REVIEW

MEMORY AND LANDSCAPE: INDIGENOUS RESPONSES TO A CHANGING NORTH

Edited by Kenneth L. Pratt and Scott A. Heyes; foreword by Hugh Brody, 2022. Athabasca University Press, Athabasca, AB; xviii + 394 pages, 172 color figures, maps, appendix, index. ISBN 978-1-771993159 (paperback) $66.00; ISBN 978-1-771993173 (ebook) $48.00.

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This volume centers on Indigenous histories and how enduring connections to the past are taken up by Arctic communities in response to rapid environmental and political change. A defining strength is that each contribution draws on long-term community-partnered research, with authors typically drawing on decades of experience. The volume is divided into three sections entitled "Indigenous History and Identity," "Forces of Change," and "Knowing the Land," each introduced through a personal narrative from an Indigenous author, setting a frame of lived experience for the academic papers that follow.

The efficacy of memory and landscape in the production of Indigenous futures is a prominent theme among several key papers, making the volume relevant to researchers in any field of heritage studies. Mark Nuttall's contribution offers an innovative theoretical foundation for reorienting community-partnered heritage research toward the power dynamics of environmental governance in the present. Focusing on Northwest Greenland, Nuttall explores tensions around Inuit conceptions of future, independence, and development by examining the role of "absences" that outline past lifeways in modern Greenlandic identity and sense of future. Nuttall illustrates how places, words, and even personal names evoke essences of things past in the collective anticipation and response to a changing world. Inuit communities, in coping with vulnerability to the direct and political effects of climate change, do not self-reference as fragile, and absences scaffold productive visions of self-directed futures.

A cluster of papers offer further insight on relationships between memory, landscape, and increasingly urbanized lifeways. Martha Dowsley and colleagues provide a remarkable account of berry picking as an enduring practice through which contemporary Inuit communities apprehend and develop shared awareness of ecological change. As a gendered social event, berry picking becomes a mechanism of intergenerational experience, renewal of values, and exchange between families dispersed in towns in the eastern Canadian Arctic. Cravings for berries provide a sort of visceral absence and basis of anticipation that can guide the maintenance of urban Arctic relationships with the land.

Scott Heyes and Peter Jacobs look specifically at architecture and the extent to which Inuit social organization and family practices, which were developed around mobile lifeways, can be better integrated with Nunavik's modern housing. They outline challenges of prefabricated houses and ownership schemes and explore Inuit "architectures of resistance," such as cabin construction, as a direction for better design.

Kenneth Pratt's chapter demonstrates how Yup'ik historical landscapes are active in the perception of change in the Yukon Delta of Southwest Alaska. The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) has resulted in detailed records of oral histories, archaeological survey, and photographic representation of significant places over the last 50 years. Pratt uses this material to assess patterns in ecological transformation, demonstrating changes in erosion and

vegetation. A striking observation that emerges from the before/after comparisons that Pratt presents is that many changes are not just climate-driven but also linked to reduced Yup'ik activity and stewardship of the land.

Another important theme is the subversion of Indigenous knowledge systems and environmental tenure by means of colonial mapping. William Simeone provides a detailed historical account of Euro-American cartographic representations of Ahtna lands in Southcentral Alaska. The earliest maps demonstrate the dependence of colonial explorers on Indigenous knowledge, yet Ahtna place names are progressively replaced through time, reaching total erasure in contemporary recreational maps. Gary Holton compares place-naming strategies between Inuit-Yupik and Dene languages in Alaska, outlining fundamental differences in how the landscape is conceptualized. Dene place naming across varied dialects is based on a generative directional system that can predetermine names for geographical features according to rules related to motion of water across static features. In contrast, Inuit-Yupik languages have a distinct orientation system, which can also evoke "human affordance" and historical knowledge. This point is strongly supported in Louann Rank's chapter on the ethnoecology of Yup'ik place names in the Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta. Here, Yup'ik place names convey significant nuances on fish ecology and fishing practices. Place-name projects are often bounded by the conventions of replacing colonial toponyms on modern maps. Together, Holton's and Rank's papers emphasize the knowledge systems that underlie place names are equally important features of memory.

