
Alaska Journal of Anthropology

Volume Four, Numbers 1-2

2006



TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION: SCHOLARSHIP AND LEGACY OF THE "BERING STRAIT UNIVERSE" - OWEN K. MASON, IGOR KRUPNIK, AND YVON CSONKA	6
---	---

ARTICLES

MIKHAIL BRONSHTEIN: A PERSONAL TRIBUTE - SERGEI ARUTYUNOV	18
--	----

THE QUESTION OF A UNIFIED BIRNIRK-PUNUK ARTISTIC TRADITION IN THE ESKIMO ART OF CHUKOTKA - E. S. SUKHORUKOVA	24
--	----

A LATE BIRNIRK HOUSE AT PAIPELGHAK IN NORTHERN CHUKOTKA: A PRELIMINARY REPORT BASED ON THE EXCAVATIONS FROM 2002-2004 - KIRILL A. DNEPROVSKY	34
--	----

DID BERING STRAIT PEOPLE INITIATE THE THULE MIGRATION? - HANS CHRISTIAN GULLØV AND ROBERT MCGHEE	54
---	----

EVIDENCE FROM THE MACKENZIE DELTA FOR PREHISTORIC LINKS BETWEEN ALASKA AND ARCTIC CANADA: THE SATKUALUK SITE - PATRICIA D. SUTHERLAND	64
---	----

THE "UELENSKI LANGUAGE" AND ITS POSITION AMONG NATIVE LANGUAGES OF THE CHUKCHI PENINSULA - MICHAEL A. CHLENOV	74
---	----

LANDSCAPES, FACES, AND MEMORIES: ESKIMO PHOTOGRAPHY OF ALEKSANDR FORSHTEIN, 1927-1929 - IGOR KRUPNIK AND ELENA MIKHAILOVA	92
---	----

THE ESKIMO LANGUAGE WORK OF ALEKSANDR FORSHTEIN - MICHAEL E. KRAUSS	114
--	-----

THE ART OF WORK AND THE WORK OF ART: BECOMING AN ARTIST AND PRACTICING ART IN YUP'IK ESKIMO ALASKA - MOLLY LEE	134
--	-----

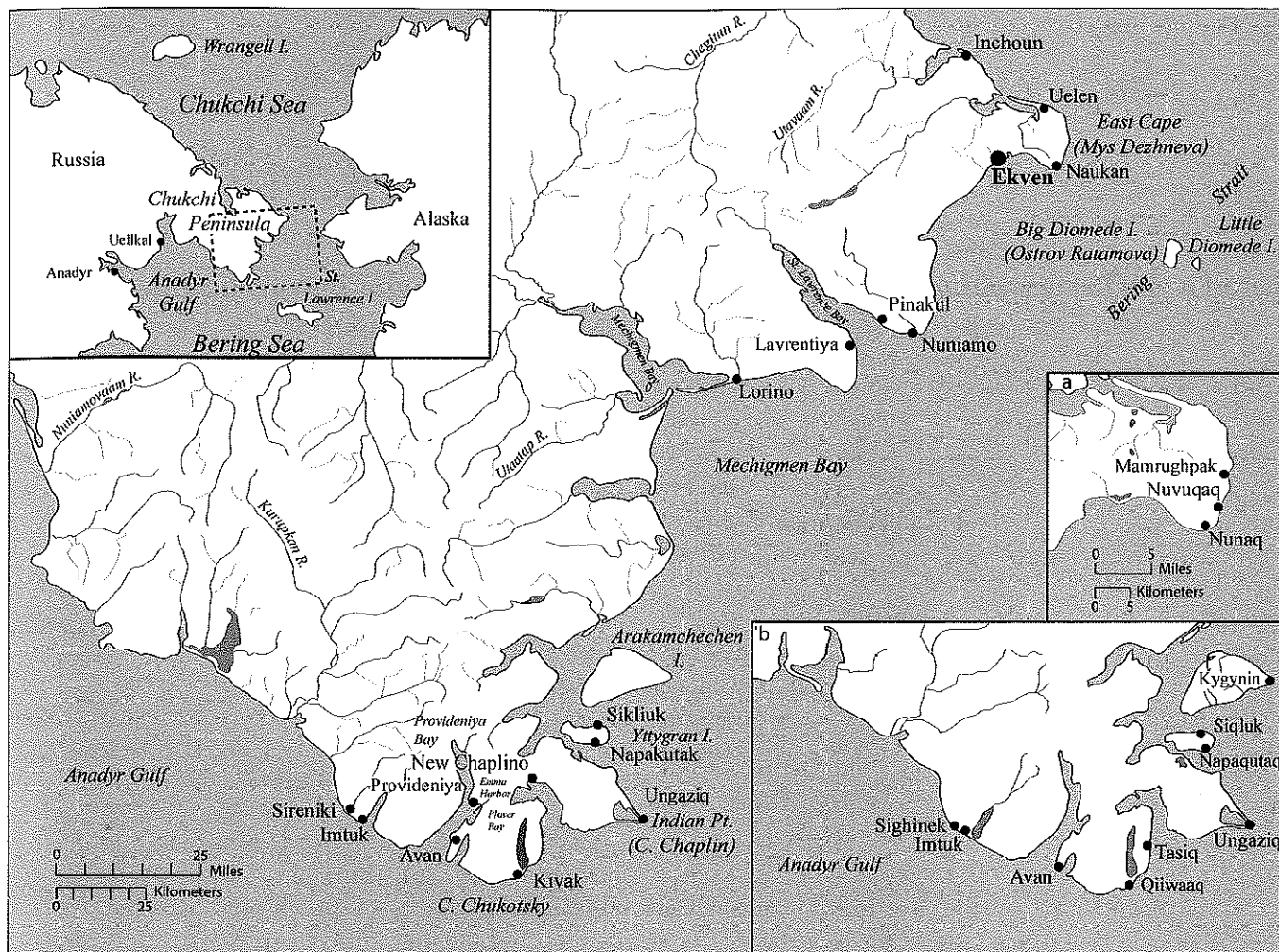
A YUPIGET (ST. LAWRENCE ISLAND YUPIK) FIGURINE AS A HISTORICAL RECORD - HANS-GEORG BANDI	148
---	-----

AFTERWORD: MISHA BRONSHTEIN AND THE LEGACY OF THE EKVEN EXHIBITION IN TÜBINGEN - HANSJÜRGEN MÜLLER-BECK	156
---	-----

FOREWARD TO APPENDIX 1: TWENTY YEARS ON: A PERSPECTIVE ON MISHA'S 1986 PAPER - IGOR KRUPNIK	160
---	-----

APPENDIX 1: VARIABILITY IN ANCIENT ESKIMO GRAPHIC DESIGNS: ON THE PROBLEM OF THE ETHNIC AND CULTURAL HISTORY OF THE BERING SEA FROM THE 1ST MILLENNIUM B.C. TO THE 1ST MILLENNIUM A.D. - M.M. BRONSHTEIN	162
---	-----

APPENDIX 2: MIKHAIL BRONSHTEIN LIST OF MAJOR PUBLICATIONS, 1981-2006	176
---	-----



Map of the Chukchi Peninsula and Asiatic side of the Bering Strait showing the location of the Ekven Site and several local communities listed in this volume's papers. Produced by Dale Slaughter, Boreal Imagery, and Marcia Bakry, Smithsonian Institution. Illustration based upon a map published in the *Handbook of North American Indians*. Vol. 5. Arctic. 1984, p. 248. Washington, DC, Smithsonian Institution.

THE BERING STRAIT UNIVERSE: CULTURES, LANGUAGES, AND HISTORY

A Tribute to Misha Bronshtein

Edited by Igor Krupnik, Yvon Csonka and Owen K. Mason

**Several institutions graciously provided subvention funds toward the publication of this volume.
Their generous support is warmly acknowledged.**

Cerny Inuit Collection
by Aurora Borealis Consulting & Trading Ltd
Gerechtigkeitsgasse 50/52
CH-3011 Berne
Switzerland
Phone +41 31 318 28 20
<http://www.cernyinuitcollection.com>
il.cerny.inuit@bluewin.ch



Smithsonian
National Museum of Natural History



Shared Beringian Heritage Program
National Park Service, Anchorage



Arctic Studies Program
Smithsonian Institution
Washington, D.C. and Anchorage

INTRODUCTION:

SCHOLARSHIP AND LEGACY OF THE “BERING STRAIT UNIVERSE”

Owen K. Mason

Geoarch Alaska, P.O. Box 91554, Anchorage, AK 99509, geoarch@ptialaska.net

Igor Krupnik

Arctic Studies Center, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. 20013-7012. krupniki@si.edu

Yvon Csonka

Ilisimatusarfik University of Greenland, P.O. Box 279, Nuuk, DK 3900, Greenland. yvcs@ilisimatusarfik.gl

Two peninsulae project reciprocal images across Bering Strait, forming two symmetrical portals of Beringia. On the west, Chukotka issues from northeast Asia; on the east, Seward Peninsula, a mountainous appendage of the Brooks Range, divides Kotzebue from Norton Sound. The sheer narrowness of the strait that disconnects the two peninsulae, the two continents, Eurasia and North America, the Old World and the New World, keeps them barely 90 km apart, with the two rocky Diomed Islands splitting that short stretch of water further in the middle. On a clear day, the Siberian and North American mainland shores, as well as the rocky Diomed, King, and Fairway islands in between can be easily seen from both East and West. When traveling by boat or, these days, by plane one can easily visualize the Bering Strait “narrows” as one big insular lake—which was probably very close to the feeling shared by its residents on both sides over centuries and generations. In fact, the whole area adjacent to the Bering Straits “narrows”—from Nome, St. Lawrence Island, and Ungaziq (Cape Chaplin) to the south and up to Kotzebue or even Point Hope (Tikigaq) and Cape Serdtse-Kamen to the north—may be seen as one large “insular” basin at the junction of Northeast Asia and North America.¹

Despite the proximity, the visibility, and the age-old connections among the people of the Bering Strait “basin,” the political exigencies of the 20th century led to nearly fifty years of complete cultural separation. That separation, introduced as one of the byproducts of the Cold War (1946-1990), had ripped Native communities and families asunder (Schweitzer 1997; Schweitzer and Golovko 1996) and led scientists on both sides of the divide to work in isolation on common problems. The Bering Strait region lies at the terminus of two large imperial endeavors, the Russian and the American, being far removed from the power centers of either. In a similar way, the Bering Strait was/is also far removed from the main arenas of both the Old and the New World history. That marginal position relative to the central issues in the studies of the Old and New World archaeology and cultural history (like the origins of ancient states, plant and animal domestication, creation of the “world system,” trans-oceanic contacts, etc.) created and nurtured a peculiar community of the Bering Strait science enthusiasts. Since the time of Diamond Jenness (1928), Henry Collins (1937), Sergei Rudenko (1947/1961), Helge Larsen and Froelich Rainey (1948), this community was captivated in seeking

¹Linda Ellanna (1983) was the first to use the term “insular” while referring to the residents of the Bering Strait (though to the southern portion of this area only).

the “other side” and “across the strait,” in its search for keys to and explanations of locally studied phenomena. Also, from its very beginning, Bering Strait scholarship was keen on combining the methods and approaches of archaeology, ethnology, linguistics, museum research, and art history. The frequently phrased axiom is that the Bering Strait region functioned as a “Crossroads of Continents,” especially during the later periods of its prehistory (Fitzhugh and Crowell 1988). However, in large measure, Bering Strait always remained in its cultural milieu at the tail of Asia.

The progress of archaeology within the Bering Strait region resembles a hare and tortoise parable: Western archaeologists arrived early and set forth several impressive data sets and reports. For the first generation of research and researchers (from the 1920s to the 1950s), the postulates and observations of Collins, Larsen and Rainey, as well as of Diamond Jenness, Otto Geist, Louis Giddings, and others dominated discourse. Even the first archaeological and ethnological museum collections from Chukotka were obtained by non-Russians: Adolf Nordenskiöld and Knud Rasmussen (in 1878 and 1924, respectively); or by the Russians who worked under western scientific ventures (Waldemar Bogoras on the Jesup North Pacific Expedition in 1901). Not until after World War II, starting with Sergei Rudenko in 1945, and particularly during the middle and late 1950s, did Russian archaeologists establish their own impressive tradition of excavations, prehistoric cultural analysis, and monumental museum collections, through the efforts of Maxim Levin, Nikolai Dikov, Dorian Sergeev and Sergei Arutyunov. Because the stage of the Bering Strait history was already set in approximate terms with regard to dates, chronologies, and cultural sequences established by Western archaeologists, the Russians attempted to transform the field into a “two-way” or, at least, a “two-track” venture. By the 1960s, and particularly since the 1970s, it fell upon Western archaeologists to follow the work of their Russian colleagues, to start learning Russian, or at least to arrange for translation of the major Russian publications. The trend continues to this day, thanks in many ways to the impressive Russian archaeology translation program run by the *Shared Beringian Heritage Program* in the Alaska office of the National Park Service, and to the prodigious efforts of people like Peter Richter, Richard Bland, Don Dumond, Robert Ackerman, Roger Powers, Allen McCartney, William Fitzhugh, Daniel Odess, Ted Goebel, and some of their predecessors, like Chester Chard, Henry Michael, David Hopkins, and Hans-Georg Bandi, to popularize the work of Russian archaeologists among their Western colleagues.

The present issue of the *ALASKA JOURNAL OF ANTHROPOLOGY* (AJA), that we named “The Bering Strait Universe: Cultures, Languages, and History,” continues this cross-cultural tradition in many ways. Firstly, we gather papers in archaeology, prehistoric art, linguistics, and ethno-cultural studies, reflecting a wide spectrum of views. Secondly, all of its contributors are either bilingual (at least, partly) or have worked with data and materials from *both* Alaska and Siberia, or even have conducted their research on both sides of Bering Strait. Thirdly, this special issue is dedicated to the contribution to the Bering Strait studies by our distinguished colleague, Dr. Mikhail (Misha) Bronshtein from the State Museum of Oriental Arts (SMOA) in Moscow, Russia (*Gosudarstvennyi Muzei iskusstva narodov Vostoka – GMINV*, literally, Museum of Arts of the Oriental Peoples²) (Fig. 1). In his scholarship, Bronshtein exemplifies

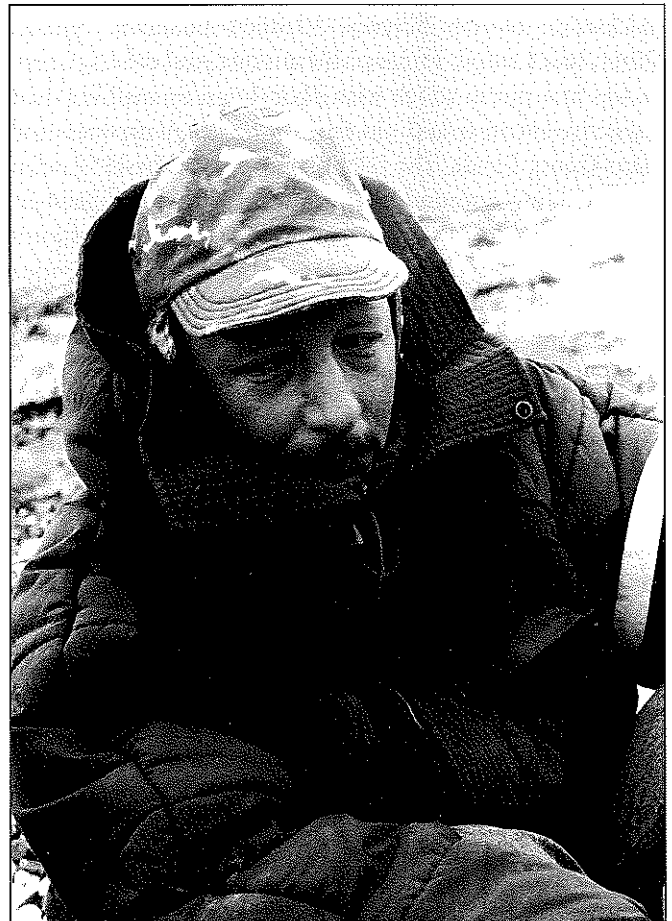


Fig. 1: Mikhail Bronshtein at Ekven. Kirill Dneprovsky, photographer, 1991.

the best of the integrative tradition of the Bering Strait studies by combining archaeology, prehistoric and modern art, museum and collection analyses, as well as outreach to

²The Russian name of the Museum, which literally means Museum of Arts of the Oriental Peoples, is somewhat misleading to an American reader, as it holds collections from China and Japan, but also from India, Central Asia, the Near East, and even Siberia. We use the more common museum's name, State Museum of Oriental Art (SMOA), throughout this collection.

the local Native communities. Misha also serves as a “one-man personal bridge” among the many contributors to this volume and among dozens of his colleagues and friends in Russia and in the West.

The three co-authors of this Introduction have been long fascinated by the various aspects of Bering Strait cultural history; still, we share different stories of our personal knowledge of, and our relationship with Misha Bronshtein and his scholarship. Krupnik first met Bronshtein at the Moscow Institute of Ethnography in the early 1980s, at the very beginning of Misha’s career in the study of Bering Strait ancient art and prehistory. The relationship, always friendly, was a venue for mutual intellectual and professional enrichment that stemmed from the common ties to, and shared mentoring by, the previous generation of Russian Bering Strait specialists, such as Sergei Arutyunov,³ Valery Alexeev (Alekseev), Dorian Sergeev, Vladilen Leontiev, Nikolai Dikov, Igor Lavrov, Tamara Mitlianskaia, and others. Csonka was first put in touch with Bronshtein by mail via their respective mentors and old friends, Sergei Arutyunov and Hans-Georg Bandi. The relationship started in 1992 soon expanded into a second-generation friendship and partnership that was greatly strengthened by several years of joint fieldwork and excavations at the Ekven site in Chukotka, on the Russian side of Bering Strait. Csonka became a field partner and a close friend to Bronshtein in the early 1990s, mainly in a series of joint international expeditions led by Misha and later by Kirill Dneprovsky. Finally, Mason first met Misha in Alaska in 2002 only, at a conference of the Alaska Anthropological Association. Still, despite the lack of prior communication and a language barrier, Misha’s voice emerged as uncannily familiar. The area near Cape Dezhnev, where Bronshtein did most of his field archaeology during the late 1980s and 1990s, served as a maelstrom, a veritable magnet that pulled just about everyone along the shores of Bering Strait toward it. According to Mason and Gerlach (1995), Cape Dezhnev was the pivot of the western Arctic and the keystone to deciphering many issues in Alaskan prehistory that was geographically attached to Northeast Asia. Thus, our personal histories, very much like those of other contributors to this issue, reflect the multi-faceted impact of Bronshtein’s scholarship and his broad personal connections.

Since the mid 1980s, working mostly from intuition in his painstaking study of the prehistoric ivory ornamentation styles from Chukotka in various Russian museums (see Aru-

tyunov, *this issue*), Bronshtein developed his trademark vision of the ancient Bering Strait as that of a dynamic system of interacting polities, communicating within a common idiom of art and cosmology. Bronshtein’s first seminal Russian paper of 1986 (translated and edited for the first time in this issue) introduced a model of the Bering Strait cultural “universe” of the 1st millennium AD uncannily reminiscent of that independently realized by Gerlach and Mason (1992) and Mason (1998), who used a very different approach and relied mostly on Alaskan archaeological records. To Gerlach and Mason (1992) and their readers, discovering Bronshtein was a *déjà vu* of a parallel universe. Nonetheless, Bronshtein’s approach dwells on the commonalities of Bering Strait prehistory from stylistic observations and only rarely considers chronological evidence of synchronicity. While emphasizing common motifs and ignoring chronology, it is possible to posit, as Bronshtein (1986) does, that close links (even personal ties) existed between the people that produced the Okvik culture on St. Lawrence Island and Northeastern Chukotka, the Kurigitavik culture known from near Cape Prince of Wales, and the Old Bering Sea (OBS), Birnirk and Punuk former inhabitants of Ekven.⁴ Unfortunately, when ¹⁴C ages were obtained the chronological garments do not always fit so tightly: Okvik on the Hillside site near Gambell were subsequently dated between AD 200 and 500 (Dumond 1998) while the Kurigitavik culture, clearly a Thule variant (cf. Yamaura 1984) is possibly no younger than AD 900 (Harritt 2004), whereas the Birnirk and Punuk remains in the Ekven settlement are so far dated to the interval AD 600-1600, with a transitional period during which these remains sometimes appear side by side (for details see Moulin and Csonka 2002). Of course, considering the gaps in the record from Wales, it remains thoroughly possible that an Okvik presence is yet to be discovered around Wales, through further excavations or even from objects retrieved by local diggers from the ancient mounds.

Since his earliest publications, Bronshtein has espoused the broad cross-cultural view of 1st millennium prehistory of the Bering Strait region termed the “contemporaneity model” by Gerlach and Mason (1992). This construct stands in clear opposition to the classic “descent” or *pseudo* Biblical or genealogical model, i.e. the Okvik culture *begat* OBS, which *begat* Birnirk, which *begat* Thule, etc. One reason that Okvik served Rainey and Collins (and many a scholar after them) as a foil for the Bering Strait *Ur*-culture is its comparative rarity—known only from a few localities on St. Lawrence Island and near Cape Dezhnev. Nevertheless, later advances

³The transliteration of the Russian names is always a challenge to the editors, since many Western publications have various versions of name spelling for the same person. We use “Sergei Arutyunov” (rather than “Arutiunov” in the Library of Congress’ system) as the most commonly used English transliteration, and also “Mikhail Bronshtein” rather than Anglicized “Michael Bronstein” throughout this issue.

⁴One of us (IK) clearly remembers Bronshtein’s excitement in the mid-1980s when the plates with object photographs and drawings from Yamaura’s Kurigitavik article became first available in Russia. By that time, the distance “across the Bering Strait” (at least, in the scholarly studies) was not a barrier anymore.

in the radiocarbon dating of both Chukotkan and St. Lawrence Island ancient cemeteries have provided considerable confirmation for contemporaneity and synchronicity among local cultures (cf. Dumond 1998). Tracing descent remains a daunting task complicated by an over reliance on objects curated within mortuary contexts. The ambiguous context and remaining scarcity of ^{14}C dates still hinders archaeological progress (cf. Blumer 2002; Mason 1998, 2006)—the issue that Bronshtein's approach so graciously leaves behind.

The legacy of Bronshtein's collaboration with European researchers in the 1990s is the considerable progress in dating Ekven, especially along the erosion front. Nearly 50 ^{14}C ages, most run by AMS method, that also measure $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values, establish the occupation sequence along the Ekven erosional front, with remarkable care to stratigraphic context (Moulin and Csonka 2002). The history of the nearby cemetery at Ekven remains problematical (cf. Dinesman et al. 1999), due to the dating of human bone without attention to the effects of a diet of walrus and other marine mammals with an old carbon signature. Finally, Russian archaeologists have begun to appreciate the need to account for old carbon effects (Khassanov and Savinetski 2006, expanding geographically on the work published by Dumond and Griffin 2002), but considerable additional dating will be required to definitively understand the history of the Ekven cemetery.

In his 1986 paper, Bronshtein also addressed the issue of the "old" Alaskan-Siberian artistic and cultural connections based upon resemblances between Ipiutak and Old Bering Sea (OBS) ornamentation that were also long ago noted by Larsen and Rainey (1948). Bronshtein ascribes a certain Siberian contribution to Ipiutak and argues for a discrete Ipiutak presence in Chukotka, although it seems more likely that the adoption or use of Ipiutak designs in ancient Siberian communities around Cape Dezhnev were due more to social contacts across the Bering Strait and not very likely to descent. Still, there are no Ipiutak houses or settlements known in Siberia, only several dozen objects recovered from graves—prized, apparently curated objects, offered to the dead. The assumption is that the objects were either crafted by Ipiutak artisans or by individuals familiar with their work. However, a genetic component cannot be ruled out, considering that several Ipiutak practices in Alaska suggest possible Yup'ik origins (the *qargi*, the use of labrets).⁵ While nearly

all archaeologists would fantasize that Ekven and Uelen were the sieve for the transmission of Scytho-Siberian ideas to Alaska, evidence remains only circumstantial, at best.

Bronshtein also reveals his belief in a core and periphery model in the Bering Strait prehistory similar to that developed later by Mason and Gerlach (1995). One intriguing subtext to his argument is possibly based on a sampling error: Birnirk and Dorset peoples develop at distant and opposite margins, in isolation from the center. We have yet to find any earlier sites with linkages between the two cultures. However, the idea that the cause of Birnirk and Dorset originality is due to isolation seems well-founded (cf. Bronshtein 1986, *this issue*).

Since his early publications of the 1980s, Bronshtein argued for the existence of cultural "overlaps" or amalgams "along a continuum" not accounted for by traditional categories, as first noted by Ackerman (1962:34). This position had little resonance until the mid-1960s, when two ancient cemetery sites near Cape Dezhnev, Uelen and Ekven (Arutyunov and Sergeev 1969, 1975), revealed a considerable array of motifs that cross-cut the pioneering cultural categories developed by Collins (1937) based upon midden excavations and household debris.

Today, most archaeologists would question whether grave goods are indeed the appropriate venue for distinguishing cultural practices and ethnicity.⁶ Even in situations with strong documentary evidence, like Anglo-Saxon Britain or Frankish Germany, grave goods rarely produce unequivocal *ethnic* attributions (Constantinescu et al. 1975, Heather 1998). One can easily imagine multifarious motivations for early grave offerings. Nonetheless, two of the largest ancient cemeteries from Alaska, that from Ipiutak and from Kugusuguruk, record "pure" cultures, not admixtures. Artifacts notwithstanding, however, a morphologically diverse population (as revealed by craniometric traits) produced the Birnirk material at the very defense site of Kugusuguruk (Hollinger et al. 2004).

These and other arguments advanced by Bronshtein in the mid-1980s were put to a rigorous testing when the State Museum of Oriental Art's archaeological team returned to the Cape Dezhnev area in 1987 to restart the cemetery excavations at Ekven abandoned in 1974 (Arutyunov, *this*

⁵Interestingly enough, Utermohle (1988: 40-43) found that the characteristics of crania at Uelen and Ekven were very close to those of Birnirk people and to Inupiaq-speaking people generally, as opposed to other Eskaleuts. This may indicate that at least a part of the Uelen-Ekven population may have been biologically ancestral to Birnirk and, later, to the Thule people in Alaska. One may also wonder about what kind of language they spoke: Yupik or Inuit? Thus, the postulated "genetic component" between Ipiutak and Cape Dezhnev people, if there is one, may be quite different (Csonka 2003:129, n14).

⁶This was the rationale behind the International (Swiss-German-Danish-Canadian) project to start excavating the settlement abutting the cemetery at Ekven (see below). Because of the ties with museums, Russian excavators were historically attracted by large collections of beautifully ornamented ivory objects that were reliably recovered from graves and were easily curated in museum collections.

issue). Finally, Bronshtein had a chance to see and to excavate *in situ* the very same beautifully carved ancient ivories he had studied for months in the museum collections. His soul, mind, and energy were then fully consumed by several summer field seasons at the Ekven cemetery between 1987 and 2002 (Fig.2). He was also there to bear the brunt of the

colleagues were forced to cease grave excavations at Ekven for good, and the new, though short-lived era of international “expeditions” by the joint Russian-Canadian-Danish-German-Swiss team took shape. Müller-Beck⁷ (*this issue*) tells the story of Bronshtein’s personal role in the development of those international expeditions to Ekven in 1995-1998.



Fig. 2: Excavation headquarters (field cabin) at Ekven. Left to right: Galina Dyachkova (Anadyr Regional Museum), Mikhail Bronshtein, and Marina Makarova (Anadyr Regional Museum). Kirill Dneprovsky, photographer, 1997.

mounting pressure from the local officials during the early 1990s, as they became increasingly aggressive in their efforts to disrupt the work of an expedition from the Moscow-based museum, under the pretext of “illegal ivory exports” from Chukotka. Native people from the nearby communities also started to speak up about the uneasiness they felt, because of the archaeologists excavating old graves and the fear of the consequences this disturbance of the spirits might unleash. At the end of the 1995 season, Bronshtein and his Russian

Bronshtein’s enthusiasm testified to his openness towards his foreign colleagues (Fig. 3)—whom any other archaeologist could have easily treated as potential competitors. He and his family also hosted many local friends from Chukotka when they had to come to Moscow. In the summertime, when the Bronshtein’s small Moscow apartment became too tiny for so many guests, their Spartan country-house or *dacha* was put to service as a make-shift hostel for his foreign colleagues on their way to the field. This history of truly unique part-

⁷The partnership had been originally forged in 1992, after French archaeologist Patrick Plumet spent the summer season of 1991 excavating with the Russian team at Ekven. A joint French-Swiss-German “Committee for archaeological research in Chukotka” was established shortly after (see Bronshtein and Plumet 1995:6), and more western researchers from other countries soon joined the effort. The full-size international team descended at Ekven in 1995, when Russian archaeologists were having their last season at the cemetery. Having no previous experience in large-scale settlement excavation, the Russians reportedly suggested that the “international” team (Gulløv, McGhee, Blumer, Müller-Beck, and others) start excavating ancient subterranean houses at the Ekven settlement on their own (see Fig.3). The Russians soon had to stop their work at the cemetery anyway, because of the local pressure; so, for the next three years joint excavations were conducted at the coastal dwelling site only. Also, the Swiss team worked independently on the erosion front, on test excavations, and on surveys in neighboring sites; and another Russian team from the Severtsov Institute of Ecology and Evolution worked separately in 1995 on animal bone sampling from the beach site and along a broad section of the nearby shore (Dinesman et al. 1999).



Fig. 3: International team at Ekven. Left to right: an unidentified German student from the University of Tübingen, Tobias Holzlehner (University of Tübingen), Reto Blumer (Switzerland), Mikhail Bronshtein, Yvon Csonka, Konstantin Dneprovsky (son of Kirill Dneprovsky), Hans-Jürgen Müller-Beck. Kirill Dneprovsky, photographer, 1997.

nership and deep personal friendship is but partly revealed in numerous publications that have been produced by the international team members over several years (see Blumer 1996, 1997; Blumer and Csonka 1998, Csonka, Moulin and Blumer 1999; Csonka 2003, 2006; Gulløv 2005).

The “secret” of Bronshtein’s many successes in human relations certainly resides in his absolute honesty, respect for, and keen interest in others. Every field season, the excavation team had to spend several days in local towns and rural communities it went through on its way to and from Ekven (Anadyr, Lavrentiya, Pinakul, Uelen), and in each of them it was clear that Bronshtein has many deeply rooted connections and friendships. At a time when in Western countries “collaborative” research was being widely promoted by every professional group dealing with Arctic anthropology, one has to realize that Bronshtein had been practicing it all along, in his perfectly natural way. This has been his personal style of research ethics, ever since his early sojourn in the North in the 1970s, as a young schoolteacher in the polar town of Dikson on the Taimyr Peninsula—still deep in Soviet times.

While at the excavation camp, Bronshtein never lost an occasion to host friends from neighboring settlements and reindeer herders’ camps and to give them a tour of Ekven. Transportation was extremely difficult to obtain, but the team once organized a visit from schoolchildren and their art teacher from the nearby Native town of Uelen. Of course, they were granted the most professional tour of the site and a lecture on the origins of ancient sea-mammal hunting cultures and on the treasures of ancient ivory carvings delivered by Bronshtein (Fig.4). Local young men, hunters and herders, came on foot and helped with excavation for a few days, or fished for the team. Several times, parties of local people, stranded with their open skin-boats of the *umiaq* type, that can only round precipitous Cape Dezhnev in sufficiently calm seas, filled the expedition’s small cabin. Bronshtein took it upon himself to make sure that they were welcomed and well fed, and he always listened with great interest as they shared their knowledge and stories.

But Misha’s interests are too wide-ranging to confine themselves to Ekven and to its ancient inhabitants. Every



Fig.4: Mikhail Bronshtein (second from left) gives a tour of the Ekven site to a group of Uelen high-school students led by their teacher in ivory carving, Valery Dolgoarshinnykh (at left). Photographer, Kirill Dneprovsky, 1997.

season, he used to spend several days in Uelen, the closest Native town that took an arduous 25-km walk through wet tundra, rivers, dense fog, and occasional grizzly bears. He respects, understands, and deeply appreciates the residents of this mixed Chukchi-Yupik community. His particular interest in contemporary art from Uelen, a community rightly reputed for the artistic gifts of an inordinate number of its members, and also for its once powerful shamans, is exemplified in his publications on today's ivory carvers and engravers of Uelen (cf. Bronshtein et al. 1997, Bronshtein et al. 2002). Although sharing some common themes, the contemporary Uelen carving and the early Neoeskimo art forms from the Cape Dezhnev region differ considerably. Yet, Bronshtein is able to understand and appreciate each in its own terms.

