with the entire circumpolar Eskimo population, from Siberia across Canada. But the artistic heritage they share with Alaska's Indians has not been celebrated as a whole in a major international art exhibition.

The material for this exhibit has been drawn from numerous collections. Much of it has not been on permanent display anywhere, and the vast majority has never before been seen in an art museum context. The material ranges from pieces discovered by eighteenth-century explorers to the preservation of clan and family heirlooms by the coastal Indians themselves. It also includes objects discovered through modern archaeological excavation.

The splendid collections formed by the first explorers are in museums in the Soviet Union, Finland and Denmark, countries which detailed several admirals to sail with the expeditions of the Imperial Russian Navy. Other early collections were acquired by national museums in the British Isles and on the Continent, particularly in Germany. The continued exploration of Alaska by both Canada and the United States resulted in important accumulations of material in both Ottawa and Washington. The systematic investigation of Alaskan native cultures by modern ethnologists and archaeologists has been developed mainly by the universities on this continent, often in association with national or regional museums.

The guiding spirit behind this exhibition has been Mitchell A. Wilder, the energetic and distinguished Director of the Amon Carter Museum in Fort Worth, Texas. It was he who responded with alacrity and enthusiasm to the first conception of the exhibition proposed in 1968 by the late René d'Hamoncourt, then a trustee of the Amon Carter Museum. Mitchell Wilder sought and received the expert counsel of Dr. Erna Gunther, former Professor of Anthropology, University of Alaska, whose knowledge of the whole range of Alaskan material is surpassed only by

her enthusiasm for its artistic quality. Mr. Wilder traveled extensively with Dr. Gunther to make the basic selections for the exhibition, and since has handled all technical aspects of the loans and has continued to provide constant guidance and support to the entire project.

In addition, we have been extremely fortunate to have been able to secure the help of two scholars eminent in the fields of Alaskan archaeology and anthropology: Dr. Henry B. Collins, Archaeologist Emeritus of the Smithsonian Institution, and Professor Frederica de Laguna of Bryn Mawr College. Both of these distinguished scholars have furnished the principal texts for the exhibition catalog, as well as entries for a number of the exhibition's most interesting objects. In this collaboration they have been joined by Professor Edmund Carpenter of Adelphi College, an anthropologist of extensive knowledge of Alaskan native peoples and their art.

For help in assembling this exhibition, we would also like to offer our appreciation to the other participating museum directors:

Dr. Francis Newton of the Portland Art Museum, and

Robert L. Shalkop of the Anchorage Historical and Fine Arts Museum.

For consultation and assistance, we are grateful to:

Valerian S. Nesterov, Counselor of the Embassy of the Soviet Union, Washington;

Dr. Clifford Evans, Chairman, Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, and to his colleagues in the Division of North American Anthropology, Dr. William C. Sturtevant, Supervisor; Dr. William W. Fitzhugh, Curator; Peter Stone, Research Fellow;

Dr. Annette Clark, National Museum of Man, Ottawa, Canada;

James M. Silberman, Conservator and Restorer; and

James Houston, Author and Artist.

We also acknowledge the invaluable contributions made by the members of the staff of both the National Gallery and the Amon Carter Museum to the mounting of the exhibition and the production of its catalog:

Dr. Douglas Lewis, Curator of Sculpture of the National Gallery, who coordinated the selection of material for the exhibition and aided in the compilation of the catalog;

Gaillard F. Ravenel, Museum Curator of the National Gallery, who designed and supervised the installation of the exhibition;

Frances P. Smyth, Associate Editor of the National Gallery, who was production supervisor of the catalog; and

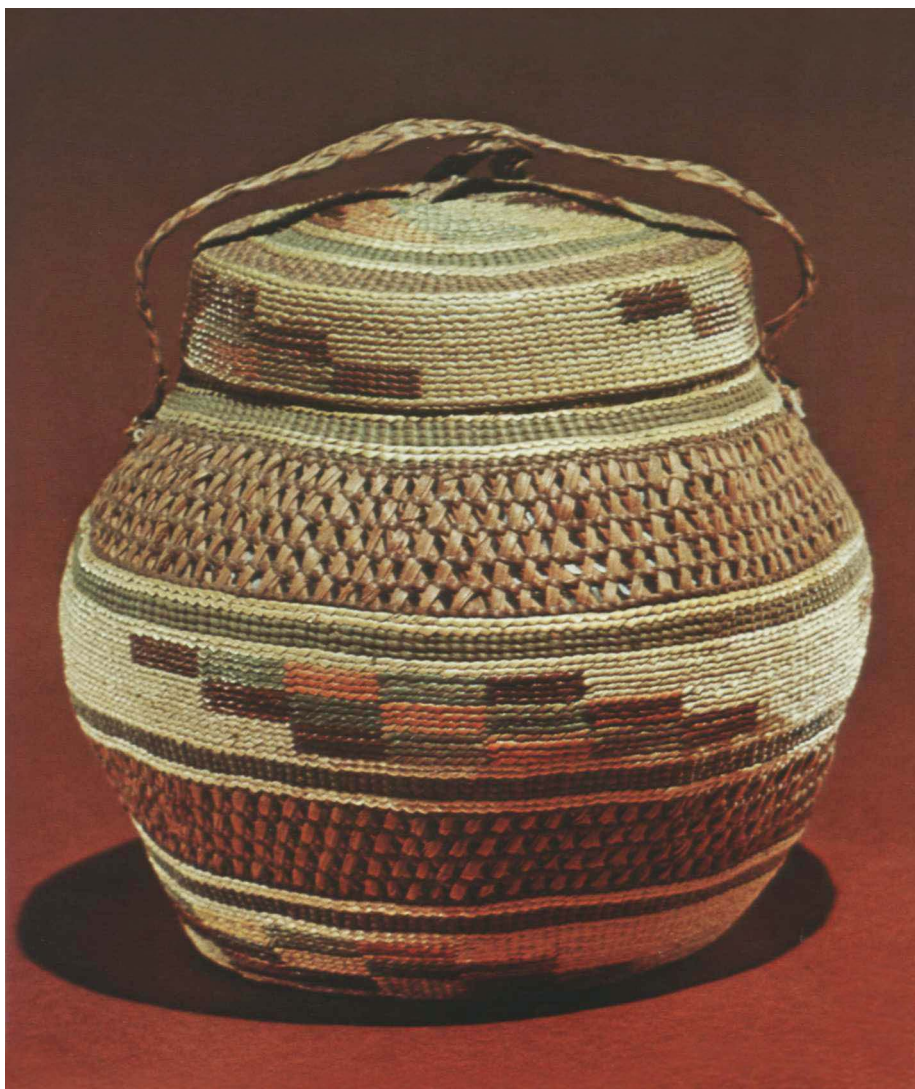
Mrs. Linda Austin, Exhibition Project Secretary and Assistant to Mitchell Wilder of the Amon Carter Museum.

Finally, it is to the lenders to this exhibition, who are listed in this catalog, to whom we all owe our deepest gratitude for making this complex undertaking a reality.

J. Carter Brown

DIRECTOR
NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART









GREENLAND

90°

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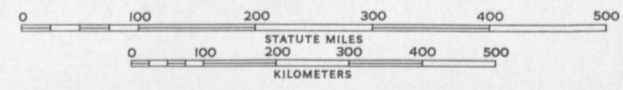
Anchorage

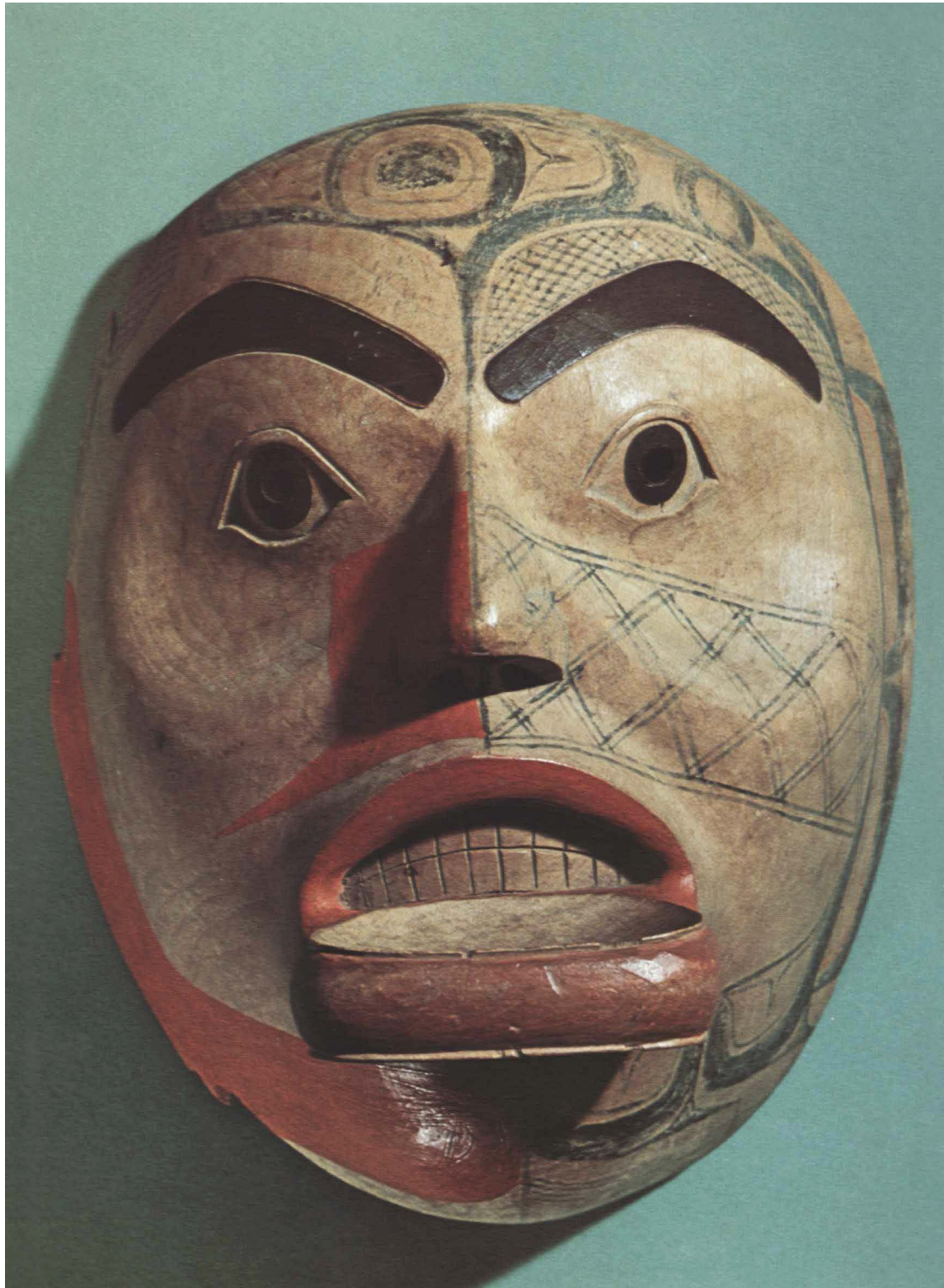
Sea

TOP OF THE WORLD

DETAIL

SCALE 1: 167 MILES TO THE INCH

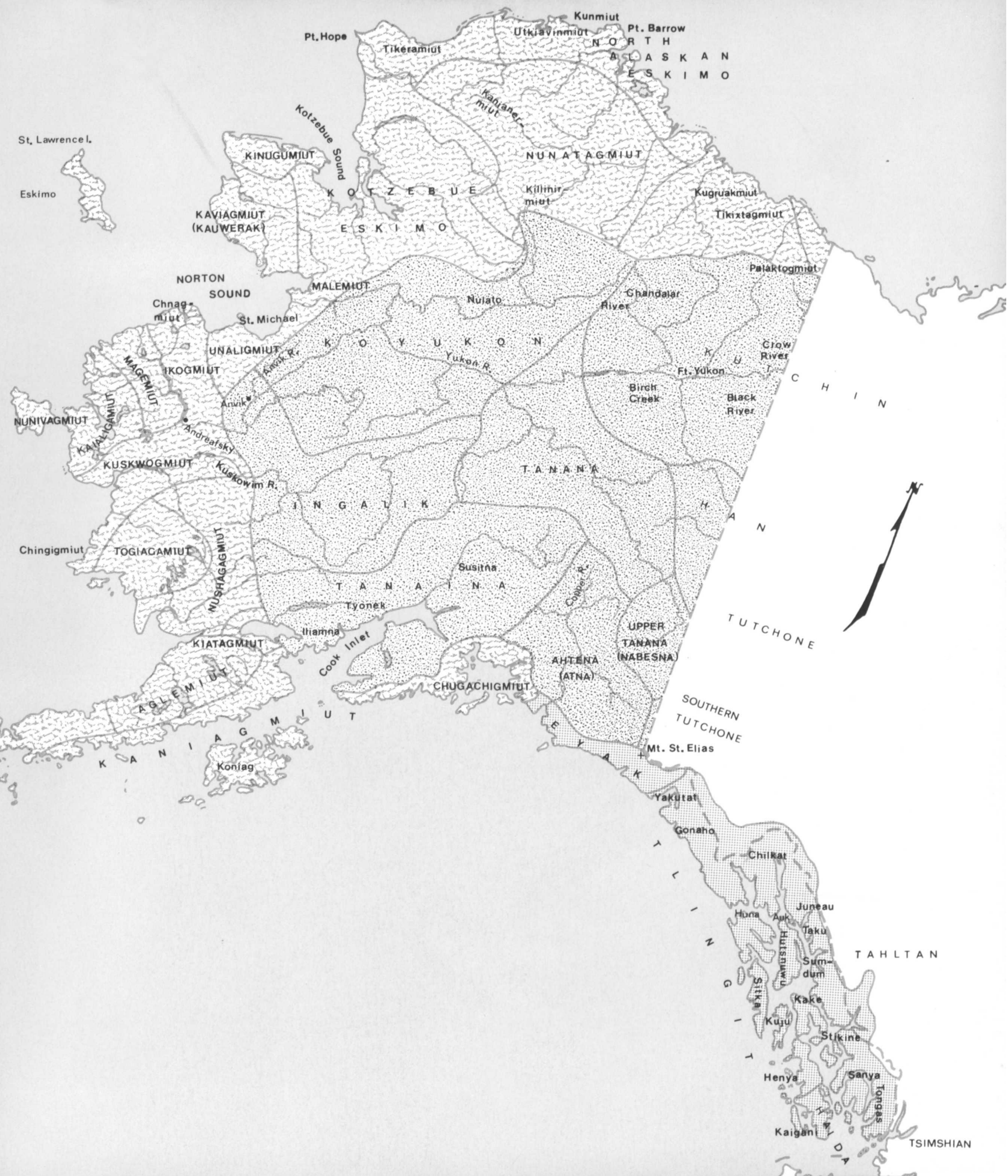






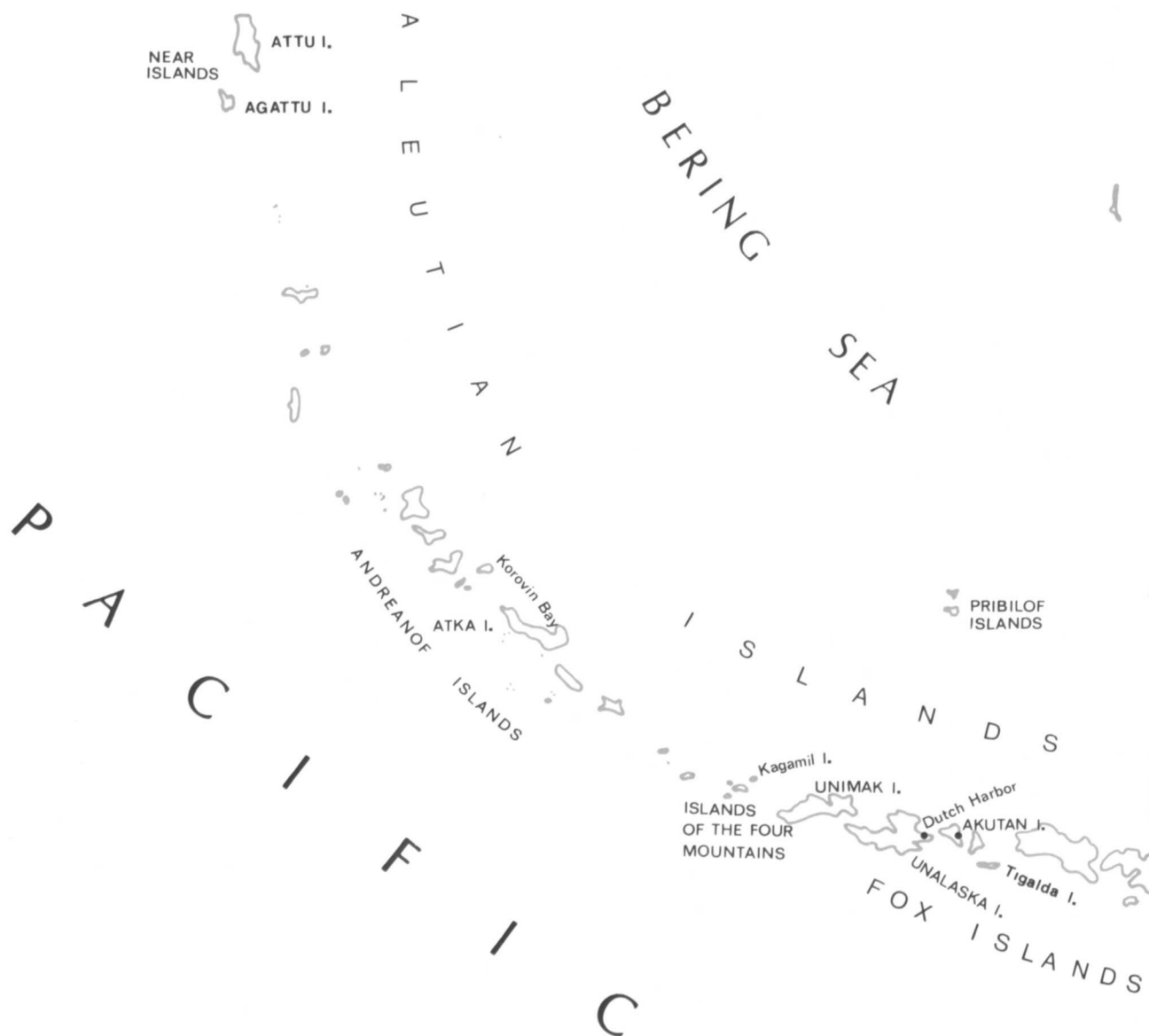
TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION

-
- Eskimo and Aleut
Athabaskan Indian
Northwest Coast Indian









LOCATION OF SITES





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ESKIMO ART

HENRY B. COLLINS

THE exhibition which this catalog chronicles affords dramatic evidence of the high artistic achievements of the native peoples of our northernmost state. It demonstrates why Alaska must be recognized as one of the major world centers of primitive art. On first thought this might seem an unlikely setting for the development of art, for the Arctic is one of the most severe environments ever faced by man. Nor were living conditions easy in the bitter cold of interior Alaska or on the stormy windswept islands of the Aleutian chain. But there is another and very different side of the picture. When discovered by Europeans in the 18th century, the North Pacific Coast, Kodiak and the Aleutian Islands, and the Bering Sea coast of Alaska were three of the most densely populated areas of the New World. Even the Arctic coast supported a population of several thousand Eskimos. The Alaskan Eskimos, Aleuts, and Indians had made the necessary adaptations in clothing, housing, transportation, and hunting techniques which enabled them to live without hardship in their respective environments. With its abundant and unfailing food supply and density of population this far northwestern area became one of the highest centers of cultural development north of Mexico. Art was its primary manifestation, an art remarkable for its richness and variety of expression.

The native population of Alaska consists of two major ethnic divisions: Eskimo-Aleut and Indian. The Eskimos proper occupy the Arctic coast, parts of the interior, and the west and southwest coasts from Bering Strait to the Alaska Peninsula, Kodiak Island, and Prince William Sound. They also occupy the lower courses of the Yukon, Kuskokwim, and other rivers flowing into the Bering Sea and the Arctic Ocean. The Alaskan Eskimos, or Inuit as they call themselves, are part of a far-flung stock extending from the northeast coast of Siberia across Arctic Canada to Labrador and Greenland. The Alaskan variant of Eskimo culture is more highly developed, especially in art, ceremony and some aspects of technology, than that found in Canada or Greenland. It is also older, for archaeological excavations have shown that the existing Eskimo cultures of Canada and Greenland were derived from earlier stages in Alaska. The Eskimo language is unrelated to any other in America. It is thought to be remotely connected with the Chukchi language of northeast Siberia; and several linguists have attempted, without too much success, to demonstrate a remote relationship between Eskimo and the wide-spread Uralian and Indo-European languages of the Old World.¹

The Aleutian pattern of culture is an ancient one, as shown by a radiocarbon date of 1700 B.C. for an Aleut midden on Umnak Island. It is

instructive to view the art of the Aleuts—in the light of the peculiarities of their ethnic history—as that of a people who shared a common cultural heritage with the Eskimos to the north but who in the relative isolation of their sub-Arctic island habitat developed art forms distinctly their own.

The Alaskan Indians are divided into two major groups, the Athabaskans of the interior and the Tlingit and Haida of the North Pacific Coast. The Athabaskans are the northernmost members of one of the largest linguistic stocks in America. Their southern relatives, speaking the same basic language, include several tribes in Oregon and California and the Navajo and Apache of the Southwest.

The Tlingit and Haida of southeast Alaska are typical representatives of the Northwest Coast province, the most important center of aboriginal American art north of Mexico. Along with the Eyak Indians of the Copper River delta they are grouped with the Athabaskans (Dene) to form what is called the Na-Dene linguistic stock.

Prehistoric Eskimo Cultures in Alaska

IT IS no accident that Alaska, the center of Eskimo art in modern times, was also the area where prehistoric Eskimo art reached its highest development. The prehistoric north Alaskan cultures of the past 2000 years were the source from which the modern Eskimo cultures of Alaska, Canada, and Greenland were derived. These earlier Alaskan people exhibited the same basic pattern of life as that followed in later times. They were hunters, mainly of sea mammals, living in permanent villages along the coast; their houses were partly underground with floors of stone slabs and walls of driftwood timbers and whale bones. Blubber-burning lamps of pottery were used for heating, lighting, and cooking; skin boats—kayaks and umiaks—were used for hunting and traveling, but the dog sled was not known; they subsisted mainly on seals, walrus, whales, caribou, birds, and fish, captured in the same manner and with the same devices—harpoons, darts and the throwing board, bow and arrow, fish spears, lines and sinkers—as those employed by later Eskimos. Their weapons, implements, and utensils, though similar in function and in general type to those used by later Eskimos, were fashioned in more elaborate form and were more frequently decorated.

The ancient Alaskan village sites appear today as frozen mounds, or kitchen middens, that had accumulated over the centuries as generation after generation of Eskimos lived on the same spot, sinking their houses into the piles of refuse left by their ancestors. Some of the Alaska middens are of enormous size. The largest, a mound called Kukuliak on the north shore of St. Lawrence Island, reaches a height of 23 feet and covers an area of 815 by 270 feet; it was established about 1500 years ago and was abandoned in 1876. The Eskimo village on Little Diomed Island in Bering Strait, still occupied today, is on the site of a large midden at least 2000 years old.

The middens contain the bones of animals that had been eaten by the

C A T A L O G

An object's measurement is of its greatest dimension: height, width or diameter, first in centimeters then parenthetically in inches.

Items marked with an asterisk will be on view only at the National Gallery of Art.

Descriptive entries, identified by the author's initials, have been prepared by the following scholars in those fields represented by objects in this exhibition:

- | | |
|----------|--|
| E. C. | <i>Professor Edmund Carpenter</i>
Adelphi College |
| H. B. C. | <i>Henry B. Collins</i>
Archaeologist Emeritus
National Museum of Natural History
Smithsonian Institution |
| J. C. | <i>Professor John Cook</i>
University of Alaska |
| F. de L. | <i>Professor Frederica de Laguna</i>
Bryn Mawr College |
| C. D. L. | <i>C. Douglas Lewis</i>
Curator of Sculpture
National Gallery of Art |

Eskimos along with large numbers of artifacts they had lost or discarded. These artifacts—the hunting weapons, tools and household utensils used in daily life—changed gradually in form through the centuries. Some were discontinued, and sometimes new and completely different types of implements were introduced. Changes were especially prominent in art. The older styles of engraving were far more elaborate than those of later times. Through a series of transitional stages one art style succeeded another in prehistoric times, but the basic motifs, in varying form, continued throughout and still remain as the fundamental motifs of modern Eskimo art. We have a remarkably complete and detailed record of change, growth and development of art styles in a single area over a long period of time through the fortunate circumstance of the continuous occupation of the old Eskimo villages around Bering Strait because the frozen ground preserved bone, ivory and even wood and other perishable materials, and because of the ever present urge of Eskimos of all periods to decorate so many of their implements.

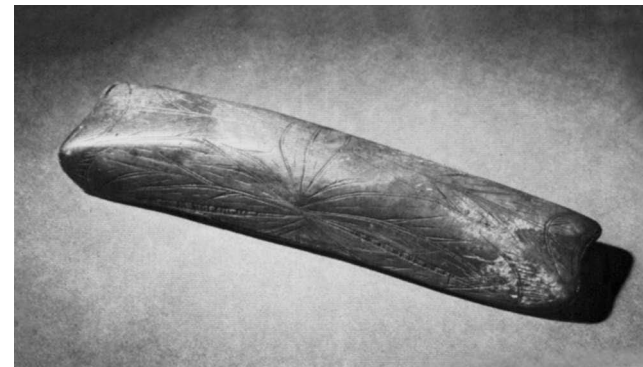
On St. Lawrence Island, the Diomedes, and the east and west coast of Bering Strait the culture stages that have been recognized are the Okvik, Old Bering Sea, Punuk, protohistoric, and modern—one stage leading gradually into another. At Point Barrow on the Arctic coast of Alaska the Birnirk culture, an outgrowth of Okvik-Old Bering Sea, became established and, around 1000 years ago, gave rise to the Thule culture. This was a crucial event in Eskimo prehistory, for it was the Thule culture which spread eastward to Canada and Greenland to form the principal basis of modern Eskimo culture in these regions. The sequence of related cultures leading from Okvik to recent Eskimo has been called the Northern Maritime tradition. These are not the oldest Eskimo cultures in the Arctic but they are the ones that provide the most complete record of cultural continuity. With the exception of Ipiutak they are the prehistoric Eskimo cultures most advanced in art.

At Kotzebue Sound on the Arctic coast a sequence of another kind, including several much older cultures, was discovered by the late J. L. Giddings.²

To understand the background of modern Eskimo art we must turn to some of the later prehistoric Alaskan cultures—to those of the Northern Maritime tradition where art held a prominent place in an unbroken culture sequence that can be traced over the past 2000 years, to the Ipiutak culture at Point Hope on the Arctic coast, and to the prehistoric cultures of Kodiak and the Aleutian Islands, Cook Inlet, and Prince William Sound.

OKVIK Okvik, the oldest of the Northern Maritime cultures (300 B.C.), takes its name from a site on Punuk Island, off the east end of St. Lawrence Island, discovered by Otto W. Geist in 1931.³

The engraved designs on ivory harpoon heads and other implements from Okvik sites seem to represent three more or less distinct sub-styles of different age. In sub-style A, assumed to be the oldest, the decoration consisted mainly of thick, deeply cut, straight or slightly curved lines to



1 GUT SCRAPER

Walrus ivory

13.1 (5 5/32) LONG

Okvik, (Old Bering Sea I),
sub-style "A"

Excavated at House #1 (South House),
Old Hillside Village, St. Lawrence
Island, by Henry B. Collins, 1930
Museum collection, 14 January 1931
Smithsonian Institution, 352 601

Okvik art, the oldest in the Bering Sea area, was essentially a linear style, of which three more or less distinct sub-styles can be recognized. The earliest, (A) of which this ivory scraper for removing fat from walrus and seal intestines is an example, was a rather crude, bold decoration consisting of thick deeply incised lines to which long slanting spurs were attached, and an occasional circle or oval.

Henry B. Collins, *Archaeology of the Bering Sea Region*, 1934, fig. 2; and 1935, pl. 3; also *Archaeology of St. Lawrence Island*, pl. 13.

H. B. C.

which long slanting spurs were attached. This decoration was applied consistently to a particular type of harpoon head that was very thick, almost square in cross section. Sub-style B, a more delicate style, was applied with equal consistency to two other types of harpoon heads that were very thin in cross section. Its most typical motifs were lightly incised, straight, rather short slanting lines, three or more of which often converged to form a tentlike figure; longer single or double lines with tiny spurs attached; broken lines; combinations of heavy and light lines, the heavier line being flanked by one or two light lines and/or broken lines; small circles with central dot set between two or three pairs of lightly incised lines forming long sharp spurs; plug inlays in circular pits representing eyes.

Another very simple motif of styles A and B consists of pairs of short parallel lines often placed above the line hole or on the basal spur of harpoon heads. Despite its extreme simplicity this design may have a special significance as hunting magic. Human figurines from Okvik sites have similar pairs of short parallel lines on the cheeks to indicate tattooing. In placing the identical design on harpoon heads, sometimes as the only decoration, the Okvik Eskimos may have been trying to give their hunting weapons the magical power believed to be inherent in tattooing.

Style C, the most elaborate of the Okvik sub-styles, was characterized by a profusion of long, straight, single or double lines to which tiny triangular spurs, often in pairs, were attached at carefully spaced intervals. The narrow space between such lines often contained tiny spurs, small hatched areas, or straight cross lines forming a kind of ladder design. These spurred lines of Okvik style C were usually arranged in converging fashion to form a tentlike design, with a small circle at the apex. It is an elaboration of the simpler converging line motifs of styles A and B, and it continued as one of the most common designs of later Old Bering Sea and Punuk art.

Okvik sculptural art consisted of human and animal figures, often of bizarre form, and usually decorated with Okvik designs.⁴ Of more frequent occurrence, especially on St. Lawrence Island, were human figurines, forty-five of which were found at the Okvik site on Punuk Island, three at Gambell, and two in Siberia. Their most characteristic feature is the stylized form of the head and face, the head usually pointed at the top, the face long and oval with narrow pointed chin and very long straight nose. The most famous of these ivory figurines is the "Okvik Madonna," that of a woman with beautifully sculptured face and a curious twisted "smile" who is nursing an infant or small animal, the body of which is broken off.⁵

Three Okvik figurines recently excavated on Punuk Island differ from the others in having most of the body surface covered with engraving. The female figure (No. 2) is also unusual in having the breasts shown as elevated circles, and in the more than explicit representation of the genitalia. The deeply incised curved lines, long sharp spurs, and oval designs on the chest and back are those of Okvik sub-style A, while the two spurred circles near the shoulders and the converging line motifs on the



2 HUMAN FIGURE

Walrus ivory

9.35 (3 11/16) HIGH

Okvik, (Old Bering Sea I)

St. Lawrence or Punuk Islands?

Museum purchase

Museum of Primitive Art, 58.5

cheek and left leg are more like sub-style B. The circles forming the breasts and navel, together with the long down-curving arc on the abdomen, could have had a secondary meaning as the eyes, nose, and mouth of a grotesque face.

In contrast to the body, the face of the figurine is carefully modeled, recalling in some degree that of the "Okvik Madonna", though it lacks the structural control and sensitivity of the latter. There is nothing aesthetically pleasing about the figurine. It might seem, indeed, as if the artist were striving for the opposite effect when he carved this armless torso with narrow shoulders and enormously expanded hips, abnormally short, bowed legs and gaping, over-sized genitalia. There seems to have been a deliberate effort to show a woman with exaggerated sexual organs in association with an ill-proportioned body and none too pleasing face. One might even surmise that this is a 2000-year-old rendering of the vagina dentata myth, widespread among American Indians and Siberians, that tells of a dangerous woman whose toothed vagina killed men who had intercourse with her.

One of the basic differences between early and later Eskimo cultures throughout the Arctic is that chipped stone implements predominated in the older cultures, rubbed slate in the later. The stone implements at the five old sites at Gambell, St. Lawrence Island, illustrate this tendency. At the oldest, the Hillside site, where the art and artifacts were either Okvik or early Old Bering Sea, chipped stone blades outnumbered those of rubbed slate 242 to 140. At the next oldest site, Miyowagh, chipped stone blades were present, but as a minority element compared with slate. At the three later sites—Punuk or protohistoric—only implements of rubbed slate occurred.

It is highly significant that the oldest known examples of Okvik art were found in association with ancient forms of stone implements. This was at the Battle Rock site discovered by Giddings (1961, 1967) at Cape Krusenstern, just north of Kotzebue. The engraved art at Battle Rock consisted of long deep curving lines to which very long sharp spurs were attached. Except for being larger and more deeply incised, these designs on antler artifacts are identical with those of the oldest Okvik art, sub-style A, found on ivory harpoon heads and other artifacts from St. Lawrence Island and northeastern Siberia.⁶ Antler arrowheads at Battle Rock were like those from Ipiutak and Okvik sites. Its stone implements are described by Giddings as midway between the ancient Denbigh Flint complex and Ipiutak and very similar to those of the Norton culture. Battle Rock is considered to represent the earliest aspect of Norton culture and to date around 600 B.C. The occurrence of Okvik art and artifacts in this context, centuries earlier than on St. Lawrence Island and in association with a flint industry derived from Denbigh, suggests that Okvik, like other early Arctic cultures, had its place in a cultural sequence beginning with the Denbigh Flint complex of 3000 B.C.

OLD BERING SEA STYLE II This style (300 A.D.) has the same distribution as Okvik, and occurs at the same sites. Several artifacts



3 FEMALE FIGURE

Walrus ivory
14.6 (5 3/4) HIGH
Okvik, (Old Bering Sea I), sub-style
"A", with traces of transition to
sub-style "B"
Discovered on St. Lawrence Island,
October 1972
Museum purchase, 1972
Alaska State Museum



4 FEMALE FIGURE

Walrus ivory

17 (6 11/16) HIGH

Okvik, (Old Bering Sea I),
sub-styles "A" and "B"Collected by Brian Rookok,
Punuk Islands, 1970

Museum purchase, 1971

University of Alaska Museum,
UA 71-9-1

The rather linear, unelaborated incised lines making up the decoration on this figurine would stamp it as belonging to the Old Bering Sea style I or Okvik phase (about 100 B.C.). The lack of spurred elements attached to the lines would indicate Okvik, as does the long, narrow nose. Although rudimentary arms are a common trait of Eskimo ivory and wood figurines, the finished legs and feet are not common. A second look at the feet indicates that they are not feet, but paws; particularly bear paws. The only other such elaborately decorated figurine (also at the University of Alaska Museum) has been associated with a bear motif and it may well be that this, too, represents a bear mother in connection with a ceremonial or symbolic concern with the common Eskimo belief in a powerful bear spirit.

J. C.

with OBS style II decoration were found in a house ruin at Gambell overlying Okvik pieces between and below the floor stones. Okvik sub-style C and OBS style II are closely linked. The somewhat random converging line motif of the earlier art, with a small circle at the apex of a series of spurred lines, appears in OBS style II as a more careful arrangement, employing most of the same motifs to achieve a more elegant version of the same basic design (No. 8). This was true of OBS style II as a whole. Single and double lines, broken lines, small circles and other elements of Okvik style C were more carefully organized and skillfully rendered to form the graceful and elaborate designs of OBS style II. The long straight spurred lines so typical of Okvik style C were rarely used, but small spurs were often attached to circles, to short transverse lines, and to deeply-cut slanting or slightly curving lines that served to mark off panels in the surface decoration. Circles became larger and curving lines, which had no important part in Okvik art, were used increasingly to separate individual units and unify the total design in the more sophisticated engravings of OBS style II.

The important point, however, is that both styles employed most of the same basic elements. The blending was so complete that in many cases it is difficult to say whether an object is decorated in Okvik style C or OBS style II. One of the most diagnostic OBS implements, a harpoon head with two side blades, two line holes, and a three-pronged basal spur, is usually decorated in OBS style II but sometimes in Okvik style C. Another elaborate type of Okvik harpoon head, decorated in Okvik style B or C, continues in exactly the same form into OBS with a typical style II decoration.

Late Okvik and early OBS art had another point in common. Both had an urge to fill every available space with engraving, a kind of *horror vacui* such as one sees in some other primitive arts, for example Melanesian. The art that succeeded OBS style II showed a notable freedom from this tendency.

OLD BERING SEA STYLE III The art styles thus far considered, Okvik and OBS style II, were both found at the Hillside site, oldest of the five sites at Gambell, St. Lawrence Island, under stratigraphic conditions that clearly indicated Okvik to be the older.⁷ OBS style III is essentially a modification and simplification of the more variable style II. The overall surface decoration is reduced and primary emphasis is given to graceful flowing lines and concentric circles and ellipses surmounting rounded elevations. The circles and ellipses, besides being elevated, are larger than those of style II. They often have a small plug of ivory or baleen at the center and, on harpoon heads especially, they are usually arranged in pairs so as to suggest the eyes of an animal. In contrast to the somewhat crowded designs of style II, parts of the ivory surface were left plain and smooth. The result was a more balanced and harmonious arrangement of the overall design, with bilateral symmetry the primary aim.

PUNUK (900 A.D.) The Punuk culture takes its name from an old site, a sixteen-foot-high midden on Punuk Island, off the east end of St. Lawrence.⁸ The midden, containing Punuk material from top to bottom, had no connection with the much older Okvik site only a few hundred yards away, discovered later by Otto W. Geist. The Punuk culture centered on St. Lawrence and the Diomed Islands and occurred on both sides of Bering Strait and at a single site near Point Barrow. Punuk sites are larger and more numerous than Old Bering Sea, indicating a larger population, especially on St. Lawrence Island, during this period.

At Gambell, artifacts and art representing the earliest stage of Punuk were found overlying Old Bering Sea in the Miyowagh midden. The next oldest site, Ievoghiyoq, was a pure Punuk site containing materials of a somewhat later type. The next site, Seklowwaghyaget, was another pure Punuk site, of its latest phase, when harpoon heads were in the last stage of development into the modern form and the straight line motifs of late Punuk art were scarcely distinguishable from those of the modern Alaskan Eskimos.

Many of the Punuk implements, mainly utilitarian types such as picks, mattocks, baleen pails, meat hooks, and drills, were exactly the same as those of the Old Bering Sea culture. Other classes of OBS artifacts changed in form during the Punuk stage. These included, in addition to harpoon heads and art: bird darts, arrowheads, fish line sinkers, ice creepers, knives, adzes, ivory runners for hand-drawn sleds, needle cases, and "winged" objects; and implements of chipped stone were almost entirely replaced by those of rubbed slate. Many other new types made their appearance in the Punuk stage, as direct imports from the Siberian mainland: bird bolas, wrist guards, bow braces and sinew twistlers for the sinew-backed bow, slat armor, bone and ivory daggers, sealing scratchers, fish hooks, heavy ivory net sinkers, iron-pointed engraving tools, many ornaments and toys.

The Punuk was in all essential respects a stone age culture, for its knives, scrapers, adzes, harpoons and arrows were provided with stone blades, which are found in great numbers in the middens. However, the Punuk Eskimos knew the use of metal. This is shown by the presence of a few iron-pointed engraving tools at Punuk sites (No. 31) and by the nature of the engravings on Punuk artifacts. The rather variable lines and free-hand circles and ellipses of OBS art could have been and presumably were made with stone tools. In contrast, the deeply incised precise lines and mechanically perfect circles of Punuk art could have been produced only with metal tools.⁹

In Early Punuk, stylistic changes in art were closely correlated with changes in the forms of harpoon heads, just as in Okvik and Old Bering Sea. The earliest Punuk harpoon heads at Miyowagh, though smaller, had retained the structural features of Old Bering Sea, except for the basal spur (No. 32). In OBS heads the basal spur (the lower end of the harpoon head) was complex and elaborate. Beginning with Early Punuk the spur became smaller and increasingly simple in form. Surface orna-



5 HUMAN FIGURE

Walrus ivory

12.5 (4 15/16) HIGH

Okvik, (Old Bering Sea I)

Punuk Islands

Museum purchase, 1972

Anchorage Historical and Fine Arts

Museum, 72.34



figure a

mentation followed the same pattern of simplification. On OBS harpoon heads the deeply incised lines that descended from the upper end, dividing the rich surface decoration into panels, became the simple lines of Early Punuk which, following precisely the same path, constituted the whole design. Accompanying the lines were dots, small drilled pits at the center of two rounded elevations to right and left of the line hole in exactly the same position as the elevated circles and ellipses, with central dot, on the harpoon heads of the Old Bering Sea period. In later stages of Punuk the incised lines on harpoon heads ceased to be a direct reflection of Old Bering Sea; instead, they became more numerous and angular and less adapted to the surface contours they decorated.

Another remarkable example of developmental change is shown in the class of artifacts called winged objects which, in differing but structurally related forms, persisted from Okvik through Old Bering Sea to Late Punuk.¹⁰ They consisted of a central body and a pair of outer wings which, in OBS, had somewhat the form of a butterfly. Through gradual reduction of the wings and modification of the central section this graceful bilobed form developed into the trident shape of Early Punuk (No. 17) and that in turn into the “turreted” form of Late Punuk (No. 18). The accompanying decoration in each case is consistent with the form. The few Okvik examples are smaller than the others and do not reveal the structural blending exhibited by the OBS and Punuk forms.

Winged objects of all periods, however, have two features in common. All have a socket in the base for a wooden shaft (some have been found with part of the shaft in place) and a small notch or pit at the upper end of the projecting central element. This notch has nothing to do with decoration but does provide a clue to the function of the winged objects. They were probably attached to the butt end of a harpoon propelled by a throwing board, to act as a “wing” and counterbalance for the heavy harpoon head and socket piece at the fore end. The purpose of the small notch would be to engage the ivory tip of the throwing board. It might be noted that the Greenland Eskimos put bone wings, though of quite different form, at the butt end of harpoons cast with a throwing board.

Several styles and sub-styles of Punuk art can be recognized from the harpoon heads and other decorated artifacts at the Gambell sites. The earliest were the rather lightly incised lines on harpoon heads already mentioned, similar lines with short spurs, isolated dots or dots at the ends of lines, and (rarely) freehand circles. Later Punuk designs consisted of more deeply incised lines; small nucleated spurred circles made with bit or compass; long very deep lines, usually in pairs, with short deep oblique spurs like gouges (No. 34); single or connected Y figures; three or more closely spaced lines forming bands; the “ladder” design; the alternate spur design—pairs of lines with inward-pointing alternating spurs—and the derivative zig-zag, the negative design that results when the alternating spurs are thickened and converted into small triangles. In the latest stages of Punuk art the decoration consisted of repetitive arrangements of the same design element, in contrast to earlier Punuk where they were usually incorporated into an overall connected design. Later, even this simplified

art disappeared and for the past few centuries Eskimo culture on St. Lawrence Island has been devoid of art.

As we have seen, the earliest, very simple Punuk art may be regarded as an outgrowth of Old Bering Sea, just as early Punuk harpoon heads developed from preceding OBS forms. However, later Punuk art in several respects rather closely resembles Iron Age art of northern Europe and Asia. A number of new cultural traits of Siberian origin introduced on St. Lawrence Island during the Punuk period, together with art, indicate that the Punuk culture was in a considerable degree the result of cultural influences received from Siberia.

Punuk played an important role in the development of modern Alaskan Eskimo art. The primary basis of Eskimo culture in the Bering Sea area, from Norton Sound to Bristol Bay, was the Norton-Near Ipiutak culture of the Alaska mainland, but the greater part of its engraved art was derived from Punuk. This was the source of the designs so characteristic of the area—the circle and dot, dot at the end of a line, the spurred line, Y figures, alternate spur design and bands of encircling lines, seen on so many of their ivory ornaments, implements and utensils.

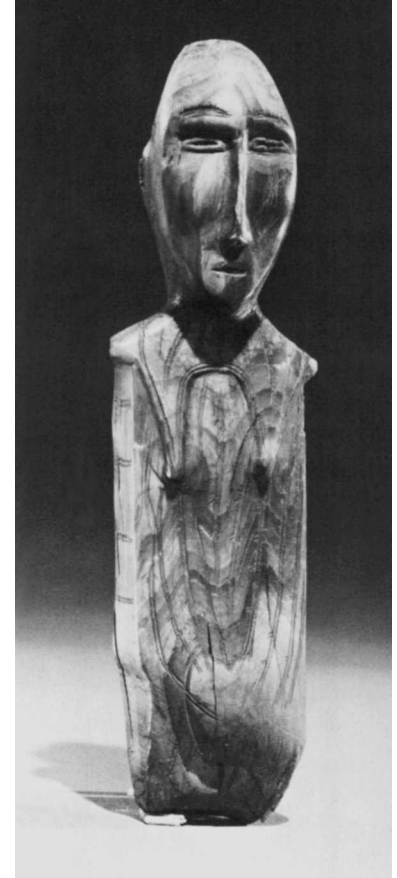
Just as in Late Punuk, these design elements appear as separate units or, if connected, are repetitive, whereas in Early Punuk they had formed part of a connected design. Modern Eskimo engraving in the Bering Sea area may be regarded as essentially a disintegrated form of Punuk art.

BIRNIRK AND THULE (500–1000 A.D.) Birnirk and Thule were not represented as distinct cultural stages on St. Lawrence Island but harpoon heads of these periods occur at Punuk sites, Birnirk in association with Early Punuk and Thule with later Punuk.

The Birnirk culture takes its name from an old site near Point Barrow where Vilhjalmur Stefansson made limited excavations in 1912. Later excavations at Birnirk and other sites by J. A. Ford (1959) have provided full information on cultural development in the Barrow region from Birnirk times to the present. In contrast to Okvik-OBS and Punuk, which were concentrated in the Bering Strait area, particularly St. Lawrence Island and northeast Siberia, the Birnirk culture is restricted mainly to the Arctic coasts of Siberia and Alaska. Its basic affinities were with Okvik-OBS and Early Punuk.¹¹

As mentioned earlier, Birnirk is of particular importance because it was the stage of culture directly ancestral to Thule, which formed the principal basis of all modern Eskimo culture from northern Alaska to Greenland. The first clear evidence of a Birnirk to Thule transition was found at Kurigitavik, a Thule-Punuk site at Cape Prince of Wales, Bering Strait.¹² In the upper and middle levels of this midden were found numbers of typical Thule harpoon heads corresponding exactly to those from Thule sites in Canada. Lower in the midden were harpoon heads which had some of the characteristics of the Birnirk type, and finally at the base of the midden, eighty-six inches deep, was a typical Birnirk head.

The Birnirk and Thule cultures are not notable for their art. Unlike the Okvik, Old Bering Sea and Punuk Eskimos, these Arctic coast people



6 FEMALE FIGURE

Walrus ivory

20 (7 7/8) HIGH

Okvik, (Old Bering Sea I),
sub-style "B"

Discovered on St. Lawrence Island,
October 1972

Museum purchase, 1972
Alaska State Museum

This figure, one of the largest and most impressive of such rare human figures from the earliest stage of Alaskan Eskimo culture, closely resembles the famous "Okvik Madonna" in the collection of the University of Alaska (fig. a). This newly discovered figure shares with its better-known sister the same sensitivity of expression, and imaginative realization, not only of the features, but also of the shoulders, breasts and pendant collars. (Unique to her, however, is the apparently pregnant belly.) Both figures are delicately incised with parallel lines engraved in long, sweeping curves, ornamented with short spurs (single on the University example, but doubled in the present example) and developed on the back of the newly discovered figure in a pattern of gently looped curves evocative of the flowing garment with heavier shoulder decorations in which the figure is depicted.

C. D. L.



7 BIRD-SHAPED WOMAN'S
KNIFE HANDLE

Walrus ivory

9.5 (3 3/4) LONG

Okvik sub-styles "B" and "C"

Discovered on St. Lawrence Island,
October 1972

Museum purchase, 1972

Alaska State Museum



8 ENGRAVED GORGET OR
PECTORAL

Walrus ivory

11.6 (4 9/16) LONG

Old Bering Sea II

Excavated from first layer of midden
below the South House, Old Hillside
Village, St. Lawrence Island, by

Henry B. Collins, 1930

Museum collection, 14 January 1931

Smithsonian Institution, 352 701

Okvik and Old Bering Sea art employed the same design elements but the later art placed greater emphasis on curved lines and circles, so arranged as to display a balanced symmetry.

Collins, *Archaeology of the Bering Sea*, 1934, fig. 2; and 1935, pl. 3; also *Archaeology of St. Lawrence Island*, pls. 13 and 14.

H. B. C.

had no urge to make elaborate carvings or to decorate their harpoon heads, knife handles, and other implements. Thule's one contribution, and an important one, was pictographic art, to be described later; a few simple examples of these realistic engravings, which were to become the dominant art form in northern Alaska in the historic period, have been found at prehistoric Thule sites in Alaska, Canada, and Greenland.

The few decorated Birnirk objects that have been found bear simple designs consisting of spurred lines, alternate spur motif, curved double lines, rows of dots or broken lines, drilled pits, and (rarely) the circle and dot. Nevertheless it is possible to recognize a distinctive Birnirk "style," the principal features of which were rows of dots and small arc-like figures—bands of two curved spurred lines flanked by dotted lines (No. 30). This Birnirk ornamentation has its closest analogy in a few, and not entirely typical, decorated OBS objects from Miyowagh, St. Lawrence Island.¹³

While there can be no doubt that Birnirk was the stage of Alaskan culture leading directly into Thule, the exact time and place where Thule broke off and moved eastward to Canada is not known. It probably occurred not at Barrow itself or anywhere on the north coast of Alaska but further to the east around Coronation Gulf in the Canadian Arctic.¹⁴ This is suggested by the presence of two types of harpoon heads, like those from Alaska, at the oldest known Thule sites at Coronation Gulf and elsewhere in Arctic Canada and Greenland. One was a barbed form derived from an earlier Birnirk type. The other was a barbless harpoon head corresponding to one of the most prominent Punuk types (Type III [a] x) on St. Lawrence Island. It was equally prominent at Kurigitavik, the Thule-Punuk site at Cape Prince of Wales.

I refer to this site as Thule-Punuk because it represents a blending of these two contemporaneous prehistoric Eskimo cultures. Originating from Birnirk, it displays the basic characteristics of what has been called Western Thule. Its barbed harpoon heads were either Birnirk-like or typically Thule. The more numerous barbless harpoon heads and the many decorated objects at Kurigitavik were either identical with or closely similar to those of the Punuk culture of St. Lawrence Island.

Another site closely related to Kurigitavik, called Nukleet,¹⁵ is another illustration of the key role of Punuk and Thule in the development of modern engraved art in Alaska. The Nukleet site, at Cape Denbigh on Norton Sound, was occupied from the 13th through the 18th century. As mentioned earlier, Punuk art disappeared completely on St. Lawrence Island where it had been most typically represented. This was not the case at Nukleet. Nukleet incised art consisted entirely of Punuk and Thule motifs: circle and dot, spurred lines, alternate spur and ladder designs, bands of straight lines, and Y figures. This art style, like Nukleet material culture as a whole, is identical with that of the modern Norton Sound Eskimos, and forms part of a culture pattern which Giddings describes as "literally an extension backward in time of the culture of the modern Norton Bay people."¹⁶

IPIUTAK (350 A.D.) Ipiutak, at Point Hope on the Arctic coast of Alaska, discovered in 1939 by Helge Larsen, Froelich Rainey, and Louis Giddings, is the most remarkable Eskimo site ever found in the Arctic. It is the largest in the circumpolar area, its art is the most advanced, and the problems it poses are the most difficult. The Ipiutak site was a huge village of more than 600 semi-subterranean houses arranged in long rows on the crests of five old beach ridges.

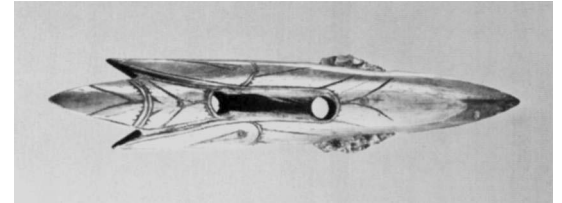
None of the houses overlapped, and the thin deposit of refuse in and around them indicate a short period of occupancy, probably no more than one season. Despite the size of the site there are no discernible differences in age of the houses or the artifacts they contain. The houses and 138 burials are those of a single culture period, exhibiting a "uniform character . . . which ties not only all the houses but the houses and burials into a single unit."¹⁷

Ipiutak is not a part of the cultural continuum thus far described, the series of related sequential cultures leading from Okvik-OBS to modern Eskimo. Ipiutak was related in some manner to Okvik-OBS, as would be expected of two roughly contemporaneous cultures in the same general area, but there were also important differences between the two. Some Ipiutak implements were identical with those of Okvik-OBS and others are closely similar, but the bulk of Ipiutak artifacts have their own individual stamp. The same is true of Ipiutak engraving.

The motifs of Ipiutak art were those of Okvik-OBS—circle and dot, spurred circles, circular and oval panels, straight or curved lines, combinations of light and heavy lines, broken lines, double lines, spurred lines, jet inlays comparable to those of baleen and ivory in OBS—and some of the most elaborate Ipiutak engravings closely resemble OBS style II. For the most part, however, the decorative elements of Ipiutak are differently arranged to form designs of a distinctive character which only in a general way resemble Okvik-OBS.

The connections between the two cultures are shown in another way. Winged objects, which were so characteristic of Okvik-OBS, were not a part of Ipiutak culture. However, two fragments of these objects bearing typical OBS ornamentation were found at Ipiutak. These and a few other objects with Okvik and OBS decoration, including a typical Okvik harpoon head, socket piece, and bird dart prong, are evidently relics of an earlier period, indicating the prior existence of Okvik-OBS. In contrast, no diagnostic Ipiutak artifacts have been found at Okvik-OBS sites.¹⁸

Excavations by Soviet archaeologists in northeastern Siberia have revealed quantities of richly decorated artifacts of the Okvik and Old Bering Sea periods, especially harpoon heads and winged objects, but no traces of Ipiutak. Instead, cultural resemblances between Ipiutak and the Old World turn up far to the west of Bering Strait, in the Iron Age cultures of northern Siberia and Europe. The most striking feature of Ipiutak art is its bizarre ivory carvings—"open work" objects resembling pretzels, chains and link ornaments, non-functional swivels, and animal figures, especially heads, often depicting fantastic rather than real animals



9 HARPOON HEAD WITH INSET BLADES

Walrus ivory and chert

11.9 (4 11/16) LONG

Old Bering Sea II

Excavated from the Northeast Beach

Cut at Kukulik, St. Lawrence

Island, by Otto W. Geist, 1935

University of Alaska Museum,

UA 72-49-2

In terms of both form and ornamentation, this is a good example of a harpoon head belonging to the early part of the Old Bering Sea phase of the Eskimo tradition. The curvilinear motif with a profusion of spurred elements and broken lines indicate a chronological placement in Collins's Old Bering Sea style II. The trifurcate spur and double line holes would suggest early style II, dating the specimen at about 100 A.D.

J. C.



10 HARPOON HEAD

Walrus ivory

11.95 (4 11/16) LONG

Old Bering Sea II

Museum purchase (in Seattle) by
Henry B. Collins, 1929

Smithsonian Institution, 348 123

The harpoon head with which Eskimos capture the sea mammals on which their livelihood depends is also a tool that greatly aids the archaeologist in his task of establishing regional chronologies and tracing culture change. The harpoon is a complex implement, the component parts of which vary from region to region and from one time period to another. This is especially true of the toggle harpoon head, several examples of which are shown here. These implements have undergone continuous change from the Okvik, Old Bering Sea, and Punuk periods to modern times.

The oldest harpoon heads were complicated and variable in form and were decorated with the elaborate designs of Okvik or Old Bering Sea art.

H. B. C.

(Nos. 19–29). As Larsen and Rainey have shown,¹⁹ these animal carvings, especially of the bear and the mythological griffin, and the incised ornamentation accompanying them, are very similar to the forms and designs of Scytho-Siberian art of northern Siberia. Ipiutak art was intimately connected with shamanism. The pretzellike carvings, swivels, and chains, almost all of which were found with burials, were probably shamans' regalia, the ivory equivalents of similar iron objects which Siberian shamans attached to their skin garments.

The loon held a special interest for the Ipiutak Eskimos. Many of the open work ivory objects and link ornaments found with burials were carved in the form of a loon's head. And in one of the Ipiutak burials, that of a male skeleton with ivory and jet inset eyes, there was also the skull of a loon equipped with the same artificial eyes of ivory and jet. This is archaeological evidence of the special place the loon held in northern folklore and religion. In American Indian and Siberian mythology he was the creature, the earth-diver, who brought up bits of the primordial ocean bottom to form the world. More specifically the loon was the principal helping spirit or animal helper who conducted the Siberian shaman on his journeys to the underworld; figures of loons were one of the most frequent objects attached to the Siberian shaman's robe, and wooden carvings of loons were set up on posts over the shaman's grave.

The Ipiutak burial of a man and a loon, both provided with permanent ever-seeing eyes, might also be a reflection of the mythological theme of the loon as a sight-restoring medium. A widespread myth among northern Indians and Eskimos tells of a blind man who asks a loon to restore his vision. This the loon does by diving repeatedly into a lake with the blind man until the latter finally regains his full sight. The Ipiutak burial of a man and loon, both with artificial eyes, suggests an ancient belief in the loon not only as a companion in an underworld flight but also as a creature who brings everlasting vision.²⁰

Perhaps the most spectacular works of art at Ipiutak are the strange "masklike carvings" (No. 20). This and two more elaborate examples consist of flat sections of ivory neatly fitted together to form the outline of a human or human-animal face.²¹ They were found with burials and had evidently been mounted on a wooden background, only traces of which remain. There is a striking general resemblance between these composite ivory carvings and composite "demon masks" found in tombs at An-yang, the Shang dynasty capital in northern China.²² The ancient Chinese masks were made of sections of marble and mother of pearl forming the outline of a human-animal face with mouth, nose, eyes, eyebrows, ears, and horns. They had been set in as inlays on a wooden backing and placed in graves. These composite Chinese and Eskimo masks, generally similar in form and identical in function, suggest that cultural influences from ancient China had contributed to the formation of the Ipiutak culture in Alaska.

The anomalous position of Ipiutak on the north coast of Alaska—as the largest settlement known in the Arctic and yet something apart from

the cultural continuum that links northern Alaska with Canada and Greenland—is counterbalanced by the many indications of cultural ties, including art, between Ipiutak and southwest Alaska. As mentioned before, the primary basis of Eskimo culture in the Bering Sea coastal area from Norton Sound south to Bristol Bay is the Norton culture of western and northern Alaska and the closely related Near Ipiutak, a culture stage at Point Hope related to but earlier than Ipiutak. It is in Ipiutak proper, however, that we find the closest parallels with modern Bering Sea art. The geometric elements of modern Bering Sea art such as bands of encircling lines, circle and dot, circle at the end of a line, Y figures, and spurred lines are clearly of Punuk origin. Representative motifs and carvings of the Bering Sea area such as schematic human faces, eyes shown as goggles, animal carvings, bird's heads, and link ornaments are very similar to those of Ipiutak.

SOUTH ALASKA South Alaska, the most densely populated area of the far north in historic times, is also the area where prehistoric cultures extend deepest into the past. People who could have been proto-Aleut lived on Anangula Island in the Aleutians 8000 years ago, and archaeological sites on Kodiak Island and the Alaska Peninsula which could have been those of proto-Eskimo people have been found dating from 3500 to 2000 B.C. But these very early sites have yielded nothing more than stone implements. Important as they are for showing continuities, changes, and relationships in stone typologies, they tell us little of the way of life and culture of these early peoples. For this we must rely on excavations at later sites which reveal stages of culture demonstrably ancestral to those of the present Eskimos and Aleuts.

Prehistoric Eskimo and Aleut culture in South Alaska is basically similar but in many ways very different from that of the north. The way of life was the same—that of a hunting people utilizing the varied resources of its environment, primarily those of the sea but also of the land. Yet in their hunting practices, arts, and manufactures the southern Eskimos and Aleuts developed their own distinctive patterns. Harpoon heads and some other implement types were generally similar to those of the north but fundamental differences appear in such features as killing whales with a poisoned lance, the prevalence of barbed darts over toggle harpoon heads, composite fish hooks and grooved stone sinkers, composite harpoon heads and sockets, specialized forms of slate blades, and large round or oval lamps. On the whole, there are greater differences between South Alaska and Bering Strait than between Bering Strait and Greenland. In contrast to this sharp distinction between South Alaskan cultures and those of the Northern Maritime tradition at Bering Strait and the Arctic coast, the southern cultures had distinct affinities with the Norton-Near Ipiutak tradition of western and northern Alaska.

Cultural changes in South Alaska were less pronounced and less frequent than in the north. Aigner has demonstrated changes in art and bone artifacts over a long period of time at a single site in the Aleutians.²³ But in general there is no record in South Alaska of continuous, wide-



11 HARPOON HEAD

Walrus ivory

14.6 (5 3/4) LONG

Old Bering Sea III, transitional from Old Bering Sea II, of which vestiges are apparent in the engraved decoration

Collected in the Diomed Islands by E. P. Herenden

Acquired for the Museum ethnology collections, 1881

Smithsonian Institution, 46 374

Old Bering Sea style III was a simplification or adaptation of style II; curved lines became more bold and flowing, and were accompanied by lightly incised and broken lines, for contrast; circles became larger and were usually slightly raised so as to suggest the eyes of an animal. The graceful, flowing ornamentation is accentuated by the soft, rich shades of cream, chocolate brown or almost black which the ivory has assumed through centuries of burial in the frozen soil.

H. B. C.

spread change in which the art styles and implement types of one culture lead directly to the next, as at Bering Strait. Consequently it is not possible usually to speak of South Alaskan art styles in relation to sharply defined culture stages or sequences.

Frederica de Laguna's excavations at Cook Inlet and Prince William Sound have traced the development of the southernmost form of Eskimo culture from around 700 B.C. to the present.²⁴ Three culture periods, called Kachemak Bay I, II, and III, were recognized in this area. Incised ornamentation was rare, only an occasional artifact being decorated with straight lines, spurred lines, or compass-made circles. A few human heads and animal figures were skillfully carved in ivory. Stone plaques and beach pebbles were engraved with fine line crosshatching, and pictographs of red hematite were painted on cliff walls. Large stone lamps with a human or animal figure carved in high relief inside the bowl were the most notable feature of Pacific Eskimo art (No. 45). Artificial bone eyes found in the eye sockets of skeletons afford a direct parallel with Ipiutak.

Hrdlička's excavations on Kodiak Island, and Heizer's detailed description of the artifacts,²⁵ give a full picture of prehistoric Eskimo culture in this area in the 1st millennium A.D. Handsomely carved and decorated stone lamps are perhaps the most characteristic feature of Kodiak culture. Most are oval or petaloid in shape, many with incised or relief decoration on the rims, sides and bottoms but especially on the inside of the bowl. The decoration takes the form of stylized animal heads, sunken or raised areas in the shape of an arc or circle, whale flukes, a median ridge or depression, or two rounded knobs suggestive of female breasts (No. 44).

Art of quite another kind is seen in crude designs representing conventionalized human figures engraved on flat slate beach pebbles.²⁶ Found in great numbers on Kodiak, these incised pebbles have only the merest suggestion of a human face—a Y-like figure with drooping ends representing the nose and eyebrows rising from several short horizontal lines forming the mouth. In the most typical examples there is also the suggestion of a beard, rather explicit rendering of beaded hair ornaments, and lines and figures of many kinds representing clothing. Careless and disorderly as they are, these scratchy designs can be seen to represent the elaborate hair ornaments and decorated skin and feather clothing worn by the early Kodiak Islanders.²⁷ The constant feature of these engravings—the stylized human face—occurs also in rock paintings in Prince William Sound and the Northwest Coast, and they also recall the schematic human faces of Ipiutak.

In striking contrast to these crude engravings, which are no more than stylized graffiti, are a number of small human and animal figures skillfully carved in ivory and bone. A small ivory bear (No. 42) is an example of sculptural abstraction, while another small carving (No. 46) portrays realistically the placid features of an Eskimo woman. The ivory carving shown as No. 47 is a miniature mask, with four holes for cord attachments. Its squarish, almost realistic features approach those of two other Kodiak heads that are true portrait carvings, the finest examples of realistic Eskimo sculpture known.²⁸



12 HARPOON HEAD

Walrus ivory

11.7 (4 19/32) LONG

Old Bering Sea III

Excavated from lower half of second
cut in South Midden, Cape Kialegak,
St. Lawrence Island, by Henry B.

Collins, 1929

Museum collection, 21 December 1929
Smithsonian Institution, 346 906

At the mouth of the Kuskokwim, Larsen (1950) discovered sites of what is now called the Norton culture, closely related to Near Ipiutak. A stone lamp from one of these sites illustrates the relationship, previously mentioned, between Norton-Near Ipiutak and modern Eskimo culture in the Bering Sea region. On the bottom of the lamp was incised a schematic human face with short line tattoo marks like those on schematic faces at Ipiutak. The nose was formed by another Ipiutak design—a straight vertical line flanked by two opposed arc-shaped lines with ends pointing outward. This design, used alone, is frequently incised on the inside of pottery lamps of the modern Bering Sea Eskimos, where it may be a female sex symbol.

In the Aleutian Islands the excavations of Jochelson (1925), Hrdlička (1945), Laughlin (1952, 1958, 1966), Spaulding (1962), and Bank (1953) have revealed the prehistoric patterns of Aleut culture. The early Aleuts, unlike the northern Eskimos, rarely decorated their bone and ivory artifacts. Almost every harpoon head and hundreds of other artifacts made by the Okvik, Old Bering Sea, and Ipiutak Eskimos were decorated in their respective styles of engraving. But of the thousands of bone and ivory artifacts that have been excavated in the Aleutians only a very small percentage are decorated. This is true of South Alaska in general. The early Aleuts and southern Eskimos, like those of later times, applied their artistic skills mainly to wood carving and painting, weaving, and basketry: perishable materials which, except in dry burial caves in the Aleutians, have not been preserved.

The fourteen large and fifty-five smaller islands of the Aleutian chain, extending some 900 miles westward from the Alaska Peninsula, had a dense population, estimated at around 20,000, when discovered by the Russians in 1741. Almost every island was inhabited, with thirty-one villages reported on Agattu, thirteen on Unalaska and many more on the other islands. Judging from the large number of old village sites the Aleut population was equally dense in prehistoric times. In an area as large as this, some degree of cultural diversity is to be expected. The prehistoric Aleutian sites cover a time span of over 3500 years. One of them, Chaluka on Umnak Island, was occupied throughout this period, others are known to overlap in age and still others represent some particular more limited period. There are clear indications of regional differences in prehistoric Aleutian culture, but these have not been elucidated by island-by-island comparisons, and only one local sequence, that established by Laughlin and his coworkers on Umnak Island, has been traced in detail.²⁹

Quimby postulated three periods of prehistoric Aleutian art on the basis of artifacts excavated on Amaknak Island, near Unalaska.³⁰ The earliest style consisted of vertical arrangements of X's, short cross lines, and slanting lines deeply incised on barbed projectiles. These designs are generally similar to those of the Dorset culture of the eastern Arctic. Also present was the simple Okvik motif of pairs of short parallel horizontal lines. Later motifs included nucleated circles and long closely-spaced vertical lines with neatly arranged inward pointing triangular spurs, usually in groups of three. These long lines with inner spurs are very similar to



13 HARPOON SOCKET PIECE
Walrus ivory
20.8 (8 3/16) LONG
Old Bering Sea II
Discovered on St. Lawrence Island,
October 1972
Museum purchase, 1972
Alaska State Museum

14 WINGED OBJECT

Walrus ivory, some lines re-engraved
 17.3 (6 3/4) LONG
 Old Bering Sea II and III
 Collected on St. Lawrence Island by
 Grace M. Crosson, 1952-55
 Gift of Helen Hartigan, in memory of
 Miss Crosson
 Alaska State Museum, II-A-3757

Paralleling the developmental changes in harpoon heads were those that occurred in ivory carvings referred to as "winged objects." These curious objects are found in large numbers at prehistoric Eskimo sites in Alaska and Siberia but are unknown elsewhere in the Arctic. They were probably attached to the butt end of a harpoon propelled by a throwing board, to act as a "wing" and provide a counterweight for the heavy toggle head and socket at the fore end. Beginning in Okvik as a small winged form, they developed, as in this piece, into a larger, more graceful butterfly shape. In the early Punuk stage the wings became narrower and inclined upward instead of outward, gradually assuming the form of a trident. This in turn developed into the "turreted" form of late Punuk (see No. 18).

H. B. C.

those of Okvik sub-Style C. Another parallel with Dorset art is a human head carved above the tang of barbed harpoon heads and sockets, comparable to similar heads on Dorset toggle harpoon heads. A characteristic feature of late prehistoric Aleutian art, found at several sites, is a proliferation of very small compass-made circles.

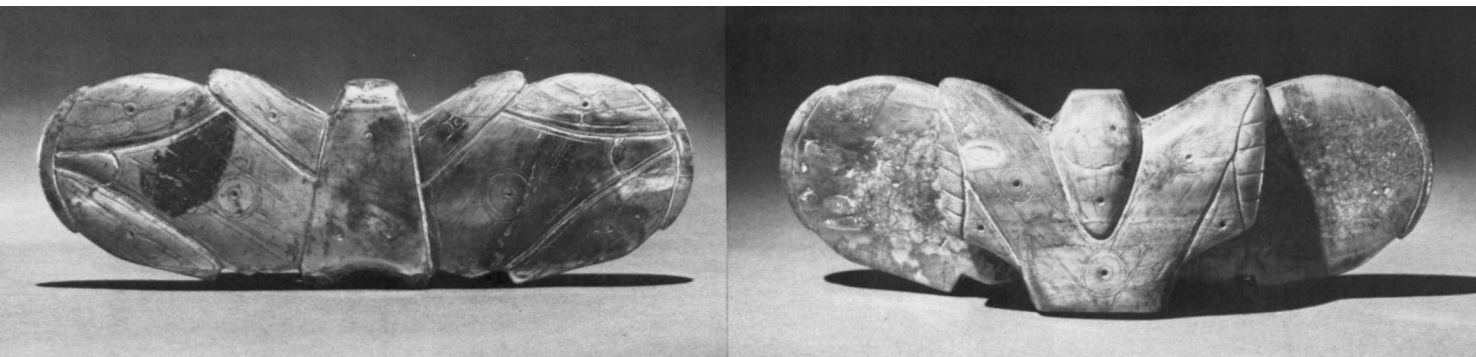
Aigner's careful analysis of the bone artifacts from the deep Chaluka midden on Umnak Island revealed four main cultural units or levels radiocarbon dated from 1700 B.C. to 1700 A.D.³¹ The art sequence differed from that just described, indicating not only an age difference but probably also inherent cultural differences between the two sites.

Arts of the Modern Alaskan Eskimos

SINCE Western civilization came to them late, the Bering Sea Eskimos maintained their original way of life up to the last quarter of the 19th century, longer than any other Eskimos in Alaska. When E. W. Nelson arrived at St. Michael, Norton Sound, in June 1877 to take up his duties as weather observer with the U. S. Signal Corps, the Bering Sea Eskimos were still holding their elaborate mask festivals. Many of the masks and other works of Eskimo art in this exhibition were collected by Nelson during the four years he lived and traveled in Alaska.³²

MASKS The elaborately carved and painted masks of the lower Yukon and adjacent areas of Alaska represent one of the highest achievements of Eskimo art. Better than any other class of objects they display not only the technical virtuosity and high artistic skills of these gifted people but also provide insight into their religious beliefs and conceptions of the universe.

The masks were usually made by shamans or by carvers working under their direction, and were worn by dancers in elaborate winter ceremonials such as the Messenger Feast and the Bladder Festival. Essentially the masks represent spirits—the spirits or souls (*inua*) of animals, those of the shaman's spirit helpers or of creatures he has seen in visions or on his visits to the spirit world; other masks represented the spirits of deities such as the Sun and Moon, or of inanimate objects or places. The purpose of the masks was either apotropaic—to exorcise evil spirits and ward off misfortune of any kind that threatened the community—or to honor and appease the souls of game animals that had been killed, thus insuring a plentiful supply of food in the future.



front

In revealing the visage of the fantastic creatures inhabiting the spirit world to which only he had access, the shaman drew upon his imaginative powers to produce plastic images of life forms as different as possible from those of the existing world. His aim was to carve a human or animal face, recognizable as such, but whose features were so unreal and distorted as to excite awe and amazement at his ability to see and control such strange beings. Some Bering Sea masks showed a naturalistic human face with only a few whimsical features added. Most, however, were grotesque in the extreme—surreal creations with eyes that did not match, one eye replaced by an entire small face (No. 171), superimposed animals or animal heads, and every conceivable distortion of mouth, nose, face, and head. Several examples of these highly imaginative and complex Bering Sea masks are included in this exhibition.

Masks were worn only by men. Their dance movements were rapid and vigorous as they jumped and stamped the floor in time to the drum beats and singing. Women used finger masks (Sheldon Jackson, II F. 2 AB)—small wooden disks with holes for the fingers and decorated with feathers. Their dance movements were extremely graceful and restrained. In some dances the women formed a chorus line, sitting in a row swaying their bodies and moving their arms in perfect unison. When they danced standing, their feet never left the floor, only the arms and upper part of the body moving rhythmically to the accompaniment of the music.

Almost all masks were painted, either in white or soft shades of green and grayish blue, or in bolder tones of red and black to accentuate selected features or areas. Narrow hoops of wood or willow root often encircled the face, and attached to these or to the face itself were various kinds of appendages—feathers, wooden figures of birds, fishes, or mammals, and human hands, arms, and legs. Many masks had rows of feathers or a halolike fringe of caribou hair surrounding the face. Some masks had movable covers or doors that would swing open to reveal the *inua* of the animal it represented. A mask showing a human face inside a bird's mouth (No. 165) illustrates the Eskimos' belief in an original close kinship between men and animals. In ancient times, it was believed, a bird or mammal could be transformed into a man by lifting up its beak or muzzle, revealing his human face.

Masks of the northern Eskimos were less ornate in form; they were painted more simply and lacked the elaborate appendages of the Bering Sea masks.³³ Many had no paint or attachments at all. Some Point Hope masks are plain and portraitlike (No. 137); in others bold relief carving and distortion of selected facial areas achieve a restrained, abstract sculptural quality not usually seen in the south. In one old mask from Point Hope an abstract representation of a human face was produced by five deep, bold, slanting incisions and three down-slanting perforations for eyes and mouth. Another mask from the Arctic coast (No. 134) is similar but has round and bulbous eyes.

At the southern margin of Eskimo territory, Prince William Sound, some masks were unpainted, abstract, and stylized, the constant features being a prominent wedge-shaped nose, very high forehead, heavy over-

front



15 WINGED OBJECT

Walrus ivory

12.1 (4 3/4) LONG

Old Bering Sea II, with traces of transition to Old Bering Sea III

Discovered at Kialegak, near Southeast Cape, St. Lawrence Island, 1945; purchased from the native store, 1946, by Mrs. Alice Green

Sheldon Jackson Museum, II.Z.29

This richly decorated example carries elaborate patterns of engraving which were asymmetrical across the two sides on both front and back; the smaller rear side is reminiscent of some aspects of Ipiutak engraving (see No. 19). The exterior contours of this piece show considerable signs of modern reshaping and regularization, and the high polish is in part a later addition; but the quality of the engraving makes it a beautiful specimen.

C. D. L.

hanging eyebrows and a wide V-shaped slit for the mouth (Nos. 141, 144). Others had similar features but were painted and had encircling hoops to which feathers were attached (No. 142).

Some Kodiak masks resembled these in facial structure and also had surrounding hoops and feather and wooden attachments.

Early Aleutian dance masks illustrated by Sauer were completely or almost realistic, showing beard, mustache, and pendant beaded ornaments.³⁴ Entirely different from these are the strange masks from Aleutian burial caves described by Pinart and Dall.³⁵ Their most conspicuous features are an enormous nose, high forehead, prominent chin and wide mouth (No. 53). Eyes are in the form of an incised circle or a slit. An interesting feature, almost never seen on Eskimo masks, was a prominent circle, spiral, or rectangular or circular design painted in red or green on the forehead between the eyebrows. Spiral designs were incised or painted in soft green on the forehead, above the nostrils, and on the cheeks. In some cases a narrow incised panel, enclosing round, triangular, or diamond-shaped designs, ascended from the edge of the mouth toward the eyebrow. The painted designs and structural features of these masks are unique, in no way resembling the dance masks of the Aleuts and Eskimos. The artists' intention seems to have been to depict a ferocious but purely human face, quite unlike the grotesque, fanciful, or humorous faces on Eskimo masks. In a way these Aleutian mortuary masks recall fierce-visaged Japanese temple guardians or the terrifying face masks worn by Japanese warriors.

There is nothing in the archaeological record to indicate that masks were used by the earliest Eskimos. They are conspicuously absent at Okvik, Old Bering Sea, and Punuk sites on St. Lawrence Island where wooden objects are found in abundance, preserved by the frozen soil. The evidence is less conclusive for Ipiutak and Norton culture sites, where few wooden objects have been preserved. Parts of three wooden masks found at Kurigitavik, the Thule-Punuk site at Wales, show that masks were used, though probably rarely, in prehistoric times.

IVORY AND WOOD CARVING The Alaskan Eskimos display a skill in ivory carving and decoration unequaled in the Arctic. This is shown by an endless variety of objects such as earrings, hair ornaments, belt fasteners, and combs; of objects connected with sewing—needle cases, thimble holders, bodkins, and work bag fasteners; of tools and implements such as bucket and box handles, skin scrapers, arrowshaft straighteners, harpoon sockets, drag handles, harpoon rests, fish lures, toggles; and snuff tubes, pipes, dolls and small human and animal figures (Nos. 86–107). Objects such as these are much more characteristic of modern than of prehistoric Eskimo culture, although the prototypes of many of them are to be found in Okvik-Old Bering Sea, Punuk, and

16 WINGED OBJECT

Walrus ivory with composite inlays

20.3 (8) LONG

Old Bering Sea III

Collected by Captain Joe Bernard

c. 1909–10?