The volume also includes a series of inspiring case studies in oral history and place-names research. Aron Crowell takes a conjunctive approach to explore a migratory event from five centuries ago that remains a part of Yakutat Tlingit identity. Archaeological evidence from sites associated with the migration route, including artifacts, architecture, and faunal assemblages, demonstrate strong historicity to the narrative, which is still told by speakers today.

Murielle Nagy identifies differences in Inuvialuit toponym projects separated by decades in time, noting a clear decline in the use of traditional place names. Nagy correlates this with language loss and negative impact to Inuvialuit cultural memoryscapes. Robert Drozda uses linguistic analysis and oral history to explore the antiquity of two place names from Nunivak Island, which include a cognate for walrus that is no longer in the local Cup'ig lexicon. Investigation of knowledge about these two sites reveals fascinating connections, embedded partially in the place names themselves, resulting in new knowledge about past migratory events. Peter Dawson and colleagues try to apply techniques used in advertising to see if they can glean sentiment from Inuit place-name data. Finally, Michael Chlenov and Igor Krupnik offer a rare look at Siberian Yupik and Chukchi place names in the Senyavin Strait originally recorded in the 1970s and 1980s. This unique resource will have enduring value given the rapid transformation of language, landscape, and knowledge loss from Soviet times to the present.

Memory and Landscape is a significant contribution for Arctic researchers and a great resource for anyone conducting community-partnered research in the North. The volume should also find a global readership in the field of heritage studies and climate change. The papers are well-written and illustrated with stunning photographs from contributors' fieldwork. The editors and authors have ensured the volume is accessible to a broad audience, and the combination of theoretical insight and excellent case studies makes *Memory and Landscape* a great text for seminar classes.

REVIEW

VISCERAL: VERITY, LEGACY, IDENTITY ALASKA NATIVE GUT KNOWLEDGE AND PERSEVERANCE

By Sonya Kelliher-Combs and Ellen Carrlee, 2023. Alaska State Library, Archives and Museum, Juneau; iv + 92 pages, full color and black-and-white figures and maps, tables. ISBN 978-1-7370036-5-6 (paperback) $40.00; available from the Friends of the Alaska State Library, Archives and Museum.

Reviewed by Erica Hill
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This beautifully produced exhibit catalog unites contemporary mixed-media installations with Alaska Native objects made of gut or related to gut processing. Broadly, gut processing refers to the preparation of the tissues of several internal organs, including the stomach, esophagus, intestines, and bladder. The title of the catalog, *Visceral*, was an inspired choice, as both the artwork and the objects from museum collections evoke themes of bodily integrity and intimacy. Every section of the catalog conveys—through words and images—the links between gut as a material and its connotation as a corporeal center of identity and self.

The first part of the catalog features the work of mixed-media artist Sonya Kelliher-Combs, who tackles issues of sexual abuse and suicide. Her series "Credible" combines maps, hair, and the names of offenders, linking trauma to place and identity. "Credible, Small Secrets" is comprised of dozens of pouches made of walrus stomach, hide, cotton fabric, and hair. Imagining each pouch contains an individual account of abuse, combined with the village maps, gives an appalling sense of the scale and extent of the suffering, while the size and surface treatment of each pouch—no two are alike—recognize the personal experience of each suffering individual.

The remainder of the catalog deals with themes of legacy and identity, and highlights the virtuosity and innovation of Alaska Native gut work. Among the objects are pouches, bags, and canteens of various shapes and sizes. These are made of fur seal, bearded seal, and sea lion intestines. Other objects include a drum, early twentieth-century decorated "wall pockets," and a window of marine mammal intestine from Kotzebue (p. 36). Other animal materials used to construct the items include walrus, moose, and caribou bladders; bird stomachs; muskrat fur; and fish skin.

Nine gut parkas, or "raincoats," receive special attention. The curators have chosen representative examples from across Alaska. Each one is handsomely photographed by Brian Wallace and accompanied by historical images that contextualize their use. Opposite each raincoat photo are lists of materials used for construction and distinctive regional features, plus notes on construction. The Cup'ig gut parka, or *imarniteg*, from Nunivak, for example (pp. 54–55) is made of bearded seal intestine, beach grass, possibly dog hair, and seal esophagus, with walrus intestine insets under the arms to enhance durability. In contrast to the ceremonial parkas, the *imarniteg* has an unfinished bottom hem, though it is hooded, as are most of the examples in the catalog. Also included is the *vak'izheghi*, an Athabascan bear intestine raincoat (pp. 64–65), which may be the product of contact between Dene and their Sugpiaq, Yup'ik, or Unangax̂ neighbors.