This issue of *AJA* was first discussed in Fairbanks at the 5th International Arctic Social Sciences Congress (ICASS-5) in 2004, when we received news from Moscow that Bronshtein was very sick and would probably be unable to continue his field research in the Bering Strait. Indeed, the 2002 season may be his last one in an archaeological camp. In the following years, the excavations at the Ekven site that

he worked so hard to re-establish in 1987 (see Arutyunov, *this issue*) were put on hold and the site was abandoned by archaeologists for the second time in thirty years. Bronshtein's colleagues from the SMOA field team have moved to another site, Paipelghak on the arctic coast of Chukotka (cf. Dneprovsky, *this issue*). It became quite obvious that the time has come for another broad review of the Bering Strait cultural prehistory, museum and language studies—on top of several recent collections on Bering Strait archaeology produced as compendias of recent archaeological data and surveys (i.e., Dumond and Bland 2002, 2006). Very quickly the idea of a joint international collection of papers as a tribute to Bronshtein's scholarship emerged. We are grateful to the *AJA* for providing a venue for such an international collection by colleagues and friends to Bronshtein from Russia, the US, Canada, Denmark, Germany, and Switzerland.

This issue also combines the voices and the views of several generations of Bering Strait cultural specialists and, more broadly, of students in Arctic cultures and history. It includes contributions by those who were instrumental in setting Bronshtein's personal career as of a Bering Strait field

archaeologist and art historian (Arutyunov, Bandi); by his field partners in Ekven excavations during the 1990s and early 2000s (Csonka, Dneprovsky, Gulløv, McGhee, Müller-Beck); by his peer archaeologists working in Alaska, Canada, and Greenland (Mason, Sutherland, Gulløv); by his colleagues in museum studies, linguistics, arts, and modern history of Chukotka—both in Russia and the US (Chlenov, Krauss, Krupnik and Mikhailova, Lee); and by his younger followers, to whom Bronshtein is a respected mentor (Sukhorukova). We see this as a natural combination of generational strengths and also as a projection of Bronshtein's unique position in the Bering Strait and Arctic scholarly community.

longs to him. Just like in local Yupik and Chukchi tradition: each place has its owner.

We are grateful to several people who kindly offered their assistance to the preparation of this special issue of the journal. Tatyana Slobodina translated Bronshtein's Russian paper of 1986 into English that is reproduced as Appendix 1. Richard Bland (who translated Bronshtein and Sukhorukova), Aron Crowell, Don Dumond, Steven Jacobson, Ken Pratt, and Peter Schweitzer offered valuable advice and comments to papers published in this collection. Yvon Csonka and Kirill Dneprovsky shared their field photos of the Ekven camp life of the 1990s that are used as illustrations. The Smithsonian Institution's Arctic Studies Center in Washington, D.C. (Director, William Fitzhugh), Cerny Inuit Collection in Bern, Switzerland (Martha Cerny), and the Swiss-Lichtenstein Foundation for Archaeological Research Abroad (SLSA) generously offered financial support to the production of this collection.

Last but not least, whenever we needed communication to Misha, copies of his old papers, records, and computer files, his wife Lena and his son Ilya Bronshtein were always there to help. Finally, we all thank Misha Bronshtein for his heartfelt, patient, and humble approach to a venture that his colleagues have struggled over for two long years and that we finally succeeded to present as a symbol of our friendship and respect.

As this special issue goes to press, Bronshtein continues his work on ancient and modern art of the Bering Strait region, on various catalog and exhibit projects out of his apartment in Moscow. His list of publications keeps growing (cf. Appendix 2) and he is currently engaged in the preparation of three catalogs focused on the ancient ivory collections from the Bering Sea and on the 20th anniversary of the excavations by the State Museum of Oriental Art team at Ekven (1987–2007). It does not take faith, after a few days spent at the Ekven site, to realize that there is a certain magic and spiritual presence(s) in Ekven. Bronshtein was well aware of, and attuned to this feeling. Clearly, he “belongs” to Ekven, and in that sense we can affirm that the land of Ekven be-

References

Ackerman, Robert

- 1962 Culture contact in the Bering Sea: Birnirk-Punuk period. In *Prehistoric Cultural Relations between the Arctic and Temperate Zones of North America*, edited by John M. Campbell, pp. 27-34. Technical Paper 11, Arctic Institute of North America, Montréal.

Arutyunov, Sergei A., and Dorian A. Sergeev

- 1969 *Drevnie kul'tury aziatskikh eskimosov (Uelenskii mogil'nik)* [Ancient Cultures of the Asiatic Eskimos. The Uelen Cemetery]. Nauka Publishers, Moscow.
- 1975 *Problemy etnicheskoi istorii Beringomoria (Ekvenskii mogil'nik)* [Problems in the Ethnic History of the Bering Sea. The Ekven Cemetery]. Nauka Publishers, Moscow.

Blumer, Reto

- 1996 Première expédition archéologique internationale en Tchoukotka, Sibérie nord-orientale: Rapport de la contribution suisse aux travaux de l'été 1995. In *Annual Report 1995*, pp. 110-150, Swiss-Liechtenstein Foundation for Archaeological Research Abroad, Vaduz and Bern.
- 1997 Seconde expédition archéologique internationale en Tchoukotka, Sibérie nord-orientale: Rapport de la contribution Suisse à la campagne de 1996. In *Annual Report 1996*, pp. 57-78, Swiss-Liechtenstein Foundation for Archaeological Research Abroad, Vaduz and Bern.
- 2002 Radiochronological assessment of Neo-Eskimo occupations on St. Lawrence Island, Alaska. In *Archaeology in the Bering Strait Region: Research of Two Continents*, edited by D.E. Dumond and R. L. Bland, *University of Oregon Anthropological Papers* 59:61-106.

Blumer, Reto and Yvon Csonka

- 1998 Archaeology of the Asian Shore of Bering Strait: Swiss Contribution to the Third International Expedition. In *Annual Report 1997*, pp. 83-130, Swiss-Liechtenstein Foundation for Archaeological Research Abroad, Vaduz and Zurich.

Bronshtein, Mikhail

- 1986 Tipologicheskie varianty drevneeskimosskogo graficheskogo ornamenta (k probleme etnokul'turnoi istorii Beringomoria v I tys. do n.e. - I tys.n.e) [Typological variants of the ancient Eskimo graphic design (To the ethnic history of the Bering Sea region, 1st millennium BC to the 1st millennium AD)]. *Sovetskaiia etnografiia* 6: 46-58.

Bronshtein, Mikhail, Irina Karakhan, and Yuri Shirokov

- 2002 Reznaia kost' Uelena. Narodnoe iskusstvo Chukotki/ Bone (Ivory) Carving in Uelen: The Folk Art of Chukchi Peninsula. Bilingual catalog. State Museum of Oriental Arts and Administration of the Chukchi Autonomous Area, Sviatigor Publishing House, Moscow.

Bronshtein, Mikhail, Kirill Dneprovsky, Nadezhda Otke, and Yuri Shirokov

- 1997 Iskusstvo Chukotki/ Art of Chukotka. Bilingual English-Russian exhibit catalog. State Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow.

Bronshtein, Mikhail, and Patrick Plumet

- 1995 Ékven: l'art préhistorique béringien et l'approche russe de l'origine de la tradition culturelle esquimaude. *Études/ Inuit/Studies* 19(2): 5-59.

Collins, Henry B.

- 1937 Archaeology of St. Lawrence Island, Alaska. *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* 96(1). Washington, D.C.

Csonka, Yvon

- 2000 Archaeology of Bering Strait: Short Report on a Contribution to the Excavations in Wales, Alaska, in the summer of 1999. *Jahresbericht 1999*, 59-66. Fondation Suisse-Liechtenstein pour les recherches archéologiques à l'étranger, Zurich et Vaduz.
- 2003 Ekven, a Prehistoric Whale Hunters' Settlement on the Asian Shore of Bering Strait. In *Indigenous Ways to the Present: Native Whaling in the Western Arctic*, edited by Allen P. McCartney, pp. 109-136. Studies in Whaling 6, Occasional publication No. 54, Canadian Circumpolar Institute, Edmonton and the University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.
- 2006 L'origine des Inuit et la collaboration archéologique internationale au détroit de Béring. In *Archéologie plurielle: Mélanges offerts à Michel Egloff à l'occasion de son 65^e anniversaire*, edited by Béat Arnold, Nicole Bauermeister and Denis Ramseier, *Archéologie neuchâteloise* 34:157-167. Service et musée cantonal d'archéologie, Neuchâtel.

Csonka, Yvon, Reto Blumer, and Bernard Moulin

- 1999 Archaeology of the Asian Side of Bering Strait: Swiss Contribution to the Fourth International Fieldseason. In *Annual Report 1998*, pp. 99-122, Swiss-Liechtenstein Foundation for Archaeological Research Abroad, Vaduz and Zurich.

Dinesman, Lev G., Nina K. Kiseleva, Arkady B. Savinetsky, and Bulat F. Khassanov

- 1999 *Secular Dynamics of Coastal Zoine Ecosystems of the Northeastern Chukchi Peninsula. Chukotka: Cultural Layers and Natural Depositions from the Last Millennia*. Russian Academy of Sciences and Mo Vince Verlag, Tübingen.

Dumond, Don E.

- 1998 The Hillside Site, St. Lawrence Island, Alaska: An Examination of Collections from the 1930s. *University of Oregon Anthropological Papers* 56.

Dumond, Don E., and Richard L. Bland [Editors]

- 2002 Archaeology in the Bering Strait Region: Research of Two Continents. *University of Oregon Anthropological Papers* 59.
- 2006 Archaeology in Northeast Asia: On the Pathway to Bering Strait Region. *University of Oregon Anthropological Papers* 65.

Dumond, Don E., and Dennis G. Griffin

- 2002 Measurements of the Marine Reservoir Effect on Radiocarbon Ages in the Eastern Bering Sea. *Arctic* 55(1): 77-86.

Ellanna, Linda J.

- 1983 Bering Strait Insular Eskimo: A Diachronic Study of Ecology and Population Structure. *Technical Paper* 77. Division of Subsistence, Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Juneau

Gerlach, Craig, and Owen K. Mason

- 1992 Calibrated radiocarbon dates and cultural interaction in the western Arctic. *Arctic Anthropology* 29(1):54-81.

Gulløv, Hans Christian

- 2005 Arkæologiske udgravninger ved verdens ende. In *Tjukotka i fortid og nutid*, edited by Bent Nielsen, pp. 13-38. *Eskimologis Skrifter* 18, Copenhagen University, Copenhagen.

Harrit, Roger K.

- 2004 A Preliminary reevaluation of the Punuk-Thule interface at Wales, Alaska. *Arctic Anthropology* 41(2):163-176.

Hollinger, R. Eric, Elizabeth Eubanks and Stephen Ousley

- 2004 Inventory and Assessment of Human Remains and Funerary Objects from the Point Barrow Region, Alaska in the National Museum of Natural History. Repatriation Office, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Jenness, Diamond

- 1928 Archaeological Investigations in Bering Strait, 1926. *Annual Report of the National Museum of Canada for the Fiscal Year 1926. Bulletin* 50:71–80. Ottawa.

Khassanov, B. F., and Arkady B. Savinetsky

- 2006 On the marine reservoir effect in the Northern Bering Sea. In *Archaeology in Northeast Asia: On the Pathway to Bering Strait Region*, edited by Don E. Dumond and Richard L. Bland, *University of Oregon Anthropological Papers* 65:193-202.

Larsen, Helge E., and Froelich Rainey

- 1948 Ipiutak and the Arctic Whale Hunting Culture. *Anthropological Paper 42, American Museum of Natural History*, New York.

Mason, Owen K.

- 1998 The Contest between Ipiutak, Old Bering Sea and Birnirk Politics and the Origin of Whaling during the First Millennium A.D. along Bering Strait. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 17(3):240-325.
- 2006 Ipiutak Remains Mysterious: A Focal Place Still Out of Focus. In *Dynamics of Northern Societies*. Proceedings of the SILA/NABO Conference on Arctic and North Atlantic Archaeology, edited by Jette Arneborg and Bjarne Grønnow, pp. 103-119, *Studies in Archaeology and History* 10, Publications from the Danish National Museum, Copenhagen.

Mason, Owen K., and Craig Gerlach

- 1995 Chukchi sea hot spots, paleo-polynyas and caribou crashes: Climatic and ecological constraints on northern Alaska prehistory. *Arctic Anthropology* 32(1):101-130.

Moulin, Bernard, and Yvon Csonka

- 2002 The Erosion front at Ekven: A Stratigraphic and Georchaological Approach. In *Archaeology in the Bering Strait Region: Research of Two Continents*, edited by Don E. Dumond and Richard L. Bland, *University of Oregon Anthropological Papers* 59: 227–260.

Rudenko, Sergei I.

- 1947 *Drevniaia kul'tura Beingova moria i eskimosskaia problema*. Glavsevmorput Publishers, Moscow and Leningrad.
- 1961 *The Ancient Culture of the Bering Sea and the Eskimo Problem* [*Drevniaia kul'tura Beingova moria i eskimosskaia problema*, translated by Henry Michael]. Arctic Institute of North America. Anthropology of the North, Translations from Russian Sources 1. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Schweitzer, Peter P.

- 1987 Traveling Between Continents: Native Contacts across the Bering Strait, 1898–1948. *Arctic Research of the United States* 11 (spring/summer): 68–72.

Schweitzer, Peter P., and Evgenii V. Golovko

- 1996 Traveling between continents: The Social Organization of Interethnic Contacts across Bering Strait. *The Anthropology of East Europe Review* 13(2): 50–55.

Utermohle, Charles

- 1988 The Origin of the Inupiat: The Position of the Birnirk Culture Eskimo Prehistory. In *The Late Prehistoric Development of Alaska's Native People*, edited by R. Shaw, R. Harritt and D. E. Dumond, pp. 37-46, *Aurora Monograph Series* 4, Alaska Anthropological Association, Anchorage.

Yama'ura, Kiyoshi

- 1984 Toggle harpoon heads from Kurigitavik, Alaska. *Bulletin of the Department of Archaeology* No. 3: 213-262, University of Tokyo, Tokyo.

MIKHAIL BRONSHTEIN: A PERSONAL TRIBUTE

Sergei Arutyunov

Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Moscow, gusaba@ica.ras.ru

The history of intensive archaeological research into ancient Eskimo coastal cultures on the Russian side of Bering Strait started in earnest in 1955. Dorian Sergeev, then a history teacher in the high school in Ureliki (Provideniya Bay), was inspecting ruins of abandoned villages along the northern coast of the Chukchi Peninsula. By accident, Sergeev and his team of amateur archaeology students discovered some ancient Eskimo burials on the slope of Uellen-ney hill, just above the modern village of Uelen.

Sergeev's discovery was not the first archaeological effort on the Chukchi Peninsula (or "Chukotka," as it is known in Russia). Russia's senior archaeologist Sergei I. Rudenko had already conducted his seminal survey of Chukotka coastal sites, including one in Uelen, in 1945, with its results presented in a well-known monograph (Rudenko 1947), later translated into English (Rudenko 1961). Rudenko covered an immense coastal area by his boat survey, but he did not aim at systematic excavation at any one site during his one-summer trip. In terms of the origins of the continuous large-scale studies of the ancient Eskimo sites in Chukotka, multi-year excavations started in 1957 only, as a direct outcome of Sergeev's discovery, by a team of the then-Institute of Ethnography, Russian Academy of Sciences, led by Professor Maxim G. Levin, with the participation of Sergeev and myself. After the untimely demise of Levin in 1963, we continued excavations at Uelen

and subsequently at the nearby site of Ekven, for a number of years until 1974. On a smaller scale, site excavations and coastal surveys were also undertaken in 1956, 1958, and 1963 by another Russian archaeologist, the late Nikolai N. Dikov from the Northeastern Research Institute in Magadan (SVKNII). Dikov excavated a part of the Uelen ancient cemetery and two additional ancient sites, discovered by Sergeev in 1961, Enmynytnyn and Chini (Dikov 1974, 1977; in Sergeev's report spelled *Sinin*). Initially, Sergeev had planned to excavate these sites as well, following his work on the Ekven cemetery. However, the Ekven graveyard was so large it remains only partly excavated even by 2006. To be fair, Dikov had expanded his efforts into interior sites of Chukotka and Kamchatka and several decades later, also on the most ancient, pre-Eskimo sites along the southern portion of Chukchi Peninsula.

Levin's research started first in 1957 at the smaller Uelen burial ground which was completely excavated by 1960. However, the Ekven cemetery is at least five times larger and much more complicated in its layout. The decade-long excavations at Ekven led by Sergeev and Arutyunov were completed in 1974, with the last burial excavated that year labeled № 210. Another burial excavated in 1974, Burial 204, and its accompanying grave goods were the most numerous, the richest and most enigmatic among all of the ancient Eskimo burials ever found in Chukotka. The



Fig.5: Mikhail Bronshtein talks to one of the local visitors from the nearby Native town of Uelen. Photographer, Kirill Dneprovsky, 1997.

antiquity of the Uelen and Ekven graveyards extends for more than a millennium, ranging from the early Old Bering Sea culture at the end of the 1st millennium B.C. and the beginning of the 1st millennium A.D. till the final Punuk/Thule period at the beginning of the 2nd millennium A.D. (Dinesman et al. 1999).

From 1976 and until his death in 1984, ill health prevented Sergeev from going to the field, and, consequently, excavations at coastal sites of Chukotka ceased to a great degree for nearly 15 years. However, archaeological surveys did continue on the south and southeastern coast of Chukotka in 1977, 1979, and 1981 through the efforts of a multi-disciplinary team of ethnologists, ethnohistorians, and archaeologists, including Mikhail Chlenov, Igor Krupnik, Sergei Arutyunov, Levon Abrahamian, and others. The highlight of the survey was the monumental, but rapidly eroding site of "Whale Bone Alley," reportedly occupied during the late prehistoric period. The Chlenov-Krupnik team also recorded and described many other structures and ruins in the coastal zone of Chukotka along the Bering Strait (Arutyunov et al. 1982; Chlenov and Krupnik 1984), but did not perform any significant new excavations.

In any history, either global or local, it is difficult to answer a question (and indeed it is rarely seriously posed), what would have happened, unless... For example, had Napoleon remained unharmed in the battle at the Arcole Bridge, or had not Gorbachev been elected as a general secretary, or if Stalin had not died in March 1953, etc. Still, I dare to suppose, that very probably, many ancient archaeological sites on the eastern coasts of Chukotka would remain unexcavated and unknown today, should not Mikhail Bronshtein have arrived on an incredibly beautiful day in 1982 at the door of the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of Russian Academy of Sciences (then called simply the Institute of Ethnography) to apply for the Ph.D. program.

Mikhail Bronshtein (commonly known as "Misha" to many of his friends and colleagues) was not quite a novice in Arctic studies when he entered the program at the Institute of Ethnography. By 1982, he had served two years as a high school teacher in the Russian arctic town of Dikson (Dixon), on the shores of the Kara Sea, followed by several years in the administration of the Department of Culture of the Taymyr Autonomous Okrug (District) in the Russian Arctic. The year before, in 1981, he had published his first ethnological

paper, a moving study of the artistry of the traditional Native masks of Northern Asia (Bronshstein 1981). Bronshstein also had had field ethnographic experience among indigenous people of the Taymyr Peninsula. After entering the graduate program at the Institute of Ethnography, he was captivated by the mysterious allure of ancient Eskimo sculpture and ornamentation. He was literally entranced by the riddle of its exquisitely sophisticated art, which, like a lotus rising from the muck of the swamp, paradoxically issues from a seemingly most inappropriate environment, as the Eskimo art originates within a culture, seemingly shunted to the furthest corner of earth, at the utmost extremes of human adaptation and ecology.

Misha Bronshstein spent a considerable amount of time in the completion of his Ph.D. dissertation, which can be ascribed to his extreme insistence on painstaking analysis and his well-developed sense of academic responsibility (which I may fully attest as his thesis supervisor). With a magnifying glass in hand, he spent endless hours studying every ornamented piece in Sergeev's Uelen and Ekven collections stored at the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology (MAE, *Kunstskammer*) in Leningrad, now St. Petersburg. Bronshstein further examined hundreds of ancient Eskimo objects in the Russian Ethnographic Museum (REM) in St. Petersburg, as well as many stored in the museums of Novosibirsk, Magadan, and Anadyr, the capital of Chukotka. All in all, Bronshstein surely examined more than a thousand items, as well as all the innumerable photos and drawings of the ancient Eskimo ivories published outside Russia. Consequently, Bronshstein successfully distinguished several minor sub-cultural and allegedly sub-ethnic divisions from the general body of ancient Eskimo culture and also proposed a consistent and detailed system for classifying and periodizing prehistoric Eskimo art, described in his Ph.D. dissertation that he defended in 1991 (Bronshstein 1991).

Just four years before, in 1987, Bronshstein's life was dramatically changed by the decision to resume excavation at Ekven—the locale that would become the focus of his activities for the next 15 years. By that time, thirty years had passed following the onset of Levin's excavations at Uelen in 1957 and more than twenty-five years since the start of work at Ekven by Sergeev-Arutyunov's team. Initially, archaeologist Tamerlan Gabuyev was Bronshstein's principal partner, responsible for the professional and logistical aspects of the long-term excavations. After Gabuyev's departure, Kirill A. Dneprovsky, another experienced field archaeologist assumed that role of partner. Nonetheless, the intellectual soul of the renewed Ekven enterprise and its energetic motor was, and mostly remained Misha Bronshstein.

The 1987 excavations at Ekven were supported by the State Museum of Oriental Art (SMOA, in Russian: *Gosudarstvennyi Muzei iskusstva narodov Vostoka*) in Moscow, continuing for more than fifteen years. Eventually, the SMOA operation became an international venture with scholars and students from Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Switzerland, and other countries taking part in diverse aspects of excavation at the settlement site and object analysis. In addition, colleagues from other Russian research institutions joined forces, including the Regional Museum in Anadyr, the local capital of Chukotka. Until the participation of the international team in 1995, the principal effort had centered upon the Ekven cemetery, the focus of the efforts in the 1960s and the 1970s. Other smaller sites were also investigated along the Russian Bering Strait coast, from Provideniya Bay to Uelen and northward (see Dneprovsky, *this issue*). Initially, the most important task facing Russian and international researchers involved coordinating excavation methodology, and logistics, especially aligning the excavation grid, employed by Sergeev's team in 1961–1963, with the squares opened by the new project. On that first expedition in 1987, I was the only person with life memories of the old excavations at Ekven and Uelen, literally “passing the torch” once lit by Levin and Sergeev to the next generation. With this, the new era in long-term archaeological studies of the ancient cultures of Chukotka was started by Misha and his colleagues; they continue it up to this day.

Since 1987, efforts at Ekven have been undertaken nearly every year. The SMOA team first concentrated on new excavations of additional burials at the multi-layer, multi-component ancient cemetery (or, rather, several cemeteries) of Ekven. Subsequently, more effort was diverted into reconnaissance surveys of the coastal areas adjacent to the principal Ekven burial sites. In addition, since 1995, the international team of archaeologists focused on the systematic excavations of the nearby ancient village that contains several subterranean houses. The excavation of houses requires uncovering large areas; consequently, the archaeological enterprise is more complicated and labor-intensive. Nonetheless, the effort within houses yielded impressive discoveries and some truly outstanding results.

A major profound shift in archaeological research has also occurred in the disposition of collections. Unlike the earlier excavations of the 1960s and 1970s, a substantial portion of the excavated site materials (after careful conservation procedures) is now deposited at the Regional Museum in Anadyr; while many objects still join the earlier collections of the State Museum of Oriental Art in Moscow, which remains the main sponsor of excavations. As a result of the efforts of more than 15 years, the SMOA now conserves one of the world's finest collections of

ancient Eskimo objects of culture and art. This collection, in its quality, size, and thorough documentation, is quite comparable to Sergeev's collections from the earlier years at Ekven and Uelen archived at the Kunstkammer (Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology) in St. Petersburg; the latter also constitutes one of the world's finest holdings of Eskimo antiquities, with international significance for the study of the history of ancient maritime adaptations in the Bering Sea area.

The SMOA collection has served as a basis for several outstanding exhibits, both in Russian museums and abroad, attracting considerable public interest in the Bering Sea prehistory and ancient art. Several exhibits were accompanied by the production of colorful and exquisite catalogues (e.g., Leskov and Müller-Beck 1993), and other publications, opening many beautiful objects of ancient Eskimo art to an even larger mass audience.

Misha Bronshtein has contributed much to the popularization of the Eskimo and, generally, of Chukotka Native history and culture. His numerous popular articles, catalogues, and exhibits portray the heroic endeavors of the Native people of Chukotka and of their ancestors who managed to attain the highest levels of artistic and spiritual achievements in the most unfavorable conditions, at the very edge of human habitation in the Arctic. Many of Bronshtein's publications have appeared in Western languages, including French, English, and German. This recognition provides evidence of the high stature of Bronshtein's contribution to Eskimology that is widely acknowledged among his Russian colleagues, as well as within the northern research community. The dedication of this special issue to Misha Bronshtein reflects that high esteem and is a true acknowledgement of his accomplishments.

References

Arutiunov, Sergei A., Igor I. Krupnik, and Mikhail A. Chlenov

- 1982 *Kitovaia alleia. Drevnosti ostrovov proliva Seniavina* [Whale Bone Alley. Antiquities of the Senyavin Strait Islands]. Nauka Publishing House, Moscow.

Bronshtein, Mikhail M.

- 1981 K voprosu o khudozhestvennykh osobennostiakh severoaziatskikh masok [On artistic specifics of Northern Asian masks]. *Nauchnye soobshcheniia* 15:16–32. State Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow.
- 1991 *Drevneeskimoskoe iskusstvo kak istoriko-etnograficheskii istochnik* [Ancient Eskimo Art as Historical and Ethnographic Source]. Synopsis of the Ph.D. Thesis. Institute of Ethnography, Moscow.

Chlenov, Mikhail A., and Igor I. Krupnik

- 1984 Whale Alley: A Site on the Chukchi Peninsula, Siberia. *Expedition* 26(2):5–15.

Dikov, Nikolai N.

- 1974 *Chiniiskii mogil'nik (k istorii morskikh zveroboev Beringova proliva)* [The Chini Cemetery: A History of Sea Mammal Hunters in the Bering Strait]. Nauka Publishing House, Novosibirsk. English translation by Richard Bland, 2002. Shared Beringian Heritage Program, National Park Service, Anchorage.
- 1977 *Arkheologicheskie pamiatniki Kamchatki, Chukotki i Verkhnei Kolymy. Aziia na styke s Amerikoi v drevnosti* [Archaeological Sites of Kamchatka, Chukotka, and the Upper Kolyma, Asia Joining America in Antiquity]. Nauka Publishing House, Moscow. English translation by Richard Bland, 2003. Shared Beringian Heritage Program, National Park Service, Anchorage.

Dinesman, Lev G., Nina K. Kiseleva, Arkady B. Savinetsky, and Bulat F. Khassanov

- 1999 *Secular Dynamics of Coastal Zone Ecosystems of the Northeastern Chukchi Peninsula. Chukotka: Cultural Layers and Natural Depositions from the Last Millennia*. Russian Academy of Sciences and Mo Vince Verlag, Moscow and Thübingen.

Leskov, A.M. and H. Müller-Beck [Editors]

- 1993 *Arktische Waljäger vor 3000 Jahren. Unbekannte sibirische Kunst*. Hase & Koehler Verlag, Mainz-Munich.

Rudenko, Sergei I.

- 1947 *Drevniaia kul'tura Beringova moria i eskimoskaia problema* [The Ancient Culture of the Bering Sea and the Eskimo Problem]. Glavsevmorput, Moscow and Leningrad. English translation by Henry Michael, 1961. *Translations from Russian Sources* 1, Arctic Institute of North America, Calgary and University of Toronto Press, Toronto

THE QUESTION OF A UNIFIED BIRNIRK-PUNUK ARTISTIC TRADITION IN THE ESKIMO ART OF CHUKOTKA¹

E. S. Sukhorukova

State Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow

Abstract: The Birnirk and early Punuk cultural traditions flourished on the eastern shore of early Chukotka between the fourth and tenth centuries A.D. Most archaeologists believe that several archaeological cultures—Old Bering Sea, Okvik, Birnirk, and Punuk existed in the coastal regions of the Chukchi Peninsula at this time. Recently, K. A. Dneprovsky (2001) has promoted a thesis that emphasizes the unity of ancient Eskimo cultures in Chukotka. Contrary to earlier accepted ideas of Old Bering Sea, Birnirk, and Punuk as independent archaeological cultures, Dneprovsky (2001:23) proposes viewing them as different cultural traditions within the framework of a single Eskimo culture—"the common features in Old Bering Sea, Birnirk, and Punuk clearly prevail over the differences."

Keywords: Bering Strait archaeology, Siberian Yupik art, Eskimo iconography

Background

Recent discoveries from 1987 to 2002, obtained by the Chukotka Archaeological Expedition of the State Museum of Oriental Art, permit a substantial revision of our ideas about the Birnirk and Punuk period. The inventory from Ekven House H-18 is especially significant because it seems that it was occupied only a few decades at most (Bronshstein and Dneprovsky 2001:589-590).² Following a detailed analysis, Bronshstein and Dneprovsky (2001:591) concluded that House H-18, had a Birnirk-Punuk association, based on harpoon head types, graphic designs and the plastic forms of the artifacts. Comparative analysis of materials from the house with burials from the Ekven and Uelen cemeteries permitted Bronshstein and Dneprovsky (2001) to distinguish an entire series of closely related complexes, which reflect different stages in the evolution of the Birnirk-Punuk cultures (Bronshstein and Dneprovsky 2001:590-591; Dneprovsky 2001:16-18). Starting from these conclusions, several observations follow. Only detailed stylistic and iconographic analyses and a renewed search for analogies will allow archaeologists to discover authentic and potentially unique stylistic groupings, as well to refine the

archaeological classification of decorated artifacts during the first millennium A.D.

Seeing Commonalities Rather than Differences

Two massive harpoon heads of the Punuk type from House H-18 (Fig. 1:1, 2) offer unique characteristics, according to Bronshstein and Dneprovsky (2001:590), by "a rarely encountered design," termed early Punuk. Two analogous heads were found in Burial 1 (57) of the Uelen cemetery (Arutyunov and Sergeev 1969:81, Fig. 24:9, 10). By comparing the specimens it is evident that the four were decorated in accord with a certain schema that produces the impression of a purposeful composition rather than a random design. Such compositions, abstract at first glance, also decorate the surface of a "winged object" and the head of a harpoon foreshaft from Ekven Burial 319 (Figs. 2:1; 1:4) as well as the head of a harpoon foreshaft from Uelen Burial 2 (Dikov 1967:56, Fig. 10:1). The design of the foreshaft from both burials, like the harpoon heads, was clearly executed in accordance with a certain schema. The

¹Translated by Richard Bland, edited by Owen K. Mason

²Several articles on Ekven by Dneprovsky and Bronshstein were published by the University of Oregon in 2002, duplicating some or all of the material in the Russian articles cited by the author. [Ed.]