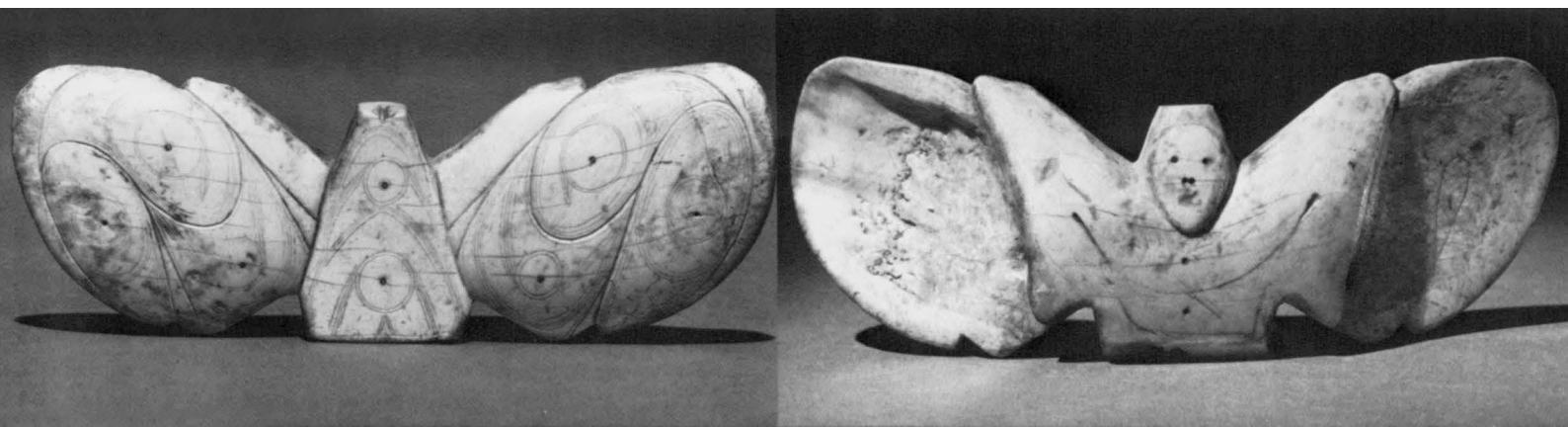
University Museum, Philadelphia,

NA/4245

This harpoon tailpiece rivals a comparable example in the Smithsonian Institution, as the most perfect representative of its type. Delicately engraved with a curvilinear interlace pattern on the front, its decoration changes to a stylized winged figure in low relief with a prominently sculptured face and head, on the reverse.

front

C. D. L.



Ipiutak. As mentioned before, the Punuk culture was the source of the geometric ornamentation applied to objects of this kind, while certain representative motifs were derived from Ipiutak.

The Bering Sea and Pacific Eskimos were noted for the excellence of their wooden bowls and containers: food bowls, trays, ladles and spoons; boxes of various shapes and sizes with neatly fitting lids for holding tools and trinkets, snuff, tobacco, and paint. Other skillfully made wooden objects were hunting helmets and visors, snow goggles, and painted boat paddles.

Some bowls were carved in one piece but most of them had a separate concave bottom and sides made of a strip of wood that had been steamed, bent into shape and neatly pegged together where the ends overlapped. Many of the wooden containers were made in the shape of an animal and embellished with bead and ivory inlays. These handsomely carved wooden utensils are another example of the superior artistic achievement of the modern Eskimos as compared with those of prehistoric times. No small containers such as these, and no composite wooden vessels have been found at prehistoric sites. The Okvik, Old Bering Sea, and Punuk Eskimos made composite utensils of the same type but they had flat wooden bottoms and sides of baleen. Only the ivory handles of these baleen vessels were decorated, never the vessels themselves.

Most of the wooden objects made by the Bering Sea Eskimos, especially bowls and ladles, were painted red; many also had figures of game animals or mythological creatures painted in black on the inside. A favorite motif on bowls and ladles was the *palraiyyuk*, a fabulous man-eating monster resembling an alligator or dragon. A representation of this creature, painted on a wooden bowl, is shown in No. 113.

CLOTHING AND WEAVING The skin garments of the Eskimos are tailored with utmost skill and often tastefully decorated with inset bands, hems, and tassels. A waterproof garment called a *kamleika* was made from long ribbonlike strips of seal intestines. These were sewn together in horizontal bands and decorated at the seams with tufts of feathers or other material. A garment of this kind from St. Lawrence Island (No. 82) is decorated at the seams with feathered crests of the crested auklet.

The most elaborately decorated clothing was that of the Pacific Eskimos and Aleuts. Their parkas, made from the skins of cormorants, puffins and other sea birds and of various kinds of mammals, were embellished with strips and tassels of colored leather, ermine and sea otter fur, eagle down, cloth, and beads.

On Kodiak Island the men wore conical basketry hats, woven from strips of spruce root. They were richly ornamented with painted designs, dentalium, white and colored beads, and bunches of sea lion whiskers.

17 WINGED OBJECT

Fossil ivory

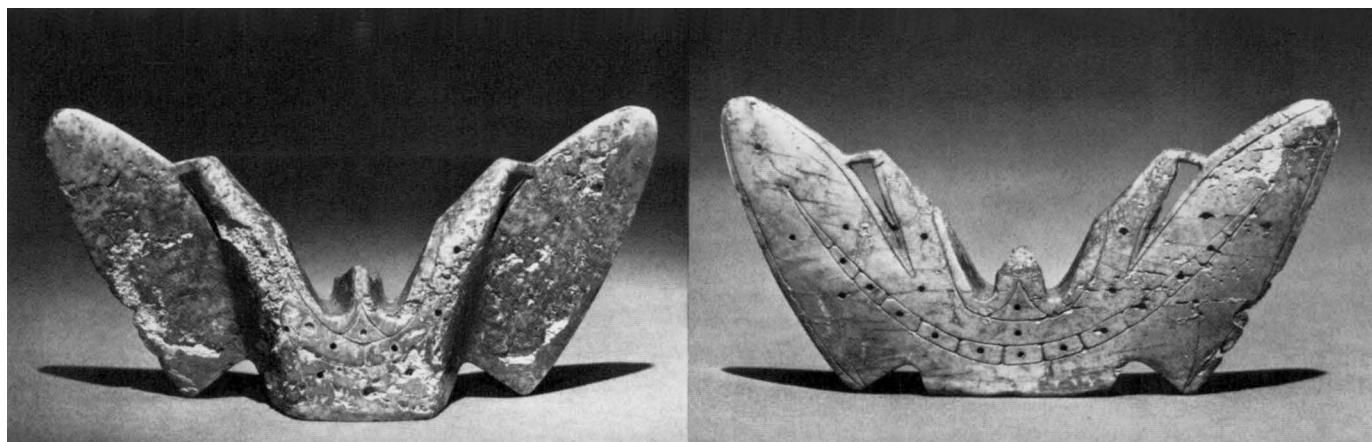
16.1 (6 5/16) LONG

Early Punuk, showing elements of transition from Old Bering Sea III

Museum of the American Indian,

Heye Foundation, 3/2523

front



South of Bering Strait, Eskimo men wore wooden visors and conical helmets to protect their eyes from the glare of the sun when hunting at sea. The conical helmets were made from a single piece of driftwood scraped thin, bent around and sewed together at the back. Some were painted white or red with a cluster of feathers at the back; other decorative features were flat ivory attachments in the form of a long-beaked bird's head and narrow ivory panels, carved with openwork circular figures, rising horizontally on either side of the hat.

The most elaborate hunting helmets were those of the Kodiak Eskimos and Aleuts. The Aleutian helmets had long visors that projected far in front of the hunter's face. The back was nearly vertical and the stitches that bound the ends together were covered by a long narrow ivory band, at the top of which was a hollow enlargement that fitted over the pointed crown of the hat. Surface ornamentation consisted of painted designs: encircling bands of black, red, and greenish blue, bold spirals, and realistic figures of men and animals. Carved ivory figures of birds, mammals, and humans, and clusters of large glass beads were attached to the top and sides; a row of sea lion whiskers, strung with beads and feathers, projected from the rear (No. 64).

A constant feature of the Aleutian helmet was a flat ivory plaque on either side, the upper end round and carved in the form of a scroll, the lower end tapering like a bird's beak. These plaques, decorated with a wide variety of circular motifs, have been interpreted as conventionalized figures of the long-beaked bird's heads on Eskimo hunting helmets. An alternative explanation, one that conforms with the known tendency of the Eskimo artist to give life meaning to preexisting conventional forms, would be that the simpler Eskimo helmet ornament was a later adaptation. It could have been a copy of the original Aleutian ornament with the scroll replaced by an incised concentric circle with inner dot resembling a bird's eye; at the same time the narrow tapering end was divided into two halves, giving the whole ornament the appearance of a bird's head.

Eskimo women in the Bering Sea area made a wide variety of woven grass mats and bags. Their baskets, usually with a flat or conical lid, were neatly made by the coiling method (Nos. 110, 111).

The Aleuts and Pacific Eskimos excelled all others in weaving and basketry. Beautifully woven and decorated mats served as bed covers, screens, and other household furnishings, and many kinds of bags and containers were made of woven grass and other fibers. The tightly woven baskets of this area are among the finest in aboriginal America. Most beautiful of all were those of the western Aleutian Islands; from the silky fibers of a beach grass (*Elymus mollis*), the women wove baskets which for technical perfection and elegance have no equal anywhere (Nos. 55-57).

Aleut women also made basketlike containers from strips of seal intestine, scraped very thin until they were translucent. They were tastefully decorated at the seams with tufts of downy feathers and colored yarn (Nos. 58-60).



18 TURRETED OBJECT

Fossil ivory

7 (2 3/4) WIDE

Late Punuk

Excavated at Kukulik, St. Lawrence
Island, by Otto W. Geist

Museum collection, 1931

University of Alaska Museum,

1-1931-975

PICTOGRAPHIC ART About 200 years ago a new Alaskan art style—small pictorial engravings on ivory—appeared suddenly around Bering Strait. It consisted of small silhouette engravings that illustrated every aspect of Eskimo life: men in skin boats harpooning whales and walrus, caribou being shot with bow and arrow, men driving dog sleds, hunters creeping up on basking seals or spearing them at their breathing hole, masked men dancing, or men wrestling, running foot races, or fighting with bow and arrows. Many of the engravings show the Eskimo winter house with smoke rising from the roof, elevated caches, summer tents, fish drying on racks, and fish nets stretched out for drying. Those showing sailing vessels and Eskimo hunters with firearms can be dated after 1848, when the first American whaling vessel passed through Bering Strait.

Some of the engravings are supposed to represent hunting tallies—rows of caribou, seals, walrus, whales, bears, wolves, whale flukes or the stretched out skins of game animals—showing the number of animals a man had killed. The rows of animals often form undulating, rhythmical patterns, showing that the artist was concerned with achieving an aesthetic, ornamental effect as well as recording his prowess as a hunter (Nos. 120–127).

Sea monsters and other mythological creatures were among the forms of life depicted in the engravings. A hunting tally (No. 123) records not the number of whales or walrus a man had killed; it commemorates a more heroic feat, showing eight dead sea monsters, lying on their backs with their multiple legs in the air.

Alaskan pictorial art was narrowly restricted in its range. It was produced only at Bering Strait and the coastal areas immediately adjacent, from Norton Sound northward to Kotzebue Sound. It had its greatest vogue in the second half of the 19th century, after the arrival of American whalers in 1848. However, a few examples excavated from late Thule sites in the Canadian Arctic, and others from Thule-Punuk sites in Alaska, show that it was a truly aboriginal art style that originated around Bering Strait in late prehistoric times.

Five of the seven Alaskan pieces were excavated at the Thule-Punuk site, Kurigitavik, and another midden at Cape Prince of Wales, where a total of 126 decorated objects were found. These few realistic engravings from Wales and the geometric ornamentation with which they were associated provide, I believe, an answer to the question of the origin of Eskimo pictographic art.

The Wales engravings are quite simple; most of them were attached to a base line, others were free-standing. They were not engraved on drill bows but on a wrist guard, adz handle, blubber pounder, a two-pronged grass comb or shredder, and an unidentified object. The practice of engraving the designs on long objects such as drill bows and bag handles

19 ORNAMENTAL BAND

Walrus ivory

26.9 (10 19/32) LONG (approximately 1 cm. lost from excavated length by curvature due to drying)

Ipiutak

Excavated from burial in prehistoric village site at Ipiutak, near Point

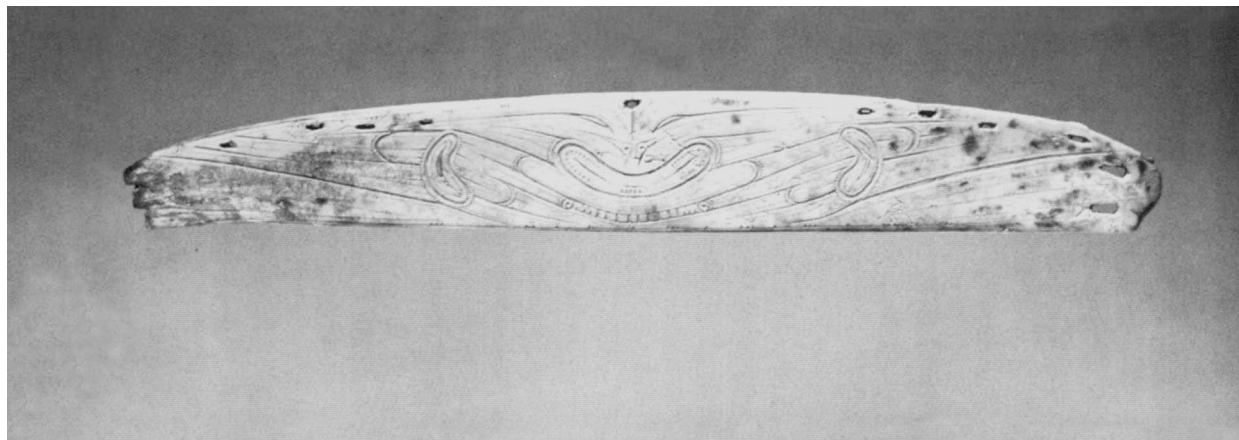
Hope, by Froelich Rainey, 1940

Museum collection, 1940

American Museum of Natural History, 60.1-7702

The most remarkable and most puzzling of all prehistoric Eskimo cultures is the Ipiutak, which flourished on the Arctic coast of Alaska around the 4th century A.D. Only a little later than Old Bering Sea, it was closely related to the latter, sharing its basic art motifs and many other features. Yet in other respects Ipiutak was quite different; it possessed a wealth of curious ivory carvings unknown to other Eskimos.

H. B. C.



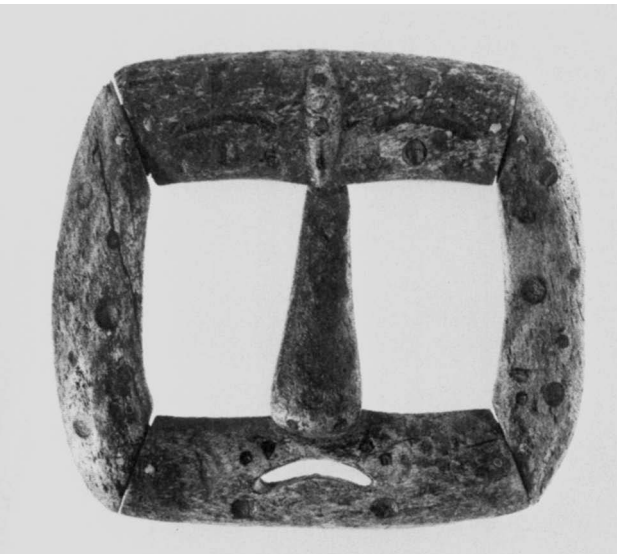
came later, probably in the 17th or 18th century. The prehistoric Wales engravings included the figure of a man standing with upraised arms, his torso a large crosshatched triangle; another man of the same shape stands with bow and arrows beside a caribou; four men in a umiak harpooning a whale; two men dancing; and in the most elaborate example, a man in a kayak with his upraised hands attached to a long border line, two polar bears whose legs are short vertical lines (spurs) attached to the same line, and two men in kayaks throwing bird spears at a loon. The simplicity of these few forms is in striking contrast to the complexity and variability of the geometric ornamentation on many other artifacts.

The relatively complex and highly variable geometric art at Wales, its mutability, and the tendency for the designs to take on the appearance of realistic art, seem to represent the late prehistoric formal background from which Eskimo pictorial art emerged. Examples are bold Y figures becoming thickened to look exactly like whale flukes, attached to a base line; smaller Y's with a dot at the top converting them into something like a simple schematic figure of a man with upraised arms; inverted triangles with a short line ending in a dot rising from the broad upper end and upraised projections like arms extending from the corners, giving the geometric motif a distinctly human form. Neatly incised hatchured triangles were a favorite motif, the larger ones having the exact shape of the hatchured triangles forming the torsos of some of the incised human figures.

A few other objects have triangular spurs rising from a base line along with carefully formed designs suggestive of houses and swimming birds. The two Wales sites represent a period within the time span of the Thule and Punuk cultures when non-representative art was highly variable and experimental. When we see that some of the strictly geometric motifs were altered in such a way as to suggest if not actually portray a life form, and when some of the actual pictographs have the shape of prevailing geometric elements, it seems probable that Eskimo pictographic art came into existence at this time, and in this area, as an outgrowth of geometric ornamentation.

Pictographic art epitomizes the history of the north Alaskan Eskimos during the 19th century—first the hunting of sea mammals with harpoons and caribou with bow and arrow, then the arrival of the white man in his three-masted ships, bringing firearms, then Lapp herders and domesticated reindeer. The pictorial record did not end here. In the last decades of the 19th century the engraved figures became thicker and heavier, a style that Dorothy Jean Ray, who has traced the development of Eskimo pictorial art, calls modified engraving style.³⁶

In the 1890s the art underwent a more profound change. The figures, engraved mostly on cribbage boards and entire walrus tusks, became fully pictorial. Human figures, which had been shown earlier as no more than a line or a thickened body with straight lines for arms and legs were fully clothed fine line etchings of real Eskimos. Humans, animals, sea ice and landscapes were shown in perspective with delicate shading, representation of animals, ice floes, mountains and other land forms. While these



20 BURIAL MASK

Bone

13.8 (5 7/16) WIDE

Ipiutak

Discovered in prehistoric village site at

Ipiutak, near Point Hope

National Museum of Man, Ottawa,

IX-F-9913

Engraved with shallow cavities, this unpublished piece is simpler and more abstract in shape and decoration than its more elaborate related example, on permanent exhibition at the American Museum of Natural History (fig. b).

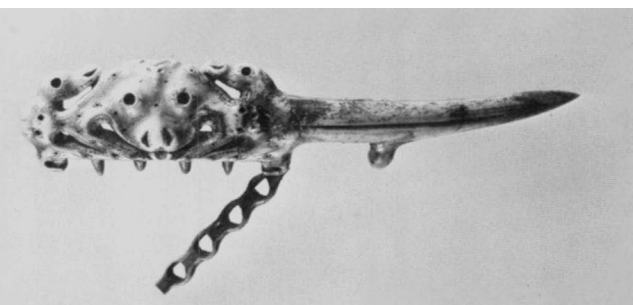
C. D. L.

scenes were being engraved on walrus ivory; similar scenes, far more complete in detail, were being produced in a wholly new medium—paper, pen and ink and watercolors provided by teachers in the newly-established government schools. While many of the ivory engravings of this period are to be found in museums and private collections, few of the watercolor and pen and ink sketches have been preserved. George E. Phebus' recent book *Alaskan Eskimo Life in the 1890s as Sketched by Native Artists* (1972) describes the only known remaining collection of these watercolors and drawings, the last authentic, traditional works of art by the Alaskan Eskimos.

1. The Aleutian language is externally so different from Eskimo that for many years its relationship to the latter was not recognized. Later studies have shown however that Eskimo and Aleut are members of the same linguistic stock, now called Eskaleut. In physical type and culture the Aleuts' basic affinity with Eskimo is more readily apparent; they exhibit facial, cranial, and bodily characteristics that are essentially Eskimo, just as their skin boats, clothing, weapons and utensils correspond in a general way with those of other Eskimos.
2. The Kotzebue sequence did not depend on vertical stratigraphy, that is, cultural materials of different ages found superimposed in deep long-occupied middens as at Bering Strait, but on individual house ruins and camp sites scattered over the surface of a long succession of old beach ridges. The eight cultures found on the old beaches included two that were new to Eskimo archaeology—Choris, radiocarbon dated at 1000 B.C. and Old Whaling, 1800 B.C. The oldest culture on the Kotzebue beaches was the Denbigh Flint Complex (3000 B.C.), which Giddings had first discovered at Cape Denbigh on Norton Sound, and which is now generally regarded as a stage of culture directly ancestral to Eskimo. The older cultures of the Kotzebue sequence are of primary importance for Eskimo archaeology, but they left very little in the way of art.
3. Froelich G. Rainey, *Eskimo Prehistory: The Okvik Site on the Punuk Islands*, Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, 37, (New York, 1941), part 4. It has also been found at the oldest of five prehistoric sites at Gambell on the west end of St. Lawrence Island (Collins 1937), on Little Diomed Island in Bering Strait, at Point Hope on the Arctic coast (Larsen and Rainey 1948), and on the northeast coast of Siberia (Rudenko 1961; Aroutiounov and Sergheev 1969). A deeply patinated artifact with Okvik decoration found at an old site near Kuskokwim Bay could indicate the existence of the Okvik culture in southwest Alaska (Collins 1959).
4. Henry B. Collins, *Archaeology of St. Lawrence Island, Alaska*, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, 96, (Washington, D.C., 1937), no. 1, pl. 12, 12; pl. 14, 3-5; p. 53; Rainey, *Eskimo Prehistory*, fig. 24, 5, 6; fig. 25, 1-4; S. A. Aroutiounov and D. A. Sergheev, *Ancient Culture of the Asiatic Eskimos*, (Moscow, 1969), (in Russian), figs. 98-100.
5. Rainey, *Eskimo Prehistory*, fig. 27; Henry B. Collins, "The Okvik Figurine: Madonna or Bear Mother?," *Folk, Dansk Etnografisk Tidsskrift*, 11-12, (Copenhagen, 1969/70), pp. 125-32.
6. Henry B. Collins, "The Arctic and Sub-Arctic," in *Prehistoric Man in the New World*, ed. Jesse D. Jennings and Edward Norbeck, (University of Chicago Press, 1964), pp. 85-114.
7. Collins, *St. Lawrence Island*. At the next oldest site, a large midden called Miyowagh, no examples of Okvik art were found. Of the seventy-two objects bearing Old Bering Sea decoration at Miyowagh almost half were OBS style II, the others being what I have called OBS style III. The stratigraphic evidence suggested but did not conclusively prove priority for style II. The assumption of an age difference rests mainly on stylistic evidence.
8. Collins, *St. Lawrence Island*.
9. The source of the metal was undoubtedly Siberia. Iron had been in use in China and central Asia for many centuries, and from references in Chinese literature it is known to have been in the possession of barbarian tribes of eastern Asia north of Korea in the second century A.D. There was thus ample opportunity for small quantities of iron to have reached Bering Strait a thousand years ago.
10. Henry B. Collins, "Eskimo Cultures," *Encyclopedia of World Art*, 5, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc., 1962), cols. 1-28.



figure b



21. ORNAMENTAL COMB

Walrus ivory

26.4 (10 3/8) LONG

Ipiutak

Discovered at Point Spencer,

Seward Peninsula

University of Alaska Museum,

UA 72-49-1

Both the type of artifact and its artistic style place it within the Ipiutak phase of the Eskimo tradition—about 1600 years ago. The main figure is that of a bear with its head between its paws, although there are four subsidiary visages, one of which may also be a bear—looking at the main figure upside down. The others are interpreted as seals. The use of this artifact is unknown. Two others were found at Point Hope, where the Ipiutak phase was first discovered. These were simply described as rakelike implements. Dr. Helge Larsen of the Danish National Museum has hypothesized that it is a comb for use in cleaning a bear skin preparatory to certain ceremonies.

Illustrated in color

11. Ford found that Birnirk had seventy-five traits in common with these cultures and only twelve with the geographically closer Ipiutak culture at Point Hope. As shown by its implement typology Birnirk was an outgrowth of Okvik-OBS, but the sequential development cannot be traced in detail. This probably occurred in northeastern Siberia where Okvik, OBS, and Birnirk materials are found in abundance.
12. Henry B. Collins, *Outline of Eskimo Prehistory*, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, 100, (Washington, D.C., 1940), pp. 533-92.
13. Collins, *St. Lawrence Island*, pl. 15, 1; pl. 17, 3.
14. William E. Taylor, Jr., "Hypothesis on the Origin of the Canadian Thule Culture," *American Antiquity*, 28, no. 4, (1963), pp. 456-64.
15. J. Louis Giddings, *The Archaeology of Cape Denbigh*, (Providence: Brown University Press, 1964).
16. Giddings, *Cape Denbigh*, p. 118.
17. Helge Larsen and Froelich Rainey, *Ipiutak and the Arctic Whale Hunting Culture*, Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, 42, (New York, 1948), p. 162.
18. Basic differences between the two cultures are shown by the complete absence at Ipiutak of such typical western Eskimo features as rubbed slate implements, lamps, pottery, bow drills, and implements connected with whale hunting. However, the absence of these features at Ipiutak has no chronological significance, for an earlier stage of culture at Point Hope, called Near Ipiutak, had slate implements, lamps, pottery, and whaling harpoon heads. In one respect—its stone typology—Ipiutak is an example of a culture of no great antiquity that had perpetuated a much more ancient pattern of culture. Its chipped stone implements were undoubtedly derived from the 5000 year-old Denbigh Flint complex and are also very similar in form to those from early Neolithic sites around Lake Baikal in Siberia. Moreover, some of the most characteristic Ipiutak implements—side-bladed arrows and lances—are directly comparable to those of the Siberian Neolithic and European Mesolithic.
19. Larsen and Rainey, *Arctic Whale Hunting Culture*.
20. In addition to ivory eyes some of the Ipiutak burials had ivory nose plugs and mouth covers, a mortuary practice suggestive of the ancient Chinese custom of closing the body openings with plugs and covers of jade; some Siberian tribes had a similar custom (Larsen and Rainey 1948: 120, 158).
21. Larsen and Rainey, *Arctic Whale Hunting Culture*, pls. 54, 55.
22. Henry B. Collins, "Composite Masks: Chinese and Eskimo," *Anthropologica*, n.s., 11, nos. 1-2, (1971), pp. 271-78.
23. J. S. Aigner, "Bone Tools and Decorative Motifs from Chaluka, Umnak Island," *Arctic Anthropology*, 3, no. 2, (1966), pp. 57-83.
24. Frederica de Laguna, *The Archaeology of Cook Inlet, Alaska*, (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1934); Frederica de Laguna, *Chugach Prehistory: The Archaeology of Prince William Sound, Alaska*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1956).
25. Robert F. Heizer, *Archaeology of the Uyak Site, Kodiak Island, Alaska*, Anthropological Records, University of Alaska, 17, (1956), no. 1.
26. Heizer, *Uyak Site*, fig. 31; Donald W. Clark, "Incised Figurine Tablets from Kodiak, Alaska," *Arctic Anthropology*, 2, (1964), no. 1, pp. 118-34.
27. E. L. Keithan, "About Slate Figurines," *American Antiquity*, 19, (1953), no. 1, p. 81; K. Birket-Smith, *Early Collections from the Pacific Eskimo*, Nationalmuseets Skrifter, Ethnografisk Raekke (Copenhagen), 1, (1941).
28. Heizer, *Uyak Site*, pl. 84, b, e.
29. William S. Laughlin and W. G. Reeder, eds., "Studies in Aleutian-Kodiak Prehistory, Ecology, and Anthropology," *Arctic Anthropology*, 3, (1966), no. 2, pp. 1-211.
30. George I. Quimby, "Periods of Prehistoric Art in the Aleutian Islands," *American Antiquity*, 11, (1945), no. 2, pp. 76-9; George I. Quimby, "Prehistoric Art of the Aleutian Islands," *Fieldiana: Anthropology*, 36, no. 4, (Chicago: Natural History Museum, 1948), pp. 77-92.
31. Aigner, "Bone Tools and Decorative Motifs."
32. E. W. Nelson, *The Eskimo About Bering Strait*, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, 18th Annual Report, (Washington, D.C., 1899).
33. James W. VanStone, "Masks of the Point Hope Eskimo," *Anthropos: International Review of Ethnology and Linguistics*, (Fribourg, Switzerland, 63/64, (1968/69), pp. 828-40.

34. Martin Sauer, *An Account of a Geographical and Astronomical Expedition to the Northern Parts of Russia . . . performed by Commodore Joseph Billings in the Years 1785-1794*, (London, 1802).
35. A. L. Pinart, *La Caverne d'Aknanh, Ile d'Ounga (Archipel Shumagin, Alaska)*, (Paris, 1875); William H. Dall, *On the Remains of Later Pre-Historic Man Obtained from Caves . . . of the Aleutian Islands*, Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, no. 318, (Washington, D.C., 1878).
36. Dorothy Jean Ray, *Graphic Arts of the Alaskan Eskimo*, Indian Arts and Crafts Board, U.S. Department of the Interior, (Washington, D.C., 1969).

22 TUBULAR ANIMAL HEAD

Antler bone with inlaid bead(?)

forming one eye

38.9 (15 5/16) LONG

Ipiutak

Excavated from burial in prehistoric

village at Ipiutak, near Point Hope,

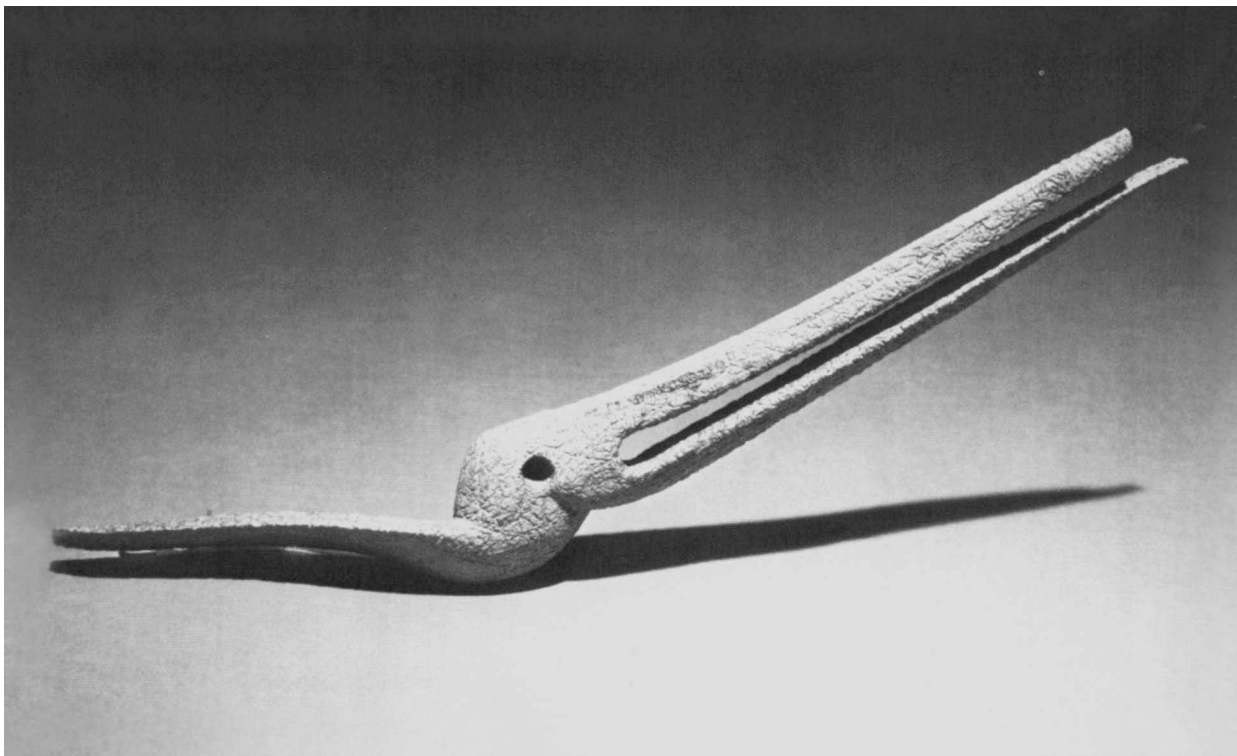
by Froelich Rainey, 1940

Museum collection, 1940

American Museum of Natural History,

60.1-7453





23 LOON'S HEAD

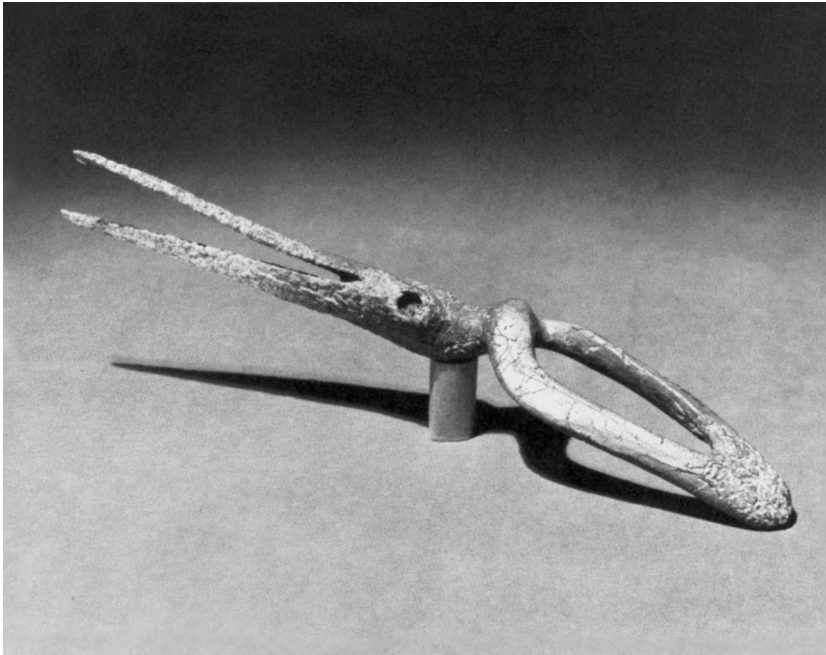
Walrus ivory

31.5 (12 3/8) LONG

Ipiutak

Excavated in prehistoric village site
at Ipiutak, near Point Hope, by
Froelich Rainey, 1945

Museum Expedition collection, 1945
American Museum of Natural History,
60.2-3975



24 SPIRAL ORNAMENT WITH
LOON'S HEAD

Walrus ivory

20.3 (8) LONG

Ipiutak

Excavated from prehistoric village site
at Ipiutak, near Point Hope, by

Froelich Rainey, 1940

Museum collection, 1940

American Museum of Natural History,
60.1-7582

25 POLAR BEAR

Walrus ivory

13.1 (5 1/8) LONG

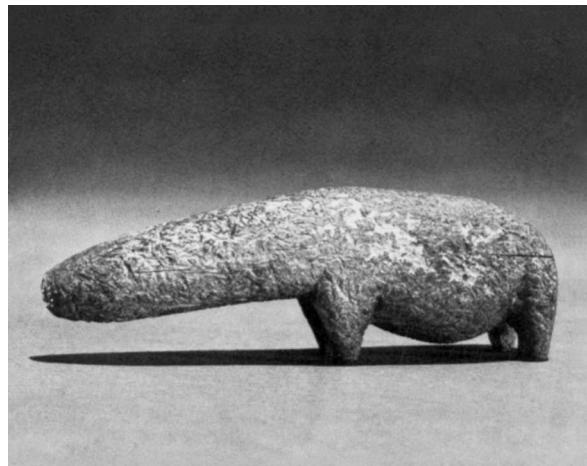
Ipiutak

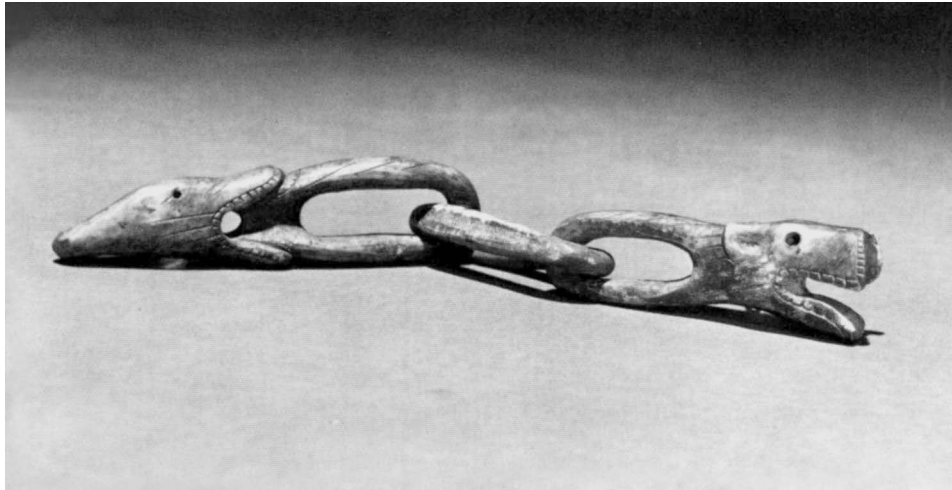
Excavated from prehistoric village site
at Ipiutak, near Point Hope, by

Froelich Rainey, 1945

Museum Expedition collection, 1945

American Museum of Natural History,
60.2-4293





26 CHAIN WITH TWO
ANIMAL HEADS

Walrus ivory

22.1 (8 11/16) LONG

Ipiutak

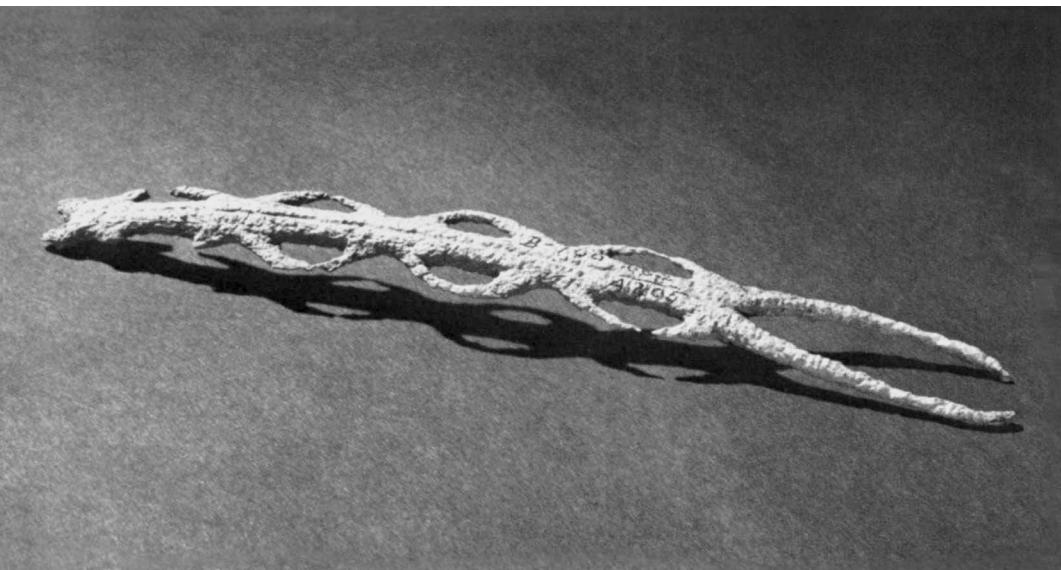
Excavated from prehistoric village site
at Ipiutak, near Point Hope, by

Froelich Rainey, 1940

Museum collection, 1940

American Museum of Natural History,

60.1-7457



27 ORNAMENT

Walrus ivory or bone

24.7 (9 3/4) LONG

Ipiutak

Excavated from prehistoric village site
at Ipiutak, near Point Hope, by

Froelich Rainey, 1945

Museum Expedition collection, 1945

American Museum of Natural History,

60.2-4205



28 SPIRAL ORNAMENT WITH
HEAD AT EITHER END

Walrus ivory

23.2 (9 1/8) LONG

Ipiutak

Excavated from prehistoric village site
at Ipiutak, near Point Hope, by

Froelich Rainey, 1945

Museum Expedition collection, 1945

American Museum of Natural History,

60.2-4180



29 SPIRAL ORNAMENT WITH
TWIN BIRDS' HEADS

Walrus ivory

18.1 (7 1/8) LONG

Ipiutak

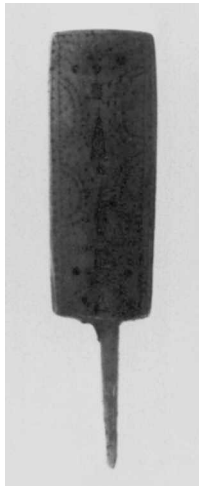
Excavated from prehistoric village site
at Ipiutak, near Point Hope, by

Froelich Rainey, 1945

Museum Expedition collection, 1945

American Museum of Natural History,

60.2-4177



30 ENGRAVED OBJECT
(COMB?)

Walrus ivory with composite inlays

10.9 (4 9/32) LONG

Birnirk

Excavated from floor of entrance to

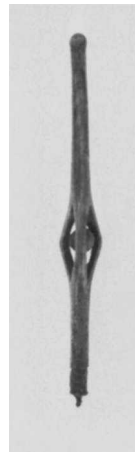
House C, Mound A, Birnirk, by

James A. Ford, 1957

Museum collection, 3 March 1958

Smithsonian Institution, 399 134

James A. Ford, *Eskimo Prehistory in the Vicinity of Point Barrow, Alaska*, 47, pt. 1, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, (New York, 1959) fig. 104c.



31 ENGRAVING TOOL

Walrus ivory with iron point

9 (3 9/16) LONG

Thule-Punuk

Excavated from cut 5 at Kurigitavik,

Cape Prince of Wales, by Henry B.

Collins for the National Geographic Society, 1936

Gift to the Museum, 11 November 1936

Smithsonian Institution, 393 598

Around a thousand years ago the rich curvilinear art of the Old Bering Sea culture was replaced by a simpler style, the Punuk, which foreshadowed modern Alaskan Eskimo art. The Punuk culture was partly an outgrowth of Old Bering Sea and partly the result of new influences from Siberia.

Iron, in very small quantities, reached Bering Strait at this time, and was used mainly as tips for engraving tools like this example, a number of which have been found at Punuk sites.

H. B. C.



33 HARPOON HEAD

Walrus ivory

10.6 (4 9/32) LONG

Early Punuk

Excavated from lower half of second

cut, South Midden, Cape Kialegak,

St. Lawrence Island, by Henry B.

Collins, 1929

Museum collection, 21 December 1929

Smithsonian Institution, 346 901

32 LARGE HARPOON HEAD

Walrus ivory

21.1 (8 5/16) LONG

Punuk

Excavated at Miyowaghameet, near
Campbell, St. Lawrence Island, by

Moreau B. Chambers, 1933

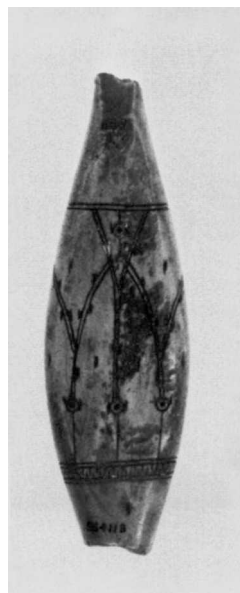
Museum collection, 4 December 1933

Smithsonian Institution, 371 846

Punuk art bears witness to the new engraving technique. Its lines are deeply and evenly incised, and the circles, unlike the freehand circles and ellipses of Old Bering Sea, were mechanically perfect, made with metal bits or compasses (see Nos. 33 and 34). In its later stages, Punuk art became more rigid, consisting mainly of bands of straight lines, spurred lines, circles, and bold Y figures (see Nos. 35, 36 and 38), closely resembling the incised ornamentation of the modern Bering Sea Eskimos.

Collins, *Archaeology of St. Lawrence Island*,
pl. 72.

H. B. C.



34 FISH-LINE SINKER

Walrus ivory

12.1 (4 13/16) LONG (both ends
broken off)

Punuk

Collected near Savoonga, St. Lawrence
Island

Museum purchase (in Seattle), 4 May
1932

Smithsonian Institution, 364 113



35 WRIST GUARD

Walrus ivory

10.8 (4 1/4) LONG

Punuk

Collected near Savoonga, St. Lawrence Island

Museum purchase (in Seattle), 4 May

1932

Smithsonian Institution, 364 055



37 WRIST GUARD

Walrus ivory

7.6 (3) LONG

Punuk

Collected on St. Lawrence Island, by Otto W. Geist, 1926

University of Alaska Museum,
1-1926-603

This is a good example of a middle Punuk wrist guard. The ornamentation is typically Punuk; deep incision of paired lines, some straight, some curving with an overall spare feeling. The two flanges of the guard place the specimen in the middle part of the Punuk period, i.e., about 900 A.D.

J. C.

36 WRIST GUARD

Walrus ivory

10 (3 15/16) LONG

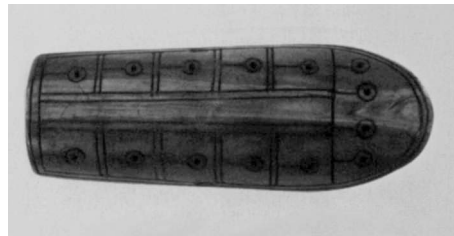
Punuk

Excavated from old village at Gambell, St. Lawrence Island, by Henry B. Collins, 1928

Museum collection (by transfer from the Bureau of American Ethnology),
8 January 1929

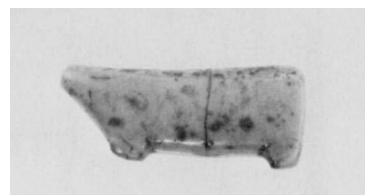
Smithsonian Institution, 342 744

Henry B. Collins, *Smithsonian Museum Calendar*, 81, (1929), no. 14.

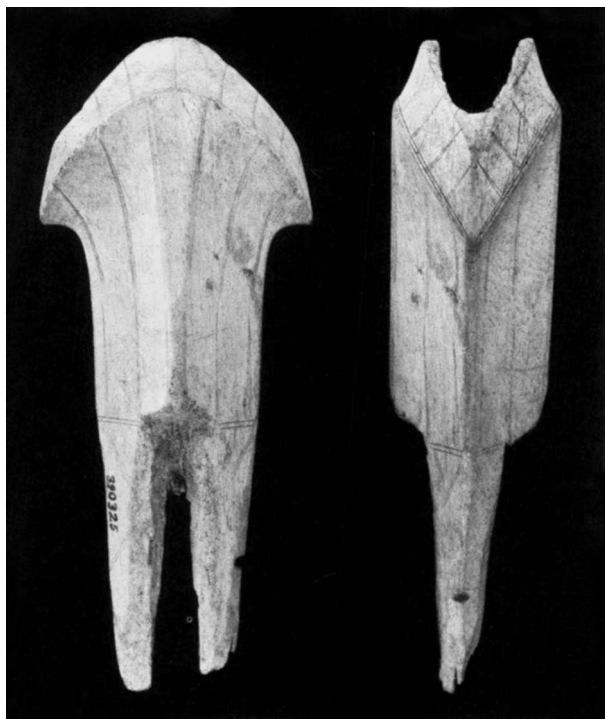




38 ENGRAVED OBJECT
Walrus ivory
11.9 (4 11/16) LONG
Punuk
Collected by Aleš Hrdlička
Transfer, 7 November 1929
Smithsonian Institution, 349 502



42 CARVING OF A BEAR
Walrus ivory
6.2 (2 7/16) LONG
Kodiak
Excavated from site at Jones Point,
Uyak Bay, Kodiak Island, by Aleš
Hrdlička, 1932
Museum collection, 3 December 1932
Smithsonian Institution, 365 585



39 HARPOON SOCKET PIECE

Bone

16.7 (6 9/16) LONG

Excavated from "low site," Agattu Island, western Aleutians, by Aleš Hrdlička, 1937

Museum collection, 6 October 1937
Smithsonian Institution, 390 325

Prehistoric Eskimo and Aleutian culture in South Alaska, while basically similar to northern Eskimo, differed from it in many ways. Features of prehistoric and modern South Alaskan culture that set it apart from the northern Eskimo pattern include large round and oval stone lamps, whaling with poisoned lance, prevalence of barbed darts over toggle harpoon heads, composite fish hooks and grooved stone sinkers, specialized forms of slate blades, emphasis on decoration of clothing and the person, high development of woodworking, painting, and especially of weaving.

The early Aleuts, unlike the northern Eskimos, rarely decorated their bone and ivory artifacts. Incised art consisted of vertical arrangements of X's, short cross lines and slanting lines. Other design elements were nucleated circles and bands of long closely spaced vertical lines as in No. 39. Lances and darts were multibarbed and elaborate in form (No. 40).

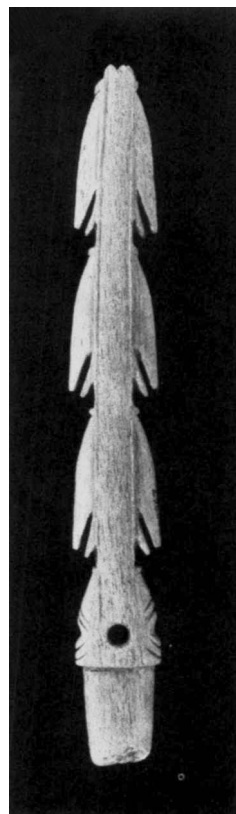
H. B. C.

40 BARBED DART

Bone

18.2 (7 1/8) LONG

Collected on Amaknak Island, off the northeast coast of Unalaska, Fox Islands, by Aleš Hrdlička, 1937
Museum collection, 6 October 1937
Smithsonian Institution, 389 967





41 PENDANT ORNAMENT
OR PIN

Walrus ivory

18.2 (7 1/8) LONG

Collected from an ancient village site
near Dutch Harbor, Unalaska, Fox
Islands, by Mr. and Mrs. R. W.
Kenton

Gift to the Museum, 7 December 1940
Smithsonian Institution, 382 149

This piece depicts two seals and a
human figure.

43 OIL LAMP

Stone

21.9 (8 5/8) LONG

Collected at old village site, Korovin
Bay, Atka Island, 1864

Gift of Mrs. Maria G. Bowman,
18 October 1944

Smithsonian Institution, 387 644

Handsomely carved and decorated
stone lamps were one of the most
characteristic features of prehistoric
Kodiak culture. The early Kodiak
Eskimos also excelled in bone and
ivory sculpture. Their work ranged
from the abstract, as in a small
featureless ivory bear (No. 42) to
portraitlike representations of the
human face (No. 46).

H. B. C.



44 OIL LAMP

Stone

22.9 (9) LONG

Kodiak

Excavated from prehistoric village site,
Jones Point, Uyak Bay, Kodiak Island,
by Aleš Hrdlička, 1934

Museum collection, 29 January 1935

Smithsonian Institution, 377 861



46 CARVED HUMAN FACE

Walrus ivory

3.4 (1 11/32) HIGH

Kodiak

Excavated from site at Jones Point,
Uyak Bay, Kodiak Island, by Aleš
Hrdlička, 1932

Museum collection, 3 December 1932

Smithsonian Institution, 365 583

47 COSTUME ORNAMENT IN THE
FORM OF A HUMAN HEAD

Walrus ivory

8.4 (3 5/16) HIGH

Kodiak

Excavated from site at Jones Point,
Uyak Bay, Kodiak Island, by Museum
Expedition, 1931

Museum collection, 11 December 1931
Smithsonian Institution, 363 740



45 OIL LAMP WITH
HUMAN FIGURE

Stone

42 (16 1/2) LONG

Cook Inlet (or Kodiak?)

Museum of the American Indian,
Heye Foundation, 4/9236





48 HUMAN MASK*

Wood

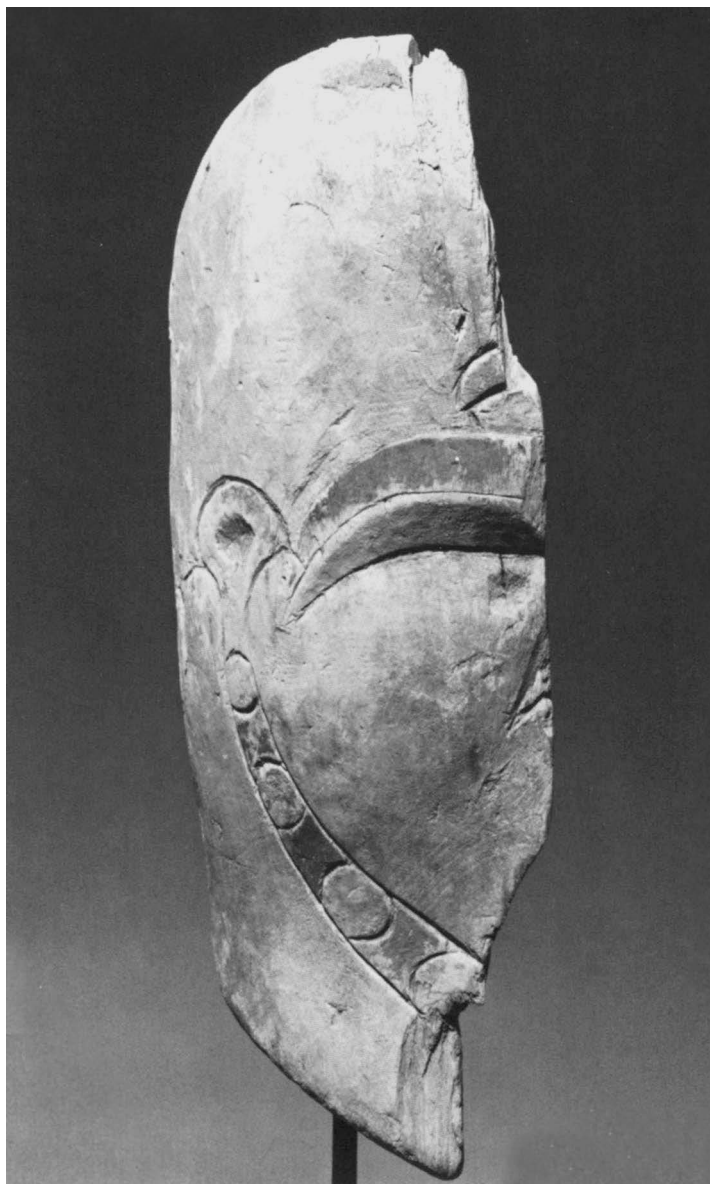
32 (12 5/8) HIGH

Aleutian Islands

Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum, Cologne,

49828

not in exhibition



49 HUMAN MASK*

Wood, with purple-red, green, and black pigment

28.6 (11 1/4) HIGH

Found in an archaeological deposit (presumably on a cave floor), Delarof Harbor, Unga Island, Shumagin group Smithsonian Institution, 13 002

This fragment, one of the rare examples known to survive with its pigmentation unchanged, reveals the delicate but extensive coloring of these early masks. It is interesting to compare the detail of the preserved facial tattoo, perhaps representing an octopus tentacle, with the similar motif on No. 296; traces of comparable incised decorations, though now lacking their color, are visible on the two following fragments.

C. D. L.

50 HUMAN MASK*

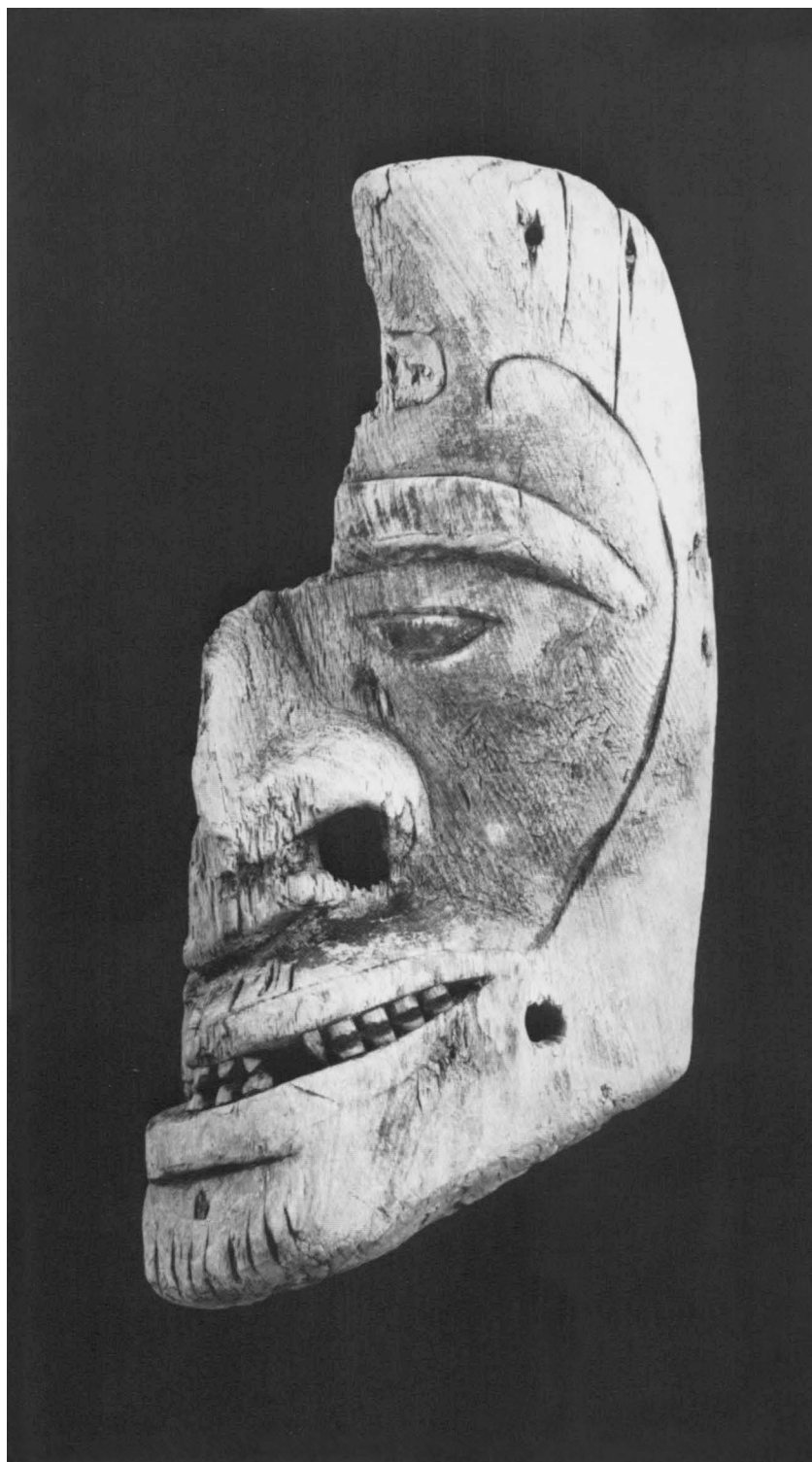
Wood, formerly inset with hair
moustache; stained with modern
preservative

34 (13 3/8) HIGH

Found in an archaeological deposit
(presumably on a cave floor), Delarof
Harbor, Unga Island, Shumagin
group

Smithsonian Institution, 13 082





51 HUMAN MASK*

Wood, with traces of pigment; stained
with modern preservative

30.5 (12) HIGH

Found in an archaeological deposit
(presumably on a cave floor) Delarof
Harbor, Unga Island, Shumagin group
Smithsonian Institution, 13 082

52 HUMAN MASK*

Wood

50.1 (19 3/4) HIGH

Discovered in prehistoric cave on
Tigalda Island, Krenitzin Islands,
Aleutians, by Harley Stamp
Museum of the American Indian,
Heye Foundation, 7/5905





figure c

53 HUMAN MASK

Wood

31 (12 1/4) HIGH

Collected at Atka, Andreanof Islands,
by Capt. I. Archimandritov, Imperial
Russian Navy, 1840

Museum of Anthropology and
Ethnography, Leningrad, 538.2

The pegs around the chin of this mask
presumably helped support a helmet-
like visor, similar to the one preserved
on its companion example, No. 538.1
in the same Museum (fig. c).

C. D. L.



54 HUMAN MASK

Wood

31.7 (12 1/2) HIGH

Possibly Kodiak?

Presumably collected by Rev. Sheldon

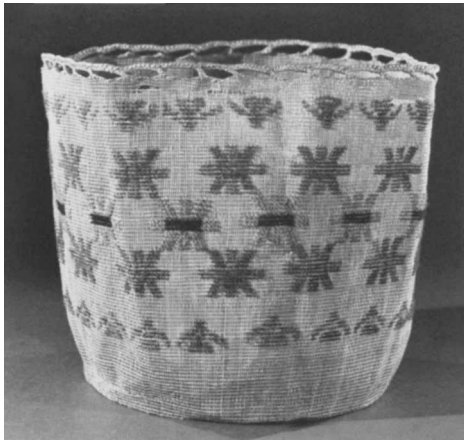
Jackson in the late 19th century

Sheldon Jackson Museum, III.X.16

This expressive mask, similar in its traces of fire damage, breakage, and surface erosion to prehistoric Aleut masks found in the lower Aleutian chain, also bears similarities to masks produced more recently on nearby Kodiak Island, principally by the Koniag Eskimo. The characteristic forms of its eyebrow ridges, especially, seem transitional between the prehistoric example from Cologne (No. 48), and the more rigidly stylized Smithsonian example (No. 141).

C. D. L.

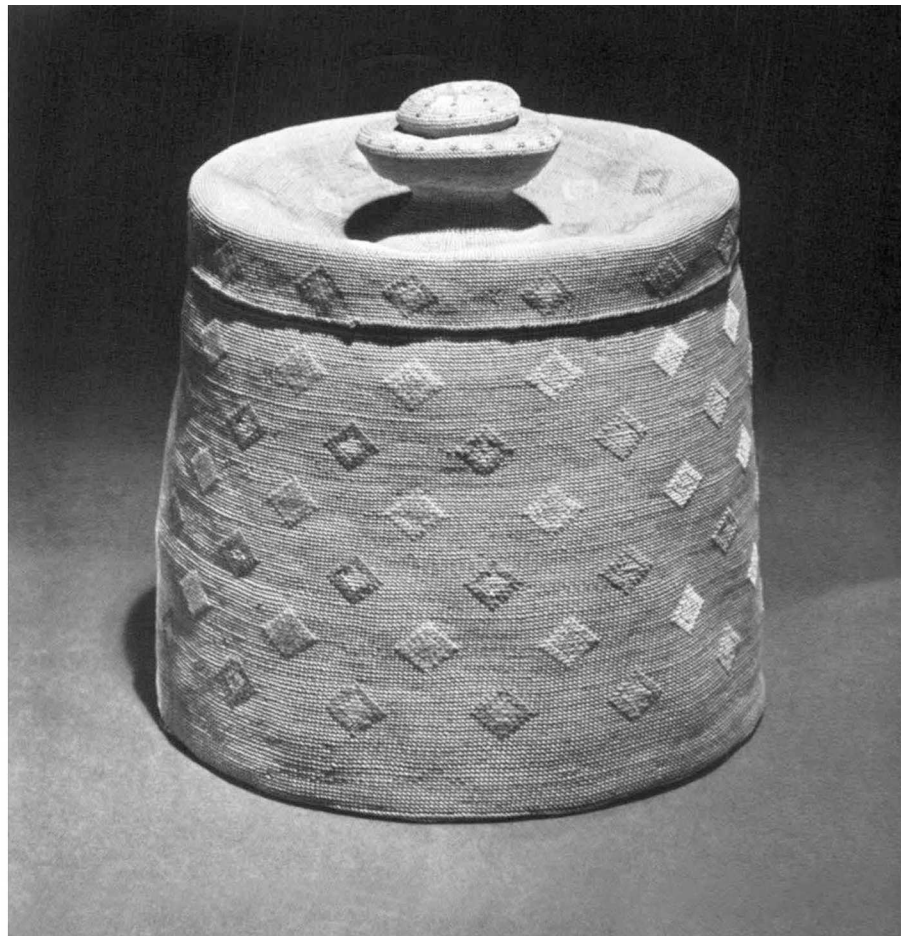




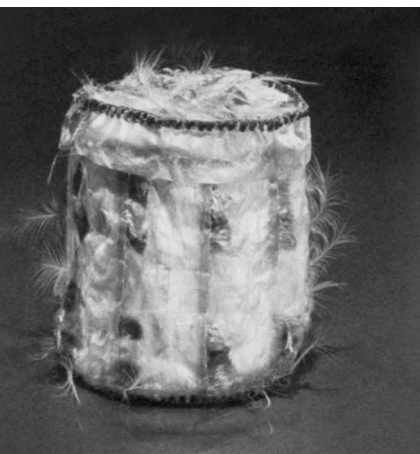
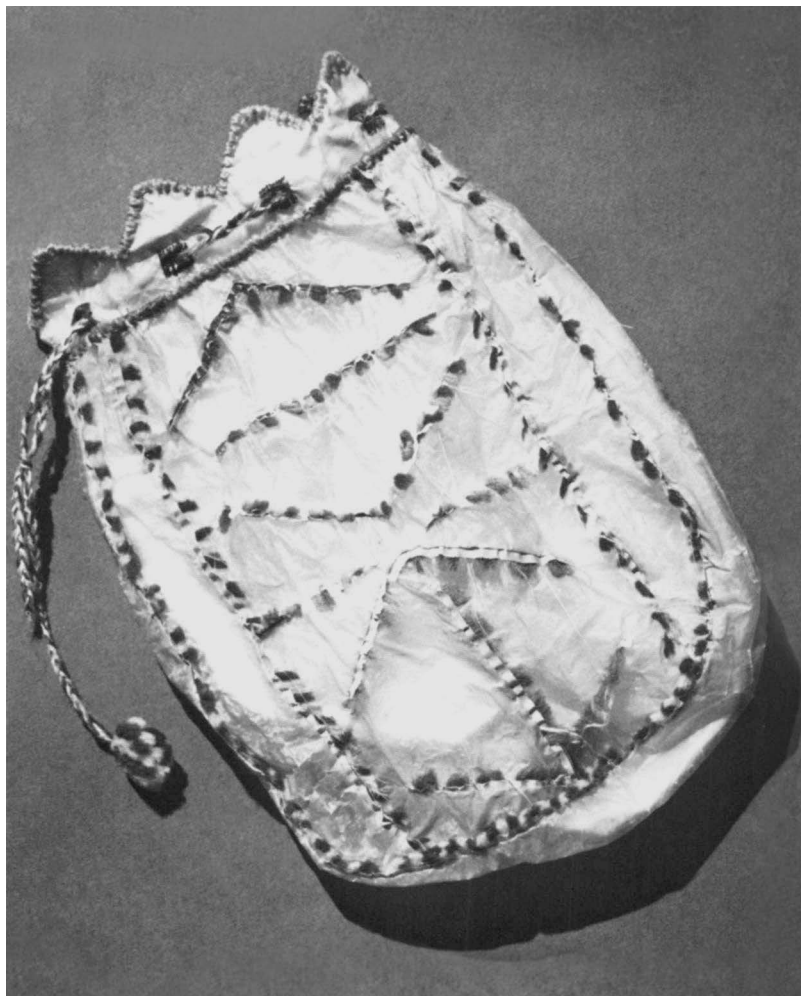
55 LARGE OPEN BASKET
Wild rye, colored yarns
26 (10 1/4) HIGH
Aleutian Islands, probably Attu;
Emmons Collection?
Alaska State Museum, II-F-84
Illustrated in color

57 COVERED ATTU BASKET
Wild rye, with decorations overlaid in
silk floss
12 (4 3/4) HIGH
Woven at Atka by Agrafania Zoachny,
the Attu wife of the chief, 1915;
Ella D. Smith Collection
Museum purchase, Rauch Fund
Alaska State Museum, II-F-138
This basket presents a striking example
of the fine weaving characteristic of
the women of Attu.
C. D. L.

56 COVERED ATTU BASKET
Beach grass (?), with designs over-
laid in dyed wool; metal rattle
17 (6 3/4) HIGH
Near Islands, probably Attu or Agattu,
Aleutian Islands
Collected by Mrs. Mary A.
Frothingham, 1908
Peabody Museum, Harvard University,
45-20-10/27656
The rattle is woven into the pro-
truding handle on the cover, and
sounds when the basket is opened.
C. D. L.



59 BAG WITH DRAWSTRING
Walrus intestines, dyed skin strips,
colored yarns, eagle down, sewn over
white trade cloth lining
19 (7 1/2) HIGH
Probably collected by Rev. Sheldon
Jackson in the late 19th century
Sheldon Jackson Museum, II.X.6
(cataloged as Eskimo)



58 COVERED CONTAINER
Walrus intestines, colored yarns, eagle
down, with white trade cloth sewn as
support
14 (5 1/2) HIGH
Collected at Akutan, Krenitzin Islands,
by Comdr. Ralph Burns, 1949
Loaned by Aileen Jones
Tongass Historical Society, AJ x 67
Illustrated in color



60 BAG WITH DECORATED
FLAP

Walrus and seal intestines, dyed skin,
colored yarns, and eagle down

38.1 (15) HIGH WITH FLAP OPEN

Probably collected by Rev. Sheldon
Jackson in the late 19th century
Sheldon Jackson Museum, III.B.3





61 WATERPROOF
OVERGARMENT

Walrus intestines, gut and skin strips,
white thread, colored yarn, cormorant
feathers, and eagle down

125 (49 1/4) HIGH

Collected in the Pribilof Islands by
Arvid Adolph Etholén of Finland,
Rear Admiral in the Imperial Russian
Navy, and Administrator of Russian
America, before 1847
National Museum of Finland, 275



62 WATERPROOF CAPE

Walrus intestines, gut and skin strips,
white thread, colored yarn, cormorant
feathers, eagle down, and plumes of
white hair

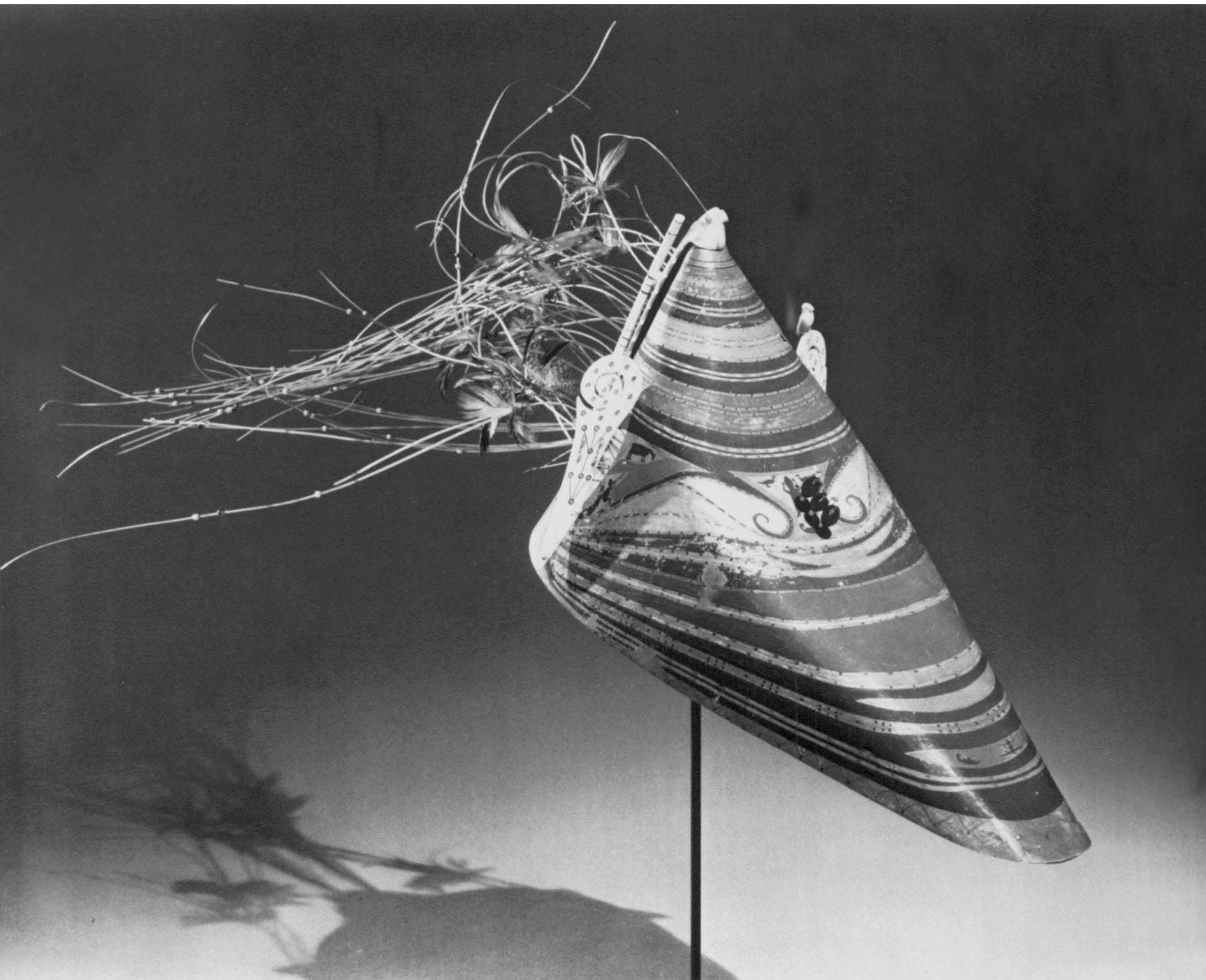
141 (55 1/2) HIGH

Collected in the Pribilof Islands by
Arvid Adolph Etholén of Finland,
Rear Admiral in the Imperial Russian
Navy, and Administrator of Russian
America, before 1847
National Museum of Finland, 283

Perhaps produced to Etholén's com-
mission, this form of cape with over-
mantle and decorated collar, edges,
and hem, reflects the design of Russian
garments of the period.