This compact, well-illustrated volume is an accessible resource on gut, which has received too little attention and study from scholars. The catalog makes it clear just how important gut was for clothing, cuisine, storage, and transport. Watertight seams on gut parkas protected Alaska Native ancestors from the elements, canteens of gut supplied them with water, and bags made of esophagus permitted the secure transport of goods. The catalog also

demonstrates that interest in gut work continues and may, perhaps, be experiencing a renaissance as materials with ancient histories are deployed in new contexts, including doll, jewelry, and basket making by twenty-first-century artists (p. 86).

Visceral stands out as the first and only book—to my knowledge—on Alaska Native use of gut, though Ellen Carrlee, coauthor of the catalog, did her 2020 dissertation at the University of Alaska Fairbanks on Yup'ik gut processing, looking at the material and its taskscape from the perspective of actor-network theory. As *Visceral* demonstrates, gut and gut processing are emblematic not only of complex relations among humans and animals but also of an ongoing dialogue among material, identity, and Alaska Native heritage.

REVIEW

TENGAUTULI ATKUK/THE FLYING PARKA: THE MEANING AND MAKING OF PARKAS IN SOUTHWEST ALASKA

By Ann Fienup-Riordan, Alice Rearden, and Marie Meade, 2023. University of Washington Press, Seattle; 320 pages, 157 color figures, maps, tables, references, index. ISBN 978-0295751740 (paperback) $45.00; ISBN 978-0295751733 (ebook) $33.00.

Reviewed by Jill Oakes
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Beginning with three sewing gatherings, almost 20 years ago, Ann Fienup-Riordan, Alice Rearden, and Marie Meade began documenting the meaning and significance of traditional parkas. They were infused with the joy Elders experienced when sharing their traditions with others. A series of discussions continued throughout the years as this dynamic research process of learning through informal discussions on a specific topic provided incredible insights into the love and passion seamstresses expressed through their exquisitely crafted parkas. The Calista Elders Council (now Calista Education and Culture, Inc.) "pioneered this format while working with elders between 2000 and 2005 during a major Yup'ik traditional knowledge project funded by the National Science Foundation's Arctic Social Science program" (p. 7). This process provided an environment where Elders could speak with their peers, at a most knowledgeable level, rather than speaking to an interviewer who knew little about the topic. John Phillip at Kongiganak observed during one gathering: "Hearing the story you just told, I learned what I didn't know. It is like we are still learning" (p. 7).

Over 60 Yup'ik tradition bearers from throughout southwestern Alaska, including the coauthors, are acknowledged and their stories referenced throughout, bringing the traditional meaning of their parkas to light. An intimate knowledge of this region permeates the rich collection of images from international, local, and private collections, many including individual names. Construction procedures are explained with photographs and clearly drawn stitching details, and enriched with individual stories, providing an exceptional holistic understanding of the meaning and significance of these parkas.

The stories! This incredible collection of stories truly demonstrates how seamstresses stitch their traditional knowledge into the very essence of each parka. Stories from Yup'ik tradition bearers introduce new insights on the process of sewing, parka construction in general, the wide variety of materials, the significance of parkas in daily life, and stories explaining the meaning of making caribou-skin parkas, and parkas made from a wide variety of skins: "Elsie Tommy told another story of *ircenrraat* [extraordinary, other-than-human persons] hosting a feast and giving their human guests plants, which transformed into different animal skins useful for making parkas" (p. 22). "Parkas themselves were sometimes said to 'fly' on their own. During a discussion of simple stringed instruments made from tin containers, Elsie Tommy . . . told the story of a hanging parka that appeared to dance" (p. 23).