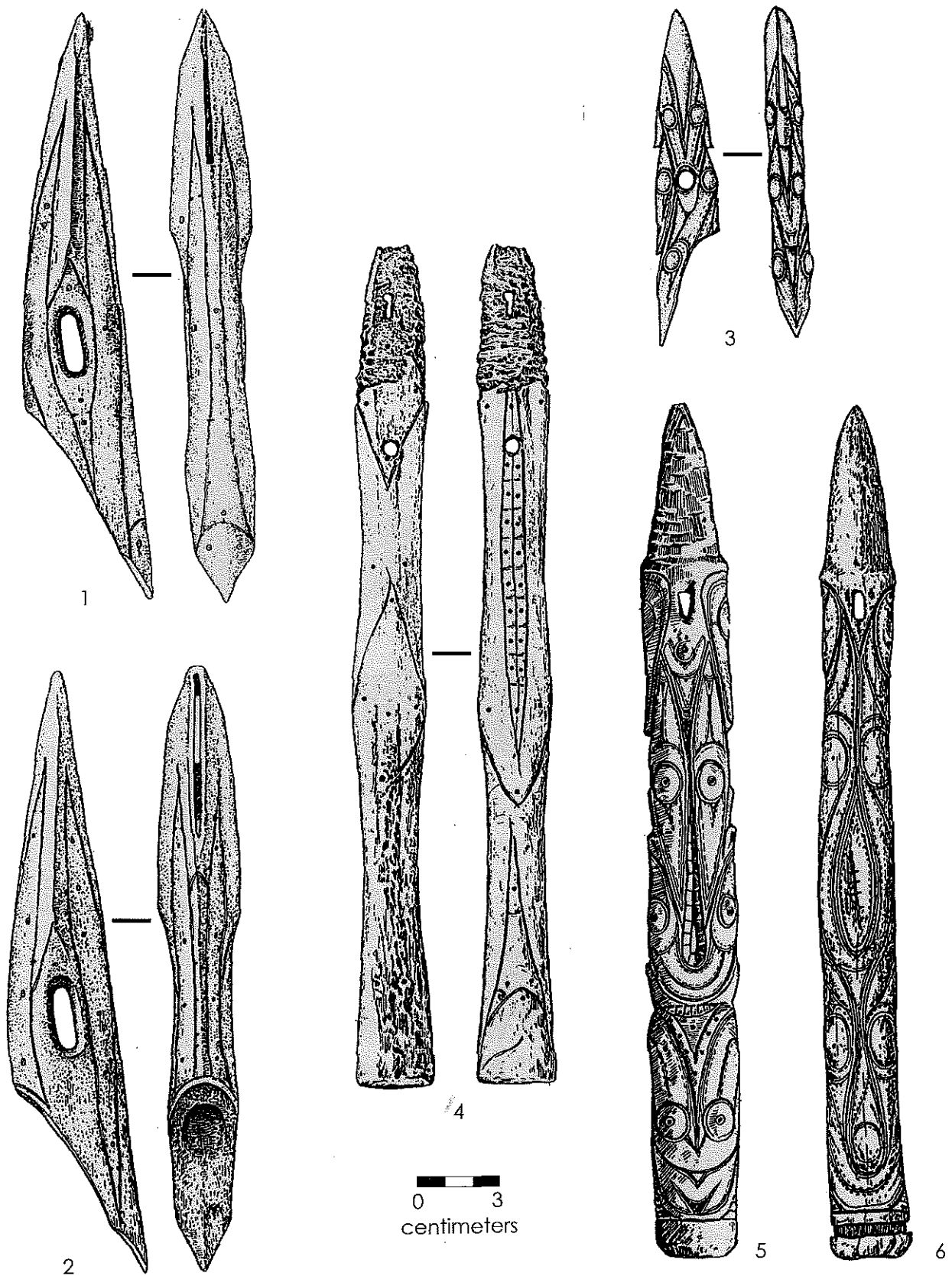


Figure 1. Harpoon heads and harpoon shaft heads. 1, 2. House H-18; 3-6. Ekven cemetery (3. surface material; 4. Burial 319; 5. Burial 9; 6. Burial 285A).

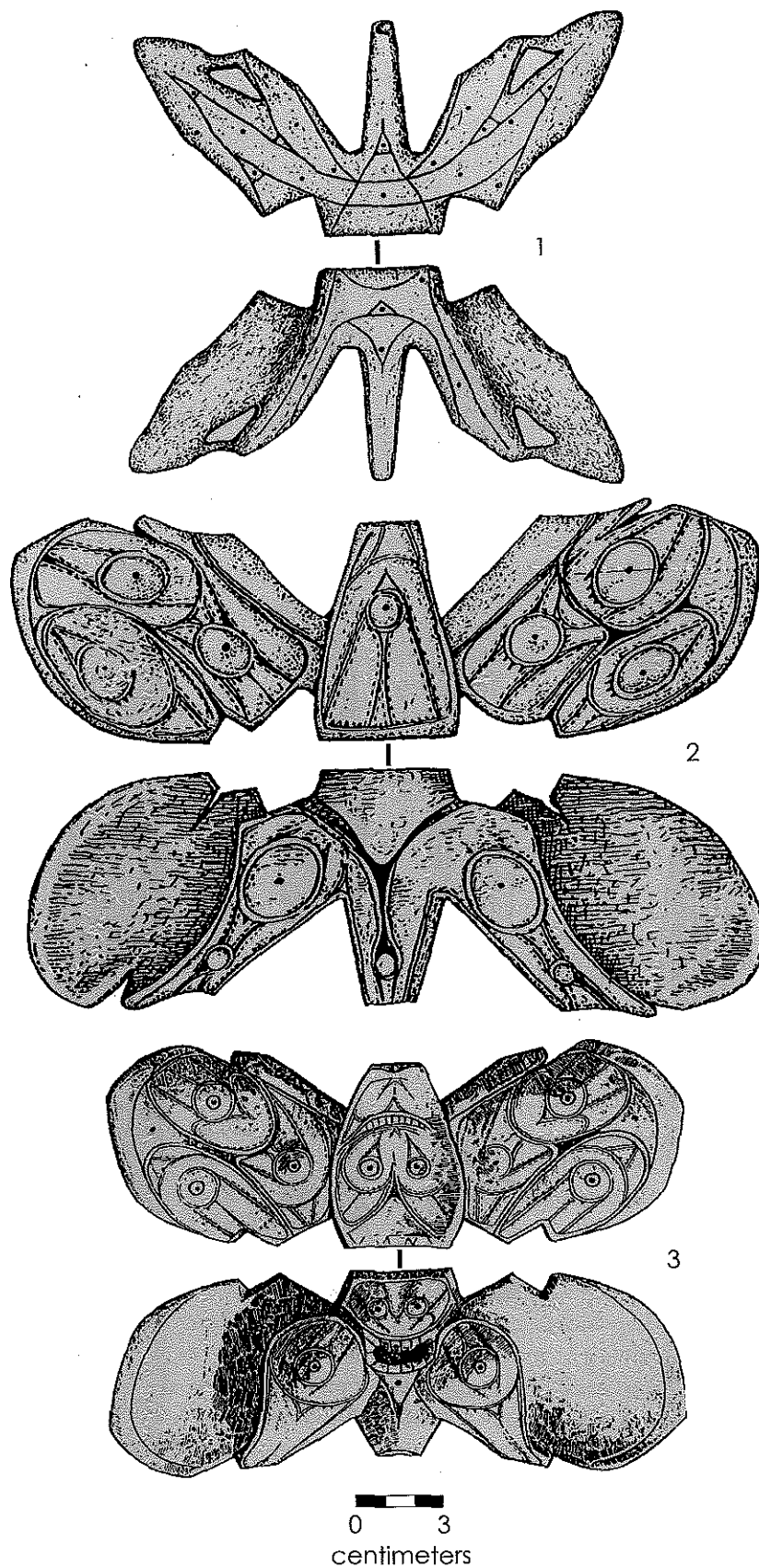


Figure 2. "Winged objects." Ekven cemetery. 1. Burial 319; 2. Burial 183-184; 3. Burial 9.

stylistic similarity of different artifacts that come from two different sites points to the presence of a common, long-lasting artistic tradition. This tradition can be characterized by a generalized correlation of plastic forms, with attention devoted primarily to the *form* of objects and not to the small decorative details. In distinction from Old Bering Sea, "early Punuk" artifacts have a single smooth and streamlined surface, not one divided into separate representational zones. The compositions are abstract, depicted by single engraved lines and drilled holes (in some cases, inlaid), and emphasized in low relief. Although, as noted, the objects suggest abstract designs, detailed analysis clearly establishes that these are compositions with a subject, analogous to Old Bering Sea, albeit one that is extremely simplified. Thus, comparing the early Punuk "winged object" from Burial 319 with specimens from Old Bering Sea burials (Fig. 2:2, 3) (Arutyunov and Sergeev 1975:121, Fig. 49:4; 137, Fig. 62:14) enable us to comprehend the meaning of the composition. On the one side of the wings the heads of sea mammals are recognizable while in the central part of the other side is a fantastic winged being (Sukhorukova 1998:71-72). Many other Old Bering Sea harpoon shaft heads decorated with complex zoomorphic compositions bear a subject similar to the specimens under examination. This is especially evident when compared with the animal or human figures that possess a characteristic design element provisionally termed a "grin" (Fig. 1:5, 6) (Arutyunov and Sergeev 1975:121, Fig. 49:5). The designs on large harpoon heads from Ekven House H-18 and Uelen Burial 1 (57) also show clear similarities with other widespread Old Bering Sea compositions (Fig. 1:3).

Thus, a distinctive feature of the artistic design of the artifacts examined is not a "rare variety of decoration," but rather the absence of it. Evidently, for some unknown reason, complex graphic design lost its significance during the Birnirk/Punuk period. It would seem that this can hardly be explained as the loss of technical skills by craftsmen of the Birnirk-Punuk tradition--the artifacts examined still exhibit a high level of mastery of plastic (i.e., sculptural) techniques. An explanation for the paradigm shift from Old Bering Sea to Birnirk/Punuk may be inferred by several examples. The composition of the graphic design is even more simplified, on one harpoon head from Ekven House 18 (Fig. 1b); simplified and abstracted to the point that its subject has become nearly imperceptible. In addition, Ekven House 18 harpoon heads have typical Punuk elements that originate as small acute angles, receding from the lines. A similar pattern occurs in both the "winged object" from Burial 319 and the classic Punuk trident (Rudenko 1947:Pl. 29, Fig. 24). Apparently, the once obligatory subject canons of Old Bering Sea artists became the basis for new, purely decorative compositions in Birnirk/Punuk. Of course, it is

possible that the artifacts from Burial 319 and House H-18 characterize different stages of development of the Birnirk-Punuk art tradition.

In the inventory of Ekven Burial 319 the handle of a mattock with a relief image of a human figure was also found (Fig. 3:1). Dneprovsky (2001: 17, 22) notes that typologically, the mattock resembles most of the other wooden handles from House H-18, similar in form and size, but the subject of the design applied to the mattock and its technical execution are unique. Detailed stylistic analysis and the search for analogies do not permit me to agree with this point of view. At present, archaeologists do not have any analogy for the subject in the design of other mattocks, but it is possible to speak of the existence of an artistic tradition of representing human figures on handles. For example, one mattock-handle with images of human faces, unfortunately, badly preserved, was found in Uelen Burial 10 (59), which also contained artifacts with OBS-I decorations (Arutyunov and Sergeev 1969:180-181, Fig. 98:7). At Cape Krusenstern a handle with an image of two human faces and the figure of a person was found in House 4, considered Thule in affiliation (Giddings and Anderson 1986:Pl. 21:o). In general outline, the handle from Ekven Burial 319 shares a commonality in terms of style with the two artifacts, one from Uelen, one from Cape Krusenstern. As a matter of fact, the chief distinction of the Ekven piece consists of its representation of the design exclusively by plastic means. But this is not surprising, bearing in mind that the engraved compositions in the harpoon complex are not mere decoration but are actual subjects represented by designs. Very likely, the engraved lines and dots were employed to represent or supplement specific images. Seemingly, it was not a necessary distinction: a nude human figure is in itself remarkable. Old Bering Sea artifacts are well-known for anthropomorphic forms: typically, small figures or relief "visages" were placed on various objects, so that the similar relief image of a whole human figure looks rather original. Infrequent, but characteristic, representational analogs allow us to speak of this image as typical even in this case. More possibly, the use of anthropomorphic forms attests to an esoteric tradition solely based on transmitting of such forms in the Birnirk-Punuk culture. The image of the human figure on a ceramics paddle found in Ekven Burial 45 is characteristic (Fig. 3:3) (Arutyunov and Sergeev 1975:140, Fig. 65:6). Although many objects in this burial had OBS-III decorations, the design of the paddle closely resembles many specimens of the Birnirk-Punuk culture in that it is practically devoid of decoration; instead, raised relief "images" were added by engraved lines and hole punctuations. Another definitive anthropomorphic composition in relief can be found on a fragmentary artifact from the collection at the State Museum of Oriental Art, an object, unfortunately, found on the

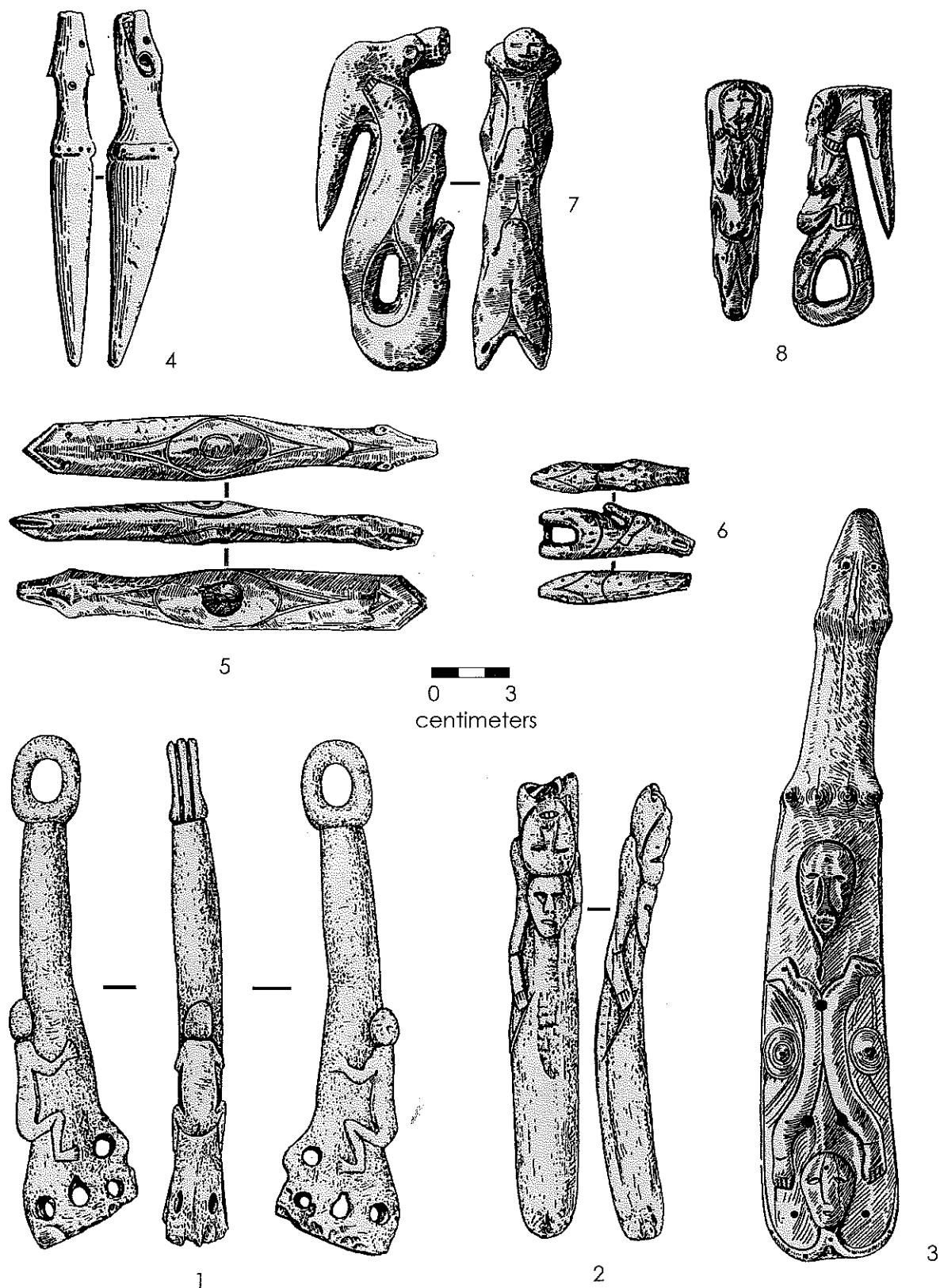


Figure 3. Artifacts with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic images. 2. Ekven Spit, surface material; 1, 3-8. Ekven cemetery (1. Burial 319; 3. Burial 45; 4. Burial 102; 5. Burial 52; 6. Burial 15; 7. Burial 99-100; 8. Burial 154).

surface in the vicinity of the Ekven barrier island (Fig. 3:2). This object bears an outlined visage in which the method of depicting the eyes, nose, mouth, arms, and hands coincides with the images on the handle of the mattock and on the stamp; this object may be confidently assigned to Birnirk-Punuk cultures.

A number of conclusions follow from the absence of decoration in the examined elements of the harpoon complex [i.e., foreshafts, harpoon heads, etc.], and of the heightened significance of plastic techniques in the artistic canon of the Birnirk-Punuk period. First, it permits one to link a considerable variety of artifacts into a single stylistic group. For example, several figurines, either of a polar bear or zoomorphic and anthropomorphic subjects can be grouped together in a single tradition rather than parts of OBS or Punuk, etc. (Fig. 3:4, 5, 7) (Arutyunov and Sergeev 1975:156, Fig. 79:7, 9; 155, Fig. 78:5).

The number of burials within the Ekven and Uelen cemeteries that are similar to Ekven House H-18 (Dneprovsky 2001:16–18) can be expanded to at least six graves. First, Ekven Burial 45, which contained the pottery paddle with the anthropomorphic image, was already discussed above. Birnirk-Punuk artifacts also occur within Burials 5, 15 (Fig. 3:6), and 17 of the Ekven cemetery (Arutyunov and Sergeev 1975:154, Fig. 77:18; 157, Fig. 80:1, 10) and Burials 7 (58) and 13 (58) of the Uelen cemetery (Arutyunov and Sergeev 1969:99, Fig. 42:9; 178, Fig. 97:1, 2, 5). The connection of this stylistic group with the Old Bering Sea artistic tradition is unquestionable. Parallels with Old Bering Sea art are not only apparent in the harpoon complex but can be found in other categories of artifacts as well. For example, a hook from “early” Punuk Burial 99–100 at the Ekven cemetery (Fig. 3:7) was executed in the form of a complex zooanthropomorphic figure, and is nearly identical to a hook with OBS-III decoration from Burial 154 (Fig. 3:8) (Arutyunov and Sergeev 1975:130, Fig. 56:1).

Several very unique carvings appear to corroborate the close relationship between the Birnirk-Punuk and Old Bering Sea artistic traditions. A wooden figurine excavated in Ekven House H-18 represents two joined whales possibly engaged in mating behavior (Fig. 4:1). A similar object was collected at the Birnirk site near Point Barrow (Ford 1959:Fig. 104:1) and serves as one of the most reliable indicators of Birnirk culture. By searching for analogies I discovered a nearly identical image of twin whales in Old Bering Sea art: two attached whale-like figures carved in relief on the surface of a model kayak from Ekven Burial 10-11 (Fig. 4:2) (Arutyunov and Sergeev 1975:119, Fig. 48:5), an otherwise typical, presumably early Old Bering Sea grave, which contained artifacts with OBS-2 decoration and a series of characteristic harpoon heads.

The Significance of the Open Jaw Motif

Among the artifacts from Ekven burials of the Birnirk-Punuk grouping and artifact complexes similar to it, one group of artifacts with a typical element of design warrants attention. The surface of some objects, while typologically like Old Bering Sea, bear an element produced by means of engraving several nested arc-shaped lines with transverse segments between them. In some cases, several similar elements are combined and resemble a decorative composition (Fig. 4:6, 8), while in others designs form an independent image (Fig. 4:3, 5, 7). All are schematic, which is characteristic for Birnirk-Punuk artifacts. [The combination of these elements seems to differ from OBS and thus identifies the objects as Birnirk-Punuk.—Ed.].

Examining a find from early Punuk Burial 144 (Fig. 4:4), it appears that the piece has a slightly open mouth (jaws?) with distinct teeth. Why is the image with the “grin” so popular. We can only guess at the meaning of this element. But some suppositions are admissible. In particular, the investigation of the canonical features of design on “winged objects” from the Ekven cemetery showed that at a certain stage, and specifically on artifacts with decorations of OBS-III style, one of its key elements is the image of a fantastic visage with an accentuated, large grinning maul (Sukhorukova 1998:71). The image of the “grin” is often present even in the design of the harpoon shaft heads accompanying them. Possibly, the depiction of the “grin” served to symbolize a specific entity, one of the important figures in Old Eskimo mythology that had special significance in the Birnirk-Punuk period.

Conclusions

This work does not pretend to fully embrace all the representational media of the Birnirk-Punuk period known to archaeologists, rather I provide only my personal perspective. Nonetheless, several important conclusions may be offered. First, a rather broad group of artifacts can be termed Birnirk and/or Punuk, executed in a single style, differing from Old Bering Sea. One of the chief features of the Birnirk/Punuk style is a rejection of decorative motifs and its replacement by the transmission of forms predominantly through plastic means. But in artistic design, many artifacts show clear genetic connection with Old Bering Sea art. The type of design, usually considered early Punuk, represents in fact a schematic treatment of Old Bering Sea subject matter or compositions. In turn, these schematic renderings probably served as the basis for the typical Punuk motif.

Second, anthropomorphic representations by no means lost their significance, in spite of the point of view of

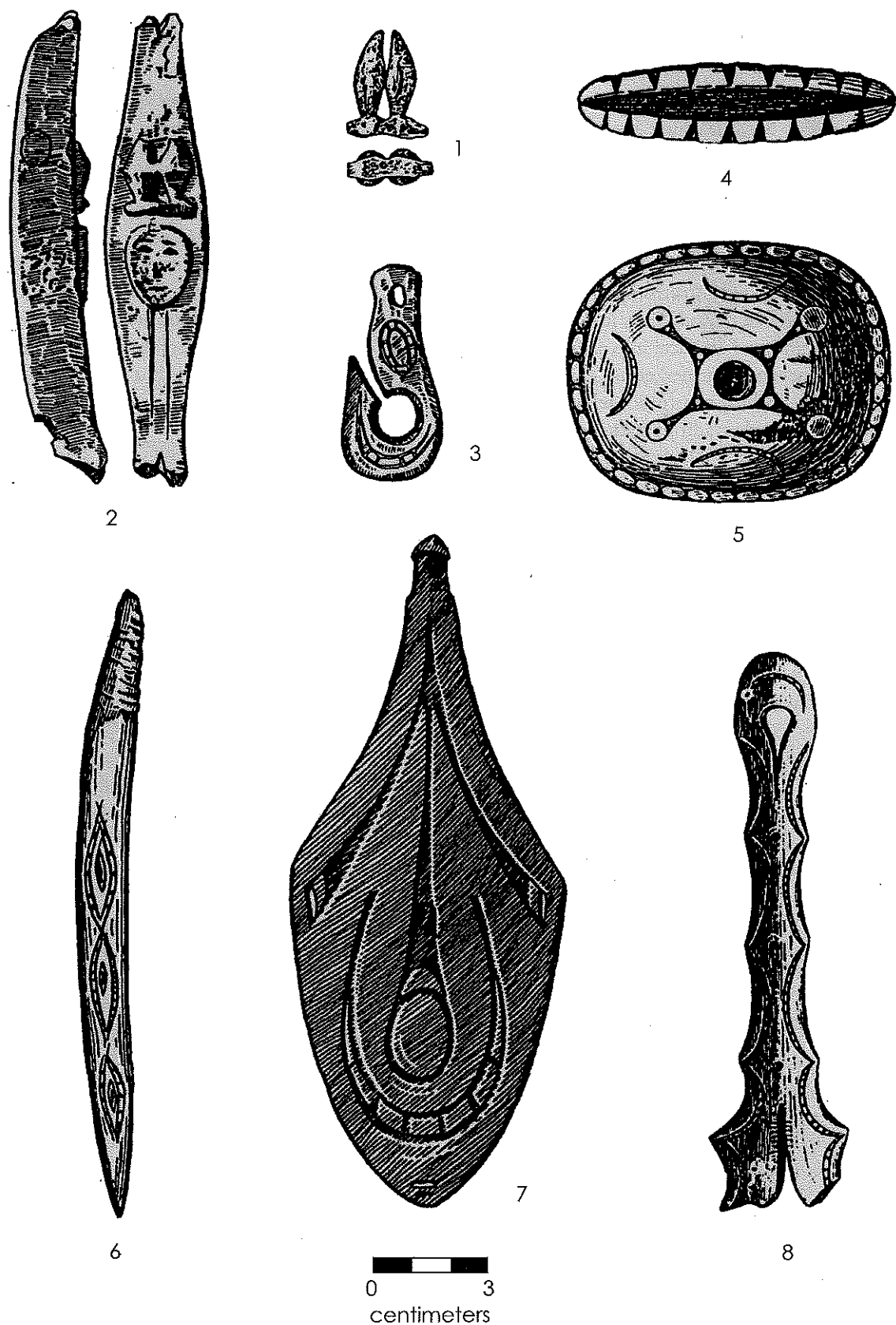


Figure 4. Artifacts with image of whales. 1. House H-18; 2. Ekven cemetery, Burial 10-11. Artifacts with an image of a "grin." Ekven cemetery. 3. Burial 187; 4. Burial 144; 5. Burial 155; 6. Burial 92; 7. Burial 99-100; 8. Burial 168.

Dneprovsky (2001:22). To the contrary, during the Birnirk-Punuk period a new artistic tradition of presenting the human figure in relief was developed.

Third, during the Birnirk-Punuk period, one particular representational motif, provisionally termed a "grin," became widespread in the design of objects of various categories. Its popularity permits one to hypothesize a special significance for a certain mythological being or persona during this period.

As can be observed, the results of my research corroborate the thesis of K. A. Dneprovsky about the unity of ancient Eskimo culture of Chukotka on the whole and permit viewing the art of the Birnirk-Punuk and Old Bering Sea times as individual traditions of a unified artistic culture.

Obviously, only further study of the aesthetic structures of artifacts in the Birnirk-Punuk corpus will elucidate and define the distinctive characteristics of this single artistic tradition. Until recently, the basic criteria for determining the cultural associations of archaeological complexes were of harpoon head typologies and associated decorations. The results of my survey show that for a firm determination of commonalities and differences in Old Eskimo cultural traditions further study of stylistic, subject, and canonical features of artifact design will be necessary.

References

Arutyunov, S. A., and D. A. Sergeev

1969 *Drevnie kul'tury aziatskikh eskimosov* (Uelenskii mogil'nik) [The Early Cultures of the Asiatic Eskimos (The Uelen Cemetery)]. Institut Etnografii Imeni N. N. Miklukho-Maklaia, Moscow.

1975 *Problemy etnicheskoi istorii Beringomor'ia (Ekvenskii mogil'nik)* [Problems of the Ethnic History of the Bering Sea (the Ekven Burial Mound)]. Nauka, Moscow.

Bronshtein, M. M., and K. A. Dneprovsky

2001 *Zhilishche morskikh zverboev drevnei Chukotki* [A Dwelling of Sea Mammal Hunters of Early Chukotka]. Al'manakh Pamiatniki kul'tury. Novye otkrytiia 2000. pp. 587-619. Nauka, Moscow.

2002 The northeastern Chukchi Peninsula during the Birnirk and early Punuk periods. In *Archaeology in the Bering Strait Region: Research on Two Continents*, edited by D.E. Dumond and R.L. Bland, pp. 153-165, *University of Oregon Anthropological Papers* 59.

Dikov, N. N.

1967 Uelenskii mogil'nik, po dannym raskopok 1956, 1958 i 1963 gg. [The Uelen Cemetery, Based on Excavations in 1956, 1958, and 1963]. *Istoriia i kul'tura narodov severa Dal'nego Vostoka* 17:45-80. Moscow.

Dneprovsky, K. A.

2001 Dinamika drevneeskimoskoi kul'tury Chukotki v epokhu birnirka i rannego punuka (po materialam arkheologicheskogo kompleksa Ekven) [The Dynamics of Old Eskimo Culture in Chukotka during the Birnirk and Early Punuk Period (Based on Materials of the Archaeological Complex at Ekven)]. Avtoreferat dissertatsii. Moscow.

2002 Ekven H-18: A Birnirk and early Punuk-period site in Chukotka. In *Archaeology in the Bering Strait Region: Research on Two Continents*, edited by D.E. Dumond and R.L. Bland, pp. 166-206, *University of Oregon Anthropological Papers* No. 59.

Ford, J. A.

1959 Eskimo Prehistory in the Vicinity of Point Barrow, Alaska. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 47(1).

Giddings, J. L., and D. D. Anderson

1986 *Beach Ridge Archaeology of Cape Krusenstern*. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

Rudenko, S. I.

1947 *Drevniaia kul'tura Beringova moria i eskimoskaia problema* [Early Culture of the Bering Sea and the Eskimo Problem]. Moscow-Leningrad.

1961 *The Ancient Culture of the Bering Sea and the Eskimo Problem [Drevniaia kul'tura Beringova moria i eskimoskaia problema]*, translated by Henry Michael) Arctic Institute of North America. Anthropology of the North, Translations from Russian Sources 1. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Sukhorukova, E. S.

1998 "Krylatye predmety" Ekvenskogo mogil'nika. Zakonomernosti khudozhestvennogo oformleniia i konstruktivnogo ustroistva ["Winged Objects" of the Ekven Cemetery. Regularities of Artistic design and Structural Arrangement]. *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie* 5:67-82.

A LATE BIRNIRK HOUSE AT PAIPELGHAK IN NORTHERN CHUKOTKA: A PRELIMINARY REPORT BASED ON THE EXCAVATIONS FROM 2002-2004¹

Kirill A. Dneprovsky

State Museum of Oriental Art, Nikitskii Bul'var 12-A, Moscow 121019 Russia; dneprk@orc.ru

Abstract: Following excavations from 2002 to 2004, the Paipelghak site, northwest of Cape Dezhneva, has revealed a distinctive driftwood and stone slab house. The research strategy employed extensive block excavations, with nearly 64 m² excavated. The house contains an inventory that matches that of the Birnirk culture and two ¹⁴C assays on driftwood indicate the age of the house falls in the 13th century AD. Its rapid collapse into the permafrost zone allowed excellent preservation of the house, a circumstance that provides numerous architectural details. The block excavation method allowed the investigators to reveal several exterior activity areas for stone-working and the dumping of animal bone and other waste.

Keywords: Bering Strait archaeology, Thule culture, Eskimo architecture

Until the 1990s virtually no multi-year archaeological investigations had been undertaken at prehistoric Eskimo domestic or house occupation sites in Chukotka.² Typically, dwelling structures were not investigated in block excavations and the areas beyond the outer walls of structures were even less studied. This lack of attention can be linked, to a significant degree, not only with the difficulty of access to sites and to the large financial expenses for any expedition, but also with the fact that the investigation of houses in extreme northeastern Russia can be very labor intensive—most cultural layers within houses or middens (in distinction to cemeteries) are in permafrost. Cost-effective methods for multi-year systematic investigations of house structures in permafrost had not been developed in Chukotka prior to 1995. Ekven was the first ancient Eskimo site in Chukotka subject to large-scale multi-year investigations (Blumer and Csonka 1997; Bronshtein and Dneprovsky 2001; Dneprovsky 2001, 2002; Moulin and Csonka 2002). Archaeological research was carried out at Ekven from 1995 to 2002 along the eroding shoreline through the efforts of Russian, Swiss, and

German scholars (Arutyunov, *this issue*; Mason et al., *this issue*). The architecture of House H-18 and the activity areas outside its walls were completely excavated.

Subsequently, from 2002 to 2004 the Chukotka Archaeological Expedition of the State Museum of Oriental Art under K. Dneprovsky conducted investigations at the ancient Eskimo site of Paipelghak, named after a small nearby stream. This site is located on the shore of the Chukchi Sea, 1.5 km northwest of the mouth of the Chegitun River, ca. 80 km northwest of Uelen, and 42 km northwest of the Inghoun site in the Chukotka District of the Chukotka Autonomous Region (Figs. 1 and 2).³ No work had previously been conducted at the Paipelghak site and I am unacquainted with any mention of it in the archaeological literature.

The site sits atop a bedrock bluff 30 m above sea level (Figs. 2 and 3). The cliff is 250 m wide and 220 m long, bordered on the southeast by a shallow ravine cut by Paipelghak Creek and on the northwest by a deep ravine with a rocky

¹Translated by Richard Bland, edited by Owen K. Mason.

²Dneprovsky (2002:175-178) provides a detailed literature review of the investigations of domestic arrangements in Chukotka from the end of the 1940s to the early 1990s.

³The coordinates of the center of the excavation at House 1, using GPS, are 66° 34' 16.2" N, 171° 06' 15.4" W.