C. D. L.



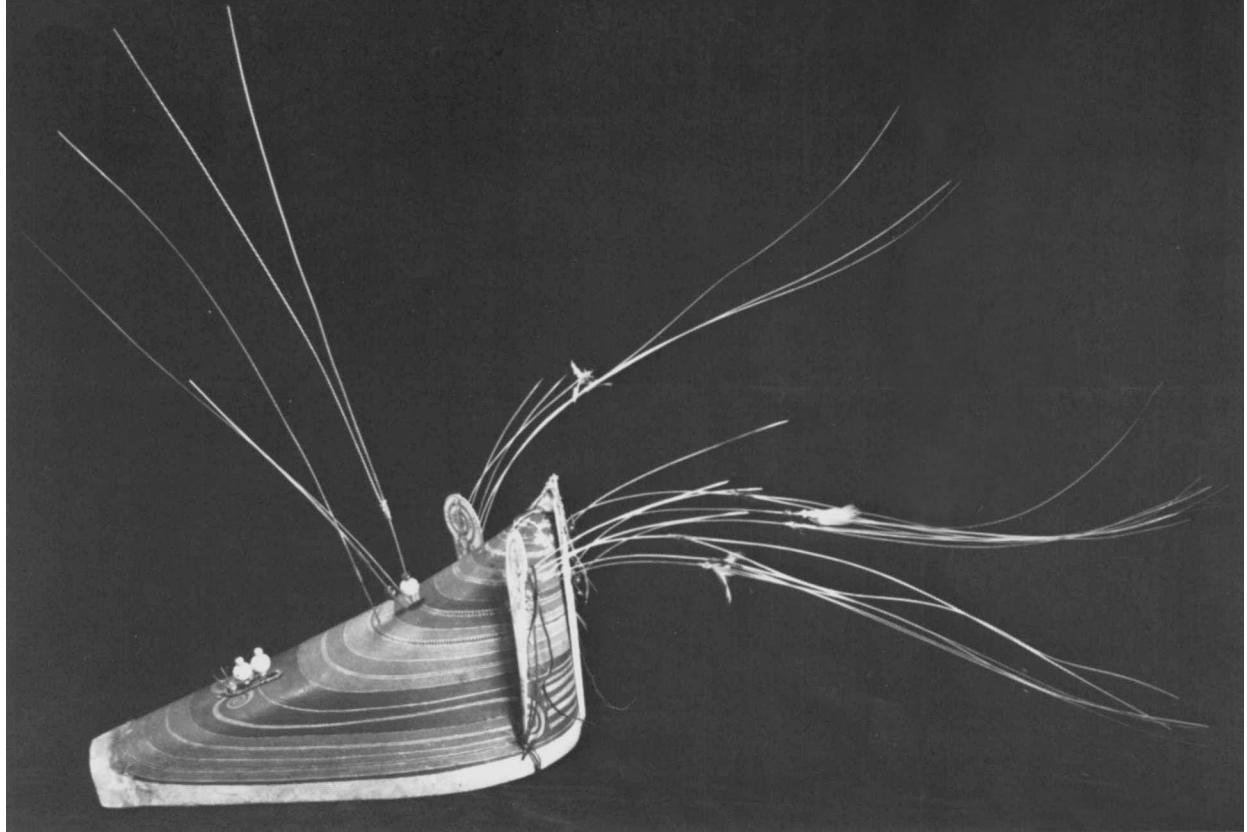


63 HUNTING HAT

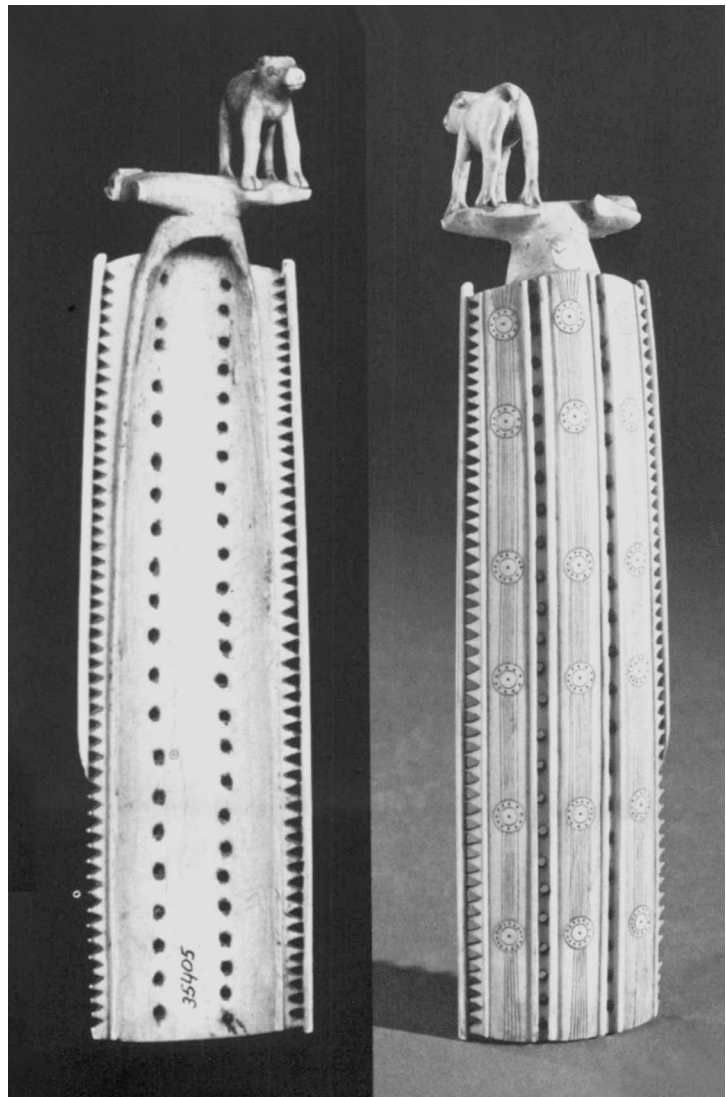
Wood, pigment, ivory ornaments, sea
lion whiskers, feathers, and trade
beads

43.5 (7 1/8) LONG

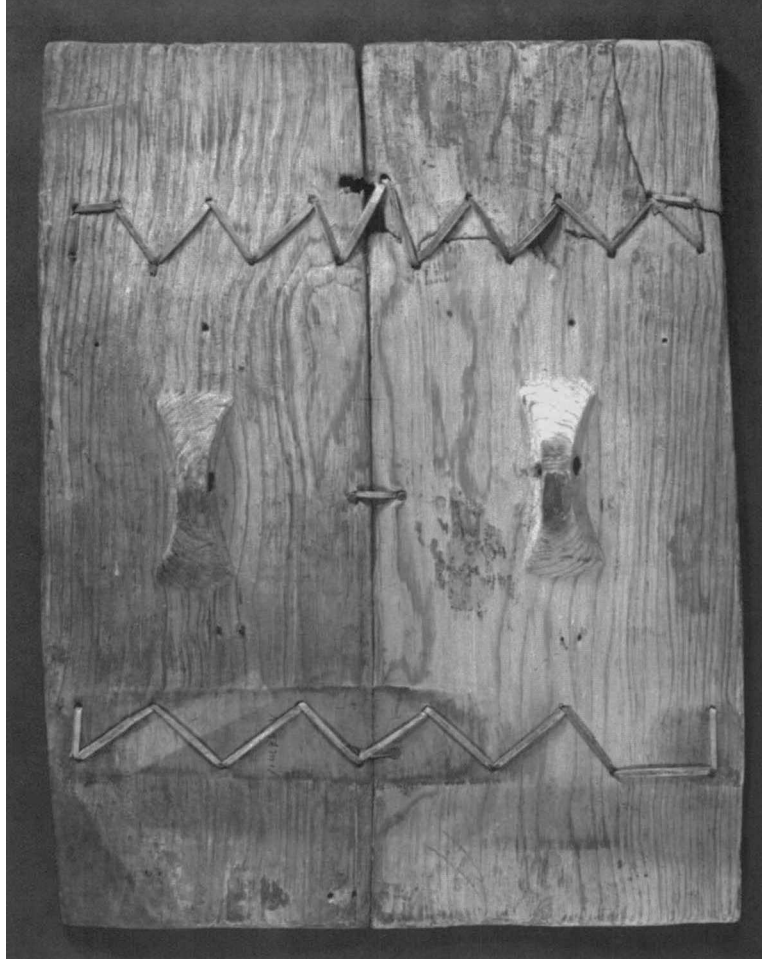
Aleutian Islands or Kodiak, collected
by Andrei Khlebnikov, c. 1810
Museum of Anthropology and
Ethnography, Leningrad, 563.1



64 HUNTING HAT
Wood, pigment, ivory ornaments, sea
lion whiskers, and trade beads
38 (15) LONG
Aleutian Islands or Kodiak
Museum of Anthropology and
Ethnography, Leningrad, 4104.7



65 WHISKER-HOLDER
DECORATION FROM THE
BACK OF A HUNTING HAT
Engraved walrus ivory, with black and
red pigment
24.8 (9 3/4) HIGH
Aleutian Islands
Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde,
Rotterdam, 35405



67 FLAT SHIELD*

Wood (stained with modern preservative), with pigment (retraced),
modern rawhide lashings

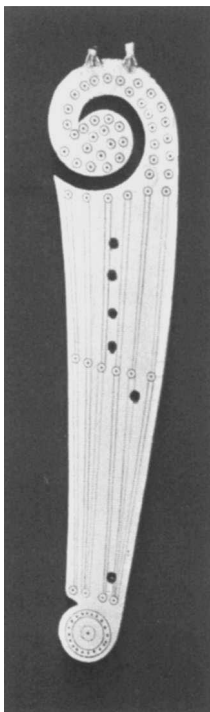
69 (27 3/16) HIGH

Collected on Kagamil Island, Islands of
the Four Mountains, by Aleš

Hrdlička, 1937

Museum collection, 6 October 1937

Smithsonian Institution, 389 861



66 VOLUTE DECORATION
FROM THE SIDE OF A
HUNTING HAT

Engraved walrus ivory, with black and
red pigment

16.2 (6 3/8) HIGH

Aleutian Islands

Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde,
Rotterdam, 34866



68 THREE-MAN BIDARKA*

Wood, sealskin, gut, with colored
yarns and trade beads

51.4 (20 1/4) LONG

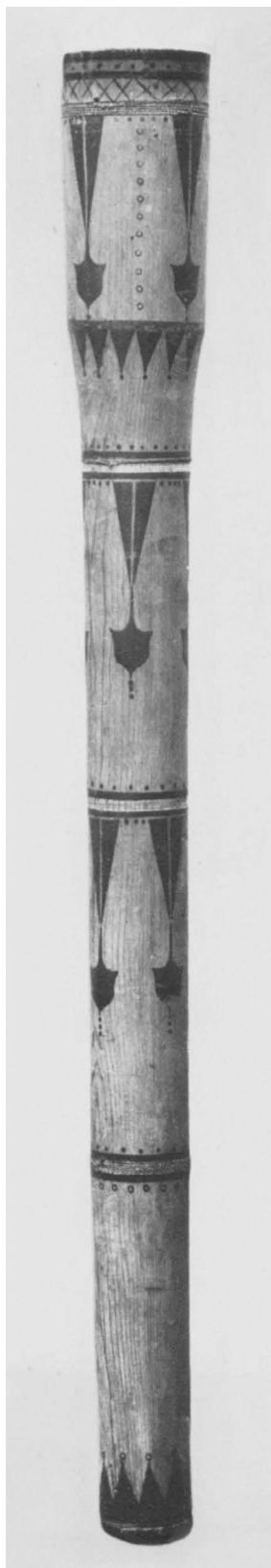
Collected on Kodiak Island by
W. H. Dall

Museum collection, 28 December 1874
Smithsonian Institution, 16 275

Examples of the arrow or spear case
lashed to the side of this bidarka, and
the seal decoy helmet worn by its cen-
tral figure, may be seen in the follow-
ing two entries; the gut parkas worn
by the sailors are paralleled by No. 82.

C. D. L.





69 ARROW CASE
Wood, with red and black pigment
bound with woven string
93.6 (36 7/8) LONG
Collected on Kodiak Island by H. J.
Holmberg of Finland, 1851
Danish National Museum, 1.B.174

70 SEAL DECOY HELMET
Wood, with white, red, and black
pigment, rawhide chin strap
25.4 (10) LONG
Collected on Kodiak Island by Edward
G. Fast, 1867-68
Museum purchase, 1869
Peabody Museum, Harvard University
69-30-10/64700





71 HUNTING HAT
Wood, ivory, cormorant feathers
37 (14 1/2) LONG
Collected on St. Lawrence Island by
Ilia G. Vosnesenski, 1843
Museum of Anthropology and
Ethnography, Leningrad, 593.51

72 HUNTING HAT

Wood, ivory

33 (13) LONG

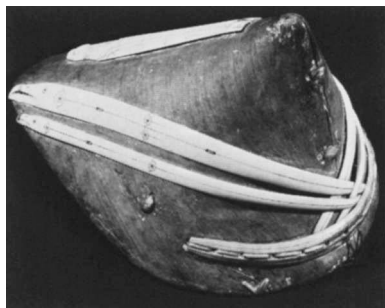
Collected on Norton Sound by

François Mercier, 1886

National Museum of Man, Ottawa,

IV.E.92





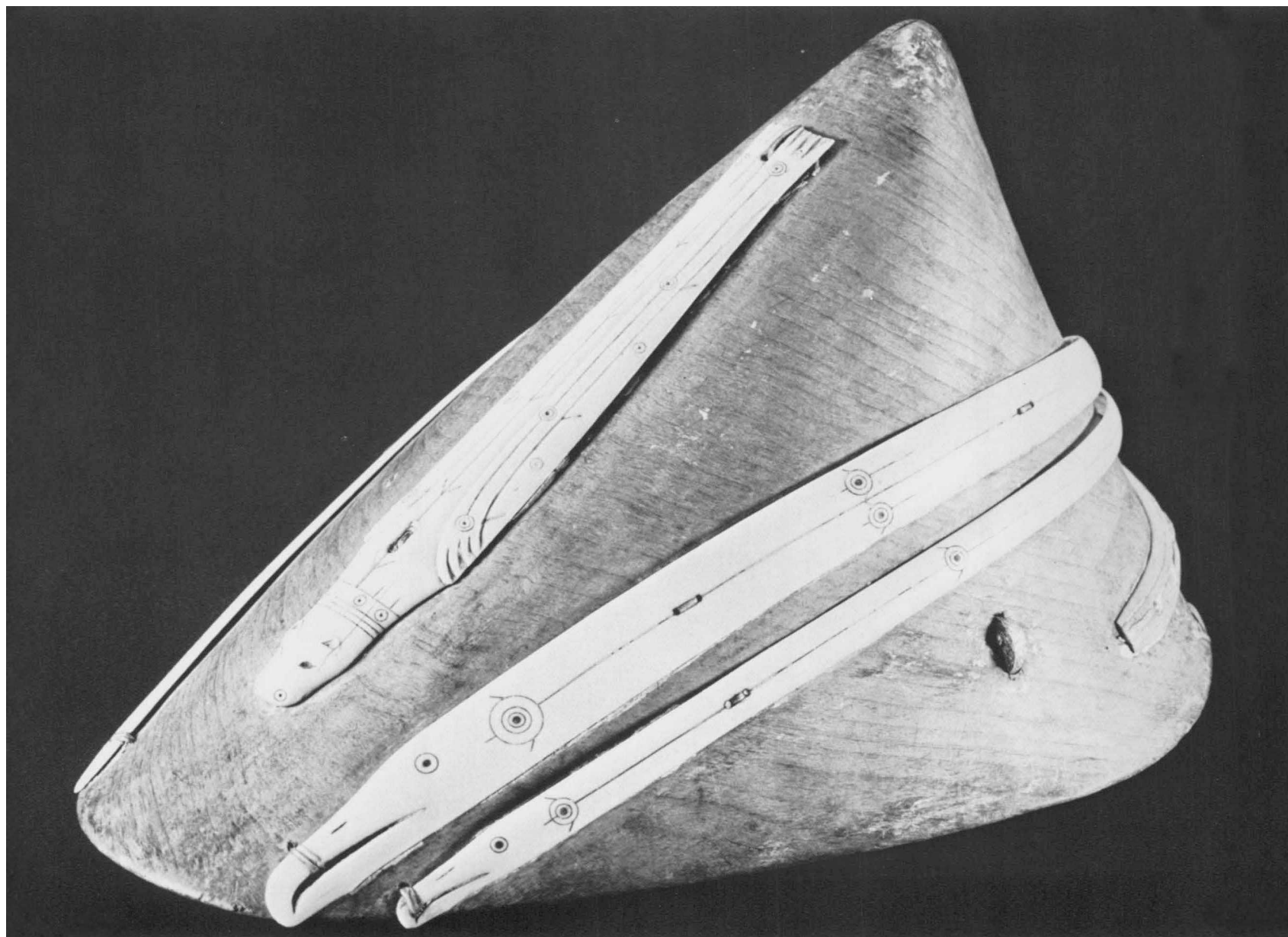
73 HUNTING HAT

Wood, with traces of white pigment,
ivory, braided fiber, buckskin straps

35 (13 3/4) LONG

Collected on the Lower Kuskokwim
River by Rev. Sheldon Jackson in the
late 19th century

Sheldon Jackson Museum, II.S.34



74 BEAD CAP WITH PENDANT
SIDES

Dyed skin, twine, and trade beads

42 (16 1/2) HIGH

Collected at Akiak, on the Lower
Kuskokwim River

Gift of Mrs. Cecelia Thiele

Alaska State Museum, II-A-1428





75 BEAD NECKLACE

Trade beads braided over fiber (?)
and fabric core

55.2 (21 3/4) LONG

Collected at Kutmiut, Scammon Bay,
by William J. Fisher

Smithsonian Institution, 72 485

Collected as a component part of a
larger headdress, now dispersed.



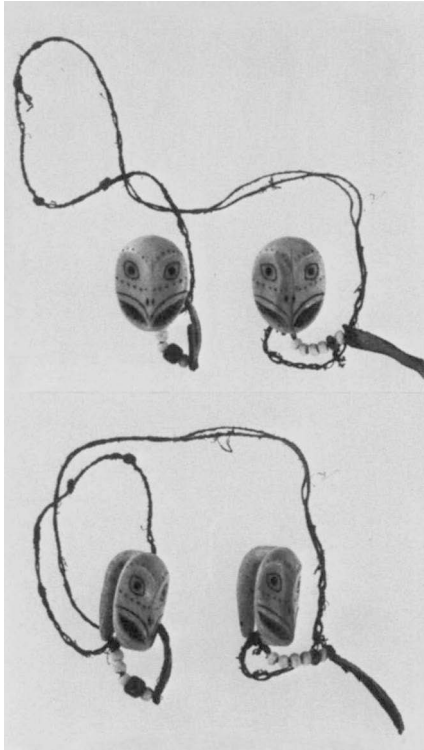
76 COSTUME ORNAMENT*

Engraved ivory, black pigment

6.7 (2 5/8) LONG

Collected at Kongiganak, on
Kuskokwim Bay, by E. W. Nelson
Smithsonian Institution, 37 745

Bureau of American Ethnology, *18th Annual
Report*, (1899) part I, pl. XXV-2, p. 68.



77 PAIR OF EAR ORNAMENTS
CONNECTED BY CHIN
STRAP*

Engraved ivory, with red and black
pigment, braided fiber, and trade
beads

Each component $2 \frac{3}{4}$ HIGH;
total $30 \frac{11}{4}$ LONG

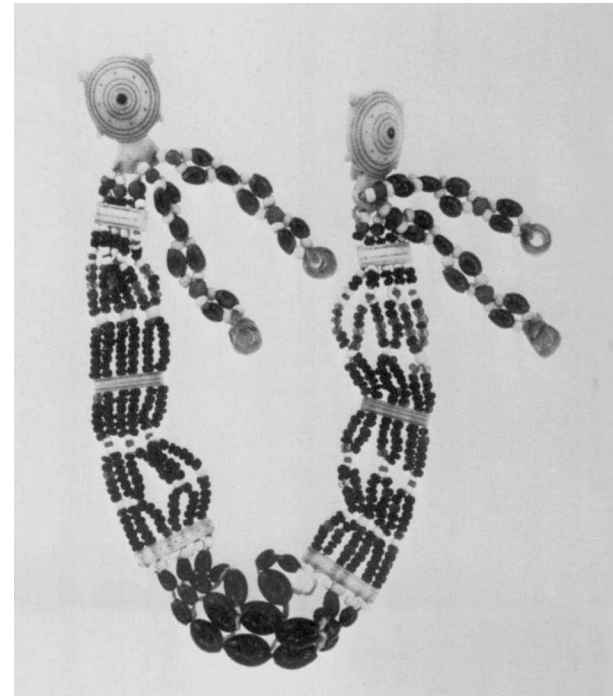
Collected at Kaialigumiut, on the
Manopiknak River (Hazen Bay),
Yukon Delta, by E. W. Nelson
Smithsonian Institution, 37 261

78 PAIR OF EAR ORNAMENTS
CONNECTED BY NECKLACE

Engraved ivory, with black and red
pigment, inlaid with metal, twine,
and trade beads

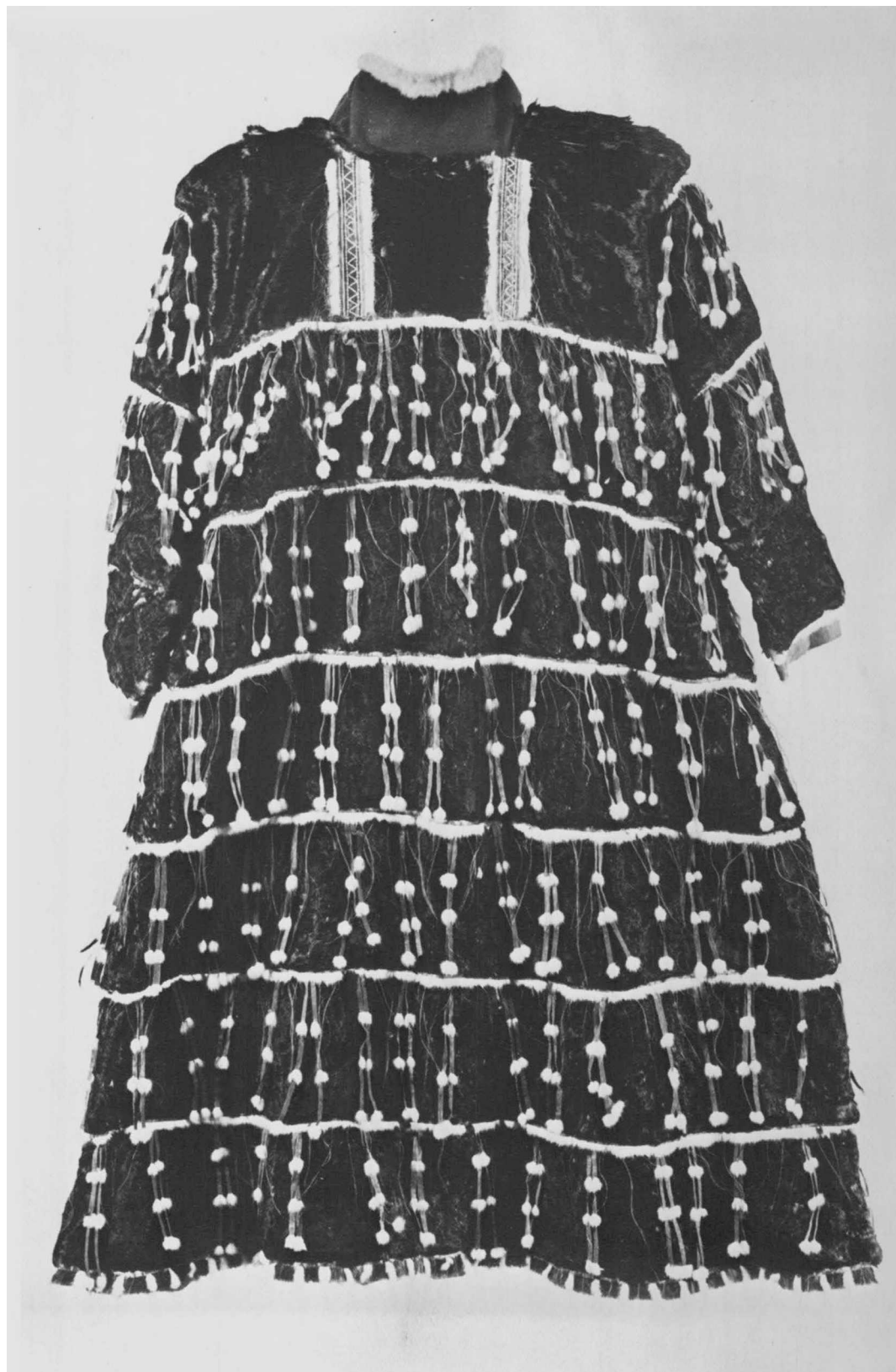
Each component $3 \frac{1}{16}$ HIGH;
total 33 (13) LONG

Collected on Nunivak Island by Henry
B. Collins and T. D. Stewart, 1927
Museum collection, 29 November 1927
Smithsonian Institution, 340 332





79 SHORT-SLEEVED GOWN
 Cormorant skins and down strips,
 down collar and tufts, bearskin hem,
 skin strips, red and black trade felt,
 red and white thread, and white trade
 cotton lining
 151 (59 1/2) WIDE
 Collected from the Koniag Eskimo on
 Kodiak Island by Arvid Adolph
 Etholén of Finland, Rear Admiral in
 the Imperial Russian Navy, and Ad-
 ministrator of Russian America,
 before 1847
 National Museum of Finland, 81



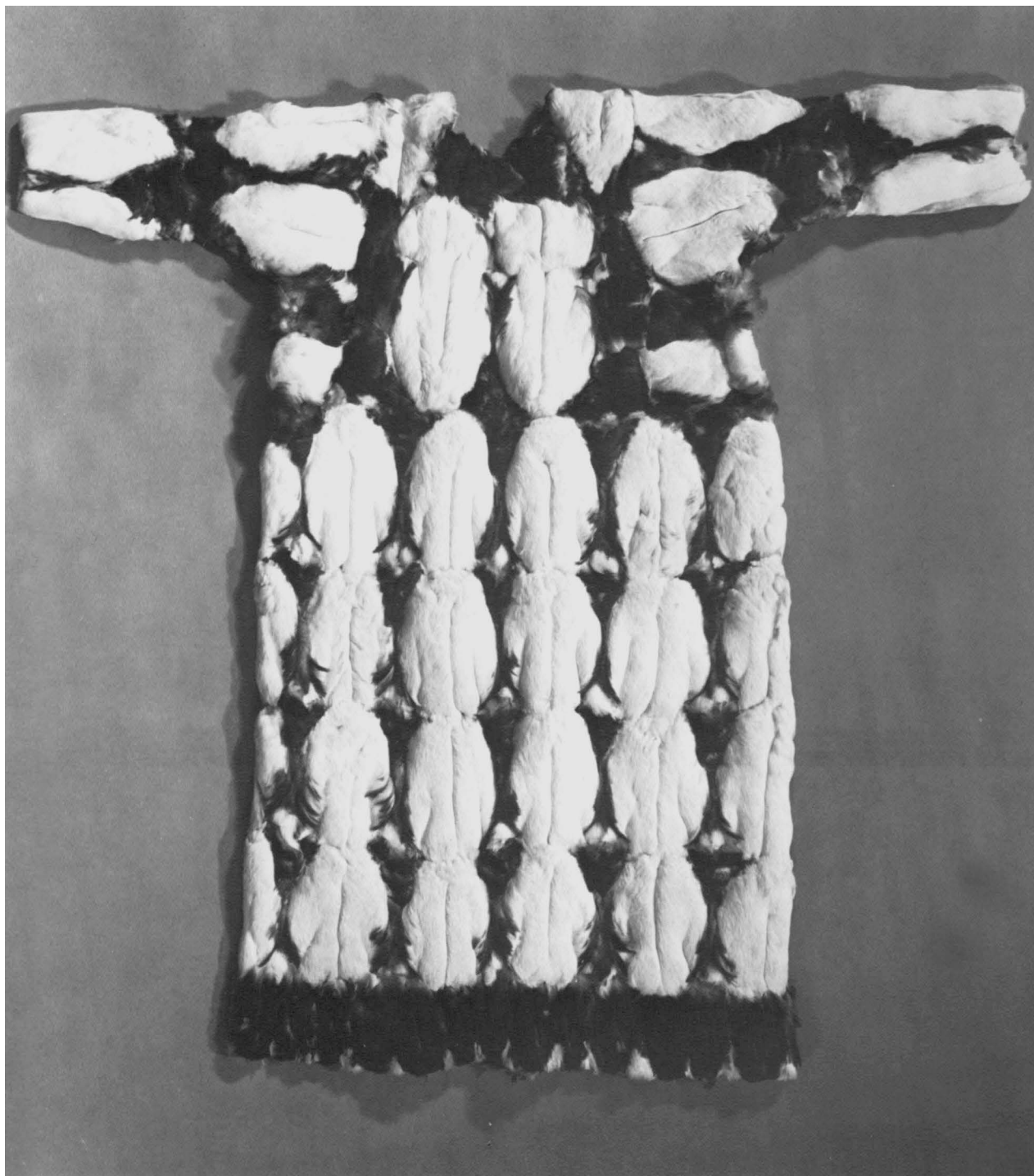
80 SHORT-SLEEVED GOWN

Puffin skins

124.5 (49) HIGH

Collected from the Koniag Eskimo on
Kodiak Island by Arvid Adolph
Etholén of Finland, Rear Admiral in
the Imperial Russian Navy, and
Administrator of Russian America,
before 1847

National Museum of Finland, 85



81 HOODED PARKA*
 Puffin skins, light and dark red fox fur
 110.5 (43 1/2) HIGH
 Southwestern Alaska
 Deutsches Ledermuseum,
 Offenbach, 1392





82 HOODED PARKA

Seal and walrus gut, crested auklet
feathers, bird beaks, gut and skin
strips, and thread

148 (58 1/4) WIDE

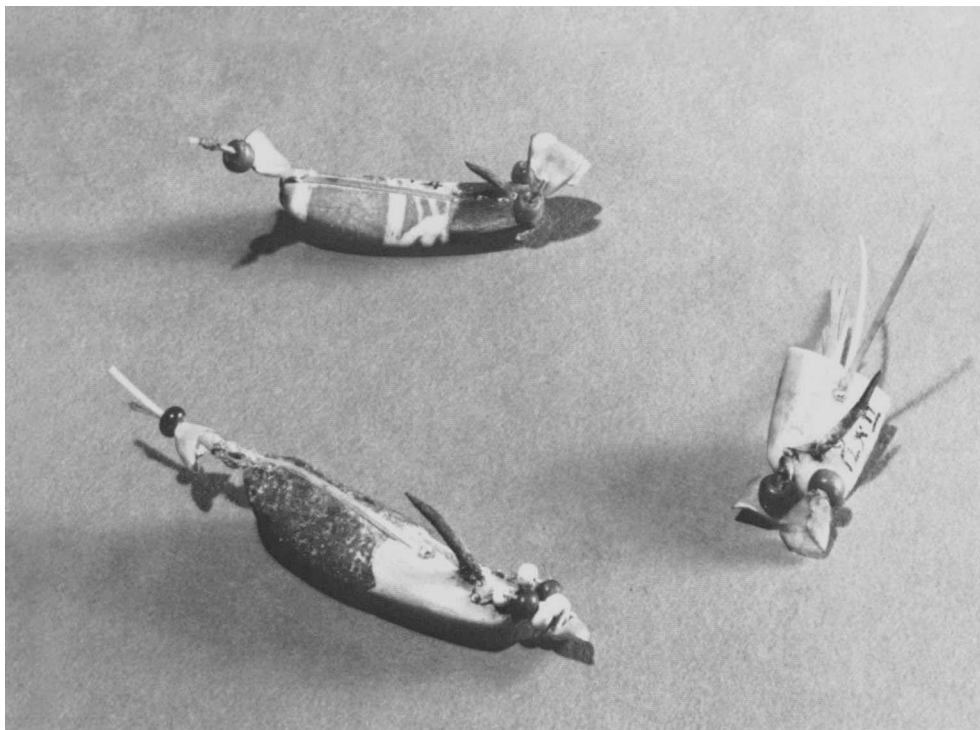
St. Lawrence Island?

Museum purchase, Holmes Fund

Smithsonian Institution, T-1087



83 WATERPROOF HOOD
 Salmon skin and hide, with gut thread
 59 (23 1/4) HIGH
 Presumably collected by Rev. Sheldon
 Jackson in the late 19th century
 Sheldon Jackson Museum, II.B.77



84 THREE FISHING LURES

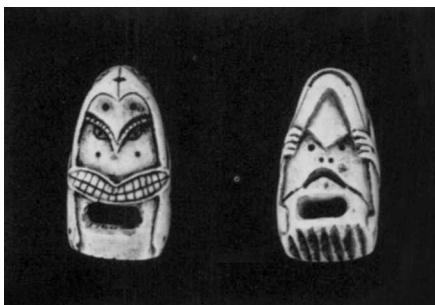
Stones, bone, gut filament, bird beaks,
trade beads, and metal

6.4 (2 1/2) LONG; 6 (2 3/8) LONG;

4.5 (1 3/4) LONG

Presumably collected by Rev. Sheldon
Jackson in the late 19th century

Sheldon Jackson Museum, II.X.71 a,
II.X.179, II.X.71 k



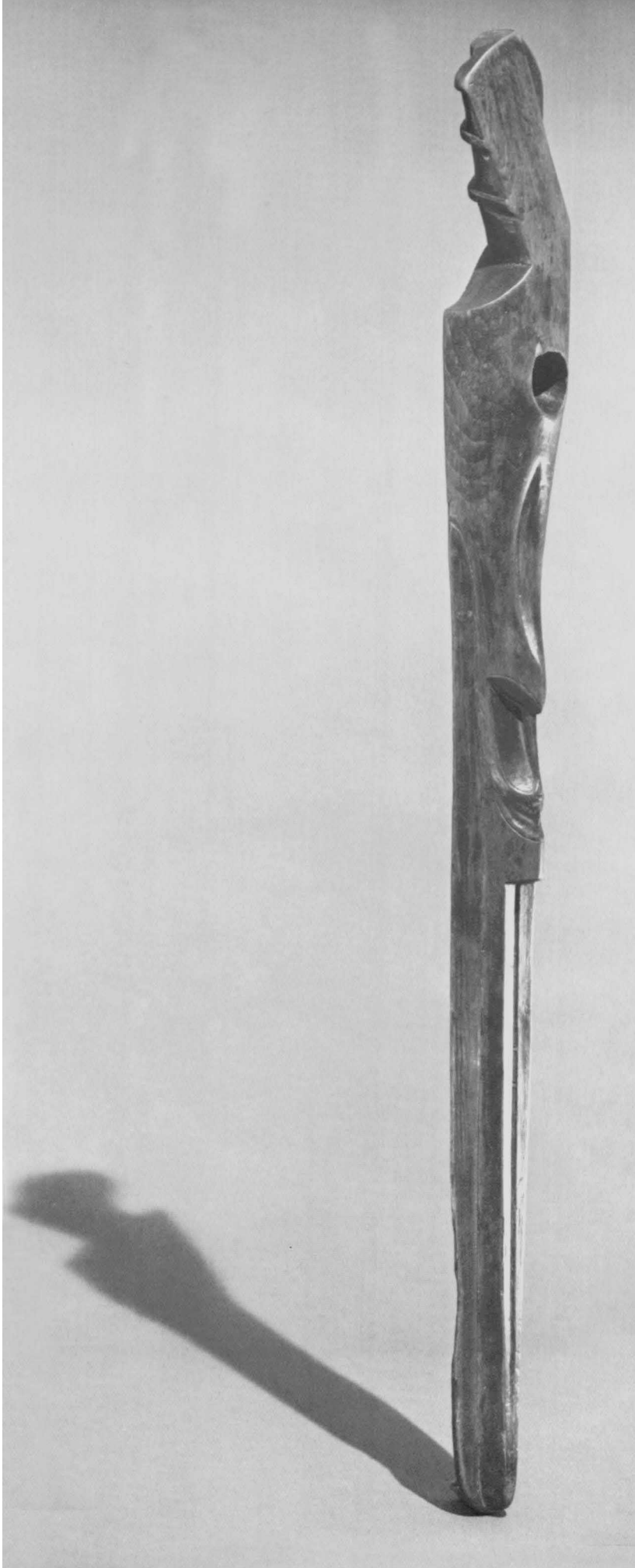
85 SPEAR GUARD*

Engraved ivory with black pigment

4.4 (1 3/4) HIGH

Collected at Kaialigumiut, on the
Manopiknak River (Hazen Bay),
Yukon Delta, by E. W. Nelson
Smithsonian Institution, 176 086 b

Bureau of American Ethnology, *18th Annual
Report*, (1899), part I, fig. 73, p. 227.



86 SPEAR-THROWER CARVED
WITH HUMAN FACES

Wood, with inlaid ivory socket

48.6 (19 1/8) LONG

Collected on Kodiak Island by Edward
G. Fast, 1867-68

Museum purchase, 1869

Peabody Museum, Harvard University,

69-30-10/1715



87 UMIK SEAT, WHALE
FETISH

Wood, inlaid with wooden pegs, variegated stone inset under whale from the back

27 (10 5/8) LONG

Collected at Sledge Island, Seward Peninsula, by W. B. VanValin, 1916
University Museum, Philadelphia
NA 4788



89 HARPOON REST FROM
UMIAK PROW

Ivory, inlaid with bone and wood,
traces of red and blue pigment

15.1 (6) HIGH

Inscribed on the reverse with ink in a
19th-century hand: "Eskimo Mask
[sic] from Kinak Bay[?] [. . .] pre-
sented by Rev. Sheldon Jackson."
Sheldon Jackson Museum, II.D.35



88 HARPOON REST FROM
UMIAK PROW

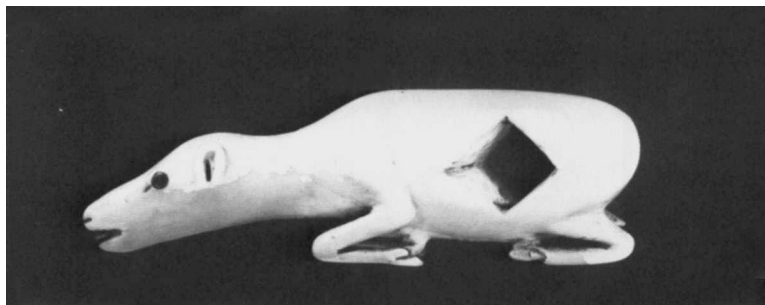
Ivory, inlaid with bone, trade bead,
and metal; rawhide lashings

12.4 (4 7/8) HIGH

Collected by David Kimball

Gift of the heirs of David Kimball,
May 1899

Peabody Museum, Harvard University,
99-12-10/53129



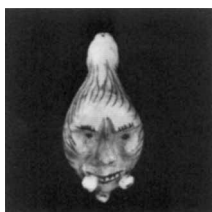
90 ARROW-STRAIGHTENER IN
THE FORM OF A KNEELING
REINDEER*

Ivory with beads(?) inlaid as eyes

14.6 (5 3/4) LONG

Collected at Cape Denbigh, Norton
Bay, by E. W. Nelson

Smithsonian Institution, 176 245



94 BIRD CARVING WITH
HUMAN FACE*

Engraved ivory with black pigment

3.8 (1 1/2) LONG

Collected at Cape Vancouver (Nelson
Island) by E. W. Nelson

Smithsonian Institution, 43 572

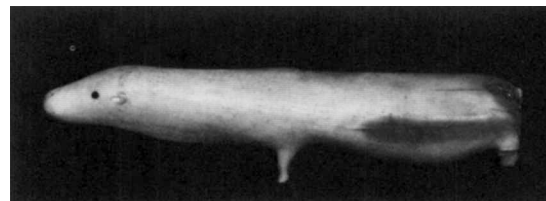
92 POLAR BEAR

Ivory, with bone(?) inlaid as eyes

12.1 (4 3/4) LONG

Collected by Mrs. F. Carrington
Weems

Peabody Museum of Salem, E 46905



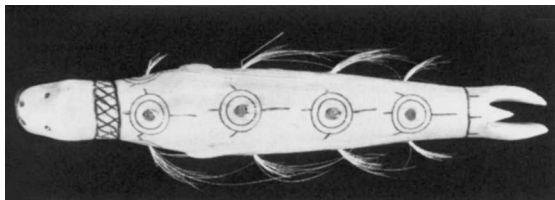
95 SHORT-EARED OWL*
Ivory, with inlaid beads as eyes
3.6 (1 7/16) LONG
Collected on the Koyuk River, Norton
Bay, by E. W. Nelson
Smithsonian Institution, 44 073

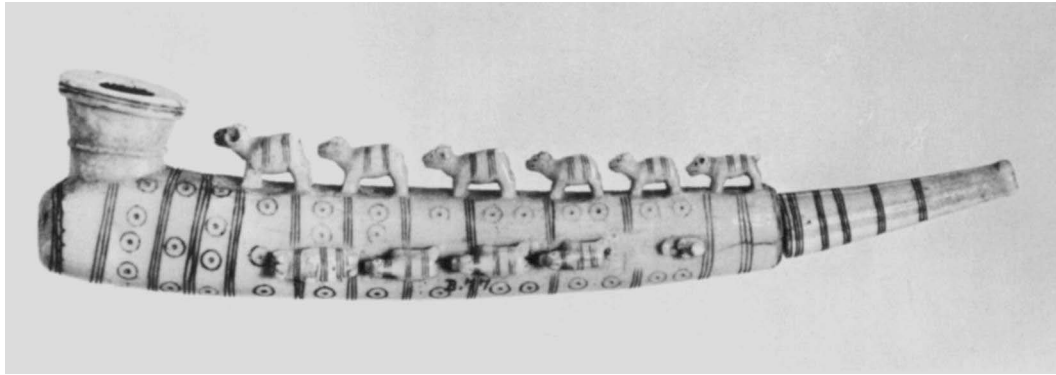


91 POWDER FLASK
Engraved ivory with brown pigment;
wooden stopper
13.3 (5 1/4) HIGH
Collected on Kotzebue Sound by
E. W. Nelson
Smithsonian Institution, 48 560
Bureau of American Ethnology, *18th Annual
Report*, (1899), part I, pl. XLIV-28,
p. 106.



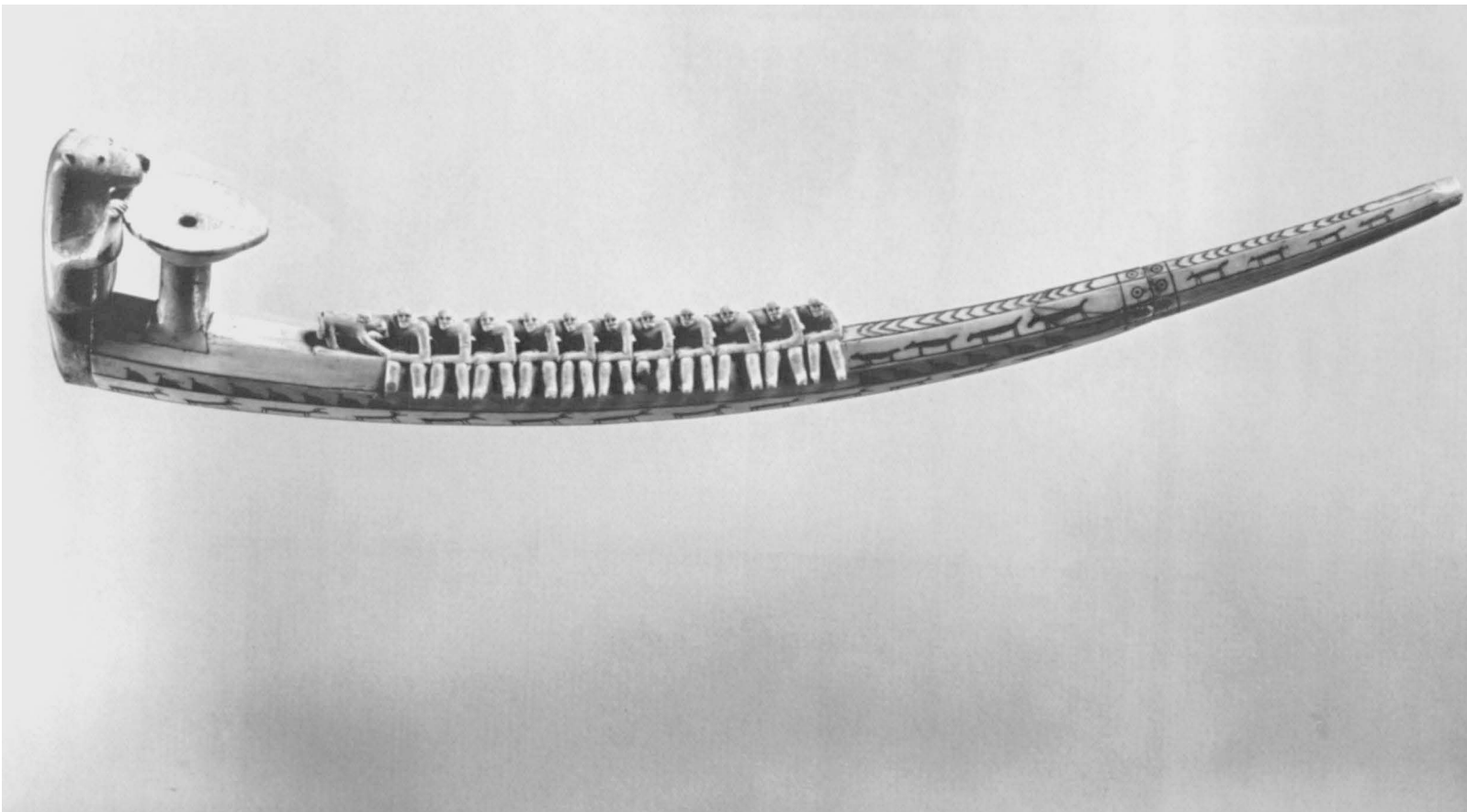
93 SEAL CARVING*
Engraved ivory with black pigment
and inlaid with bone and whiskers
12.7 (5) LONG
Collected on Bristol Bay by Charles
L. McKay
Smithsonian Institution, 55 909 E
U. S. National Museum Annual Report,
1895, pl. 56, fig. 2, p. 840.





96 PIPE WITH ANIMAL AND
HUMAN FIGURES
Engraved ivory with black pigment
25.6 (10 1/8) LONG
Hamburgisches Museum für
Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte,
B. 77

97 PIPE
Engraved ivory with black pigment
40.3 (15 7/8) LONG
Collected in 1816
Museum purchase, 1922
University Museum, Philadelphia,
NA 9388
This piece depicts a polar bear, another
animal, and eleven men.



98 PIPE

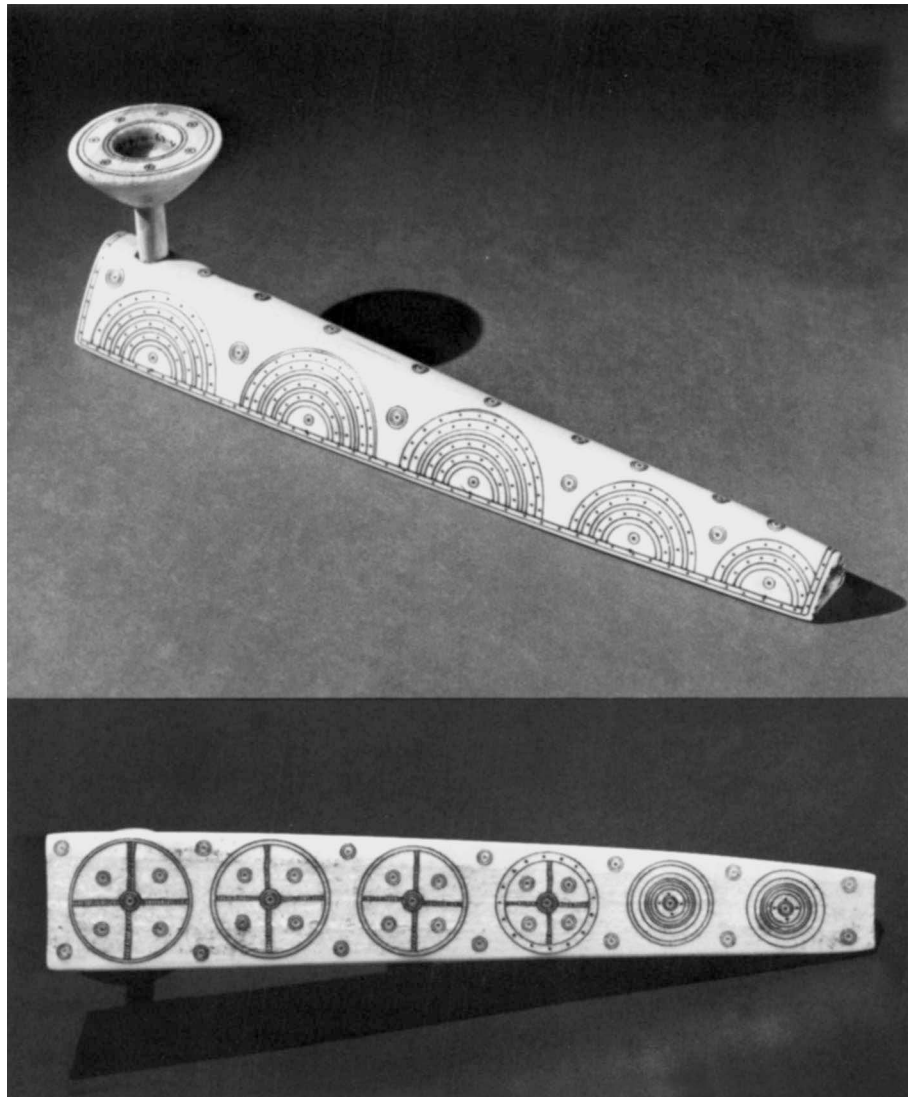
Engraved ivory with red and black pigment

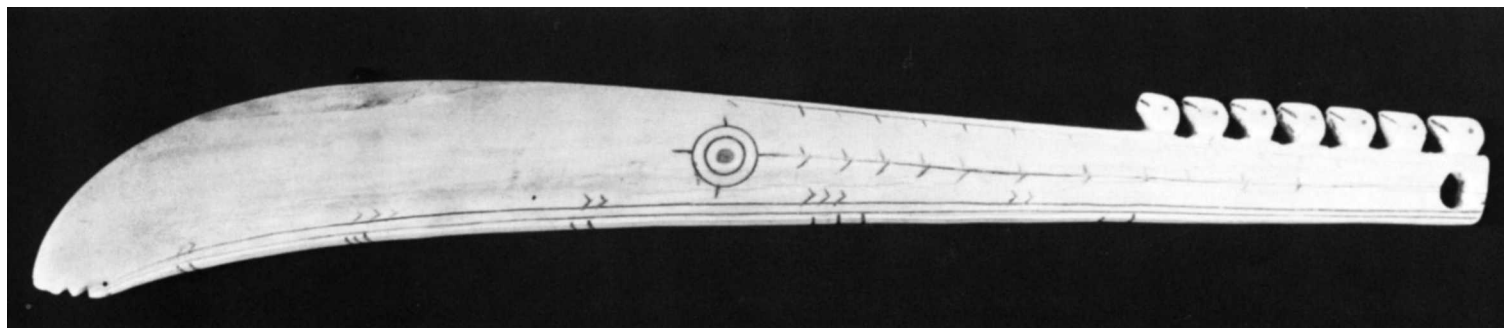
21 (8 1/4) LONG

Collected at Gambell, St. Lawrence Island, by F. Seymour Hersey, 1914

Gift of F. Seymour Hersey

Peabody Museum, Harvard University,
64-29-10/43868





99 SNOW KNIFE*

Engraved ivory with black pigment

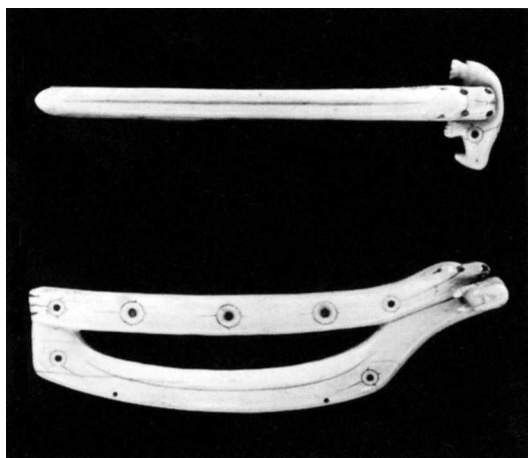
36.1 (14 1/4) LONG

Collected at Kongiganak, on

Kuskokwim Bay, by E. W. Nelson

Smithsonian Institution, 36 576

U. S. National Museum Annual Report,
1895, pl. 15, fig. 4, p. 776.



100 KNIFE HANDLE*

Ivory, with bone inlays and metal pin

12.1 (4 3/4) LONG

Collected at Spigunugumut by E. W.

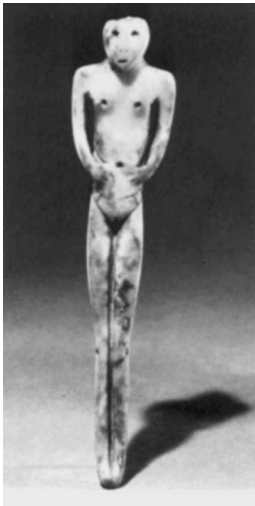
Nelson; inscribed "Drawn 1889

W. H. D[all]"

Smithsonian Institution, 37 960

The carving shows what may be a
polar bear swimming with a baby
walrus in its mouth.

U. S. National Museum Annual Report,
1890, pl. 66, fig. 3, p. 416.



102 NEEDLE CASE IN THE
FORM OF A FEMALE
FIGURE

Walrus ivory

13.5 (4 5/16) LONG

Collected by Curtis Chase

Anchorage Historical and Fine Arts
Museum, 71.35.2

The figure is tubular, being bored through with a regular cavity approximately 7 mm. in diameter; since this cavity opens through the outer shell along the deep crevice carved between the legs in the rear, and since its rounded edges at both top and bottom show considerable signs of wear, it is clear that in this instance the needles were stored on a strip of leather, which was run through the cavity and secured. Similar needle cases in human form have been collected from the vicinity of Barrow, though they are usually shorter: the present example is unusual in the length of its legs.

H. B. C.

C. D. L.



101 LEFT-HANDED SKIN
SCRAPER

Wood and chipped stone

15.4 (6 1/16) LONG

Victor Justice Evans Collection

Bequest of V. J. Evans,

28 March 1931

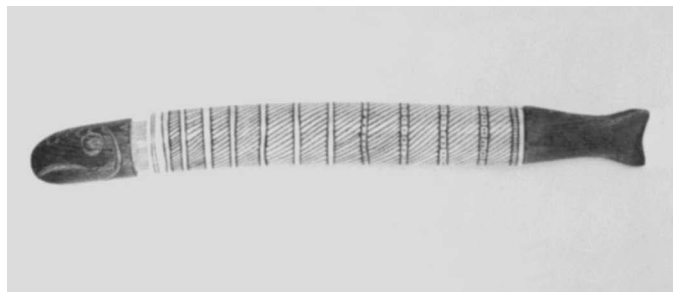
Smithsonian Institution, 360 429

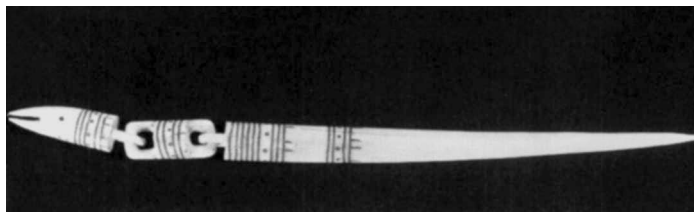
103 NEEDLE CASE IN THE
FORM OF A FISH

Engraved ivory with red and black
pigment, wood

15.6 (6 1/8) LONG

Peabody Museum of Salem, E 37906





106 PUNCH OR AWL WITH
CHAIN-HEAD PENDANTS*

Engraved ivory with black pigment

17.7 (6 15/16) LONG

Collected in the "Big Lake" region,
Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta, by E. W.
Nelson

Smithsonian Institution, 36 634

Bureau of American Ethnology, *18th Annual
Report*, (1899), part I, pl. XLVI-8, p. 110.

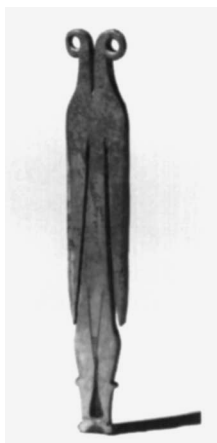


104 NEEDLE CASE WITH
PIERCED HANDLE

Engraved ivory with red and black
pigment; inset wooden bottom

8.3 (3 1/4) HIGH

Collected on Norton Sound by
François Mercier, 1888
National Museum of Man, Ottawa,
IV.E.119

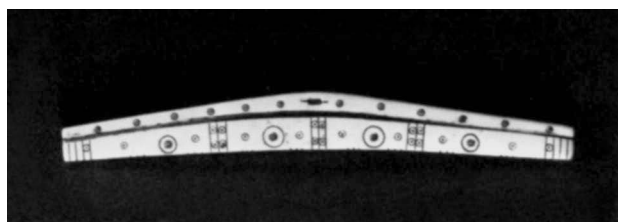


105 THIMBLE HOLDER IN THE
FORM OF A
FEMALE FIGURE

Walrus ivory

9.8 (3 7/8) LONG

Excavated from Tigara Mound, Point
Hope, by Froelich Rainey, 1945
Museum Expedition collection, 1945
American Museum of Natural History,
60.2-4755



107 "HOUSEWIFE'S FASTENER"
FOR BAG OR POUCH

Engraved ivory with black pigment
and inlaid with metal

13.4 (5 1/4) LONG

Presumably collected by Rev. Sheldon
Jackson in the late 19th century

Sheldon Jackson Museum, II.X.283

108 PATCHWORK BAG

Skins and natural fibers

24 (9 1/2) WIDE

Collected at Port Clarence, Seward
Peninsula, by Rev. Sheldon Jackson,
1891

Sheldon Jackson Museum, II.X.154





109 COVERED BASKET WITH
THREE POLAR BEARS

Black and white baleen and ivory

13 (5 1/8) LONG

Point Barrow

Presumably collected by Rev. Sheldon

Jackson in the late 19th century

Sheldon Jackson Museum, II.V.2



111 COIL BASKET
Beach grass, partly dyed purple, and
seal gut, dyed red
17 (6 3/4) DIAMETER
Collected at Kipnuk, Kinak Bay, 1959
Museum purchase, 1959
Alaska State Museum, II-A-3156



110 COIL BASKET
Beach grass, partly dyed green
16.5 (6 1/2) HIGH
Collected at Hooper Bay by the Hon.
Mr. Ulaskey, 1950
Gift of Dr. Dorothy Novatney
Alaska State Museum, II-A-4812



112 DISH SUPPORTED BY TWO
HUMAN FIGURES

Wood, with black and red pigment,
bone and ivory inlays

23 (9) LONG

Collected on the Lower Yukon River
by Ilia G. Vosnesenski, 1845
Museum of Anthropology and
Ethnography, Leningrad, 493.45

113 DISH*

Wood, with red and black pigment,
bone inlays

35.2 (13 7/8) LONG

Collected in the "Big Lake" region,
Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta, by E. W.
Nelson

Smithsonian Institution, 38 677

Two human heads are shown, with
an outline drawing of a mythical
creature. No. 114 shows only a
mythical creature.

Bureau of American Ethnology, *18th Annual
Report*, (1899), part I, pl. XXXI-8, p. 80.





114 LARGE DISH*

Wood, with red and black pigment,
bone inlays

35.6 (14) LONG

Collected at Nuloktolok (Nelson
Island), by E. W. Nelson, 1878
Smithsonian Institution, 38 642

Bureau of American Ethnology, *18th Annual
Report*, (1899), part I, pl. XXXII-8, p. 82;
and fig. 165, p. 448.





115 TOBACCO BOX: FISH OR
SMALL ANIMAL*

Wood, with red pigment, and inset
ivory engraved with black pigment

9 (3 1/2) LONG

Collected at Kulvagavik, on
Kuskokwim Bay, by E. W. Nelson
Smithsonian Institution, 36 282

Bureau of American Ethnology, *18th Annual
Report*, (1899), part I, pl. LXXXVI-13,
p. 270.



116 TOBACCO BOX:
TWO SEALS*

Wood, with ivory and bone inlays

10.2 (4) LONG

Collected at Russian Mission, Lower
Yukon River, by E. W. Nelson
Smithsonian Institution, 48 839

Bureau of American Ethnology, *18th Annual
Report*, (1899), part I, pl. LXXXVI-12,
p. 270.

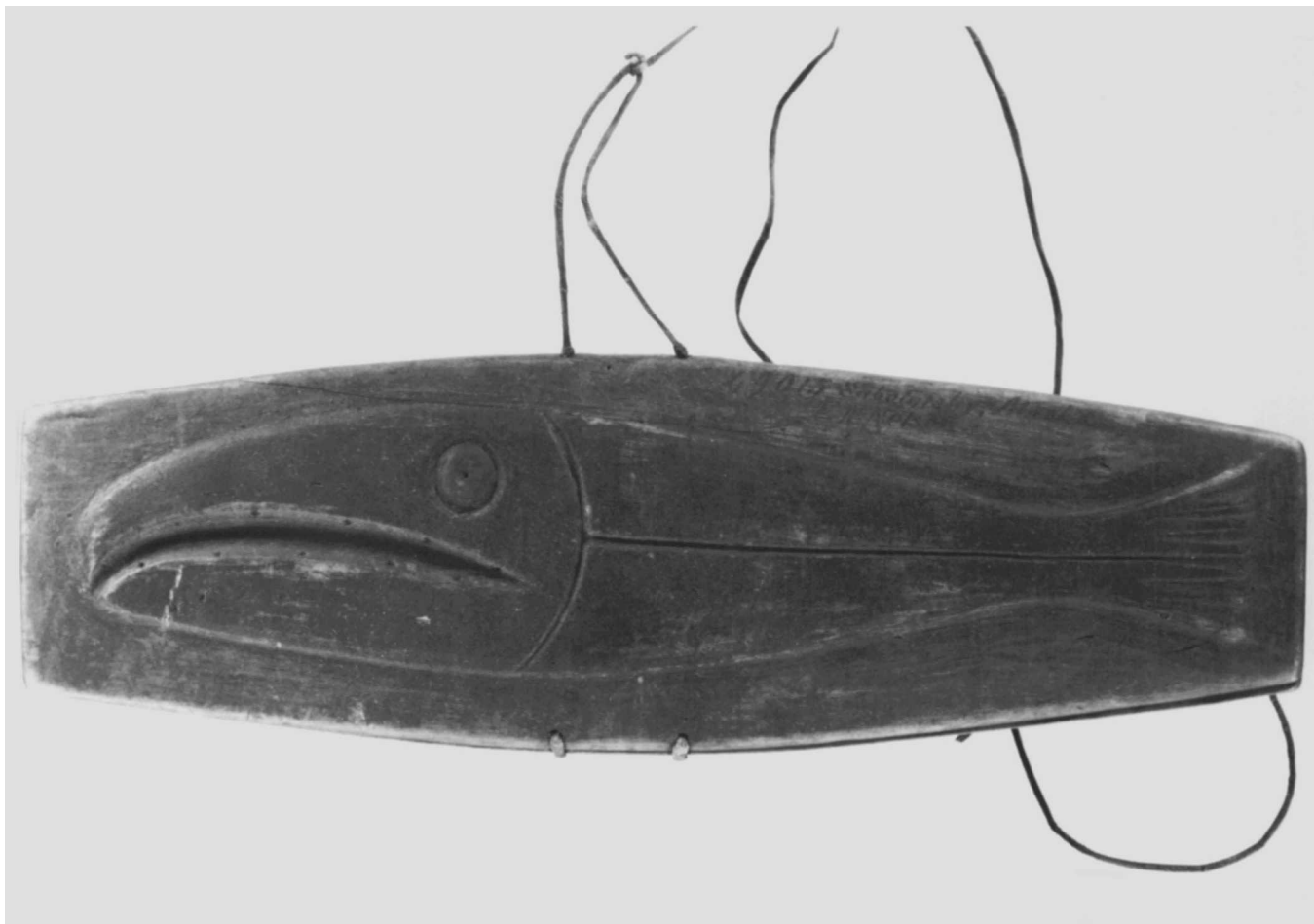
117 TOBACCO BOX: SEAL
CARRYING ITS YOUNG*

Wood, with inlaid beads

24.1 (9 1/2) LONG

Collected at St. Michael, Norton
Sound, by L. M. Turner, 1874-77
Smithsonian Institution, 129 247





118 TACKLE BOX WITH
SALMON CARVED ON
SIDES*

Wood, with red and black pigment
and rawhide straps

34.3 (13 1/2) LONG

Collected at Sabotnisky (Marshall),
Lower Yukon River, by E. W.
Nelson

Smithsonian Institution, 49 015

Bureau of American Ethnology, *18th Annual
Report*, (1899), part I, pl. XLII-9, p. 102.

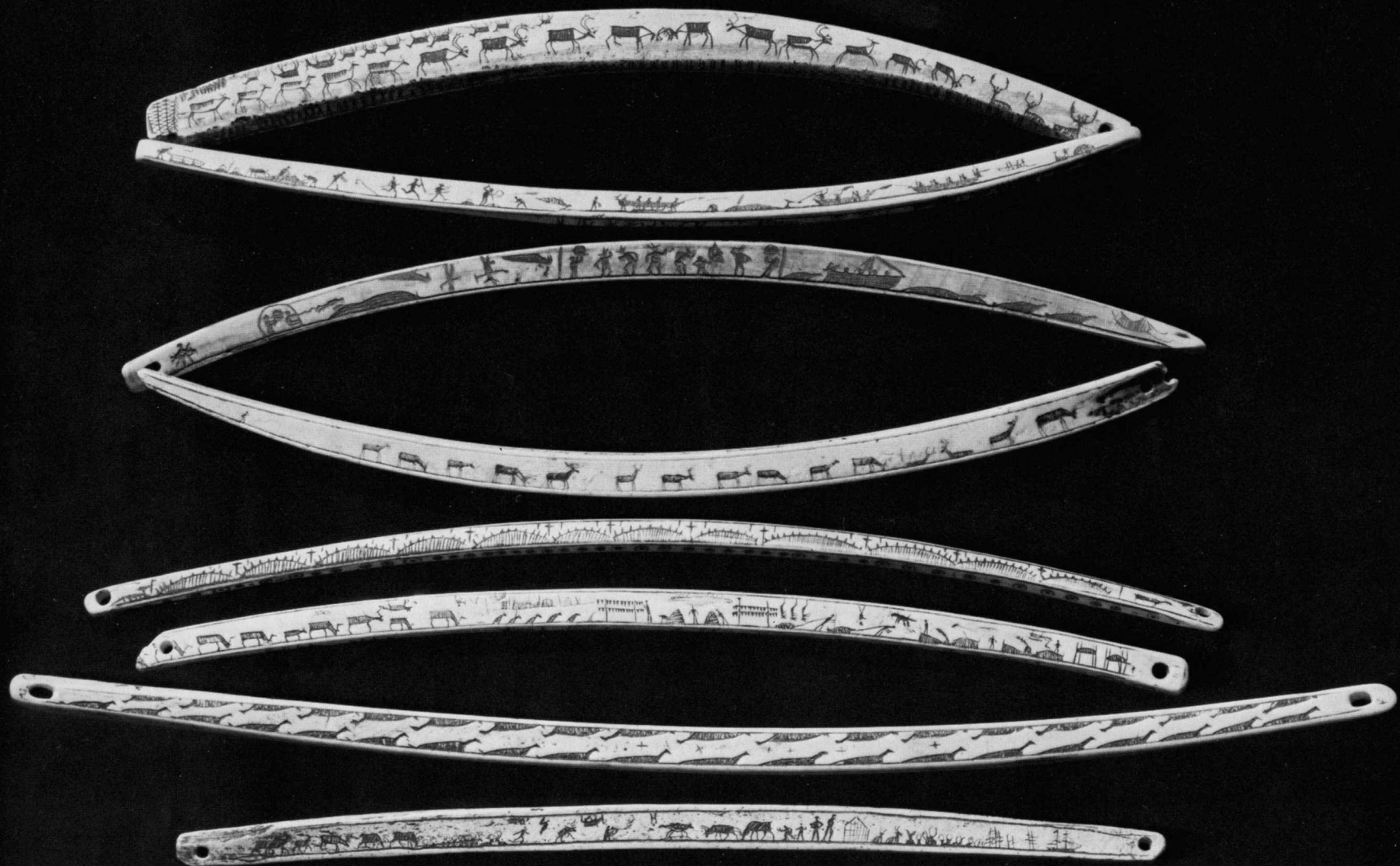


119 TOOL CHEST

Wood, with red and black pigment,
carved and engraved ivory, and raw-
hide fittings

37 (14 1/2) LONG

Presumably collected by Rev. Sheldon
Jackson in the late 19th century
Sheldon Jackson Museum, II.X.55



122 DRILL BOW

Engraved ivory with brown pigment
34.2 (13 1/2) LONG
Deutsches Ledermuseum, Offenbach,
11574

127 DRILL BOW*

Engraved ivory with black pigment
34.6 (13 5/8) LONG
Collected on Golovnin Bay, Norton
Sound, by E. W. Nelson
Smithsonian Institution, 176 172

125 DRILL BOW

Engraved ivory with black pigment
37.5 (14 3/4) LONG
Collected on Kotzebue Sound by
E. W. Nelson
Museum collection, 1882
Smithsonian Institution, 48 522

124 DRILL BOW*

Engraved ivory with black pigment
36.2 (14 1/4) LONG
Collected at Shaktoolik, Norton Sound,
by E. W. Nelson
Smithsonian Institution, 43 810

123 DRILL BOW

Engraved ivory with brown pigment
39 (15 3/8) LONG
Inscribed "Nome"
Smithsonian Institution, T-1076

121 DRILL BOW

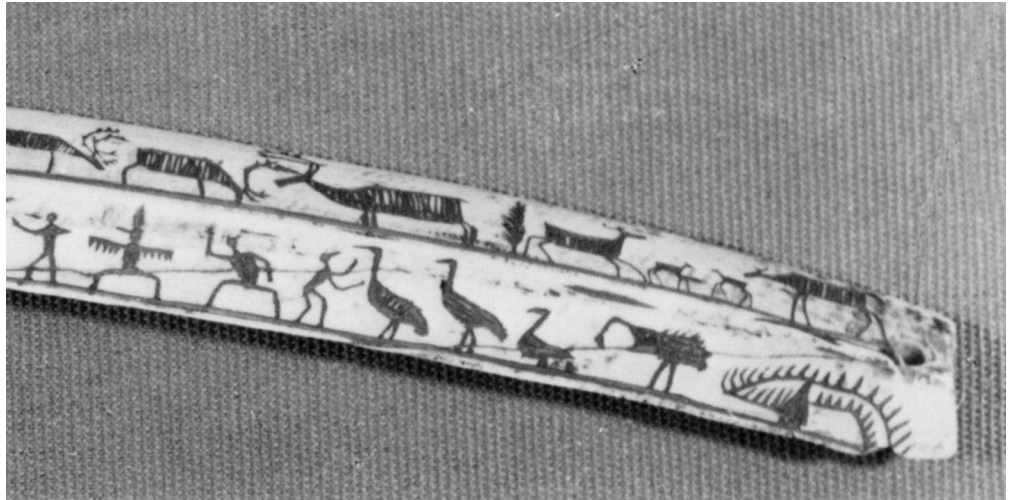
Engraved ivory with brown pigment
36.1 (14 1/4) LONG
Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde,
Rotterdam, 34875

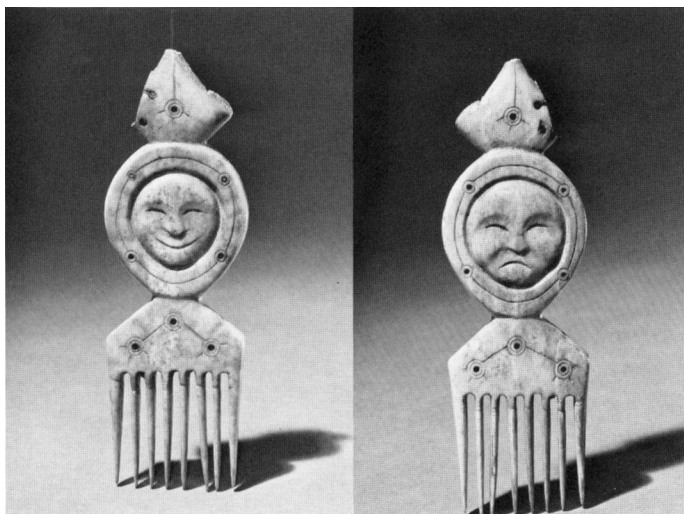
126 DRILL BOW

Engraved ivory with brown pigment
46.6 (18 3/8) LONG
Collected on Kotzebue Sound by
E. W. Nelson
Museum collection, 1882
Smithsonian Institution, 48 523

120 BOX HANDLE OR
DRILL BOW*

Engraved bone with black pigment
33.6 (13 1/4) LONG
Collected at Cape Nome by E. W.
Nelson
Museum collection, December 1880
Smithsonian Institution, 44 366





128 COMB WITH MALE AND
FEMALE FACES

Ivory, with composite inlays

11.1 (4 3/8) HIGH

Smithsonian Institution, T-1066

129 HUMAN FIGURE WITH
WALRUS TUSKS*

Ivory

7.6 (3) HIGH

Collected at Barrow and presented by

C. D. Bower to James A. Ford

Museum collection, 3 March 1958

Smithsonian Institution, 401 800



130 MALE HUMAN FIGURE

Wood

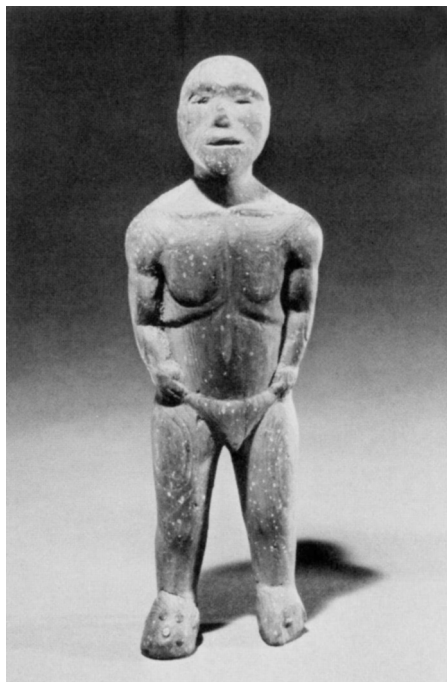
15.3 (6) HIGH

Collected on Little Diomed Island
by E. W. Nelson

Smithsonian Institution, 63 645

This figure is unusual among Alaskan Eskimo carvings of the early modern period, which normally show human figures both clothed and with greater stylization.

C. D. L.



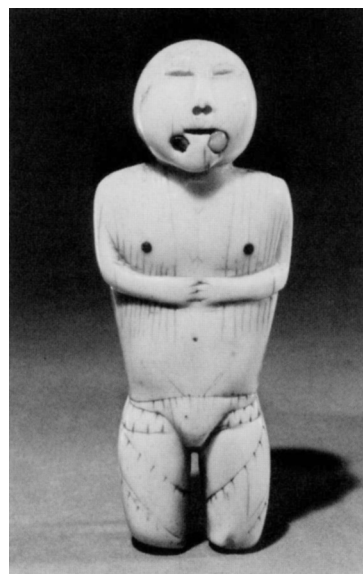
131 HUMAN FIGURE WITH
BLUE LABRETS

Ivory, inlaid with bone and trade beads

12.4 (4 7/8) HIGH

Possibly from vicinity of Point Banks,
Shuyak Island?

Museum of the American Indian,
Heye Foundation, 5/9838





132 MODEL OF "KASHIM" OR
DANCE HOUSE

Wood, with red and black pigment,
ivory engraved with black and red
pigment, deerskin, trade cloth and
beads, fiber and string

43 (17) LONG

Collected on the Kuskokwim River by
Adolph Neumann, 1890
Sheldon Jackson Museum, II.S.1

133 SHORT DANCE MASK
WITH ANIMAL FACE

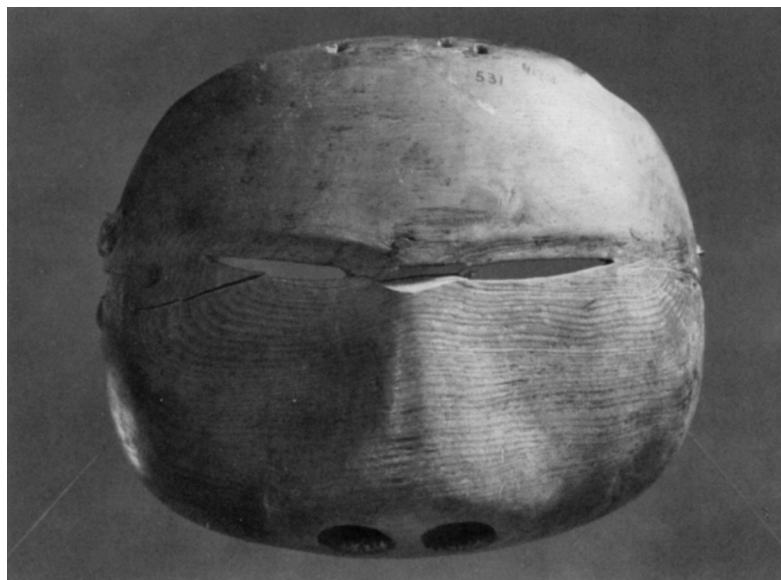
Wood and woven fiber strap

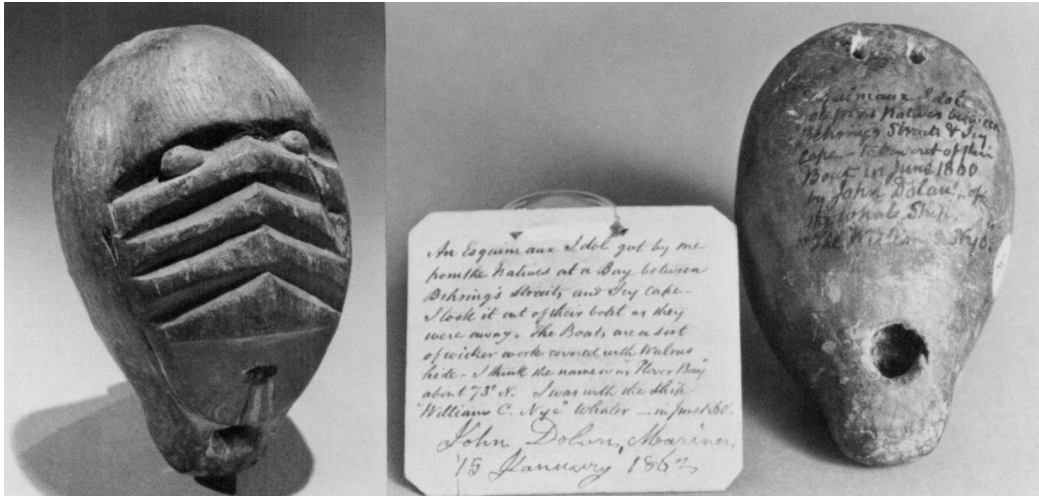
15.2 (6) WIDE

Collected at Point Barrow by E. A.
McIlhenny

Gift of the collector

University Museum, Philadelphia,
41781





134 FISHING OR WHALING
FETISH: FLOAT OR
TOGGLE?

Wood, inlaid with bone

11.1 (4 3/8) HIGH

Collected probably near Point Hope
("at a Bay between Behring's Straits
[sic] and Icy Cape"—see below) by

John Dolan, mariner, June 1860

Museum purchase from J. Halbert,
Dublin

National Museum of Ireland,
1881:2862

Accompanied by the original label with
the autograph of the collector:

An Esquimaux Idol got by me
from the Natives at a Bay between
Behring's Straits and Icy Cape—
I took it out of their boat as they
were away. The Boats are a sort
of wicker work covered with Walrus
hide—I think the name was 'Plover
Bay'

About 73° N. I was with the Ship
'William C. Nye' Whaler—in June
1860.

John Dolan, Mariner,
15 January 1862

Although Mariner Dolan applied a
Siberian place name ["Plover Bay"] to
a stretch of the Alaskan coast; his dis-
covery seems certain to have taken
place in the near vicinity of Point
Hope, as can also be judged by com-
paring his "Idol" with the form of the
following entry.

C. D. L.

135 MASK

Wood, with traces of fiber inserts in
chin

21.2 (8 3/8) HIGH

Possibly to be dated near the 1860s?