Parka conversations continued by visiting artifacts in the National Museum of the American Indian and the National Museum of Natural History in Washington, DC. The chapter that presents this experience provides a profound look at the power of artifacts "speaking" to the Yup'ik tradition bearers in a modern setting. While examining a parka in one of the museum collections, "Martina exclaimed that this was the first time she'd seen a parka like this. As this one small example makes clear, the placement of parka parts could be modified in creative ways by individual seamstresses and appreciated by those who understood parkas" (p. 186). The incredible value of

knowledgeable seamstresses examining parkas that are no longer made is beautifully summarized: "At the close of our examination of the birdskin parka, Elsie said, with feeling, 'We are helping one another [to explain things], but we have lost the many things we would have talked about'" (p. 203).

Although traditional parkas used in the past are the primary focus, traditional parkas remain important today. "Parkas have a rich past in Southwest Alaska, and thanks to women like Merna, their future looks bright. . . . Parkas may change, but they will continue to be made and used as long as chilly winds blow on the Bering Sea coast" (p. 230).

In addition to using stories throughout *Tengautuli Atkuk / The Flying Parka*, each full story, written in Yup'ik and translated into English, is included in the last chapter. These stories provide a fascinating, intimate, insightful understanding of the incredible significance of traditional parkas. Stories include a wide range of topics from birth to death. One story that illustrates the power seamstresses have is about a hunter who left his wife:

> His previous wife made him a seal-gut rain parka. As she was sewing the garment, she cried and poked holes in it with her needle. The holes that she poked, when the weather suddenly got bad [as he was hunting], when the waves would splash on him, the water would enter [through those holes], and they gradually tore, and eventually, they tore all the way around. He didn't live, he died when the water filled his kayak. (p. 251)

A dictionary of terms used in parka discussions, notes, an extensive list of references, and an index contribute to making this a most valuable reference. Yupiit interested in reviving traditional parka sewing, people interested in learning Yup'ik traditional knowledge, cultural and northern scholars, and circumpolar Inuit scholars are just a few of the people who will look forward to having this book in their collection.

REVIEW

CULTURE AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE ANCESTRAL UNANGAX̂/ALEUT OF THE ALEUTIAN ISLANDS, ALASKA
UNANGAM TANANGIN ILAN UNANGAX̂/ALIGUUTAX̂ MAQAX̂SINGIN AMA KADAANGIM TANANGIN ANAX̂IX̂TAQANGIS

By Debra Corbett and Diane Hanson, 2023. Springer Nature, Cham, Switzerland; xxi + 419 pages, 64 figures, maps, tables; references. ISBN 978-3-031-44292-6 (hardcover) $59.99; ISBN 978-3-031-44294-0 (ebook) $44.99.

Reviewed by Jason Rogers
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Authors Debra Corbett (retired from the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service) and Diane Hanson (professor emerita at the University of Alaska Anchorage) have produced a volume with the ambitious goal, as the title suggests, of presenting the culture, archaeology, and ethnohistory of the peoples of the Aleutian chain in its entirety. As the authors (each with many years of research accomplishments and fieldwork in the region) freely admit, they are "obsessed" (p. 1) with the wild and remote archipelago known as the "birthplace of the winds." Their approach, as stated in the introductory chapter, is to integrate new information with older research, debunk old myths, and stimulate new areas of investigation. The result of their efforts is a valuable and useful work.

The book is organized thematically, endeavoring to broadly integrate the physical surroundings with cultural chronology and ancestral lifeways. Chapters on physical environment and environmental history transition to those with a focus on cultural and social topics. The volume appears to be largely directed at a student (or even general) audience, although with a wealth of detail and synthesis that will be useful for scholars and specialists in the field as well. An emphasis on the central and western Aleutians is apparent, which reflects the research interests and fieldwork experience of the authors. A strong effort is made to acknowledge and include Unangax̂/Aleut perspectives and experiences—including a discussion of those occasionally controversial ethnonyms. The format is readable and accessible, with clear transitions and thematic continuity. Many chapters contain useful callout boxes with detailed summaries of topics related to the chapter theme: for example, marine reservoir effects on radiocarbon dates, obsidian sourcing through geochemical analysis, distinguishing porpoises from dolphins, DNA and paleogenetic analysis, and labretifery. Oddly, there is a reference section for each chapter, which undoubtedly adds to the overall length of the book, as many references are cited in multiple chapters throughout the work.