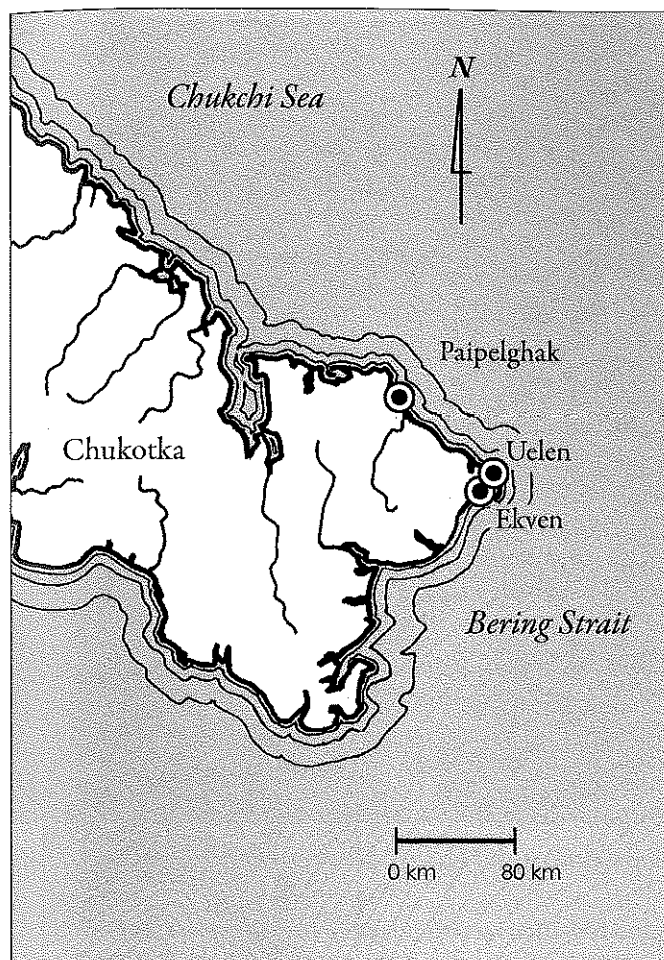


Figure 1. Chukchi Peninsula, Russia, with the location of the Paipelghak site and several other localities mentioned in the text.

bed filled with rapids, the course of Mainypaipel'vaam Creek. Talus covers the southeastern slope of the cape; another locale in which Eskimo materials were found (cf. Dneprovsky 2002-2004). Before work started, a detailed topographic map of the site was drafted (Fig. 4).

The bluff is covered with dwarf tundra vegetation; its level surface is interrupted by six house mounds, each up to 1.6 m high. The mounds are well-defined and covered with sod, which is occasionally punctuated by whale bones, part of the structural features of the houses. Each mound was numbered and located on a topographic map (Fig. 2).

House Mound 1 was selected as the first objective for archaeological investigations because, due to its location on the eastern edge of the cliff, House 1 was partially destroyed by coastal erosion. The topographic and plan view maps of House 1 (Figs. 4 and 5) delineate the squares excavated from 2002 to 2004, employing 10 cm contour intervals. The house mound exhibited no evidence of recent digging. The mound is oval in plan, ca. 20 m in diameter, with a depression in

the center and is covered with tundra vegetation, predominantly shrub willow and a small amount of sphagnum moss. Small sod-covered depressions on the surface were initially thought to be collapsed animal burrows, but excavation revealed that the hollows had formed above permafrost cracks, that were still filled with ice. Formed after the occupation, the permafrost cracks caused significant subsidence of the ground surface. The surface locations of large whale bones, structural features of the house, were also recorded on the plan view map (Fig. 5).

The initial excavation in 2002 involved removing a block area of 16 square meters (4 x 4 m) within House 1 ("Sector A"), oriented to the cardinal directions. Sector A was defined so that it embraced the entire northeast part of the depression in the house mound, including a low berm surrounding the house. The expectation was that at the end of the investigation both N-S and E-W profiles to the central point of the house could be obtained. As it turned out, Sector A revealed only one of the rooms of the house. At the outset, it was unclear whether the structure had been rebuilt more than once, or had been erected on the site of a completely or partially ruined house.

In the subsequent 2003 season two additional areas (Fig. 4), each measuring 4 x 4 m, were opened within House 1; the additional units expanded the 2002 excavations to the south and west, and were defined as Sectors "B" and "C." Room 1 was revealed in the SE part of the expanded excavation and the south of Room 2 in the north part. The southwest corner of Room 1, however, remained beyond the limits of the excavated area. In 2004 another 4 x 4 m quad was added, adjoining the 2002-2003 excavation to the southwest; termed Sector G, this completed the excavation of Room 1.

The preferred excavation strategy, emulating the approach at the Ekven site followed since 1995, favors exposing large block areas of living surfaces, and working by sectors. Because of the occurrence of permafrost, which typically starts at 40 cm below the ground surface, a drainage ditch was placed in the northeast corner of Sector A to allow melt water from the excavation to run off into the talus. The walls of the ditch were reinforced with bedrock slabs to prevent their collapse. The ditch gradually deepened as the permafrost thawed and the excavation proceeded. The rate of permafrost thaw was between 5-10 cm on a favorably warm day.

Trowels were used to reveal the basic structural features of the house—vertical roof supports, slabs of floor paving, beams that made up the walls, log roofing, and so on—left in place for photo recording to generate the house plan. All

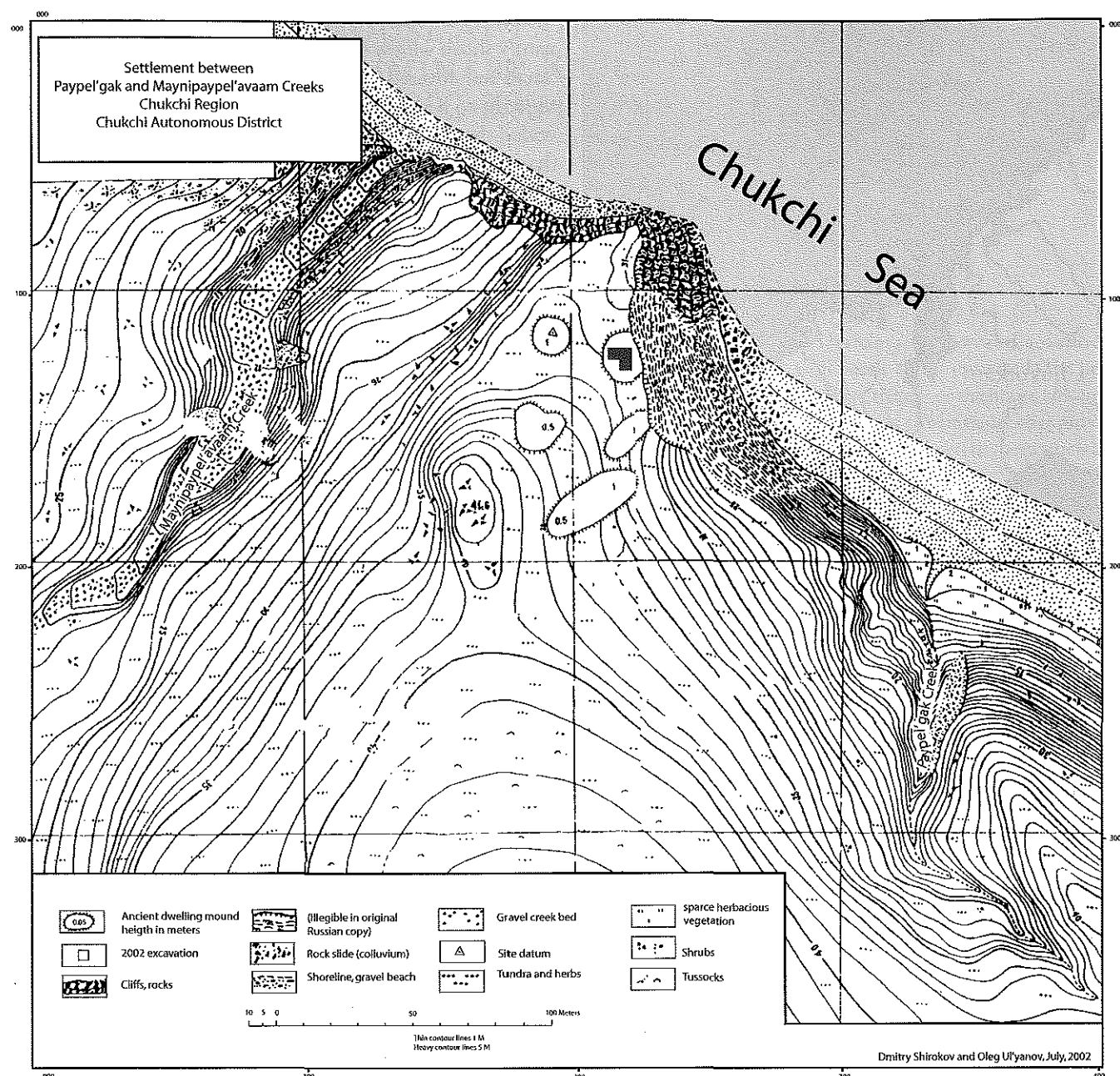


Figure 2. Topographic map of the Paipelghak site. The area excavated in 2002-2004 is marked in black. Other mounds are marked by letters. Digital illustration courtesy Dale Slaughter, Boreal Imagery.

objects were drawn at a scale of 1:10, and the depth of each was measured to within 1 cm. The depth of large structural features were measured both at the top of the object and beneath it in order to determine the stratum and thickness of the object. The incline of an object was marked by an arrow corresponding to its direction. Graphic recording within each sector was carried out simultaneously by horizons (e.g., D1, D2, D3, and so on), while the relative thickness of each horizon was estimated visually, depending on the density of artifacts within each area; but, as a rule, the cultural level associated with the house was no more than 10 cm thick. At

this stage of the investigation of House 1, only Room 1 with the corridor and straight entryway had been entirely cleared, as had the southern outline of Room 2.

Room 1

By the end of the 2004 field season, Room 1 of House 1 was entirely revealed (Figs. 5 and 6a). Almost square in outline, House 1 measured roughly 3.5 x 3.5 m, and the walls were oriented to the cardinal directions. Room 1 was built on an undisturbed tundra surface. The walls (except



Figure 3. View of the north coast of Chukotka near Paipelghak, in the foreground.

the north one) were formed of beams that were placed horizontally. The lower tiers of the walls were preserved, as were the support posts to a height of 50 to 60 cm (to the upper level of the permafrost). In the corners of the room wooden posts were arranged on the inside and outside of the walls to reinforce them and to support the roof as well.

Gaps between the horizontal beams of some walls served, evidently, to economize on structural wood. Beams laid horizontally on one another did not fit snugly to each other in grooves, as anticipated after examining the lower tier in the east wall; instead, whale vertebrae and short beams were added between beams. The gaps between the beams were covered on the outside with rows of short, upright (i.e., vertical) flat slabs. For example, a 15 cm wide horizontal beam, south of a large wooden post in Quad J-10, 11, has a longitudinal groove from 4 to 5 cm wide and 2 to 3 cm deep. The groove ends 12 cm from the north end of the beam. Beneath the grooved beam lies another beam, also grooved on its upper surface. Originally, both beams probably were not arranged directly on top of one another: i.e., several vertical boards had been set in the groove—in several layers and each layer was secured to the subsequent beam.

One of the supports in the south wall of Room 1 consisted of a bowhead whale mandible. Another bowhead mandible, encountered in one of the upper levels of Sector C was

also probably one of the upper tiers of the east wall (Figs. 6a, and 6b). Evidently, due to its location above permafrost after the beams on which it was supported decayed, the mandible slid to the east, toward the slope. Within Room 1 a general trend was noted in the direction of displacement of structural elements as the structure collapsed: as a rule, all structural members subsided toward the slope, in an easterly direction. The bases of the lower tiers of the east, south, and west walls extended above the ground, placed set on flat rocks, whale vertebrae, or small vertical beams. Sod was used to cover the outside of the walls. The thickness of the entire wall was about 1 m. Wall beams lacked corner joints; instead, vertical wooden posts were set shallowly in the ground at the corners of the room and the horizontal wall beams were apparently fastened to the vertical posts by skin or *babiche* thongs. As time passed, additional posts were very likely set in the corners to reinforce the base with short wedge-shaped braces.

In 2003, the surface of several beams (each up to 10 cm in diameter), oriented east-west, was mistaken for the upper level of the floor in Room 1. The pile of beams included a 1 m long portion of a whale mandible that was in the northeast part of the House 1 floor (Fig. 6 a). The beams were lying parallel within a single layer, its width not more than 50 cm. Based on subsequent excavation, it seems more likely that the beams were part of an accessory or temporary partition that stood vertically along a north-south line in the north

Figure 4. Excavation blocks at Paipelghak in the 2002-2004 seasons. The "site plan" features major excavated blocks in 4 by 4 m segments, marked with capital letters and identified by the excavation year. Digital illustration courtesy Dale Slaughter, Boreal Imagery.

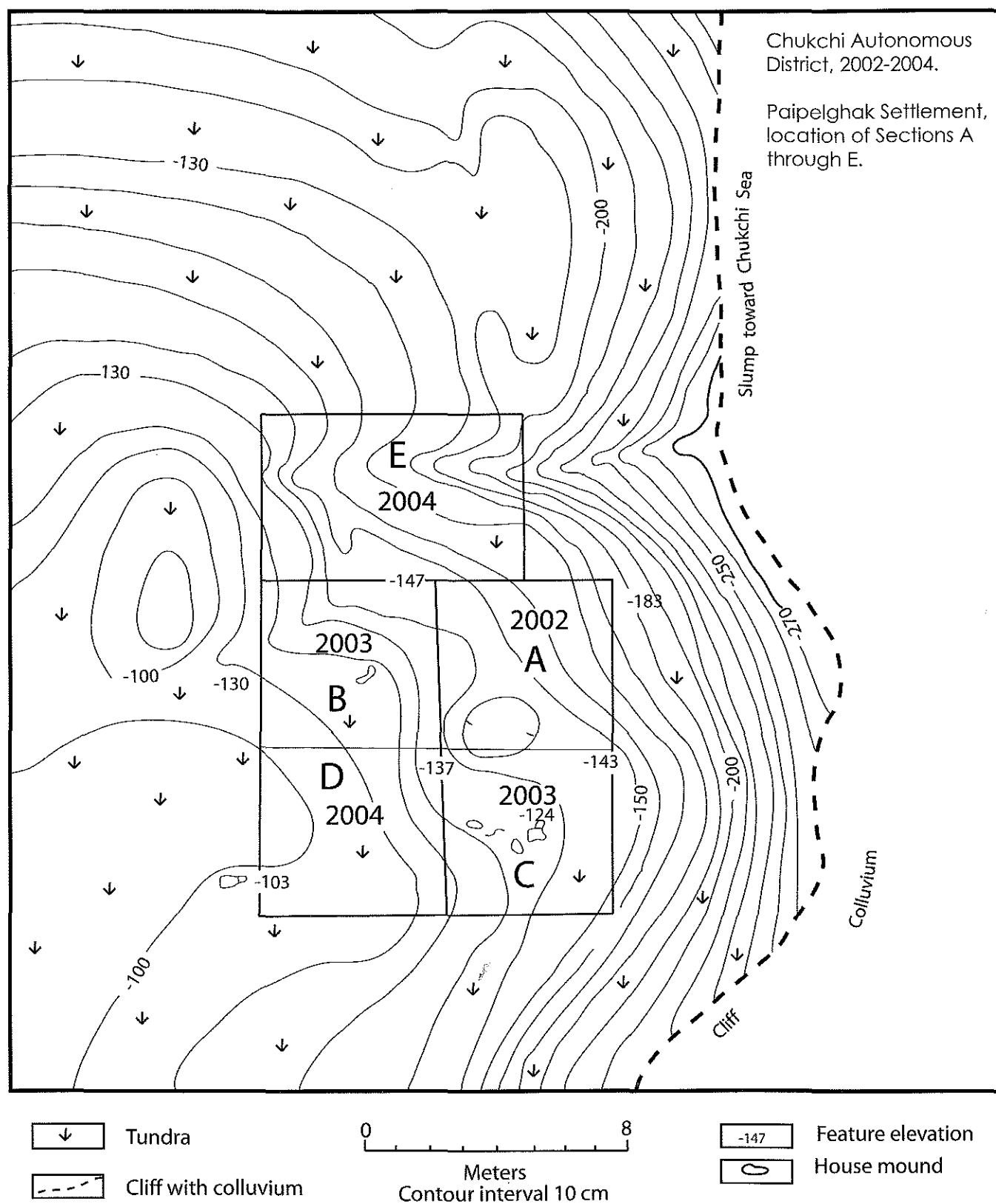
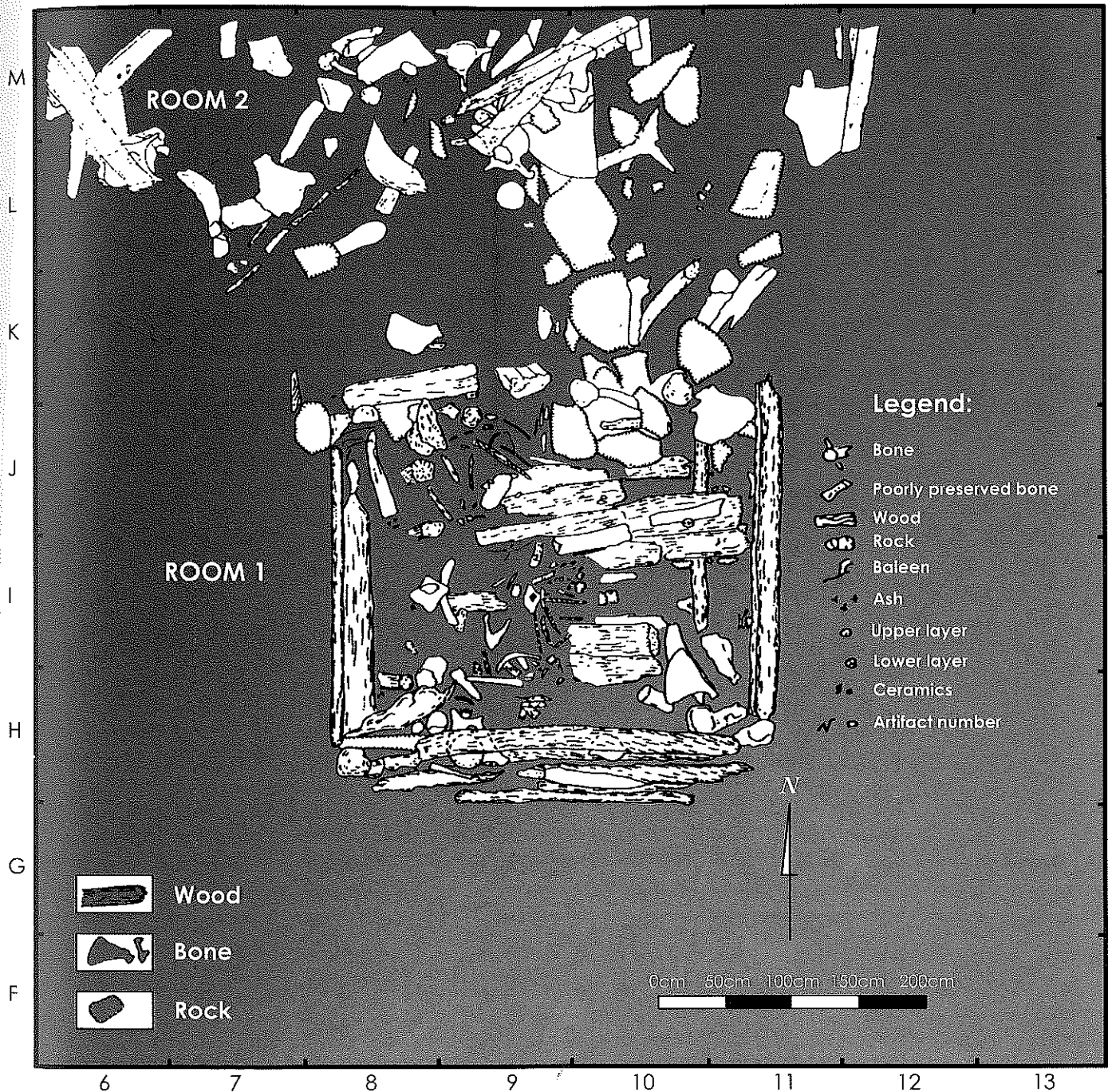


Figure 5. The excavation grid of Paipelghak provides a floor plan of the House. Smaller 1 by 1 m squares were used in the excavation of the house.



half of the room and continued toward the east wall of the exit corridor. Presumably, the inner partition extended from floor to roof, or somewhat lower (the original length of the beams was most probably the same as the length of the jaw bone discovered among them). While the partition was in a vertical position, the upper part of the beams could not collapse into the permafrost zone and were not preserved. Then, the remains of the beams fell in an easterly direction. No structural features from roof construction were found in the room.

The living surface (i.e., the level above the floor, contains compressed layers of debris about 10 cm thick), consisting of wood chips, fragments of baleen, fur, bird feathers, and a large quantity of everyday objects, as a rule, broken. Below the living surface, the floor of Room 1 had a single level and was constructed of blocks of wood oriented in an east-west axis. A bowhead mandible lay among the beams with a flattened upper surface. The floor did not extend to the wall in the southern part; instead, short posts were set in the ground, which reinforced the outermost southern



Figure 6a. Photograph of Paipelghak Room 1 showing the architectural details.



Figure 6b. Photograph of the activity area outside Room 1.

block and very likely served as an enclosure for a ceramic lamp, judging from the fragments of which were discovered in this location. The debris-covered surface of the adjacent floor area was saturated with organics and showed evidence of trampling. Possibly, the oil supplies for heating and lighting were kept in this area. An ice body, up to 40 cm wide, filled the eastern part of the room from the southeast corner to the exit. As the ice body grew, hypothetically, after house abandonment, the floor structure was disrupted above the crack and shifted 20-30 cm to the east. Very likely, the surface of the floor under the east wall has experienced some amount of subsidence. On the other hand, it is possible that the permafrost crack started to develop while the house was occupied or during its last stages of occupation. This would explain the circumstance that the east end of the floor beams extended atop the north-south oriented beam. Two beams of the central floor extended nearly to the east wall of the room, while the remaining beams terminate 50-60 cm short of the wall. A part of the floor significantly lower than the general level of the beams was possibly intentionally left bare, adjacent to the east wall. Therefore, a person who entered the

room from the corridor would have quickly stepped down onto an earthen floor.

The east part of the north wall of Room 1, east of the corridor, has a doorway directly out of the room, extending north-northeast. This exit is marked by a break in the wall of the room, by a step between a whale scapula lying on the floor of the room, and a pavement of stone slabs and large bones. This exit was not covered by a roof, as inferred from the absence of supporting posts for a roof. Seemingly, this exit was only used in the warm season and not in the winter.

Corridor

The questions about the exit from Room 1 could not be resolved until the south and west walls were completely excavated (Figs. 4, 5, and 6a). Following the removal of stratigraphic Level D5, it was clear that no break was present in the west and south walls of the room. The initial evidence of a doorway or corridor exists as a break in the north wall near the northeast corner of the room bounded, on the sides by

two wooden posts. The discovery in 2004 of a paved floor in the corridor definitively indicated that the entrance into the room—more precisely, the passage from Room 1 to Room 2—was within the north wall of Room 1, in its eastern part. The floor was paved with stone slabs and had posts along its sides that led to the north, toward Room 2. The corridor abutted the sod-fill of the wall between Rooms 1 and 2. The northern part of this corridor was left unexcavated, exclusive of the area investigated in 2004. The connection of the corridor to the south wall of Room 2 remains uncertain at the time of writing. The width of the passage varied between 50 and 60 cm, while its length extended more than 2.5 m. All the roof supports of the corridor were wood. Four pairs of support posts for the corridor roof were made of beams, including a pair of posts that are a part of the structure of the north wall of Room 1. The base of each beam was set 10 to 15 cm in the ground, below the level of the corridor floor pavement. The posts were nearly completely preserved, as evident from traces of shaping on the top of the third post from the west side of the room. Similar evidence is available from the third post on the east side which was made from a beam with a bifurcated basal notch. Its height from the floor pavement is 110 cm—the actual height of the corridor from the pavement to the roof. Some cross supports of the corridor roof were also partially preserved. In the northern part of the corridor a beam was oriented east-west, with a diameter up to 10 cm, with its east end on top of a corridor support post. A gray whale mandible lies parallel to the beam and also served as a roof beam.

In Quad L-10, within the central part of the corridor, three boards were encountered oriented parallel to the direction of the corridor; both were well-worked on two sides, up to 20 cm wide, 20-30 cm thick, and 1.7 m long. The three boards were positioned with their north ends overlapping one another, fan-like. Two very evenly shaped boards were at the center of the west wall. One board had a knot in its end, the other, in the middle part. The surface of the boards was likely worked with a stone adze. While the original placement of the boards remains uncertain, both were evidently structural features of the corridor roof that subsequently collapsed. Possibly, the transverse and longitudinal log roof of the corridor was covered by sea mammal skins.

The level of the floor of the corridor, capped by its roof elements, was lower than the floor of Room 1 by 40 to 50 cm. The floor pavement was made up of several flat slate slabs with traces of grinding on the upper surface, as well as a large scapula of a bowhead whale in the northern part.

Room 2

The excavation of this room remained incomplete by the end of the 2004 season, and conclusions about its construction remain speculative (Fig. 5). Nonetheless, it seems reasonably certain that Room 2 was built on the original tundra surface and was larger than Room 1.

Part of Room 2 was uncovered north of Room 1, in Sector B (Fig. 4) in Quads L, M-6, 7, 8, 9. The room is subrectangular in plan, oriented southwest-northeast. Two walls were partially traced in sector B: the southwest wall in Quads L, M-6 and the southeast wall in Quads L, M-7, 8, 9. A considerable part of the room continued under the north wall of Sector B. The southwest wall of Room 2 was marked by a single horizontal beam, one end fastened to two bowhead whale vertebrae placed one on the other, and was associated with a line of burnt vertical posts. The southeast wall of the room consisted of two vertical supports formed by bowhead whale mandibles placed 70 cm apart. The height of the preserved (possibly burnt) posts was up to 130 cm (their tops were seen on the surface). The posts were separated by a horizontal wooden block, several tumbled blocks, and a roof log in Quad M-9.

Outside of the walls of Room 2, in Sector B and on the level of the lowest horizon, a sub-oval ash area, 30 by 50 cm, delineated a hearth. The hearth was surrounded by an area that was clearly the original and earliest undisturbed surface, covered with an abundance of food bones and with the remains of original tundra surface. A vertical post of whale mandible in Quad L-7 had no traces of burning, although the fire area and several burned wooden posts in the wall were found in the immediate vicinity. This support was evidently set after the hearth fell into disuse. This may mark the second level or stage in the construction of Room 2, or possibly its renovation. Evidently, the floor level of Room 2 started under an area between the posts and coincides with the level of the fire area. The excavation ended at this level in 2004; future excavations will examine the level of the floor across the entire room.

In summary, Room 2, revealed in Sector B, was only partially investigated. The use of large whale bones as a material seems characteristic of Birnirk houses, as well as wood, and should be considered a characteristic feature of Paipelghak architecture. Meanwhile, the form of the structure, in some of its structural principles (including its entry) and size remain unclear. It is clear that Room 2 joined Room 1 through a passage, but precisely which part of the corridor served as the entry remains uncertain.

Extramural Areas

Our investigations at Paipelghak benefitted from the lessons learned during the mid-1990s in the international, multi-disciplinary efforts at Ekven (Bronstein and Dneprovsky 2001; Dneprovsky 2001, 2002). Research at Ekven House H-18 provided a more complete perspective about the use of the site, by examining the areas beyond the walls of houses. At Ekven, extramural excavations revealed a variety of outside activity areas, hearths, pits for preserving food, and other important features.

At the present state of our investigations at Paipelghak [at the end of 2004], the area outside Room 1 is not completely excavated (Fig. 6b). Future goals include the expansion of the excavation to the east. However, beyond the walls of Room 1, to the south, west, and east of it, no large structural elements and few artifacts were recorded above the base of the walls. The largest quantity of objects was discovered at the original ground level—at the base of the bottom wall tiers.

One very important discovery involved an extramural activity area (Figs. 5, and 6b). In the southwest corner of the excavation, outside of House 1, an accumulation of abraded polished stone slabs of various sizes, blanks for slate tools with traces of abrasive sawing on two sides, and stone flakes were encountered on the original ground surface along with materials characteristic for that level (a large quantity of artifacts, an abundance of wood chips, likely from house construction, and other debris, including animal bones, small twigs, scraps of baleen, small clusters of burned bones, etc.). Apparently, the southwest area served as an outdoor activity area for stone tool manufacture, considering that it lacked a paved floor or roof. Outside of Room 2, to the northwest, a burnt area with pieces of clay vessels occurred in the buried horizon. Surrounding the burnt area was the early [pre-occupational—ed.] ground surface that contained midden deposits with a wealth of food refuse (animal bones) and the remains of buried sod.

Factors Influencing Preservation of Various Structural Features of the House

To ensure a reliable reconstruction of the architectural remains one must describe at the outset the factors that influence preservation processes. The most important consideration, of course, is position and thickness of the frost table which fosters the preservation of usually short-lived wood remains. By contrast, any organic debris above the permafrost level is much more likely to decay. The permafrost level, of course, generally follows the modern ground surface.

The accumulation of clastic material (small fragments of slate rubble and silty humus from the surface) within the abandoned rooms likely proceeded in the following sequence. Initially, the site area, during its occupation, was clearly not as completely vegetated as at present. The most active process of covering the structure of the room by clastic material apparently occurred soon after the house was abandoned. An abundance of snow cover, thawing in spring, probably produced large streams of water, transporting bedrock rubble from the south, from the hill (cf. Fig. 2, the topographic plan). Subsequently, plants colonized the living surface that had high nutrient levels due to the site's organic material. As time passed, plant material died and decayed with the rubble from the bedrock restraining it, leading to soil formation. The character and intensity of the filling of Rooms 1 and 2 with clastic material can be easily traced in the profiles of the excavation walls. Clastic material was blocked by the horizontal features of the structure in the lower layers, and then overtopped them and filled the space between the vertical supports of the rooms. The thickness of the layer of broken rubble, which begins immediately below the soil layer, extends to a maximum of 0.5 m. In summary, after the house was abandoned, the void between the walls and roof was filled and covered in a relatively short time by a layer of soil with rubble material up to 60 cm thick, from the sloping top of the mound to the southwest. The character and intensity of the fill in Rooms 1 and 2 can be readily traced in the wall profiles of the excavation. This material was interrupted by the horizontal features of the structure but filled the expanse between the vertical supports of the rooms. The rapid accumulation of clastic material guaranteed that preservation was excellent, at least to a height of ca. 0.5 m in the permafrost.

The house was possibly still standing, its roof still intact, when the extraneous clastic materials filled the inside area. Subsequently, the roof collapsed, which was not preserved because it remained in the active layer above the permafrost. This is very likely the reason the roof logs were few, assuming that none of the roof timbers were removed for re-use elsewhere or in other nearby houses. Only those logs are preserved that fell while the interior part of the house still was not filled with material. The logs were then substantially deeper in the permafrost layer and more likely to be preserved. The thicker the layer of post-depositional material, the more quickly it accumulates (i.e., the level of the permafrost, which rises directly under the clastic material, replicates the external relief, always remaining 45-50 cm from the surface) and the better the preservation of the wood. Quite to be expected, only the lower tiers were preserved. The posts of whale jaws are always higher than the wooden ones because they can be preserved on the surface,

even though they are exposed to weathering. In the burials of the Ekven cemetery, made on the surface of the permafrost, almost no wood is preserved.

A deep permafrost crack (visible on the surface and initially thought to be a rodent burrow) passes through the northwest corner of Sector B. It is filled with ice and oriented along the NE-SW line. Its width is up to 40 cm. A similar frost crack, oriented along the N-S line, passes through Sector C almost parallel to the east wall of Room 1. The frost cracks literally broke apart the structural features of the building, such as the wooden blocks and large bones. The whole structure was thus pulled apart by tens of centimeters, during the centuries following the abandonment of the house.

Finally, it is also necessary to consider the human factor: the abandoned house, up to when clastic material covered the living surface of the rooms and/or collapsed the roof, was visited by hunters and residents of surrounding villages. It seems very possible that beyond the outer walls of the house, after the occupants left, some additional surface modification occurred (e.g., the digging of a cache pit, leveling of the area for another house, etc.), and the production of a trash dump formed as a result of this work and covered the lower tiers of Room 1.

The stratigraphic profiles of six walls in Sectors B and C establish that Rooms 1 and 2 were built on the level of the preexisting ground surface. It is notable that no outlines of external additions to the walls of the rooms were found in the profiles. In the profiles of the south wall of Sector B and the south wall of Sector A, which "cut" Room 1 from east to west, a layer of clastic material was atop the level of the early ground surface.

Another process, beyond those of colluviation and post-depositional earth-moving, influenced the infilling of the house with clastic material. After the room was completely excavated it was appreciated that the walls of Room 1 were supported on the outside by earthen fill retaining walls. The fill was evidently taken from near the room and the subsequent clastic material is similar to it in composition and color. The surface of the site was not covered with peaty sod, so that sod could not be used for backing the walls. The original form of the wall, constructed of wood, bone, and stone and filled on the outside by soil, was subtriangular in plan and sloped to the outside. The thickness of the base of the wall of Room 1 was about 1.5 m. To be expected, few or no artifacts were found in the fill of the wall. After the house ceased to function, destruction of the sod walls occurred from two directions: from above, inside the room, and from the outside along the slope of the wall. The sediments that

were thus eroded from the wall were added to the colluvial sediments and were incorporated into it.