(See preceding entry)

Collected at Point Hope by Helge

Larsen, 1939

Danish National Museum, P.6386

Illustrated in color





136 MASK WITH WHALE'S
TAIL DESIGN

Wood, traces of fiber cord, and
fragments of nails

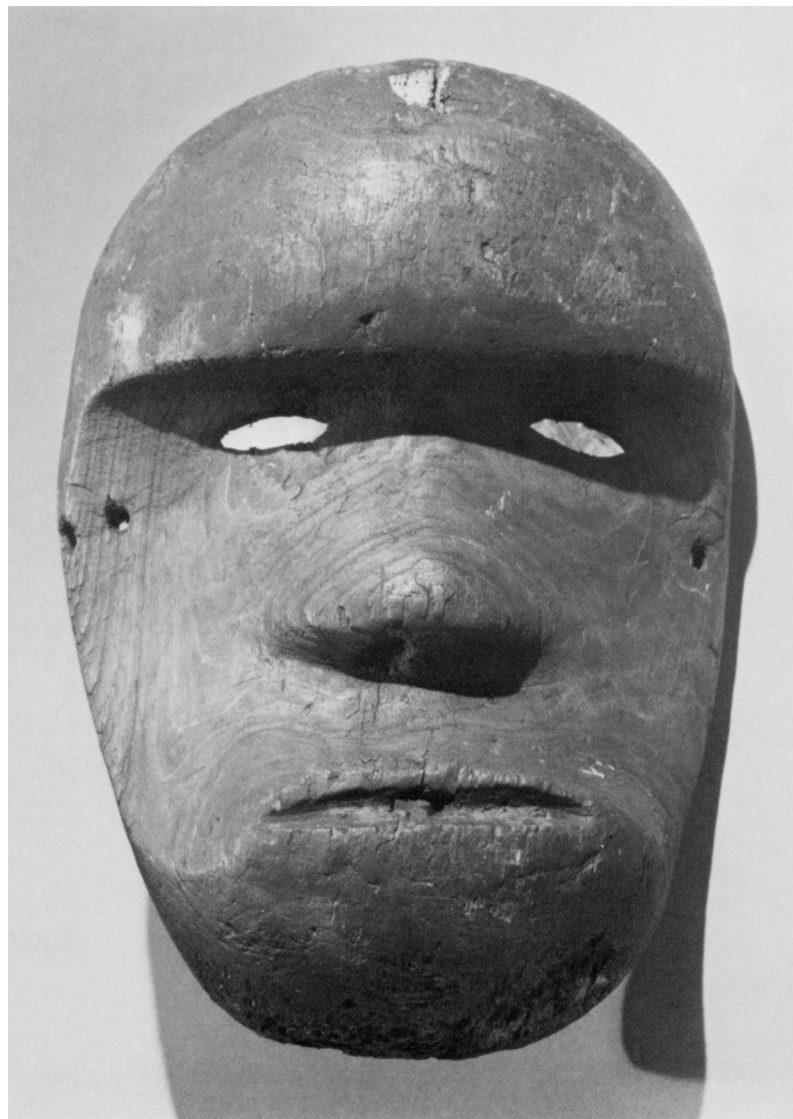
28.3 (11 1/8) HIGH

Point Hope?

Presumably collected by Rev. Sheldon
Jackson in the late 19th century
Sheldon Jackson Museum, II.K.82

Cavities in the top and bottom edges
of this abstract mask indicate they
once held decorative appendages.

C. D. L.



137 HUMAN MASK

Wood

26 (10 1/4) HIGH

Point Hope

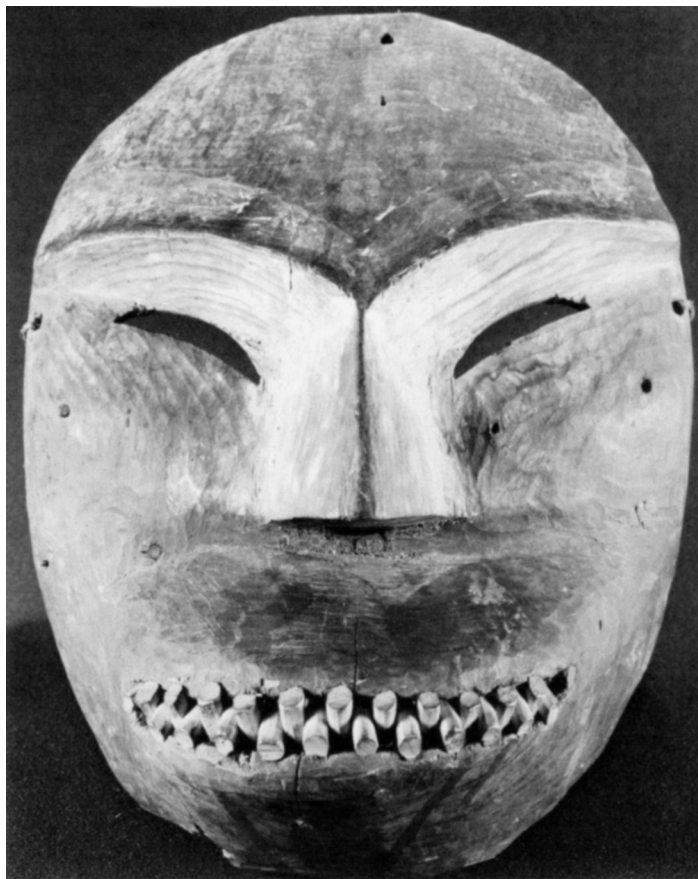
Presumably collected by Rev. Sheldon
Jackson in the late 19th century
Sheldon Jackson Museum, II.K.163

The curves in the profile of this mask,
an example of the abstracting tenden-
cies of Point Hope carvers, suggest
figure styles from distant parts of the
Pacific coasts.

C. D. L.



138 ANIMAL-HEAD MASK
31.5 (12 $\frac{3}{8}$) HIGH
Point Hope
Presumably collected by Rev. Sheldon
Jackson in the late 19th century
Sheldon Jackson Museum, II.K.161



139 HUMAN MASK
Wood, with red, black and white pigment, and rawhide strap
22.5 (8 7/8) HIGH
Collected on King Island by Rev. Sheldon Jackson, 1893
Sheldon Jackson Museum, II.E.3



140 HUMAN(?) MASK WITH EXAGGERATED NOSE AND CHEEKS
Wood
25.7 (10 1/8) HIGH
King Island?
Collected by Axel Rasmussen
Portland Art Museum, 48.3.381



141 HUMAN MASK

Wood, with red and black pigment

60.4 (23 3/4) HIGH

Collected at St. Paul, Kodiak Island,
by William J. Fisher

Museum collection, 1884

Smithsonian Institution, 74 690

The powerful but simple forms of this mask make it a classic of its type, with clear parallels with prehistoric and later Aleut masks (Nos. 48 and 54).

C. D. L.

142 HUMAN MASK

Wood, with red, black, blue and
white pigment, twine, and eagle down

49.5 (19 1/2) HIGH

Chugach (Prince William Sound)

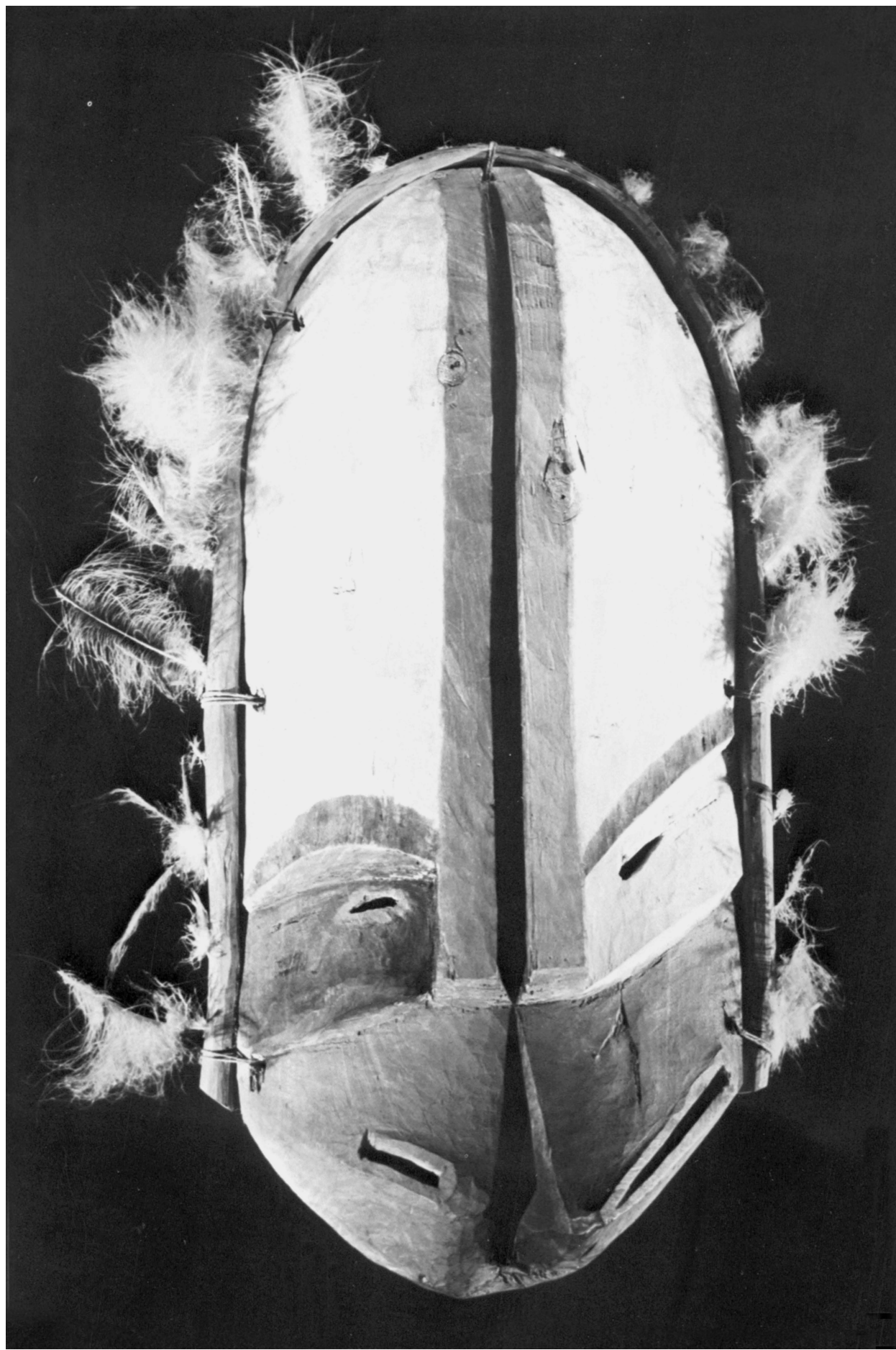
Presumably collected by Rev. Sheldon

Jackson in the late 19th century

Sheldon Jackson Museum, II.P.5

Reminiscent of the Smithsonian example from Kodiak (No. 141) in its vertical stylization, the coloring of this mask also recalls a parallel Chugach example in the same collection (No. 145).

C. D. L.



143 HUMAN MASK

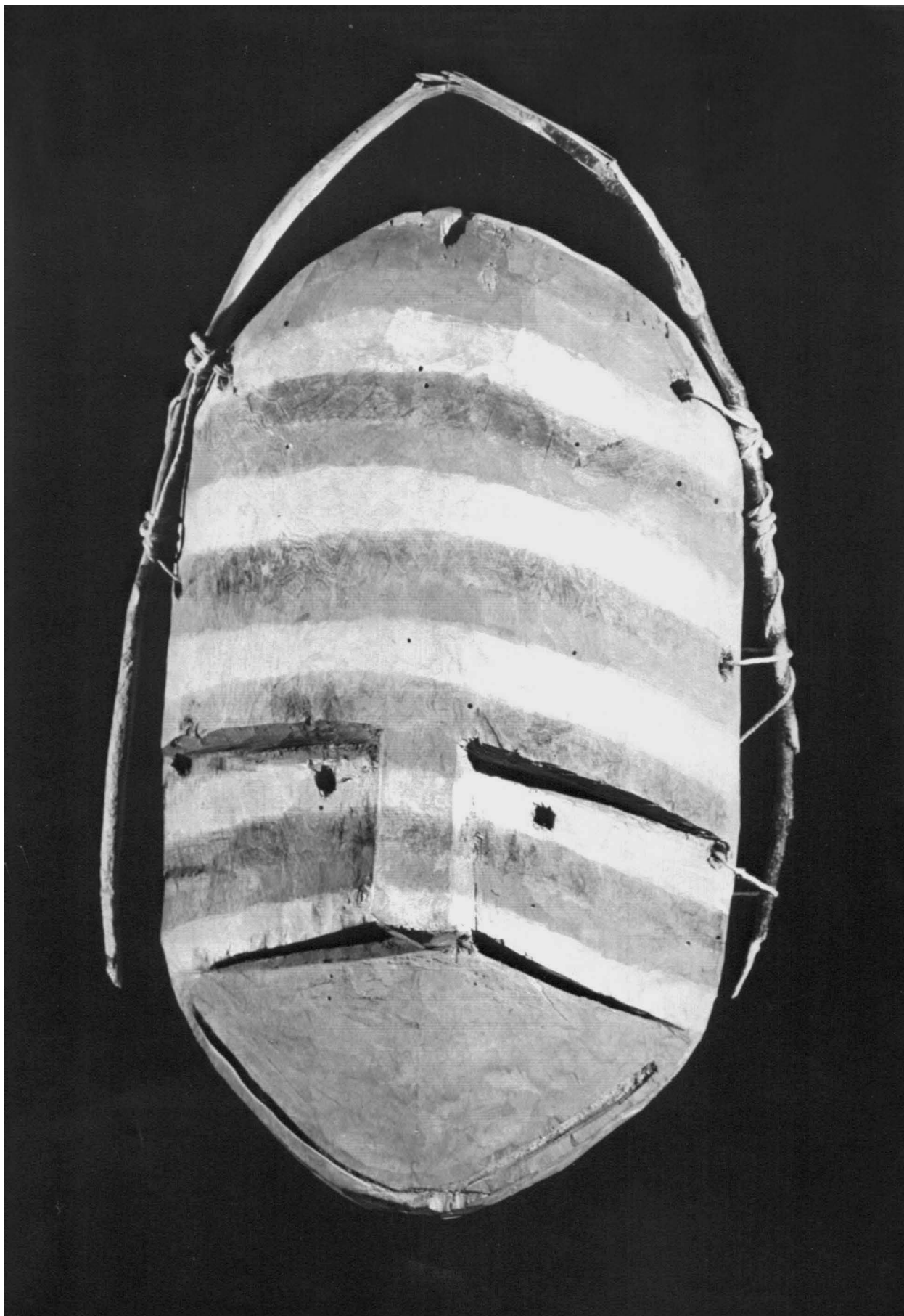
Wood, with black and red pigment
 36 (14 1/8) HIGH
 Chugach (Prince William Sound)
 Presumably collected by Rev. Sheldon
 Jackson in the late 19th century
 Sheldon Jackson Museum, II.CC.2

144 HUMAN MASK*

Wood
 51.5 (20 1/4) HIGH
 Kodiak Island or Alaska Peninsula
 Collected at Douglass (Kaiayakak or
 Kaguyak, Alaska Peninsula, on
 Shelikof Strait, opposite Kodiak
 Island) by William J. Fisher
 Smithsonian Institution, 74 694
 Identical (even to the pierced
 tetrahedral sustaining boss on the re-
 verse) to the example collected by the
 same donor on Kodiak Island (No.
 141), this mask represents a classic of
 a hybrid Aleut-Koniag-Chugach style.
 C. D. L.







145 HUMAN MASK

Wood, with black, red and white pigment, recently supplemented with a twig and modern twine in place of a former encircling willow band

36.3 (13 7/8) HIGH (excluding twig)

Chugach

Presumably collected by Rev. Sheldon

Jackson in the late 19th century

Sheldon Jackson Museum, II.CC.3



146 BIRD MASK

Wood, with white pigment and rawhide strap

19 (7 1/2) HIGH

Unalakleet, Norton Sound

Possibly collected by Henry Neumann,

c. 1890?

Sheldon Jackson Museum, II.R.2



147 CROW MASK

Wood, with black, white, red and green pigment, red fox fur, crow and ptarmigan feathers, with modern string

50.5 (19 7/8) HIGH

Collected at St. Michael, Norton

Sound, by E. W. Hawkes, 1913

National Museum of Man, Ottawa, IV.E.880

148 MASK: THE MOUNTAIN SPIRIT

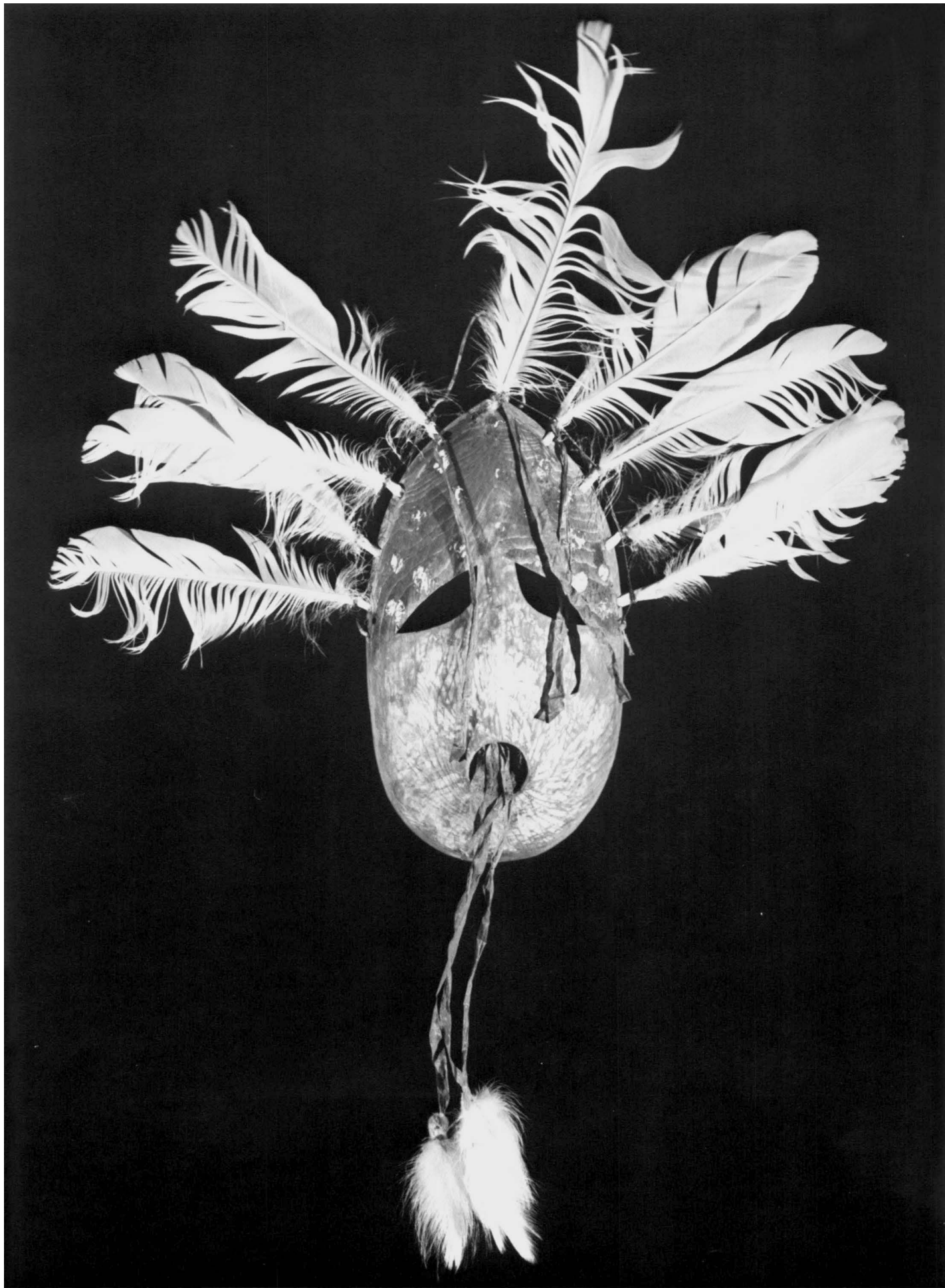
Wood, with red, black and white pigment, gut strips dyed red, gull feathers and eagle down, braided fiber, and rawhide strap

70 (27 1/2) HIGH

Collected at St. Michael, Norton

Sound, by Henry Neumann, 1890

Sheldon Jackson Museum, II.G.7





149 BLACKFISH MASK*

Wood, with black, red and white pigment and feathers

37 (14 1/2) HIGH

Collected on the Lower Yukon River or Norton Sound, by J. H. Turner,

c. 1890-91

Deposited by the collector, 1892

Smithsonian Institution, 153 622

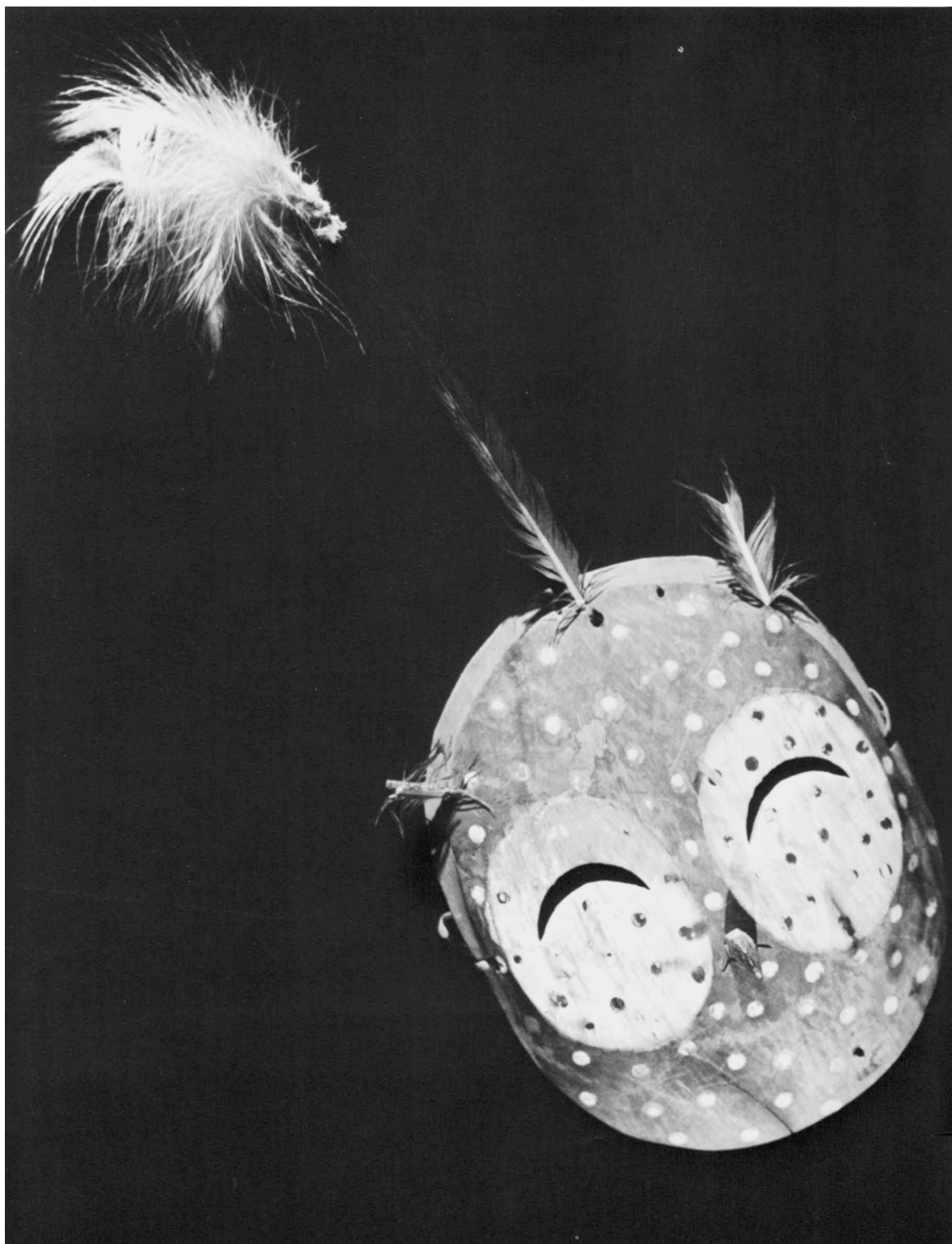
150 OWL MASK

Wood, with blue, white and black pigment, jaeger feathers with eagle down, and rawhide strap

40 (15 3/4) HIGH

Collected on the Lower Yukon River by Rev. Sheldon Jackson, in the late 19th century, as one of a pair.

Sheldon Jackson Museum, II.H.14



151 MASK

Wood, with red and white pigment,
jaeger feathers and baleen strips with
eagle down, sealskin, and rawhide strap

56 (22) WIDE

Collected on the Lower Yukon River
or Nelson Island, by Rev. Sheldon
Jackson in the late 19th century
Sheldon Jackson Museum, II.H.2

152 MASK

Wood, with green, white and red
pigment, feather strips and eagle
down

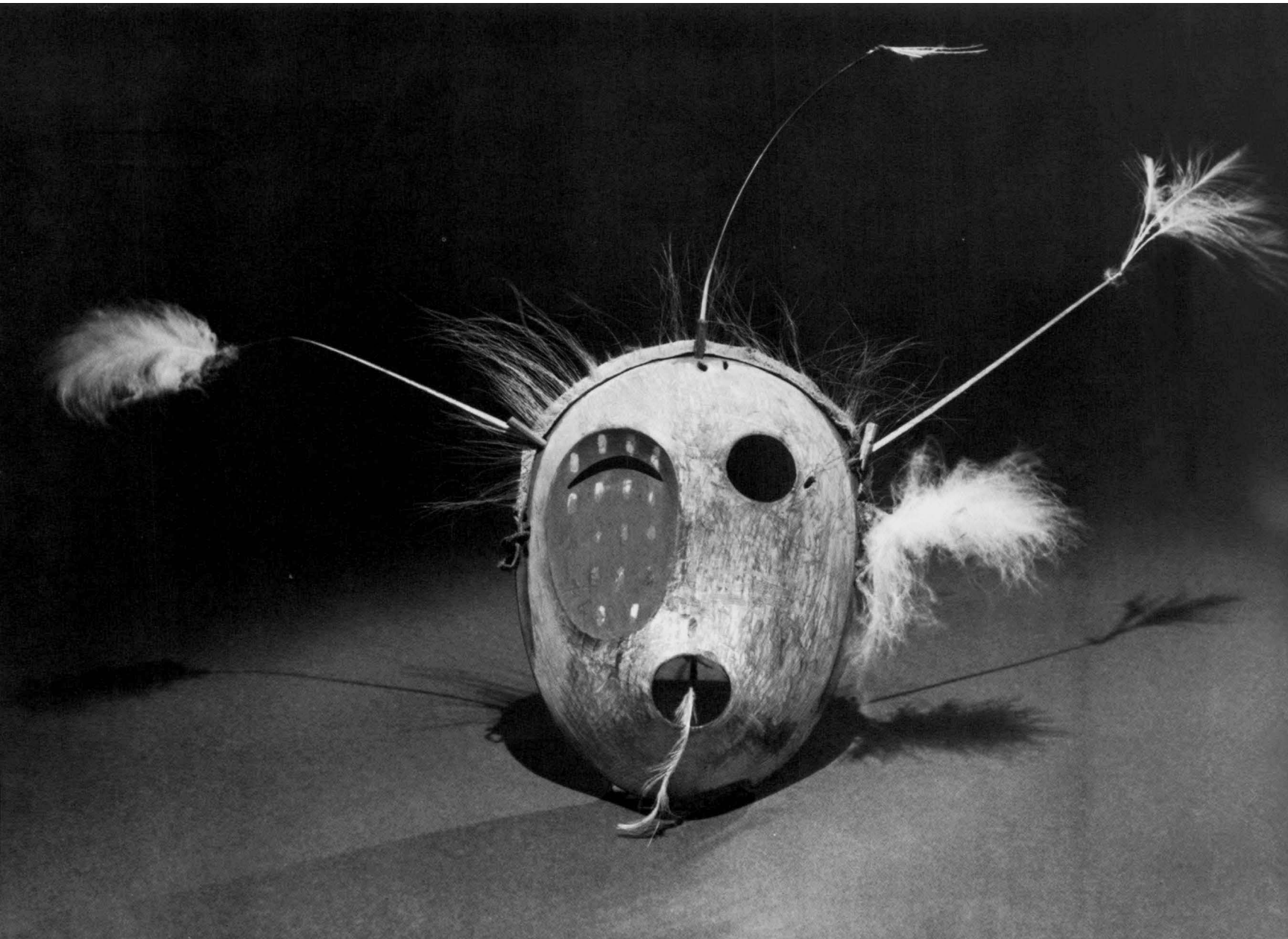
52 (20 1/2) HIGH

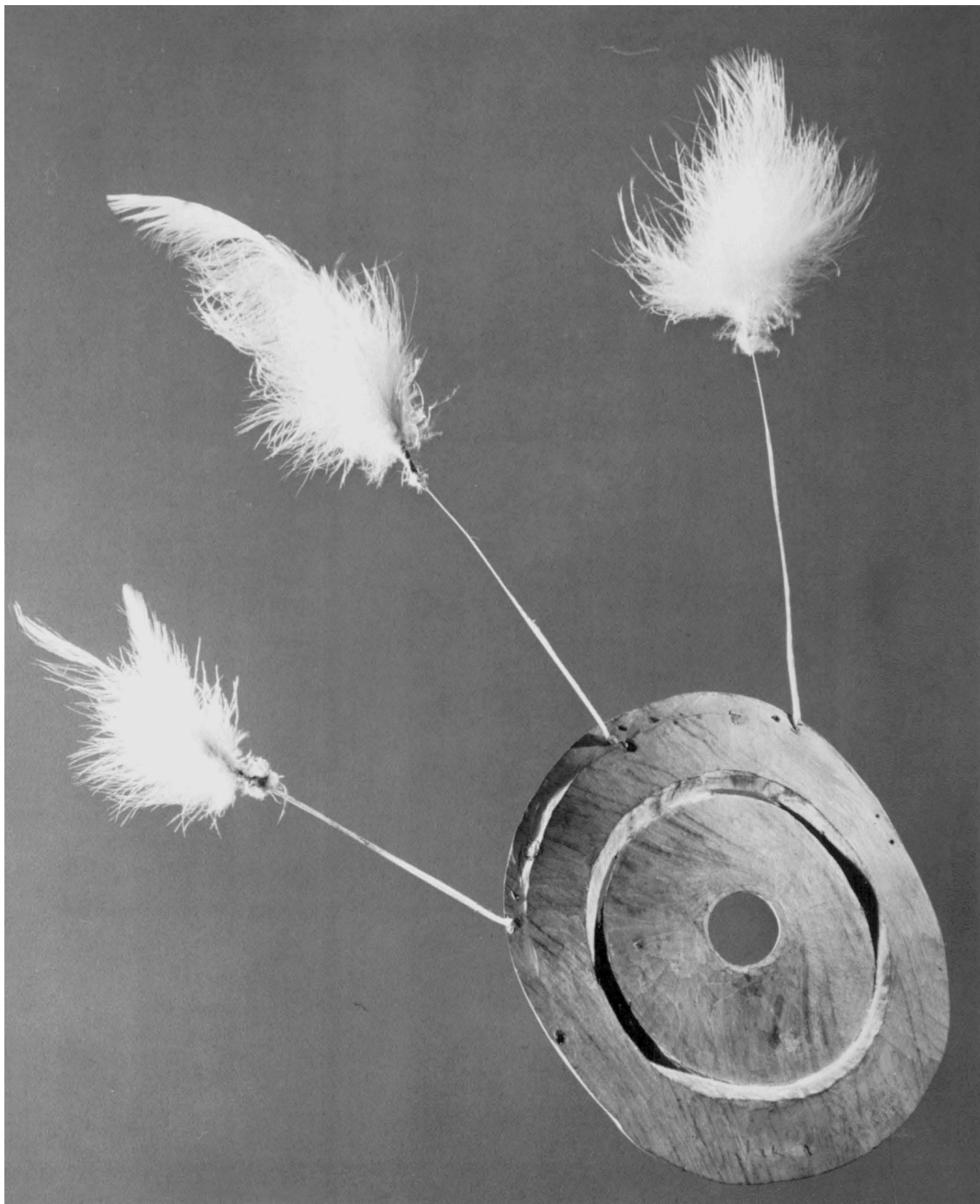
Collected on the Lower Yukon River
by Rev. Sheldon Jackson in the late
19th century

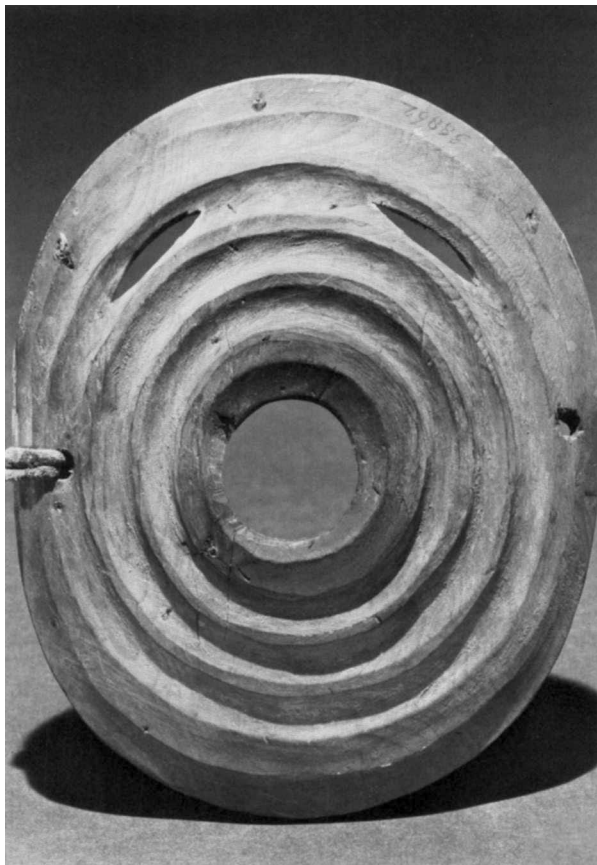
Sheldon Jackson Museum, II.H.3

The conical, puckered "mouth" of this
mask should be compared with that on
the preceding example, and with No.
148; in heavier and cruder shapes it
is a recurring motif on Athabaskan
Indian masks from the Anvik region
farther up the Yukon, as discussed in
Nos. 177 and 178.

C. D. L.







153 MASK*

Wood, with red pigment and rawhide strap

18.4 (7 1/4) HIGH

Collected at Razboinski, on the right bank of the Lower Yukon River, by E. W. Nelson

Museum collection, 29 December 1879
Smithsonian Institution, 38 862

This mask is typical of Eskimo culture of the Lower Yukon in forming one of an almost identical pair, the pendant being slightly more elongated and having a smaller central aperture, as well as four concentrically carved ring ridges. Both pieces formerly possessed three plumes inset with pegs in holes along the upper edge, identical with the preceding example. The present pair and the following pieces may be seen as variations on a similar type (fig. d).

C. D. L.

figure d

154 HUMAN MASK

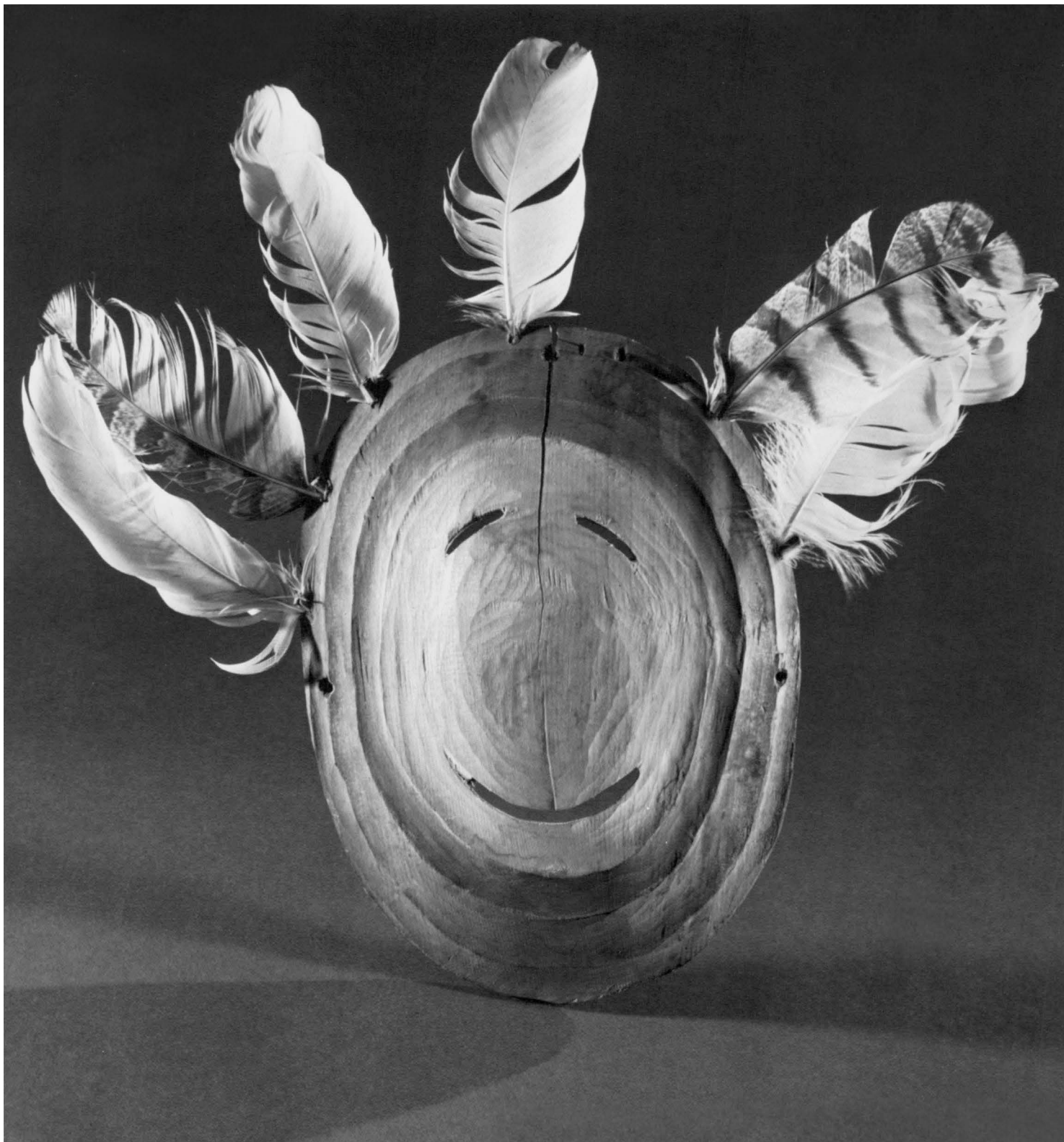
Wood, with red, blue-green, and traces
of white pigment, white and brown-
barred feathers

34.3 (13 1/2) HIGH

Collected at Andreafsky (St. Mary's),
the Lower Yukon River, by Rev.

Sheldon Jackson, 1893

Sheldon Jackson Museum, II.B.80



155 HUMAN MASK

Wood, with white, black and red pigment, animal teeth, sea gull and jaeger feathers with eagle down, and rawhide straps

82.5 (32 1/2) WIDE

Collected at Andreafsky by Rev.

Sheldon Jackson, 1893

Sheldon Jackson Museum, II.B.8

This mask is a classic example of the famous Eskimo type in which the symbolic central image is surrounded by attendant forms on concentric back-plates or fiber rings, frequently decorated as in this example by crowns of feathers.

C. D. L.

The village of Andreafsky on the Lower Yukon River (present-day St. Mary's) occupies the position of a crossroads with relation to the native Eskimo cultures which surround it. The Ingalik (Athabaskan-speaking) Indians used it as a trading and access point for their lands in the interior further up the Yukon, especially along the Anvik River, which meets the Yukon at the settlement of the same name.

The Andreafsky and the Anvik masks are often remarkably similar in their formal types, and the rich representation of both loaned to this exhibition from the Sheldon Jackson Museum makes it possible to link with the same areas certain masks from other collections. The following pages present a series of these masks, the examples from Andreafsky being compared frequently with other specimens from unspecified points on the Lower Yukon or Kuskokwim Rivers, and from the coastal regions surrounding this delta peninsula, from Norton Sound through Nunivak Island to Bristol Bay.

C. D. L.

156 FOREHEAD MASK: A

GANNET OR LOON

Wood, with white, black and red pigment, sea gull feathers, baleen strips with eagle down, willow bands, skin and woven fiber lashings and straps

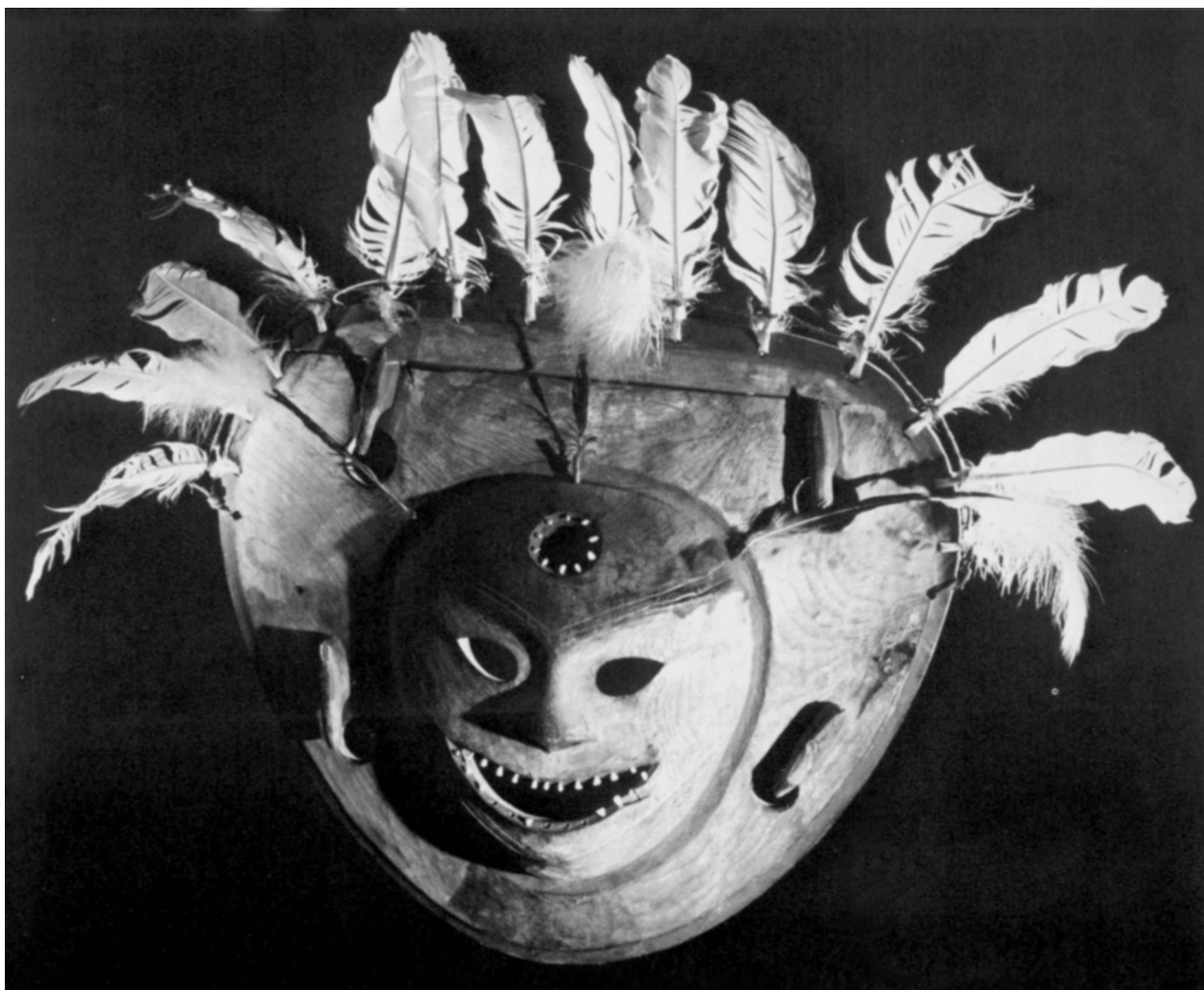
80 (31 1/2) LONG

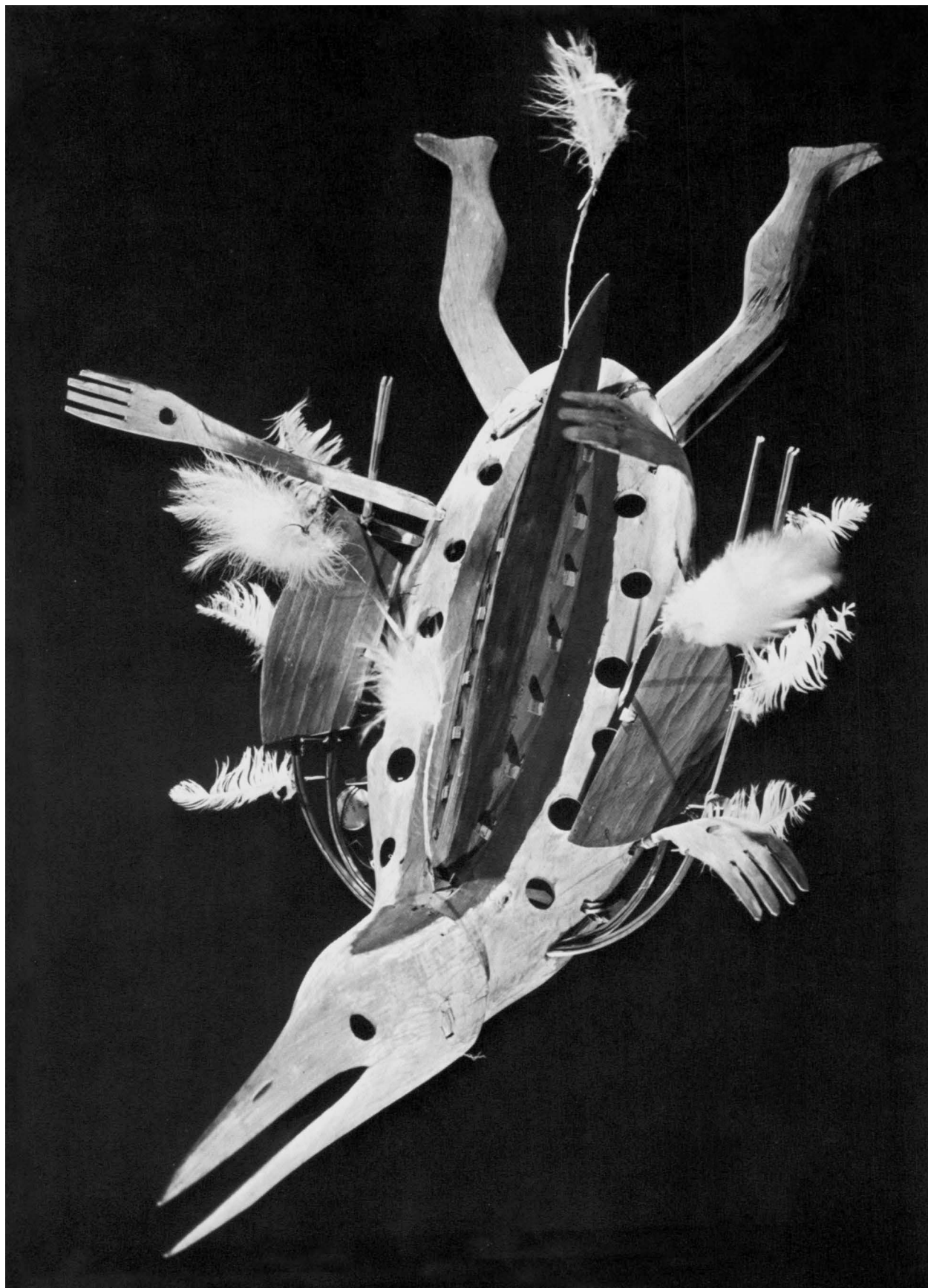
Collected at St. Michael, Norton Sound, by Rev. Sheldon Jackson, 1892

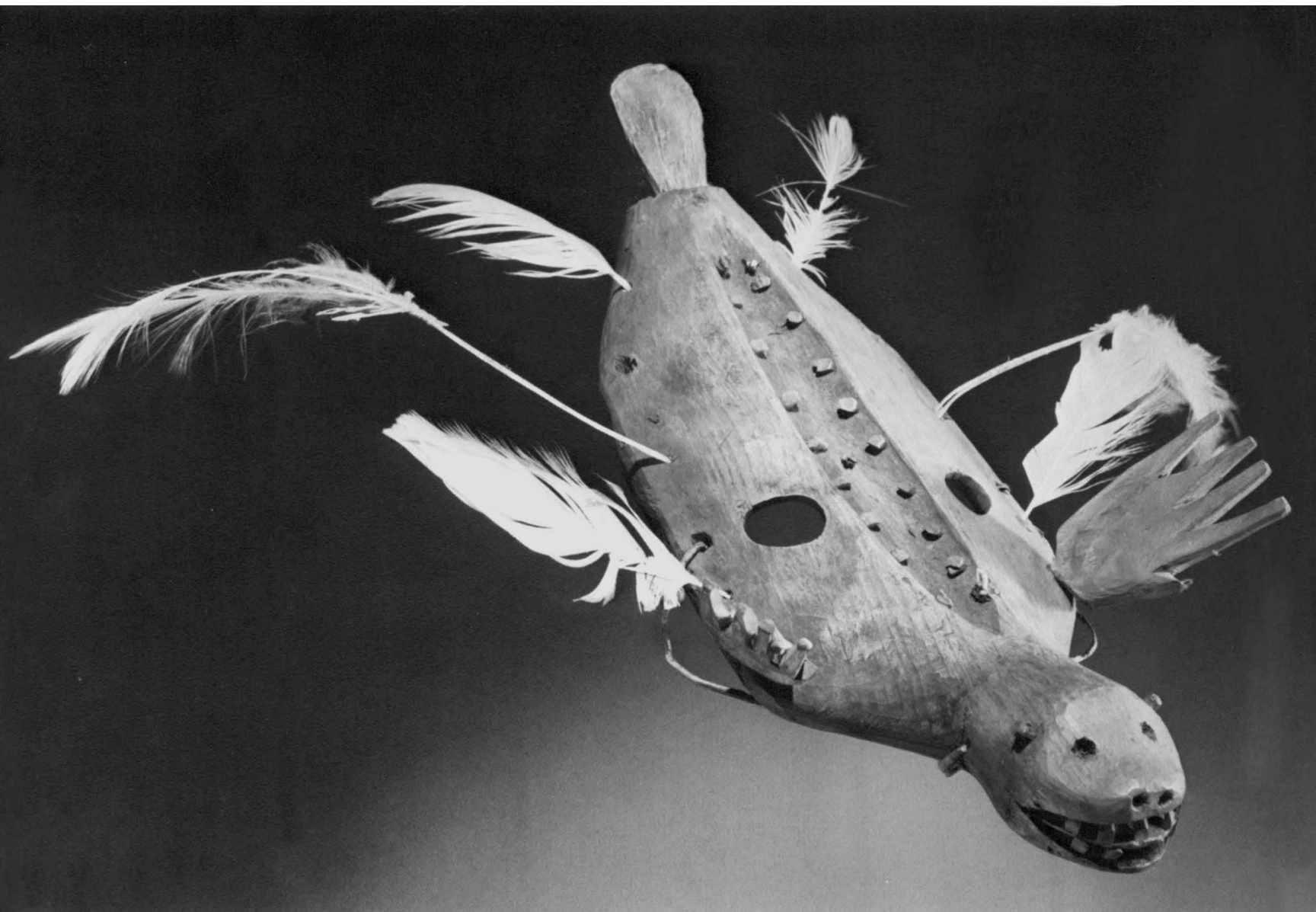
Sheldon Jackson Museum, II.G.11

Representative of another classic type with stylized appendages, this mask is fitted just behind the neck with a strong horizontal bar which the wearer would hold in his teeth, thus carrying the mask at a 45-degree angle above his forehead. An interesting feature is the bird's secret "spirit" face, hidden inside the moveable outer head, at the base of the neck.

C. D. L.







157 FOREHEAD MASK

Wood, with gray-green and red pigment, sea gull feathers, baleen strips with eagle down, and rawhide strap

38 (15) LONG

Presumably collected by Rev. Sheldon Jackson in the late 19th century
Sheldon Jackson Museum, II.B.98

Similar to the preceding example, but also to masks with auxiliary heads or faces from the Lower Yukon and Andreafsky, this mask probably comes from the general area of Norton Sound or the Yukon Delta. It represents a small animal with exposed backbone.

C. D. L.

158 MASK

Wood, with red and white pigment,
gut strips dyed red, sea gull feathers,
and modern string

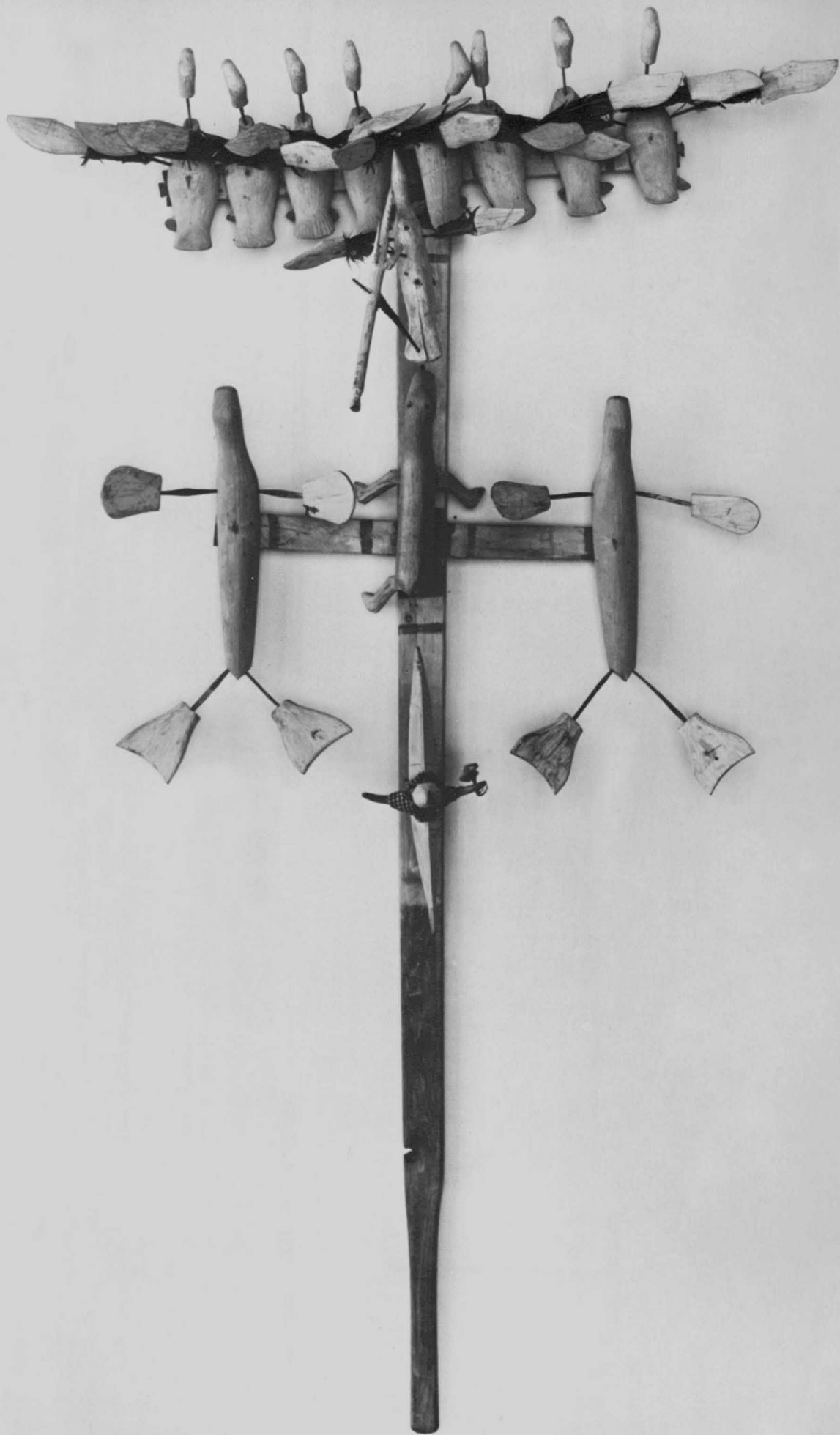
29.8 (11 3/4) HIGH

Probably Norton Sound

Collected by Arthur W. Whitcher,
September 1919

Peabody Museum of Salem, E 17.703





159 DANCE STAFF OR
INSIGNIA

Wood, with red, white and green
pigment, black feathers, baleen(?)
strips, trade gingham, and string

145 (57 1/8) LONG

Collected on Nunivak Island by Knud
Rasmussen

Danish National Museum, P.33.127

This dance staff or insignia is carved
with birds, seals, caribou, a man in a
kayak, and a harpoon.

ESKIMO 117

160 BURIAL IMAGE*

Wood, with red pigment, inlaid with
wood and bone features

71 (28) WIDE (height shortened by
modern saw cut at base)

Collected at Akiachak on the
Kuskokwim River by Aleš Hrdlička

Deposited by the collector,

7 November 1930

Smithsonian Institution, 351 076

Sculptures of similar form with much
enlarged heads and comparable inlaid
features (such as one in the National
Museum of Man at Ottawa IV. G. 13),
have been found as far away as the
Diomed Islands in Bering Strait.

C. D. L.

Illustrated in color



161 MASK: SHAMAN'S SPIRIT
ASTRIDE A BEAVER

Wood, with white, red, green and black pigment, jaeger feathers, willow bands, gut fiber lashings, and twine.

88.9 (35) LONG

Lower Kuskokwim River; inscribed with the date "September 1881"

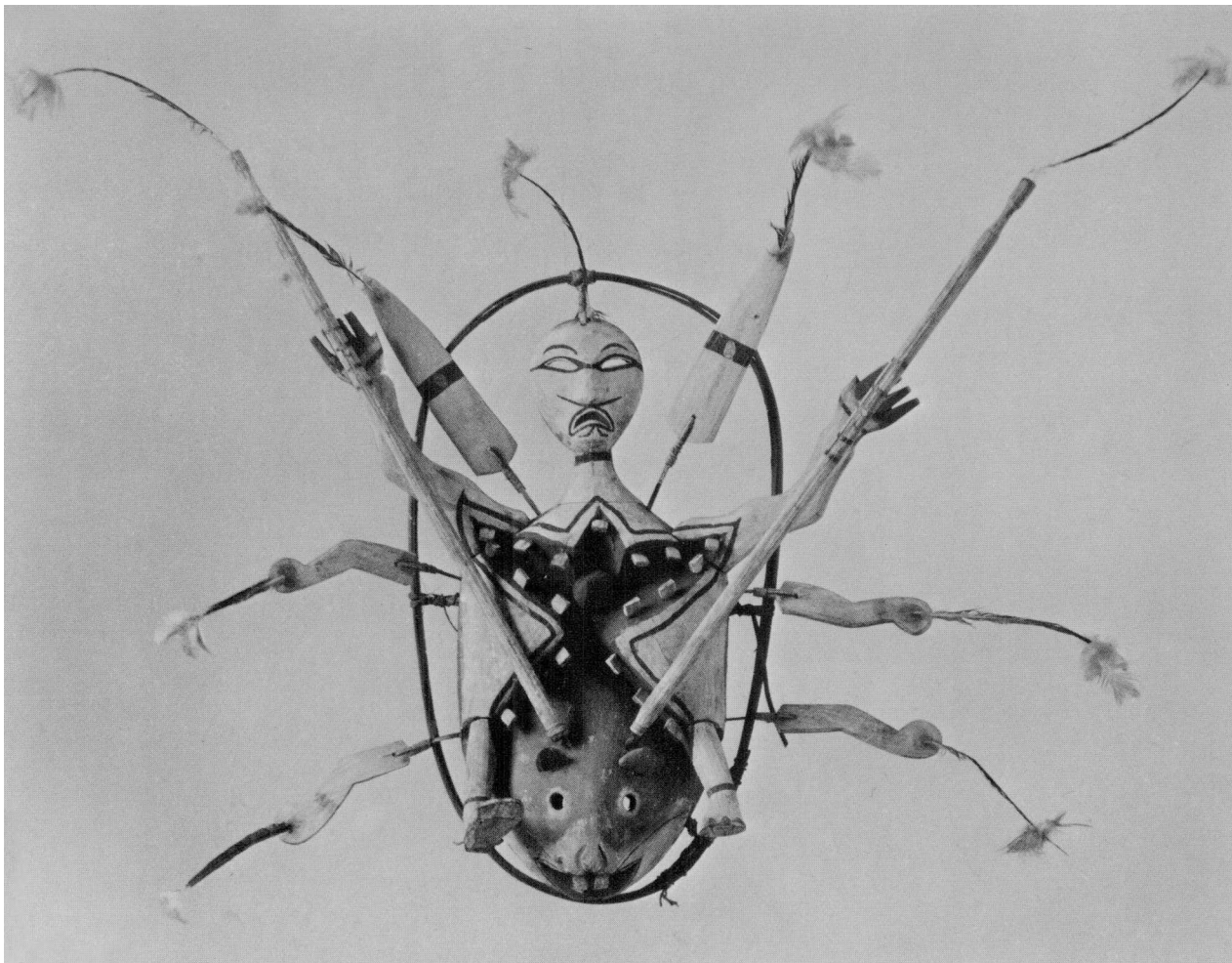
Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte, 36:52:1

The exposed body of the shaman's helpful spirit, split open to show its internal organs, is typical of the Eskimos of the Lower Kuskokwim.

The expressive use of paint, with a sea-green for the beaver, white for the spirit figure, and red for its innards, is heightened by the graphic use of black for outlining. Also attached to the rim of the mask are four feathered appendages suggestive of the animal's limbs. In addition, two feathered paddles rise from the spirit's shoulders.

Wolfgang Haberland, *Nordamerika, Indianer, Eskimo, Westindien* (Baden-Baden: Holle Verlag, 1965), p. 39.

F. de L.



162 SHAMAN'S DRUM WITH
SPIRIT FIGURE

Wood, with red and black pigment,
walrus stomach, human hair, animal
teeth, fiber and rawhide lashings and
straps

83 (32 3/4) HIGH

Lower Yukon or Kuskokwim River ?
Presumably collected by Rev. Sheldon
Jackson in the late 19th century
Sheldon Jackson Museum 2.X.24

The exposed body of the shaman's
spirit relates interestingly to the pre-
ceding example, while its materials and
techniques also resemble Eskimo
images from Andreafsky and Norton
Sound.

C. D. L.



163 MASK*

Wood, with white, black and red pigment, willow bands, brown feathers, baleen and fiber lashings

70.5 (27 3/4) HIGH

Lower Kuskokwim River or Bristol Bay?

Formerly in the collections of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation (15/4343) and Claude Lévi-Strauss

Museum of Primitive Art, 63.167

The form and position of the strongly projecting bird's head recall examples (such as No. 156) from Norton Sound; but the bolder and heavier elements of this mask are generally closer to those of the Kuskokwim spirit-and-beaver mask, (No. 161) as well as to No. 164 probably from Nushagak on Bristol Bay.

C. D. L.



164 MASK

ESKIMO 121

Wood, with white, black and red pigment, willow bands, ivory, baleen strips, gut, and vegetable fiber

64 (25 1/4) HIGH

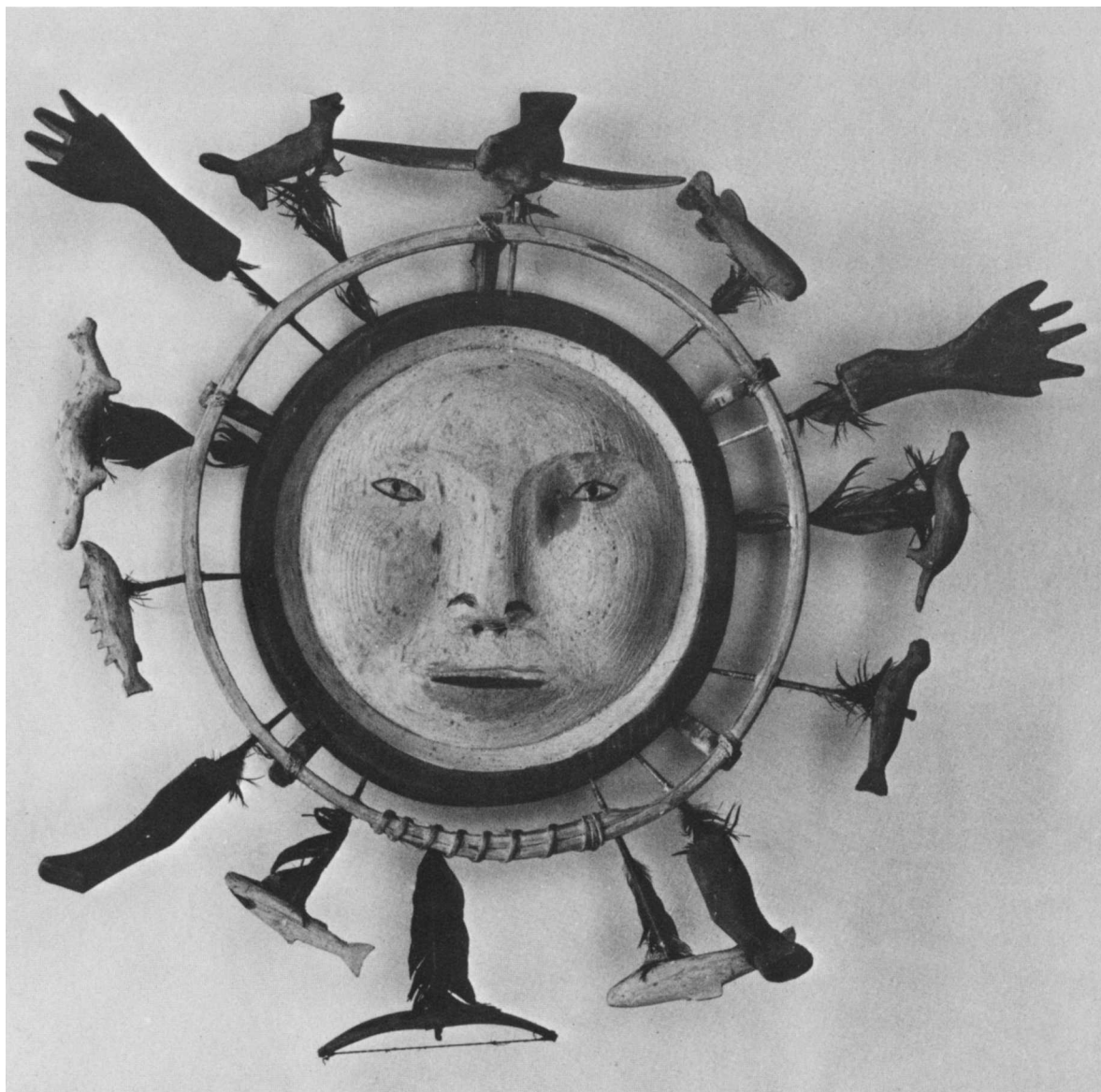
Collected (in the region of Nushagak Bay?) before 1898

Donated by the Alaska Commercial Company (successor to the Russian American Company)

Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, 2-5852

This mask probably represents a shaman's walrus spirit.





166 MASK
Wood, with red, green and black
pigment, black feathers
66 (26) HIGH
Collected on Nunivak Island by Knud
Rasmussen
Danish National Museum, P.33.109



165 MASK

Wood, with white and red pigment
and seal-gut lashing

38 (15) HIGH

Probably collected c. 1880

Donated by the Alaska Commercial
Company

Robert H. Lowie Museum of
Anthropology, 2-4597

The concept of this mask, with a
spirit face looking out from a bird's
head, is similar to that of the gannet
mask from St. Michael (No. 156).

The present example, once embellished
with feather plumes at the top, also
exhibits the speckled fingertip-painting
typical of that area (see Nos. 147-
149).

C. D. L.

167 MASK*

Wood, with red, black and white
pigment, black feather, gut and
fiber strips

63.5 (25) HIGH

Collected at Cape Vancouver (Nelson
Island) by E. W. Nelson

Museum collection, December 1880
Smithsonian Institution, 43 772

168 MASK

Wood, with white, red and green pigment, willow bands, rawhide lashings, eagle down, trade beads, and twine

71 (28) HIGH

Collected at Andreafsky by Rev.

Sheldon Jackson, 1893

Sheldon Jackson Museum, II.B.47

This mask depicts a shaman's(?) face with crest of smaller face and elaborate headdress. The headdress is repeated in No. 169, while the form of the face compares closely with that of an Ingalik Athabaskan mask, No. 181.

C. D. L.



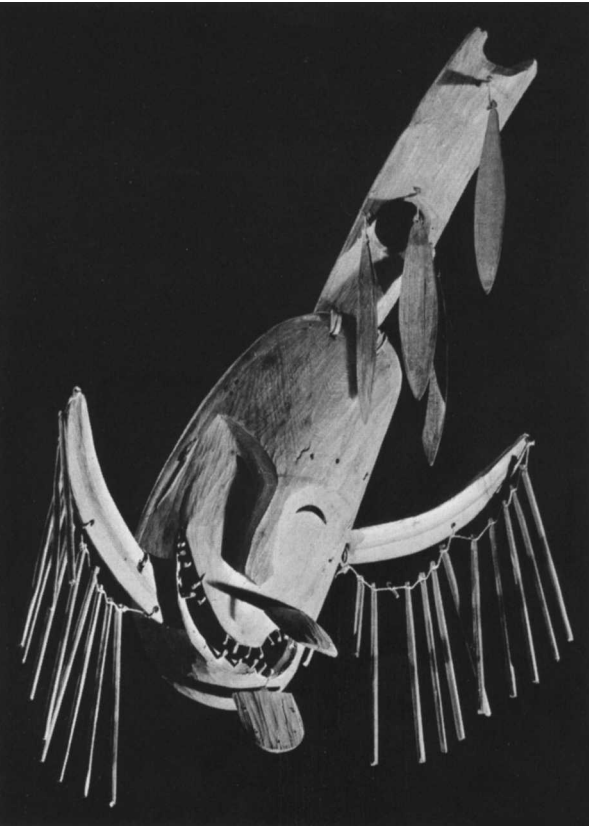
169 MASK*

Wood, with black, red and ochre pigment, willow bands, sea gull and jaeger feathers with eagle down, vegetable fiber and twine lashings

113 (44 1/2) HIGH

Formerly in the collection of the
Museum of the American Indian,
Heye Foundation (9/3393)
Museum of Primitive Art, 61.39





172 MASK

Wood, with red, black and white pigment, vegetable fiber, and twine
61 (24) HIGH (top of headdress broken off)

Collected at Andreafsky by Rev.

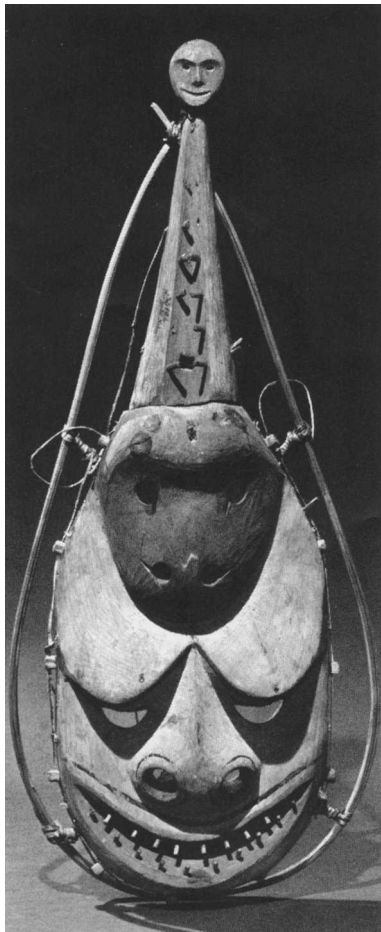
Sheldon Jackson, 1893

Sheldon Jackson Museum, II.B.45

This mask combines elements of the pendant hoop headdresses from Nos. 168 and 169, together with the lateral wings and feather decorations found also on Athabaskan Indian examples from Anvik and the Innoko River, such as Nos. 177 and 181.

C. D. L.

Illustrated in color



170 MASK*

Wood, with red, green, black and ochre pigment, willow band, vegetable fiber, gut strips, and rawhide strap

77.5 (30 1/2) HIGH

Collected south of the Lower Yukon River by E. W. Nelson

Museum collection, 6 November 1878

Smithsonian Institution, 33 104

This mask depicts a face with crest of animal head, an elongated body and smaller face. Although the original cataloger's inscription assigns this mask to "Norton Sound," it shares many characteristics with the shaman's spirit and beaver mask from the Lower Kuskokwim River (No. 161), which lies directly south of the Lower Yukon.

C. D. L.

Illustrated in color

171 MASK*

Wood, with red, green, black and ochre pigment, willow bands, vegetable fiber, and gut strips

48.5 (19 1/4) HIGH

Collected in western Alaska by E. W. Nelson

Museum collection, 6 November 1878

Smithsonian Institution, 33 114





173 MASK

Wood, with white, red, green and black pigment, vegetable fiber and rawhide lashings

42.2 (16 5/8) HIGH

Collected on the Lower Yukon River, presumably from the vicinity of Andreafsky, before 1898

Donated by the Alaska Commercial Company

Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, 2-5854

This celebrated mask, one of the best known and most admired works of Eskimo art, may perhaps be associated with the Andreafsky region through certain parallels with No. 172, although it may well surpass any of the documented works from that region.

C. D. L.

174 MASK

Wood, with black, white and red pigment, jaeger feather, and gut strip

35.5 (14) HIGH

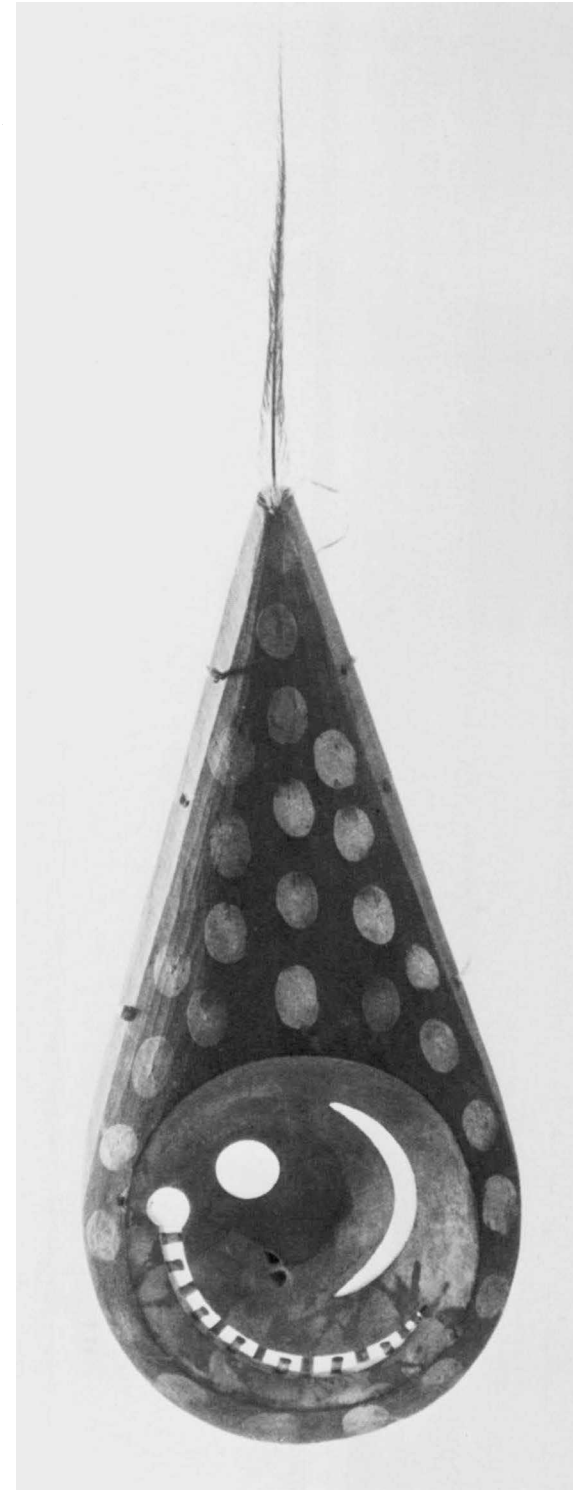
Collected (presumably in the region of Andreafsky) before 1898

Donated by the Alaska Commercial Company

Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, 2-6442

This teardrop-shape mask shows a face in a circle. The mask's features, reducing the human face to a series of geometric shapes which complement their enclosing circle, recall the two preceding examples.

C. D. L.



175 MASK
Wood, with gray-green and red
pigment, sea gull feathers, and braided
fiber hanging strap
82 (32 1/4) HIGH
Collected at Andreafsky by Rev.
Sheldon Jackson, 1893
Sheldon Jackson Museum, 2.B.74





176 HALF-MAN MASK

Wood, with red and blue-green pigment, sea gull feathers, and braided fiber

35 (13 3/4) HIGH

Collected at Andreafsky by Rev.