The opening three chapters set the stage, with dynamic descriptions of volcanism, tectonics, tsunamis, and other physical and environmental phenomena that both created the island chain and deeply influenced the lifeways of its inhabitants. Chapter 4, "The People," is a comprehensive culture history of the Aleutian Islands, from assumed initial settlement ca. 9000 years ago up to the period of Russian contact in the early 1700s. This is followed by "People on the Landscape," focusing more closely on topics such as population estimates, settlement patterns, ethnic divisions, social rank, and warfare. Chapter 6, "Making a Living," focuses on techniques and technology used to acquire food and raw materials, as opposed to processing technology and products made from resources, which are covered in chapter 7, "Life at Home." Chapter 8, "Transitions," focuses on "the life cycle of individuals from birth through death," covering social customs, beliefs, and lifeways including puberty, marriage, death and mourning, and various aspects of Aleut ritual and ceremonialism. The final chapter, "Reflections," is in-

tended to integrate the information presented in previous sections, to reemphasize the authors' resolve to overturn existing dogma and present a more accurate representation of Aleut culture and archaeology, and to present future research directions.

Throughout the book, several themes are prominent. One is the authors' desire to "demolish [the] myths" and assert a new paradigm for research in the region. Chief among the myths slated for demolition are the concepts of "cultural isolation" with little change over the last 4000 years, cultural homogeneity along the entire chain (pp. 4–5), and the Paleo-Aleut/Neo-Aleut distinction (pp. 140–145). With respect to the first two theories, it seems (at least to this researcher) that they are mostly now nearly dead, if not actually in the grave. It has been quite some time since I've heard the claim that Aleutian culture evolved in isolation, or that there has been little cultural or technological change in the chronology. Indeed, most recent research has emphasized the opposite (i.e., Corbett and Yarborough 2016; Davis et al. 2016; and the entire special issue of *Human Biology* 82, nos. 5–6 [2010]). However, putting such ideas to final rest is certainly a worthwhile undertaking.

Among the particularly valuable conclusions is the observation that after a century or so of work, we are still woefully ignorant of the initial peopling of the chain: only four sites dating between 9000 and 7000 BP have been excavated or sampled. Researchers have generally looked only in the same obvious places (middens near the shoreline, for example), and thus have missed deeper buried, older sites, or sites in locations previously thought to be "irrelevant" (i.e., upland areas). Also in the concluding chapter, the authors provide a thought-provoking discussion of house and village architecture, clearly a topic that deserves deeper study. A comprehensive refutation of the extremely unhelpful "Paleo-Aleut/Neo-Aleut" dichotomy is most welcome. And looking to the future, the authors highlight the extremely important development of contemporary Unangax̂/Aleut researchers who are choosing to work in the disciplines of anthropology and archaeology. These researchers can generate new hypotheses to explore, based on experiences in their home communities and generational knowledge passed from their families and community elders.

A few (hopefully constructive) criticisms: the maps throughout the book are quite poor, showing islands simply as shaded polygon shapes with little or no cartographic information (contours, topography, hydrography, coordinate grid, etc.). Some lack scale bars, north arrows, and even basic keys to the information presented. The figures in general are disappointing. Artifact illustrations are high quality, but black-and-white pencil drawings of coastal environments, archaeological sites, and landscape features are uninformative and difficult to interpret. For a volume with such an articulate focus on landscape and human–environment interactions, this approach is puzzling. One can only assume that there were restrictions placed by the publisher on the inclusion of high-resolution color images.

There are a few curious inaccuracies. For example, the authors state that masks and other ritual objects have only been recovered from cave deposits (p. 391). But, of course, whalebone masks have been recovered from village and midden sites, such as those from Chaluka, the Amaknak Bridge site, and all three masks from the Hot Springs Village site (Rogers and Anichtchenko 2011). Further, the authors state that none of the whalebone masks have eyeholes (p. 393), yet all five whalebone masks illustrated in Rogers and Anichtchenko (2011) clearly have perforated eyes, as does the wooden mask from the Kagamil Mask Cave (Bank 1953).

Despite these quibbles, Corbett and Hanson have produced a readable, affordable, and largely comprehensive synthesis of the physical environment, archaeology, and ethnohistory of the Unangax̂/Aleut region. This volume is a welcome addition to the body of literature relating to the study of the Aleutian chain.

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