General observations based on other sites of this period and the individual characteristics recorded during excavations of Room 1 at Paipelghak support the idea of the presence of outside earthen fill in the walls of other adjacent early Eskimo houses. First, I cite my own observations and those of other archaeologists from the numerous sites on the coast of Chukotka (e.g., Ekven, Tunytlén, Segtun, Yandagai, Ekichuvren, and others). All the house ruins of the early Eskimos are represented by mounds, often with a sunken center. Without earthen fill in the walls the mounds could in principle not have formed. All the houses of this type in Chukotka, which were exposed to even partial investigation (Cape Baranov, Chetyrekhtolbovyi Island, Kuniskak, Ekven) had, according to the authors of the excavations, earthen or sod walls on a primary frame.

The following are specific lines of inference for the presence of earthen (sod block) fill (likely as insulation) outward from the walls of Room 1 at Paipelghak:

- The area of artifact distribution in the cultural layer around the room has a clear boundary, which is located approximately 1.5 m from the wooden frame of the walls. Numerous artifacts are recorded in the layer of structural debris with a thickness of up to 40 cm from the level of the early ground surface. Virtually no artifacts were found at the level of the pre-occupation ground surface, in the area covered by the sterile fill of the wall.
- The structural features of the walls appear to be so flimsy that without earthen fill they plainly would not be effective insulation under Arctic conditions [although the likelihood of a snow cover would considerably improve their insulation (cf. Lee and Reinhardt 2004)–Ed.]. The south and east walls have breaks between the lower tiers. One beam is held to another on two whale vertebrae and a short beam. The west wall was constructed partially of thin vertical blocks standing at a substantial distance from each other and set in a longitudinal groove of the second-from-bottom horizontal tier. The north wall of Room 1 consists of individual vertical blocks embedded in the ground up to 40 cm from each other.
- The south wall of Room 2 has no significant structural elements except whale jaw posts, and

is adjacent to the north "wall" of Room 1, which is essentially only a partition between the two spaces. If this wall had not produced lapse-related fill the space between the rooms would have accumulated a substantial cultural layer. For the most part, there were no artifacts in the wall fill, except the very remarkable snow goggles found at the early ground level (Fig. 7).

If the walls had not been purposely filled with earth on the outside, the earthen mound would not have developed on the location of the houses. Fill material could not pile up on the wooden structures of the walls.

An argument supporting the fact that the beam walls of Room 1 at Paipelghak were not on the exterior, but were supplemented with earthen fill, is the very structure of the

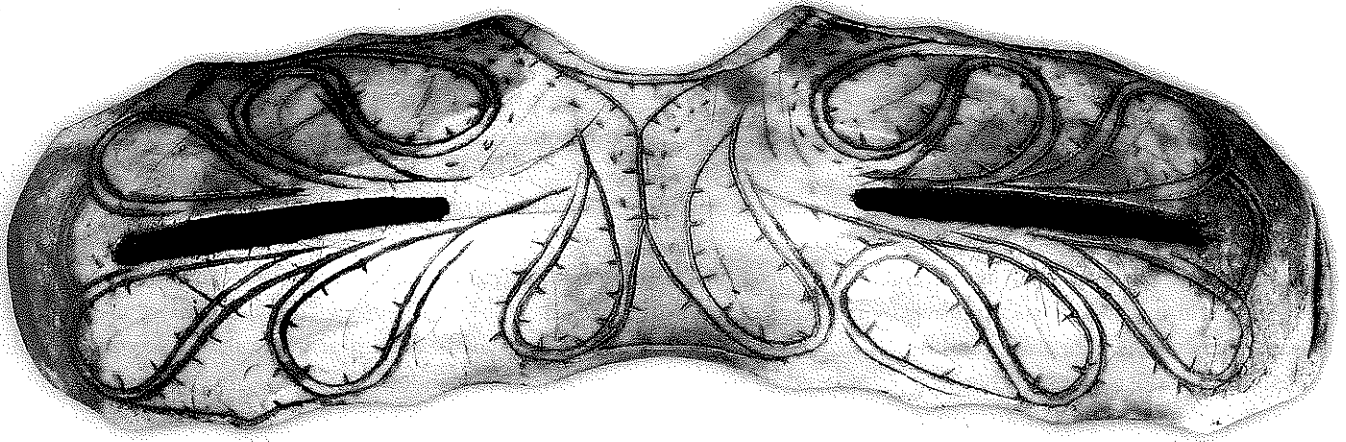


Figure 7. Snow goggles obtained from above the floor of the structure.

- The bases of the lower tiers of three walls were raised on stone, bone, or wooden structural elements substantially above the earth. Without fill the walls would not likely have stood and supported the roof.
- The wooden wall elements would not have been preserved to such a height as in Room 1 if the walls were not within the permafrost. It would seem that this could occur with the presence of earthen fill, which quickly filled the inner part of the room and partially preserved its height on the outside.
- At the base of the first tier of the room, and parallel to it one and a half meters west and southwest of the west wall, runs a sharp boundary localizing all signs of the early ground surface. South, east, and north of the walls at the level of the ground surface signs of the boundary are absent. Why does the early ground surface with artifacts not go directly up to the wall? In 2003 we mistakenly took the expanse between Rooms 1 and 2 (about 1.5 m wide) to be a "passageway," an empty space between structures. The fill of the wall undoubtedly prevented the accumulation of the cultural layer here.

walls itself. The north wall consists of vertical blocks standing at a substantial distance from each other, while the south wall was built up of beams and a whale jaw, with the aid of whale vertebrae that were inserted between beams every 50 cm. The presence of such breaks in an outer wall is not logical.

Objects found in the drift layer may be synchronous with Room 1, as well as belonging to a time both earlier and later in relation to the time of existence of Room 1. Artifacts and debris were transported away from houses by fluvial processes (see Figs. 2-5 or the plan views).

The inner area of the dwelling structure should be conceived as a zone with a special kind of accumulated cultural layer, one naturally different from the area outside the structure. The structural horizons in this case cannot be interpreted as stages of settlement. No sterile lenses were recorded here. The division into levels or stages of structural elements of the paved floor and of the inventory found in the material accumulation of the interior of the room can only be provisional. If this material does not contain clearly asynchronic or multi-cultural markers then it is not possible to separate it into stages or levels. If the layout of the house walls was not modified, then the material discovered in the floor stratum can be logically viewed as a single complex.

Thus, at the end of the 2004 season the following picture became clear. Room 1 was constructed on the ancient ground surface. It was square-ish in plan with right-angled corners. The characteristics stated above attest that the walls were filled with earth on the outside. The construction of the west wall, where part of the vertical short blocks set on end in grooves in the upper surface of the horizontal beam was preserved, evidently reflects the construction of at least three walls, with the exception of the north one, which was basically a partition between the rooms. Gaps were evidently left between the beams for purposes of economizing on wood: the horizontal beams did not fit closely to each other in the groove, as was supposed after the study of the lower tiers of the east wall, but rather whale vertebrae and short wooden blocks were laid between them. Short flat blocks were secured in vertical position in the gaps. The base of the lower tiers of the east, south, and west walls was raised above the earth and placed on stones, whale vertebrae, or small vertical beams. Vertical wooden posts, shallowly sunk, were placed at the corners of the room. Depending on how loose they were, additional posts were set that were reinforced by short wedge-shaped chocks placed around the base. The floor of the room had one level of construction and was paved with wooden blocks oriented east-west. In the south part the floor pavement did not reach the wall. Here short posts were set in the ground which secured the extreme southern block and possibly enclosed a place for a lamp. The surface of the floor here was very saturated with organics and was trampled. The oil for the lamp was possibly kept here.

Room 1 of House 1 at the Paipelghak site has many features in common with the small room in House H-18 at the Ekven site. Both rooms are equally oriented so that the walls face the cardinal directions and were constructed on the surface, not sunk into the ground. They are both subsquare in form and almost equal in area. Wooden posts supporting the roof and maintaining the walls were at the corners. The structures are of "warm" permanent post construction with an earthen (sod) outer fill of the walls. The use of horizontal beams in the construction of the walls is a common feature (in H-18 there is a horizontal beam in the base of the east wall). There are no wooden beams in the floor pavement of the Ekven house; stone slabs prevail. In Paipelghak House 1 the floor pavement is made up primarily of beams, but part of the floor that attached to the entryway was laid with stone slabs. Judging by the composition of the inventory, both rooms were living rooms, not working rooms. The small dimensions and other features also permit supposing the structures were sleeping rooms.

The small room of Ekven House H-18 was attached directly to a larger one on the north, but not to the south, like Room 1 at Paipelghak. Between the large and small rooms

at Ekven there is no thick earthen wall; they are joined through a step and a common thin wall, in which is a passage from one room to the other. Room 1 at Paipelghak has four walls, three of which are outer walls. The fourth wall, common for both rooms, also has earthen fill. The corridor exit in the eastern part of the north wall of this structure has a length of more than three meters. It is attached on the east side to the earthen wall and joins the small and large rooms of the house. Thus, Room 1 at Paipelghak has four "warm" walls and is an independent structure, more isolated from the large room.

Meanwhile, it is possible to establish that a substantially larger quantity of driftwood was used in the construction of the Paipelghak rooms than in Ekven House H-18. This is connected, first, with the fact that the geographic position of the Paipelghak site, in distinction from the Ekven site, is such that even at the present time a substantial quantity of driftwood can be seen in the vicinity of the site after storms. Meanwhile, there is insufficient data for ascertaining the general layout of the house.

Artifact Assemblage

Only those artifacts that were recorded at floor level, below the floor level of the room, and on the level of the early ground surface beyond the outer walls (and lower) should be considered as belonging to the structure, and, consequently synchronous with it. The possibility of artifacts falling to the floor level or early ground surface after the house ceased to function diminishes, until the appearance of clearly asynchronic artifacts that post-date the occupation.

A similar concern involves the archaeofauna. Unfortunately, the bones of animals were collected by excavation level over the entire area of the excavation sectors in 2002 and 2003. Consequently, it is not possible to distinguish bones belonging to Room 1 proper from the midden or dump areas. In 2004, bones discovered within the room at floor level and below were collected individually. In addition to formal osteological analysis, specimens of land and sea mammals will be employed in the radiocarbon dating of Room 1.

In order to distinguish the cultural association of Room 1, it is necessary to identify the artifacts in the cultural layer as only those objects that were found on the floor and below in the inner part of the room, and those on the early ground level. However, one should not identify *all* the objects from the two layers as cultural markers. Certainly, one must be cautious in attributing artifacts to the occupation of the house. Of the diagnostic artifacts, a few of the most interesting are illustrated in Figs. 7, 8 and 9. The snow goggles, with

Table 1. Radiocarbon assays from House 1, Paipelghak.

Laboratory No.	¹⁴ C yr Age BP	Calibrated Yr AD (2 sigma)	Material
IEMAE - 1362	789±30	1193-1198, 1209-1284	Local Wood (likely willow)
IEMAE-1360	673±31	1280-1325, 1348-1391	Driftwood

Both samples are on wood, unidentified, but likely willow. The IEMAE (Institute of Evolutionary Morphology and Animal Ecology) lab was employed for both assays.

the Punuk-like motif (Fig. 7), were obtained from above the floor of the structure, as noted above. Otherwise, several types of harpoon heads were recovered from adjacent the house. The harpoon heads fall into the following types (cf. Ford 1959): Natchuk (Fig. 8a, b and c); Birnirk (Fig. 8 d, e); Old Bering Sea (Fig. 8j, k, m); the III-a-x (=Sicco) (Fig. 8v); and possibly the Thule 2 (Fig. 8f). Several pieces are apparently preforms (Fig. 8t, u) while others are difficult to assign to widely recognized types, e.g., the variants of the Old Bering Sea types [Fig. 8l, n, o, p, q, r, and s]. The wide variety of cutting tools of ground slate include long knives and the classic ulu (Fig. 9k, m, o, p).

Within the house, in 2004, the characteristic single barbed Birnirk harpoon head did not occur in association with the floor or beneath House 1. At least five discrete forms of open harpoon heads with open sockets were recovered within the excavation; and one typical open-socketed, harpoon head of antler (III-a-x) was decorated with typical Punuk motifs (Fig. 8 v, lower right). Judging by the inventory (Figs. 7, 8 and 9), both Rooms 1 and 2 are assigned to the Birnirk-Punuk stage of the Eskimo culture of Chukotka.

Dating the House

Wood, both local and driftwood, was employed for two age assignments; dendrochronological analyses are planned. The two ages overlap only within several years of the 13th century AD. Of the two ages, most commonly, the short-lived "local" wood should yield the more precise age estimate. However, that assay (Iemae-1362) is possibly 100 years older than the driftwood sample. Considering that the two ages barely overlap within the 2 sigma range, it would seem inadvisable to average them. The two radiocarbon assays (Table 1) indicate that the house was occupied quite late in the history of the Birnirk culture, during the 13th or early 14th century AD. The most expeditious explanation would be that the house was first occupied, possibly in the late 12th century, with re-building continuing until the early 14th century AD.

Conclusions concerning Ancient Eskimo Architecture in Chukotka

Houses of the ancient Eskimo cultures of Chukotka that employ a frame of large sea mammal bones and driftwood backed by sod walls, can be divided into two types, based on their structural features [cf. Lee and Reinhardt 2004 for further examples—eds.]:

- First, houses built on a low coastal bluff where there is always an incline toward the sea, directly on the slope. Often "terraces" were leveled on the slope, arranged one above the other. The floor surface of the rooms in the house was never excavated into the ground. The roofed corridor exit from the room opened directly onto the shoreline. Typically, the entryway was not toward the sea, but rather toward the slope. This was because the floor level always had to be below the level of the floor in the room. This type of house is the most archaic, which was brought about by the simplified technique of construction—the builders did not have to dig the corridor into the earth.
- Second, houses built on a flat surface at some distance from the shore. The general construction principles are the same: the floor level of the rooms was on the surface. The exit in this case was also constructed toward a small slope, but it was dug somewhat into the ground. If one of the rooms of a house went beyond the flat area, then a floor of fill was made. For example, the level of the floor in the small room of House H-18 at Ekven was raised with earthen fill on the north side. This fill was retained by whale skulls on the side toward the slope.

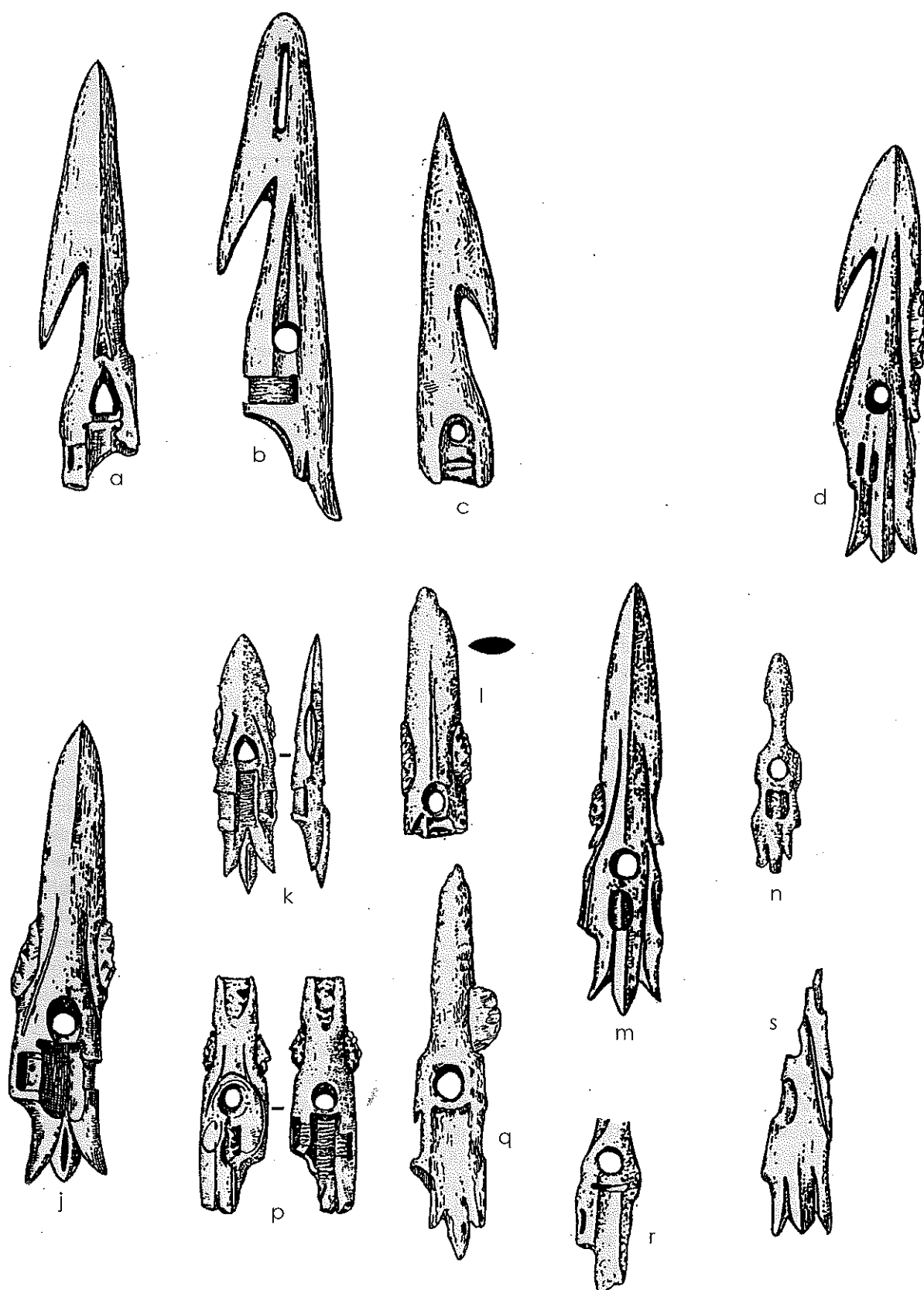
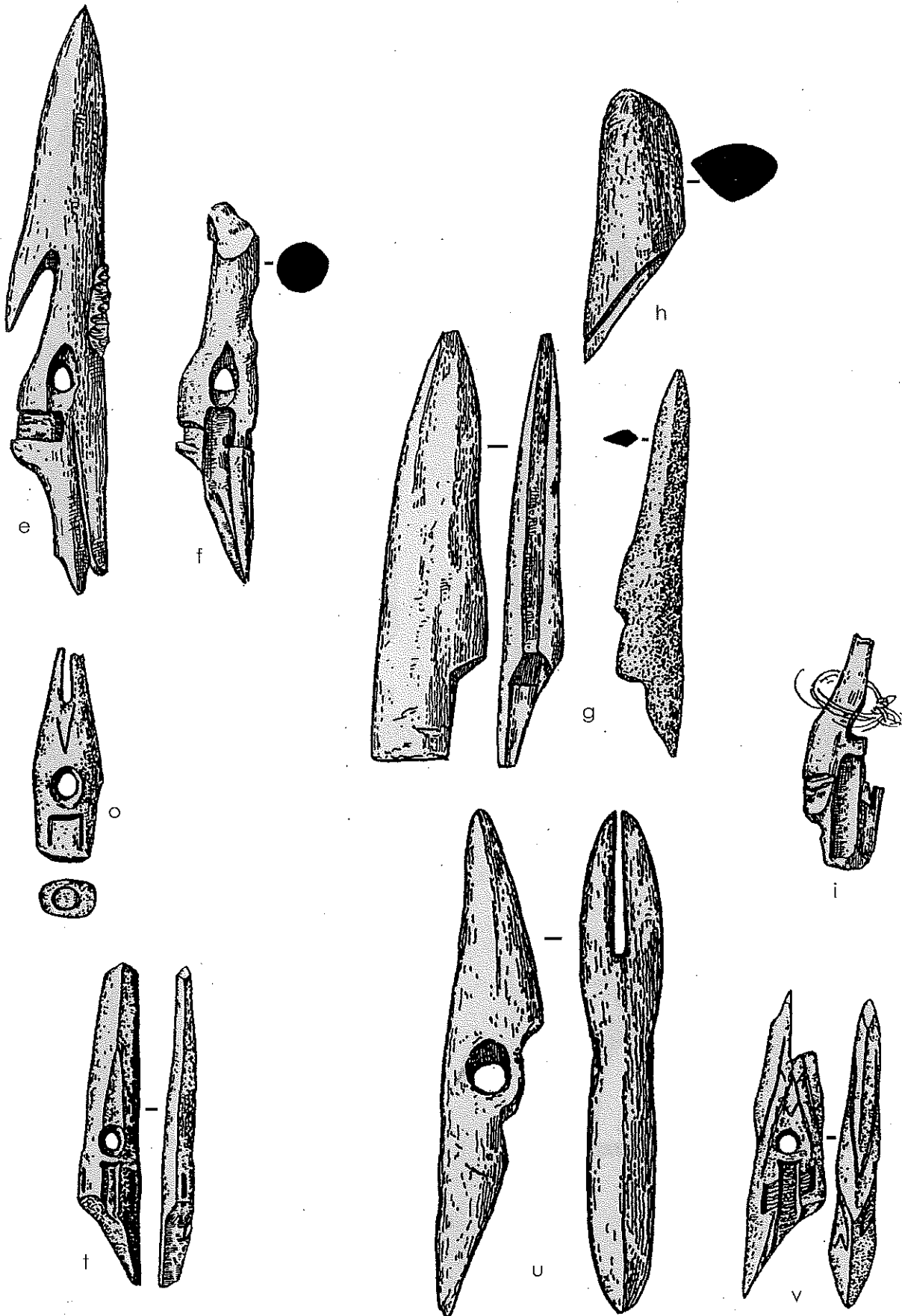


Figure 8 (facing pages). Harpoon heads recovered from the Paipelghak house in 2002-2004, clockwise, left to right: Natchuk (a, b and c); Birnirk, (d, e); Old Bering Sea (j, k, and m); the III-a-x (=Sicco) (v); and possibly a Thule 2 piece (f). Several pieces are apparently preforms (g, h, t, and u). Three are variants of Old Bering Sea types (l, n, o, p, g, r, and s).



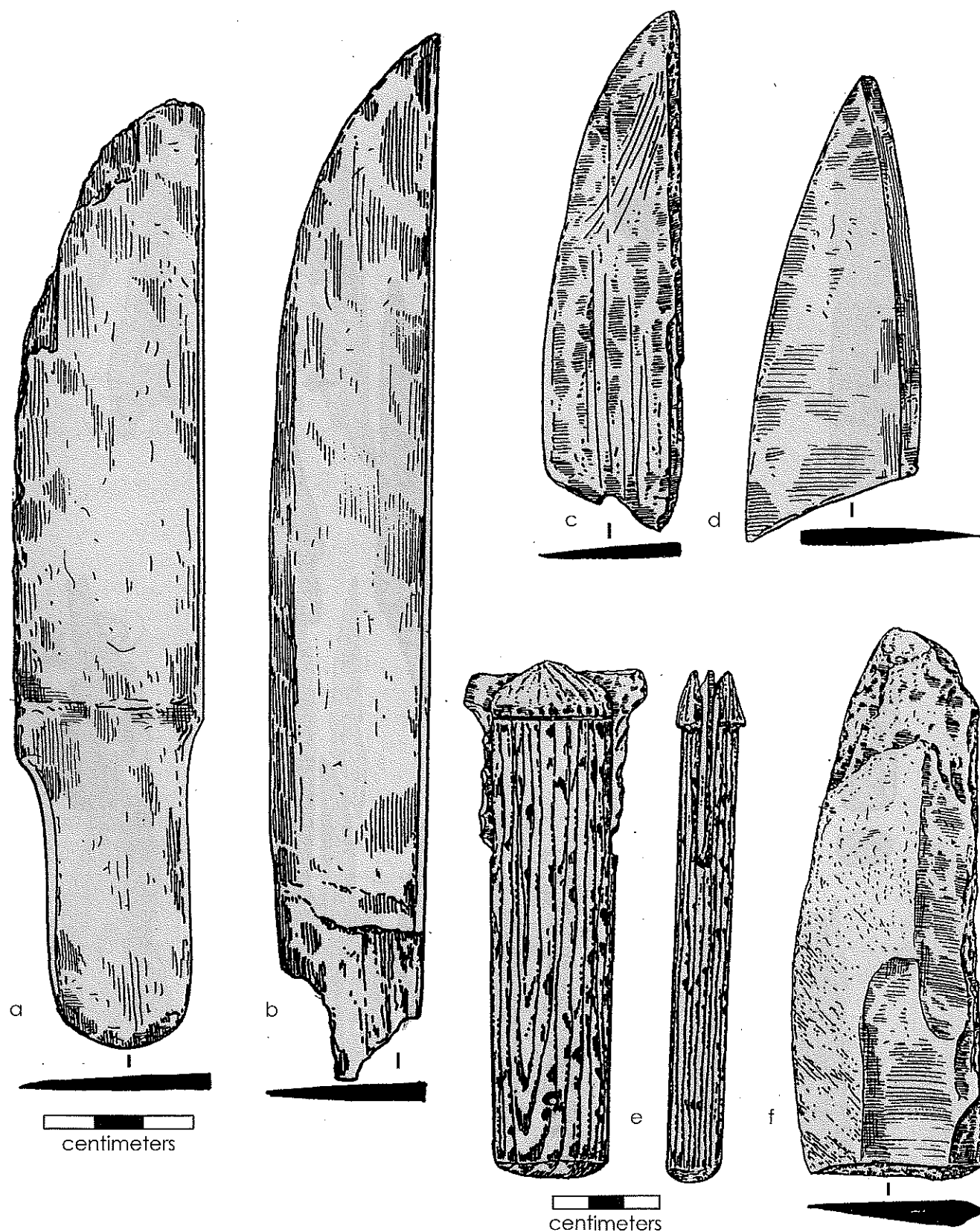
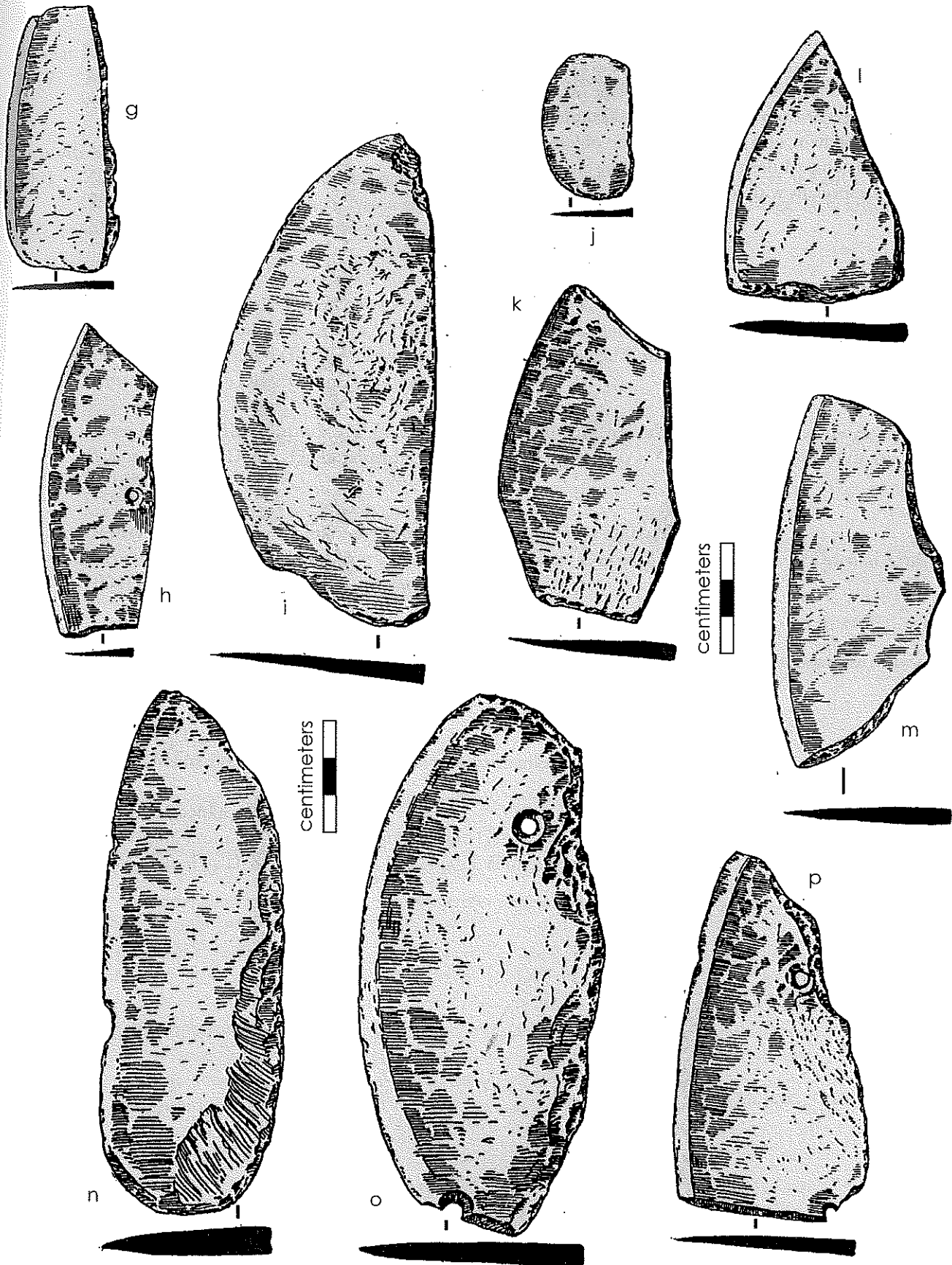


Figure 9 (facing pages). Various cutting tools of ground slate from Paipelghak, including long knives, a classic ulu (o), and a bone handle with blade (e).



Investigations of the Paipelghak houses are not yet complete; in fact, excavations occurred through 2006. The 2002-2004 collection of objects from Room 1 and areas adjoining it number about 1,500 items. At this stage of investigation, analyses are far from systematized. Tasks underway include the development of a typology for the objects, as well as additional comparisons of the house using analogies from other sites, especially with materials from Ekven House H-18.

References

- Blumer, R., and Y. Csonka
 1997 Archaeology of the Asian Shore of Bering Strait. Swiss-Liechtenstein Foundation for Archaeological Research Abroad. *Jahresbericht*, pp. 83-130.
- Bronshtein, M. M., and K. A. Dneprovsky
 2001 Zhilishche morskikh zveroboev drevnei Chukotki [Dwellings of Sea Mammal Hunters of Early Chukotka]. *Al'manakh "Pamiatniki kul'tury. Novye otkrytiia 2000"* [Anthology of Cultural Heritage. New Discoveries in 2000], pp. 587-619. Nauka, Moscow.
- Dneprovsky, K. A.
 2001 *Dinamika drevneeskimoskoi kul'tury Chukotki v epokhu birnirka i rannego punuka (po materialam arkheologicheskogo kompleksa Ekven)* [The Dynamics of Old Eskimo Culture in Chukotka during the Birnirk and Early Pujuk Period (Based on Materials of the Archaeological Complex at Ekven)]. Avtoreferat dissertatsii [Abstract of Ph.D. Dissertation]. Moscow.
- 2002 Ekven House H-18: A Birnirk- and Early Pujuk-Period Site in Chukotka. In *Archaeology in the Bering Strait Region*, edited by Don E. Dumond and Richard L. Bland, *University of Oregon Anthropological Papers* 59:166-206.
- 2002/ *Otchety o rabote Chukotskoi arkheologicheskoi ekspeditsii GMV za 2002-2004 g.*
 2004 [Report on the Work of the Chukotka Archaeological Expedition of the State Museum of Oriental Art for 2002-2004]. Unpublished manuscript in possession of the author.
- Ford, James A.
 1959 Eskimo Prehistory in the Vicinity of Point Barrow, *Alaska. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 47(1).
- Lee, Molly and Greg Reinhardt
 2004 *Eskimo Architecture*. University of Alaska Press, Fairbanks.
- Moulin, B., and Y. Csonka
 2002 The Erosion Front at Ekven: A Stratigraphic and Geoarchaeological Approach. *Archaeology in the Bering Strait Region*, edited by D. E. Dumond and R. L. Bland, *University of Oregon Anthropological Papers* 59:227-259.

DID BERING STRAIT PEOPLE INITIATE THE THULE MIGRATION?