Sheldon Jackson, 1893

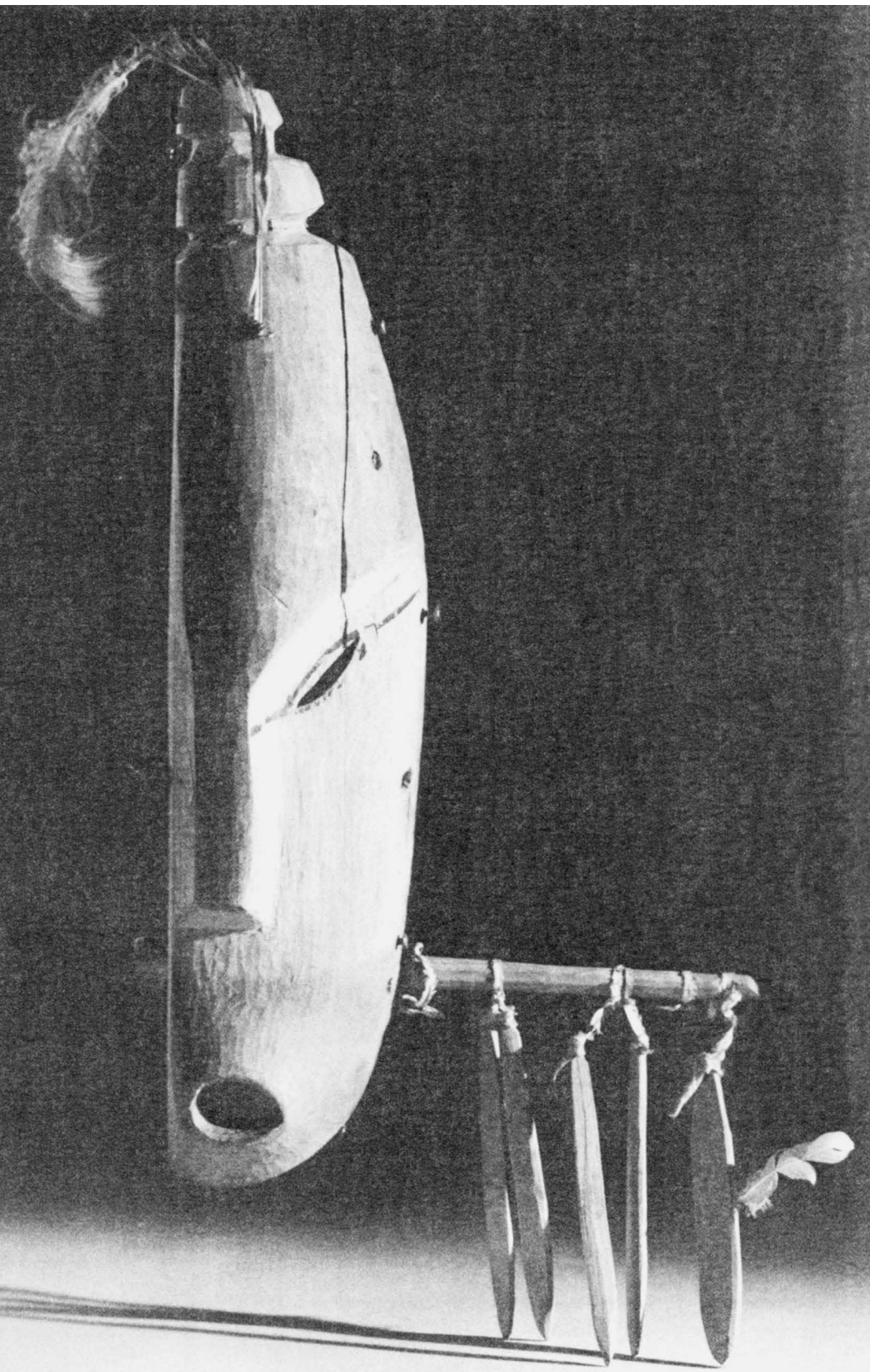
Sheldon Jackson Museum, 2.B.11

The very existence of these "half-masks," (discounted by some modern students as halves of complete masks), is here affirmed by two examples, quite obviously carved in this form, from both the Eskimo region of Andreafsky and the Ingalik Indian area of Anvik. The present Eskimo example exhibits certain aspects of No. 175.

C. D. L.

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177 HALF-MAN MASK

Wood, with red, gray and black pigment, brown and gray feathers, skin lashings, and nails

68 (26 3/4) HIGH

Ingalik

Collected at Anvik on the Lower Yukon River by J. W. Chapman, 1903

American Museum of Natural History, 60/5118

This mask represents the mythical Half-Man (or "Half-Face"), a traditional figure in the Ingalik Mask Dance. Two figures, wearing masks that are identical, dance together. The Half-Man, who lives in the mountains, uses a crutch, for he has only one arm and one leg. Despite this handicap, he is supposedly the greatest hunter and consequently the richest man.

F. de L.

This mask exemplifies the formal characteristics which bind it to the Eskimo art downriver to the west: the conical, puckered mouth may be compared to Nos. 148 and 151-152, while the wing with pendant feathers recalls No. 172, and the form closely parallels No. 176.

C. D. L.

ATHABASKAN ART

*Ingalik, Athabaskans of the middle and lower Yukon River,
the Innoko River, and the Kuskokwim.*

F R E D E R I C A D E L A G U N A

TH E S E Athabaskan tribes are unusual in having adopted many of their ceremonial and social customs from the neighboring Eskimo of the lower Yukon and Norton Sound, with whom they traded. Thus, they have abandoned the clan system, based on matrilineal descent, which is characteristic of the other Athabaskan tribes of Alaska, adopting instead a bilateral family structure like that of the Eskimo. They build *kashims*, large buildings which serve as halls in which guests are entertained, dances and feasts given, and which the men of the village use as a club house. In their most important ceremonies, they make use of rather elaborate paraphernalia, including masks. In style, these are very hard to distinguish from those of their Eskimo neighbors, although the latter are on the whole more elaborate.

The masks used by the Ingalik are of three kinds: small forehead masks worn by messengers sent to invite guests from a nearby village, finger masks held by women when dancing with the men, and large masks covering the whole face. The latter are carved and worn only by men, although they may represent such traditional mythological figures as Dog Salmon Woman or Berry Woman. In the great mask dance, formerly given several times a year to honor the animals, to amuse guests, and to win prestige for those who distribute gifts, there are more serious masks, carved by men who have dreamed of the animal or mythical character depicted. One of the subjects for such a mask is the Half-Man, who lives in the mountains, and uses a crutch because he is missing one arm and one leg. There are also fundamentally humorous masks, such as those representing the rather ignorant, unsophisticated "Up-River Indians," or even modern subjects like a "Russian," or an "Outside Indian." Such characters appear and dance between the more serious performances.

Some masks are so heavy that they have a wooden crosspiece to be grasped in the teeth, in addition to the cords around the head. Narrow masks may lack eyeholes, the performer being able to peer around the edge of the mask. For each mask, or set of masks, songs are composed and the accompanying dances are carefully rehearsed. Such songs, like the masks, are theoretically composed by the dreamer, but most of the songs and dances are traditional, like the characters appearing in their dreams.

Masks representing birds or animals are frequently decorated with feathers, or small legs and wings attached in incongruous places. The human face in the center of many masks represents the creature's anthropomorphic soul.



178 MASK

Wood, with gray, black, red, yellow
and white pigment, skin, vegetable
fiber, wolf's hair, string, and nails
66 (26) HIGH

Ingalik

Collected at Anvik by J. W. Chapman,
1903

American Museum of Natural History,
60/5093

Illustrated in color

Ceremonies may also include large hollow wooden figures of animals or fish with a lighted lamp inside that are pulled across the *kashim* on wires. Instead of masks, shamans may use stuffed animals or stuffed birds in this way.

Many of the older ceremonies have been abandoned and there seems to be a tendency to combine feasts in honor of the dead with ceremonies in honor of the animals. In such cases, small clay lamps are lit in memory of each deceased person for whom the ceremony is given. Dancing is to the beat of tambourine drums.

Although fire can be used in shaping the block of green spruce from which masks are carved, the shavings and the mask itself, if discarded, must never be burned. When not in use they are usually stored in the owner's cache. Because one cache full of masks at Hologochaket on the Innoko River collapsed, the old masks were thrown away, and a new set made. It was for this reason that I was able to secure the discarded masks and photograph their replacements in 1935.

John W. Chapman, "Notes on the Tinnah Tribe of Anvik," *Congrès International des Américanistes*, 15e Session, 1906. Quebec, 2, (1907), pp. 14-38.

Cornelius Osgood, *Ingalik Material Culture*, Yale University Publications in Anthropology, no. 22, 1940; Cornelius Osgood, *Ingalik Social Culture*, Yale University Publications in Anthropology, no. 53.

Frederica de Laguna, "Indian Masks from the Lower Yukon," *American Anthropologist* 38 (1936) 4, pp. 569-85, pl. 17-20. figs. 1-3.



179 MASK

Wood, with gray, brown and white pigment, vegetable fibers (partly replaced with rawhide), and feathers
63.5 (25) WIDE

Ingalik

Collected at Anvik by J. W. Chapman,
1903

American Museum of Natural History,
60/5114

This mask, with wings and a crest, resembles the classic Koniag and Chugach masks from the southern coast: another indication of the wide range of Eskimo prototypes emulated by their Indian neighbors.

C. D. L.



181 MASK

Wood, with white and black pigment, willow bands, vegetable fiber, white feathers, and trade beads

37 (14 1/2) HIGH

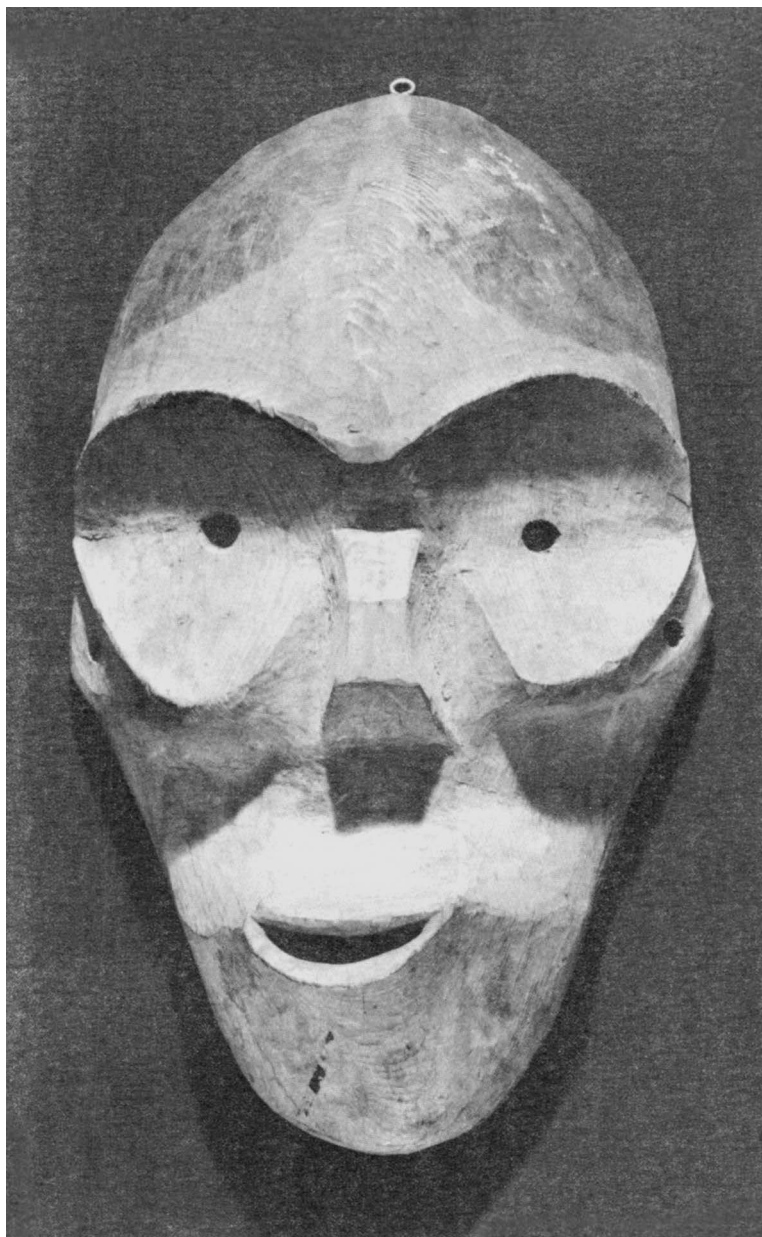
Ingalik

Collected from the Indian village at Kozherevsky, left bank of the Yukon opposite Holy Cross, by Father Barnum, 1893

Sheldon Jackson Museum, II.L.1

This mask depicts a shaman's(?) face with tattoo lines and nose beads. A contemporary inscription inside calls the beads "labrets," and the ear pendants "magic feathers." The face closely recalls another Andreafsky type, represented in No. 168.

C. D. L.



180 MASK REPRESENTING
MOTHER OF THE
MOSQUITOES"

Wood, with black and brown pigment

27.3 (10 3/4) HIGH

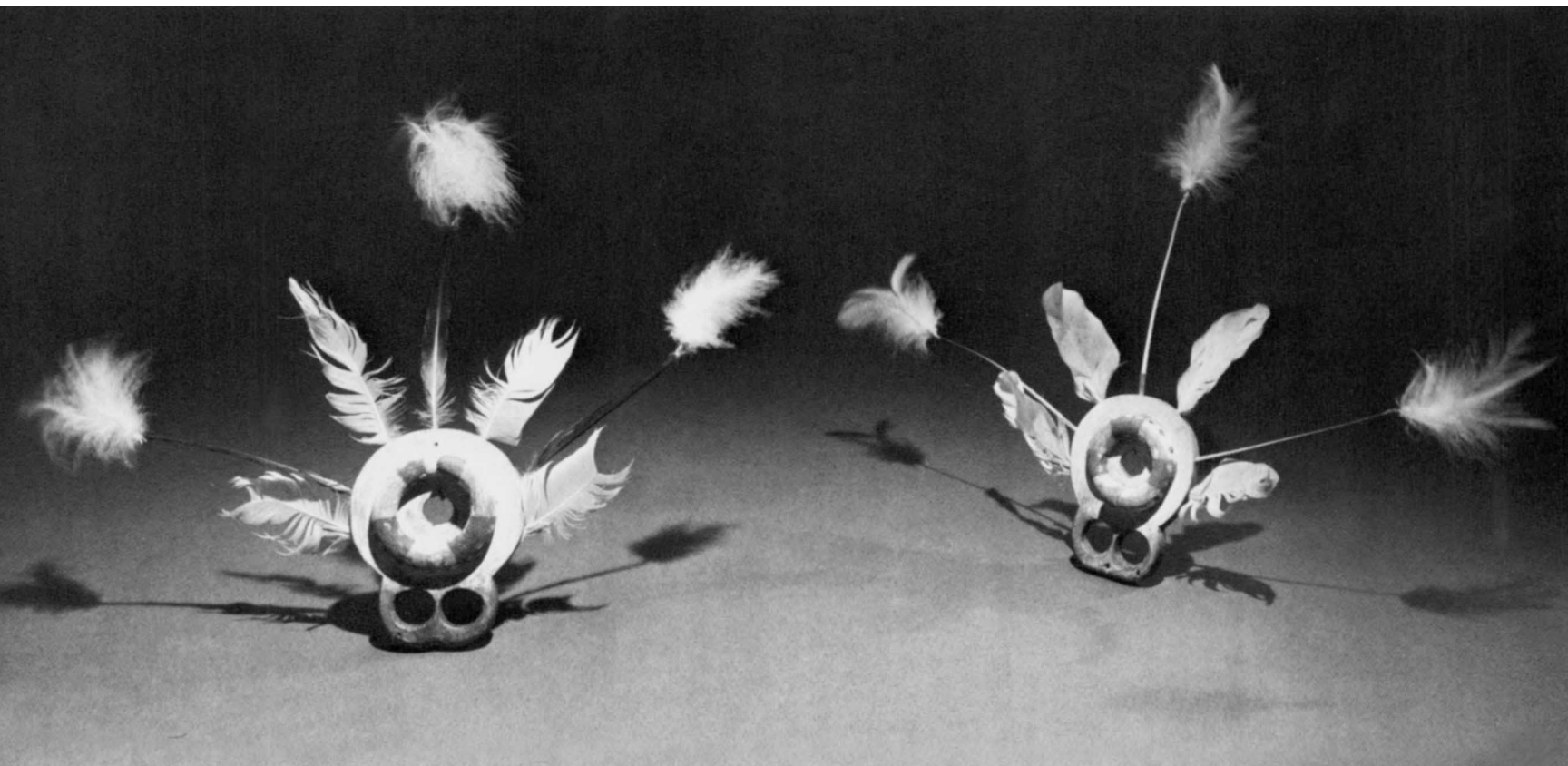
Ingalik

Collected at Anvik by J. W. Chapman,

1903

American Museum of Natural History,

60/5110



182 PAIR OF FINGER MASKS

Wood, with white, blue-gray and red pigment, sea gull feathers, and eagle down

a: 56 (22) WIDE

b: 51 (20) WIDE

Ingalik

Collected at Anvik by Rev. Sheldon Jackson, c. 1893

Sheldon Jackson Museum, II.F.2

183 MASK

Wood, with white, black and red pigment, sea gull feathers, and gut strap

34.5 (13 5/8) HIGH

Ingalik

Lower Yukon or Innoko Rivers Museum purchase (in Paris), 1936
Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte, 36:52:6

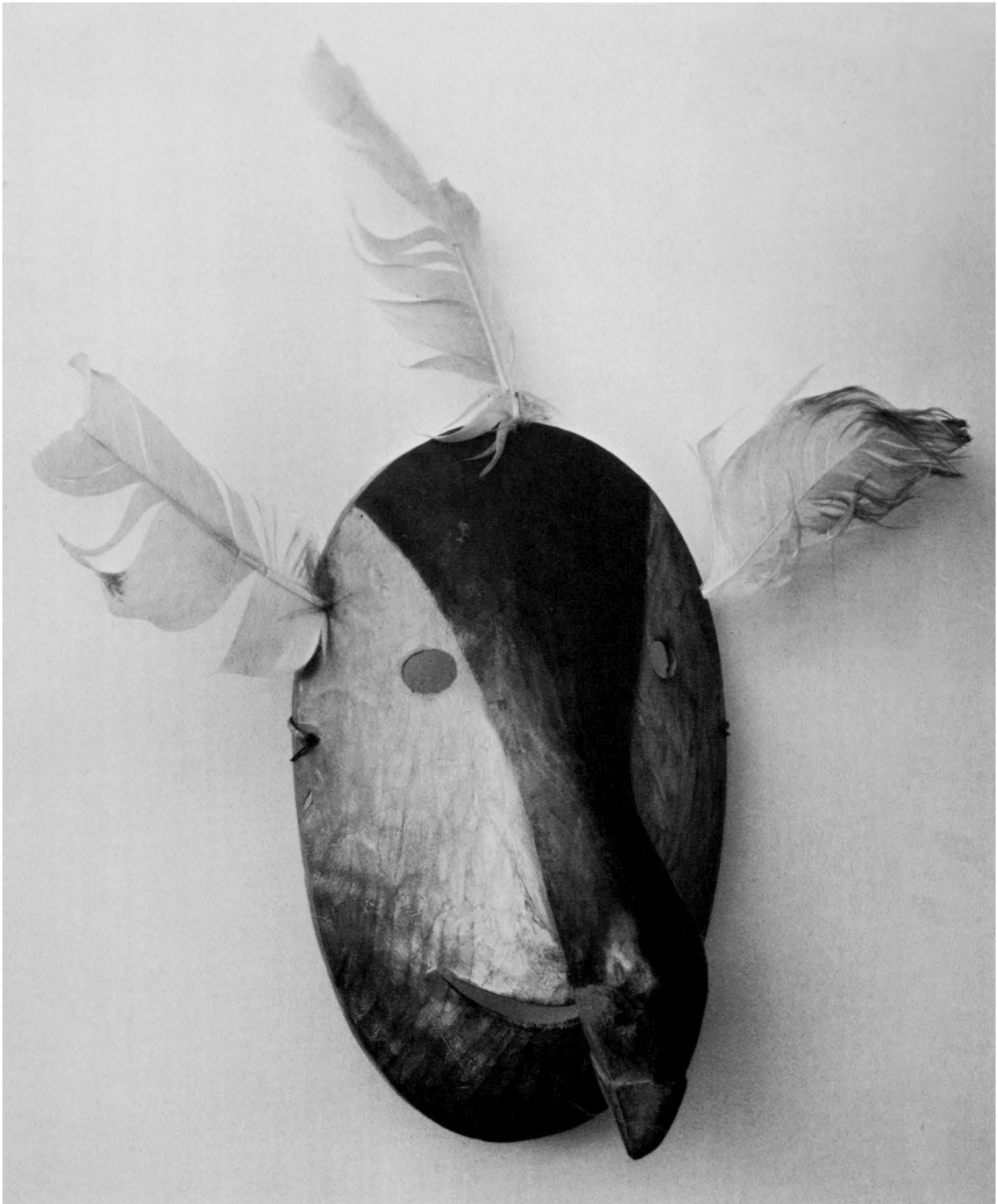
This mask is apparently of Ingalik manufacture, for use in the mask dance, a ceremony held primarily to honor and increase the numbers of valuable animals.

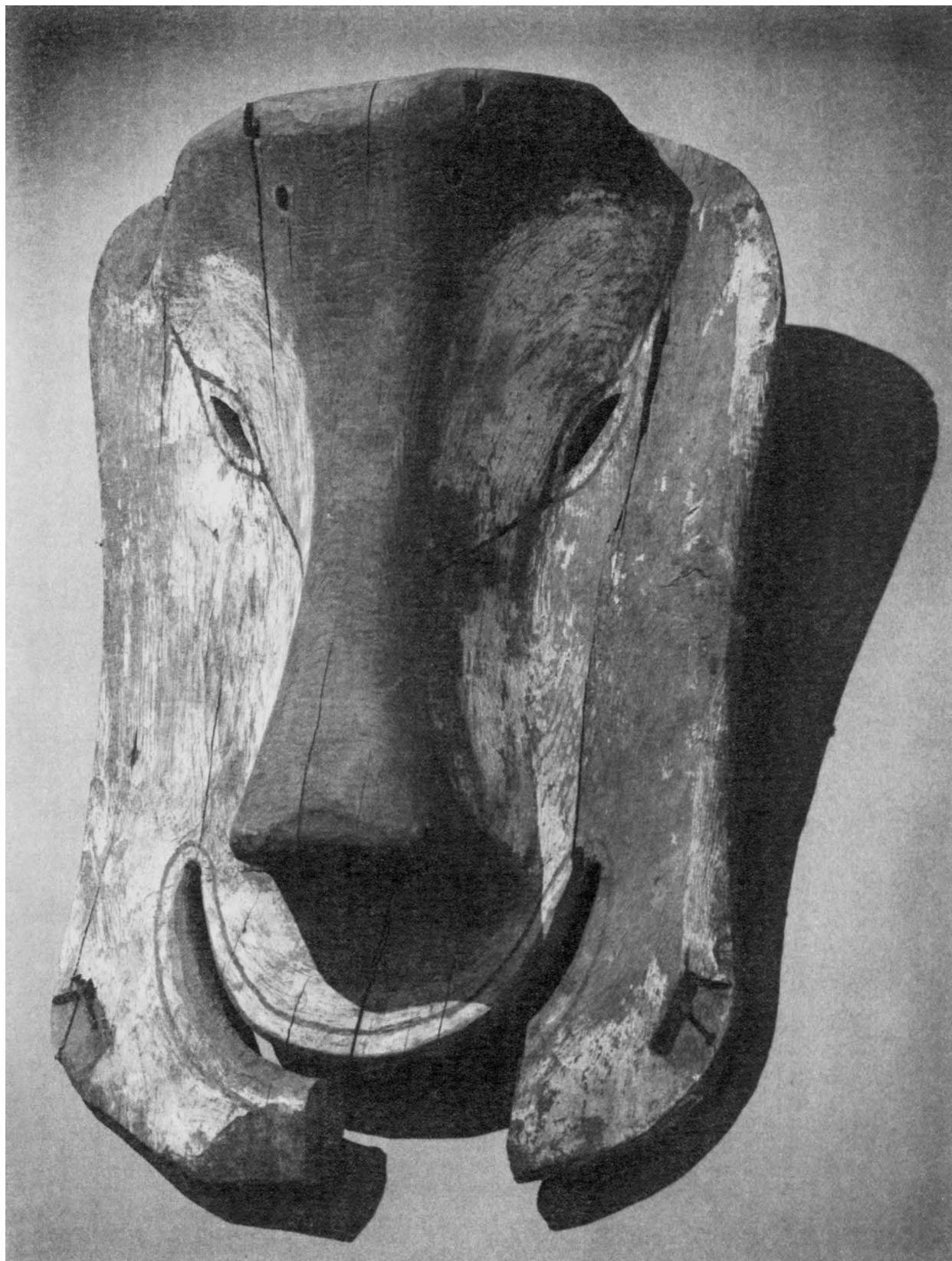
According to Ingalik Indians at Hologochaket on the Innoko who were still giving this ceremony in 1935, one of the dances in it was performed by a

masked figure representing the Dog Salmon Woman who entered the *kashim*, preceded by three men, carrying a fish trap. She was flanked by two men wearing masks representing terns or sea gulls, birds that accompany the salmon runs. The Dog Salmon Woman dragged behind her a stuffed loon, a bird that appears on the Yukon after the salmon have begun to ascend the river.

John W. Chapman, "Notes on the Tinneh Tribe," 15th International Congress of Americanists, Quebec, 1906, in *Comptes Rendu*, 1907, 2, pp. 7-38; Frederica de Laguna, "Indian Masks from the Lower Yukon," *American Anthropologist*, 38, (1936), pp. 569-85; Cornelius Osgood, *Ingalik Social Culture*, Yale University Publications in Anthropology no. 53, 1958.

F. de L.





185 MASK PROBABLY
REPRESENTING A
"MOOSE-MAN"

Wood, with green, white and black pigment, remnants of willow projections, and nails

48.5 (19 1/8) HIGH

Ingalik

Made by the master-carver Sunday at Hologochaket (Holikachuk) on the Innoko River; collected at Holikachuk by Frederica de Laguna, 1935

Museum Expedition collection, 1935
University Museum, Philadelphia,
35-22-41

One of the dances performed in the mask dance at Hologochaket was said to have been performed by three persons. One informant said that the central dancer was a caribou, flanked by two black bears; another said that the central dancer was a moose and that his partners were Moose-Men. The

mask in question belonged to the old set that had been discarded, and while identified by one Indian as representing a black bear, it seems much more likely that it was one of the Moose-Men, especially when compared with the new masks made to replace it.

These masks are large and heavy and were supported by a headband and by a crossbar, gripped in the wearer's teeth. The eyeholes are too high and far apart to be serviceable, so that the wearer must have peered out through the nostrils. A hole through the septum suggests that a pendant may have been attached here.

de Laguna, "Indian Masks from the Lower Yukon," p. 583.

F. de L.

184 FIGURE

Wood, with red and black pigment, vegetable fiber reinforced with twine, and nails

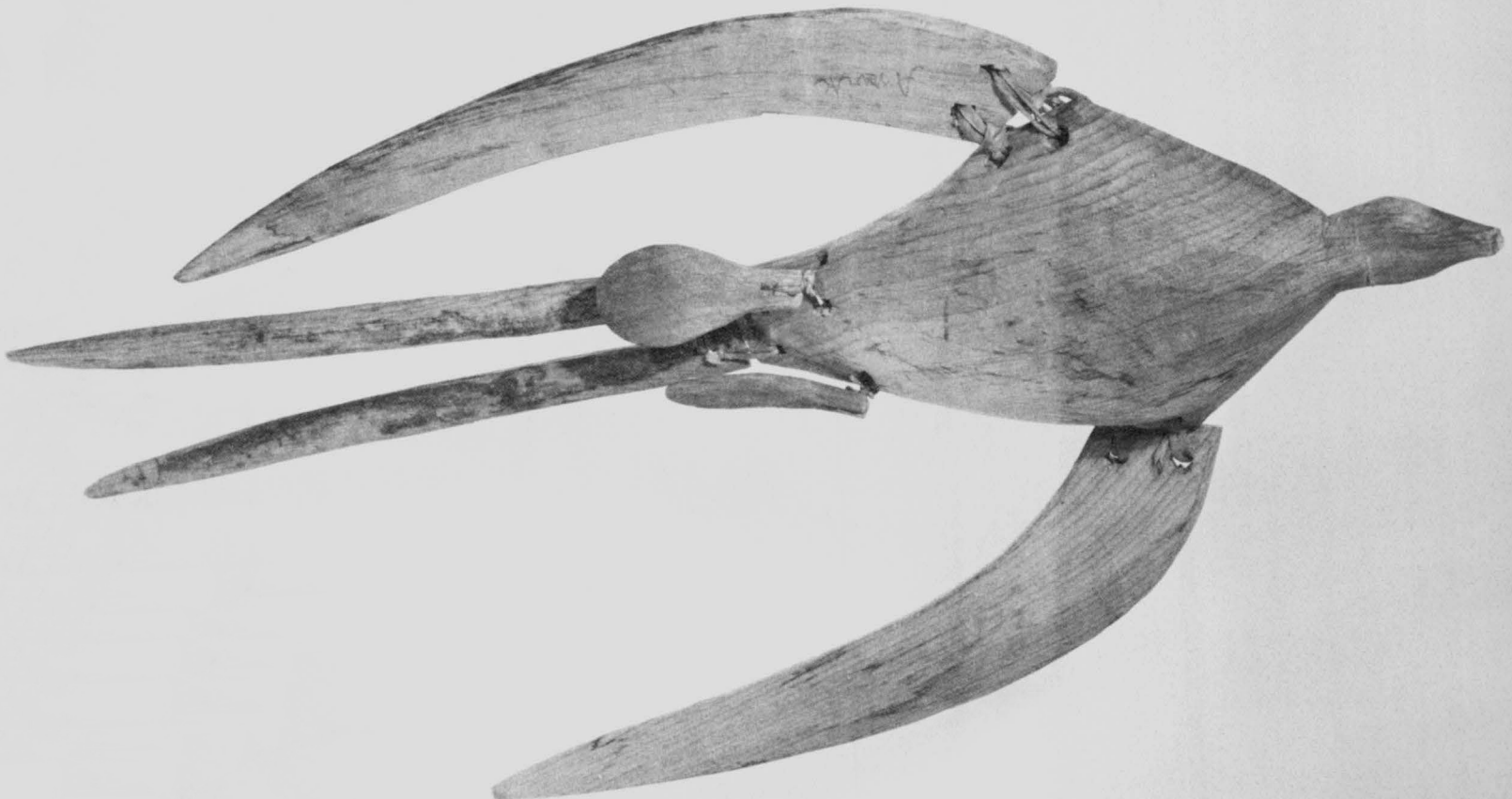
60 (23 5/8) LONG

Ingalik

Collected at Anvik by Rev. Sheldon Jackson, c. 1893

Sheldon Jackson Museum, II.F.3

This carved figure represents a jaeger or tern.





187 FRINGED TUNIC

Buckskin, white, black and brown
porcupine quills, and thread

146 (57 1/2) HIGH

Tanaina

Collected by Arvid Adolph Etholén of
Finland, Rear Admiral in the Imperial
Russian Navy, and Administrator of
Russian America, before 1847
National Museum of Finland, 174

186 PAIR OF FOX MASKS

Wood, with red, black and white
pigment

54 (21 1/4) LONG

58 (22 7/8) LONG

Ingalik

Made by the master-carver Sunday at
Hologochaket (Holikachuk) on the
Innoko River; collected by Frederica
de Laguna at Holikachuk, 1935
Museum Expedition collection, 1935
University Museum, Philadelphia,
35.22.50; 35.22.51

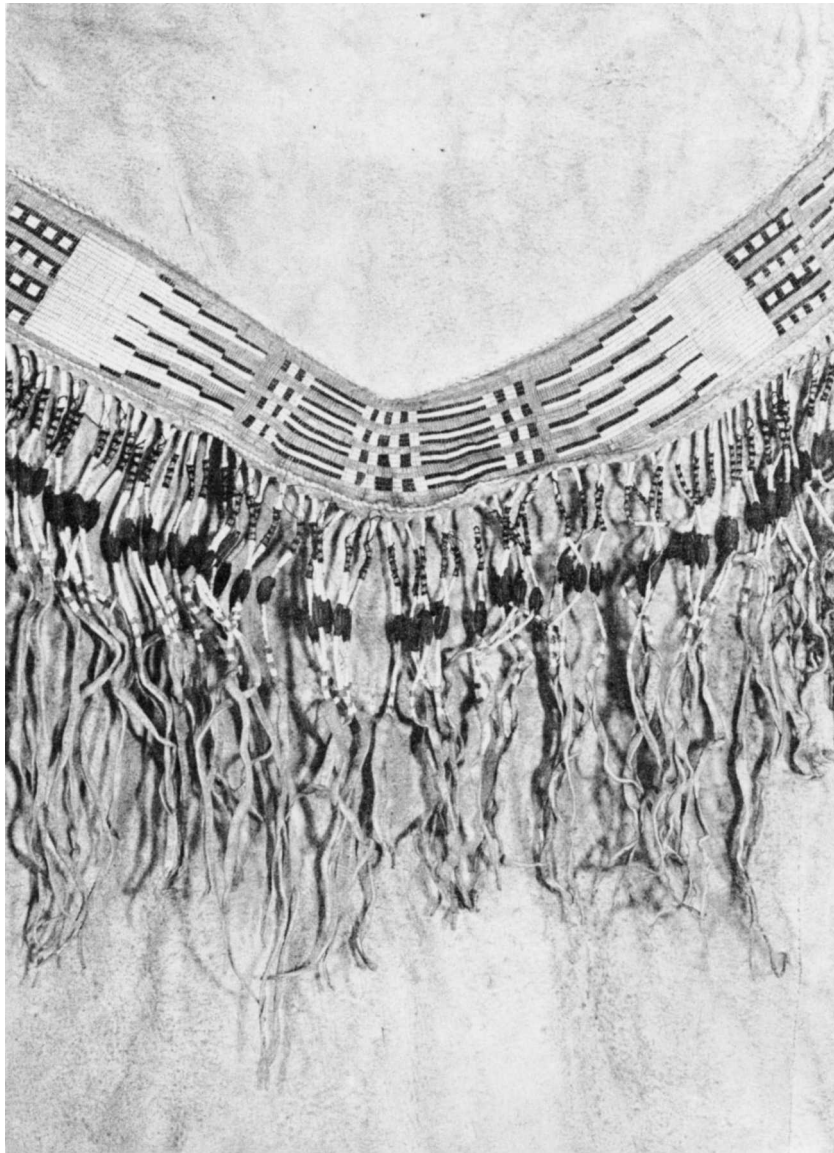
This pair of masks, from which the
legs are missing, formed a set painted
to represent the red fox. The masks
were worn with the animals' heads

down. The round human face in the
center of the body represents the
animal's "spirit owner," or anthropo-
morphic soul.

They are very similar to a fox mask
made at Anvik on the Lower Yukon
River, except that the latter was worn
with the animal's head up. These
masks lack eyeholes, but are narrow
enough so that the dancer can look
around them.

de Laguna, "Indian Masks from the Lower
Yukon," p. 582; Osgood, *Ingalik Social
Culture*, fig. 11, upper R.





188 DECORATED GOWN

Buckskin, porcupine quills, seeds, fox fur, eagle down, and thread

134 (52 3/4) HIGH

Tanaina

Collected on Kenai Peninsula (Cook Inlet) by Arvid Adolph Etholén of Finland, Rear Admiral in the Imperial Russian Navy, and Administrator of Russian America, before 1847
National Museum of Finland, 167

The pointed cut at the bottom of this garment indicates that it probably came from the upper part of Cook Inlet, where women wore dresses of this kind over combination footwear-trousers.

The Helsinki collection also possesses (173) an almost exactly similar gown, slightly longer, with a pattern of quill work decoration almost identical with the preceding example, but lacking the eagle-down tufts which embellish the present garment (fig. e).

Cornelius Osgood, *The Ethnography of the Tanaina*, Yale University Publications in Anthropology, 16, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937), esp. pl. 5, and pp. 46-7.

F. de L.





189 THREE-PIECE COSTUME

Tunic: Buckskin, porcupine quills, seeds, red pigment, eagle down, rabbit(?) skin at collar and cuffs, and fiber

143.5 (56 1/2) HIGH

Trousers: Buckskin, porcupine quills, fiber and trade buttons

120 (47 1/4) LONG

Hood: Buckskin, fragments of bird or fish(?) skin, porcupine quills, beads, red pigment, and fiber

63.5 (25) LONG

Tanaina

Kenai Peninsula (Cook Inlet)

Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte:
37:35:2 (tunic), 37:35:4 (trousers),
37:35:6 (hood)

These objects are without known provenance or any data concerning the collector. They resemble, nevertheless, garments of the Tanaina Athabaskans, especially of the upper part of Cook Inlet, where the bottoms of the coats or shirts are cut into points in front and behind and where elaborate decoration in the form of porcupine quill work and fringing is common.

The coat resembles one illustrated by Osgood (1937, pl. 5, C); the trousers with decorative stripe and garterlike attachments are also like a pair (pl. 4, A) from Knik on the upper Inlet, except that the latter have hard soles and these apparently lack soles (presumably cut out because they were worn). Osgood's trousers are for a woman and are in the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin (IV-A-6146), collected at Knik in 1883 (probably by Captain Jacobsen).

The hood resembles one also illustrated by Osgood (1937, pl. 3, F) like the shirt now in the Washington State Museum, Seattle. The fringes are to protect the neck from mosquitoes.

Osgood, *The Ethnography of the Tanaina*.
F. de L.





190 THREE-PIECE COSTUME*
 Tunic: Suede buckskin, white and dyed
 porcupine quills, seeds, and fiber
 132 (52) HIGH
 Trousers with attached moccasins:
 Suede buckskin, porcupine quills,
 polychrome fibers
 123 (48 1/2) LONG
 Hood: Suede buckskin, white and dyed
 porcupine quills, beads, and fiber
 51 (20) LONG
 Collected (presumably from the
 Kutchin Indians) on the Mackenzie
 River, by Bernard R. Ross
 Gift of the collector, 13 June 1925
 Smithsonian Institution: 328 766
 (tunic), 328 767 (trousers with
 moccasins), 328 768 (hood)

Although it is not certain this
 costume was produced by the Kutchin
 Indians based in Alaska, it appropri-
 ately represents the high quality of
 such work produced by the large
 Kutchin population in Alaska, as well
 as in the Yukon and Northwest
 Territories. A parallel costume, similar
 in design and execution to the
 Smithsonian example, is in the collec-
 tion of the American Museum of
 Natural History (Caspar Whitney
 collection, gift of Mrs. Morgan
 Wing Jr., 1949 (fig. f).

C. D. L.



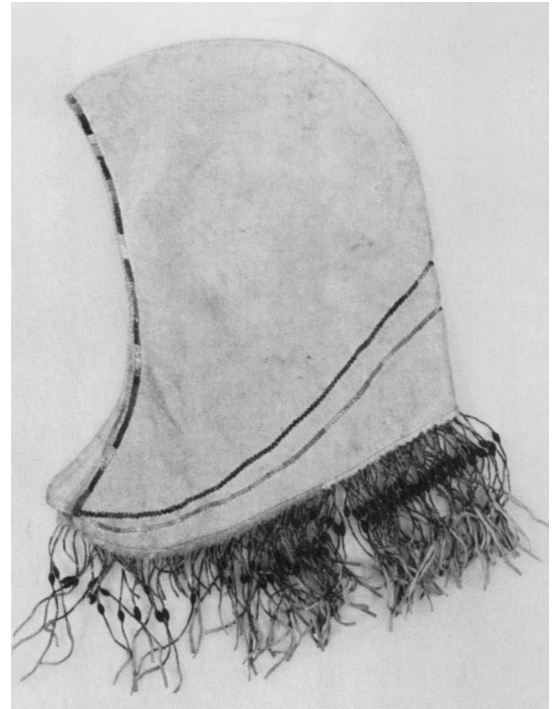
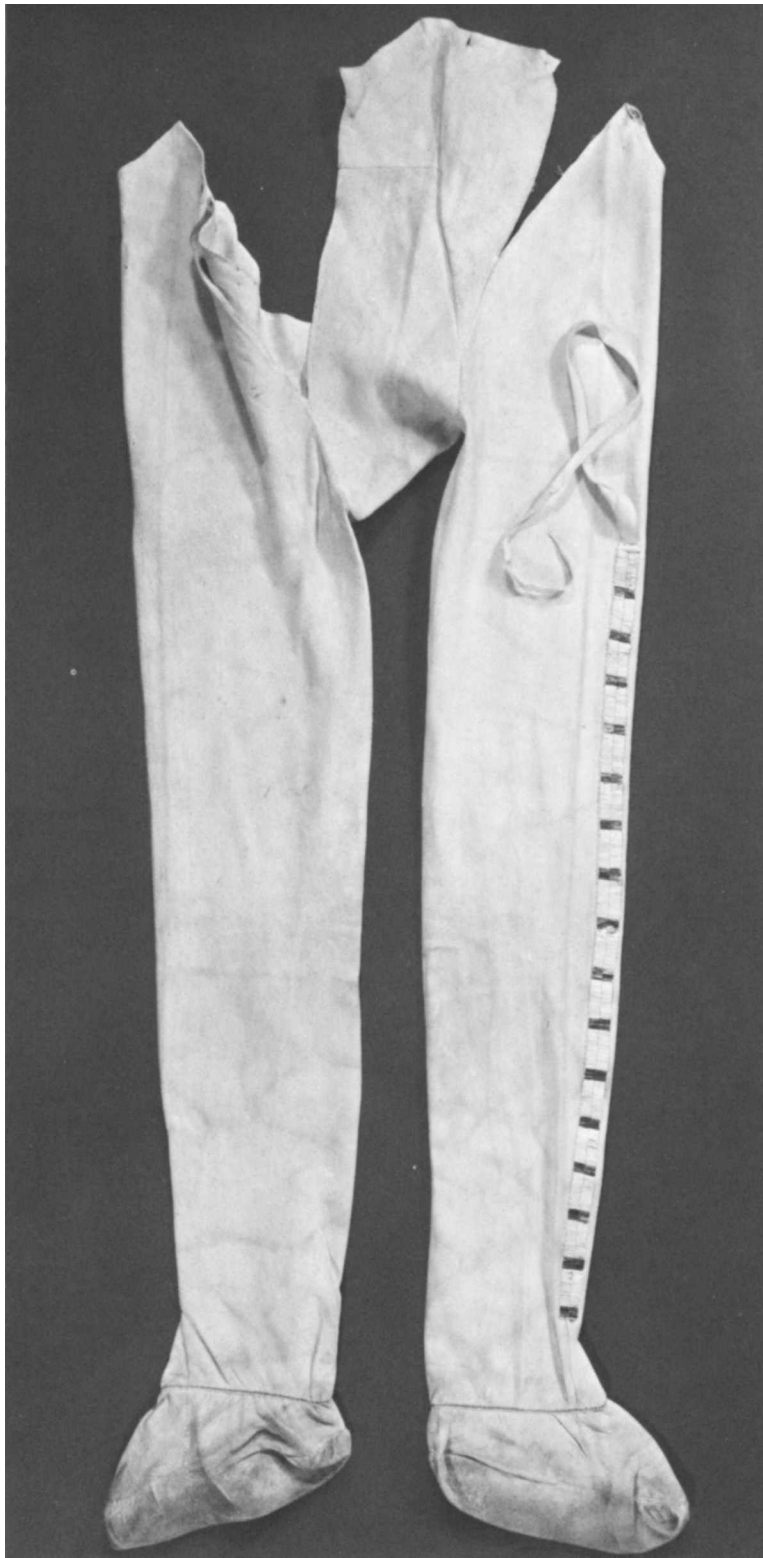


figure f



191 TUNIC WITH BEADWORK
DECORATION

Buckskin, fox fur, porcupine quills,
red pigment, trade beads

143.5 (56 1/2) HIGH

Hamburgisches Museum für
Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte,
37:35:1

193 QUIVER

Buckskin, with red pigment, wood,
feathers, rawhide and fiber lashings,
trade beads, and thread

113 (44 1/2) LONG

Collected (probably in Cook Inlet) by
Ewald Julius Schnieder, on the
U.S.S. *Thetis*, 1888

Alaska State Museum, II.C.74

This quiver shows a man in a broad-brimmed hat shooting at a hornless cervid. Although the four animals have been identified as caribou, the lack of horns on the doe, and the beard on the male (despite the faulty rendering of the horns) suggest a pair of moose and two fawns.

F. de L.

192 QUIVER

Buckskin, with red pigment, feathers,
trade beads, braided fiber, twine, and
wood support

110.5 (43 1/2) LONG

Hamburgisches Museum für
Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte,
37:35:13

The painted decoration indicates a hunter shooting with a gun at a caribou, and with bow and arrow at a bear; other animals are presumably mountain sheep, beaver, fox, wolverine, or other furbearers.

F. de L.



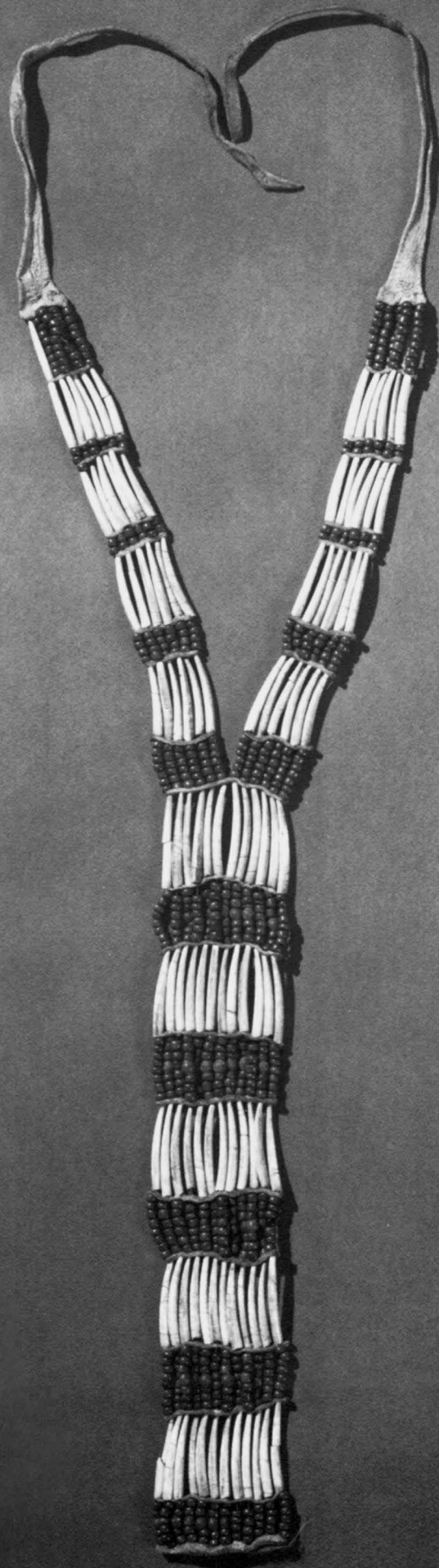


194 DANCE APRON

Buckskin, with white and dyed
porcupine quills, red pigment, and
thread

127 (50) LONG

Presumably collected by Rev. Sheldon
Jackson in the late 19th century
Sheldon Jackson Museum, IV.X.12



195 GIRL'S NECKLACE

Dentalium, skin strips, braided fiber,
with trade beads

89 (35) LONG

Koyukon

Collected among the Koyukon Indians
before 1840

Deutsches Ledermuseum,
Offenbach, 12149

Arthur Speyer has postulated that this necklace may have been worn by a girl during her puberty confinement, with a bone drinking tube attached to the end, since she would have been tabooed from drinking water except from a tube (Bossert, 1929, p. 231, no. 11).

Helga Benndorf and Arthur Speyer, *Indianer Nordamerikas 1760-1860*, (Offenbach: Deutsches Ledermuseum, 1968), p. 40.

F. de L.

198 DECORATED STRAP
Buckskin, with white and dyed
porcupine quills, trade beads, and
fiber

74 (29 1/8) LONG
Collected (probably among the
Kutchin Indians) by Mrs. Cole J.
Younger

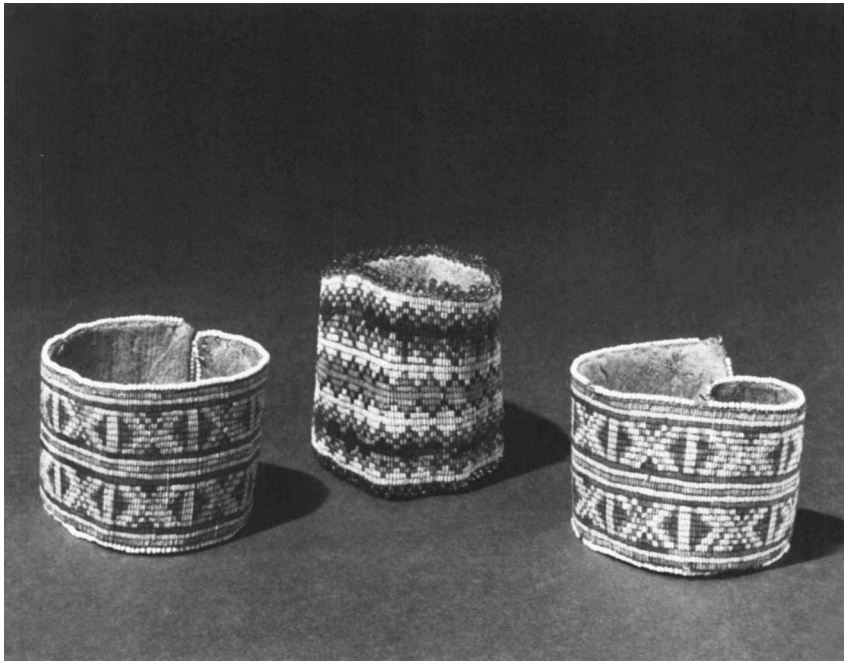
Gift of Mrs. Charles D. Walcott,
16 October 1940
Smithsonian Institution, 381 085

196 BRACELET OR
DECORATIVE RING

Buckskin, with white and dyed
porcupine quills, glass beads, and
thread

5.4 (2 1/8) HIGH

Collected among the Koyukon or
Kutchin Indians, perhaps at Fort
Yukon, by J. W. Chapman, 1903
American Museum of Natural History,
60/4943



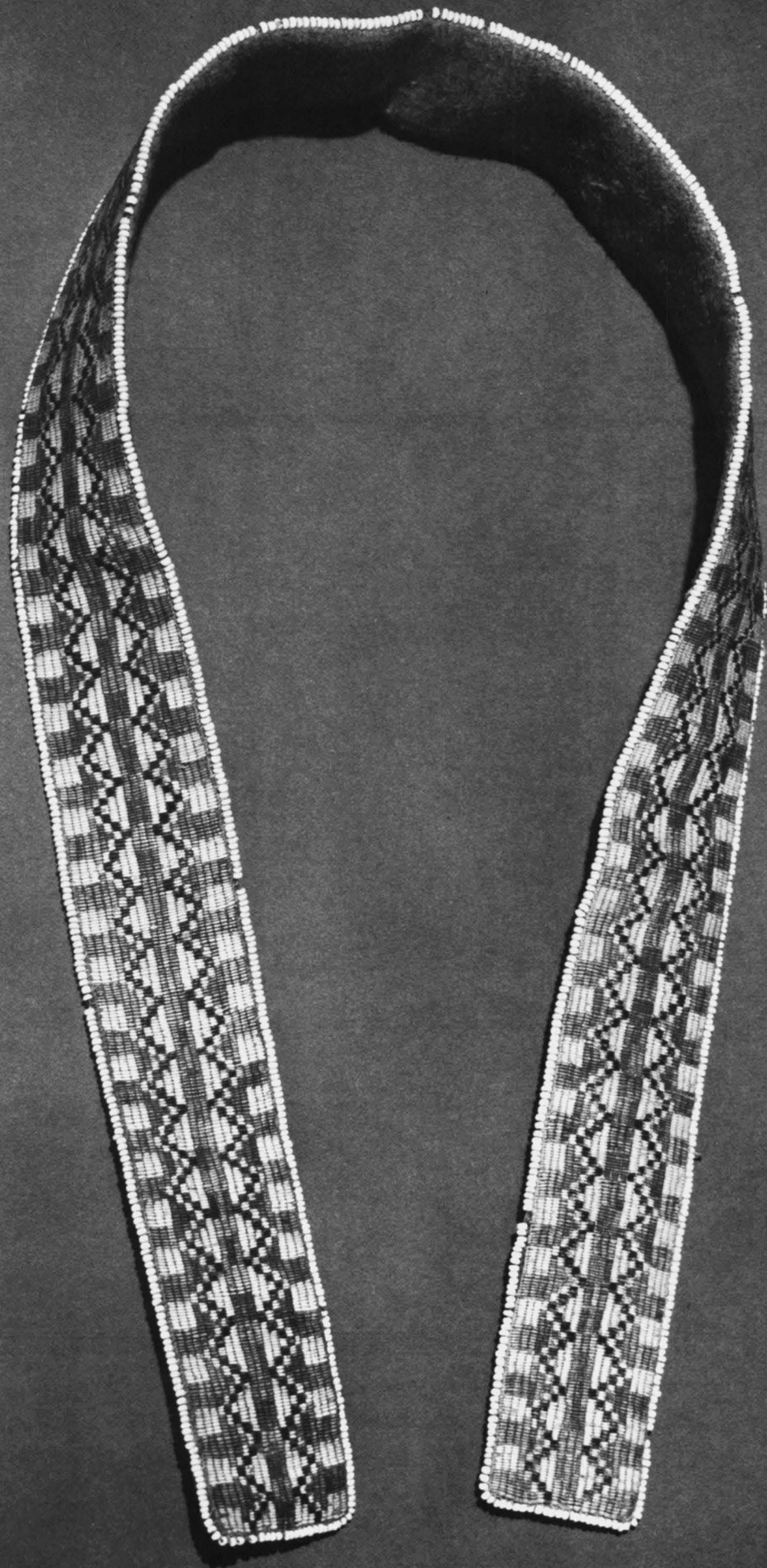
197 PAIR OF BRACELETS OR
DECORATIVE RINGS

Buckskin, with white and dyed
porcupine quills, trade beads, and
thread

5.1 (2) DIAMETER

Probably Kutchin Indian
Collected by W. H. Dall

Smithsonian Institution, 5 608



199 KNIFE SHEATH AND SLING

Buckskin, with white and dyed
porcupine quills, dyed fibers, trade
beads, and thread

99 (39) LONG

Collected between 1825 and 1845 by
the Chichester Museum, England
Museum of the American Indian,
Heye Foundation, 3/2895



200 KNIFE*

Steel, with vegetable fiber, secured
by twine

67.3 (26 1/2) LONG

Collected near the Arctic coast by
Bernard R. Ross

Accessioned 28 December 1866

Smithsonian Institution, 2 024

This knife, inscribed "Esquimaux" on
the back, is one of the largest and
finest examples of the typical volute-
handled knives of the northern
Alaskan (and Canadian) Indians.

C. D. L.

201 KNIFE

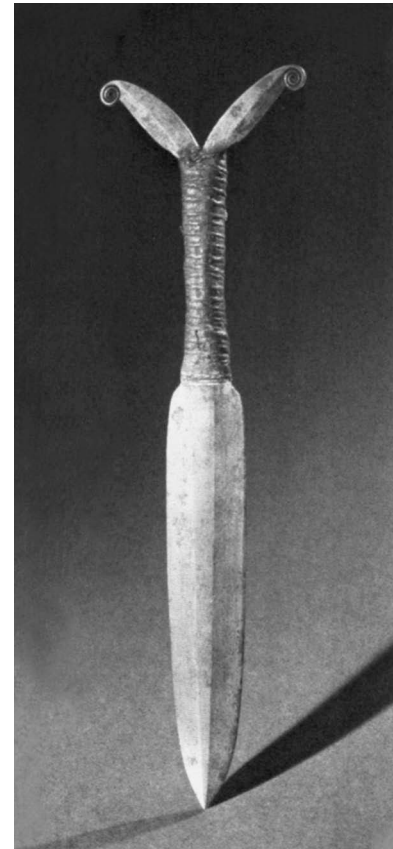
Steel, with caribou hide grip, lashed
with braided fiber

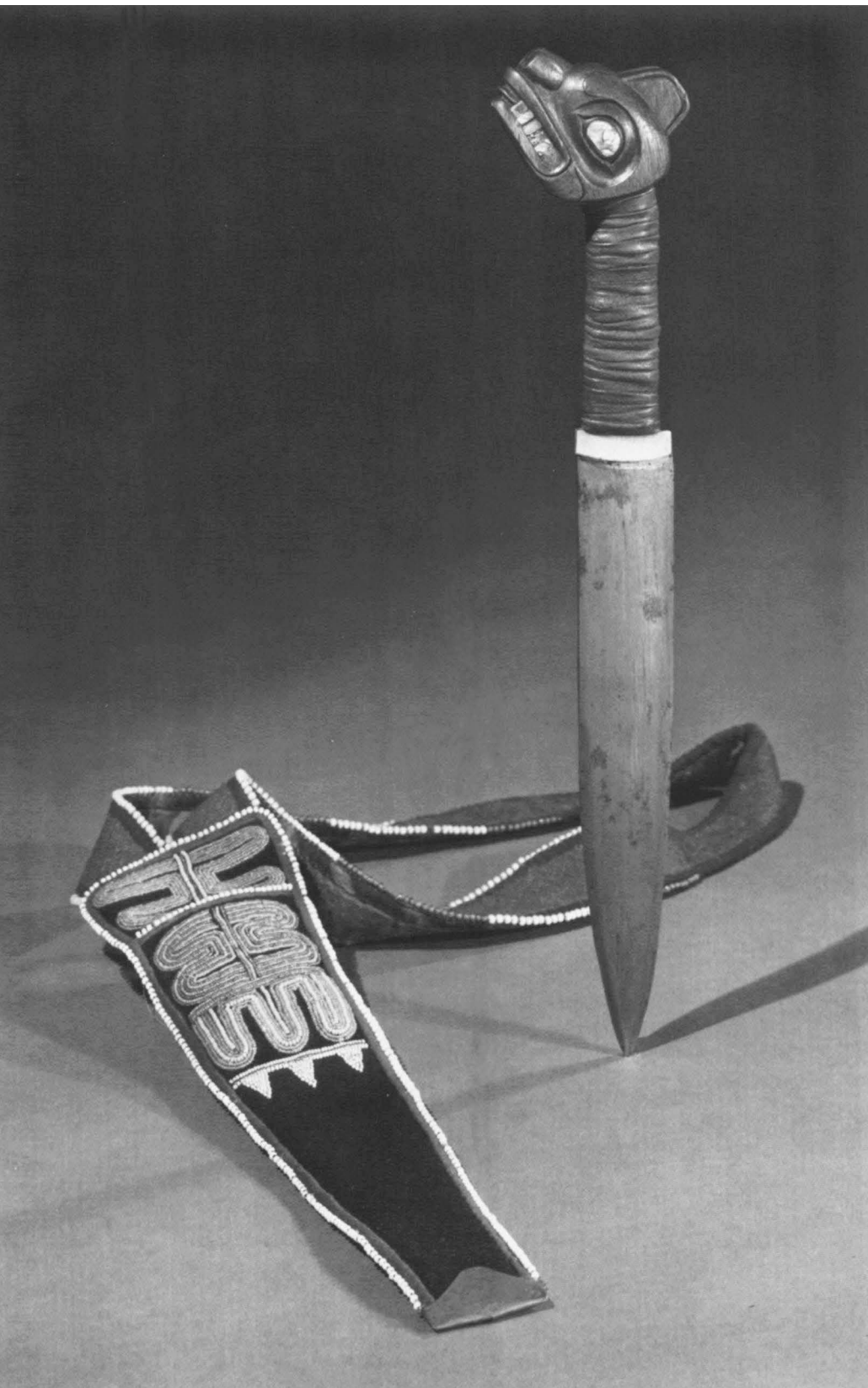
25 (9 7/8) LONG

Formerly in the collection of the
University of Alaska Museum

(UA 2033-2B)

Alaska State Museum





202 BEAR-HEAD DAGGER WITH SHEATH AND SLING

Dagger: Steel, ivory, wood with shell inlays, hide lashing

37.5 (14 3/4) LONG

Sheath: Buckskin back, with trade felt, blanket material with cotton backing and strips of trade gingham, polychrome beads, and copper

68.5 (27) LONG

Private collection, New York City

The appearance of "newness" of this early dagger testifies to the care and respect accorded works of art and historic treasures by the Tlingit, whose master artists worked flawlessly in wood, stone, and later, iron, silver, gold, and slate.

The blade comes from a Russian bayonet; the pommel is English walnut, probably from a musket stock, inlaid with abalone; the ivory guard and walrus hide grip were obtained from the Eskimo. The only material of local origin is deerskin used as backing on the sheath. Yet the entire ensemble is classic Tlingit art.

E. C.

203 OCTOPUS BAG

Trade felt, cotton backing, calico lining, polychrome trade beads, yarns, and thread

56 (22) LONG

Collected presumably among the Athabaskan Indians of Alaska, by Mrs. Charles D. Walcott

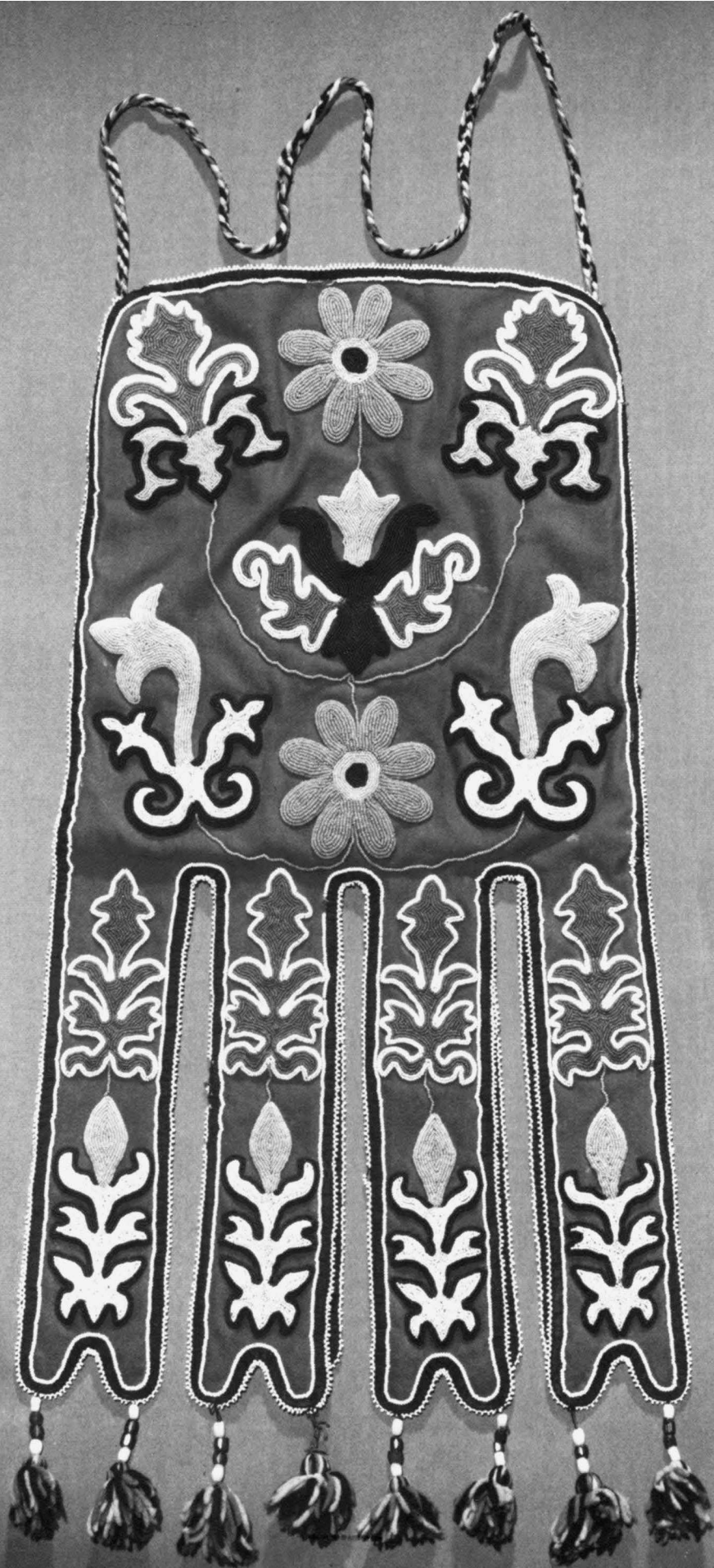
Gift of the collector,
20 November 1935

Smithsonian Institution, 373 747

Called octopus bags because of their tentaclelike appendages terminating in eight points, bags such as this and the following example were probably produced by the Athabaskan Indians although they were often collected among the coastal Indians such as the Tlingit, who prized them highly. The distinctive shape of the tentacles finds a documented Tlingit parallel in the ceremonial shirt made for "Sitka Jack" in 1877 (No. 274).

C. D. L.





204 OCTOPUS BAG

Trade felt and plaid lining, polychrome
trade beads and yarn, thread

108 (42 1/2) LONG

Apparently collected among the Tlingit
(see preceding entry; formerly
Kettleson Collection)

Sheldon Jackson Museum, I.A.282

205 DECORATED SHIRT

Buckskin, trade felt and polychrome
beads, bird beaks and other horn
materials, sinew, and thread

139 (54 3/4) WIDE

Victor Justice Evans Collection

Bequest of V. J. Evans, 26 March 1931

Smithsonian Institution, 357 532

This shirt exemplifies many qualities
of Athabaskan Indian materials and
workmanship, but was almost certainly
made for Tlingit use. A similar shirt
in The University Museum, Philadelphia
(NA 10516), depicts in beadwork
embroidery the specific eagle and
killer whale emblems of this coastal
clan, emphasizing the Tlingit patronage
of this essentially Indian style (fig. g).

C. D. L.

figure g







206 COVERED BOX OR BASKET

Birchbark sewn with fiber, willow band, white and dyed porcupine quills, with rawhide handles

45 (17 3/4) WIDE

Perhaps Kutchin Indian?

Smithsonian Institution, T-1075

Although apparently collected in the Canadian territories of the Athabaskan Indians, this box is typical of the many uses to which shaped and sewn birchbark was used to make both covered and uncovered containers among the Alaskan Indians.

C. D. L.

207 COVERED BOX

Birchbark, covered with white and dyed porcupine quills, willow band, and thread

8 (3 1/8) DIAMETER

Presumably collected by Rev. Sheldon Jackson in the late 19th century
Sheldon Jackson Museum, IV.X.15

The probable collection of this piece before about 1893 in Alaska poses a mystery, since its form and technique are unquestionably representative of Ojibwa work, from the area south of Hudson Bay. It may have reached Alaska through trade, or may have been made there by an emigrant Ojibwa.

C. D. L.



208 COVERED BASKET
Split willow with polychrome dyes
29.5 (11 5/8) HIGH
Ingalik
Made at Shageluk on the Innoko
River, between 1932 and 1935
Museum purchase, 1970
Alaska State Museum, II.C.113



209 GREASE DISH OR BOWL
Mountain sheep horn with red pigment
22.2 (8 3/4) LONG
Royal Scottish Museum U. C. 249

The age of this dish and its exact provenance are unknown. It formed part of the collection of the University of Edinburgh before 1854 and is described by the University as "possibly catalogued by Professor John Walker in 1785." Such an early date would be surprising, for one would expect it to have been collected from a Scottish factor of the Hudson Bay Company who obtained the piece in the upper Yukon or Mackenzie River area.

Grease dishes of this kind were, however, traded to coastal tribes, such as the Tlingit, Tsimshian and Haida, although these peoples usually decorated them with their own totemic crests.

Frederic H. Douglas and René d'Harnoncourt, *Indian Art of the United States* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1941), esp. p. 180.
Erna Gunther, *Northwest Coast Indian Art, An Exhibit at the Seattle World's Fair* (Seattle: World's Fair, 1962) esp. pp. 20, 28.

F. de L.





210 GREASE DISH OR BOWL*

Mountain sheep horn

21.6 (8 1/2) LONG

Collected on the Portland Inlet,
opposite Tongass, by J. G. Swan
Museum collection, 17 January 1876
Smithsonian Institution, 20 613

This carved container shows a human
figure, small animals and abstract
designs.

211 GREASE DISH OR BOWL*

Mountain sheep horn and shell

19 (7 1/2) LONG

Collected by J. G. Swan
Museum collection, 22 January 1876
Smithsonian Institution, 20 856

This container is carved and inlaid
with stylized faces and abstract
designs.

212 GREASE DISH OR BOWL

Mountain sheep horn and shell

21 (8 1/4) LONG

Collected from the artisan, by Rev.
Sheldon Jackson in the late 19th
century

Princeton University Museum of
Natural History, PU 5156

This container is carved and inlaid
with abstract figures and designs. The
general form of these grease dishes
(as well as the following ladle) is
paralleled by similar pieces of wood.

C. D. L.

TLINGIT ART

PETER STONE

THE magnificent artistic tradition that once flourished along the Pacific Northwest Coast was beautifully expressed by its northernmost tribal representatives. These were the Tlingit tribes of southeastern Alaska, culturally unlike any of their northern neighbors, the Eskimo, the Aleut, the Eyak and the Athabaskan tribes of the interior. Unlike the arctic and sub-arctic regions of Alaska, the mountainous coast and rugged off-shore islands of the southeastern “panhandle” are densely covered with a temperate rain forest. Although many of the trees that are found in this area are also found along the northern and more exposed coast of Alaska, this is not true of both the red and yellow cedar. Red cedar in particular may be seen as the *sine qua non* of Northwest Coast art and architecture. It responds to the carvers’ tools in a way that has made it justly famous. Even in southeastern Alaska, this tree was not found north of Sitka. The “panhandle” was richly supplied with fish of all kinds and no fewer than five species of salmon came each spring to its coastal rivers to spawn.

At the time of European contact in the late eighteenth century, this was Tlingit country. Their southern coastal neighbors were the Tsimshian from whom their women learned how to make the “Chilkat” blanket. The Haida of the Queen Charlotte Islands were universally recognized as the best canoe makers along the coast. It is on the Queen Charlotte Islands that the largest red cedars grow. During the first half of the eighteenth century a small Haida colony crossed Dixon Entrance and settled throughout the southern half of Prince of Wales Island in Alaska, where they became known as Kaigani or “People of Kaigan Bay.” Although the Tlingit and Haida often bitterly fought one another, the Tlingit and Kaigani got on well.

Warmed by the Japanese Current that flows off the western coast of the Alexander Archipelago, the Tlingit’s lush territory was protected on its eastern flank by the Coast Mountains that rise abruptly from the inland passage. This great mountain range effectively shuts out the sub-arctic continental climate of the interior while it simultaneously holds in the warm, moist air that comes from the sea to the narrow coastal strip. This mountain range did not, however, effectively shut out all contact with the Athabaskans from the interior, for no fewer than four major rivers cut their way through it to the sea: the Nass, the Stikine, the Taku, and the Chilkat. The importance of these rivers in the life of the Tlingit can be seen in the fact that the Stikine, the Taku, and the Chilkat were all names of tribes. Small bands of Athabaskans are known to have descended these rivers from the interior where they were then

rapidly assimilated as Tlingits. Only when the European and American fur trade became fiercely competitive was this trickle of Athabaskans brought to a halt by the Tlingit who soon dominated the interior as fur-trading colonists.

In a rain forest only stone implements can survive the ravages of time and the elements. Totem poles last about seventy-five years in this country. Although it provided the Tlingit with nearly all of their needs, it is not a promising locale for the archaeologist. The Tlingits, however, are not without a sense of history.

Although the Nass River enters the Portland Inlet just south of Alaska, it figured heavily in the traditional history of the Tlingit. The mythical home of their raven creator was at the head of this very river. In the traditional histories of their most powerful clans there is the clear recollection of a Nass River exodus from the interior. The Nastedi ("People of the Nass River") and the Nasahutdi ("People of Nass Lake") were two clans that kept the tradition of this migration alive in their respective clan names. Perhaps of even more importance is the fact that almost all of the earliest Tlingit clan traditions speak of a time when they were settled along the coast of British Columbia between the Nass and Skeena Rivers. This region is still rich in fish and it was occupied by the Tsimshian at the time of European contact. Interestingly enough, these southern coastal neighbors of the Tlingit remember a time when they themselves were an interior people who descended the Skeena River to the coast where they settled. Tsimshian traditions also corroborate the Tlingit claim of a migration down the Nass River. The Tsimshian also remember a protracted period of conflict in which the Tlingit forced them out of their settlements along this coast. For a while the Tsimshian went back up the Skeena in order to be safe from further Tlingit attacks. Shortly before European contact, the Tsimshian fought their way down the Skeena, pushing the Tlingits ahead of them along the coast of southeastern Alaska.

Although Tlingit clan traditions discreetly make no mention of having been expelled from their original coastal home, their genesis myth clearly states that it was at the mouth of the Nass River where they acquired their first clan crests. Were it not for the fact that crests are such an important part of Northwest Coast society and art, there would be no need to include this fact in a creation myth. This Tlingit myth, however, speaks of a time when the world was in darkness and all of the Tlingit clans lived in one village at the mouth of the Nass River. According to the myth, the sun, moon, and stars were kept in boxes by Raven-at-the-head-of-Nass. He was the principal deity of the Tlingit and his sister gave birth to a son who was simply called Raven. The adventures of Raven are clearly those of a trickster-transformer, who, by shamanistic guile, managed to steal the sun from his uncle.

When Raven came to the mouth of the Nass River, the villagers there showed him no respect at all. Even though he promised to exchange daylight for some of their food, they refused his offer and called him a liar. Who did he think he was, they jeered, Raven-at-the-head-of-Nass?

With that, Raven opened the box containing the sun and set it free. It went up into the sky with a blazing roar and so frightened the people that they ran in all directions. Some ran into the sea, some ran into the woods, while still others took flight.

Until that time the furs and feathers of animals were only the names of garments worn by people, since the actual names of animals were then unknown. When the people who wore the skins of fur-bearing sea animals ran into the sea, they became the animals whose garments they wore. This was also true of people who wore the garments of land animals and birds. Those who had been wearing nothing remained human. Consequently, the remaining Tlingit adopted their first crests in memory of their transformed kinsmen. The crests were proudly displayed in their ceremonial art from that time on.

Later, as the Tlingit moved up through southeastern Alaska, their clans continued to acquire new crests. A common theme running through all of these newer crest acquisitions is a continuing interaction with anthropomorphized animals who were either insulted or befriended. Often the same traditional account will be cited by two different clans to justify adopting their respective crests.

In many respects Tlingit art may be seen as a representation of social organization. This is most clearly seen in Tlingit moiety and clan crests. Tlingit society was divided into two matrilineal, exogamous moieties. These moieties were known among the northern tribes as Raven and Eagle, whereas among the southern tribes Eagle was replaced by Wolf. The non-Raven moiety, however, was still seen as a moiety that was simply represented differently. In a matrilineal society, descent is reckoned exclusively from a common ancestress. Every Tlingit is by birth a member of his or her mother's clan and moiety. The two Tlingit moieties may be seen as marriage classes and each one contained about thirty-five matrilineal clans. These clans were scattered throughout the fourteen Tlingit tribes. Each clan of matrilineally related kinsmen owned an inventory of crests, house names, personal names (that were really inherited titles), songs and dances. The minimal unit of a clan in any given tribe was a named house or lineage. Clansmen of the Raven moiety had to marry non-Ravens and vice-versa.

Some of the most frequently represented crests of the Raven moiety are the raven, hawk, puffin, sea gull, land otter, mouse, moose, sea lion, marten, whale, dog salmon, silver salmon, coho salmon, sculpin, starfish, frog and wood-worm. Those of the Wolf-Eagle moiety are the wolf, eagle, murrelet, red-wing flicker, brown bear, killer whale, dog fish, ground shark, and halibut.

Along the Northwest Coast, native society was non-egalitarian or socially stratified, consisting of hereditary nobility and commoners. The term nobility is somewhat misleading since these "aristocratic" chiefs were essentially the spokesmen of their respective clans and the custodians of clan honor. They were always responsible to the clan members they represented. While the differences between clan commoners and nobility were always relative and somewhat blurred, the existence of a class of

slaves was the most obvious expression of social inequality. Slaves were the property of the clan and could not therefore take part in the ceremonial life of the Tlingit—except, of course, when they were sacrificed for clan honor.

Ideally, within each Tlingit tribe at least one clan from each moiety was represented, since marriage was only permitted between opposite-moiety clan members. In addition to this law, however, it was further demanded that marriage partners be recognized as of equal rank. Moiety membership was not arranged but marriages were. Therefore, marriage was the ultimate criterion of rank, since it was through the opinion of opposite-moiety clans that a clan or lineage knew where it stood socially in the ranking system of its own moiety. Marriage alliances, which established opposite-moiety counterparts, were fraught with rank considerations and brought with them a host of obligations in the form of goods and ceremonial services. These obligations provided a potent stimulus to the production of Tlingit art.

Among the Tlingit, every clan had at least one named cedar plank house. This house not only served as a place of residence for the men of the clan or lineage (and their wives and children—all from the opposite moiety), but it was a ceremonial center in which clan feasts and ceremonies were performed. These houses usually faced the sea where they could easily be seen. They were also works of art with their elaborately carved gables. Among the southern Tlingit tribes, where cedar was more common, totem poles often stood as beautiful memorials to the history of the clan. Within the house the main house posts were usually carved and painted, as was the cedar plank screen at the back of the house, behind which the chief and his family resided. In all of this carving and painting, clan crests were proudly displayed. The ceremonial clan property of a high-ranked clan also included carved and painted boxes, ceremonial dancing blankets, the chief's hat which was the insignia of his office, dance canes and masks. The house and all of its ceremonial objects were carved by men of the opposite moiety. Men were the carpenters, carvers and painters. Women were the weavers, and with the exception of the Chilkat blanket, and the spruce root hat of the chief, their utilitarian art was graced only with geometric designs.

Throughout the life cycle of every Tlingit, his or her members from the opposite moiety played an important validating ceremonial part. Nowhere was this more clearly demonstrated than upon the death of a lineage house chief. It was at this time that his successor had to commission the rebuilding of the lineage house by his opposite moiety counterparts in order to validate his position and the honor of his lineage. This "rebuilding" might simply mean the installation of more ceremonial art in the house.

There was once a time when the Tlingit Raven Creator tried to make human beings out of a rock and out of a leaf. Since he found it much easier to work with the leaf, he finished his creation in this perishable medium. "Then he showed a leaf to the human beings and said, 'You see this leaf. You are to be like it. When it falls off the branch and rots

there is nothing left of it.' That is why there is death in the world. If men had come from the rock there would be no death. Years ago people used to say when they were getting old, 'We are unfortunate in not having been made of rock. Being made from a leaf, we must die.'" (Katishan speaking to John R. Swanton)¹

Like their Raven Creator, the Tlingit of southeastern Alaska were remarkably gifted in working with wood. Although they never worked with leaves as such, they were able to make a soft and durable wood yarn from the stringy inner bark of both the red and yellow cedar. This cedar bark yarn was skillfully woven into rain capes, floor mats and long warm robes that were sometimes trimmed with fur. Water-tight baskets and conical rain-hats were also woven from withe-like strips of spruce and yellow cedar roots that had been peeled and split.

It was in their carving and painting of wood, however, that the Tlingit achieved the highest expression of their aesthetic genius. Fortunately, some of their art has been kept from the elements and still lives with us today.

1. John R. Swanton, *Social Conditions, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians*. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 39, (Washington, D.C., 1909), p. 81.



213 LADLE

Mountain sheep horn

54.6 (21 1/2) LONG

Gift of Mrs. Henry L. Corbett

Portland Art Museum, 64.19.3

This ladle represents a raven, undoubtedly the totemic crest of the owner. It is made of mountain sheep horn, boiled until soft, straightened and cut roughly to shape, and placed between two halves of a wooden mold to dry and harden. The carving and incising of the decoration is done last.

Such ladles were used for serving olachen (candlefish) oil at feasts. Sometimes guests at potlatches were forced to drink a whole ladle or bowl of oil, so much that they vomited, to be subsequently rewarded by extra gifts from their hosts.

While no provenance is known for this piece, it closely resembles a horn ladle collected about 1885 by George T. Emmons from the Chilkat Tlingit of Klukwan (Douglas and d'Harnoncourt 1941, no. 181), and also a spoon dating from about 1880, now in the Denver Art Museum (Malin and Feder 1962, fig. 10).

F. de L.

214 CEREMONIAL SPOON

Mountain sheep horn and glue

28.5 (11 1/4) LONG

Southeastern Alaska

Museum purchase, 1904

Royal Scottish Museum, 1904.201

This spoon is carved to represent animal figures.





215 SMALL BOWL WITH
STYLIZED BEAR HEAD

Wood

12.7 (5) LONG

Collected by L. W. Jenkins of Danvers
Peabody Museum of Salem, E 28025

216 GREASE OR OIL DISH*

Wood, impregnated with oil

24.5 (9 5/8) LONG

Smithsonian Institution, 20 857

This container represents the form of
a bird. The fish oil or grease with
which the dish was once filled—to be
eaten with dried fish, seaweed, or
berries—still exudes from the wood.

F. de L.





217 GREASE DISH OR FISH
BOWL

Wood, impregnated with oil

34 (13 3/8) LONG

Collected, probably among the Haida
Indians, by J. G. Swan

Museum collection, December 1883

Smithsonian Institution, 88 837

This container represents the form
of a seal.

218 OIL OR FOOD DISH

Wood, with red pigment and inlaid
bone

36 (14 1/8) LONG

Collected at Sitka by W. H. Dall

Smithsonian Institution, 1 144

This dish, carved in the form of a
seal, while similar in form to No. 217,
has carving, coloring, and decoration
that more closely resemble Eskimo
work. As a parallel, the bone-decorated
tobacco box collected by Nelson,
(No. 116) may be cited.

C. D. L.





219 BOWL*

Wood

24.8 (9 3/4) LONG

Prince of Wales or Queen Charlotte
Islands; collected at Skidegate by

J. G. Swan

Museum collection, January 1884

Smithsonian Institution, 89 136

This bowl represents a crow, with
supplementary figures.

222 CEREMONIAL FOOD BOWL

Wood, inset with operculum

47 (18 1/2) LONG

Collected at Sitka by Dr. A. H. Hoff
for the U.S. Army Medical Museum
Museum collection, 17 February 1870
Smithsonian Institution, 9 244

Most of the preceding bowls and
dishes were designed for ceremonies
and gifts by Tlingit chiefs at their
potlatch feasts. This last example
depicts the canoes in which guests
would have arrived.

C. D. L.

223 CEREMONIAL FOOD TRAY

Wood, inlaid with operculum

56 (22) LONG

Formerly in the Oldman Collection,
British Museum

Museum purchase, 1954

Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde,
Rotterdam, 34797



221 FOOD DISH

Wood, with red, black, and green pigment

48.9 (19 1/4) LONG

Collected apparently by Capt. Ivan A. Kupreanov, Governor of the Russian American Colonies from 1836-1840

Museum collection, October 1870
Staatliches Museum für Naturkunde und Vorgeschichte, Oldenburg, 221

This dish is carved in the form of a skate.

220 FOOD DISH

Wood, with red, black, green and white pigment

40 (15 3/4) LONG

Collected apparently by Capt. Ivan A. Kupreanov, Governor of the Russian American Colonies from 1836 to 1840

Museum collection, October 1870
Staatliches Museum für Naturkunde und Vorgeschichte, Oldenburg, 220

This dish represents the form of a bird, and, like No. 221, may be compared with similar examples in the Moscow Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, collected by Lisianski at Kodiak, probably after the Russians had introduced a substantial Aleut population. The dishes may represent a kind of hybrid style, with influences from both west Alaskan cultures superimposed upon essentially Tlingit types. Dr. Erna Gunther has best described their style as "Tlingit-influenced Aleut," perhaps for Russian patrons.

C. D. L.





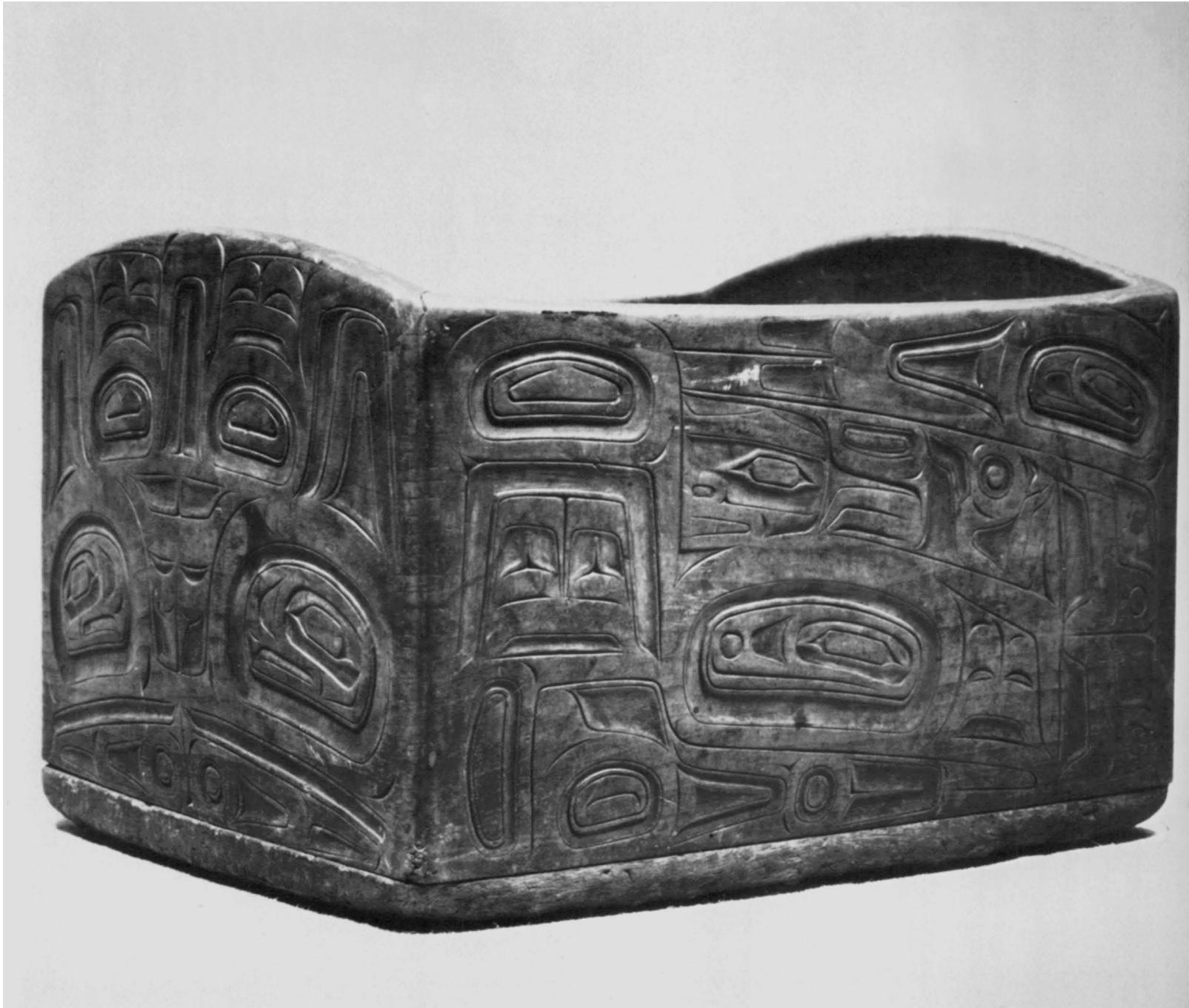
225 FOOD BOX
Wood, with red, green, and brown
pigment, fiber lashings
30.5 (12) LONG
Collected at Hoonah, Chichagof
Island, by P. Schulze, 1882
Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde,
IV.A.358



224 OIL OR FOOD BOX
Shaped and carved wood, with
rawhide lashings
10.5 (4 1/8) LONG
Southeastern Alaska
Museum purchase, 1904
Royal Scottish Museum 1904.200

226 FOOD BOX
Wood, with traces of polychrome
pigment, fiber lashings
38 (15) LONG
Collected at Hoonah, Chichagof
Island, by P. Schulze, 1882
Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde,
IV.A.357





227 FOOD BOX
Wood, with fiber lashings
46 (18 1/8) LONG
Florida State Museum, P 1282



228 STORAGE BOX

Wood, with traces of dark pigment

45 (17 $\frac{3}{4}$) HIGH

Collected at Sitka by J. J. McLean,
1884

Smithsonian Institution, 74 400



229 FRONT PANEL OF
STORAGE CHEST

Wood, with traces of polychrome pigment; probably missing decorations formerly inlaid in six recessed compartments

87.5 (34 1/2) LONG

Graf von Linden Collection

Gift of the collector, 1906

Linden-Museum für Völkerkunde,
48713

The carved front of this chest portrays a totemic animal. The ears (in which the common eye-motif is depicted) are in the upper corners of the board; the paws at the bottom, on each side of a plain oval area. Each eye is itself treated as a face with two eyes above the wide mouth. Figures at the edges presumably symbolize limbs.

Such chests were made with the sides of a single piece of wood, kerfed and steamed to be bent into a rectangle. The two ends are sewn together in such a way that the stitches are invisible. The seams are usually treated with waterproof glue so that such chests can be used to store food. Some are used for water or urine; others for cooking with hot rocks. A finely decorated chest like this example probably held clan or lineage heirlooms: a Chilkat blanket, dance rattles, crest hat, and other related objects.

Many carved chests were obtained by the Tlingit from the Tsimshian, which makes identification of the designs on the sides impossible. The whole chest is usually carved like the body of an animal, its features (face, ears, tail, wings, or limbs) arranged to fit the rectangular spaces.

With the exception of minor details, the design on this box is identical with that on a Tsimshian box illustrated by Boas (1916, fig. 7,b).

Franz Boas, *Tsimshian Mythology*, 31st Annual Report, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, D. C.).

F. de L.



230 STORAGE CHEST*
Wood, with black and red pigment,
shell and operculum insets, braided
fiber lashings, and rawhide straps
9 (37 3/4) LONG
Collected by John G. Brady
Gift from the estate of Edward
Henry Harriman, 7 June 1912
Smithsonian Institution, 274 488



231 STORAGE CHEST*
 Wood, with black, red and green
 pigment, and fiber lashings
 96.5 (38) LONG
 Collected on the Portland Inlet,
 opposite Tongass, by George Gibbs
 Deposited by the collector,
 27 May 1862
 Smithsonian Institution, 66 638

232 PANEL WITH BEAR CREST
Wood, with red and black pigment
and inlaid operculum

83.8 (33) LONG

Collected from an old Kar-guan-ton
House at Sitka by Lt. G. T. Emmons,
U. S. Navy, 1882-87
American Museum of Natural History,
E/1385





233 HOUSE POST*

Wood, with red, black and green pigment, and nails

242 (95 1/4) HIGH

Collected from the Moon House,
Port Mulgrave, Yakutat, 1916-17
or thereafter

Museum of the American Indian,
Heye Foundation, 17/8012

This house post, carved to represent a moon and the figure of a wolf, is one of four decorated posts from Moon House, Yakutat, one of the houses of the Kwashkan (Humpback Salmon) clan. It is said that in 1916 or 1917, some of the owners of Moon House, fearing that the heirloom posts might be sold, chopped them up and burned them. This story is evidently untrue, for at least two posts have found their way to the Museum of the American Indian.

F. de L.



234 FOUR HOUSE POSTS

Wood, with (modern) black, orange and white paint, metal clamps and nails

Collected by Axel Rasmussen

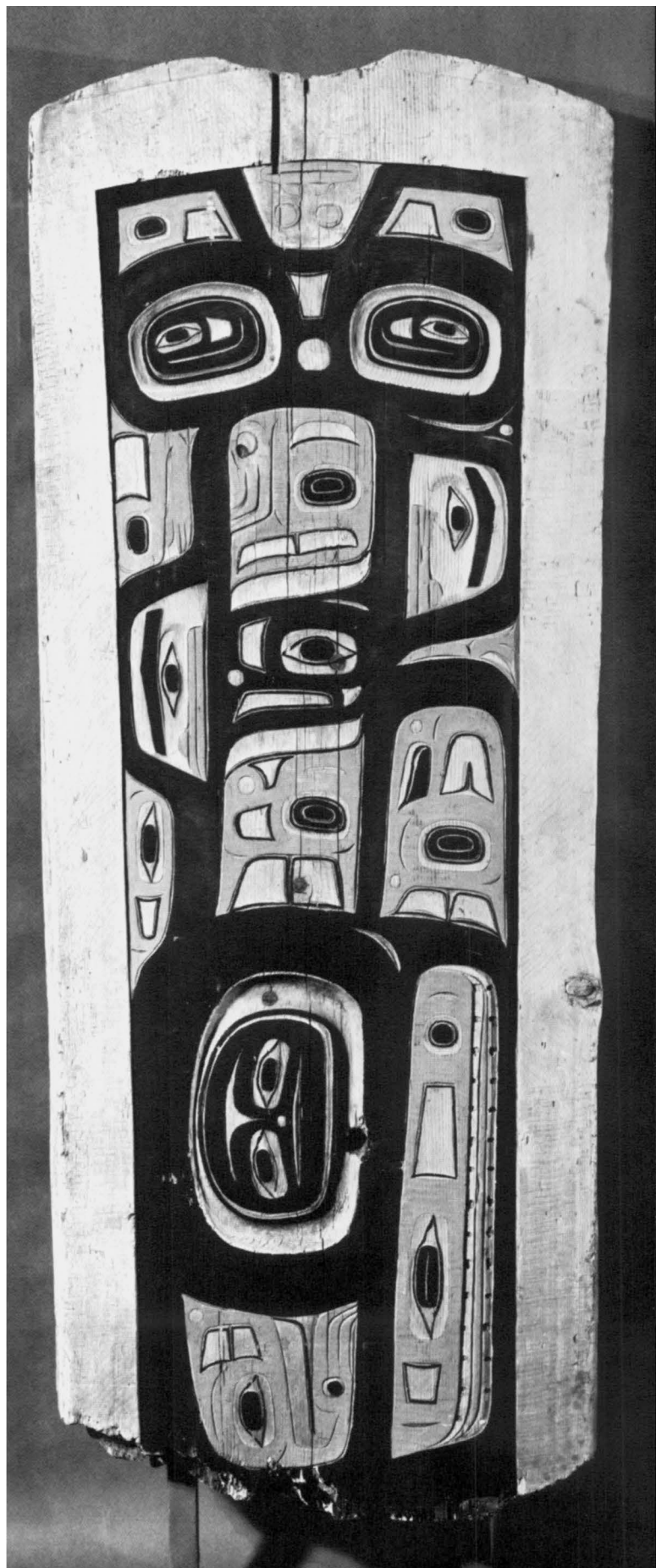
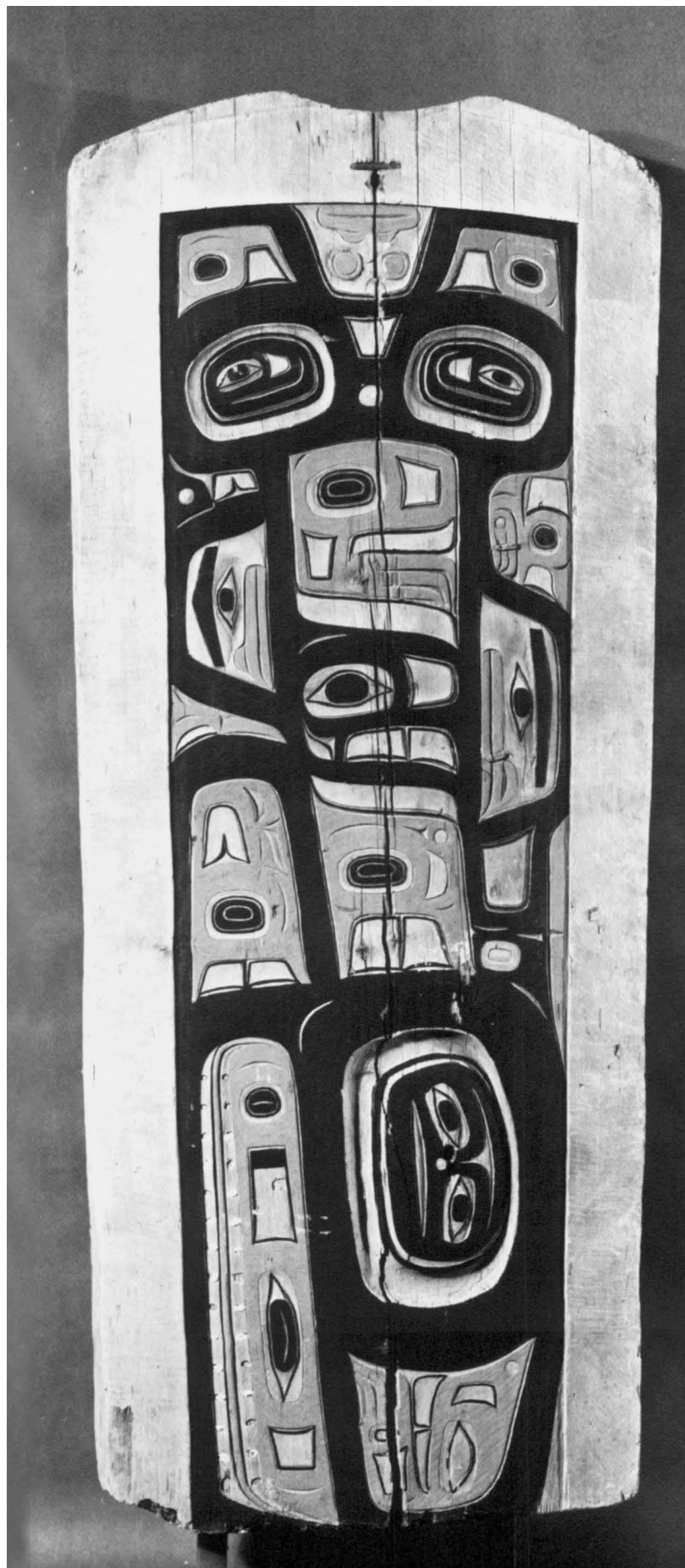
Portland Art Museum: 48.3.529 A, 214.5 (84 1/2) HIGH, 48.3.529 B, 207 (81 1/2) HIGH, 48.3.529 C, 206 (81 1/8) HIGH, 48.3.529 D, 210 (82 3/4) HIGH

The designs are highly abstract renderings of a totemic crest, possibly a killer whale. The head is at the bottom (where the eye is treated as a whole face) and the tail is at the top. Houses bore traditional names, belonging to the clan or lineage, and were decorated with carved and painted posts, painted rear partitions, and sometimes carved and painted fronts that displayed the crest or crests of the owners. The names of the most important houses, occupied by leading chiefs, referred to these totemic crests recently repainted in vermilion, black, and white.

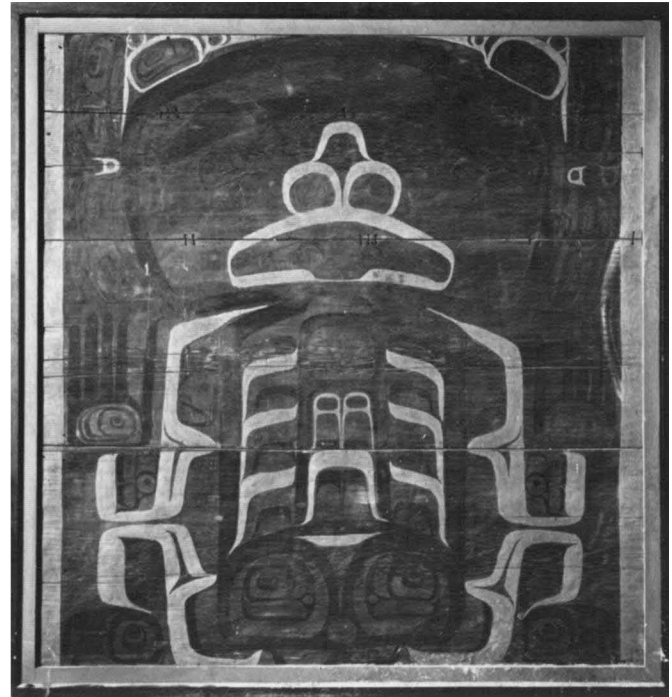
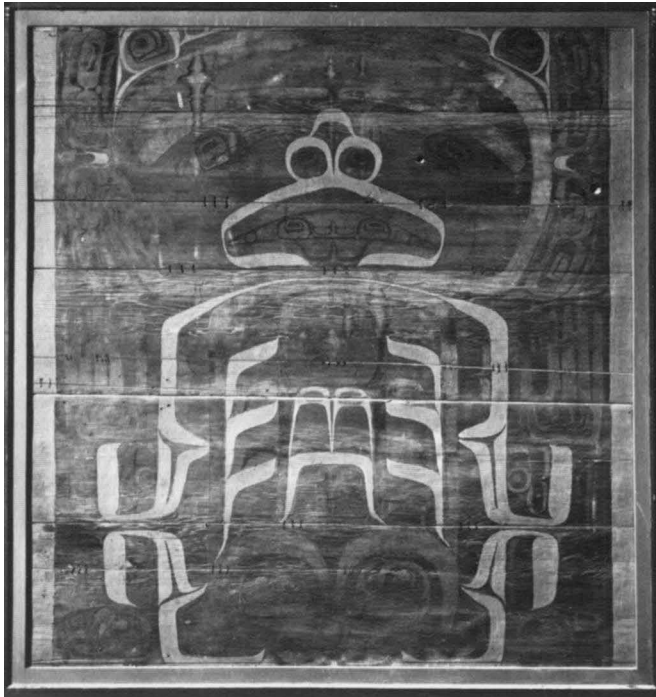
Robert Tyler Davis, *Native Arts of the Pacific Northwest*, (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1949), pl. 106.

F. de L.









235 FOUR HOUSE SCREENS
WITH BEAR CREST

Wood, with black and red pigment
(the borders and red areas renewed
at a later date), fiber lashings;
modern frames and hardware
Once thought to have been collected
by J. G. Swan; more probably collected
by J. R. Swanton for the Bureau
of American Ethnology

Transfer from the Bureau of American
Ethnology, 27 January 1905

Smithsonian Institution: 233 498 A,
210.5 (82 7/8) WIDE, 233 498 B,
212 (83 1/2) WIDE, 233 498 C,
211 (83 1/8) WIDE, 233 498 D,
215 (84 5/8) WIDE

(All measurements independent of
modern frames)



236 DECORATIVE HANGING
White muslin with black pigment,
fiber rope and thread

427 (168) WIDE

Painted at Sitka by Willie Sewid,
c. 1925 or thereafter
Museum of the American Indian,
Heye Foundation, 23/9493

This piece is painted with two killer
whales flanking a bear face in a
radiant disc.



figure h

237 LARGE MORTAR*

Gray stone

31 (12 1/4) DIAMETER

Collected by Lt. G. T. Emmons,
U. S. Navy

Purchased from the collector,
30 June 1903

Smithsonian Institution, 220 185

This mortar is carved to represent four stylized heads. A mortar of a more unusual type in the Florida State Museum (Pearsall Collection, P-1859, 9 1/2 diameter), with a more rigidly geometric pattern of carved ornament, may be compared with the preceding and following examples (fig. h).

C. D. L.





238 MORTAR*

Gray stone

26.4 (10 $\frac{3}{8}$) DIAMETER

Prince of Wales or Queen Charlotte
Islands; collected at Skidegate by
J. G. Swan

Museum collection, October 1883
Smithsonian Institution, 89 210

This mortar is carved to represent a
stylized head with symmetrical side
elements.

239 MORTAR*

Gray stone

23.5 (9 1/4) DIAMETER

Collected by Lt. G. T. Emmons,

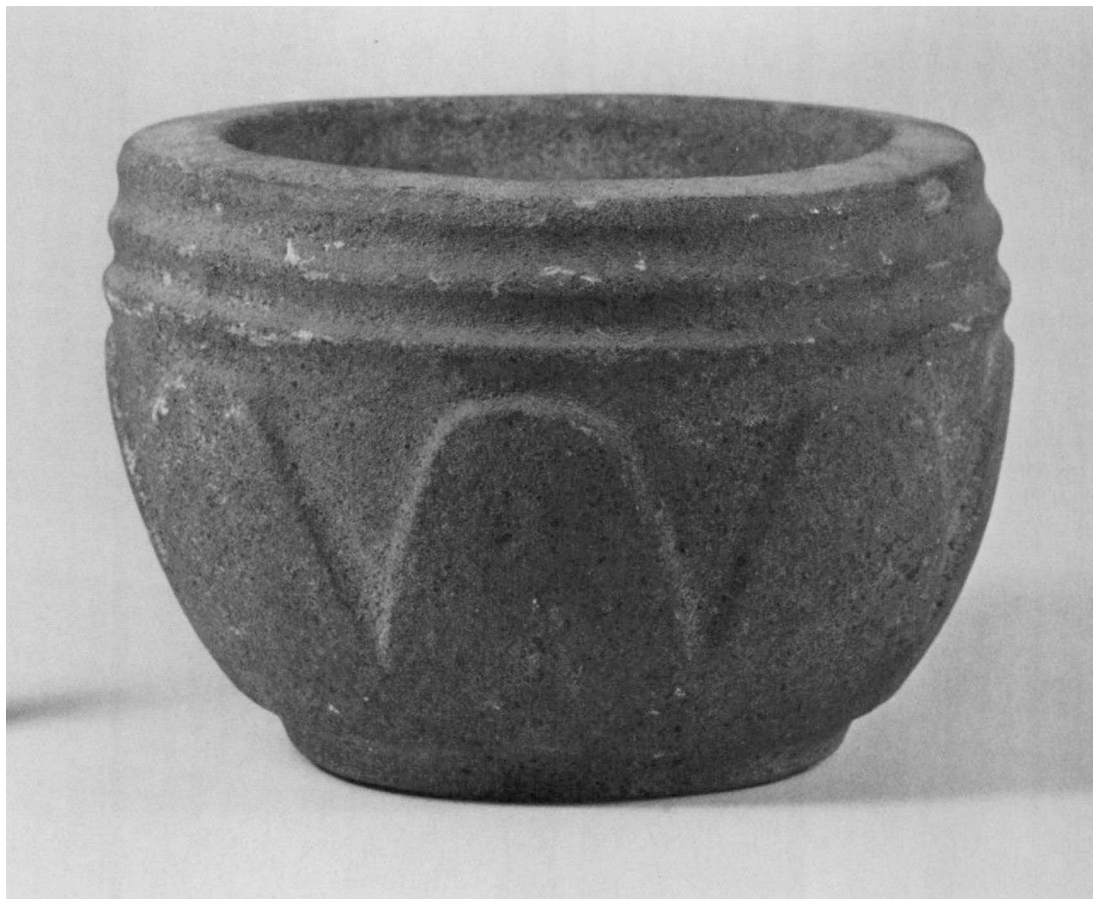
U. S. Navy

Purchased from the collector,

30 June 1903

Smithsonian Institution, 220 186

This piece is carved with concentric grooves, leaf forms, and a face.



240 MORTAR WITH
CONCENTRIC GROOVES*

Gray stone

21 (8 1/4) DIAMETER

Collected at Fort Tongass by Lt. F. M.

Ring, U. S. Army, 1868-70

Museum collection, 1870

Smithsonian Institution, 9 635

243 STIRRUP HAMMER

Gray-brown stone

15.6 (6 1/8) HIGH

Collected from the bed of the Naha River, Revillagiedo Island, by Fred Andersen, March 1972

On loan from the collector

Tongass Historical Society, FA 5.11.72



242 MALL OR PESTLE*

Gray-brown stone

14.6 (5 3/4) WIDE

Collected at Fort Tongass by Lt. F. M. Ring, U. S. Army

Museum collection, 1870

Smithsonian Institution, 9 640

Nos. 242, 243, and 244, although intended for pounding or grinding on flat surfaces rather than in mortars, may be associated with the fine stone carving of the preceding mortars.

These are fine examples of their respective types and show the range of abstract sculptural form Tlingit craftsmen were able to give to objects of everyday use.

C. D. L.



241 CEREMONIAL BOWL OR
MORTAR*

White stone (probably marble), with
red pigment

30.5 (12) LONG

Chiefs' heirloom in the Tagwayta
family of the Hootz-ah-tai-gwan;
collected at Killisnoo (Admiralty
Island), by Lt. G. T. Emmons,
U. S. Navy

Purchased from the collector,

12 September 1903

Smithsonian Institution, 221 181



244 MALL WITH HIGH
FLUTED BACK

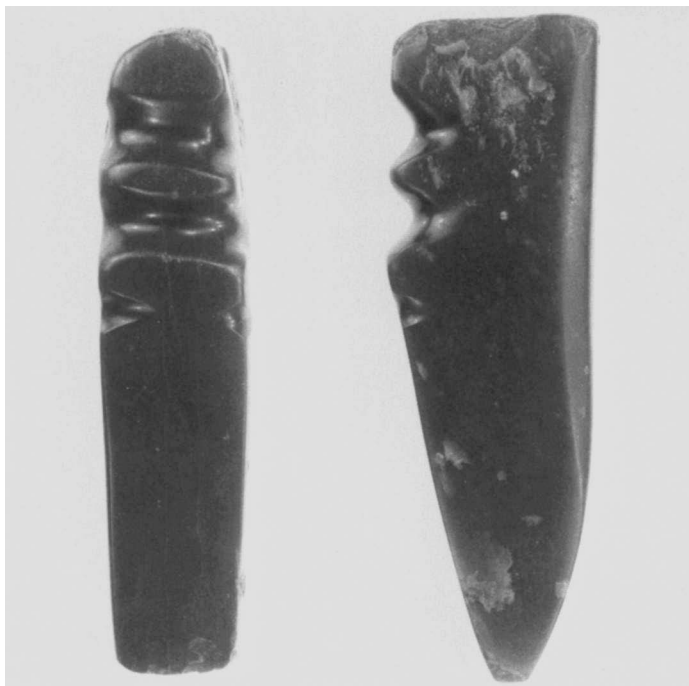
Gray-green stone

22.5 (8 7/8) HIGH

Heirloom of the Joe Demmert family
of Klawock, Prince of Wales Island

Loaned by Dolly Jensen

Tongass Historical Society, DJ x 70



245 ADZE WITH FINGER
GRIPS

Green stone

16.5 (6 1/2) LONG

Collected at Sitka by J. J. McLean

Smithsonian Institution, 74 987

246 CARVED STONE
CHOPPER(?)

Gray micaceous schist

21.9 (8 5/8) LONG

Collected at Wrangell by Mrs. Charles
D. Walcott

Gift of the collector,

21 November 1936

Smithsonian Institution, 378 200





248 RATTLE-TOP BASKET
Spruce root, with reed trim, and
seeds woven into rattle handle
16 (6 1/4) DIAMETER
Collected by Commander William
McM. Woodworth (or by Jay Backus
Woodworth) before 1914
Peabody Museum, Harvard University,
14-29-10/85801

249 RATTLE-TOP BASKET
Spruce root, with reed trim, and seeds
woven into rattle handle
16.2 (6 3/8) DIAMETER
Collected at Wrangell by
Margaret Bogue
Loaned by E. Zollman, 11 September
1968
Tongass Historical Society, 68.9.6.3



247 COVERED BASKET
Spruce root, with polychrome reed
decoration and open-work bands
21 (8 1/4) HIGH
Collected by Rev. Sheldon Jackson in
the late 19th century
Sheldon Jackson Museum, I.A.180
Illustrated in color





250 OPEN BASKET WITH
KILLER WHALES, EAGLE
HEAD, AND FACE

Spruce root with reed trim
16.5 (6 1/2) DIAMETER

Collected (at Ketchikan?) by Mrs.
Mary Benolkin

Loaned by the collector,
15 August 1962

Tongass Historical Society, 62.12.1.15

251 DECORATED HAT

Woven spruce root, red, black, and
green pigment, seal whiskers, trimmed
feathers, fiber thread, and trade beads

37 (14 1/2) DIAMETER

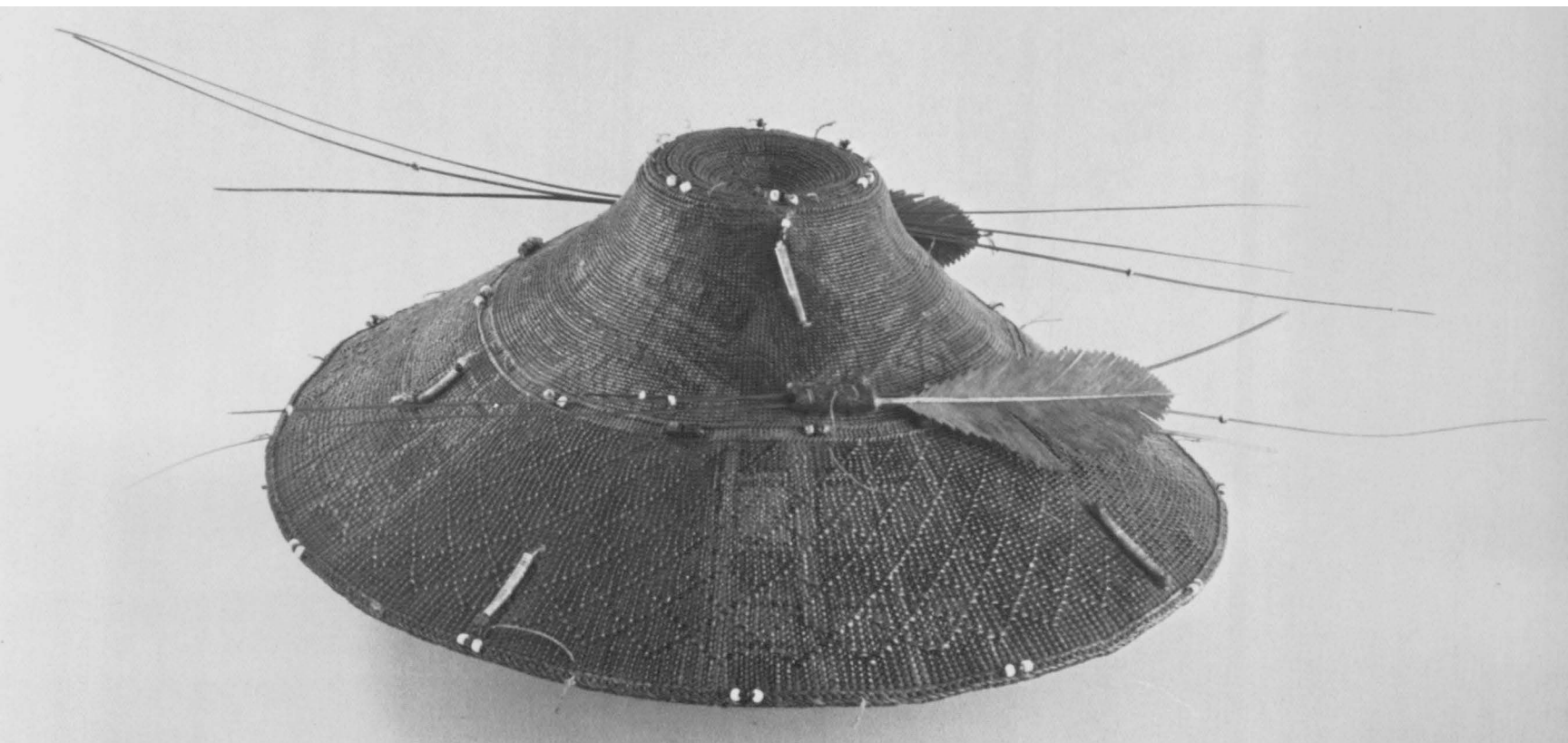
Probably collected in the early 19th
century

Museum of Anthropology and
Ethnography, Leningrad, 5795-22

On the side of the crown the design
evidently represents in highly abstract
form some unidentifiable crest
animal, the body of which has been
split in two and draped about the
crown of the hat according to the
canons of Northwest Coast art. The
use of the seal whiskers and beads
suggests influence from the Aleuts or
from the Pacific Eskimo (Koniag or
Chugach).

Siebert, Smirnova, Forman, *North American
Indian Art*, pl. 91.

F. de L.



252 DECORATED HAT*

Woven spruce root, with blue, green, red and black pigment, seal whiskers, dentalium, trade beads and fabrics, fiber and modern thread

61 (24) LONG (with bristles)

Collected on Kodiak Island by William Fisher, 1884

Smithsonian Institution, 74 720

Another example of the continuing interaction of native Alaskan cultures in the transitional area of Kodiak Island, this hat seems to have been made by Koniag Eskimos, generally to the pattern of a standard Tlingit type. The reduction of the curvilinear symbols of Tlingit painting to the more rigid geometric style of this piece, provides a fascinating example of "the creative copy" linking two different cultures.

C. D. L.

253 CREST HAT WITH
POTLATCH RINGS

Woven spruce root, with red and black pigment, fiber and trade thread, hair plumes, and bird-beak rattles inside top ring (woven in one piece with the lower rings, and applied to hat)

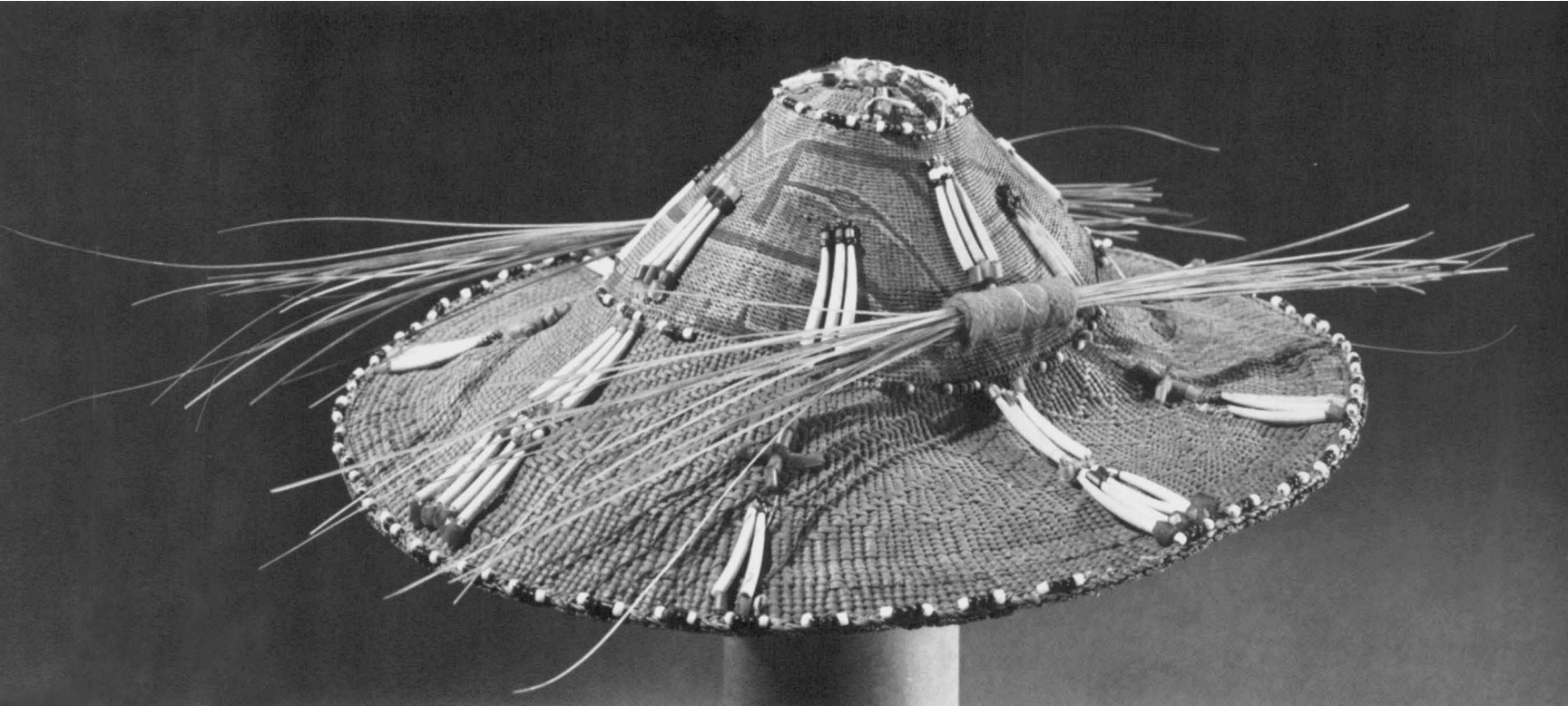
36 (14 1/8) DIAMETER

Collected at Sitka by Arvid Adolph Etholén of Finland, Rear Admiral in the Imperial Russian Navy, and Administrator of Russian America, before 1847

National Museum of Finland, 45C

This ceremonial hat, woven in a twined technique, has three hollow basketry rings on top to indicate the number of potlatches given by the wearer. The painted crest design on the crown cannot be identified. The usual panache of ermine hanging from the top is missing. The hat might be protected by wearing a plain undecorated hat over it.

F. de L.





255 CEREMONIAL HAT WITH
WHALE CREST

Woven spruce root, with black and
white pigment, wood with black,
white, red and green pigment, shell
inlays, human hair, fiber lashings and
rawhide strap

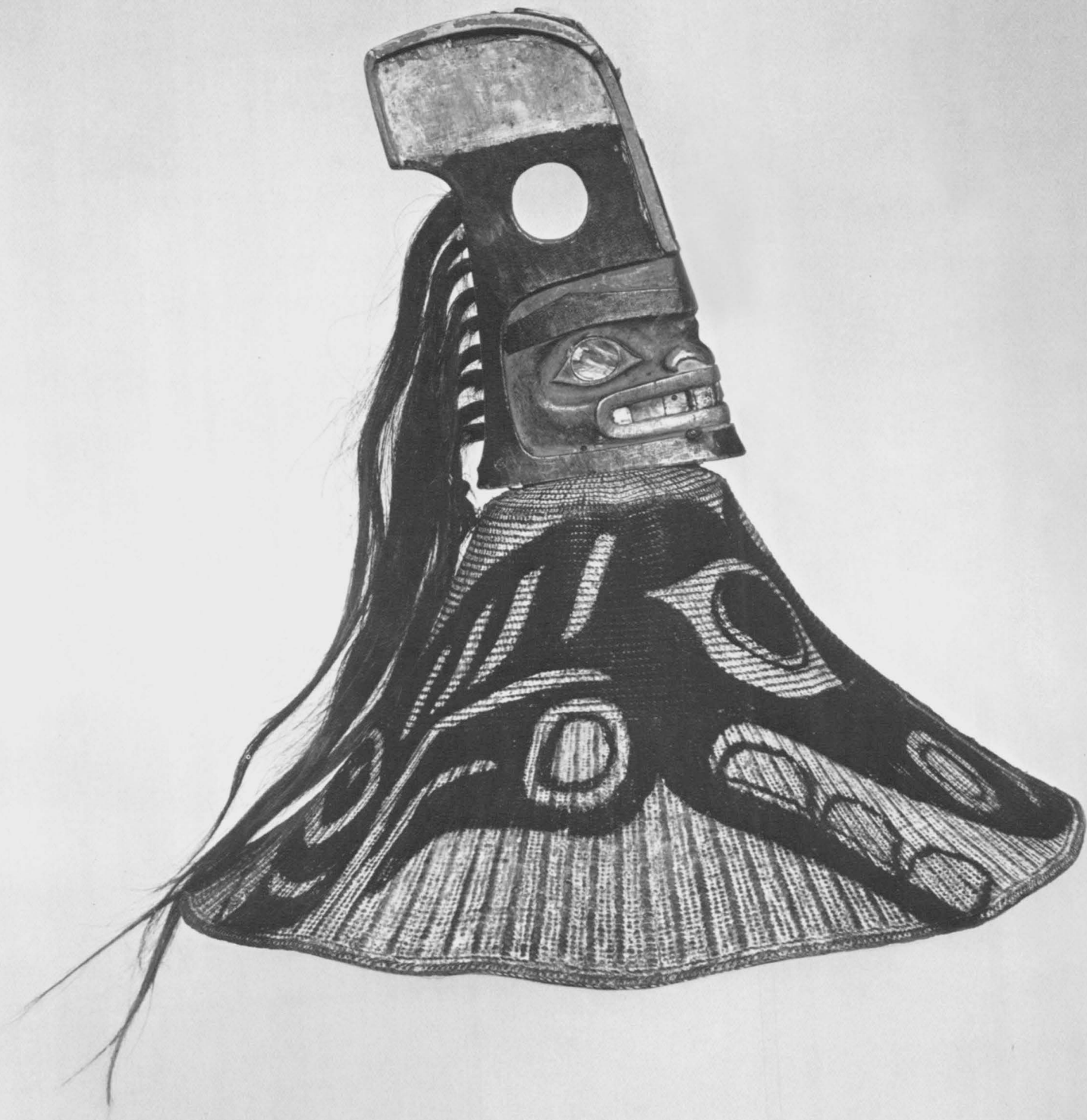
36.2 (14 1/4) DIAMETER

Acquired from the Sitka Whale

Collection by Louis Shotridge, 1925

University Museum, Philadelphia,

NA 10512



254 CEREMONIAL HAT WITH
POTLATCH RINGS

Brass, steel spring, wire, ermine skin,
and rawhide strap

38.4 (15 1/8) DIAMETER

Collected by Louis Shotridge, 1925
Museum Expedition collection
University Museum, Philadelphia,
NA 6847

While hardly representing a traditional use of native materials, this replica of the classic type of Tlingit chief's hat (represented by the preceding example) in a trade material, and with the insertion of a mechanical spring to simulate the bounce and jiggle of

the original basketry, provides a kind of punning reference to the ancient type—while indicating that the patron-chief could now surpass it, through his lavish use of more expensive “modern” materials.

C. D. L.



257 CEREMONIAL HAT WITH
EAGLE CREST

Wood, with black, green and white
pigment, copper, iron nails, rawhide
strap, modern glue and tape

44.5 (17 1/2) DIAMETER

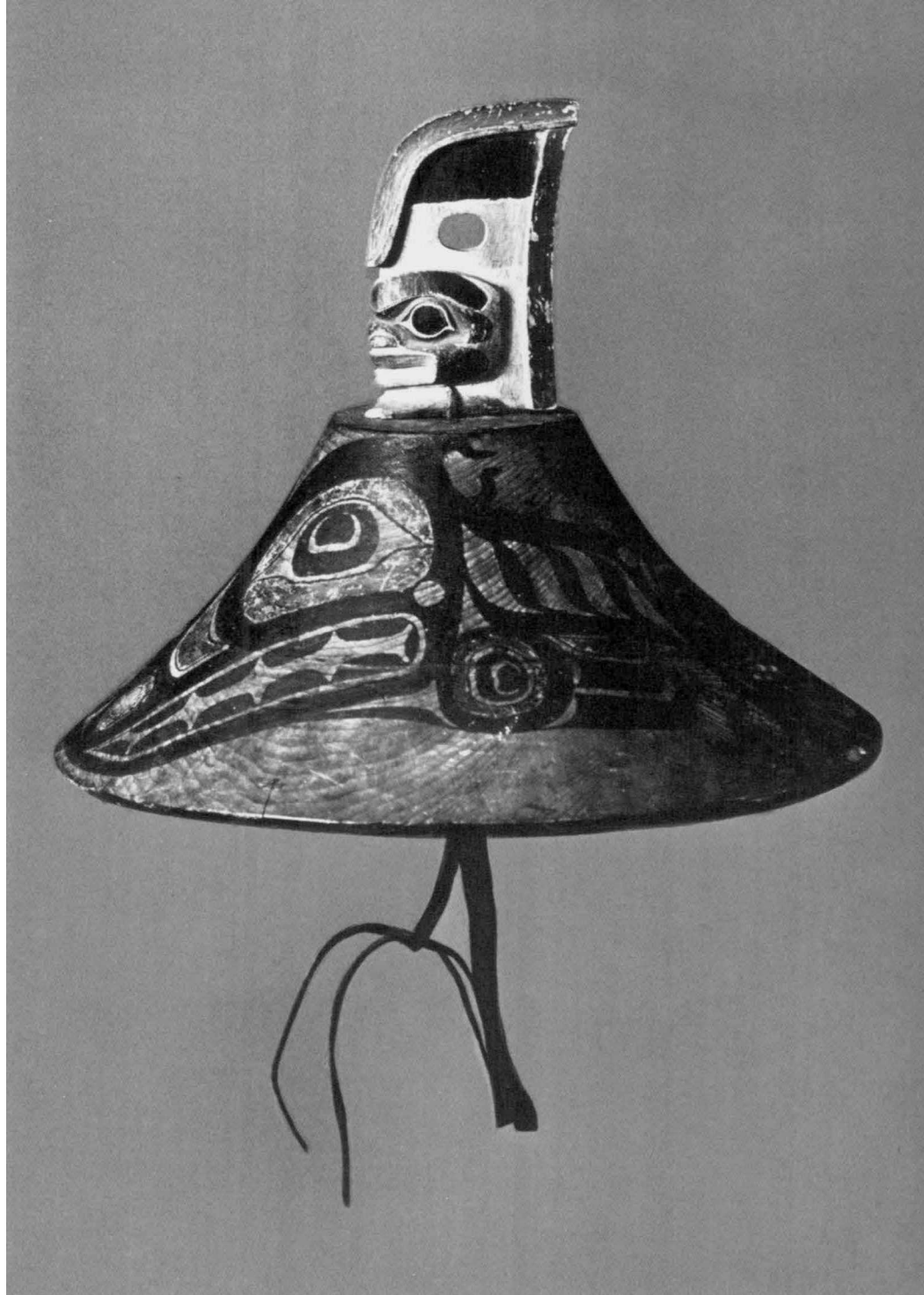
Heirloom of the Williams family,
Raven clan of the Tongass Tlingit
On loan from the collection of
Frank Williams, Sr.

Tongass Historical Society,
FWSr 10.13.67

This hat represents the mountain
eagle Kajuk, clan symbol of one group
of the Tongass Tlingit, with whose
descendants it still remains. It may
represent a surviving reference to their
former function as heavy "armored"
war helmets (see following entry).

C. D. L.

Cover illustration



256 CEREMONIAL HAT WITH
WHALE CREST

Wood, with black, green and red pig-
ment, rawhide lashings and straps

38 (15) DIAMETER

Acquired from the Sea Lion House
Collection, presumably at Sitka, by
Louis Shotridge, 1918

Museum Expedition collection
University Museum, Philadelphia,
NA 8503

258 CEREMONIAL HAT WITH
RAVEN CREST

Wood, with black, red and white pigment, human hair, and rawhide strap

37 (14 1/2) DIAMETER

Collected, probably at Klukwan, by

Louis Shotridge, 1917

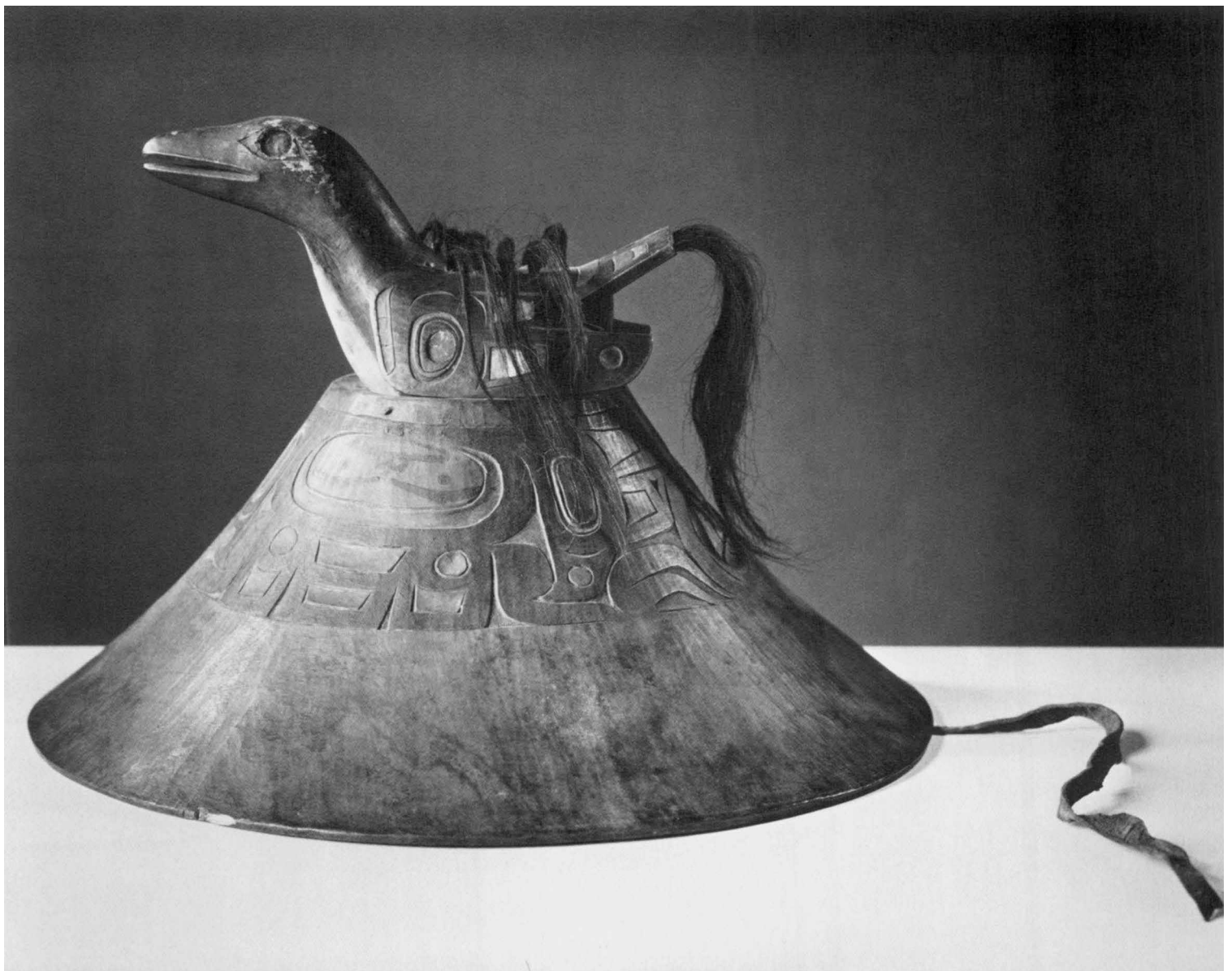
University Museum, Philadelphia,

NA 5740

We may assume that this helmet, apparently representing a raven, belonged to the Ganaxtedi, an important Raven clan of the Chilkat Tlingit at Klukwan, Louis Shotridge's own home.

Wooden helmets were originally used for protection in war, then eventually were worn like crest hats at potlatches. Crest hats and crest helmets were usually the most valuable heirlooms of the clan or house-lineage.

F. de L.



259 HAT OR HELMET
REPRESENTING A RAVEN

Wood, and deerskin with black, red, green and brown pigment, copper, iron, woven spruce root, ermine skin, bird-beak and eagle-down pendants, braided fiber, rawhide lashings and straps, and nails

52 (20 1/2) LONG

Acquired from the Sea Lion House Collection, presumably at Sitka, by Louis Shotridge, 1918
Museum Expedition collection
University Museum, Philadelphia,
NA 8502

This piece probably represents Tuknaxadi the "Silver Salmon People," a Raven clan of the Hoonah, Sitka, and Yakutat Tlingit. The front of the hat is carved to represent the head of a hawk with a sharply recurved bill.

This crest hat was originally made by the Silver Salmon clan. Display of this raven hat at a potlatch provoked a war with the powerful Ganaxtedi (Raven) clan of Chilkat who claimed exclusive rights to make and show a raven hat at a potlatch. They there-

fore seized the raven hat from their rivals. The war lasted five years but was finally ended after Tailless Raven, the Ganaxtedi Chilkat chief married the daughter of Big Raven, the Yakutat Silver Salmon chief. Peace was restored when the raven hat was returned to the Silver Salmon clan, and the latter returned the decorated house post which they had captured to the Chilkat Ganaxtedi. The two chiefs, father-in-law and son-in-law, danced in the peace ceremony. The war was probably in the middle of the 19th century.

John R. Swanton, *Tlingit Myths and Texts*, Bulletin 39, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, (Washington, D. C.: 1909), pp. 161-65.

Louis Shotridge, "War Helmets and Clan Hats of the Tlingit Indians," *The University Museum Journal*, 10, (1919), 1-2, pp. 43-8, esp. pl. I and pp. 45-6.

F. de L.

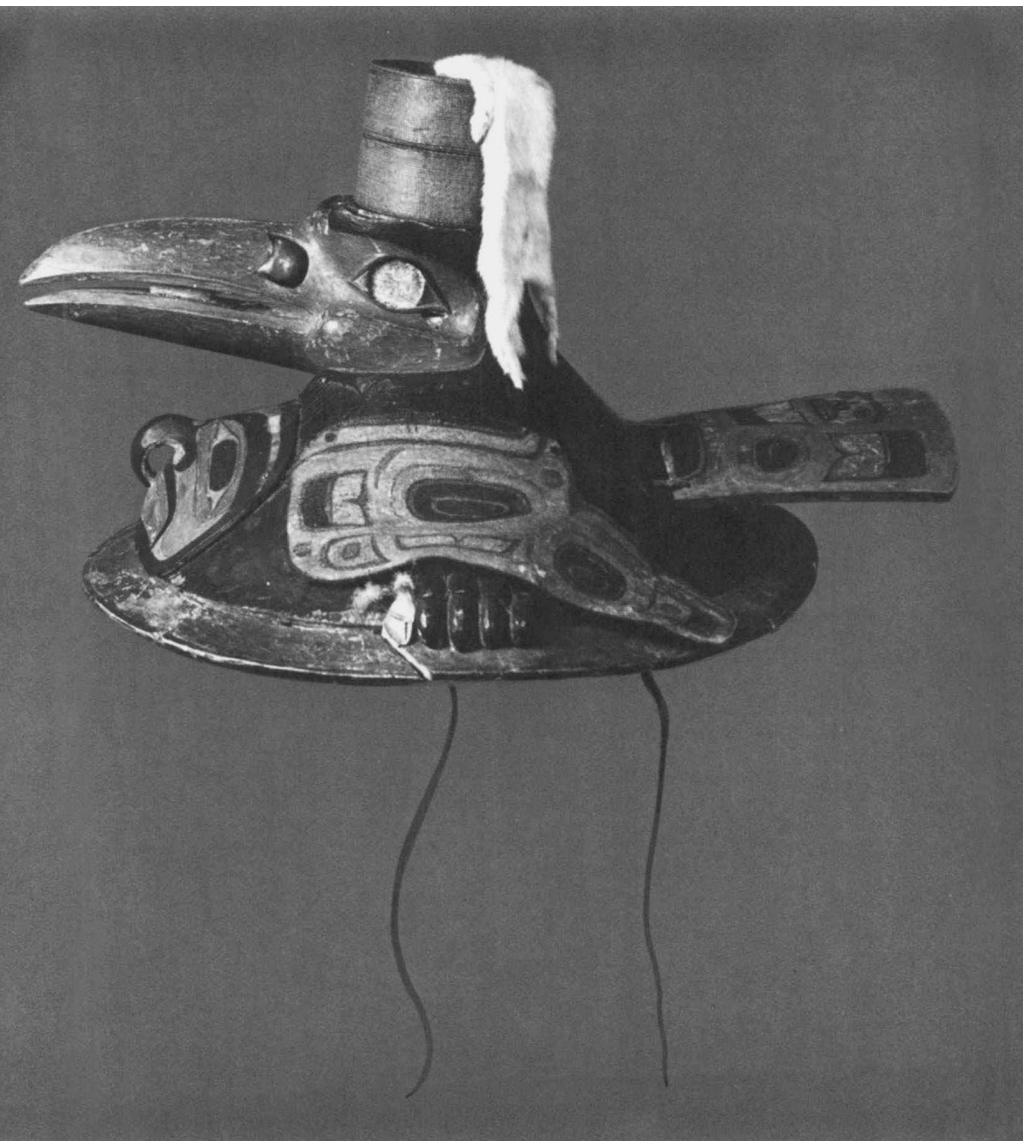
The name for this helmet is taken from an episode in the "Raven-Traveling" myth. When Raven killed a king salmon, a large crowd of small birds and squirrels rushed to the scene. Raven saw that one salmon was not sufficient for them all, so he made them dig a hole large enough for the salmon, and then sent them after skunk cabbage leaves to wrap around the salmon for the barbecue.

They gathered leaves, but Raven said they were unclean, for they had been found where his mother was cremated. He instructed them to go beyond two mountains for the kind he wanted, and they all went.

In the meantime, Raven cooked the salmon in the leaves at hand and ate it all before the crowd returned. When they arrived with the leaves he had ordered, they found him sitting like a virtuous man, pretending he was awaiting the cooking of the salmon.

The interpretation is: "No other [clan] has a right to lay claim to a man's achievement."

E. C.



260 HELMET WITH FROG AND
RAVEN CRESTS

Wood, with traces of pigment, sealskin,
sinew thread, human hair, and nails

35 (13 3/4) HIGH

Collected from the family of the
Chilkat chief named "Donawok"
("Silver [Dollar] Eyes") by Stewart
Culin, on the John Wanamaker
Expedition, 1900

Museum purchase, from Nathan
Joseph, San Francisco
University Museum, Philadelphia,
NA 37945

The helmet shows the raven's head
emerging from the top of the frog's.
Both animals were crests of the power-
ful Ganaxtedi (Raven) clan of
Klukwan. The helmet is said to have
been 100 years old in 1890.

Gunther, *Northwest Coast Indian Art*, no.
34, p. 60.

Wardwell, *Yakutat South: Indian Art of the
Northwest Coast*, no. 87.

F. de L.



261 HELMET OR FOREHEAD

MASK: A WOLF'S HEAD

Wood, with green, black, red and white pigment, copper, operculum, deerskin with red and black pigment, human and animal hair, willow band, fiber lashings, trade fabrics and thread

43 (17) LONG

Collected through Yeesjet of Klukwan, at Juneau, by Axel Rasmussen, 26 June 1936

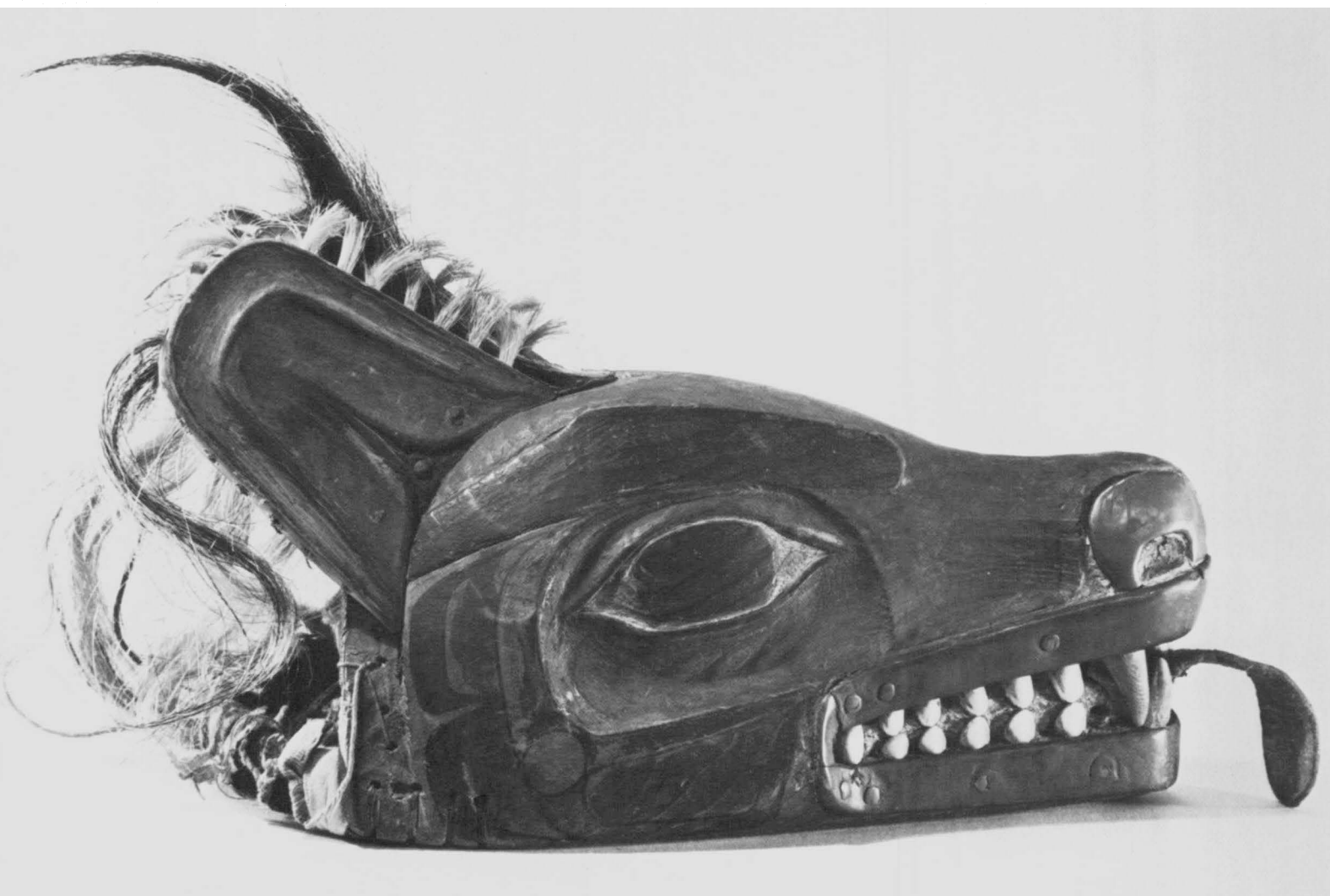
Portland Art Museum, 48.3.415

The nostrils and lips of this dance hat are outlined in copper for which the owner is said to have paid four slaves. The hat would have been worn by a dancer of a clan (probably Teqwedi) which claimed the wolf as a totemic crest, who would dance to a special

clan song for the occasion. This piece represents the transformation of the old war helmet into a dance headdress.

Davis, *Native Arts of the Pacific Northwest*, pl. 22.

F. de L.



262 HELMET OR FOREHEAD
MASK: A WOLF'S HEAD
WITH CREST

Wood, with green, red and black pigment, shell and bone inlays, cormorant and ermine skins, human hair, deerskin, and nails

45 (17 3/4) LONG

Collected on Admiralty Island by
Lord Bossom, late 19th century
National Museum of Man, Ottawa,
VII-A-320

Besides the moveable tongue, an unusual feature of this mask—perhaps indicating shamanistic use—is the series of ten cavities bored into the thickness of the crown from below, and hidden by an inset circle of brown-painted deerskin; another larger cavity, bored through from the top, is also masked on the inside by a smaller ring of painted deerskin.

C. D. L.





263 CEREMONIAL HEADDRESS,
WITH A MARMOT
HOLDING A BAT

Wood, with red, green, black and white pigment, shell inlays, willow-band and stake frame with shaped deerskin crown, trade fabrics, flicker feathers, eagle down, sea lion whiskers, ermine skins, rawhide straps, and thread

151.4 (59 5/8) HIGH

Acquired from the Eagles' Nest House Collection at Klukwan, by Louis Shotridge, 1918

Museum Expedition collection
University Museum, Philadelphia,
NA 8498

Headdresses of this kind, called in Tlingit "something on the head," are worn by persons of rank on ceremonial occasions. Some have the masklike frontal piece carved to represent the totemic crest of the clan, but in this case neither the marmot nor its prey, the bat, is a Kagwantan crest. Probably the hat was made simply for show, to be worn by a woman of rank.

The style of headdress is believed by the Tlingit to have been copied from the Indians of British Columbia, especially the Kwakiutl, who, the Tlingit said, used to flatten the heads of their children to fit these ornaments. (The belief is obviously untrue, since the back of the headdress is of skin or cloth and fits the natural shape of the Tlingit head perfectly.) These headdresses were also worn by chiefs, and also sometimes by young men while dancing at potlatches.

Shotridge, "War Helmets and Clan Hats of the Tlingit Indians," pp. 43-8, pl. v.
F. de L.

264 CEREMONIAL HEADDRESS
Wood, with red, blue-green and black pigment, shell inlays, willow-band and stake frame, raven feathers, sea lion whiskers, deerskin cap, rawhide straps and thread

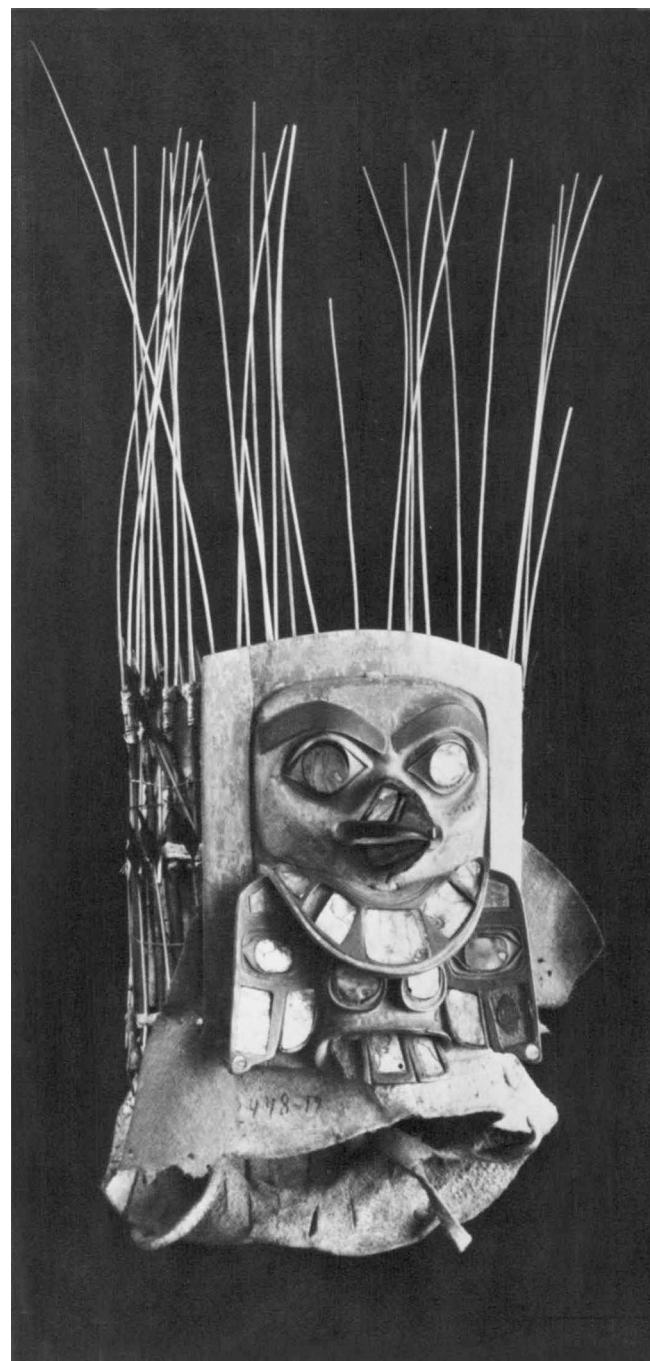
56 (22) HIGH

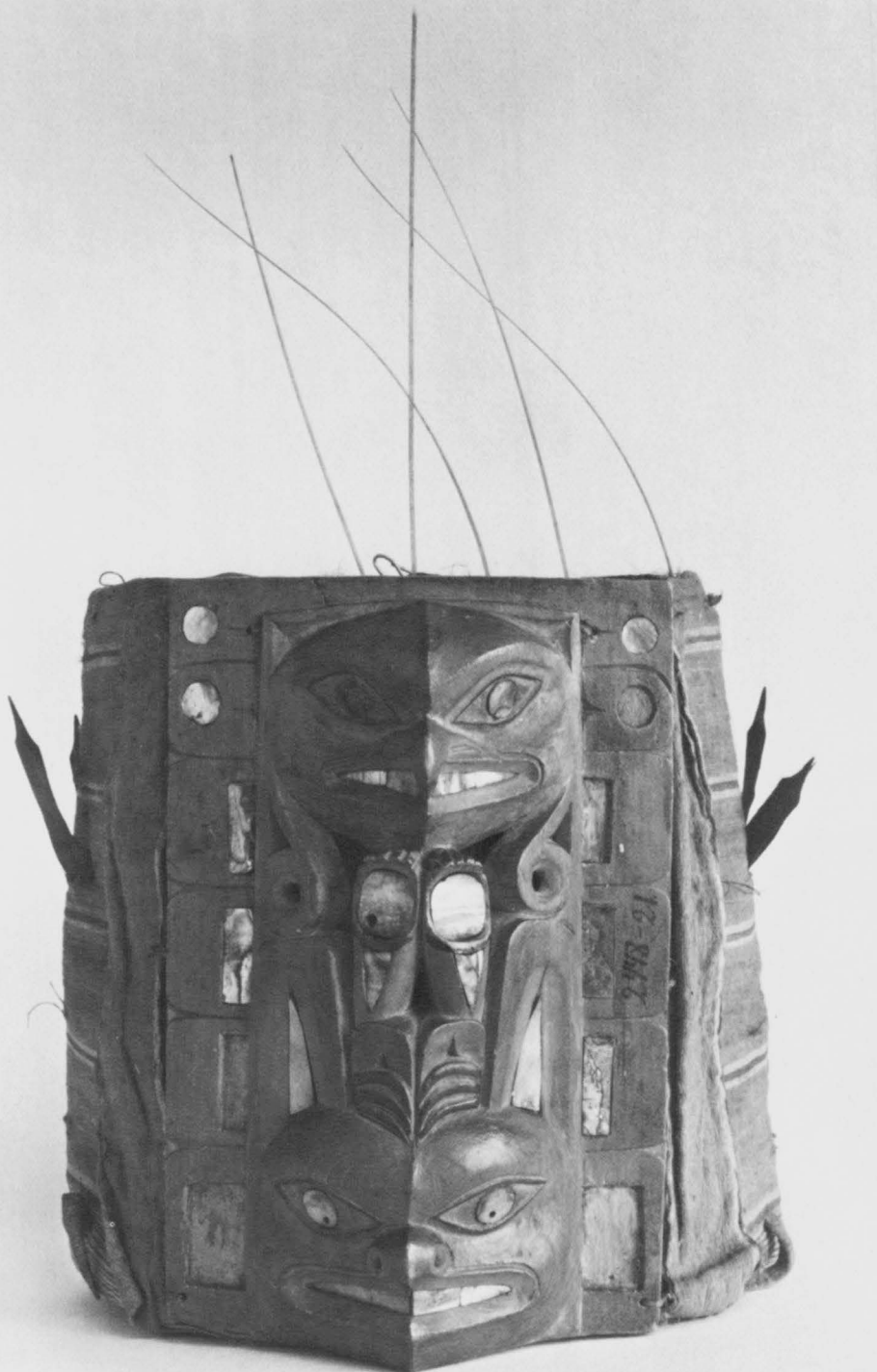
Collected by Peter P. Doroshin in 1847-48 or after

Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Leningrad, 2448-19

This headdress has a forehead mask in red and blue-green to represent the raven, the totemic crest of the owner. The eyes and other parts of the mask are inlaid with haliotis shell. Instead of the usual cape of ermine fur, the back of this headdress is made of a basketry frame of willows, like that of a fish trap, to which cut raven feathers and sea lion whiskers are attached. The latter are also set into the top of the mask. Below the headdress is a hide bib or collar, painted orange-red inside. It is not clear whether any of this covered the face when the headdress was worn.

Siebert, Smirnova, and Forman, *North American Indian Art*, figs. 7 & 8, pls. 29-31.
F. de L.





265 CEREMONIAL HEADDRESS,
WITH FRONTLET
REPRESENTING AN
ANIMAL AND A BIRD

Wood, with red, green and black pigment, shell inlays, willow-band and stake frame covered with skin and matting, sea lion whiskers, feathers, and fiber thread

43 (17) HIGH

Probably collected in the early 19th century

Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Leningrad, 2448-21

The design seems to represent not "two bird masks," but rather a raptorial bird like the eagle or hawk (above), and some land animal with long ears (below). Instead of the usual cape of ermine fur behind, the back of the headdress is a wicker frame covered with fine matting.

Siebert, Smirnova, and Forman, *North American Indian Art*, fig. 9, pl. 34.