Hans Christian Gulløv

National Museum of Denmark (hans.christian.gullocv@natmus.dk)

Robert McGhee

Canadian Museum of Civilization (Robert.McGhee@civilization.ca)

Abstract: The Ruin Island phase of northwestern Greenland and adjacent Ellesmere Island is associated with artifact assemblages that resemble those of western Alaskan Punuk, rather than Canadian Thule culture or the North Alaskan Thule tradition, the supposed source for the Inuit expansion eastward across North America. Ruin Island assemblages also contain numerous artifacts obtained through contact with the medieval Norse. The re-evaluation of radiocarbon series associated with Eastern Arctic Thule culture suggests temporal priority for the Ruin Island phase, with a probably thirteenth century assignment. The role of iron is assessed as a motive for instigating the initial movement of Inuit from Alaska to the Eastern Arctic, and it is concluded that this was possibly a commercially-motivated enterprise undertaken by peoples whose ancestors had long engaged in the metal trade across Bering Strait

Keywords: Greenland archaeology, Punuk culture, Inuit origins

When Erik Holtved (1944, 1954) excavated early Inuit winter houses at Ruin Island and other locations in the Thule District of far northwestern Greenland, he recovered artifact assemblages that were significantly different from those excavated earlier by Mathiassen (1927) from Thule culture villages in Arctic Canada. The most striking characteristic of these assemblages was their resemblance to western Alaskan Punuk, rather than to Canadian Thule culture or the North Alaskan Thule tradition which was assumed to have given rise to the Inuit expansion eastward across North America. Holtved termed these assemblages "Ruin Island" and, on the basis of their association with artifacts apparently obtained through contact with the mediaeval Norse, he assigned them to the period around AD 1300 (Holtved 1944, II: 179). The advent of radiocarbon dating confused the temporal picture, with samples of ivory, driftwood and Arctic willow associated with Ruin Island complex sites producing dates as early as the ninth century AD (Meldgaard 1977:35). Together with the Punuk cast of Ruin Island assemblages, these early dates suggested that the origin of the initial phase of ancestral Inuit expansion to the eastern Arctic should be searched for in western Alaska.

The temporal placement of the Ruin Island complex was established with greater certainty by radiocarbon dates obtained from sites on eastern Ellesmere Island, excavated during the 1970s and 1980s by Karen McCullough and Peter Schledermann. The seventeen dates on terrestrial materials excavated from components on the Canadian side of Kane Basin suggested a temporal placement for the Ruin Island occupation during the late twelfth to early thirteenth centuries, significantly later than had been previously postulated and only a century earlier than Holtved had originally estimated (McCullough 1989: 240-241). Since scattered radiocarbon dates on early Thule materials from Arctic Canada continued to support Mathiassen's original (1927) estimate of 1000 AD for the Thule expansion eastward, McCullough (1989: 257) and others (Morrison 1989; Gulløv 1997; Whitredge 1999) have followed Holtved (1944, II: 151) in considering the Ruin Island complex to have resulted from a secondary movement of Alaskan peoples through a pre-existing Thule Inuit occupation of Arctic Canada. The close stylistic similarity of Ruin Island artifacts to those of Alaskan Punuk culture suggested to Holtved (1944, II: 149) that this incursion occurred very rapidly, and in fact McCullough (1989:188) has presented evidence indicating that

Table 1: Radiocarbon dates associated with supposedly early Thule components from High Arctic Canada, calibrated using OxCal v3.4 (Ramsey 2001; Stuiver et al. 1998) and shown with 1 σ range.

Laboratory Number	¹⁴ C Age, Years BP	Material	Component	1 σ Cal. Range, Years AD
Beta-111668	740 \pm 60	caribou bone	Mittimatalik	1220-1300
Beta-146776	680 \pm 40	caribou bone	Resolute M1, House N	1280-1390
Beta-146775	670 \pm 40	caribou bone	Resolute M1, House N	1280-1390
Beta-140676	590 \pm 40	caribou bone	Brooman Point, House 12	1305-1405

some Ruin Island pottery was probably made from Alaskan clay and carried from Alaska to the northeastern Arctic.

If the appearance of Ruin Island materials is thought of as a secondary migratory event, it may imply that the Ruin Island phenomenon was an interesting but essentially transitory episode in the Inuit expansion to Arctic Canada and Greenland, and may not have contributed significantly to that effort or its long-term results. The following paper explores an alternative reading of the significance of the Ruin Island event, involving the presence of other cultural agents—Dorset Palaeo-Eskimos and Greenlandic Norse—and their influence on the early Inuit expansion eastward from Alaska.

Evidence has recently been presented (McGhee 2000) to suggest that the prevailing interpretations of radiocarbon dates to indicate that the initial Thule migration occurred at approximately AD 1000 is incorrect. A major cause of this problem appears to have been the imprudent interpretation of dates obtained from samples of materials (e.g., driftwood, Arctic willow, and materials from the marine reservoir) which occasionally or systematically yield incorrectly early age measurements (McGhee 2004; Nelson and McGhee 2002). A reassessment of the dates associated with the Ruin Island complex (McGhee 2004) suggests that the earlier and more variable age ranges on dates obtained from Arctic willow may indicate the use of wood that was old at the time that the sites were occupied, and that these dates are best ignored. Discarding measures on willow, we are left with a suite of eleven dates with age ranges concentrated in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Table 2). These span the date that the Norse first reported having encountered signs of natives in the area, and agree with the age of the Ruin Island occupation as originally suggested by Holtved (1944, II) on the basis of the presence of Norse artifacts in Ruin Island assemblages.

A small series of dates on apparently reliable materials is now available from components of what has been considered the earliest (pre-Ruin Island) phase of Canadian Thule culture, that associated with harpoon heads of the Natchuk and Sicco-like forms (Morrison 1999). The dates (Table 1) indicate that these components are essentially contemporary with, or perhaps slightly later than, the Ruin Island occupation. Dates on reliable materials associated with Classic Thule culture in High Arctic Canada indicate that this episode occurred primarily during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and that it was probably initiated a few generations later than the beginning of the Ruin Island occupation (McGhee 2004).

This reassessment of the evidence relating to the initial phases of the Inuit expansion to the eastern Arctic once again gives probable temporal priority to the Ruin Island complex. It suggests that the colonization episode that brought ancestral Inuit to the eastern Arctic did not occur through the slow eastward expansion of North Alaskan Thule culture whalers, as has previously been seen as the most likely mechanism, but that it was initiated by a rapid eastward movement of peoples from western Alaska. The apparent rapidity of this movement through the relatively unproductive environment of the Central and High Arctic to a location in the extreme northeast of that region—approximately 4000 km from the origin of the migration—suggests that it took the form of goal-oriented exploration. Artifacts made from meteoric iron and smelted metal, as well as other materials apparently derived from European contacts, occur more frequently in Ruin Island houses and middens than in those of any other phase of Thule culture in Arctic Canada (Holtved 1944; McCartney 1988; McCullough 1989). The position of Ruin Island complex sites near the iron resource of the Cape York meteorite fall in northwestern Greenland, as well as adjacent to the *Nordsetur* region visited seasonally by mediaeval Norse hunters, suggests that the goal may have

been metal obtained from these sources (McCartney 1988; McGhee 1984, 2004).

Recent investigations on the Greenland side of Nares Strait have, however, turned our attention to the possibility of other agents being involved as mediators in the scenario described. Recently acquired radiocarbon dates from the region (Table 2) provide evidence that Late Dorset people survived along the coast of Nares Strait and Kane Basin until at least the thirteenth century, and occupied the area synchronously with the Neo-Eskimo pioneers from Alaska (Appelt and Gulløv 1999; Appelt 2003). Iron of meteoric origin is associated with Late Dorset dwellings in amounts and forms that may be interpreted as a stock of raw material for future use and trade (Buchwald 2001: 57).

If rumors of the availability of metal in the eastern Arctic provided the motive for the initial eastward movement of ancestral Inuit, it has been argued (McGhee 2004) that Punuk-related peoples who were already engaged in the trade in metals crossing Bering Strait from Asia would be likely candidates to undertake such an enterprise. Bandi (1995) and Mason (2000) interpret the apparent martial nature of Punuk societies as related in part to their involvement in the metal trade, and such aggressive and maritime oriented societies would appear capable of accomplishing a rapid movement through unoccupied or sparsely occupied territory until they reached the northeastern retreat of the Late Dorset culture Palaeo-Eskimos and their Norse neighbors (Gulløv 2000).

On the basis of Ruin Island artifact styles, which show as much resemblance to Birnirk and Western Thule as they do to Punuk assemblages, McCullough (1989:254) suggested that these early migrants originated somewhere to the north of Bering Strait, probably along the northwestern Alaskan coast. However, the geographical as well as cultural relationships between these three western complexes has become more uncertain as a result of recent excavations and revised series of radiocarbon dates (Gerlach and Mason 1992:65). Csonka (2000: 64) notes that excavations at Ekven, on the Siberian shore of Bering Strait, supports earlier indications that Birnirk may have a stronger presence in Siberia than in Alaska, a conclusion previously drawn by Gerlach and Mason (1992:67). Recently excavated components at Wales and Ekven, on either side of Bering Strait, show a confusing amalgam of Punuk, Birnirk and Western Thule traits (Csonka 2000, 2003; Dneprovsky 2002).

A similar combination of traits is apparent in Ruin Island assemblages, and it would probably be safe to state

that—aside from the specimens of Norse origin—Ruin Island artifacts would not be noted as anomalous among the numerous specimens collected from the eroding midden at Ekven (Blumer and Csonka 1998: 102). Such amalgamations of traits are not confined to the temporal period of the Ruin Island migration, nor to mixed assemblages such as that from the Ekven midden, but also occur in individual burials from the Ekven cemetery (Bronshstein 1995; Bronshstein and Plumet 1995). The presence of Punuk/Birnirk/Thule assemblages in the Bering Strait area provides an appropriate cultural background for the proposition that the Ruin Island migration may not have originated in northern or northwestern Alaska, but from a society inhabiting the Bering Strait region and already engaged in the iron trade from Asia to Alaska.

If the Ruin Island occupation of the eastern High Arctic did result from a rapid movement of people from Bering Strait, would we expect that cultural traits related to western Alaska might be detected in later Inuit cultures of the Eastern Arctic? The general uniformity of Inuktitut/Inupiaq dialects spoken between northwestern Alaska and Greenland, together with the resemblance of Canadian Thule culture materials to ancestral complexes in North Alaska, suggests that Inuit of the central and eastern Arctic trace much of their cultural ancestry to eastward movements from North Alaska which occurred at some time after the Ruin Island migration (Woodbury 1984). It therefore seems probable that the Ruin Island episode would have left little mark on the cultures of later Canadian Inuit, but this may not be true of Greenland.

The significant number of winter houses and depth of middens associated with Ruin Island occupations in the Smith Sound region (Holtved 1944; McCullough 1989) suggests that this occupation episode was neither short nor ephemeral. The suite of radiocarbon dates associated with the Ruin Island episode (Table 2) suggests that occupation may have occurred over a period of at least two centuries. Both Holtved (1944) on the Greenland coast of Smith Sound, and more recently Schledermann and McCullough (2003) on the Ellesmere Island coast, have documented substantial occupations of the region during later centuries. Holtved (1944, II: 73) appears to suggest continuity of occupation, with several Ruin Island cultural elements contributing to the succeeding Inussuk complex in West Greenland, while Schledermann and McCullough (2003:124) interpret cultural change in post-Ruin Island times as resulting from a combination of *in situ* development of local regional adaptations, and northward movements of Canadian Thule populations. The Inughuit society that has occupied the region in recent times seems to trace its linguistic ancestry

Table 2: Radiocarbon dates associated with Late Dorset and Early Thule components from twelve sites in the Smith Sound region of northwestern Greenland and eastern Ellesmere Island. Dates are calibrated using OxCal v3.4 (Ramsey 2001; Stuiver et al. 1998) and shown with 1 σ range. (cf. Appelt 2003: 23-28, 39-47).

Lab. No.	Locality	Component & Culture	Material	¹⁴ C Age, Years BP	1 σ Range, Years AD
AAR-7466	Washington Land, Torvegade Fjord	Structure 2, <i>Late Dorset</i> , 1 st episode	Muskox bone	820 \pm 40	1185-1270
AAR-7467	Washington Land, Torvegade Fjord	Structure 2, <i>Late Dorset</i> , 2 nd episode	Muskox bone	654 \pm 36	1290-1390
K-4256	Washington Land, Cape Buddington	Dwelling, <i>Late Dorset</i>	Arctic hare bone	690 \pm 65	1270-1400
K-6708	Inglefield Land, Qeqertaaraq	Structure 161, House, <i>Late Dorset</i>	Charcoal, <i>Salix</i> sp.	711 \pm 43	1260-1390
KIA-17726	Inglefield Land, Qeqertaaraq	Structure 4, <i>Late Dorset</i> , Arrowhead, <i>Early Thule</i>	Antler	891 \pm 29	1040-1220
KIA-16942	Inglefield Land, Cape Kent	House 4, <i>Early Thule</i>	Muskox horn	892 \pm 36	1040-1210
K-4469	Inglefield Land, Cape Kent	House 2, <i>Early Thule</i>	Antler	640 \pm 50	1295-1395
AAR-3233	Inglefield Land, Qeqertaaraq	Structure 294, House, <i>Early Thule</i>	Caribou bone	640 \pm 50	1295-1395
K-1489	Inglefield Land, Ruin Island	House 6, <i>Ruin Island phase</i> ,	Woollen cloth	680 \pm 100	1260-1410
KIA-16936	Steensby Land, Nuulliit	House 29, <i>Ruin Island phase</i>	Muskox horn	884 \pm 25	1060-1090
KIA-16941	Steensby Land, Nuulliit	House 29, <i>Ruin Island phase</i>	Muskox horn	724 \pm 20	1277-1293
KIA-16938	Melville Bay, Cape Seddon	House 11, <i>Ruin Island phase</i>	Antler	558 \pm 38	1320-1425
GSC-3003	Ellesmere Island, Skraeling I.	House 22, <i>Ruin Island phase</i>	Heather	830 \pm 50	1160-1410
GSC-3156	Ellesmere Island, Skraeling I.	House 21, <i>Ruin Island phase</i>	Heather	660 \pm 60	1280-1400
GSC-3059	Ellesmere Island, Skraeling I.	House 15, <i>Ruin Island phase</i>	Heather	580 \pm 50	1300-1410
GSC-3038	Ellesmere Island, Skraeling I.	House 15, <i>Ruin Island phase</i> ,	Woollen cloth	700 \pm 50	1260-1400
Geo-6069	Ellesmere Island, Skraeling I.	House 6, <i>Ruin Island phase</i>	Oak wood	670 \pm 110	1250-1410
GSC-3396	Ellesmere Island, Eskimobyen	House 25, <i>Ruin Island phase</i>	Heather	760 \pm 70	1190-1300
GSC-3561	Ellesmere Island, Sverdrup	House 6, <i>Ruin Island phase</i>	Heather	620 \pm 50	1300-1400
AAR-7370	Inglefield Land, Inuarfissuaq	House 8, <i>Post Ruin Island</i>	Antler	431 \pm 38	1430-1485
KIA-16937	Dundas area, Thule Uummanaq	House 10, <i>Post Ruin Island</i>	Caribou bone	323 \pm 17	1520-1640

to groups moving from Arctic Canada over the past two or three centuries (Mary-Rousselière 1991; Schledermann and McCullough 2003: 125).

The initial Inuit expansion into southwestern Greenland took place during the 14th century, a time when the Smith Sound corridor to Greenland was occupied by Ruin Island societies. In the following century winter dwellings with the diagnostic Ruin Island kitchen annex together with separate men's houses were being built in the abandoned Norse Eastern Settlement located in the southernmost part of the island (Gulløv 1997: 343ff, 2003). This would appear to implicate the Ruin Island people as a prime mover in a goal-oriented Inuit expansion along the west coast to southern Greenland. Another expansion, lacking the Ruin Island architecture but with characteristics of late Dorset influence from the Thule District of northwestern Greenland, reached the east coast by travelling around the northern end of the island (Gulløv 1997: 383; 2004: 295ff).

If the Ruin Island people did leave a surviving cultural legacy, would it be recognizably different from that of the presumed Inupiaq-speaking North Alaskan ancestors of eastern Thule culture? Linguists have generally concluded that the Yupik/Inupiaq linguistic boundary in Norton Sound is the result of a recent southward expansion of Inupiaq speakers, and that prior to this expansion Yupik languages formed a continuum from Siberia across Bering Strait to the entire Seward Peninsula and areas to the south (Krauss 1988; Woodbury 1984: 53). Archaeologists have, therefore, generally assumed that Yupik languages were spoken by the ancient peoples who lived around Bering Strait and who are associated with the Old Bering Sea, Okvik, Punuk and probably Birnirk cultures. If the Ruin Islanders spoke a Yupik language and shared in the cultures of the Bering Sea coasts, surviving elements of their language and culture might be recognized in those of the Inuktitut-speaking Inuit of the Eastern Arctic. A small number of such resemblances have been noted. Swadesh (1951:70) and Woodbury (1984: 60) report several phonological affinities between Greenlandic dialects and those of western Alaskan Yupik languages, but ascribe them either to coincidental independent innovation, or to convergence.

If we look at Greenland as a whole, the scenario of Inuit expansion as reconstructed by archaeology also reflects the linguistic situation in the country. There is little doubt that West Greenlandic is a dialect which can be traced back to Thule people, some of whom (i.e., the pioneers of the Ruin Island phase) settled in what was then uninhabited West Greenland. There is also little doubt that another group travelled around the north coast to East Greenland, and is associated with an East Greenlandic dialect which is quite

distinctive, although most of its forms can be traced to a language closely resembling Central West Greenlandic. Since the eighteenth century the linguistic situation on the fringes of the west coast has also included two dialect groups influenced by East Greenlandic: Upernavik, with an East Greenlandic phonological framework introduced from the north; and Qaqortoq-Nanortalik in the southernmost area, with an original West Greenlandic dialect strongly influenced by Greenlanders from the east coast (Petersen 1986).

As dialect formation took place before the Inughuit settled the Thule District, we have reasons to assume that the origin of East Greenlandic should be sought somewhere in the north. The apparently rapid rate of change in the formation of this dialect suggests that contact occurred with another dialect, and Late Dorset Palaeo-Eskimos are the best candidates for a role in such an acculturation process. Although we know nothing about the Dorset language, the linguistic hypothesis draws our attention to the Late Dorset occupation of the Thule District, where Inuit expansions southwards and northeastwards began during the Ruin Island phase (Gulløv 1997: 477). Central West Greenlandic can be referred to as a dialect that retains the oldest features comparable to Inupiaq, while East Greenlandic is a newer dialect related to a migration which occurred early enough for local or regional change to have occurred as a result of a long regional process (Petersen 1986: 402). However, both East and West Greenlandic have surprising phonological and structural similarities with a common Inupiaq-Yupik stratum (Fortescue 1998: 191; Olsen 1986).

In East Greenland vestiges of a Punuk cultural origin seem to have survived in parts of the hunting equipment, such as blocks for the so-called winged harpoons (Larsen 1934: 102). Constructed in a different way than the familiar winged objects from the Old Bering Sea-Punuk continuum (Bronstein 2002), these objects appeared in North East Greenland with the Neo-Eskimo expansion from the north.

Following the expansion further south along the east coast to the surviving Inuit group at Ammassalik, we find the tradition that some individual shamans, the *angakkuq puullit*, have the wry-mouthed kayaker as their strongest helping spirit, together with the polar bear and the walrus. No such shamanic helper as the wry-mouthed kayaker exists in West Greenland nor in Canada, but can be related to similar beings known from Seward Peninsula and Nunivak Island in Alaska, and found in carvings from the Birnirk culture (Curtis 1930: 80ff; Ray 1977: 115; Sonne 1986). This tradition apparently came to East Greenland from the north, together with Punuk and Dorset cultural elements, to form "Greenland's most exclusive, most complex and most artistic Eskimo community" (Thalbitzer 1914: 732).

In the biological realm, Utermohle's detailed study of Inuit/Inupiaq crania noted that the greatest resemblance to Birnirk period crania from Alaska were found in samples from western Greenland. He concluded that "The inhabitants of Greenland may well represent an unadmixed (until historic intervention) residuum of the morphological pattern of the earliest Thule culture migrants" (Utermohle 1984: 368). The study of crania from late heathen graves in Upernavik shows a slight difference from the somewhat earlier West Greenland crania, and both differ slightly from the Northeast Greenland crania (Jørgensen and Vesely 1974), dating from a time when the last generation of early Inuit moved south from Thule prior to the advent of the Inughuit.

Inconclusive as these intimations of distant relationship are, they may hint at the survival of cultural elements brought to the Eastern Arctic by the earliest Inuit who reached the area from the west. Their existence provides some meagre support for the proposition that the "Thule migration" was not a simple ecologically-driven expansion of North Alaskan whalers. Rather, the initial phase of the Inuit colonization of the Eastern Arctic may have been a commercially-motivated enterprise undertaken by the peoples whose ancestors had long engaged in the metal trade across Bering Strait.

References

Appelt, Martin

- 2003 De sidste palæoeskimoer. Nordvest Grønland i perioden 800-1300 e.v.t. [The last Palaeo-Eskimos: Northwest Greenland in the period AD 800-1300]. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Institute of Prehistoric Archaeology, University of Aarhus.

Appelt, Martin & Gulløv, H. C. (eds.)

- 1999 *Late Dorset in High Arctic Greenland. Final report on the Gateway to Greenland Project*. Publication 7, Danish Polar Center, Copenhagen.

Bandi, Hans-Georg

- 1995 Siberian Eskimos as Whalers and Warriors. In *Hunting the Largest Animals: Native Whaling in the Western Arctic and Subarctic*, edited by Allen P. McCartney, pp. 165-183. Studies in Whaling 3, Canadian Circumpolar Institute, Edmonton.

Blumer, Reto and Yvon Csonka

- 1998 Archaeology of the Asian Shore of Bering Strait. Swiss Contribution to the Third International Field Season. Rapport de la contribution suisse à la campagne de 1996. *Jahresbericht 1997*, pp. 83-130. Swiss-Liechtenstein Foundation for Archaeological Research Abroad, Zurich.

Bronshtein, Mikhail M.

- 1995 Ekven—einzigartige archäologische Fundstelle in Nordostasien. In *Arktische Waljäger vor 3000 Jahren: Unbekannte sibirische Kunst*, edited by A.M. Leskov and H. Müller-Beck, pp. 73-83. Hase & Koehler, Mainz-München.

- 2002 Structural and Artistic Features of "Winged Objects": The Discussion Continues. In *Archaeology in the Bering Strait Region: Research on Two Continents*, edited by Don D. Dumond and Richard L. Bland, pp. 127-137. *University of Oregon Anthropological Papers* 59, Eugene.

Bronshtein, Mikhail M. and Patrick Plumet

- 1995 Ékven; l'art préhistorique béringien et l'approche russe de l'origine de la tradition culturelle esquimaude. *Études Inuit* 19 (2): 5-59.

Buchwald, Vagn Fabritius

- 2001 *Ancient Iron and Slags in Greenland*. Meddelelser om Grønland, Man & Society 26. Copenhagen.

Csonka, Yvon

- 2000 Archaeology of Bering Strait: Short Report on a Contribution to Excavations in Wales, Alaska, in the Summer of 1999. *Jahresbericht 1999*, pp. 59-66. Swiss-Liechtenstein Foundation for Archaeological Research Abroad, Zurich.

- 2003 Ekven – A Prehistoric Whale Hunters' Settlement on the Asian Shore of Bering Strait. In *Indigenous Ways to the Present: Native Whaling in the Western Arctic*, edited by Allen P. McCartney, pp. 109-136. Studies in Whaling 6, Canadian Circumpolar Institute, Edmonton.

Curtis, Edward S.

- 1930 *The North American Indian*, Vol. 20. Norwood, Massachusetts [Johnson Reprint, New York, 1970].

Dneprovsky, Kirill A.

- 2002 Ekven House H-18: A Birnirk- and Early Punuk-Period Site in Chukotka. In *Archaeology in the Bering Strait Region: Research on Two Continents*, edited by Don E. Dumond and Richard L. Bland, pp. 166-206. *University of Oregon Anthropological Papers* 59.

Fortescue, Michael

- 1998 *Language Relations across Bering Strait. Reappraising the Archaeological and Linguistic Evidence*. Cassell, London and New York.

Gerlach, Craig and Owen K. Mason

- 1992 Calibrated Radiocarbon Dates and Cultural Interaction in the Western Arctic. *Arctic Anthropology* 29 (1): 54-81.

Gulløv, Hans Christian

- 1997 *From Middle Ages to Colonial Times: Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Studies of the Thule Culture in South West Greenland 1300-1800 AD*. Meddelelser om Grønland, Man and Society 23. Copenhagen.

- 2000 Natives and Norse in Greenland. In *Vikings: The North Atlantic Saga*, edited by William W. Fitzhugh and Elisabeth I. Ward, pp. 318-326. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

- 2003 Fra festhus til fælleshus - qassi i Sydgrønland og de første inuit [From Festival House to Communal House – qassi in South Greenland and the first Inuit]. *Tidsskriftet Grønland* 2003: 149-160. Copenhagen.

- 2004 Nunarput, Vort Land – Thulekulturen, 1200-1900 e.v.t. [Nunarput, Our Land – The Thule Culture, 1200-1900 AD]. In *Grønlands forhistorie [Prehistory of Greenland]*, edited by Hans Christian Gulløv, pp. 281-343. Gyldendal Publishers, Copenhagen.

Holtved, Erik

- 1944 *Archaeological Investigations in the Thule District, Parts I (Descriptive Part) and II (Analytical Part)*. Meddelelser om Grønland 141 (1, 2). Copenhagen.

- 1954 *Archaeological Investigations in the Thule District, Part III: Nugdlit and Comer's Midden*. Meddelelser om Grønland 146 (3). Copenhagen.

Jørgensen, Jørgen Balslev & M.Vesely,

- 1974 *Anthropological Investigations of Late Heathen Graves in Upernavik District*. Meddelelser om Grønland 202 (1). Copenhagen.

Krauss, Michael E.

- 1988 Many Tongues—Ancient Tales. In *Crossroads of Continents: Cultures of Siberia and Alaska*, edited by William W. Fitzhugh and Aron Crowell, pp. 145-150. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington D.C.

Larsen, Helge

- 1934 *Dødemandsbugten. An Eskimo settlement on Clavering Island*. Meddelelser om Grønland 102 (1). Copenhagen.

Mary-Rousselière, Guy

- 1991 *Qitdlarssuaq; the Story of a Polar Migration*. Wuerz, Winnipeg.

Mason, Owen K.

- 2000 Ipiutak/Birnirk Relationships in Northwest Alaska: Master and Slave or Partners in Trade? In *Identities and Cultural Contacts in the Arctic*, edited by Martin Appelt, Joel Berglund and Hans Christian Gulløv, pp. 229-251. Danish National Museum and Danish Polar Centre, Copenhagen.

Mathiassen, Therkel

- 1927 *Archaeology of the Central Eskimos*. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-24, Vol. 4 (1). Copenhagen.

McCartney, Allen P.

- 1988 Late Prehistoric Metal Use in the New World Arctic. In *The Late Prehistoric Development of Alaska's Native People*, edited by Robert D. Shaw, Roger K. Harritt and Don E. Dumond, pp. 57-79. *Aurora Monograph Series 4*, Alaska Anthropological Association, Anchorage.

McCullough, Karen M.

- 1989 *The Ruin Islanders: Thule Culture Pioneers in the Eastern High Arctic*. Archaeological Survey of Canada Mercury Paper 141. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Ottawa.

McGhee, Robert

- 1984 The Timing of the Thule Migration. *Polarforschung* 54 (1): 1-7.
- 2000 Radiocarbon Dating and the Timing of the Thule Migration. In *Identities and Cultural Contacts in the Arctic*, edited by Martin Appelt, Joel Berglund and Hans Christian Gulløv, pp. 181-191. Danish National Museum and Danish Polar Centre, Copenhagen.
- 2004 When and Why Did the Inuit Move to the Eastern Arctic? Paper presented at 69th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Montréal.

Meldgaard, Jørgen

- 1977 Prehistoric Cultures in Greenland: Discontinuities in a Marginal Area. In *Continuity and Discontinuity in the Inuit Cultures of Greenland*, edited by Hans P. Kylstra and Lies H. Liefferink, pp. 19-52. Arctic Center, University of Grøningen.

Morrison, David

- 1989 Radiocarbon Dating Thule Culture. *Arctic Anthropology* 26 (2): 48-77.
- 1999 The Earliest Thule Migration. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 22 (2): 139-156.

Nelson, D. Erle and Robert McGhee

- 2002 Aberrant Radiocarbon Dates on an Inuit Arrowhead. *Arctic* 55 (4): 345-347.

Olsen, Carl Christian

- 1986 Vesteskimoisk og grønlandsk. Ligheder og uligheder i syntaks, og detailproblemer [West Eskimo and Greenlandic. Similarities and Differences in Syntax, and Minor Issues]. In *Vort sprog – vor kultur [Our Language – Our Culture]*, edited by Robert Petersen and Jørgen Rischel, pp. 157-164. Pilersuiffik, Nuuk.

Petersen, Robert

- 1986 Some Features Common to East and West Greenlandic in the Light of Dialect Relationships and the Latest Migration Theories. *Arctic Anthropology* 23 (1-2): 401-411.

Ramsey, Christopher Bronk

- 2001 Development of the Radiocarbon Program OxCal. *Radiocarbon* 43(2A): 355-363.

Ray, Dorothy Jean

- 1977 *Eskimo Art: Tradition and Innovation in North Alaska*. University of Washington Press, Seattle and London.

Schledermann, Peter and Karen M. McCullough

- 2003 *Late Thule Culture Developments on the Central East Coast of Ellesmere Island*. Sila – The Greenland Research Centre at the National Museum of Denmark, and Danish Polar Center, Copenhagen.

Sonne, Birgitte

- 1986 Angakkut puullit i Grønland og Alaska [Angakkut Puullit in Greenland and Alaska]. In *Vort sprog – vor kultur* [*Our Language – Our Culture*], edited by Robert Petersen and Jørgen Rischel, pp. 143-155. Pilersuiffik, Nuuk.

Stuiver M., P.J. Reimer, E. Bard, J.W. Beck, G.S. Burr, K.A. Hughen, B. Kromer, G. McCormac, J. van der Plicht and M. Spurk

- 1998 INTCAL98 Radiocarbon Age Calibration, 24000-0 cal BP. *Radiocarbon* 40(3): 1041-1083.

Swadesh, Morris

- 1951 Kleinschmidt Centennial, III : Unaaliq and Proto-Eskimo. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 17 (2): 66-70.

Thalbitzer, William

- 1914 *The Ammassalik Eskimo: Contributions to the Ethnology of the East Greenland Natives*. Meddelelser om Grønland 39. Copenhagen.

Utermohle, Charles J.

- 1984 From Barrow Eastward: Cranial Variation of the Eastern Eskimo. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Arizona State University, Tempe.

Whitredge, Peter. J.

- 1999 The Construction of Social Difference in a Prehistoric Inuit Whaling Community. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Arizona State University, Tempe.

Woodbury, Anthony C.

- 1984 Eskimo and Aleut Languages. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 5, edited by David Damas, pp. 49-63. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington D.C.

EVIDENCE FROM THE MACKENZIE DELTA FOR PREHISTORIC LINKS BETWEEN ALASKA AND ARCTIC CANADA: THE SATKUALUK SITE

Patricia D. Sutherland

Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Quebec (Patricia.Sutherland@civilization.ca)

Abstract: Satkualuk is a multi-component site located on Richards Island in the Mackenzie Delta. Artifacts and radiocarbon dates indicate several temporally distinct early occupations. The co-occurrence of linear-stamped ceramics and frequent use of burination techniques on a variety of lithic artifacts indicates a Choris presence at the site. This component significantly extends the eastern boundary of the known Choris distribution, and increases the likelihood of contact and cultural influence between Alaskan peoples and those of Arctic Canada at a time when the Palaeoeskimo tradition in the central and eastern Arctic was undergoing major changes.

Keywords: Choris, Mackenzie Delta, Satkualuk, Arctic Canada, Alaska, archaeology, ASTt, Dorset.

Introduction

Since its discovery nearly a half-century ago on Kotzebue Sound, the Choris culture has remained an enigma. Choris artifacts show intriguing similarities to those from both the earlier Denbigh Flint Complex and later Norton tradition materials (Dumond 2000: 9-13). It may represent a link between the Arctic Small Tool tradition (ASTt) and later cultural traditions, or between Siberian and Alaskan traditions, yet it is so poorly known that its true position and significance are difficult to assess. The discovery of a Choris component in the Mackenzie Delta of northwestern Canada raises the possibility that this puzzling complex may also have played a role in communications between the developing cultures of Alaska and those of the Central and Eastern Canadian Arctic.