F. de L.

266 CEREMONIAL HEADDRESS
WITH TWO BIRDS

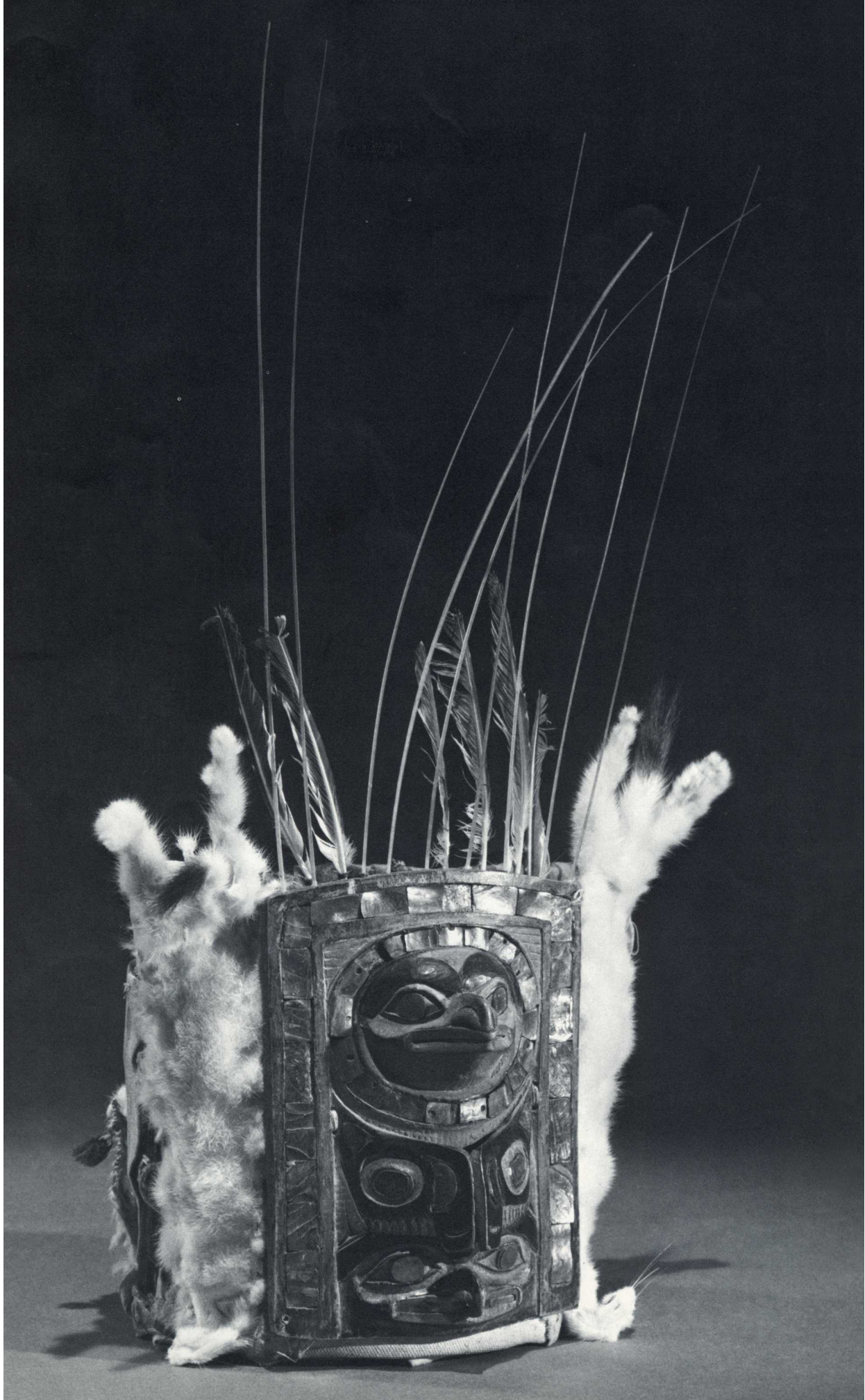
Wood, with red, green and black pigment, shell inlays, willow-band and stake frame with trade cloth and canvas, flicker feathers, sea lion whiskers, ermine skins, colored yarns, thread, deerskin panel and rawhide strap

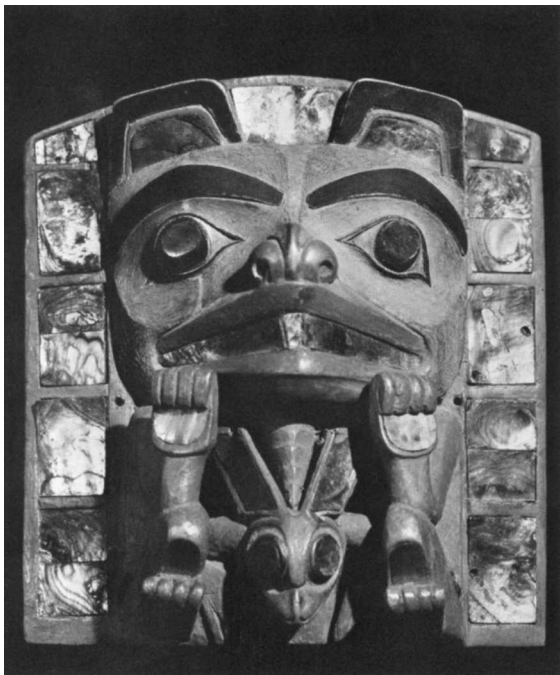
127 (50) HIGH

Collected from Chester Worthington at Yakutat, by Axel Rasmussen, 1933
Portland Art Museum, 48.3.433

An interesting parallel to the ermine train behind this headdress is provided by the Tlingit ermine shirt acquired from the Sitka Whale Collection by Louis Shotridge in 1925, for The University Museum (NA 10516, cited in No. 205), with the same decoration of tufts of polychrome commercial yarns, sewn on as color accents to the white skins.

C. D. L.





267 HEADDRESS FRONTLET
WITH A BEAR AND
ANOTHER ANIMAL

Wood, with red, green and black pigment and shell inlays; traces of braided fiber lashings

15.5 (6 1/8) HIGH

Gift of Princess Gourielli, 1950

The Brooklyn Museum, 50.158

268 CEREMONIAL HEADDRESS

Wood, with red, black and green polychrome, shell and mirrored glass inlays, willow-band and stake frame with trade cloth, canvas, and buttons, sea lion whiskers, rabbit fur, eagle down, ermine skins, thread and modern string, wire and nails

188 (74) HIGH

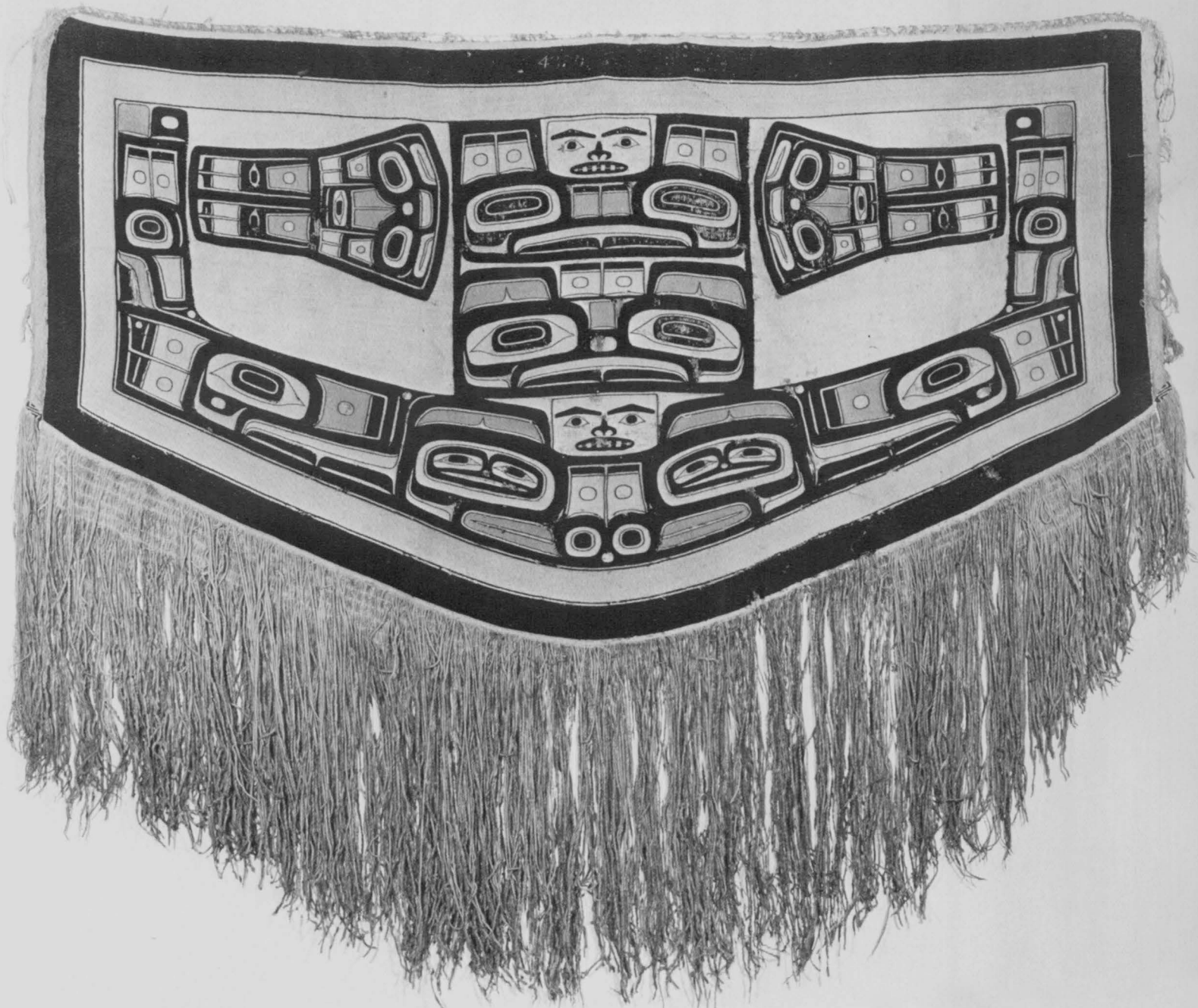
Collected by George Terasaki
Glenbow-Alberta Institute,

AA-1006-111

This elaborate headdress is unusual in the length of the cascading ermine that falls like a cape down the back of the wearer. Such a headdress was traditionally worn at potlatches by men and women of noble birth. The animal or bird figures on the front supposedly represented the crest of the wearer.

F. de L.





269 MANTLE

Mountain goat wool, dyed brown, yellow, green and white, on a warp of braided cedar-bark fiber, thread, and rawhide tying strap

170 (67) LONG

Chilkat

Collected by Capt. Robert Bennet Forbes

Museum collection, 1832

Peabody Museum of Salem, E 3648

One of the oldest surviving examples of this classic type of "Chilkat blanket," this specimen was probably already an heirloom when collected during the first third of the 19th century. Its design is unusual in depicting, at left and right top center, two of the trapezoidal objects called "coppers," hammered sheets of that metal sometimes worked in low relief (but more often painted) with designs such as these, and said to have

formed a medium of exchange between Tlingit chiefs. The only large "copper" surviving in good condition and with designs as elaborate as those reproduced here, however, seems to be the one collected at Sitka by J. G. Swan before 1876 for the Smithsonian Institution (No. 20 778, 37 in. long), and now on permanent exhibition at the National Museum of Natural History.

C. D. L.



270 MANTLE*

Mountain goat wool dyed brown,
yellow and blue, woven on a warp
of wool and braided cedar-bark fibers;
deerskin tying straps

170 (67) LONG

Chilkat

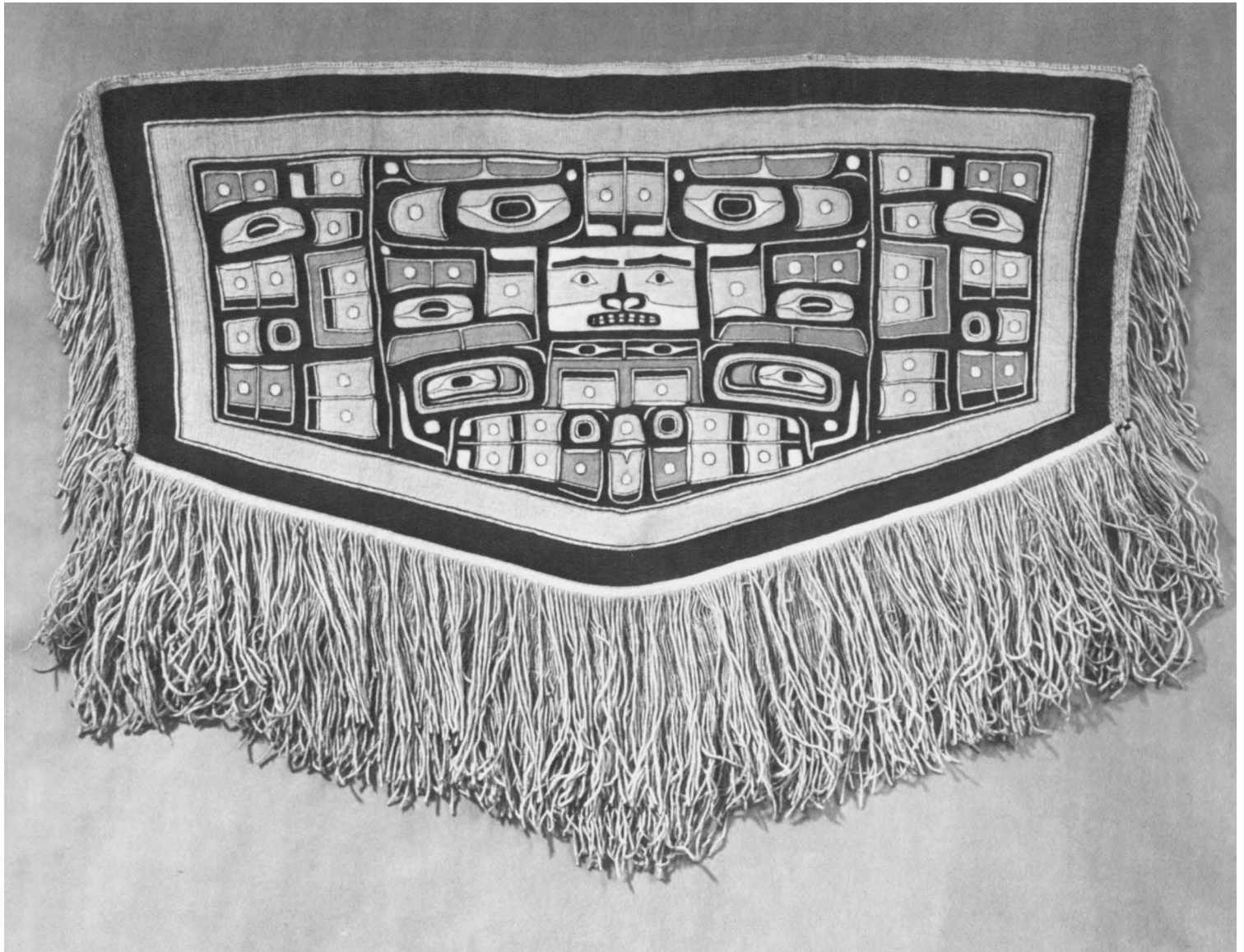
Collected by Lt. G. T. Emmons,
U. S. Navy

Presented to the Museum by F. W.
Clarke, agent of the Interior De-
partment, 1894

Smithsonian Institution, 168 292

This beautifully preserved "Chilkat
blanket," with its natural colors only
slightly faded, may be compared for
the greater subtlety and refinement of
its designs with the similar but more
recent example following.

C. D. L.



271 MANTLE WITH KILLER
WHALE CREST DESIGN

Mountain goat wool dyed brown,
yellow and blue, woven on a warp of
wool with braided cedar-bark fibers

170 (67) WIDE

Collected by Louis Shotridge, 1923
Museum Expedition collection
University Museum, Philadelphia,
NA 9484

272 MANTLE WITH TWO
MONSTERS AND CREST
DESIGNS*

Buckskin, with red and black pigment,
skin and fur, sinew threads, and
rawhide tying straps

160 (63) WIDE

Kaigani Haida, Prince of Wales Island
Smithsonian Institution, 20 807



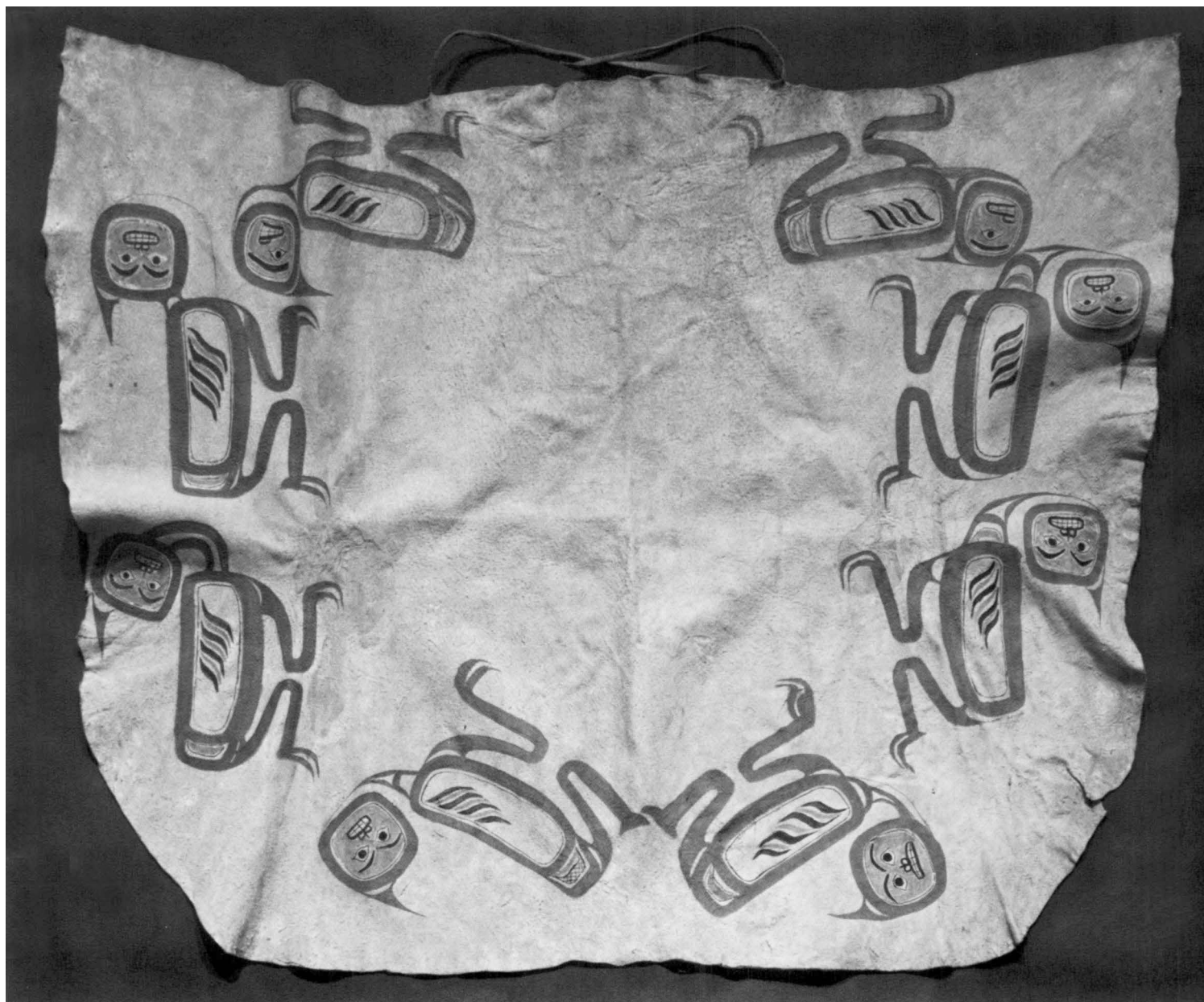
273 MANTLE WITH PAINTED
BORDER OF EIGHT
ANIMALS

Buckskin, with red, green and black
pigment (integral tying straps)

155 (61) WIDE

Collected by Edward G. Fast,
1867-68

Museum purchase, 1869
Peabody Museum, Harvard University,
69-30-10/2081





274 CEREMONIAL SHIRT WITH
GEOMETRIC AND CREST
DESIGNS

Buckskin, with red, green, black, and
white pigment, sinew and fiber thread,
and trade cloth

155 (61) WIDE

Collected by Miss Grace Nicholson

Gift of Lewis H. Farlow, 1904

Peabody Museum, Harvard University,

04-10-10/62978

Said to have been worn by "Sitka
Jack" at his potlatch in 1877, this
shirt is of unusual interest both for
the elaboration of its painted crest
designs and also for the similarity of
its eight-pointed pendants, front and
back, with those of the octopus bags
collected at about this time among the
Tlingit (see Nos. 203 and 204).

C. D. L.

275 CEREMONIAL SHIRT OR
ARMOR

Doubled layers of buckskin, the outer
with black, red and green pigment,
the two joined by rawhide lashings
and straps

93 (36 5/8) HIGH

Collected at Sitka by J. J. Bischoff

Donated by the collector in 1859

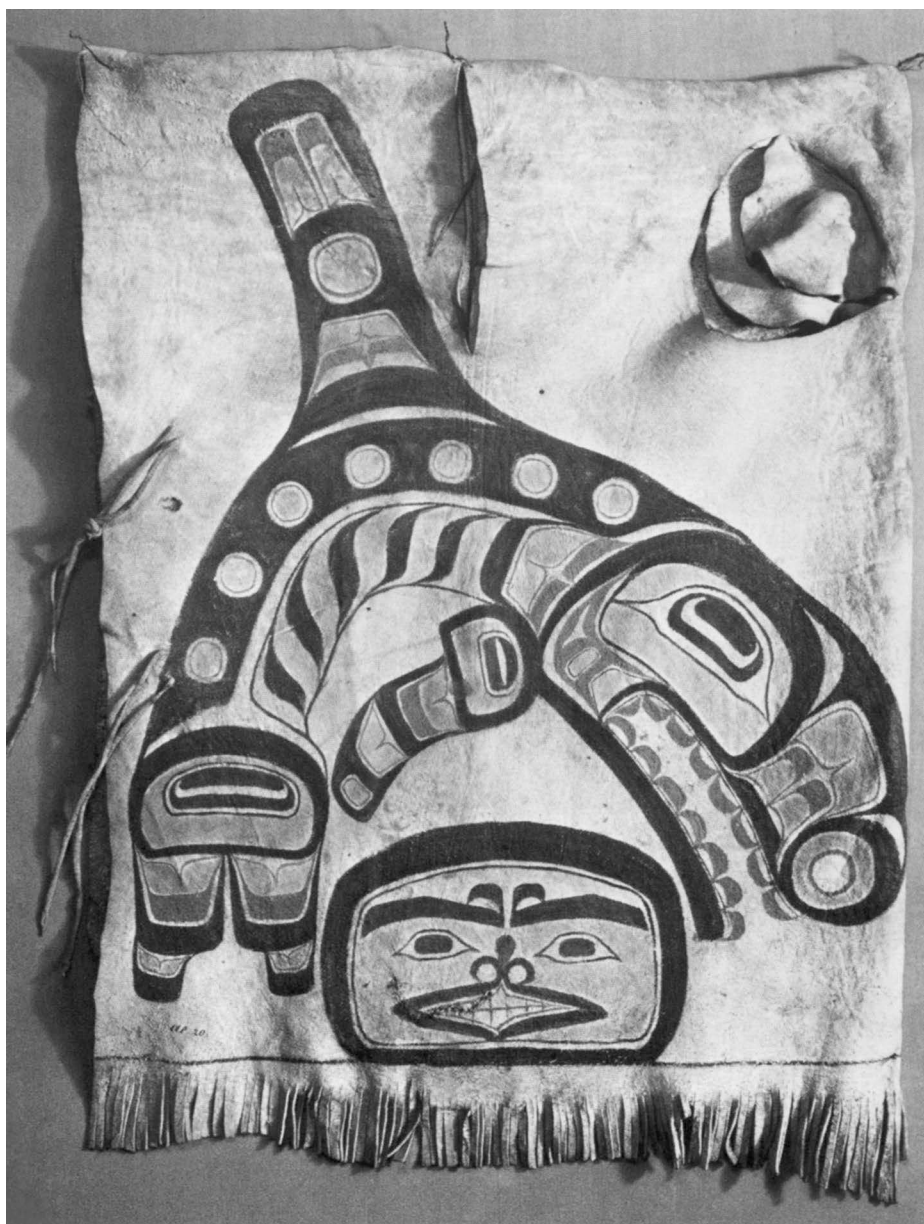
Bernisches Historisches Museum, A1-20

This sleeveless vest or mantle has been
identified both as armor and as a
ceremonial costume; possibly it func-
tioned as both.

The painted decoration clearly
portrays a jumping killer whale,
probably the crest of the Kagwantan
or Wushkitan (*Wuckitan*), both
clans of the Wolf moiety. The human
face below may be simply the
anthropomorphized rendering of a
rock.

Feder, *Two Hundred Years of North Ameri-
can Indian Art*, no. 40.

F. de L.





276 CEREMONIAL SHIRT OR
ARMOR WITH CREST
DESIGN

Doubled layers of buckskin, black,
blue-green and red pigment, the two
joined by sinew threads and rawhide
straps

97 (38 1/4) HIGH

Collected at Sitka by Ilia G.

Vosnesenski, 1843-44

Museum of Anthropology and

Ethnography, Leningrad, 2454-10

This shirt may represent the raven,
although identification is uncertain.
The fringing suggests an Athabaskan
origin for the material, or perhaps
simply Athabaskan influence; the shirt
may, therefore, have come from the
Chilkat.

Siebert, Smirnova, and Forman, *North
American Indian Art*, pl. 96.

F. de L.

277 CEREMONIAL MANTLE
WITH CREST ANIMAL

Buckskin, with black, green and red
pigment, dyed porcupine quills, and
fiber

64.5 (25 3/8) HIGH

Collected, possibly from Klukwan, by

Louis Shotridge, 1917

University Museum, Philadelphia,

NA 5770

The mantle is painted to represent the
crest animal of the wearer, so that the
head and forelimbs fall on the chest,
while the tail and fins or wings fall
on the back. The crest cannot be
identified, being possibly a composite
creature like a sea wolf.

F. de L.



278 MANTLE WITH STYLIZED
FACES

Woven cedar bark, with black, green
and red pigment

90 (35 1/2) WIDE

Prince of Wales or Queen Charlotte
Islands; Victor Justice Evans
Collection

Bequest of the collector,
26 March 1931

Smithsonian Institution, 361 033

279 CEREMONIAL COAT

Mountain goat wool, dyed black, blue
and yellow, land otter fur, com-
mercial yarn and thread

155 (61) WIDE

Collected from "Situk Jim" at
Yakutat by Axel Rasmussen, ap-
parently before 1912

Portland Art Museum, 48.3.548

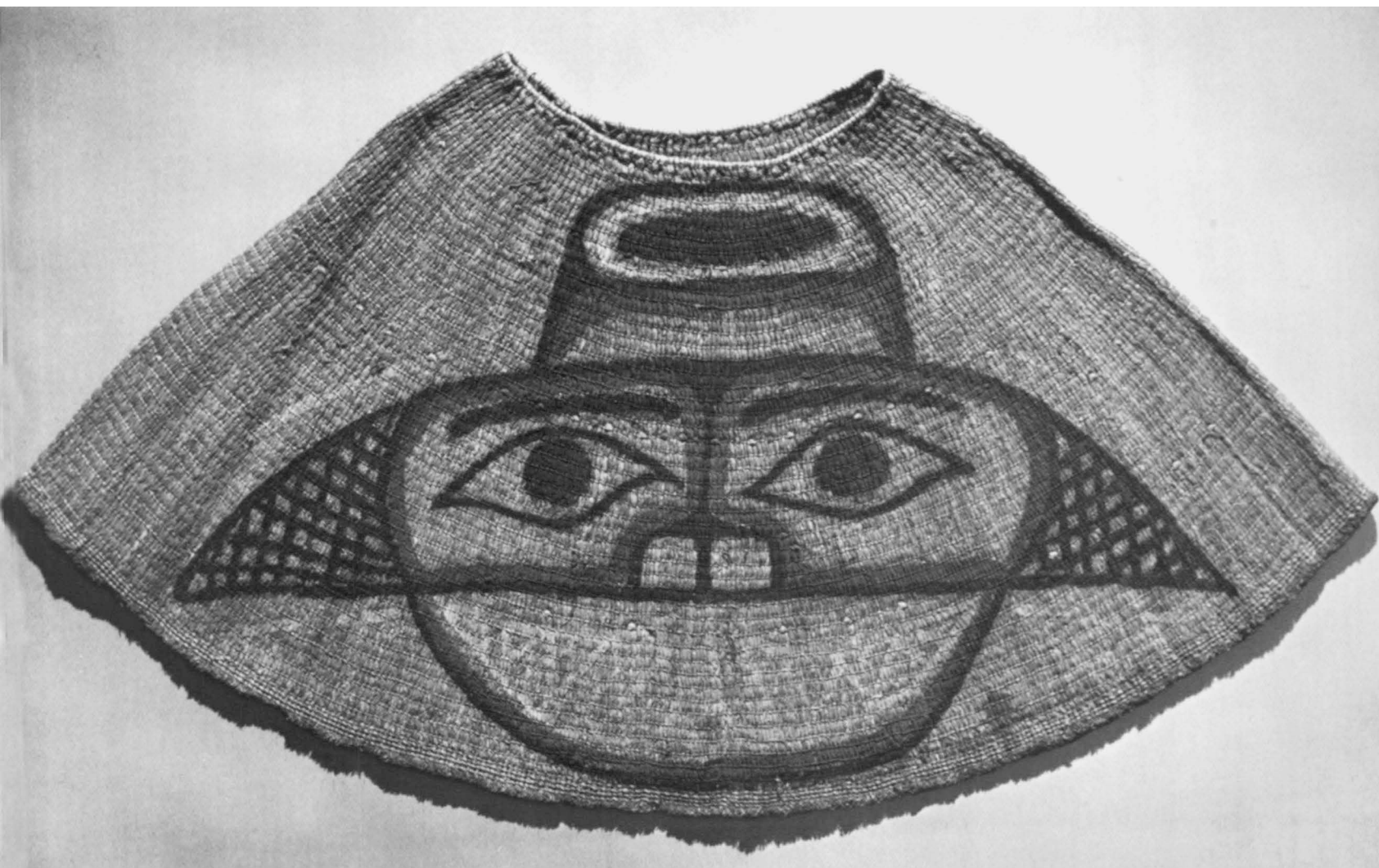
Two gussets of land otter fur have
been let into the sides of the coat
because it was too small for the
wearer. This use of land otter fur in
a garment is most unusual, since the
animal is feared for its evil super-
natural powers, and to wear even a
small piece of its hide or sinew is to
risk being captured by a Land Otter
Man.

The design as a whole represents
the Brown Bear, the most important
crest of the Tekwedi clan. The three
central faces are those of the Bear, of
the Tlingit woman who married the
Bear, and, below, their cub child. On
the back of the coat is an inverted
face which signifies that the wearer
will soon invite his hosts to a potlatch.
Thus, this garment would be one
worn by the Tekwedi chief when he
was a guest at a potlatch given by a
Raven clan.

Davis, *Native Arts of the Pacific Northwest*,
no. 25.

de Laguna, *Yakutat Tlingit*, pl. 145.

F. de L.





280 SHAMAN'S COMB WITH
ANIMAL SPIRITS

Wood

14.6 (5 3/4) HIGH

Collected near Yakutat by Professor
William S. Libbey of Princeton
University, 1886

Princeton University Museum of
Natural History, PU 5056

The spirit face carved in low relief on
the back of the comb, as opposed to
those in high relief on the front, is
represented upside down, on both
this and the following example; it
may be compared also with the in-
verted spirit or human face on the
front of the Leningrad collar,
No. 330.

C. D. L.

281 SHAMAN'S COMB WITH
FIGURES AND FACES OF
ANIMAL SPIRITS

Wood, with traces of dark pigment

14.3 (5 5/8) HIGH

American Museum of Natural History,
E/2557



TLINGIT SHAMANS

FREDERICA DE LAGUNA

THESE "doctors" were the intermediaries between ordinary men and the forces of nature. The shaman could control the weather, bring success in war or on the hunt, find lost persons, and cure the sick. The latter was accomplished by exposing the witch responsible for the illness and forcing him to undo his spell. Each shaman was aided by several familiar spirits (*yek*) that might appear to him in animal or bird form while he was fasting in the woods during his novitiate. There is some reason to believe that these creatures were actually ghosts in animal form. The most powerful were the land otter, bear and octopus, as well as spirits in the sky, mountains or glaciers.

A shaman inherited these spirits and powers from a predecessor in his clan, usually a mother's brother. It meant death to refuse the call. A dead shaman was never burned, as were ordinary persons, but his corpse and outfit were set in a gravehouse or box, far from the village, beside which a figure of a guardian spirit was set. The new shaman might use all of his predecessor's masks and other ceremonial attire or have new articles made for himself. When performing, the shaman was possessed by one or another of his spirits in turn, speaking in its voice and language, and wearing the mask, forehead mask, or special facepaint appropriate to each one. He usually was naked, except for an apron and a necklace of rattling charms; but since he had to fight witches or even shamans from an enemy tribe he sometimes wore armor, a war bonnet, and carried knives or war clubs. A Tlingit war party was always accompanied by its shaman.

The shaman's power was bound up in his long, unkempt hair which, if cut, meant he would lose it and perhaps die.

Most of the shamans' material in this exhibition was obtained from heathen priests after baptism, or from shamans' graves which were looted by foreign collectors.



284 SHAMAN'S CHARM:
PECTORAL ORNAMENT

Ivory

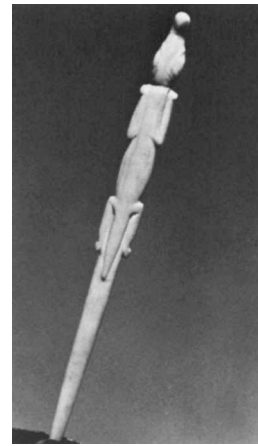
11.7 (4 5/8) LONG

Collected in Port Frederick near
Hoonah, Chichagof Island
Museum of the American Indian,
Heye Foundation, 9/7953

Although no exact provenance is given for this piece, it resembles the bone and ivory charms collected by George T. Emmons from shamans' graves in the Yakutat and Dry Bay areas, before 1888. Such carvings represented the spirits which the shaman may have seen in dreams; they were attached to his necklace or dance cape, or hung at his neck. Sometimes he touched them to the patient's body when attempting a cure.

The way in which this charm was usually worn is illustrated by the central neck ornament with subsidiary pendants belonging to a Tsimshian shaman (Feder 1971, no. 33). Tlingit shamans often had Tsimshian-speaking spirits and so imported such Tsimshian charms.

de Laguna, *Yakutat Tlingit*, pls. 182, 183.
F. de L.



282 SHAMAN'S HAIRPIN:
A LAND OTTER

Ivory

11.5 (4 1/2) LONG

Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum,
Cologne, 6509

This ivory pin is carved to represent a land otter, one of the animals most commonly associated with the shaman. It was probably used to pin up his long, uncombed, ropelike locks. These he would let down during shamanistic rituals, when they were believed to move of themselves, as if endowed with separate lives. At other times, and as he lay in death, his hair was pinned up.

F. de L.

283 SHAMAN'S CHARM: KILLER
WHALE WITH SPIRIT
FACE

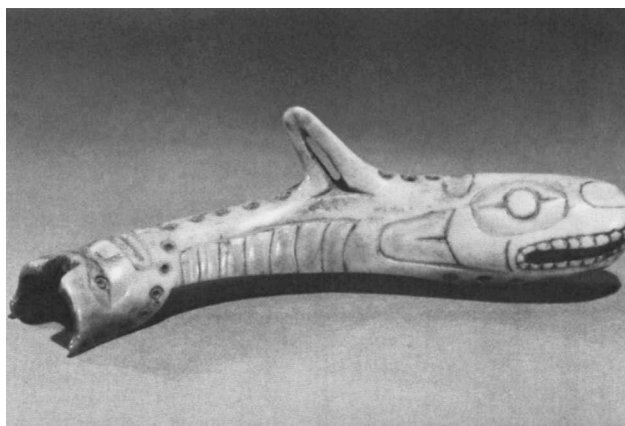
Walrus ivory

13.5 (5 5/16) LONG

Collected by Lord Bossom, c. 1900

Museum collection, 1955

National Museum of Man, Ottawa,
VII.A.252





285 SHAMAN'S GRAVE
GUARDIAN: A SPIRIT-
FIGURE OR YAKE

Wood, with brown, green, red, and black pigment, opercula teeth, human hair and eagle down

59.7 (23 1/2) HIGH (above modern base)

Collected from a shaman's grave near Yakutat by Lt. G. T. Emmons, U. S. Navy, 1882-87

American Museum of Natural History, 19/378

This figure originally gripped spirit knives or wands in the act of striking. Placed at the head of a shaman's corpse, it served as a private guard or *yake*. It protected the grave from hostile spirits and was considered so powerful that only a few Tlingit, and only those who had taken up European ways, dared approach it. The wolf's head protruding from the figure's chest and the bears' heads on each knee symbolize subsidiary protective powers. The figure wears a shaman's war hat, and the base on which he stood, now missing, is described as carved like a seal, indicating that the spirit did not walk, but could glide through the air as easily as a seal through water.

de Laguna, *Yakutat Tlingit*, pl. 169; Fraser, *Primitive Art*, pl. 179; Harner and Elsasser, *Art of the Northwest Coast*, fig. 61.

F. de L. and E. C.



286 SHAMAN'S SPIRIT-FIGURE
Wood, with brown and black pigment,
human hair, feathers, and twine;
modern repair to exposed rib cage

42 (16 1/2) LONG

Museum purchase, Frank L. Babbott
Fund

The Brooklyn Museum, 62.82

The supporting panel in the shape of
a wide-mouthed fish preserves traces
of a pencil inscription in a 19th-
century hand, with extensive comment
on the skeletal spirit-figure and fish
iconography, now mostly indecipher-
able.

C. D. L.

287 FIGUREHEAD OF A WAR CANOE

Cedar, with black, green and red pigment, shell inlays, and human hair; strengthened with wood and metal

99 (39) LONG

Carved as the prow figure for the canoe of Jinsatiyi of the Land Otter House; collected from the Eagles' Nest House at Sitka by Louis Shotridge, 1918

Museum Expedition collection
University Museum, Philadelphia,
NA 8500

The figure represents the dreaded Land Otter Man, a creature that "captures" or "saves" those who drown or are lost in the woods, transforming them into land otters like

themselves. The land otter is considered the most powerful source of shamanistic power.

This prow ornament was made to decorate the canoe of Jinsatiyi, a brave warrior of the Tluknaxadi (Silver Salmon), a Raven clan of Sitka. All canoes of important persons, such as house chiefs, have personal names and are decorated with totemic crests.

Thus, the Sitka guests came to Klukwan in Chilkat country in the Sea Lion canoe of the Tluknaxadi, the Frog Canoe of the Kiksdí, and the Coho Salmon Canoe of the Katka'ayi—all Raven clans and guests. Jinsatiyi was given the Land Otter Man Canoe, with this emblem, to commemorate his brave deeds, rights to which would be inherited in his maternal line.

Louis Shotridge, "Land Otter-Man," *The University Museum Journal*, 13, (1922), pp. 55-9.
Gunter, *Northwest Coast Indian Art*, no. 41, p. 63.
Dockstader, *Indian Art in America*, see # 81, a figure of the Land Otter Man.
F. de L.



288 FROG, CLAN EMBLEM OF
THE LUKNAXADI (COHO
SALMON CLAN)

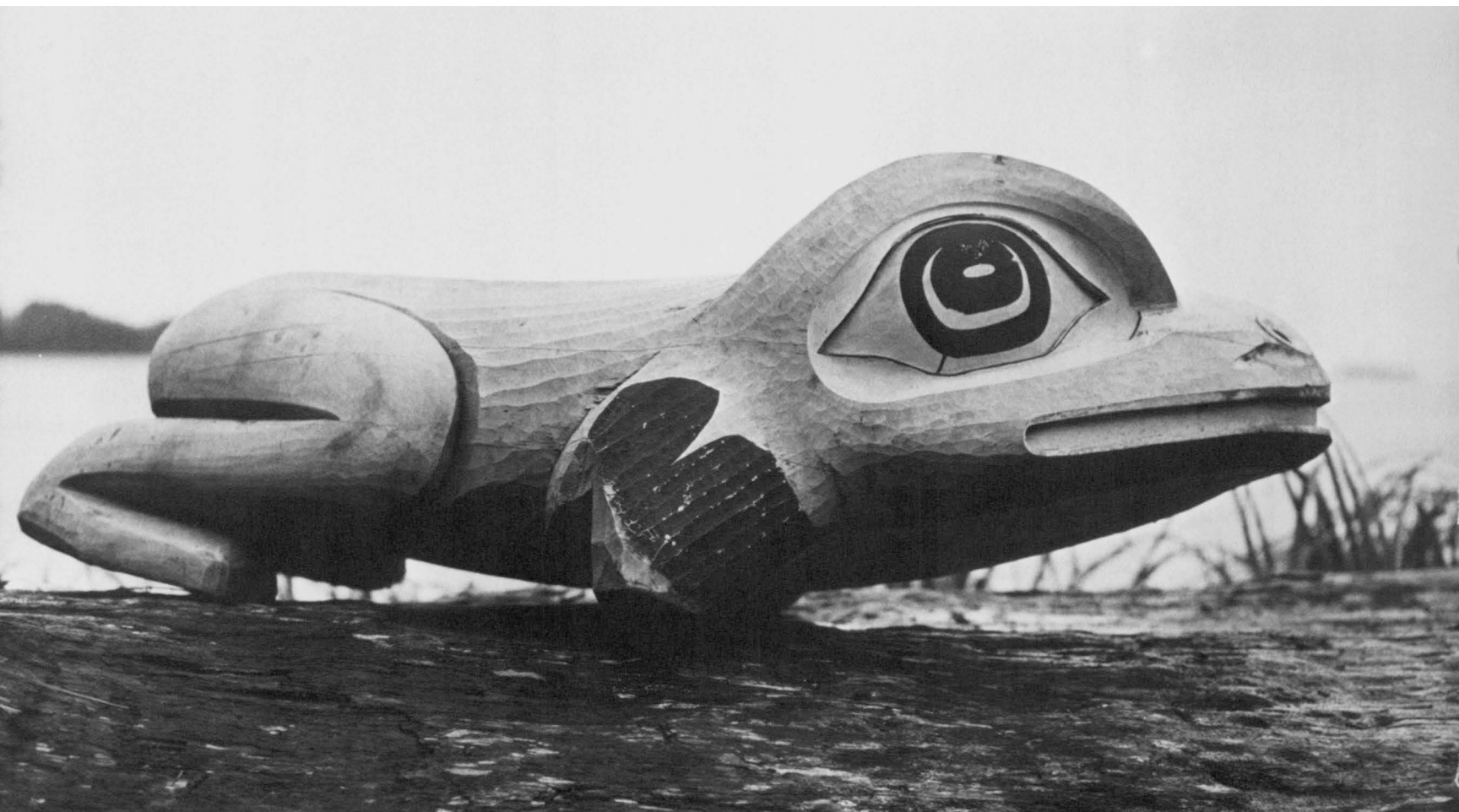
Wood, with black and white pigment

134.5 (53) LONG

Carved at Sitka for the Coho Salmon
clan, 1902

Long-term loan from the Luknaxadi
clan

Sitka National Monument, 762



289 SCULPTURAL GROUP:
 OWL MAN PERCHED IN
 THE SIDE OF A CROW

Wood, with red, green, black and
 white pigment, human hair

49.5 (19 1/2) HIGH

Carved at Yakutat c. 1891; collected
 there from Billy Jackson of the
 Kwashkwan clan, by W. J. Carruthers,
 1936; Axel Rasmussen Collection
 Portland Art Museum, 48.3.354

This image was carved to commemo-
 rate the death of a Yakutat man
 killed about 1891 at Icy Bay when a
 tree fell on him. His body was found
 when someone noticed the gathering
 of crows.

The victim evidently belonged to
 the Kwashkwan (*Kwackqwan*)
 (Humpback Salmon) clan, for the
 human image has the body of an owl
 and perches on a crow or raven, both
 crests of his clan. The image was
 carved from the tree that killed him.
 At each of several feasts given in his
 memory, this Owl Man, decorated with
 a new ribbon, was placed on the table.

Davis, *Native Arts of the Pacific Northwest*,
 pl. V in color.

Dockstader, *Indian Art in America*, frontis-
 piece in color.

de Laguna, *Yakutat Tlingit*, pl. 167.

F. de L.





291 MASK OF A GIRL WITH MOVEABLE EYES

Wood, with red and black pigment
26.7 (10 1/2) HIGH
Perhaps Tsimshian or Haida, made for
Tlingit use? (See No. 295 below)
Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde,
Rotterdam, 34789

This remarkable mask is apparently a portrait of a young girl. What is most unusual about it is that the eyes are moveable, a feature not typical of Tlingit masks, although a few exceptions are known. Masks with moving parts, elaborately manipulated by strings are characteristic of the Kwakiutl, and are used especially in secret society dances. Some features of these dances have been adopted by both the Tsimshian and southern Tlingit, as special performances put on at potlatches. Since the Tlingit admired Tsimshian woodcarving, indeed all Tsimshian art, it is never possible to be sure that a piece collected from the Tlingit was actually made by them. Possibly this mask was actually of Tsimshian manufacture, since the latter were noted for their portrait masks. The Haida, however, are also known to have made at least one realistic mask of a non-Indian woman with moveable eyes, a mask which closely resembles the present specimen. The Haida mask was collected at Masset, Queen Charlotte Island, before 1890. (Lowie Museum of Anthropology, No. 2-15549).

Harner and Elsasser, *Art of the Northwest Coast*, p. 106.

F. de L.

Illustrated in color

290 CROUCHING HUMAN FIGURE

Wood, with green, red, and black pigment, human hair, fox fur, metal rings, glass beads with polychrome metal or foil inlay

86 (33 7/8) HIGH

Collected by the Alaska Commercial Company before 1898

Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, 2-4814

The exact provenance of this piece is unknown, but it resembles closely in style the Sitka canoe prow ornament representing the Land Otter Man

(No. 287). The fur wristlets, the crouching position, suggestive of an animal, and especially the clawlike fingers suggest that this represents an unfortunate human being transformed into a Land Otter Man, but his body is not yet covered with fur.

Harner and Elsasser, *Art of the Northwest Coast*, p. 95.

Drucker, *Cultures of the Northwest Coast*, pl. 13 (in color).

F. de L.



292 MASK OF A WOMAN
Wood, with red, brown, black and
traces of white pigment and rawhide
strap

22.2 (8 3/4) HIGH
Collected by Rev. Sheldon Jackson,
1882

Princeton University Museum of
Natural History, PU 3924

A very similar mask in the same
collection (PU 3961), with com-
parable red foliate tattoos in a simpler
pattern, displays the same sensitivity
and realistic modeling as the present
example (fig. i).

C. D. L.

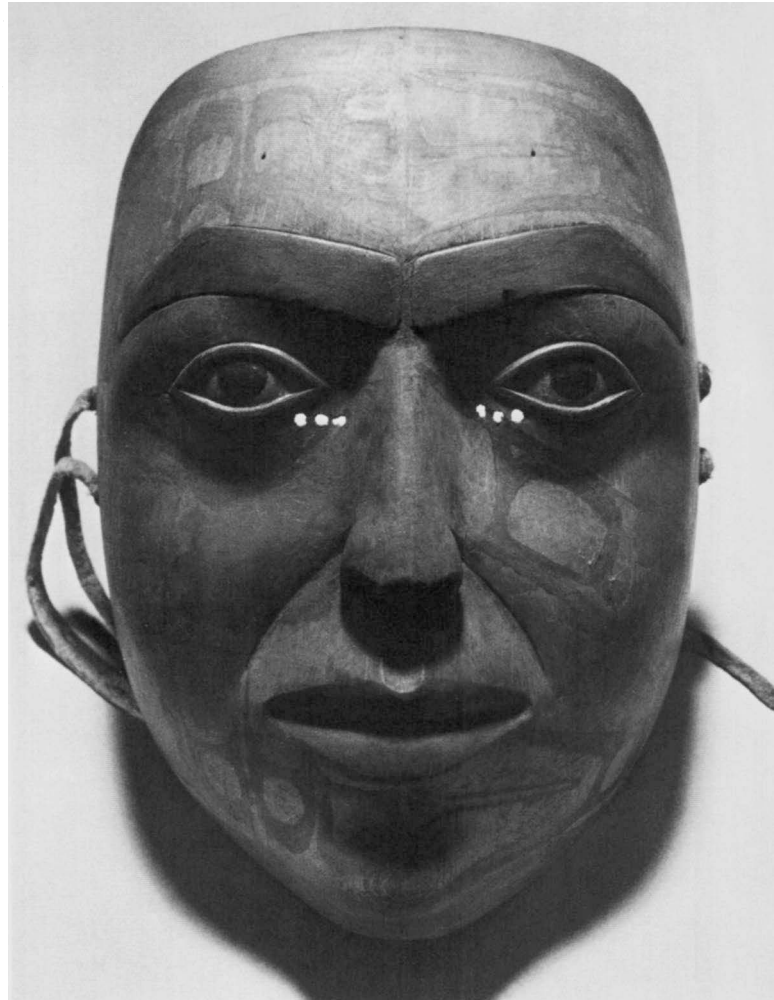
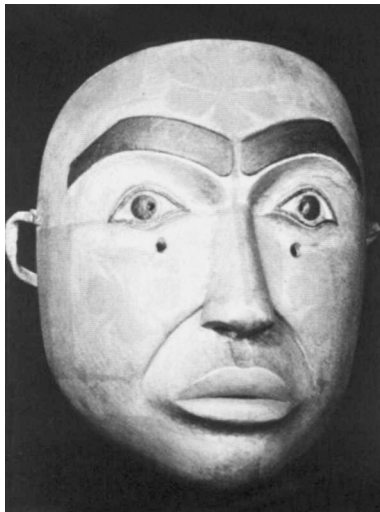
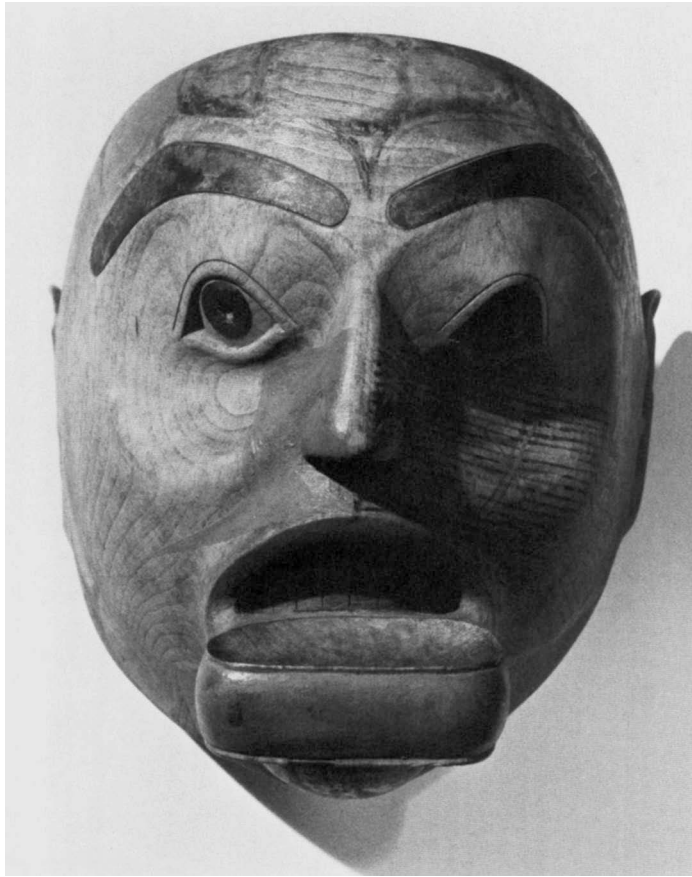


figure i





295 MASK OF A WOMAN
WITH LABRET

Wood, with red, green, and black pigment

19 (7 1/2) HIGH

Collected by Lt. Wilkes, U. S. Navy
Exploring Expedition, 1838-42
Smithsonian Institution, 2 666

Although Lt. Wilkes is not recorded as having collected specimens in Alaskan territory, the close similarities of this mask with the three cited in No. 294 (which have been variously identified as Tlingit or Haida, and one of which is inscribed with the name presumably of a Tlingit woman) would suggest that the present piece was produced in the same area, and perhaps by the same master carver. The fame of such masters and the degree to which their best works were prized would not make it surprising that this mask might have been traded or presented as a gift, and migrated

from its point of origin, to "N. W. Coast Am." where Lt. Wilkes collected it according to the inscription on the mask. It is in fact postulated here that the present mask may represent a later phase in the personal style of a Tlingit or Haida master carver, whose works were already being collected by Yankee voyagers in 1826-27.

Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, 3rd Annual Report, 20, fig. 45, p. 185.

C. D. L.

294 MASK OF A WOMAN
WITH LABRET:
"JENNA CASS"

Wood, with red, green, black and slight traces of white pigment

25.4 (10) HIGH

Collected by J. Goodwin, 1826

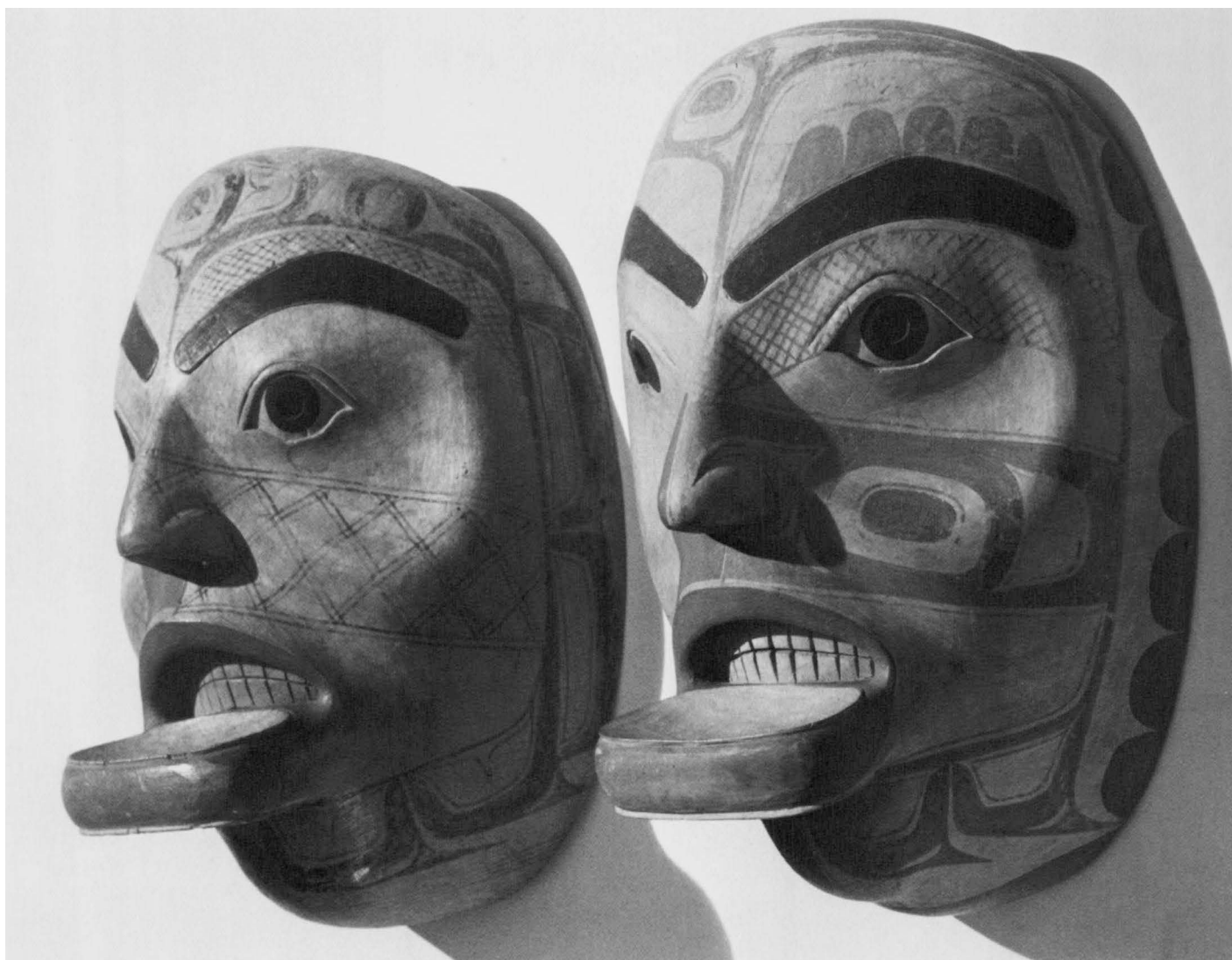
Exchange from the American
Antiquarian Society of Worcester,
1910

Peabody Museum, Harvard University,
10-47-10/76826

Inscribed in ink within, presumably
by the collector, and with his
autograph:

*A correct likeness of
Jenna Cass, a high chief woman
of the North west Coast
J. Goodwin Esq.*

The inscription inside this mask, presumably in Goodwin's hand, together with the coincidence of its date of collection within a year of the preceding example (No. 293), and their similarity in material, execution, physiognomy and color; and the slightly different but closely related Smithsonian example (No. 295) and a virtually identical example in the British Museum (55.12-20.195), may elucidate some of the problems posed by this extraordinary group. Are these four masks all shaman's emblems of female spirits, or are they portraits? In what sense and to what degree are they "correct likenesses" of a "high chief woman?" Or are they composite, generalized or idealized? The differences in their tattooed decoration, symbolic animal forms on the Salem and British Museum examples and more simple geometric stylizations on the Harvard and Smithsonian pieces, may represent variations in clan markings, as Professor de Laguna has postulated above. The Salem and British Museum examples are nearly identical in decoration, but not in size, the latter being slightly larger, and whereas the size and carving of the Salem and Harvard examples are very close, they differ somewhat in painted decoration.



With the unusual opportunity of this exhibition to place the masks from Salem and Harvard side by side, it is hard to resist the conclusion that they may have been carved by the same master.

A comparison with parallel examples, such as the women's masks from Princeton immediately preceding this series (No. 292), indicates that the group here assembled does not derive its impression of stylistic unity simply from stock responses to a prescribed pattern. Its quality seems to derive from the personal synthesis of one master carver, and its separate pieces reflect his own solutions to this series of individual characterizations.

C. D. L.

Illustrated in color

293 MASK OF A WOMAN

Wood, with red, green, black and traces of white pigment

26 (10 1/4) HIGH

Collected by Capt. Daniel Cross, 1827
Peabody Museum of Salem, E 3483

This is probably a shaman's mask, representing a female spirit wearing a large labret in the lower lip. The face is decorated with stylized painting. If the mask represents a deceased person, these designs would be the symbolic totemic emblems of the dead woman's clan. On the other hand, since spirits often appeared to the shaman in both animal and anthropomorphic guise, the design may symbolize the animal form in which the shaman first encountered this woman.

Female spirits are often said to be those dwelling in the sky, the clouds, and glaciers. Also, see the comments under Nos. 294 and 295.

F. de L.



296 MASK OF A MAN WITH
TATTOOS

Copper, with shell inlays and natural
verdigris, rawhide strap

20.4 (8) HIGH

Collected by B. A. Whalen, c. 1850
Museum of the American Indian,
Heye Foundation, 2146

Frederica de Laguna has postulated
that this piece may have been pro-
duced as a potlatch dance mask.

297 MASK OF A MAN WITH
TATTOOS AND PAINTED
CREST

Wood, with red, black, green and
white pigment, bearskin, operculum,
copper, rawhide strap, and nails

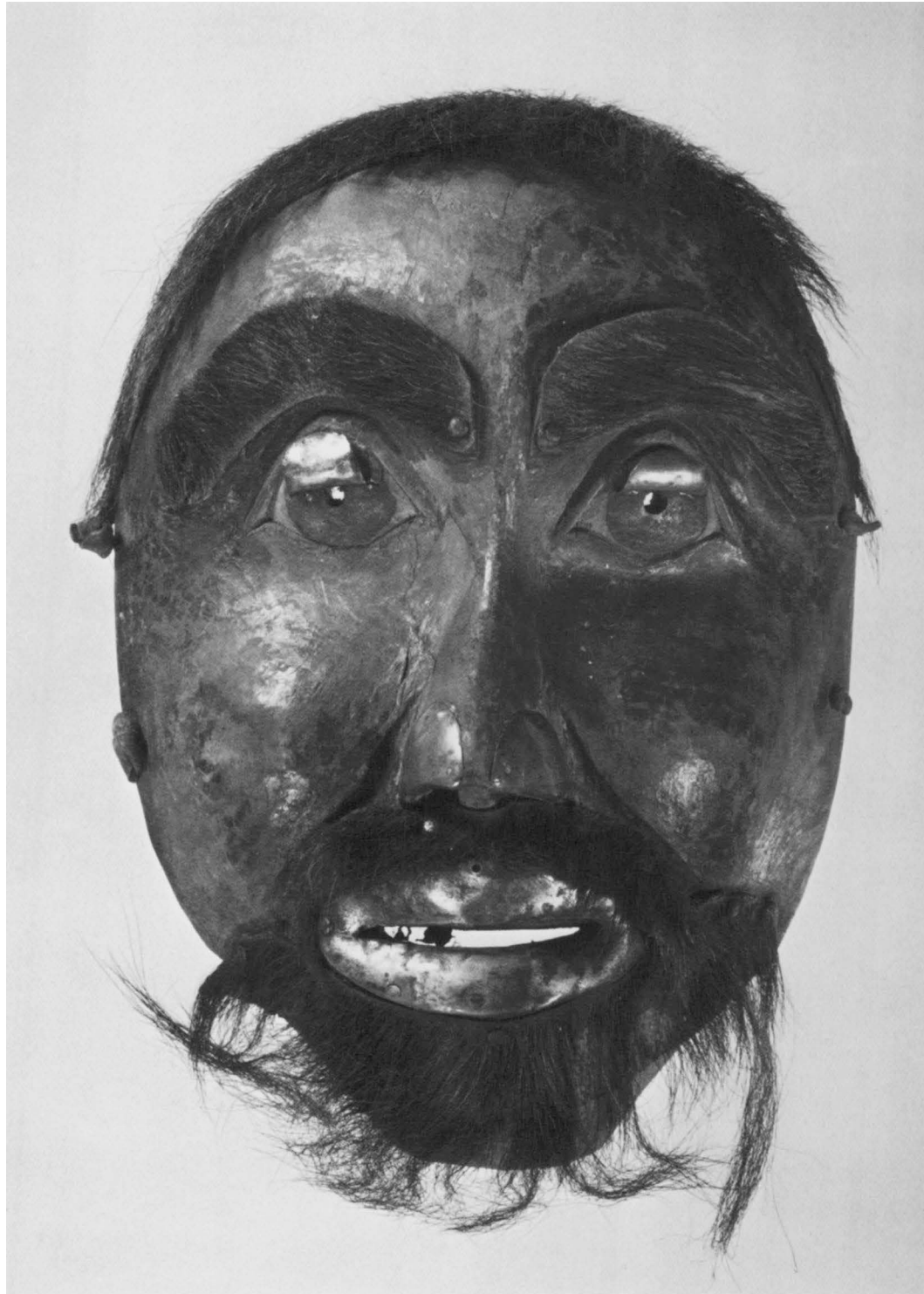
24.8 (9 3/4) HIGH

Collected at Sitka, c. 1883

Taylor Museum, Colorado Springs
Fine Arts Center, TM 5006



298 SHAMAN'S SPIRIT MASK:
HUMAN FACE WITH
ANIMAL HAIR*
Wood, with blue-green and black
pigment, copper, animal fur, rawhide
straps, and nails
32 (12 5/8) HIGH
Collected at Sitka by J. G. Swan
Smithsonian Institution, 18 929





300 SHAMAN'S SPIRIT MASK

Wood, with blue-green, brown, and black pigment, operculum, copper, and skin, with rawhide strap

21 (8 1/4) HIGH

Greenough Collection

Museum acquisition, 1908

Peabody Museum of Salem, E 16700

Of the original fur moustache and goatee only the bare skin remains.

This mask was undoubtedly that of a shaman who represented one of his familiar spirits as a man with deeply wrinkled face, or perhaps as one already dead with greenish pallor.

Gunther, *Northwest Coast Indian Art*, p. 37.

F. de L.

299 SHAMAN'S SPIRIT MASK

Wood, with blue, red, white, and black pigment, bearskin, human hair, rawhide strap, and nails

28 (11) HIGH

Angoon

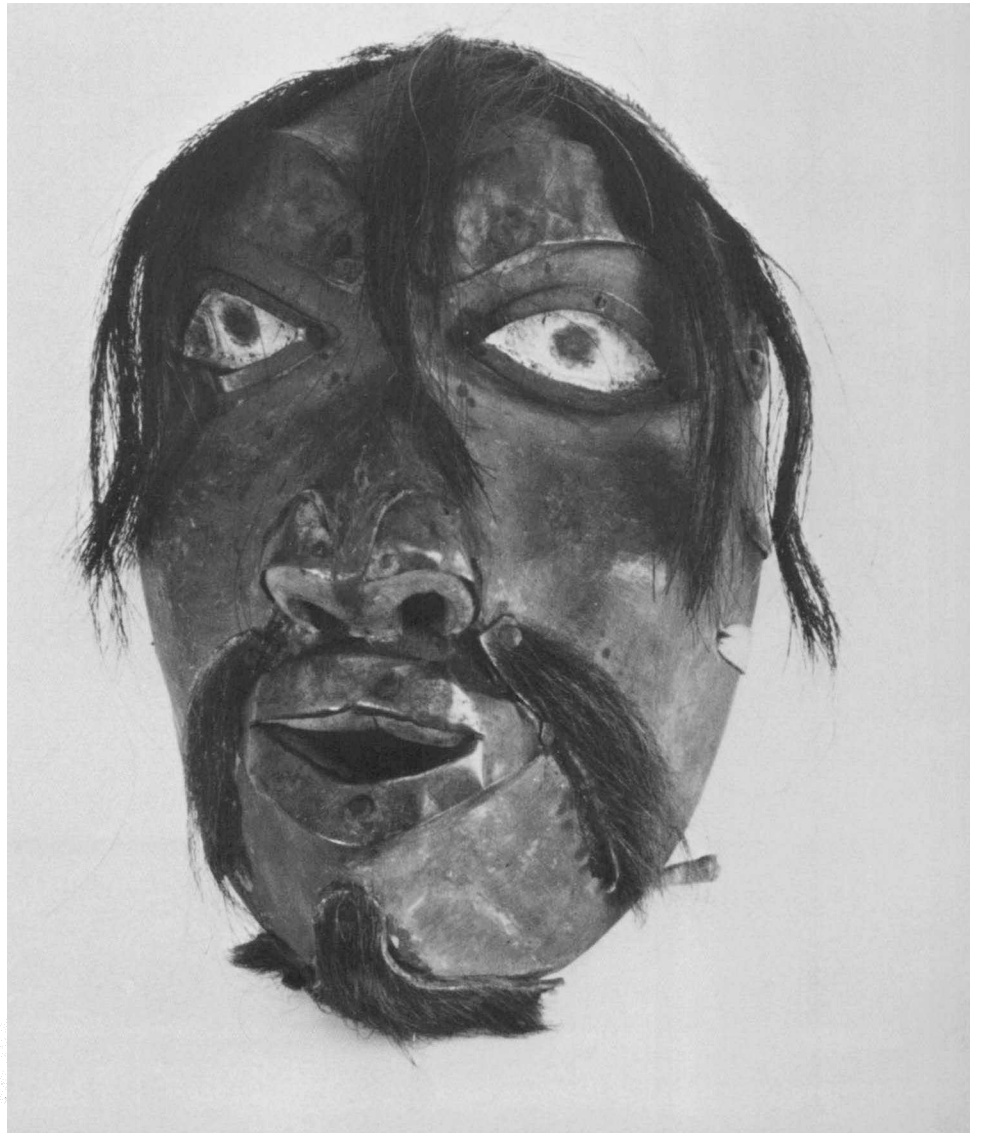
Collected from the Angoon Tlingit on Admiralty Island by G. Chudnovsky, 1890

Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Leningrad, 211-7

The open mouth, the hair on the face, and the blue color of the face all suggest that this mask represents a drowned man who is gradually assuming the animal shape of the Land Otter Man. Such a creature was often the shaman's strongest spirit helper.

Siebert, Smirnova, and Forman, *North American Indian Art*, pl. 6.

F. de L.



301 MASK

Wood, with blue, green, brown, white and black pigment, copper, animal skin, rawhide straps, nails and glue

24.7 (9 3/4) HIGH

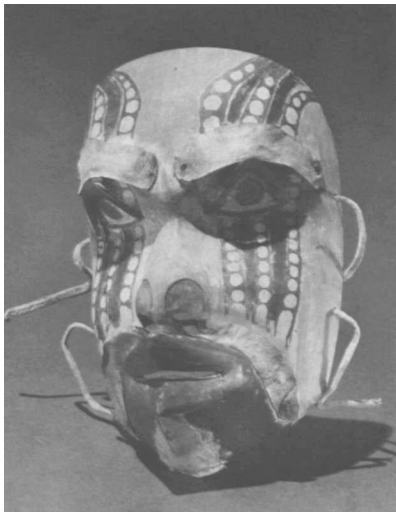
Collected from a shaman's grave near Port Mulgrave, Yakutat, by Professor William S. Libbey of Princeton University, 1886

Princeton University Museum of Natural History, PU 3923

This shaman's spirit mask, the one following, and the maskette and rattle, Nos. 310 and 349, were all collected from the same shaman's grave. This mask depicts a man with octopus face tattoos.

F. de L.

Illustrated in color



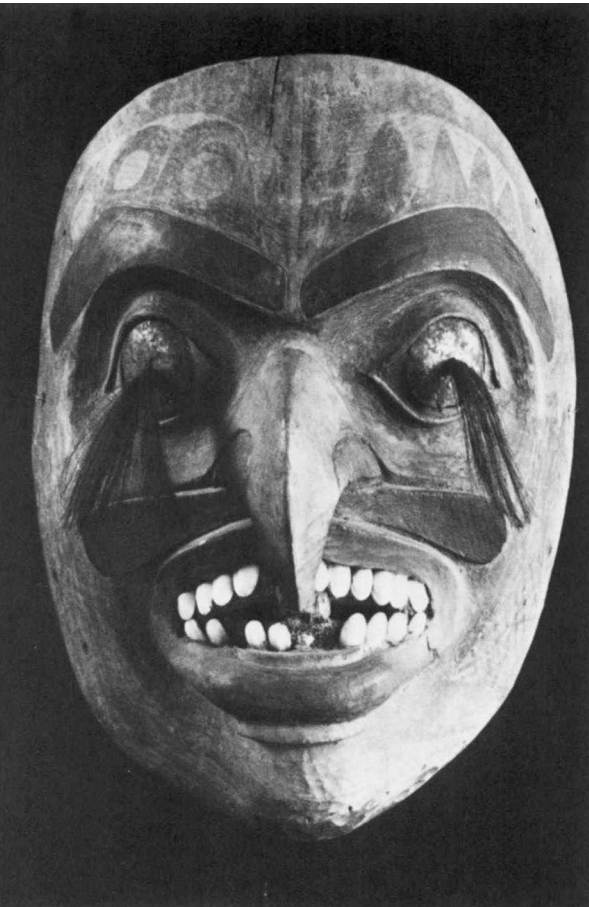
302 SHAMAN'S MASK: A HAWK

Wood, with black, brown, red, and greenish-white pigment, copper, rawhide strap, and glue

26.6 (10 1/2) HIGH

Collected from a shaman's grave near Port Mulgrave, Yakutat, by Professor William S. Libbey of Princeton University, 1886

Princeton University Museum of Natural History, PU 3911



303 SHAMAN'S MASK: A HAWK
Wood, with red, green, brown and
black pigment, operculum, copper,
and human hair

22.5 (8 7/8) HIGH

Museum of Anthropology and
Ethnography, Leningrad, 5795-26

This shaman's spirit mask, like
No. 302, is carved to represent the
spirit of a hawk. The face is largely
human, although the nose is a hawk's
beak. The teeth are opercula; the lips
are painted red, the lower lip being
made of a separate piece.

Siebert, Smirnova, and Forman, *North
American Indian Art*, pl. 11.

F. de L.



304 MASK

Wood, with blue-green, black, white
and tan pigment, black-painted
leather, braided fiber, and rawhide
straps

31.1 (12 1/4) LONG

Collected at Klukwan, on the Chilkat
River, from Steve Sheldon by Axel
Rasmussen, 1931

Portland Art Museum, 48.3.393

This mask was the property of the
Ganaxtedi (Raven clan) chief,
(Yetxak) "Yealh-hak," i.e., "Raven
Odor," a name used by the most
powerful Chilkat chiefs since 1788.
The mask represents a young raven
with moveable bill. The lower part
of the bill is hinged so that it can
be opened and closed by pulling a
sinew cord. Such a mask would be
worn in a potlatch, not used for a
shamanistic performance.

Harner and Elsasser, *Art of the Northwest
Coast*, p. 93.

Erna Gunther, *Indians of the Northwest
Coast*, Taylor Museum, Colorado Springs
Fine Arts Center.

Gunther, *Northwest Coast Indian Art*, no.
60.

Wardwell, *Yakutat South*, no. 73.

F. de L.



305 MASK

Wood, with green, red, black and white pigment, rawhide straps

20 (7 7/8) HIGH

Eyak Indian

Probably from the village of Alaganik, mouth of the Copper River; collected by Capt. Johan A. Jacobsen, 1882
Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, IV.A.6579

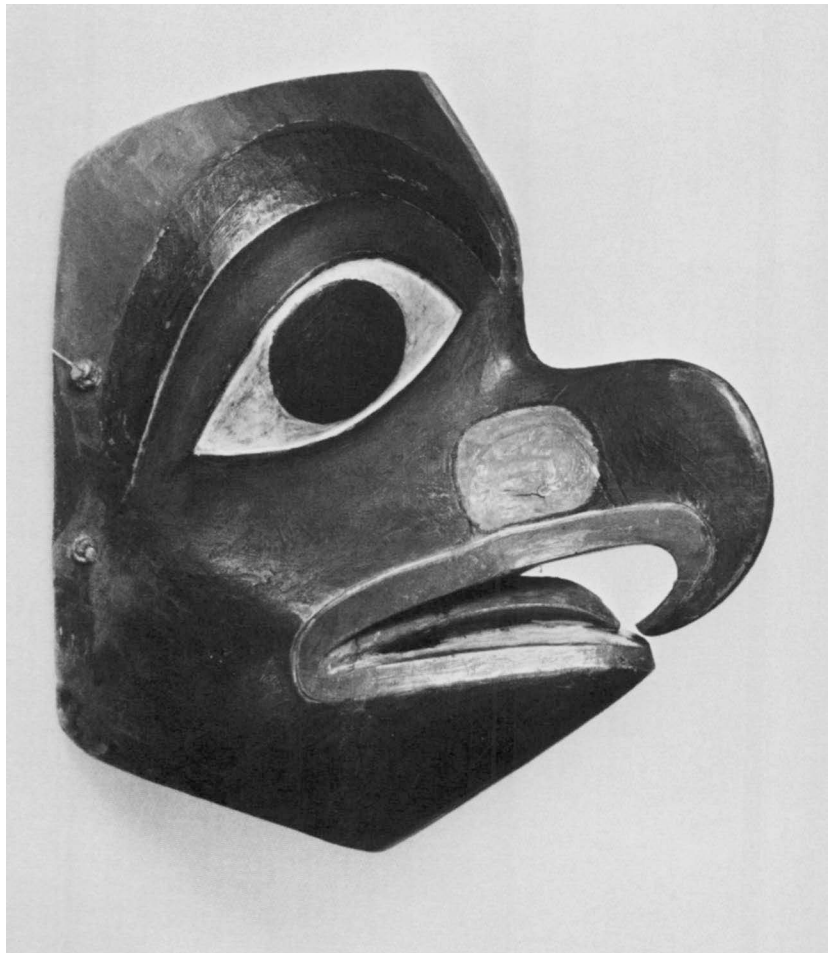
This dance mask probably represents the eagle, an important totemic crest of the Eyak. There are no eyeholes for the wearer of the mask, a common feature of Tlingit dance masks used in potlatches, when the confined space in the house permits little movement other than motions imitating the crest bird or animal portrayed by the mask. Often the dancer stands on a bench, his body hidden by a blanket, and dances by moving his head.

The Eyak, never a large tribe and now all but extinct, were already decimated by disease as early as 1882. Since the 18th century they had adopted many customs from their more powerful Tlingit neighbors on the coast to the east. These included many features connected with ceremonialism, perhaps crests and masks of this type. Both tribes were divided into "Eagles" (or "Wolves") and "Ravens," names for their main totems. Ravens and Eagles performed ceremonial services for each other, especially at funerals. At such affairs both Eagles and Ravens displayed their totemic crests. The last Eyak potlatch was held about 1910 or 1912. This mask is precious because it is one of the few surviving works of this small tribe.

Captain Johan A. Jacobsen, *Reise an der Nordwestküste Amerikas*, ed. A. Woldt, Leipzig, 1884.

Kaj Birket-Smith, and Frederica de Laguna, *The Eyak Indians of the Copper River Delta, Alaska*, Copenhagen: Det Kgl. Danske Videnskab. Selskab, 1938.

F. de L.



307 SHAMAN'S HEADDRESS

Wood, with blue-green, black, red, tan pigment, and shell inlays, black-painted skin, walrus whiskers, feathers, eagle down, and rawhide strap

50 (19 3/4) LONG

Collected at Sitka by Ilia G.

Vosnesenski, 1843

Museum of Anthropology and

Ethnography, Leningrad, 571-20

This shaman's headdress with mask represents the spirit of a mosquito. Curiously enough, the mosquito was a familiar of many Tlingit shamans, perhaps because the voracious blood-sucking insect was believed to have sprung from the ashes of a cannibal monster that had been killed and cremated. The mosquito spirit might be represented by a mask for the face, anthropomorphic in form except for the long proboscis with curved tip or, as in this case, it might be rendered as a maskette, attached to the shaman's headgear.

Siebert, Smirnova, and Forman, *North American Indian Art*, fig. 4, pls. 18 & 19.

F. de L.

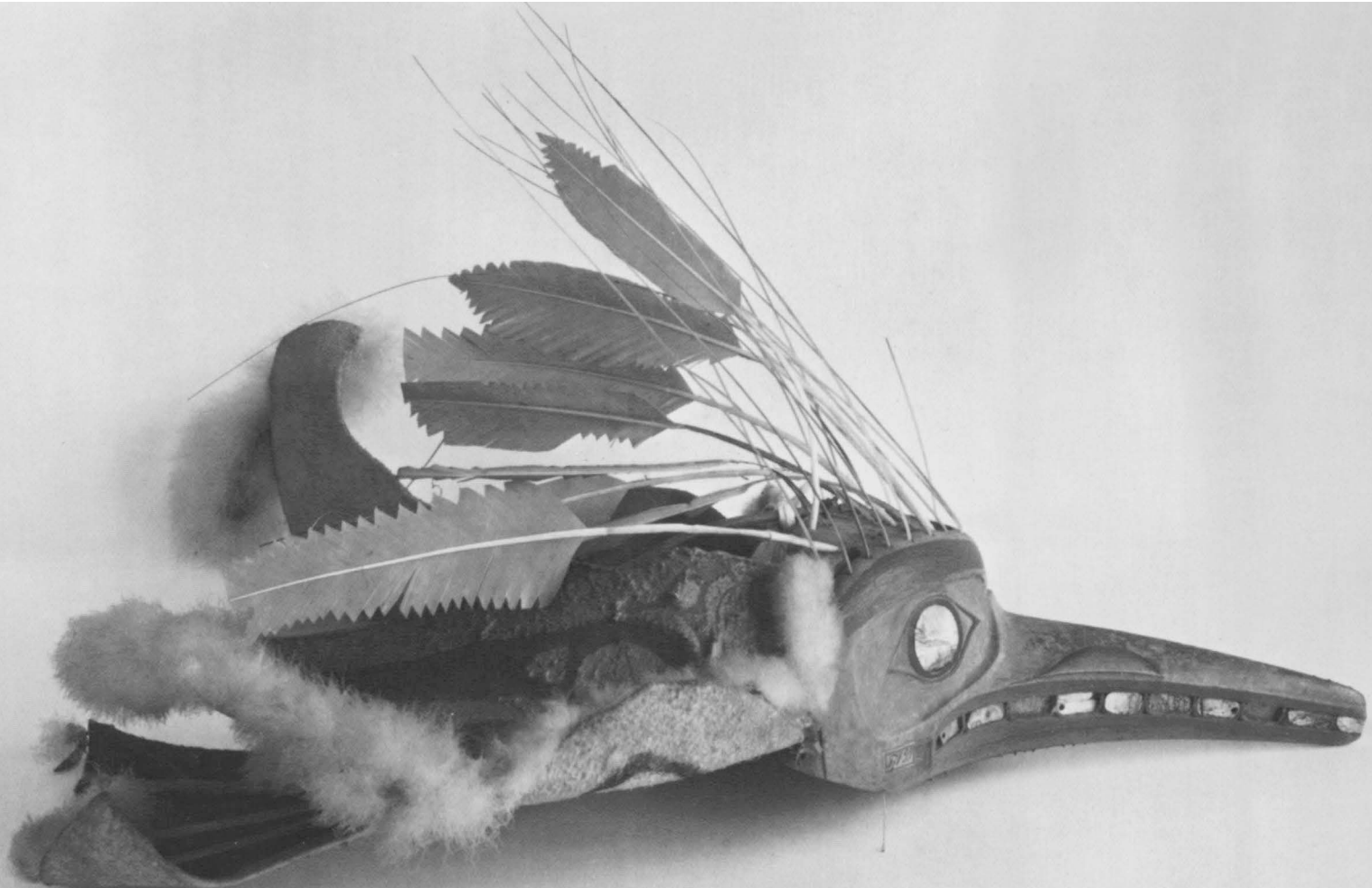


306 MASKETTE: AN EAGLE SPIRIT

Wood, with green, black and red pigment, shell inlays

13.6 (5 3/8) WIDE

Found in a shaman's grave near Yindastuki, mouth of the Chilkat River; collected by Lt. G. T. Emmons, U. S. Navy, 1882-87
American Museum of Natural History, 19/918



309 SHAMAN'S HEADDRESS FRONTLET

Wood, with blue-green, red, and black pigment, shell inlays, hair, black-painted skin, rawhide straps, and nails

35 (13 3/4) WIDE

Museum of Anthropology and
Ethnography, Leningrad, 2448-16

For some ceremonial performances or healing activities, the Tlingit shaman did not wear a mask, especially since the mask was without openings for eyesight. Every shaman, therefore, had a series of headdresses, sometimes little more than skin headbands, to which a small mask was attached. As these small masks also represented familiar spirits, the shaman would be inspired by whichever one symbolized the maskette on his headdress. The headband was sometimes embellished with additional decoration, or covered with swansdown. The figure represented here is that of a bear, one of the most powerful of spirits a shaman might acquire. This maskette was probably attached to a shaman's headband.

Siebert, Smirnova, and Forman, *North American Indian Art*, pl. 15.

F. de L.



308 SHAMAN'S HEADDRESS

Wood, with black, red and brown pigment, sealskin, fur, bear claws, eagle down, and nails

28 (11) DIAMETER

Collected by Kashavarof from Mrs.
Mary Ross of Sitka

Museum purchase, Rausch Fund, 1937
Alaska State Museum, II-B-1301

This shaman's headdress shows four
faces surmounted by bear claws.

(Juneau) *Alaska Daily Press*, 2 October
1937, p. 8.



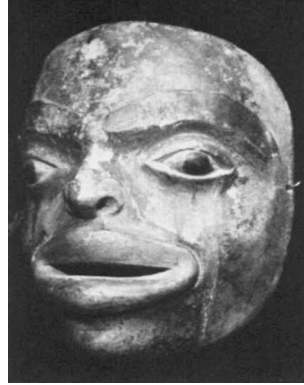


figure j

311 SHAMAN'S HEADDRESS
MASKETTE

Wood, with green, red, and black pigment, bone or bead inlays, and metal (copper?) eyes

9.5 (3 3/4) HIGH

Collected from the Hoonah Tlingit on Chichagof Island by P. Schulze, 1882
Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, IV.A.353

This shaman's headdress maskette represents an anthropomorphic bear face.

310 SHAMAN'S HEADDRESS
MASKETTE

Wood, with green, reddish-brown, and black pigment, with operculum inlays

14 (5 1/2) HIGH

Collected from a shaman's grave near Port Mulgrave, Yakutat, by Professor William S. Libbey of Princeton University, 1886

Princeton University Museum of Natural History, PU 3919

An associated maskette from the same collection (PU 3916) representing a spirit with a weeping face, is similar in its anthropomorphic conception to the following example (fig. j).

C. D. L.



312 MASK

Wood, with green, red, tan, brown, and black pigment, operculum and copper inlays

24 (9 1/2) HIGH

Collected presumably from "Schwatka," brother of the shaman artist, probably at Klukwan or Haines St. Joseph Museum, Missouri, 143/5608

This mask represents a bear, evidently one of the spirits of the famous Chilkat shaman, Dr. Skundoo or Skundoo-oooh, who acted as a guide to the first explorers penetrating the interior via the Chilkat and Chilkoot passes.

While the face is somewhat anthropomorphized, the erect ears indicate that an animal is represented. Each ear is treated as if it were a whole face. This mask is somewhat similar to another bear mask at the same museum (145-5364).

For a similar but more elaborate mask: cf. Dockstader, *Indian Art in America*, no. 86. For a portrait of the shaman in action (without a mask): Keithahn, *Monuments in Cedar*, p. 18.

F. de L.

313 SHAMAN'S MASK

Wood, with green, black, and red pigment, operculum inlays and rawhide strap

27 (10 5/8) HIGH

Collected by Edward G. Fast, 1867-68 Museum purchase, 1869 Peabody Museum, Harvard University, 69-30-10/1609

This elaborate mask is carved to represent a bear, undoubtedly a shaman's spirit. From the cheeks and forehead issue three smaller bears or cubs, probably ancillary spirits.

Feder, *Two Hundred Years of North American Indian Art*, no. 35.

F. de L.





315 SEA BEAR MASK

Copper, shell inlays, skin hood and lining encircling the ears and back, (with fur projecting), sinew thread and rawhide lashings

29.8 (11 3/4) HIGH

St. Joseph Museum, Missouri,

143/5364

Illustrated in color

314 BEAR MASK: A SHAMAN'S SPIRIT(?)

Wood, with green, red, black, silver-gray, and white pigment, natural bristles, skin painted with black, green, and red pigment, braided fiber, and rawhide strap

60 (23 5/8) HIGH

Collected by Edward G. Fast, 1867–68

Museum purchase, 1869

Peabody Museum, Harvard University,

69-30-10/1608



316 SEA BEAR MASK

Copper, with shell inlays, skin lining
with projecting fur, and rawhide strap
30.5 (12) HIGH

Formerly in the collection of Mrs.
Belle Simpson

Museum of Primitive Art, 58.329

Since the sea bear is a Haida crest,
not Tlingit, this mask is probably of
Haida manufacture. Nevertheless, such
objects were often given by chiefs to
noble guests at potlatches and it may
well have come to be a treasured
heirloom of some Tlingit lineage. No
information is available about the place
and date of collection.

Gunther, *Northwest Coast Indian Art*, p.
69, no. 63.

Wardwell, *Yakutat South*, pl. 141, p. 31.

Harner and Elsasser, *Art of the Northwest
Coast*, p. 63.

R. T. Coe, "The Imagination of Primitive
Man," *Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum
Bulletin*, (Kansas City, 1962), 161, p. 98,
VI (1).

F. de L.





319 FRONTLET MASK

Wood, with blue-green, black and red pigment, copper, operculum inlays, skin with blue-green and black pigment, human hair, braided fiber, rawhide straps, and nails

20 (7 7/8) HIGH

Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Leningrad, 2448-17

This mask is carved to represent a hawk with recurved bill. Since this is no ordinary hawk, but the anthropomorphized representation of a hawk spirit, it is quite possible that the mask was worn by a shaman, and attached to a headdress or to a helmet.

Siebert, Smirnova, and Forman, *North American Indian Art*, pls. 13 & 14.

F. de L.

317 WAR HELMET

Wood, with black, white and red pigment, sealskin (?), operculum, sinew thread, braided fiber, and rawhide strap

21 (8 1/4) HIGH

Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Leningrad, 5759-11

This war helmet represents the head of an animal possibly a bear or seal.



318 WAR HELMET:

A BEAR'S HEAD

Wood, with red pigment, copper, operculum and shell insets, sealskin and sinew thread, and nails

21 (8 1/4) HIGH

Probably collected in the early 19th century

Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Leningrad, 5795-10

The helmet reminds us of one apparently covered with bear skin and representing the grizzly bear. This hat belonged to a Wrangell man of one of the Raven clans, a group which normally would never dare to use the bear as a crest. It was said that the owner's grandfather (possibly his mother's father) had obtained the exclusive right to use this crest because he had killed a grizzly with an ax after it had destroyed many people. The gash made by the ax is represented in the helmet.

Siebert, Smirnova, and Forman, *North American Indian Art*, pl. 51.

John R. Swanton, *Social Condition, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians*, Bureau of American Ethnology, 26th Annual Report, (Washington, 1908), pp. 391-485; p. 419, fig. 105.

F. de L.



321 WAR HELMET

Wood, with red, gray-green, and black pigment, human (and animal?) hair, and braided fiber

48 (18 7/8) HIGH

Collected by George Davidson before 1911

Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, 2-19081

This helmet shows a human face with tattooed features.

320 WAR HELMET

Wood, with red and black pigment, and hair tufts pegged into crest

28 (11) DIAMETER

Presented to Mrs. F. E. Aspinwall by a government official in Alaska, 1879
Florida State Museum, 32713

This helmet, a slightly expanded version of the preceding example, shows a stylized face.



328 DEFENSIVE COLLAR OR VISOR

329 DEFENSIVE COLLAR OR VISOR*

322 HELMET

Wood, with blue-green, red, black, and white pigment, operculum inlays, skin, fur, and human hair

28 (11) DIAMETER

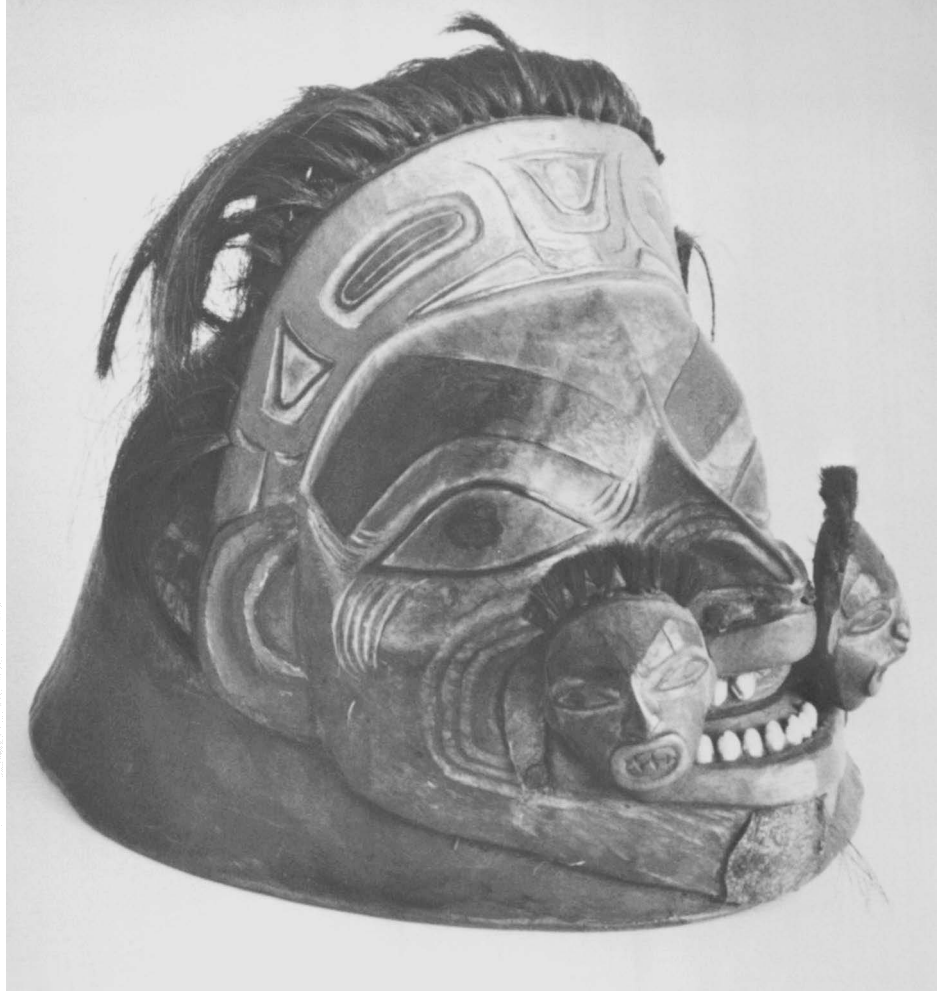
Probably collected in the early 19th century

Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Leningrad, 2454-12

This helmet, carved to represent a man's head, with forehead painting in red and blue, is suggestive of a crest design. The man, however, wears a ferocious mask, probably that of a shaman representing one of his spirits. In this case, the anthropomorphic spirit has deep wrinkles at the corners of the mouth, while the nose suggests a beak. Between the teeth of the monster, protrude the heads of two little men being bitten to death by the cannibal spirit.

Siebert, Smirnova, and Forman, *North American Indian Art*, pl. 37.

F. de L.



323 WAR HELMET

Wood, with red and black pigment, operculum inlays, and hair

34.5 (13 5/8) LONG

Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Leningrad, 633-8

This helmet is carved to represent a fierce warrior, perhaps an anthropomorphized animal. The moustache and beard are possibly bear fur. The hair and feathers formerly attached to the crest on the head are now missing. When complete, the specimen may have resembled the helmet now in the Lowie Museum of Anthropology, (No. 2-19081), although the latter is human in appearance.

Siebert, Smirnova, and Forman, *North American Indian Art*, pl. 41(a) and pl. 42. Inverarity, *Art of the Northwest Coast Indians*, no. 99.

F. de L.



324 WAR HELMET WITH THE
FACE OF AN EVIL SPIRIT
Wood, with red, black and white pig-
ment, operculum and shell inlays, hair
and fur, and walrus-whisker bristles
38 (15) HIGH
Collected at Sitka by Ilia G.
Vosnesenski, 1843
Museum of Anthropology and
Ethnography, Leningrad, 571-14

325 DEFENSIVE COLLAR OR
VISOR
Wood, with black, red, green and
white pigment, deerskin flap, sinew
and fiber threads, and rawhide straps
27 (10 5/8) DEEP
Probably collected in the early
19th century
Museum of Anthropology and
Ethnography, Leningrad, 2454-22



326 SLAT ARMOR

Wood, with black, red, green and white pigment, elk skin, rawhide lashings and straps, braided fiber twine

54 (21 1/4) HIGH

Possibly collected at Sitka by Capt.

Urey T. Lisianski of the Imperial Russian Navy, 1804-5

Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Leningrad, 2454-4

These pieces do not form an actual set, but are here arranged to show how they were once worn.

The heavy helmet, worn high on the head, causing the warrior to appear very tall and formidable, is carved to represent an evil spirit. Tlingit warriors went into battle in full armor, but as battles became less frequent it became more of a costume for ceremony. The masklike helmet became the ceremonial headdress of a chief, like his basketry hat. Eventually, instead of being carved like evil spirits, ceremonial dance helmets were carved to represent clan crests.

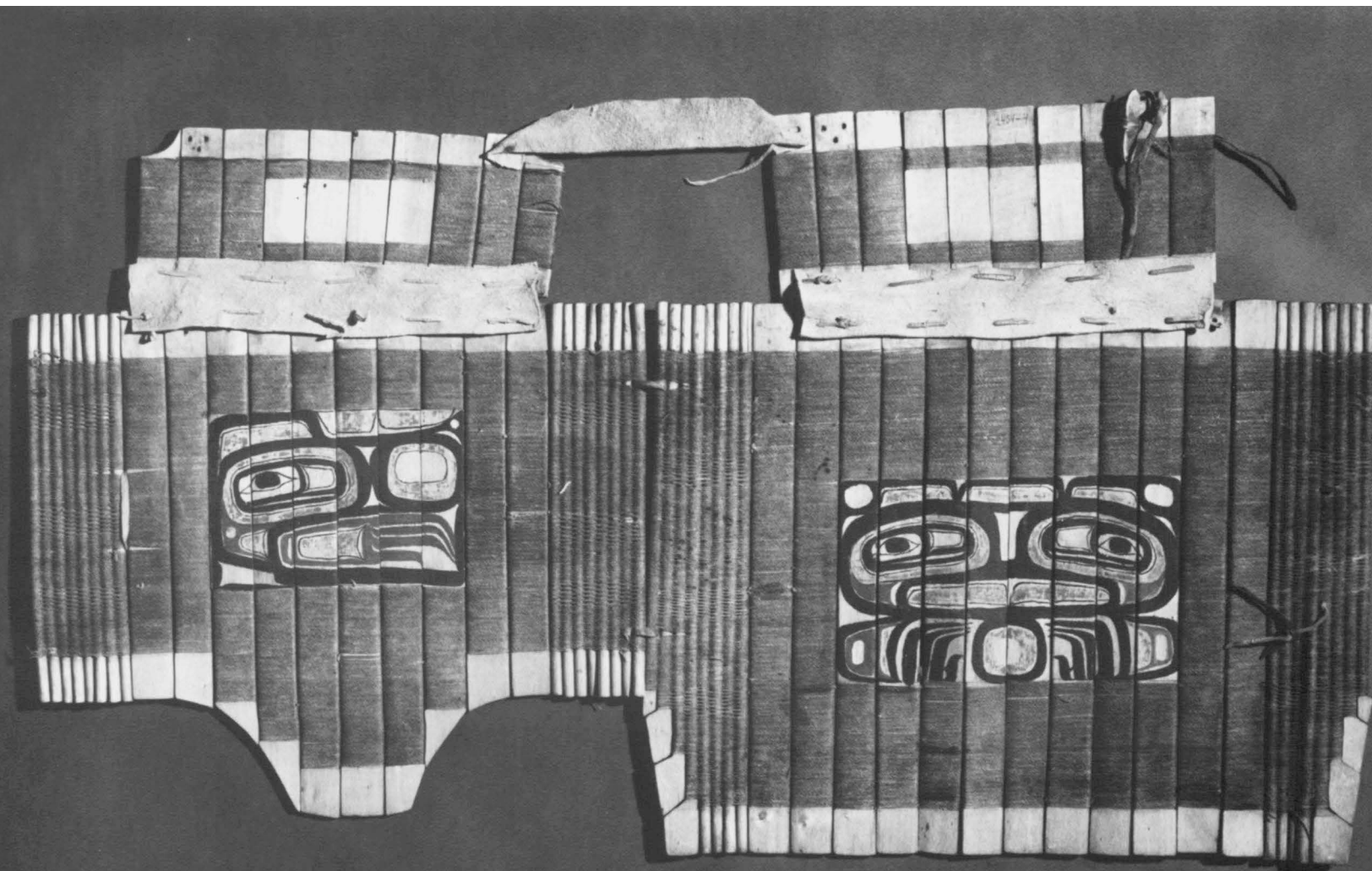
Below the helmet, protecting the lower half of the face and neck is the visor, a heavy wooden collar fastened behind the neck with cords. The front is carved to suggest a face. The wearer actually peers out of slits formed by irregularities which produce narrow openings between the top of the visor and the bottom of the helmet.

The wooden slat armor, made in several parts to protect the front, the back, and the lower part of the body, permits limited movement. Early explorers compared such armor to ladies' stays. The painted designs on the armor suggest the wolf, possibly the owner's totem. The wooden armor is worn over an elk skin shirt.

Siebert, Smirnova, and Forman, *North American Indian Art*, fig. 12, p. 18. de Laguna, *Yakutat Tlingit*.

F. de L.

E. C.



327 SLAT ARMOR

Wood, with red, black and brown pigment, elk skin, rawhide lashings and straps, braided fiber twine, and wire

54 (21 1/4) HIGH

Collected by Edward G. Fast, 1867-68

Museum purchase, 1869

Peabody Museum, Harvard University,
69-30-10/2058





330 DEFENSIVE COLLAR OR VISOR

Wood, with red, black and green pigment, operculum inlays, fiber teeth-clamp, and lashings

14 (5 1/2) HIGH

Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Leningrad, 2454-21

This heavy collar was worn around the neck of the Tlingit warrior, covering his throat and face as high as the eyes. The grooved rim, apparently forms the top of the collar, for one can see cut across its edge the two grooves through which the wearer could peer when his head was covered with the solid wooden helmet. Curiously enough, the face on the front of the collar is carved upside down. Just below it is the opening through which the wearer could breathe. The collar was fastened at the back of the neck with cords.

Siebert, Smirnova, and Forman, *North American Indian Art*, pl. 52.

F. de L.



329 DEFENSIVE COLLAR OR VISOR*

Wood, with black, green and brown pigment, operculum inlays, rawhide teeth-clamp and rawhide lashing

28.5 (11 1/4) DEEP

Collected at Sitka by W. H. Dall Smithsonian Institution, 16 222

Like the preceding and following examples, this collar was made from a single straight piece of wood, notched on the inside, steamed and bent into its present shape.

C. D. L.

328 DEFENSIVE COLLAR OR VISOR

Wood, with black, red and green pigment, fiber teeth-clamp, elk skin strap, and rawhide lashings

26 (10 1/4) DEEP

Collected by Edward G. Fast, 1867-68 Museum purchase, 1869 Peabody Museum, Harvard University, 69-30-10/1597



331 WAR SHIRT

Moose skin, sinew threads and rawhide
lashings, wooden toggle

77.5 (30 1/2) HIGH

Collected by Miss Grace Nicholson
and C. Hartman, 1874

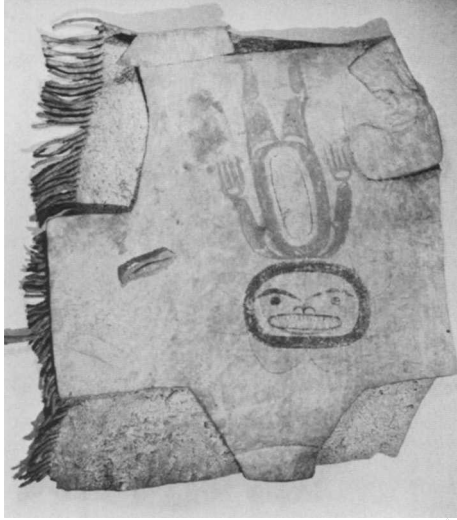
Gift of Lewis H. Farlow, 1910
Peabody Museum, Harvard University,
10-21-10/76432

This war shirt was worn beneath
slat armor.

TLINGIT 257







332 WAR SHIRT

Walrus hide (?), with red, black and green pigment, sinew threads, and rawhide lashings

80 (31 1/2) HIGH

Stolper Galleries, Munich

Museum purchase, 1 December 1965

Deutsches Ledermuseum, Offenbach,

11721

333 BEAR-HEAD DAGGER

334 SHEATH AND CARRYING SLING

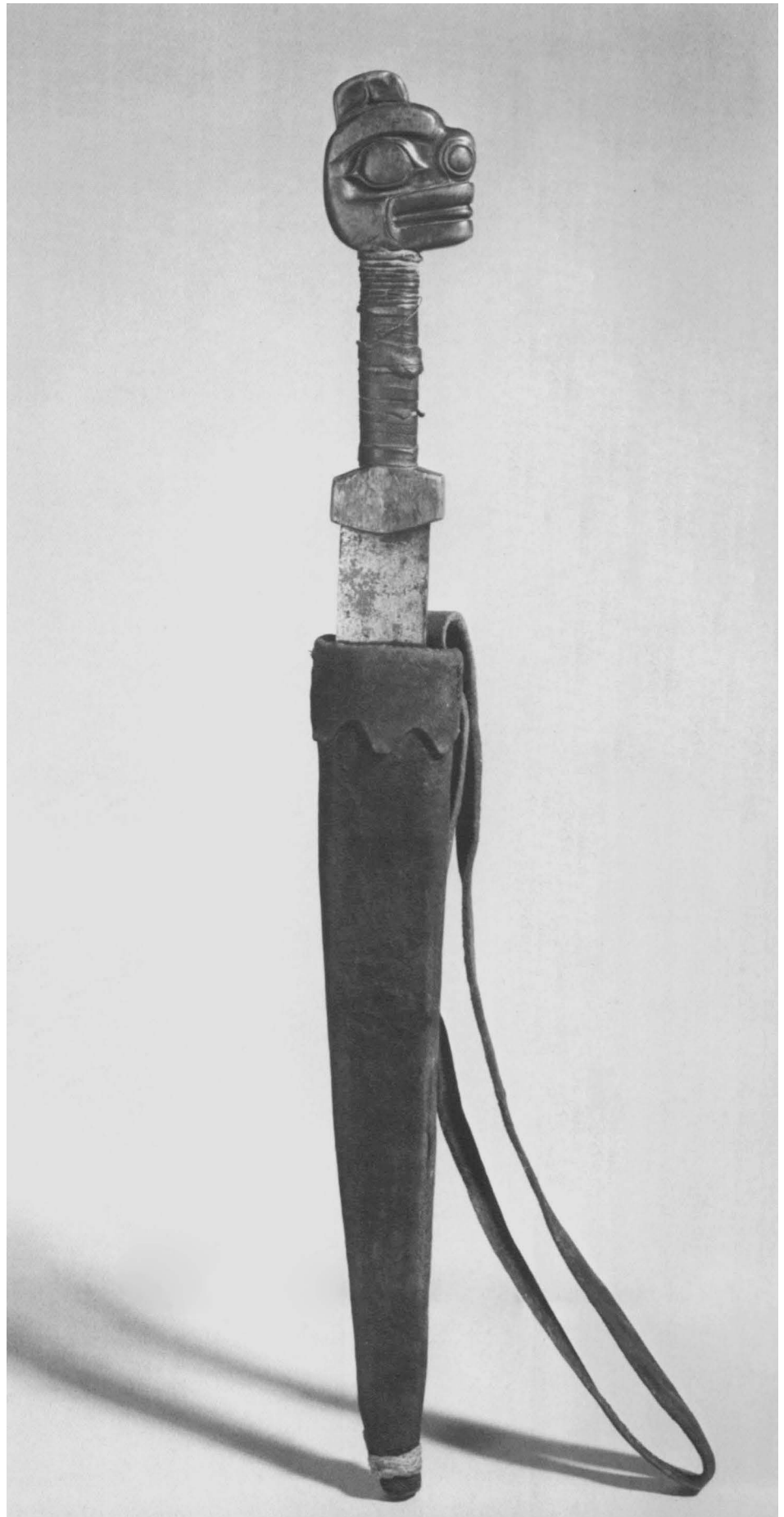
Wood and steel, with rawhide lashings, elk or moose skin

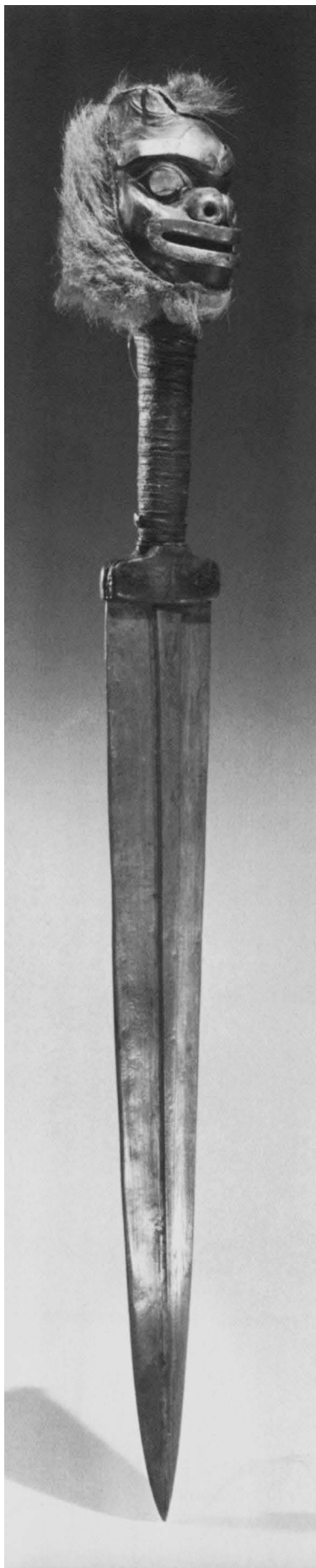
Dagger: 47 (18 1/2) LONG

Sheath and sling: 82.5 (32 1/2) LONG

Museum acquisition, probably from the Edward G. Fast Collection, 1869

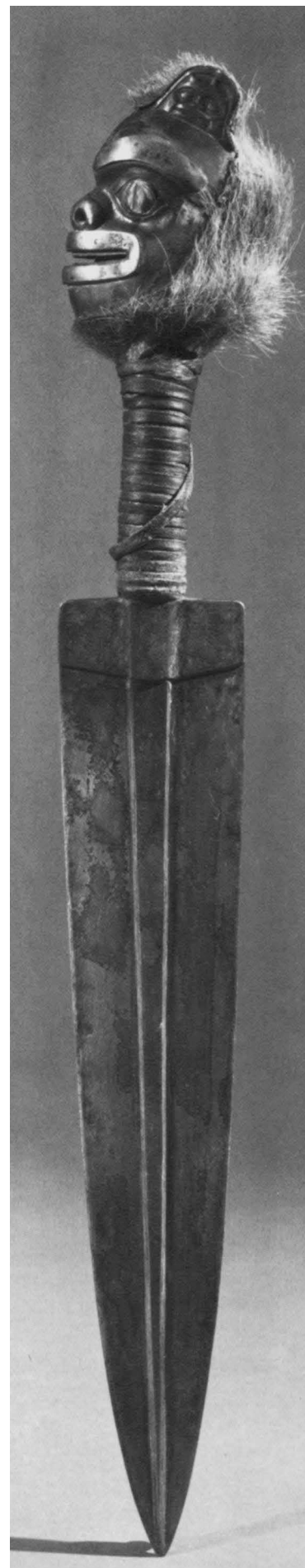
Peabody Museum, Harvard University, 69-30-10/2168





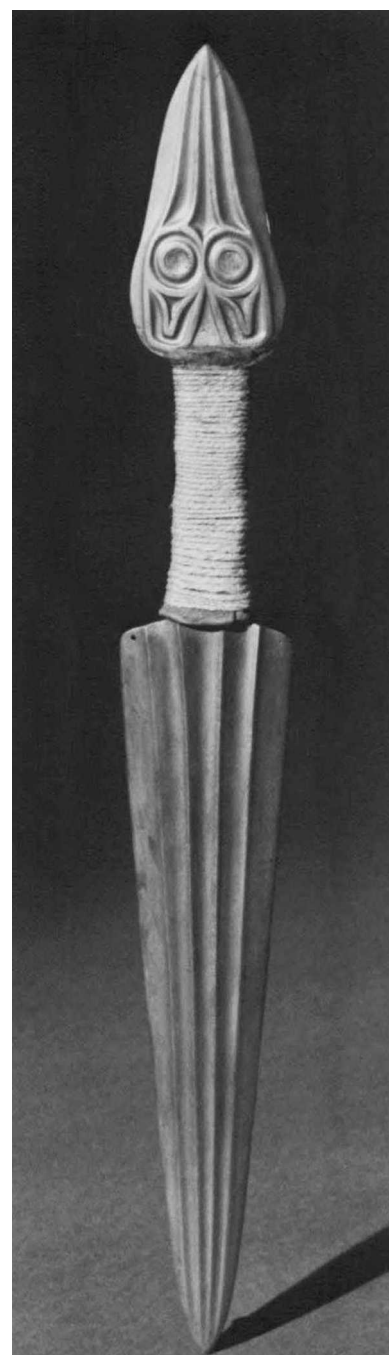
335 BEAR-HEAD DAGGER
Copper, musk-ox horn, shell inlays,
copper, bearskin and rawhide lashing
54.5 (21 1/2) LONG
Collected by Miss Grace Nicholson
Gift of Lewis H. Farlow, 1904
Peabody Museum, Harvard University,
04-10-10/64029

336 BEAR-HEAD DAGGER
Copper, wood, shell inlays, baleen,
skin, and rawhide lashing
52 (20 1/2) LONG
Collected at Klukwan by G. B.
Gordon, 1905
University Museum, Philadelphia,
NA 1287

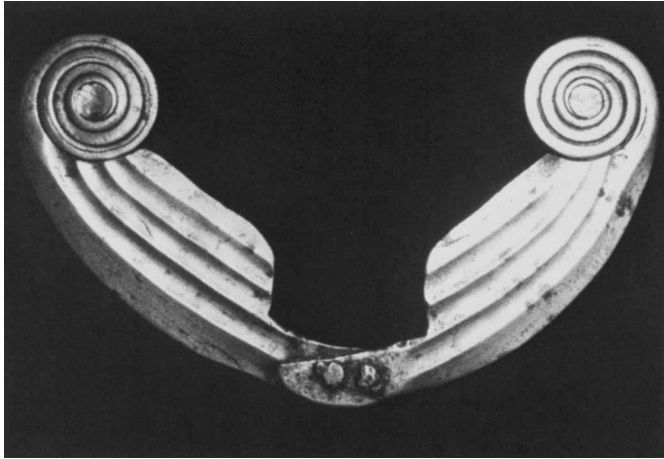




338 TWO-BLADED DAGGER*
Steel, shell inlays, elk skin, and
heavy twine
40.6 (16) LONG
Collected at Sitka by Capt.
Henriques
Smithsonian Institution, 9 936



337 DOUBLE-BLADED DAGGER*
Steel, copper, shell inlays, rawhide
lashings, and elk skin strap
60.3 (23 3/4) LONG
Collected at Killisnoo on Admiralty
Island by Lt. G. T. Emmons, U. S.
Navy
Purchased from the collector,
12 September 1903
Smithsonian Institution, 221 184
This elaborate example of Tlingit
metalwork exhibits the stylized face
of a crest animal on the upper blade,
as does No. 338.
C. D. L.



339 ORNAMENT

Steel, shell inlays

16.2 (6 $\frac{3}{8}$) WIDE

Collected by Rev. Sheldon Jackson,
1882

Princeton University Museum of
Natural History, PU 5118

This ornament presumably was made
for a totemic crest.

341 WAR RATTLE (?)

Mountain sheep horn, wood,
vegetable fiber and rawhide lashings,
pebbles

17.2 (6 $\frac{3}{4}$) HIGH

Formerly in the Oldman Collection,
British Museum

Museum purchase, 1954

Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde,
Rotterdam, 34818





340 WAR CLUB OR
"SLAVE-KILLER"*

Wood

66 (26) LONG

Collected by the U. S. War
Department

Smithsonian Institution, 2 644



342 WAR RATTLE*

Wood, with black, red, and brown pigment, vegetable fiber lashings, and pebbles, wire

33 (13) HIGH

Collected presumably on Kootznahoo Inlet, Chatham Strait, Admiralty Island, by J. G. Swan

Purchased from the collector, 1875
Smithsonian Institution, 20 875

This rattle with bear face, is from the vicinity of Angoon, as is No. 343. However, both were mistakenly labeled by their 19th-century cataloger as deriving from Prince Wales Island to the south.

C. D. L.

343 WAR RATTLE*

Wood, with black and red pigment, rawhide lashings, pebble rattle, and wire

35.5 (14) HIGH

Collected presumably on Kootznahoo Inlet, Chatham Strait, Admiralty Island, by J. G. Swan

Purchased from the collector, 1875
Smithsonian Institution, 20 874
J. G. Swan

The reverse side of this rattle with stylized crest faces is inscribed "Klemmakoon" (?).

C. D. L.

344 RATTLE

Wood, with red and black pigment, pebble rattles

28 (11) HIGH

Collected by Lt. G. T. Emmons,
U. S. Navy, 1882-87

American Museum of Natural History,
E/1371

This round rattle shows a bird's face.



345 RATTLE

Wood, with red, green, black and brown pigment, vegetable fiber lashing, seed or pebbles

22.3 (8 3/4) HIGH

Royal Scottish Museum, 1929.312

This rattle, appears to represent a raven perched on the handle. The carving on the bird's belly suggests the traditional hawk's face. Such rattles are said to have been used by Tlingit chiefs, as well as by shamans, to emphasize important pronouncements.

F. de L.



346 RATTLE*

Wood, with traces of green, red, and black pigment, braided fiber, rawhide lashing, and ermine skins

40 (15 3/4) LONG

Collected at Hoonah, Chichagof Island, by Lt. T. D. Bolles,

U. S. Navy

Gift of the collector, 1884

Smithsonian Institution, 73 851

This rattle is in the form of a raven with a hawk face carved on its belly and human figure with animal spirit on its back.



347 RATTLE

Wood, with black and red pigment,
shell and mirrored glass inlays, seed
or pebble rattles, modern glue

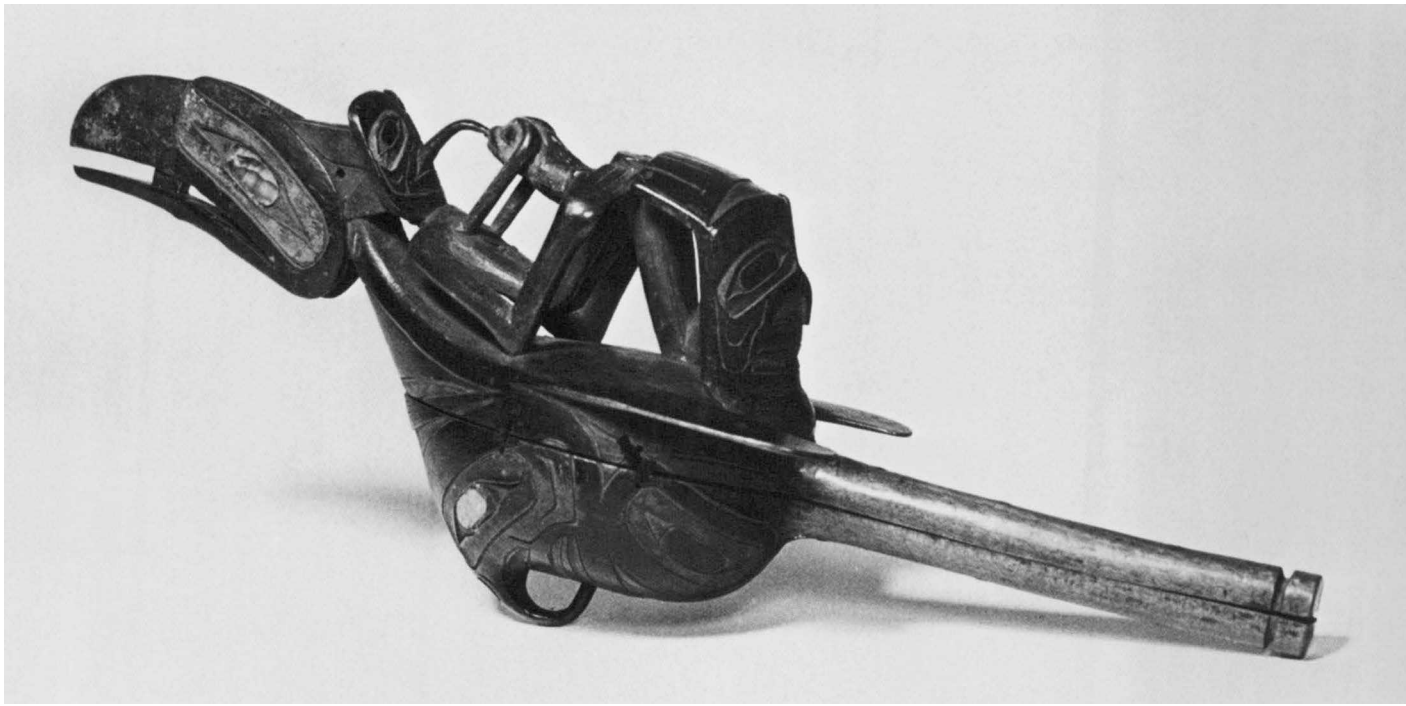
33 (13) LONG

Collected by Stewart Culin

The Brooklyn Museum, 05.588.7294

Said to represent the legend of
Ka-Ka-Tete, the whistling demon, this
rattle in the form of an oyster
catcher, has a hawk face on the belly
and various figures on its back.





349 RATTLE

Wood, with black, green, and red pigment, bone, ermine and swan skin, pebble rattles, fiber and rawhide lashings

33 (13) LONG

Collected from a shaman's grave near Port Mulgrave, Yakutat, by Professor William S. Libbey of Princeton University, 1886

Princeton University Museum of Natural History, PU 5153

This apparently very early rattle, in the form of an oyster catcher, with elaborate skin ornaments but not the typical hawk's face on the belly, provides another version of the familiar scene of a man torturing a witch (as for example No. 363).

C. D. L.

Illustrated in color



348 RATTLE

Wood, with black, red, green, and brown pigment, shell inlays, seed or pebble rattles, thread

35 (13 3/4) LONG

Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde, Rotterdam, 34817

Wooden rattles in the shape of a raven are often called chief's rattles, because they might have been used by chiefs as well as shamans. Rattles of other shapes seem to have been used only by shamans.

On the back of the raven is shown a recumbent man, undoubtedly a shaman, holding a frog's tongue in his mouth from which he sucks the "poison" supposedly used by shamans in casting some of their spells. The frog emerges from the back of a hawk. As is customary, the belly of the rattle is carved to represent a hawk with recurved beak.

F. de L.



350 RATTLE

Wood, with black, red, blue and green pigment, seed or pebble rattles, wire
33 (13) LONG
Collected by Ilia G. Vosnesenski, 1843
Museum of Anthropology and
Ethnography, Leningrad, 2448-25

From the shape and color of the red bill, this rattle would appear to be in the form of an oyster catcher. The webbed feet are folded back over the belly, although on most rattles of this kind the belly of the bird is carved to represent the head of a hawk. On the back of the bird two small human figures, with reddish bodies, blue faces and black brows, sit or crouch between the horns of a mountain goat head. This scene certainly refers to some shamanistic activity.

Siebert, Smirnova, and Forman, *North American Indian Art*, pl. 56.

F. de L.

351 RATTLE

Wood, with red, black and green pigment, seed or pebble rattles, rawhide lashings, wire
29 (11 3/8) LONG
Collected on Admiralty Island by
G. Chudnovsky, 1890
Museum of Anthropology and
Ethnography, Leningrad, 211-2

This wooden rattle is carved in the shape of a crane (possibly an oyster catcher because of the red bill). The webbed feet are folded back onto the belly of the bird, but the breast is carved with the traditional hawk's head with re-curved bill. On the bird's back, facing the handle, is the head of a mountain goat, with large ears, long curved horns, and a long tongue. The body seems to end in octopus tentacles (a common shamanistic theme). Between the horns of the goat a shaman is torturing a witch. The animal figure below the witch may be one of the shaman's familiar spirits in the shape of a land otter, or even a dog, since a shaman's spirit dog was often used to detect witches.

Siebert, Smirnova, and Forman, *North American Indian Art*, pls. 57 and 58.

F. de L.





352 EAGLE CREST

Wood, with black, green, and white pigment, human hair, and rawhide thongs

27 (10 5/8) HIGH (independent of modern staff)

Chigwea, Klukwan; collected in use as clan crest by Louis Shotridge, 1923
Museum Expedition collection
University Museum, Philadelphia,
NA 9468

This carving of an Eagle, totemic crest of the Shankukedi (Cankukedi) clan (or Wolf moiety), ornamented the top of a chief's staff. The figure was reportedly taken from slaves killed at potlatches where the staff was displayed.

According to the tradition related to Louis Shotridge (himself a Chilkat Indian), this eagle emblem had been originally used by his ancestor, Youwok, then living at Clay Point Fort, a settlement on the shore of Icy Strait. The young chief, Youwok, felt that his people did not have a firm claim to the use of the Eagle as a totemic crest. As a consequence he traveled to Gitxala, on Dolphin Island near the mouth of the Skeena River, in British Columbia, to purchase rights to the Eagle crest from Chief Ku-haedgu, a Tsimshian leader of the Eagle phratry, who was felt to have had some Tlingit ancestry. The young Tlingit chief was not only successful in this, but received from the Tsimshian chief an honorable name meaning "wise man" or "absolute man," rendered in Tlingit as Stuwuka, the native name which Louis Shotridge himself bore.

Louis Shotridge, "The Emblems of the Tlingit Culture," *The University Museum Journal*, (Philadelphia, December 1928), pp. 350-77.
Gunther, *Northwest Coast Indian Art*, no. 42, frontispiece.

F. de L.

353 CHIEF'S STAFF*

Wood, with dark pigment; stained
with preservative

82.5 (32 1/2) LONG

Prince of Wales or Queen Charlotte
Islands; collected at Masset by

J. G. Swan

Museum collection, July 1883

Smithsonian Institution, 88 833

Although collected from the Haida
Indians around Masset, opposite
Prince of Wales Island across the
Dixon Entrance, this staff appropriately
represents the delicate style of wood-
carving practiced also by the Alaskan
Haida on the latter island (the
Kaigani). The collector's original notes
call this staff a "Taski," or ceremonial
baton held by a chief while distributing
presents at his feasts. According to
Swan's notes, the creatures repre-
sented, from the top, are a whale and
crow, a sparrowhawk ("Skamison")
and a beaver eating a mouse.

C. D. L.





354 CHIEF'S STAFF

Wood, with dark pigment; stained
with preservative

122.5 (48 1/4) LONG

Prince of Wales or Queen Charlotte
Islands; collected at Skidegate by
J. G. Swan

Museum collection, 30 August 1883
Smithsonian Institution, 89 099

This staff shows a beaver head and
eagle crest.

Similar in function to the preceding
example, this "Taski" is reported to
have been used to provide emphatic
punctuation to the chief's distribution
of presents, by being thumped down
when the name of each recipient was
called—traces of which usage are still
visible on its lower end.

Similar staffs or wands would also
have been used by a shaman in his
ritual dances: see U. S. National
Museum *Annual Report*, 1888,
pl. XVI, fig. 54, p. 270.

C. D. L.



355 DANCE BATON

Wood, with blue, red, black and white pigment, human hair, mountain goat wool on trade cloth backing, rope, and nails

371 (146) HIGH

Collected at Sitka by Louis Shotridge, 1918

Museum Expedition collection
University Museum, Philadelphia,
NA 8495

356 DANCE BATON

Wood, with dark green, red, black and white pigment, human hair

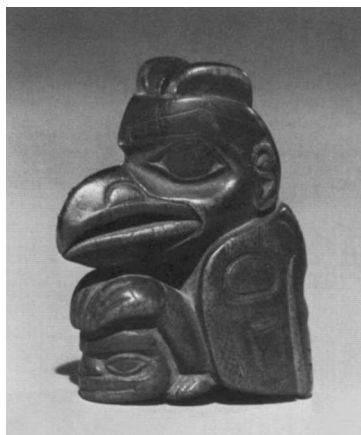
369.5 (145 3/8) HIGH

Collected by Louis Shotridge, 1923
Museum Expedition collection
University Museum, Philadelphia,
NA 9494

Both pieces apparently represent the tall closed fin of the killer whale and would be used in potlatches by the song leaders of the Kagwantan or Shankukedi (Cankuqedi) of Tekwedi (Teqweki) clans (Wolf moiety), all of whom claim the killer whale as a crest.

F. de L.





357 PIPE BOWL*
Wood and nails
8.6 (3 3/8) HIGH
Collected by Thomas S. Forsyth of
Portland, Maine
Museum purchase from the collection
of Capt. Frederic Forsyth,
13 July 1927
Smithsonian Institution, 337 354
Smithsonian Institution *Annual Report*,
1930, pl. 17, p. 556.



358 PIPE BOWL
Wood
10.2 (4) LONG
Collected by Edward G. Fast in
1867-68
Collected by Edward G. Fast, 1867-68
Museum purchase, 1869
Peabody Museum, Harvard University,
69-30-10/1862

360 HALIBUT HOOK

Wood, metal, vegetable fiber lashing

39.5 (15 1/2) LONG

Probably collected in the early
19th century

Museum of Anthropology and
Ethnography, Leningrad, 2539-3

This hook, although said to represent a sculpin, is obviously carved to represent a mythical beast, the head like that of a wolf, the body hollowed out like a canoe in which are two prone human figures, one of which is a woman.

Hooks of this kind are used in pairs for bottom fishing. Each halibut hook has a personal name, represented by the decoration, and is addressed by the Tlingit fisherman as part of his good luck magic.

Siebert, Smirnova, and Forman, *North American Indian Art*, pl. 73.

F. de L.



359 PIPE WITH THE FIGURE
OF A DOG

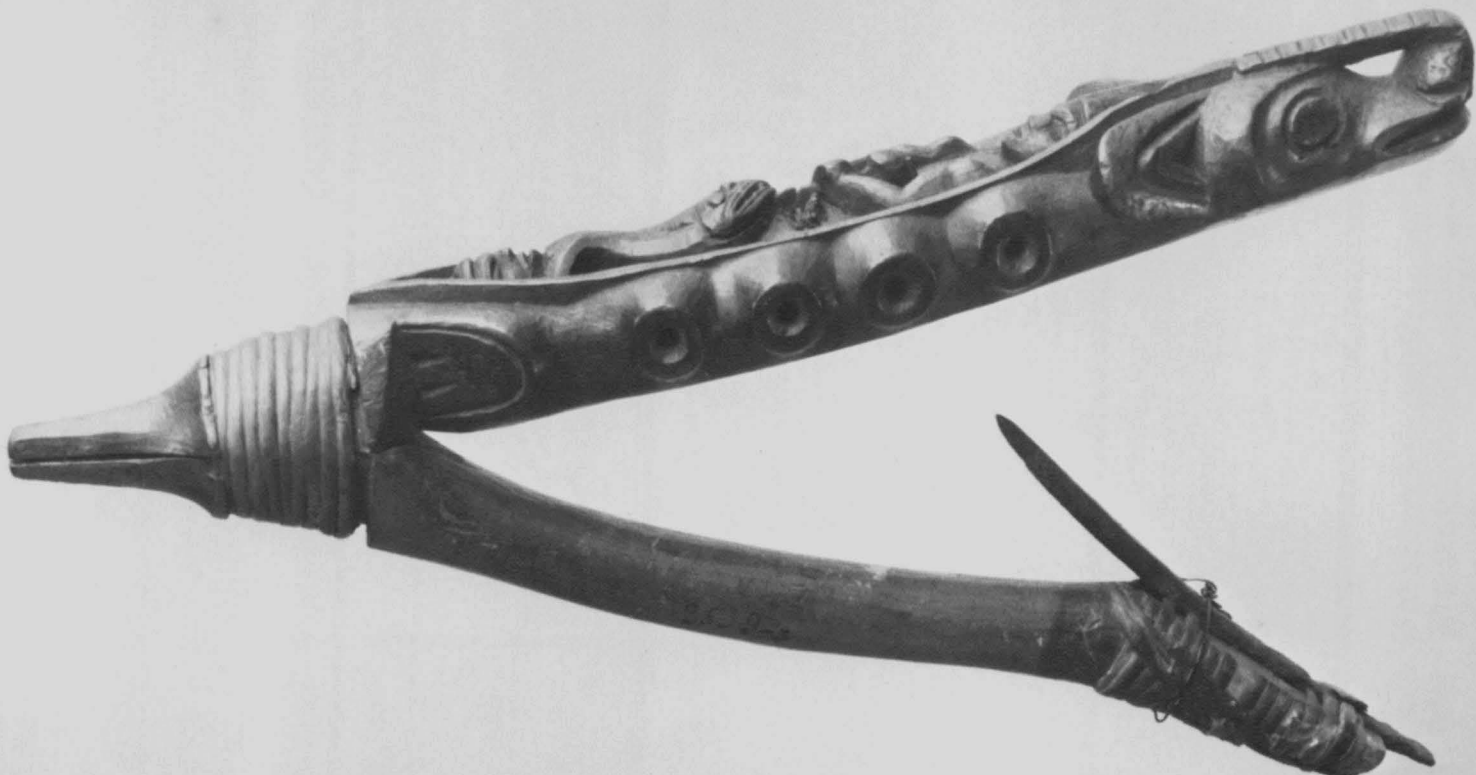
Wood, with black, red, and green
pigment, iron and copper

12.8 (5) LONG

Collected by Edward G. Fast, 1867-68

Museum purchase, 1869

Peabody Museum, Harvard University,
69-30-10/1866





362 BOUND FIGURE OF A
WITCH

White stone

4.8 (1 7/8) HIGH

Collected by Rev. Sheldon Jackson for
the Bureau of American Ethnology
Transfer from the Bureau of American
Ethnology, 22 July 1921

Smithsonian Institution, 316 943

This same image of the ritually bound
witch (compare following example)
recurs on Tlingit shaman's rattles
(see Nos. 349-351).

C. D. L.

361 HALIBUT HOOK

Wood, bone, vegetable fiber lashing

29 (11 3/8) LONG

Collected by Roderic McKenzie before
1819

Gift of the American Antiquarian
Society of Worcester, 1895

Peabody Museum, Harvard University,
95-20-10/48387

This halibut hook shows a bound
witch or slave on an animal's head.



363 MAN (SHAMAN?)

TORTURING A WITCH

Alder wood, with black, brown and red pigment

29.5 (11 5/8) LONG

Possibly carved near Sitka; collected (in the late 19th century?) by Bob Gray of Yakutat; presented by the collector to Barrett Willoughby
Gift of Barrett Willoughby
Alaska State Museum, II-B-801



364 FIGURE OF A CHIEF

Wood

15.5 (6 1/8) HIGH

Formerly in the Oldman Collection,
British Museum

Museum purchase, 1954

Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde,
Rotterdam, 34831

This seated figure depicts a chief with ceremonial hat.



365 STORYMASTER PLAQUE

Argillite

24.7 (9 3/4) LONG

Collected by Charles Jennings
Alaska State Museum, II-B-823

Representing one of the last phases of indigenous Alaskan art, this famous style of soft-stone carving was developed just before the end of the last century. This elaborate example depicts, from front to back, the figures of bear, woman, shaman, and killer whale.

C. D. L.



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Watercolor by an unknown 19th-century artist (probably Russian) of
 Indians in their tribal dress: (1) Aleut, (2) Tlingit and (3) Haida.
 The two figures in the background are slaves.
 Private Collection

SOME NOTES ON THE SEPARATE REALITIES OF ESKIMO AND INDIAN ART

EDMUND CARPENTER

A NORTHWEST Coast Indian, whom the anthropologist Franz Boas "sometimes invited to New York to serve him as an informant, was indifferent to the spectacle of skyscrapers and streets lined with automobiles. He reserved all his intellectual curiosity for the dwarfs, giants, and bearded ladies which were at that time exhibited in Times Square, for automats, and the brass balls decorating staircase bannisters. . . . All these things challenged his own culture, and it was that culture alone he was seeking to recognize in certain aspects of ours."¹

Whenever people meet the unfamiliar, they at once translate it into something they already know, and that means they never face the unfamiliar. The only person who dares is the artist.

To experience the unfamiliar in tribal art, we must step outside the patterns of perception of our culture and explore new worlds of images, new realities. We must study alien perceptions and codifications by experiencing them. Anything less merely confirms previous convictions.

I accept that there are great differences between people. I was once very close to several Eskimo friends, but their thinking was fundamentally different from mine. I gave up hope that we would ever really come to know each other completely. If I had come to know them completely, I would have become an Eskimo; I would have lost my own identity, and this I did not choose to do. "We wed ourselves to the mystery," not to conquer it or be conquered by it, but to greet it.

I also accept the old-fashioned notion that the ethnologist is the twice-born spiritual adventurer whose fieldwork is nothing less than the spirit quest; that he exposes his dearest beliefs and habits to doubt and diversity, and returns changed by this intellectual ordeal.

I do not agree with those who see this hard-won insight as a means to intellectual detachment. To me, the experiencing of man is an end in itself.

For some anthropologists, the real world is not what is lived, but rather the underlying structures (laws) that govern appearances. Thus they are bent on making anthropology a science of the same type as the physical sciences, for these, too, reject appearances and insist that reality is not in them but in the laws that govern them.

What disturbs me about the scientific approach, when pursued exclusively, is that it leads to a rejection of the sensate world. Flowers, after all, do have beautiful colors, whatever the explanation.

I find this true of most books on tribal art. Their intellectual detach-

ment separates them from the essential reality—the *human* reality. Their gravity and jargon erode the living edge. I have to strain my powers of sensitivity to establish with them the human intimacy they fail to establish with me. I find most of them far secreted from the original artistic experience, in an area that would be unjust to call private, because their authors try to inhabit them with officialness.

This is the dilemma of those seeking a way to grasp the reality of art scientifically, yet familiarly and directly. The very passion to attain to full consciousness and articulate appreciation of this reality has induced human beings, especially those in whom the passion is most restive, to put what seem to be equivalents of the reality in its place. With the “equivalents,” which have an easier graspability than the reality, they feel they are giving their passion an objective within reach—the reality itself having an appearance of inaccessibility often at the mind’s closest approaches: and they come to identify the “equivalent” with the reality.

The field of art teems with “equivalents” to the reality, and the activity devoted to them is as intense, often, as if it were devoted to the reality itself.

People supply themselves with substitutes for the reality as a subject of preoccupation and with compensations for the missing satisfaction of a grasp of it. I mean here neither substitutes nor compensations, but something into the quest for which is poured the ardor of the pursuit of reality. And I put aside here also the vulgar equivalents, which are mere emotionalisms, and not difficult to identify as such. It is the intellectually adopted and supported equivalents that I mean: what might be called the superior equivalents. These are the dangerous deceivers. Yet it might be said of them that, without them, the spiritual history of human beings would be a history of poverty. My notion is that human beings have to achieve a certain recognition of their poverty in the spiritual respect, in order to grasp the human reality—have to rid themselves of false riches accumulated in pursuit of false equivalents.

To study tribal art, we must first ask: What did it mean to the people for whom it was originally intended? To experience it, we must first accept its rules governing thinking, feeling, sensing. We cannot—rather we should not—borrow and apply rules from our own culture. We demean our subject, and deceive ourselves, when we call such imperialism “scientific.”

Many, perhaps all, symbolic systems are implosive, and therefore must be experienced from within. Alaskan tribal arts are no exception. They offer no windows facing in. A detached observer may possess them, even “know” them, but he will never experience them.

Only the person who avails himself of their methods, aims at their goals, and assumes their sensory profiles, can enter these realities. For others, their visible forms remain mere trophies—loot displayed in a pirate’s wardroom. Some may exploit them as exotic variations of our own art: they are the plagiarists. Others, too sensitive for such imperialism, yet unable to encounter these arts on their own terms, will find the exhibit vaguely unsatisfying. They will be bored. They will have come,

not merely to study man, but in the hopes of experiencing man, yet they will fail to encounter him.

That will not be because he is absent. He is here, waiting to greet us. Within his home.

To the non-player, chess and checkers look much alike. They are even played on a common field of sixty-four squares of alternate black and white. Yet their rules differ and do not mix. Each set of rules creates its own reality.

The tribal groups in this exhibition—Aleut, Eskimo, Indian—had much in common. One cannot pass from object to object without noting parallels. Two hundred years ago one might even have formed this same impression from a casual visit to their villages. Intertwined ancestries, much trade, and shared life styles in a northern environment created similarities. This should not mislead us. These groups differed from one another and these differences were vital to each, not simply for identity, but for life itself.

Behind any genuine art lies an “intelligence,” that is, a limited set of rules which permit the mind and emotions to operate—innovatively, creatively—within an enormously manifold, complex “reality.” This is not content, which is mere façade, nor is it context, which is mere association. Rather it is that process, that experience, made possible by the relations, resonances, between the elements, the “bricks,” employed in any art and the rules governing them. Such models don’t *produce* art, of course, but without them, there is no art, no experiencing of art. Only when its rules are obeyed does such a system “work”: only then can it be lived.

Thus this exhibition is not concocted out of unrelated bits and pieces stolen from the dead, but assembled in an effort to reconstruct certain lost “realities” so that such realities can once more be experienced.

Let me illustrate what I have been saying; let me mention a few things I have noticed, and come to love, about these different arts.

ESKIMO Two Kuskowim masks, exhibited here, come from a fascinating group of over thirty sold by an Alaskan trader to the Museum of the American Indian many years ago. In 1943–45, the Museum, desperately short of funds, sold fifteen. Most of these were immediately acquired by a group of refugee artist-scholars associated with surrealism: André Breton, Max Ernst, Roberto Matta, Yves Tanguy, Kurt Seligmann, Enrico Donati.

The story of the cubists’ discovery of West African art is familiar. The story of the surrealists’ discovery of American Indian art, and especially Eskimo art, is equally important.

Eskimo carvings of animals are often so accurate, so detailed, one can tell at a glance not only species, but sub-species: a Red-throated Loon from a Common Loon. But when that same artist chooses to depict the world of dream and séance, he replaces realism with surrealism, and structures space with the ear, not the eye.

In Eskimo thought, where spirit is regarded as separable from flesh, and each man has many helping spirits, the lines between species and

classes, even between man and animal, are lines of fusion, not fission, and nothing has a single, invariable shape.

Eskimo artists—both in ancient and recent times—often depict these diverse characteristics *simultaneously*. One striking type of mask is a great composite visual pun: the same lines serve to depict walrus-caribou-man; turned this way, walrus stands out; turned another way, caribou predominates. But, though other features regress, they never wholly disappear. There is no need for shape-shifting: all relevant forms are always present.

And so it is in Eskimo mythology: not a concept of becoming, not even a concept of metamorphosis or coming to be, but rather a sense of being, where each form contains multitudes.

Such a mask expresses the variety and infinite subtlety of personality; its power lies in preserving due proportions between diverse and opposite elements.

When Eskimo artists make these elaborate mobiles, they do not work within borders, but let each mask assert its own dimensions.

The familiar Western notion of enclosed space is foreign to the Eskimo. They do not regard space as static and therefore measurable: hence they have no formal units of spatial measurement, just as they have no uniform divisions of time.

The carver, when he chooses, is indifferent to the demands of the eye: he lets each piece fill its own space, create its own world, without reference to background or anything external to it. Each carving lives in spatial independence. Size and shape, proportions and selection, these are set by the object itself, not forced from without.

Like sound, each mask creates its own space, its own identity; it makes its own assumptions.

HAIDA Haida artists sometimes make visual puns, but a more distinctive feature of their art is the mask that changes: *e.g.*, eagle suddenly opens to reveal a manlike spirit. This is not simultaneity, but metamorphosis. And so it is in many Northwest Coast Indian legends. One tells of a mythic hero who appears first as a whale, but later approaches the shores as a man disembarking from the whale, which is no longer himself but his canoe. When he meets the local chief and his daughter, whom he wishes to marry, he presents them, at a feast, with the whale, which has now returned to its animal nature at the end of its third transmutation.²

No objects illustrate the conventions of this art better than the carved and painted boxes: “The ornamentation seems purely decorative. A rigid conformism obeying fundamental rules permits, however, the representation of a bear, a shark, a beaver, without any of the limits which elsewhere confine the artist. The animal is represented altogether in full face and in profile, from the back and at the same time from above and from below, from without and from within. A butcher draftsman, by an extraordinary mixture of convention and realism has skinned and boned, even removed the entrails, to construct a new being, coincident by all points of

its anatomy with the parallelepiped or rectangular surface, and the object created is at once a box and an animal—many animals, and a man. The box speaks, it actually guards the treasures entrusted to it in the corner of a house where all proclaim that it is, itself, the inner part of some more enormous animal which one enters by a door which is a gaping jawbone. . . .”³

Unlike the Eskimo artist, the Haida artist, with these boxes, doesn’t create space; he *fills* space. He works within borders, even accents borders with color or copper or abalone. He fills space *totally*. When he redesigns the animal he has chosen to reproduce, his main concern, apparently, is to cover the surface. If that animal doesn’t provide him with enough parts to fill that space, he simply adds more parts, without reference to anatomy.

Though rectangles play an extremely important part in this culture, lines don’t meet abruptly. They approach each other, at 90° angles, but then, just before they collide, they turn away.

Bill Holm writes: “. . . The constant flow of movement, broken at rhythmic intervals by rather sudden, but not necessarily jerky changes of motion-direction, characterizes both the dance and art of the Northwest Coast.”⁴

Holm, himself a dancer-singer-carver, tells of “a certain physical satisfaction from the muscle activity involved in producing the characteristic line movement of this art” and the fact that “some of the most skillful artists of the southern Kwakiutl are among the best dancers and song composers.”⁵

Bill Reid, a Haida carver, offers a very lucid description of this experience. It is, he says, “a controlled and mannered process, determined by rules and conventions so strict that it would seem individual expression must be stifled. But it is the conflict between this rigid discipline and the genius of the great artists which gives such dynamic power to the images. If every line must flow in a preordained course, and no matter how it swells and contracts, must eventually turn again upon itself, and each part of that line wide or narrow, straight or curved, has equal strength, the tension produced is enormous. If every structure, be it box or totem, spoon handle or rattle, must have for every thrust a counter thrust, then each object becomes a frozen universe, filled with latent energy. The basic lines of a box design start with a major image, rush to the limits of the field, turn back upon themselves, are pushed and squeezed towards the center, and rippling over and around the internal patterns, start the motion again. Where form touches form, the line is compressed, and the tension almost reaches the breaking point, before it is released in another broad flowing curve. In totem pole or spoon handle, the upward or outward thrust inherent in the shape of tree or horn is exactly balanced by the downward flow of the design. All is containment and control, and yet always there seems to be an effort to escape. The rules were there, and they were a part of the pattern that went far beyond the conventions of art, were more than a part of the life of the people, were the very essence of their lives.”⁶

ATHABASKAN Athabaskan art confronts us with a paradox. Most of it, by any standard, especially Athabaskan, is so poorly executed, so uninspired, so graceless, one wonders: was it honestly come by?

Yet these ugly efforts, often no more than poor imitations of inspired work by neighboring Eskimo, exist side-by-side with Athabaskan art of stunning workmanship and beauty.

Athabaskan carvers copied Eskimo masks without understanding the rules Eskimo carvers obeyed. They knew this art only as outsiders and they knew it only after it had been reduced to a souvenir level, produced for relic hunters in the late 19th century, without strict obedience to traditional conventions.

Most Eskimo masks which have been exhibited are actually souvenirs, designed for tourists. They serve to remind us of the distinction between genuine and spurious cultures. Genuine culture, wrote Edward Sapir, is the expression of a "consistent attitude toward life, an attitude which sees the significance of any element of civilization in its relation to all others. It is, ideally speaking, a culture in which nothing is spiritually meaningless."⁷

Such masks, though they may have "meaning" to those who collected them and to those who exhibit them, were spiritually meaningless to those who carved them.

"It's the power of belief," writes Froelich Rainey, "which makes all the difference between original native art and contemporary native crafts."⁸

By contrast, consider what the Dene, an Athabaskan group living in the barren spruce-forest interior, did with metal: "Every copper piece of theirs," write Witthoff and Eyman, "is delicate, thin, and light. The metal has been greatly modified from its native state, highly forged, with frequent welds and forging folds. It is entirely unlike the stone age technology of the Tlingit and Central Eskimo, entirely unlike the trade tools of the Bering Strait people. It shows a full Chalcolithic technology, not one derivative from the Stone Age or from the Steel Age.

"Steel tools, made by the Dene mainly from files, had replaced copper daggers before 1850. They show equal control of the forge and of the hammer. . . . Dene daggers, in copper and steel, show both heat treatment and stress hardening as methods for controlling strength and edge-hardness of tools."⁹

The Dene use of metals was perhaps the most sophisticated in native North America.

In this exhibition there are also hints—no more, alas—of painted motifs once both widespread and common. I have in mind, particularly, motifs where parallel, straight lines predominate.

In the basement of the Musée de l'Homme in Paris there is a collection of painted skin robes assembled in the 18th century for the education of the palace princes. Several of these robes bear such motifs, though they must come from far to the east of the Athabaskan.

In English and Irish castles, German collections, and Scandinavian

churches are other early pieces sent home by soldiers as trophies. A few bear such motifs.

Later, complex floral designs—partly, perhaps wholly—in imitation of French fashions, replaced these earlier motifs. But among the Athabaskan, they survived quite late. They could be very ancient. Similar designs existed in Siberia.

I do not know of any moose hair or porcupine quill embroidery, from any tribe in America, superior to that produced, until fairly recently, by Athabaskan women. Late 18th-century Iroquois examples may be equal, but are never superior.

Their late survival among the Athabaskan gives us a brief glimpse of an art that probably goes far back into prehistory. Its designs (as with much Aleut art) appear, to the uninitiated, as no more than abstract, geometric patterns. Yet, to their makers, they were representational. They could be “read” as easily as we read ski-lift passes with their multi-colored symbols.

It remains to explain why the Athabaskan, living in this harsh—really brutal—land, went to such “impractical” efforts.

I have often wondered if the answer can’t be found in an event which occurred in the mid-winter of 1772, in the desolate tundra, when Samuel Hearne and his native companions came upon the track of a strange snowshoe. They followed it to a little hut where they discovered a young girl sitting alone. She told of her capture by a hostile band, of the murder of her parents, husband and infant, and of her escape nearly seven months before. Living alone, without seeing a human face, she supported herself by snaring small game.

“It is scarcely possible to conceive,” observed Hearne, “that a person in her forlorn situation could be so composed as to contrive, or execute, anything not absolutely essential to her existence. Nevertheless, all her clothing, besides being calculated for real service, showed great taste, and no little variety of ornament. The materials, though crude, were very curiously wrought, and so judiciously placed as to make the whole of her garb have a very pleasing, though rather romantic appearance.”¹⁰

The mystery is not, as André Malraux points out in a similar context, that someone should be tossed by chance into this desolate waste: it is, rather, that within this prison of ice and wind, she was able to call from within herself images powerful enough to deny her nothingness.

In addition to these brief comments, I have written catalog entries on about a dozen objects in this exhibition. These notes come directly, often verbatim, from the sources cited, the principal source being Louis Shotridge, son of the Master of the Whale House at Klukwan and grandson of a famed Tlingit noble.

Shotridge collected, for The University Museum in Philadelphia, some of the Tlingit’s greatest treasures, an effort he paid for with his life. If this were all, if the story were really that simple, we might condemn him in our thoughts, as his kinsmen condemned him in life. But he left behind, in notes and publications, an unparalleled record of the meaning

these objects had for the Tlingit. Without this record, we would never really be able to enter the Tlingit world, at least not to the depths his writings permit.

The view he offers, from inside the Tlingit world, is unique. The information he offers, on the routes he employed to reach that world, are invaluable. Shotridge, raised a Tlingit but converted to anthropology, had to become a Tlingit once more before he could experience Tlingit life.¹¹

George Foster Emmons served on the 1837 Wilkes Expedition, raised the U.S. flag at Sitka in 1867, and commanded the U.S. Naval Hydrographic Survey. Specimens he collected are included in this exhibition. An even larger number come from his son, George Thorton Emmons, who is “the” name in Tlingit studies. Emmons married a Tlingit, built a gracious home in Sitka and devoted his long life to placing on record the meaning of Tlingit life. Some 20,000 pages of his handwritten notes survive.¹²

It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of naming among the Tlingit. In a culture where everything related to everything else and nothing was spiritually meaningless, names not only classified, they defined social roles, conferred mythic significance, and, they were often lovely.

Among the neighboring Tsimshian, as Wilson Duff points out, a child’s name was chosen from the stock of names owned by his lineage, that is, the lineage of his mother. Once a person’s name was known, there was seldom doubt as to his lineage. His name also identified the phratry, and often the specific lineage, of his father. Thus *Ni’ Gamks*—a well-known girl’s name belonging to one of the Frog-Raven “Houses” at Kitsegula—means “on-sunshine,” which by itself fails to make sense, because it lacks reference to the father’s phratry. If the father was a member of Fireweed phratry, which owned as one of its crests the killer whale, the complete name might be “on-sunshine dorsal fin killer whale,” or in free translation “sunshine glinting on the wet dorsal fin of the emerging killer whale.” The same name used for a girl whose father belonged to the Eagle phratry might be “sunshine glinting on the white head of the eagle.”

Each name conjured up a striking image of a crest animal: “misty spout of the killer whale,” “raven flying out to sea cawing in the early morning,” “grouse making a robe for itself with its tail feathers.” Each conveyed its image by clever, economical use of language, and each rolled pleasingly off the tongue. These were one-line poems, and may be considered one of the art forms of the Northwest Coast.

Those wishing to pursue this subject further—to enter these other worlds—might profitably read *Northwest Coast Indian Art* by Bill Holm, who learned Kwakiutl and became, himself, a dancer-singer-carver. For an account of the great totem poles, I recommend *Out of the Silence* by the photographer Adelaide DeMenil and the Haida carver, Bill Reid, whose works rival the finest ever made by his forebears.

All Eskimo studies begin, and sometimes end, with the writings of Knud Rasmussen, especially his *Reports of the Fifth Thule Expedition*.¹³ Rasmussen's mother was Eskimo; he himself, by temperament, was all Eskimo. I also recommend my own *Eskimo Realities*.

All this is supplemental to the objects themselves. I suggest that the visitor concentrate on a few pieces, preferably one. Do what an Eskimo carver does when he encounters a piece of unworked ivory. He holds it lightly in his hand, turning it this way and that, whispering, "Who are you? Who hides there?" And then: "Ah, Seal!"

He rarely sets out to carve, say, a seal, but picks up the ivory, examines it to find its hidden form and, if that's not immediately apparent, carves aimlessly until he sees it, humming or chanting as he works. Then he brings it out: Seal, hidden, emerges. It was always there: he didn't create it. He released it: he helped it step forth.

1. Claude Lévi-Strauss, "The Scope of Anthropology," *Current Anthropology*, 7, no. 2 (1966), p. 121.
2. Kwakiutl legend recorded by Franz Boas and summarized by Claude Lévi-Strauss in "The Art of the Northwest Coast at the American Museum of Natural History," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 24, (1943), p. 181.
3. Lévi-Strauss, "The Art of the Northwest Coast at the American Museum of Natural History," p. 181.
4. Bill Holm, *Northwest Coast Indian Art: An Analysis of Form*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965), pp. 92-3.
5. Holm, *Northwest Coast Indian Art*, pp. 92-3.
6. Bill Reid, "The Art—An Appreciation," *The Arts of the Raven*, (Vancouver: The Vancouver Art Gallery, 1967).
7. Edward Sapir, *The Selected Writings of Edward Sapir in Language, Culture and Personality*, ed. David G. Mandelbaum, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949).
8. Froelich Rainey, "The Vanishing Art of the Arctic," *Expedition*, 1, no. 28, (1959), pp. 3-13.
9. John Witthoff and Frances Eyman, "Metallurgy of the Tlingit, Dene and Eskimo," *Expedition*, 11, no. 3, (1969), p. 21.
10. Samuel L. Hearne, *A Journey from the Prince of Wales in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean*, (London: A. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1795).
11. A book on the writings and life of Louis Shotridge is now in preparation.
12. Xerox copies of these notes will shortly be made available in a number of libraries.
13. These reports are difficult to locate except in large reference libraries, and the popularized versions are often unsatisfactory. However, a new paperback edition is in preparation and will soon be available.

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*Back cover:
Sea Lions of St. George's Island
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