The Mackenzie Delta provides a concentration of animal resources that is unique in Arctic Canada, and more closely approaches the resource levels of the riverine and Bering Sea coastal environments of western Alaska. Although the region supported a relatively dense population of Dene and Inuvialuit peoples during the past few centuries, archaeology has been unable to detect more than traces of earlier occupations. This deficiency is in part

due to the geomorphological attributes of the delta terrain, characterized by rapid erosion and deposition of many shoreline areas, as well as to the dense vegetation cover which conceals most surface indications of past occupation. However, the sand and gravel exposures situated at relatively high elevations on Richards Island represent the type of landscape that has produced evidence of early occupations on the Tuktoyaktuk Peninsula to the east of the Mackenzie Delta (LeBlanc 1991a; Sutherland 1991).

In the course of archaeological work on Richards Island during the summer of 1993, a number of locations that appeared to have archaeological potential were observed. One such area was a stretch of the eastern coastline of Richards Island bordering on Kittigazuit Bay. On an exposure north of the large Inuvialuit site of Gupuk, a surface scatter of artifacts that included chert flakes and scrapers was found. Two days of investigation resulted in the recovery of additional chipped stone artifacts, as well as ceramic sherds (Sutherland 1994). The site (NiTs-4) was named Satkualuk, which in Siglit, the language of the Mackenzie Delta Inuvialuit, means "tool from long ago" (Figure 1).

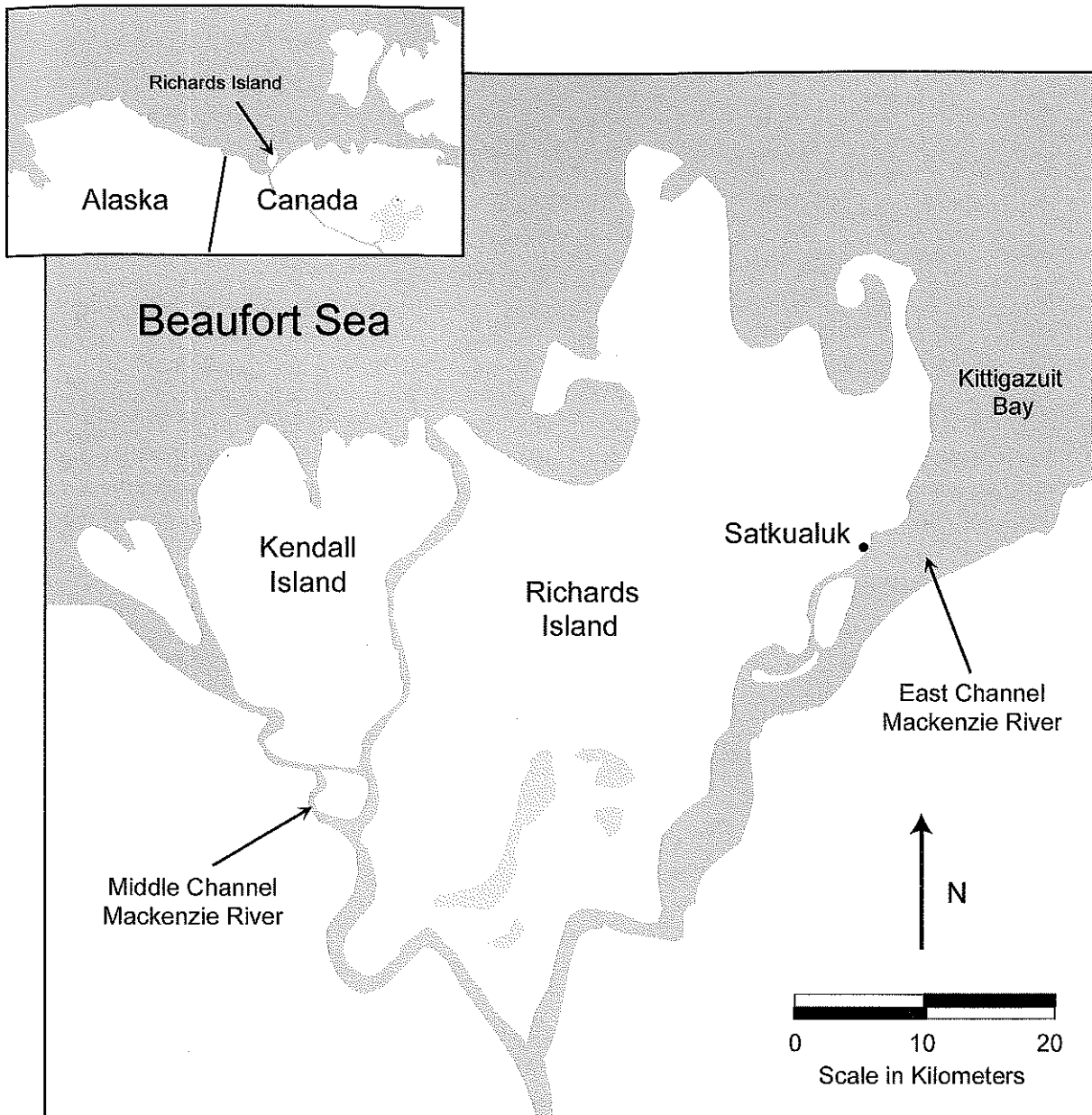


Figure 1: Location of Richards Island and the Satkualuk site (NITs-4).

The presence of pottery with linear-stamped decoration and the frequent use of burination techniques on a variety of stone tools suggested a similarity to assemblages characteristic of Choris culture of northwestern Alaska (Giddings 1964; Giddings and Anderson 1986). Confirmation of the cultural affiliation of the site would indicate a significant eastward extension in the known range of the Alaskan Choris complex, and in view of the potential importance of the site, further work was carried out in the summer of 1994 (Sutherland 1995). This work included detailed mapping of the site and further test excavations, as well as helicopter and foot survey of surrounding areas. Several days of reconnaissance in adjacent regions of Richards Island resulted in the location of six additional

sites, which yielded lithic artifacts indicative of occupation prior to the ancestral Inuvialuit settlement of the area. This work demonstrated that the Satkualuk site is not an isolated phenomenon, but one of a series of occupation localities along the eastern coast of Richards Island.

This apparent concentration of early sites may be related to a unique feature of the local environment. Friesen and Arnold (1995) delineate a zone occupied each summer by thousands of beluga that congregate in Kittigazuit Bay to feed and raise their infants. This zone approaches the shore of Richards Island along a stretch of approximately 20 kilometers of coast, and the Satkualuk site is located midway along this sector. Several of the other early sites that were

discovered in 1994, as well as more recent ones such as the large Inuvialuit village of Gupuk, are located along this same stretch of shoreline. Such a concentrated resource, when combined with the seal, caribou, and fish stocks of the outer Mackenzie Delta and adjacent regions, may have produced a local environment which early Alaskan hunters would have found attractive for the past several thousand years.

Site Description

Satkualuk lies close to the edge of the upland which characterizes the northern portion of Richards Island, between 35 and 40 m above sea level and approximately 200 m from the foreshore flats bordering Kittigazuit Bay. Its location provides an excellent view eastwards over the estuary of East Channel. The site is situated in a large blowout surrounded by tundra and shrub tundra vegetation (Figure 2).

in the wind-deflated portion of the site. Five 1 x 1 m test units were excavated in 1993, and an additional twenty-four 1 x 1 m units in 1994. The majority of the excavation units were situated where surface cultural material was most heavily concentrated, and over half of the test units were in the vicinity of a low mound near the eastern edge of the site. Testing was also done around the periphery of the blowout in order to determine the extent of the artifact distribution in areas covered by vegetation.

Site Features

Apart from several rock scatters in the deflated zone, which may represent the remains of tent rings, the only other feature visible from the surface is a low mound, approximately 15 m in diameter, located on the northeastern edge of the area where surface artifacts were most heavily

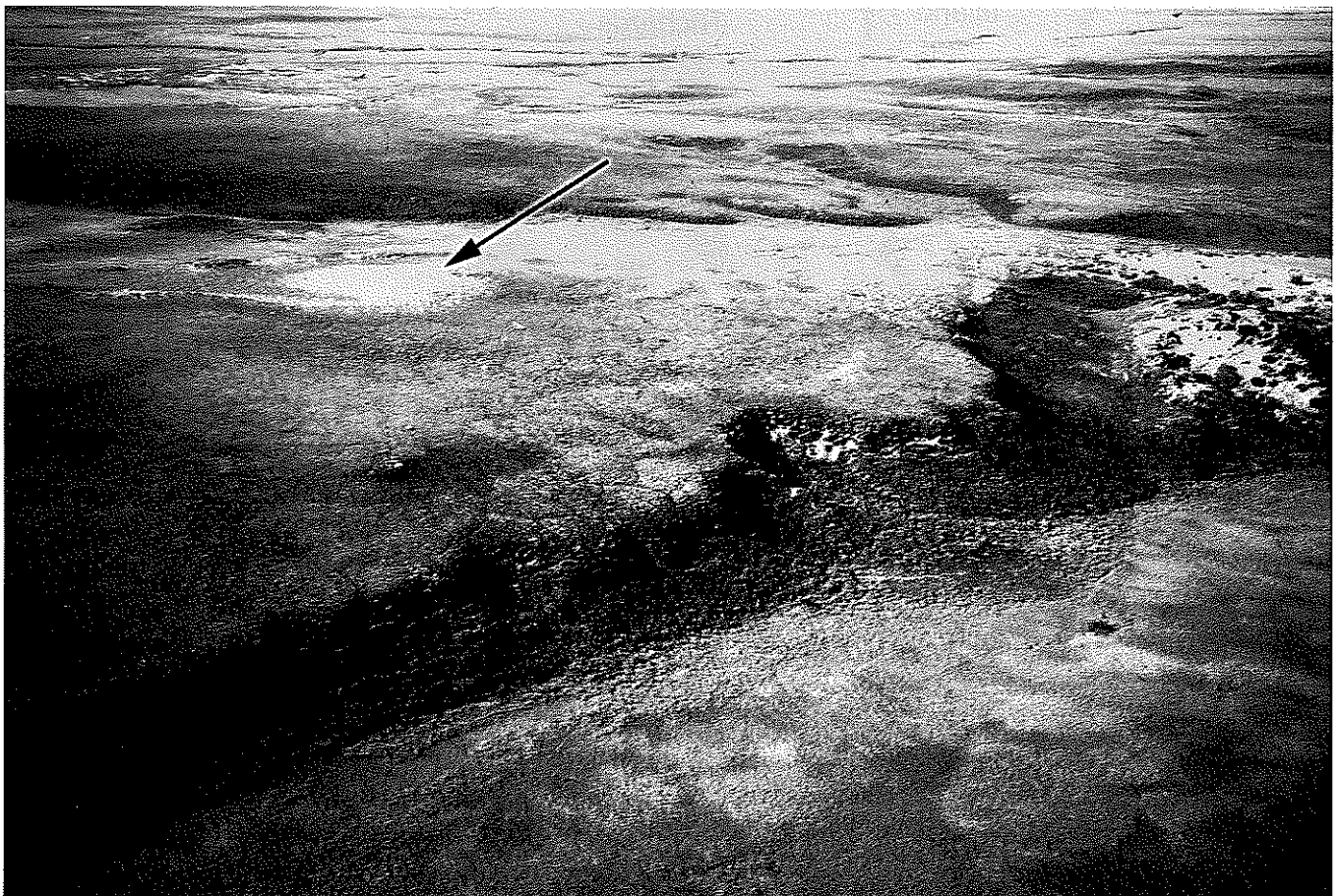


Figure 2: The Satkualuk site from the air.

Preliminary examination of the site locality revealed artifacts scattered over an area measuring at least 250 by 180 m, with a concentration approximately 40 m in diameter. The boundaries of the site were not determined, since the scatter of artifacts extended into areas covered by tundra vegetation. Controlled surface collecting was carried out

concentrated. The periphery of this roughly circular mound supports vegetation cover, and a cluster of boulders lies at its highest point (Figure 3). Excavations revealed a number of hearths, some associated with what appeared to be living floors, at depths of 35-75 cm below ground surface. Four radiocarbon dates were obtained from the buried deposits,

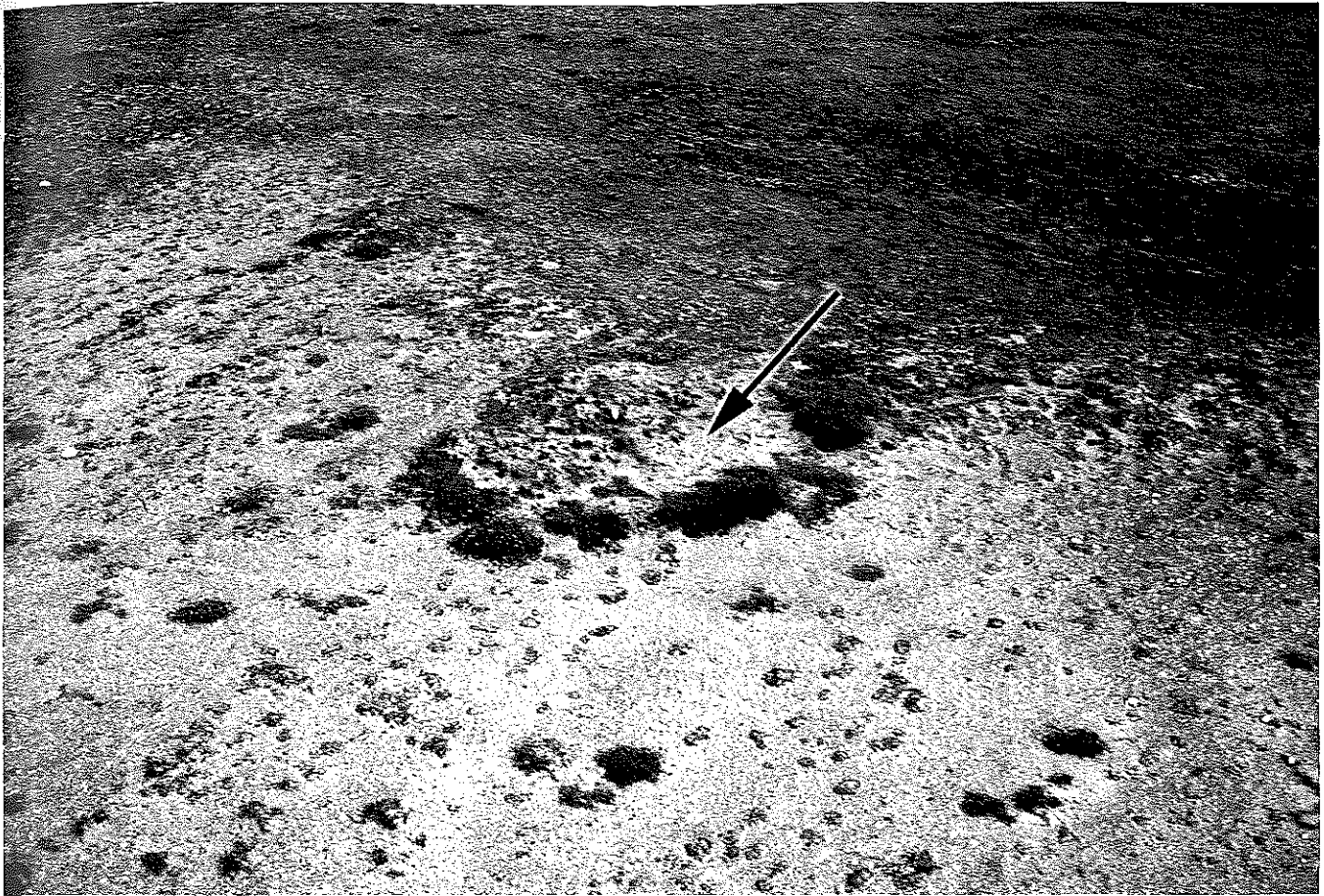


Figure 3: The deflated area of the site, with arrow pointing to the mound feature.

and are consistent with the stratigraphic positioning of the samples. Only a small portion of the mound was excavated and further investigation is needed to assess the nature and extent of the cultural features that were observed.

Artifacts

Surface collection and excavation produced 1391 specimens, including 37 ceramic sherds and 302 finished lithic artifacts. Most of these were recovered from the wind-deflated areas of the site. Few of the artifacts that were recovered from the buried occupation layers in the mound excavation were diagnostic of cultural affiliation.

The majority of the ceramic artifacts are linear-stamped body sherds (Figure 4*l*) tempered with fiber, possibly feathers; one may be cord-marked (Figure 4*k*). Anderson considers cord-marked pottery to be the earliest type found in Choris culture, while for several subsequent centuries both were made by Choris people, with linear-stamped ceramics continuing into Norton culture (Giddings and Anderson 1986: 315).

Lithic artifacts account for 87% of the finished specimens recovered from Satkualuk. Raw materials used include a variety of cherts, quartzite, and at least one example of clinker (Raymond LeBlanc, personal communication). The presence of clinker, a heat-fused rock that occurs on the Cape Bathurst peninsula (LeBlanc 1991b), suggests that the people from Satkualuk may have travelled or had trade connections as far as Cape Bathurst, almost 300 kilometers east of the Mackenzie Delta.

There are 14 burins in the collection, including specimens not unlike some of those found in Denbigh or other ASTt assemblages (Figure 4*g*), as well as burins on bifaces (Figure 4*h*) which are considered to be more diagnostic of Choris culture. Twenty-two burin spalls were also recovered. Among the most characteristic specimens are 35 burinated flakes and unifaces. Together with linear-stamped pottery, the burinated lithics provide the strongest indication of a Choris presence.

The Satkualuk collection also includes 44 microblades (Figure 4*j*) and 17 microblade cores or fragments (Figure 4*i*). The poor quality of workmanship and the lack of standardization in the cores from Satkualuk are notable

when compared with Denbigh assemblages, and suggest a remnant industry that one might expect in Early Choris. Two core tablets were also recovered. One of these is from a relatively large core, and was found in association with a large microblade, in an area of the blowout located at a considerable distance from the main concentration of surface artifacts; these specimens may indicate an occupation much earlier than that represented by the Choris material.

Forty-two unifacial endscrapers (Figure 4c), a relatively high proportion of the artifacts, were recovered from the site. Many are similar to those in Denbigh and other ASTt assemblages (Giddings and Anderson 1986). Eight flake knives were found, which are similar to those that occur from Denbigh through to Norton assemblages (Figure 4d-f). The Satkualuk collection includes six drills and gravers of forms that have a broad distribution in both Denbigh and later assemblages. There are thirty-one bifaces, most of them fragmentary or of culturally undiagnostic forms (Figure 4b). Lanceolate bifaces of the type associated with Choris assemblages are represented by only two small medial fragments. The only complete biface is a small sideblade inset (Figure 4a); tips of small pointed endblades and unfinished symmetrical bifaces, which were probably intended as small endblades, were also found. Twelve coarse stone tools, manufactured from quartzite, were recovered from the site. The collection also includes two hammerstones, two abraders, one polished pebble, a variety of retouched flakes, sev-

eral core and nodule fragments, and numerous unretouched flakes.

While the majority of the artifacts recovered from Satkualuk appear to be most consistent with a Choris affiliation, some specimens suggest a closer relationship to the Denbigh Flint Complex and even earlier cultural complexes.

Faunal Remains

Relatively few faunal remains were found. Seal and caribou bones were recovered from the buried deposits. A lack of organic artifacts, as well as the scarcity of faunal material in both the buried deposits and on the surface of the site, may be related to poor preservation. However, sampling may also be a factor, and future excavation in undisturbed areas of the site may produce more organic remains.

Radiocarbon Dates

Seven AMS radiocarbon dates are currently available for Satkualuk, and the range of dates supports the artifactual evidence in suggesting that more than one component is represented at the site (Table 1). Mason and Gerlach (1995) have attempted to rationalize the confusing series of ages which have been ascribed to the Choris culture. They conclude that the large number of Choris localities at Cape

Table 1: Uncalibrated Radiocarbon dates from the Satkualuk site.

<i>Location of Sample</i> ¹	<i>Material</i>	<i>Date (¹⁴C yrs BP)</i>	<i>Lab Number</i>
Deflated zone	caribou antler	1450± 60	Beta-65520
Deflated zone	caribou bone	1920± 70	Beta-65519
Deflated zone	charcoal	4710±100	Beta-77811
Buried deposit, depth 40-45 cm	seal bone	1720± 50	Beta-77810
Buried deposit, depth 55-60 cm	caribou (?) bone	2230± 60	Beta-77809
Buried deposit, depth 70-75 cm	charcoal	4480± 50	Beta-77808
Buried deposit, depth 55-60 cm	charcoal	6140± 70	Beta-80071

¹Note that depth is measured below local surface and does not necessarily indicate stratigraphic position. The four samples from the buried deposits are listed in stratigraphic order from late to early.

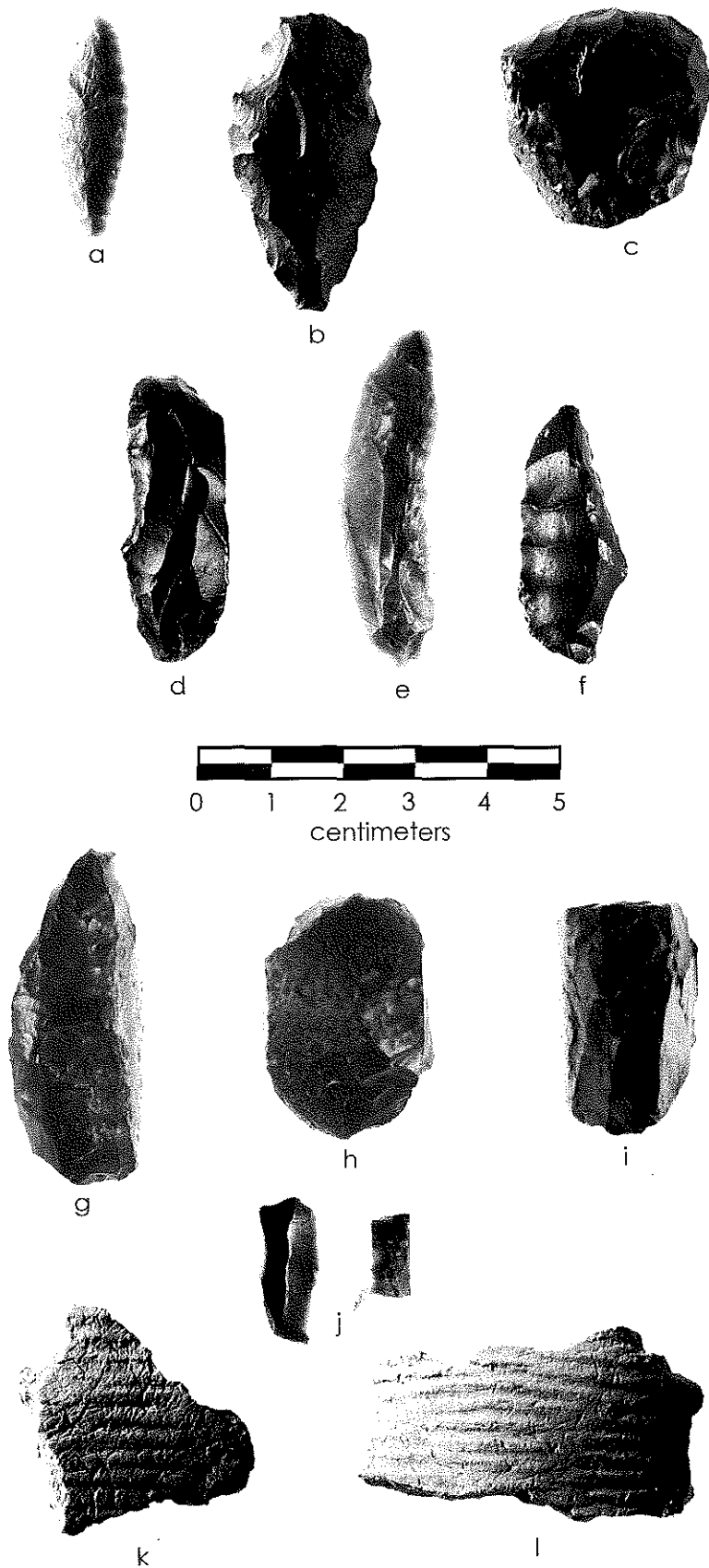


Figure 4: Artifacts from the Satkualuk site: a sideblade; b biface; c unifacial scraper; d-f flake knives; g burin; h burinated biface; i microblade core; j microblade fragments; k, l ceramic sherds.

Krusenstern date from later than 2500 radiocarbon years ago but earlier than 1600 years ago, and that most of the acceptable Choris dates from other localities in western Alaska range between approximately 2700 and 2200 years ago.

The radiocarbon dates from the lowest of the stratigraphic levels at Satkualuk (6140 and 4480 BP), as well as the date of 4710 BP from the deflated zone, suggest an occupation of the site significantly earlier than Choris times, and probably relating to ASTt or earlier cultural complexes. The date of 2230 BP from an intermediate occupation layer is within the Choris range, while the date of 1720 BP from the upper layer of the buried deposits and the date of 1920 BP from the deflated zone may relate to later Choris occupations. The final date of 1450 BP likely derives from a more recent use of the site.

Assessing the Relationship of the Satkualuk Site

In order to evaluate the potential significance of the Satkualuk site, we must consider our understanding of the archaeological unit known as "Choris culture." With specific reference to the Palaeo-Eskimo occupations of High Arctic regions, I have proposed (Sutherland 1996) that early Arctic cultures should not be envisaged as representing widespread populations with identical technologies. Rather, on the model of the historic Inuit of the Central Arctic, they may be more usefully viewed as a mosaic of local groups adapted to local resources, each sharing some elements of culture with neighboring groups, and each developing along its own distinct trajectory over time. This concept would seem to be particularly apt as a means of conceptualizing the population associated with Choris culture, which Mason and Gerlach (1995) have portrayed as an archaeological "horizon," a widespread but thin veneer of occupation remains left by a small and highly mobile population. The discovery of an artifact assemblage characterized by attributes of Choris culture in the Mackenzie Delta, over 1000 kilometers to the east of similar sites on the coast of the Chukchi Sea, represents a significant geographical extension of this poorly understood cultural complex. It also suggests that the cultural implications of the "Choris horizon" may be more extensive than have been previously thought.

Prior to the discovery of the Satkualuk site, no clear evidence of human occupation earlier than that of the Inuvialuit during the past few centuries had been found in the Mackenzie Delta proper. However, ASTt sites have been located in adjacent areas, including the Yukon Coast, the Tuktoyaktuk Peninsula, the Anderson Plain, and Cape Bathurst Peninsula. In a re-examination of the large but mixed collection from Engigstciak in the northern Yukon,

Clark (1976) has suggested that "post-ASTt correlates with Choris/early Norton" exist in the form of discoid scrapers, Donnelly-like burins, a single Choris-like harpoon, and adzes, as well as antler wedges, lateral insets, small stemmed points, burinated flakes, a single drill, and a variety of pottery types including linear impressed. Greer (1991) has suggested that the bifacial adzes and some of the endblades from the Trout Lake locality are similar to those of Choris assemblages from Alaska. From sites in Hutchison Bay on the Tuktoyaktuk Peninsula, at Mallock Hill on the Cape Bathurst Peninsula (LeBlanc 1991a, 1994) and also at the Lapointe site at Bloody Falls on the Coppermine River (McGhee 1970), a few Choris-like parallel-flaked bifaces and biface fragments have been found (Figure 5).

Two other important sites that must be considered in this discussion are the Lagoon site on Banks Island (Arnold 1981) and the closely related Crane site on Cape Bathurst Peninsula (LeBlanc 1994). With the majority of radiocarbon assays from these sites clustering between 2300 and 2500 BP, these components date to approximately the Choris range. Their artifact assemblages show a confusing mix of technological traits which combine Alaskan elements with those resembling late Pre-Dorset culture in Arctic Canada. Although LeBlanc considers that needles from the Lagoon site and some side-notched endblades from the Crane site resemble Choris forms, and Dumond (2000:11) notes a similarity between the barbed harpoon heads from the Crane site and those from the Choris Peninsula, the entire assemblages show little coherent resemblance to Choris or any other defined Alaskan complex. However, it seems possible that the complex represented at the Lagoon and Crane sites may have derived from a Choris precursor. The Satkualuk assemblage shows no specific similarities to those of the Lagoon complex; rather, the co-occurrence of several elements of Choris technology indicates a closer relationship to the Alaskan Choris complex. The existence of such an assemblage located approximately halfway between the Lagoon complex sites on the Beaufort Sea coast and the known range of Alaskan Choris, strengthens the possibility of a Choris-like influence on the development of cultures in the western Canadian Arctic.

Conclusions

Despite the preliminary nature of the investigations, there is sufficient diagnostic material in the collection from Satkualuk to support the view that at least one component at the site indicates a Choris presence in the Mackenzie Delta. It would appear that small and mobile groups who left the assemblages forming the Choris "horizon," in the terminology used by Mason and Gerlach (1995), wandered at

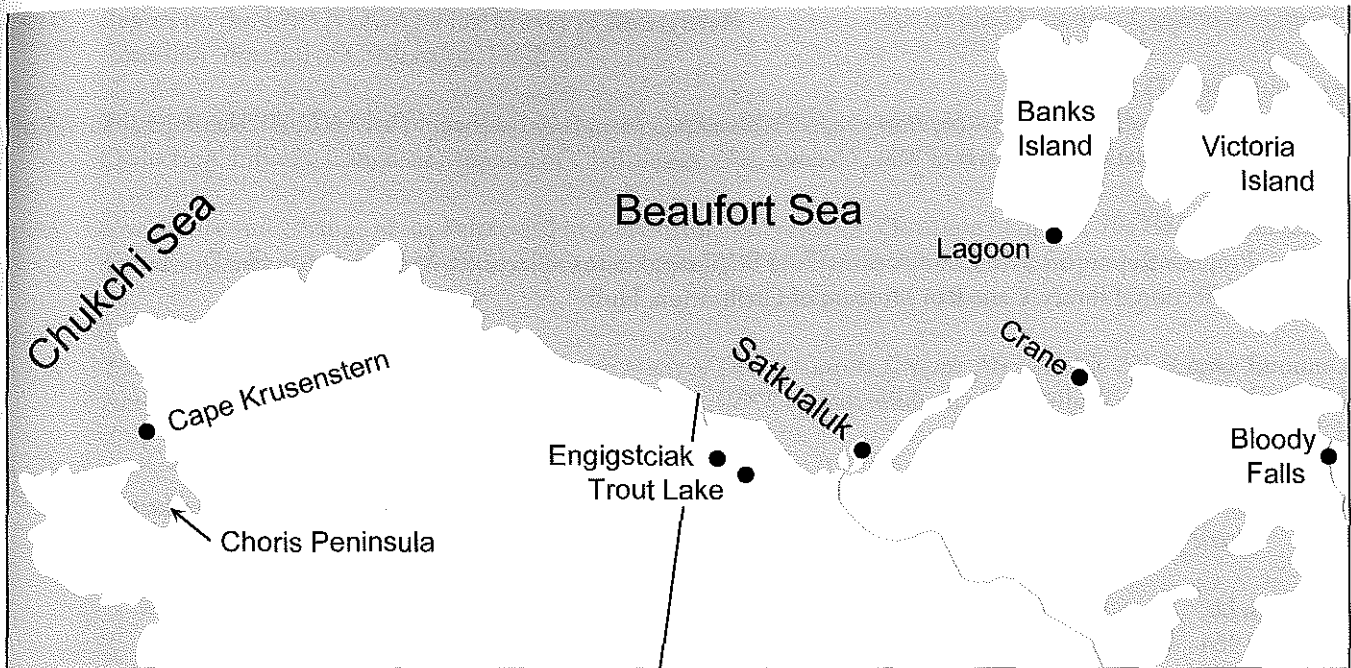


Figure 5: Locations of sites mentioned in the text.

least as far eastward as the Mackenzie River and established a coastal occupation similar to those known from north-western Alaska.

The site not only holds potential for increasing our knowledge of the Choris culture, but also for aiding our understanding of prehistoric relationships between Alaska and the Canadian Arctic. The presence of an eastern outlier of this early culture may be significant in assessing the development of the Palaeo-Eskimo tradition in Arctic Canada. In particular, it may increase our understanding of the development of the Dorset culture, a process which occurred between approximately 3000 and 2500 years ago in areas well to the east of the Mackenzie River. The possibility of Alaskan influence on this development has been argued in the past without the benefit of archaeological evidence (Taylor 1968).

The prehistory of Arctic Canada has been generally viewed in terms of two major migrations: the first by Palaeo-Eskimos between 5000 and 4000 years ago, and the second by Neo-Eskimos who moved eastward about 1000 years ago. The Satkualuk site suggests that the actual picture may have been considerably more complex, with multiple movements of peoples eastwards from Alaska to the western portions of the Canadian Arctic. Cultural developments in Arctic Canada, previously thought to have occurred in isolation from developments in Alaska, may in fact have been influenced by knowledge brought to the Canadian Arctic by such immigrants.

Acknowledgements

Funding for the 1993 field work on Richards Island was provided by the NOGAP Archaeology Project, Canadian Museum of Civilization, and that for the 1994 field work by the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Center, the Royal Canadian Geographical Society, and the Canadian Museum of Civilization. The Polar Continental Shelf Project, Department of Natural Resources Canada, provided logistic support during both field seasons. I want to thank Douglas Anderson of Brown University who allowed me to view the Alaskan Choris material housed at the Haffenreffer Museum, and generously gave of his time.

References

Arnold, Charles D.

- 1981 *The Lagoon Site (OjRL-3): Implications for Palaeoeskimo Interactions. Mercury Paper 107*, Archaeological Survey of Canada, National Museum of Man, Ottawa.

Clark, Donald W.

- 1976 Progress Report on a Re-Examination of the Engigstciak Site Collections. Manuscript on file, Document Collection, Library, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull.

Dumond, Don E.

- 2000 The Norton Tradition. *Arctic Anthropology* 37(2):1-22.

Friesen, T.M. and C.D. Arnold

- 1995 Zooarchaeology of a Focal Resource: Dietary Importance of Beluga Whales to the Precontact Mackenzie Inuit. *Arctic* 48(1):22-30.

Giddings, J.L.

- 1964 *The Archaeology of Cape Denbigh*. Brown University Press, Providence.

Giddings, J.L. and Douglas D. Anderson

- 1986 *Beach Ridge Archaeology of Cape Krusenstern. Publications in Archaeology 20*, National Park Service. Washington, D.C.

Greer, S.C.

- 1991 The Trout Lake Archaeological Locality and the British Mountain Problem. In *NOGAP Archaeological Project: an Integrated Archaeological Research and Management Approach*, edited by Jacques Cinq-Mars and Jean-Luc Pilon, pp. 15-31. Canadian Archaeological Association, Occasional Paper # 1, Victoria.

LeBlanc, Raymond J.

- 1991a New Data Relating to the Prehistory of the Mackenzie Delta Region of the NOGAP Study Area. In *NOGAP Archaeological Project: an Integrated Archaeological Research and Management Approach*, edited by Jacques Cinq-Mars and Jean-Luc Pilon, pp. 65-76. Canadian Archaeological Association, Occasional Paper 1, Victoria.

- 1991b Prehistoric Clinker Use on the Cape Bathurst Peninsula, Northwest Territories, Canada: The Dynamics of Formation and Procurement. *American Antiquity*, 56(2):268-277.

- 1994 *The Crane Site and the Palaeoeskimo Period in the Western Canadian Arctic. Mercury Paper 148*, Archaeological Survey of Canada, Canadian Museum of Civilization. Ottawa.

Mason, Owen K. and S. Craig Gerlach

- 1995 The Archaeological Imagination, Zooarchaeological Data, the Origins of Whaling in the Western Arctic, and "Old Whaling" and Choris Cultures. In *Hunting the Largest Animals, Native Whaling in the Western Arctic and Subarctic*, edited by Allen P. McCartney, pp. 1-32. Studies in Whaling #3, Occasional Publication #36, The Canadian Circumpolar Institute. University of Alberta, Edmonton.

McGhee, Robert

- 1970 Excavations at Bloody Falls, N.W.T., Canada. *Arctic Anthropology* 6(2):53-73.

Sutherland, Patricia D.

- 1991 Archaeological Reconnaissance on the Tuktoyaktuk Peninsula. Manuscript on file, Document Collection, Library, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull.

- 1994 Report on the 1993 NOGAP Field Survey of Richards Island. Manuscript on file, Document Collection, Library, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull.
- 1995 The Richards Island Archaeology Project: Report on the 1994 Field Season. Manuscript on file, Document Collection, Library, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull.
- 1996 Continuity and Change in the Palaco-Eskimo Prehistory of Northern Ellesmere Island. In *The Palaeoeskimo Cultures of Greenland*, edited by Bjarne Grønnow, pp. 271-294. Danish Polar Center. Copenhagen.
- Taylor, W. E., Jr.
1968 *The Arnapiik and Tyara Sites: An Archaeological Study of Dorset Culture Origins. Memoir No. 22.* Society for American Archaeology, Salt Lake City.

THE "UELENSKI LANGUAGE" AND ITS POSITION AMONG NATIVE LANGUAGES OF THE CHUKCHI PENINSULA

Michael A. Chlenov

Professor of Cultural Anthropology, Center for the Study of the Russian and East European Jewry, State Jewish Maimonides Academy, Moscow.

Abstract: Scholars studying early distribution of Native groups and languages in Chukotka have been for long discussing the value of several early-contact records left by the Russian explorers and other visitors to the region during the 1700s and early 1800s. This paper offers the first detailed analysis of one of such early scholarly records produced by Carl Heinrich Merck, a German doctor and natural scientist, who visited Chukotka in 1791. Specifically, the author reviews a word-list of several dozen Native terms in Merck's manuscript belonging to the so-called "Uelenski language." Based upon comparative analysis, he argues that the "Uelenski language" was, actually, a dialect of the Central Siberian Yup'ik that once used to be spread widely along the eastern and northern shores of Chukotka. Later population replacements, language and cultural shifts have changed the linguistic map of the region, leaving Merck's manuscript as the only indisputable evidence of the early Siberian Yup'ik presence at Bering Strait and along the Arctic coast of Chukotka.

Keywords: Siberian Yup'ik languages, Bering Strait ethnography, Historiography AD 1700-1850

Introduction

For the first and the only time the words that reportedly belonged to the so-called "Uelenski (Uelen) language" were written down by a German naturalist named Carl Merck in summer 1791, on his visit to the Chukchi Peninsula. Merck was traveling across the Bering Sea and Bering Strait region as a member of the Russian North-East Geographical Expedition (1785–1795), under the leadership of Joseph Billings and Gavriil Sarychev (Sarycheff). Being German by origin, Merck drafted his field notes and sketches for his final report in his native German, writing it down in fluent Gothic cursive. The original copy of his manuscript entitled "*Die Beschreibung der Tschuktschi, von ihren Gebraeuchen und Lebensart*" (Description of the Chukchi in their Lore and Way of Life) is preserved at the Russian National Public Library in St. Petersburg, in its Manuscript and Rare Books Division (German), Fond No.173. For the first time, and almost 200 years after it had been compiled, a more or less complete Russian translation of Merck's manuscript was published by Zinaida D. Titova (1978), in her edited collection of various ethnographic reports generated by the Billings Expedition. However, shorter fragments of Merck's report, both in German and in Russian translation, were published earlier (Bronshstein and Shnakenburg 1941; Merck 1814; Vdovin 1954:76-77); his data had been used and cited many times prior to Titova's publication (cf.

Bronshstein and Shnakenburg 1941; Dolgikh 1960; Vdovin 1954, 1961, 1965).

Linguists, anthropologists, and ethnohistorians have repeatedly turned to Merck's manuscript, both before and after its Russian publication by Titova, treating it as a unique source on Native history and ethnography of the Chukchi Peninsula (Chukotka). Merck's report indeed is the earliest scholarly essay on this topic; it remained for many years unsurpassed because of its details, clarity, and scholarly conscientiousness. Merck's manuscript contains what may be called the earliest basic ethnography of the "Tchuktchi": i.e., the Native inhabitants of the Chukchi Peninsula, both the Chukchi proper and the Yup'ik Eskimo. It is also renown for its extensive use of glosses from many Native languages of the area, including the one he labeled "Uelenski" (Russian "of Uelen") that had been reportedly spoken in the community of Uelen, a few miles northwest of today's Cape Dezhnev (East Cape).

The most famous (and the most widely cited) section of Merck's manuscript treats the linguistic situation in the Bering Strait area at the end of the 18th century; it also mentions for the first and the only time the very existence of a special "Uelenski language." The original German

version and the full English translation of that section of Merck's manuscript were first published by Michael Krauss (2005:165). In his original German text Merck used two sets of Native glosses. The one that he labeled "Renntierhabende Tshuktschi" ('Reindeer Chukchi') obviously belonged to the Chukchi language proper. That language was not only the main vernacular in the area during the time of Merck's visit but also the language via which the expedition members, be they Russian (Sarycheff), German (Merck), or British (Billings), communicated with the local people using a series of interpreters: from Chukchi to Russian to German, and vice versa. The second language used in Merck's manuscript he called "stillsitzende Tschuktschi" ('of the Sedentary Chukchi'); that term, obviously, covered various Yup'ik Eskimo languages that were present on the Siberian side of the Bering Strait in Merck's time. Various attempts by several scholars, both Russian and Western, to identify the four different versions of that "sedentary Chukchi" language(s) came to very similar conclusions. Three of Merck's "sedentary Chukchi" languages were almost unanimously identified with the three known Siberian Yup'ik languages in Chukotka, namely the Sireniki, Chaplinski, and Naukanski (Arutyunov et al. 1982:88-89; Chlenov 1988:67-68; Chlenov and Krupnik 1983; Dolgikh 1960; Krauss 2005; Vdovin 1954). As for the last one, the "Uelenski," it was identified as a separate (fourth?) Eskimo language more than fifty years ago by Vdovin (1954:76-77); but neither Vdovin nor many other researchers who dealt with the excerpts from Merck's text could reasonably specify what kind of "Eskimo" language it was and what was its position among other Native languages of the area (see most recent discussion in Krauss 2005:167-170).

During the late 1980s, both Krauss and I had studied Merck's data, looking for clues to the origins of the Uelenski language. The proceedings of our extensive communication remained unpublished (Krauss and Chlenov 1987). Independently of each other and quite simultaneously we came to the same conclusion that the Uelenski language was but a dialect of the Yup'ik Eskimo language known in the U.S. as "Central-Siberian Yup'ik" (further CSY) and in Russia as "Asiatic Eskimo language," or in the vernacular, the Chaplinski Eskimo language.¹ I have published a preliminary short result of this analysis elsewhere (Chlenov 1988:67-68) but postponed the full publication until more data would become available. Krauss and Steven Jacobson (both at the Alaska Native Language Center, ANLC) analyzed the names of the months in Uelenski language as reported by

Merck, as a proof for its being close to, or originated from Central Siberian Yup'ik (CSY); their study also remained unpublished. With Krauss' brief analysis of Merck's materials on the position of the Uelenski language among the Eskimo languages in Asia now published (Krauss 2005; see also Fortescue 2004), I believe the time has come to present my arguments as well.

This paper deals with the following issues based upon an extensive textual and linguistic analysis of Merck's original German manuscript:

1. Identification of the languages listed by Merck as well as of the place-names that he cited in his manuscript to define the areas where they had been spoken in his time;
2. Sources of different linguistic glosses in Merck's manuscript;
3. Identification and interpretation of words marked by the letter "U" in his manuscript;
4. Identification of Uelenski language as a dialect of CSY.

The Language(s) of the "Sedentary Chukchi" and their Geographic Boundaries

The interpretation of Merck's data depends in many respects on the way(s) one reads, or more properly, deciphers Merck's transliteration of Native words, particularly, of Native place-names, in his manuscript. The complexity of the task is determined by two considerations.

First, one has to comprehend how exactly Merck and/or his local interpreters from Chukchi to Russian pronounced and transliterated Native words and names. In Merck's manuscript, all, or almost all of the local place-names were written according to their Chukchi, or even Russian phonation, not the Eskimo one. Not surprisingly, all Native place-names were inevitably phonetically distorted, since Merck himself did not know either the Chukchi or the Koryak languages that were used by his interpreters; and he certainly did not master any of the Yup'ik Eskimo language(s) to which the words in his manuscript originally belonged. Also, we may assume that his knowledge of Russian was not perfect, bearing in mind that he preferred to write down his

¹The Russian understanding of the term "Siberia" contradicts the term "Central Siberian." For the Russians the Bering Strait area is a part of the "Far East," whereas Siberia proper starts (or ends) at the Kolyma River. For the Americans, "Siberia" starts at the Russian-American border. Still, I believe that CSY is a good enough term, bearing in mind that its Russian analog, "language of the Asiatic Eskimos" is similarly misleading, since it creates an impression that there is only one language among the Asiatic Eskimo. As for Chaplinski, it is rather a vernacular term, which has hardly any Eskimo connotation (*Ungazighmiistun*, "language of the Ungaziq people"). In this paper, the Eskimo language of the southeastern part of the Chukchi Peninsula, St. Lawrence Island, and formerly, along the western shore of Bering Strait is labeled CSY.

field notes and final report in his native German. One of the early publishers of his diaries mentioned that even his German was quite turbid and archaic, and often difficult to be understood by modern German speakers (Jacobi 1938, cit. after Titova 1978:17).

The second consideration is purely paleographic and it deals with the deciphering of Merck's original writing done, as noticed above, in fluent Gothic cursive. I checked the original handwritten text and, in many cases, I came to different interpretations than some of my predecessors, like Titova (1978), or Bronshtein and Shnakenburg (1941), who made the first Russian publication of Merck's famous passage on four languages of the "Sedentary Chukchis." My conclusions are based upon some training in reading Gothic cursive texts that comes from my childhood years spent in Germany; but also upon observations of Merck's handwriting and of his potential knowledge of local place-names in Chukotka. These conclusions can be summarized as follows.

Gulf of Anadyr, Northern Shore

The "first language of the Sedentary Chukchis" as identified by Merck was distributed from the site named "Serdtsse-Kamen" to the village (camp – Russian *stoibishche*) Uigin or Aigan, as originally read by Bronshtein and Shnakenburg. Nowadays, the only place-name, Cape Serdtse Kamen, known in Chukotka is the rocky cape on its arctic shore, next to the town of Enurmino. Clearly enough, it is not the one referred to by Merck; otherwise, the orderly geographical, southwest to northeast, orientation of languages in his description would be distorted. If Merck's "Serdtsse Kamen" were indeed located on the northern shore of the Chukchi Peninsula, then all four languages he referred to would be squeezed in a bottleneck along a small section of the Chukchi Sea coast, between Enurmino and Cape Dezhnev (East Cape). That means that Merck had another "Serdtsse Kamen" in mind, the one identified almost fifty years ago by Vdovin (1954) and Dolgikh (1960 – see also Krauss 2005:165).

The name is clearly of Russian origin (literally 'Heart-Rock'). There is indeed a visible mountain or, rather, high cliff at the entrance to Cross Bay (Zaliv Kresta), in the northernmost section of the Gulf of Anadyr, just off today's town of Konergino. The rock's name can be seen on some of the navigational charts; but it is unknown to the local Chukchi residents. The name was given by Vitus Bering on his first voyage of 1728, and it was widely used on many Russian maps of the 1700s (cf. Efimov et al. 1964:89, 114).

Identification of Merck's "Serdtsse Kamen" with the Cross Bay area enables us to recognize another place-name in the same passage, which is interpreted by Titova as "Mantschchen" (Titova 1978:99). I read it, instead, as *Maetschchen* because the spelling of the cursive Gotish *e* resembles very much the spelling of cursive *n*. Such a spelling (independently of whether the *ae* should be pronounced as an Umlaut or the two distinct vowels) leaves no doubt that it refers to the bar island of Meechkyn that starts right at the eastern entrance to Cross Bay, immediately below the Serdtse Kamen cliff.² The bar still has two walrus howling grounds on its west and east ends; historically, it marked the westernmost sites populated by Native sea-mammal hunters along the northern shore of the Gulf of Anadyr. This had been repeatedly documented since the early voyages of the 1700s and up to the 1950s. In the 1920s, a group of a dozen Yup'ik families from the village of Ungaziq (see below) moved to the Meechkyn spit and established a small settlement that existed until the 1940s. Therefore, the northwestern border of the first of Merck's "sedentary Chukchi" languages corresponded nicely to the historical boundary of the sea-mammal hunting coastal population along the Gulf of Anadyr shore.

Merck put the eastern limit of that language "up to the village of Uigin." My reading of this place-name agrees with that of Titova and disagrees with Bronshtein and Shnakenburg's (1941). *Uigin* can solidly be identified with the Yup'ik community of *Ungaziq* or Chaplino (Indian Point) at Cape Chaplin. The Chukchi name for this site is *Ungiin*. Most certainly, Merck received the information on areas far away from the places he personally visited from the expedition's interpreter, the Cossack officer (*sotnik*) Ivan Kobelev (see below). The latter had traveled extensively across the Bering Strait region between the 1750s and early 1800s (Fedorova 1971). On his map published in German in 1783, Ungaziq is marked as *Ugiin* (in a Russian version of the same map published in 1784 – as *Ugiyn* or *Uginyakh*). There is good reason to believe that *-g-* in both of these names indicates the nasal *-ng-*; so, a simple pen error could have turned Kobelev's *Ugiin* into Merck's *Uigin*. If so, Merck's first language can be located on the northern shore of the Gulf of Anadyr, from the island of Meechkyn and up to the main Yup'ik Eskimo village of Ungaziq. Krauss (2005:165) arrived at the same conclusion regarding the boundaries of that first language.

All of the authors who tried to interpret Merck's language distribution in the 1700s based upon that passage (i.e., Vdovin, Dolgikh, Menovshchikov, Krauss, Fortescue,

²Daurkin's map of 1765 transliterates this place-name as *Mechebkhlyn* (Efimov 1964:89), whereas Kobelev's report calls it *Maechkhin* (Fedorova 1971:ill.1), almost exactly as did Merck in his notes of 1791 and very close to the Russianized modern pronunciation, *Maechkin*.

as well as my colleagues and I [Arutyunov et al. 1982; Chlenov and Krupnik 1983]), commonly associated that first area with the Sireniski language. As such, everyone had to account for a certain discrepancy between Merck's boundaries in the 1700s and what has been known from the later period. By the mid-1800s there were no traces of any Sireniski speakers on the coast between Provideniya Bay and Cape Chaplin, and even for some distance to the west of Provideniya Bay. Of course, some earlier presence of the Sireniski language could not be excluded. One hint of this may be the place-name *Paghileq* on the southwestern shore of Arakamchechen Island, to the north of Cape Chaplin. This is probably a derivation from Sireniski *pagellegg* 'cormorant'; but that is the only example of a Sireniski-based place-name that is known to me in the Cape Chaplin area.

Thus the word *vorn* ('slightly before') used by Merck in his manuscript might not be accidental. It means that the eastern limit of the Sireniski language was indeed more in agreement with what we know of the Siberian Yup'ik language and tribal distribution during the mid- and late-19th century. 'Slightly before' then could literally mean that the coast around Provideniya Bay was not a part of the first "language" area (see the same conclusion in Krauss 2005:165). During the mid-late 1800s, the area to the west and around Provideniya Bay was occupied by small Yup'ik groups called *Avatmiit*, *Atqallghaghmiit*, and *Imtugmiit*, with three other communities, *Qiwaaghmiit*, *Tasighmiit* and *Nangupagaghmiit*, living further eastward, from Cape Chukotsky to Tkachen Bay (Arutyunov et al. 1982; Chlenov and Krupnik 1983; Krupnik and Chlenov 1976). All of them spoke various (sub)dialects of CSY; two latter groups were primarily Chukchi-speaking. In the 1970s some of the elderly *Atqallghaghmiit* still remembered that their distant forefathers once came from St. Lawrence Island:

Our elders repeatedly told us that our people, *Atqallghaghmiit* came once from Sivuuqag [St. Lawrence Island – M.C.]. Father's great-grandfathers were from there probably, so I heard. But as I remember people always called us *Atqallghaghmiit*, never Sivuuqaghhmiit. It is only due to the old stories that we know that our forefathers are from over there. We never heard of any relatives over there (Krupnik 2001:451).

A similar oral tradition has been recorded among a mixed Chukchi-Yup'ik group called the *Nangupagaghmiit* ('people from *Nangupaghaq*):

So I heard it. People spoke that somewhere in the nineteen tens or in eighteen hundreds those from Nangupagan [sic! with a Chukchi suffix]

came from Lavrentiya [St. Lawrence Island–M.C.], from over there. We are the last remains, and the name was Nangupagaghmiit, a kind of nationality. *Nangupagag* is a location over there, their place. Lavrentiya island is huge! Many people lived there. But that was very long time ago, long before us (Krupnik 2001:452).

This tradition is fully corroborated by the place-name *Nangupaghaq* near Gambell on St. Lawrence Island. The *Qiwaaghmiit* have no oral tradition of this kind; but significantly enough, the largest part of that group had resettled to St. Lawrence Island during the late 1800s (Krupnik 1994); their modern descendants on the island still retain the name *Qiwaaghmiit* and a clear memory of their origins in Siberia. Some *Avatmiit* families also moved to St. Lawrence Island in the early 1900s (Krupnik 1994). It seems that between the mid-1800s and the early 1900s, the area around and to the east of Provideniya Bay experienced several migrations from St. Lawrence Island and vice versa. All of those migrant groups had spoken different versions of CSY. That means that either the boundary between Sireniski and CSY was already located somewhat westward of Provideniya Bay, or that it had been moved westward after Merck's time, due to those later migrations. In any case, Merck's Uigin (CSY *Ungaziq*) was far to the east.

Even more problematic is the western position of the Sireniski language boundary, following Merck's statement that the "first language" was spoken all along up to the Meechkyng spit. Kobelev put on his 1779 map of that area a village named "Eymelan" (Efimov 1964, map 174), which is obviously the same as the modern Chukchi town of Enmelen near Cape Bering. Its Yup'ik name *Taqevag* is widely known, including on St. Lawrence Island (Oovi and Womkon Badten 1975:17). The very fact that Kobelev used the Chukchi name in the 1700s indicates that the village could already have had a Chukchi-speaking population. Most probably, Merck's informants meant that Meechkyng spit was the westernmost boundary of the "sedentary Chukchi," that is, of the coastal people, in general, and not just of their language. But this is my guess only. It may well be that in Merck's time Sireniski was indeed spoken more widely along the northern shore of the Gulf of Anadyr; but that area could have been already punctured by several Chukchi-speaking enclaves, or, rather, the Sireniski speakers themselves were already living in the chain of coastal enclaves among predominately Chukchi-speaking people. Such was the situation along the coast of the Bering Strait proper (see below), and it would be reasonable to expect that a similar language transition was already in place along the shore of the Gulf of Anadyr.

Southeastern and Eastern Shore of the Chukchi Peninsula

The second of Merck's "sedentary Chukchi" languages is undoubtedly the CSY, then distributed along the eastern shore of the Chukchi Peninsula, from Ungaziq at Cape Chaplin (or Uigin in Merck's notation) to the site *Puuchta* halfway between Lavrentiya Bay and Cape Dezhnev (East Cape). *Puuchta* is still a fairly well known name for an old village and a small bay, though the site itself had been abandoned for more than 100 years. The modern Russianized form is "Pouten"; the Chukchi name is P'uuten; in Naukanski it is *Piughtuq* and in CSY, *Puwughtaq* (Leontyev and Novikova 1989:313). The versions reported by Daurkin in the mid-1700s were Pukhtyn, or Puug'tyn, and by Kobelev – Puchan, Pukhatn or Pukhtan (Leontyev 1969:103). Merck's spelling, *Puuchta*, mostly resembles the CSY form, which would be quite natural if we assume that this "second language" was indeed CSY. According to oral stories recorded by Krupnik and myself back in the 1970s (Krupnik 2001:447–448), some clans of the *Ungazighmiit* still retained vague memories that their ancestors once lived to the north of Lavrentiya Bay. The *Armaramket* clan, for example, had a tradition that some of its members originated from the now abandoned village of *Qaayqaq* that was reportedly located to the south from Pouten Bay.

The former tracks of the CSY speakers via their old place-names can still be traced in the area, particularly between Pouten Bay and the former village of *Qengisqun* (Russian: Dezhnev, or Dezhnevo) on the southern shore of the promontory topped by Cape Dezhnev. Not far from today's Cape Verblyuzhiy ("Camel Point"), near the ancient Ekven burial ground, there once used to be a village named *Nengluwaq*. The name is clearly a derivation from CSY *nenglu* 'underground dwelling,' not from Naulanski *enlu*, where the initial *n-* is omitted and the intervocal *-n-* is not nasalized, despite its proximity to the Naukanski-speaking area. An old clan name, *Nengluvaget*, was known among the *Ungaazighmiit* during the 1900s, although the clan is now almost extinct. Quite possibly, it owed its name to that old site to the south of Cape Dezhnev, and not just to the fact that its members once lived—much like everybody else—in underground houses. There might have been some other pockets of CSY speakers along the eastern shore of the Chukchi Peninsula (cf. Chlenov and Krupnik 1984); but their area was certainly interrupted by numerous Chukchi-speaking enclaves, including those around Lavrentiya and Mechigmen Bays, where Billings, Merck, and their party communicated with the Natives in August–September 1791.

Cape Dezhnev

The third language in Merck's manuscript has been deciphered elsewhere as Pankniskoi or Pankuiskoi

(Titova 1978:99). I read it as *Paekeskoi* bearing in mind the resemblance between Gothic *n* and *e* (see also Krauss 2005:165). Read so, this word is almost identical to the Russian name for the Naukanski language ("Peekskiy" or "Peekskoy"), common in the late 1800s, among others in Gondatti (1897), Miller (1897), and Bogoras (1904). Most probably, Merck's term indicates that this name was already in use for the Naukan people and their language during the 1700s.

The origins of the term "Peeky" has been a subject of special analysis by Leontyev (1969). Three other place names cited by Merck, *Nuchin*, *Preky* (deciphered by me as *Paeky*), and *Mengihenitkin*, corroborate the identification of the third language as Naukanski. *Nuchin* resembles very much the name "Naukan" itself. The Chukchi pronunciation of this place name is *Nuukan*, in Naukanski it is as *Nuvuqaq*, in CSY – *Nevuqaq*. As for *Paeky*, it seems to be just another spelling of *Paekeskoi*, only without the Russian suffix *-skoi*. The root "Paek" is still preserved in the official name on the Russian navigational charts for the southeastern edge of Cape Dezhnev (Cape Paek, *Mys Paek*), but it is unknown to today's residents of the area, both Chukchi and Yup'ik. An old village named *Nunak* was located there until the early 1900s, when its residents moved to Naukan. The Chukchi name for that site, *Nunegnín*, was already known to Daurkin and Kobelev in the 1700s and was featured on their maps (see Efimov 1964); it is still in use by today's inhabitants of the nearby Chukchi towns of Uelen and Inghoun. Quite possibly, the village of *Nunak* might have had an alternative name after the cape, at which it was located, namely *Paek*. If Merck's *Paeky* was then a local name for *Nunak* it strongly supports the assumption that, in describing the third language of the "Sedentary Chukchis," Merck referred to the two major villages of the Naukan Yup'ik, known from the oral histories and the records of the 1800s (Chlenov and Krupnik 1983).

The third place-name, *Mengihenitkin*, is also unknown to today's Chukchi and Naukanski Yup'ik residents of the area. Phonetically it is clearly of Chukchi origin and it is etymologically derived from Chukchi *meynge* 'big.' By comparing it to the Chukchi name for the easternmost extremity of Arakamchechen Island south of the Bering Strait, *Kygyninitkin* (Cape Kygynin, *Mys Kiginin*), one may interpret *Mengihenitkin* as 'big extremity,' that is, as the general name for the rocky massif of Cape Dezhnev, the easternmost point of the Eurasian continent. Such an interpretation is another argument to support our conclusion that Merck's "third language" was indeed the Naukanski Yup'ik then attached to a small area around Cape Dezhnev.

Arctic Coast

The fourth language that Merck labeled "Uelenskij," with a Russian suffix *-skij* (obviously an indication that the source of his information was a Russian – see below) was clearly named after a big village "Uelen" located on the Chukchi Sea shore, just a few miles northwest from Naukan and Cape Dezhnev. There is no doubt about its geographical location. Merck stated that it was used in the area from the "above mentioned cape," that is Cape Dezhnev, and then northwestward along the Arctic coast, up to Cape Shelagskij (Cape Shelagsky on the coast of the East Siberian Sea, near the modern town of Pevek – see also Krauss 2005). Today's residents of Uelen, as well as of all other indigenous communities in Chukotka along the shores of the Chukchi and East-Siberian Seas, speak the Chukchi language only (and, of course, Russian). Despite repeated efforts to identify any historical Eskimo-speakers in that area via old place-names and other sources (Lentyev and Novikova 1989; Menovschikov 1963, 1971, 1972; Vdovin 1961; and particularly Krauss 2005), there are neither direct records nor any memories of the late Eskimo presence on Chukotka's Arctic Coast, except for some Naukanski or Diomedic expatriates who used to settle in Uelen and, to a lesser extent, in other nearby communities in the late 1800s and during the 1900s.

This lack of late historic evidence complicates the search for a prospective western boundaries of the Uelenski language. Merck's information on the issue is also confusing. Although the "Uelenskij" is mentioned as a language of the "Sedentary Chukchi," up to their "last settlement at Cape Shelagskij" (Krauss 2005:165), another passage of the same manuscript has a slightly different statement. "Camps of the Sedentary Chukchi (are) spread from Cape Serdtse Kamen and almost to Cape Shelagskij. Behind the Kolyuchin Bay, there are only two camps and the farthest among them is located at the estuary of the Ekechta River not far from the Kchwat-Weiam River; its name is Rirkai-Pija (Titova 1978:98–99 [translation mine, M.C.]). Similar references can be found in Billings' diary: "The Chukchis told us that the last settlement of the Sedentary Chukchi called Reer-Karpee is located between the mouth of Karpee River and the mouth of Ekichtuma River. There are no other dwellings belonging to the nation of Sedentary Chukchi behind that settlement and up to the Chuvanskij inlet in the Icy Sea" (Arctic Ocean – Titova 1978:57 [translation mine, M.C.]). With this in mind, we may assume that the "Uelenski" language was indeed spread from Uelen westward, though not to Cape Shelagsky but up to Cape Schmidt (North Cape), or about 300 miles eastward from Cape Shelagsky. Cape Schmidt is indeed called *Ryrkaypiya* in Chukchi; the same name applies to the village of *Ryrkaypiy*, which

historically was the westernmost community of coastal hunters on the Arctic shore of Chukotka.

As for the second possible village ("camp") referred by Merck between Ryrkaypiya and Kolyuchin Bay, that might have been either Cape Vankarem, or Cape Onmyn. According to my aerial survey of the coast in 1984, these are the only other coastal sites with known historical settlements. Thus, following Merck's and Billings' information, we are to place the boundaries of the Uelenski language area in the 1700s from Uelen and up to Kolyuchin Bay on the Arctic coast, with probably two more settlements further northwest up to Cape Schmidt.

The Sources of Native Glosses in Billings' Expedition Notes

The published and archival records of the Billings expedition of 1785-1795 contain not only several independent narratives of the voyage written in Russian, German, and English by the expedition's participants, but also different vocabularies ("word lists") of Native languages spoken in the Bering Strait area. One of those word lists is known as "the Rohbeck vocabulary" (Sarychev 1811, Attachment), after Dr. M. von Rohbeck, a physician and naturalist who, along with Merck, was a member of the same expedition. It contains a few hundred words of the Naukanski Yup'ik (NY) language, thus presenting its earliest known documentation (cf. Fortescue 2004; Krauss 2005:167). The original manuscript of the "Rohbeck vocabulary" is kept at the Manuscript Collection of the National Russian Library in St. Petersburg, Russia (NRL, Division of Manuscripts and Antiquities, Adelung Collection F7 No.131). The original Russian publication of this dictionary (Sarychev 1811) is very inaccurate, as it contains numerous typos and wrong transcriptions from the original Latin notation to Cyrillic.

The name given to that vocabulary is very peculiar and vague: "*Aiwanskija, eines Tschuktschisches Stammes, an der Kueste, wo der Anadyr in das Meer faellt - aus Woerterbuecher, welche Herr Doktor Rohbek verfertigt hat. Herr Etatsrath von Rohbeck.*" It is known that Rohbeck did not participate in the land travel with Merck and Billings from St. Lawrence Bay to Nizhne-Kolymsk, but rather stayed with Sarychev and returned to St. Petersburg by sea on the expedition's ship, *Slava Rossii* (The Glory of Russia). Neither Rohbeck nor Sarychev had ever visited the mouth of the Anadyr River. Rohbeck's stay in Chukotka and his possible communication with local residents lasted for several days only. It took place on the northern shore of St. Lawrence Bay, where the expedition's party, including Billings, Rohbeck, and Merck, landed on August 4, 1791. The exact place of their landing

can be identified without much difficulty. "At the very entrance to St. Lawrence Bay, on our right side we saw several summer dwellings of the Sedentary Chukchis. They stood near the mouth of a small river called Uniagma" (Sarychev 1811:182 [translation mine, M.C.]). This name can be easily associated with the historical coastal village known later as Nuniamo (Nuniamo). During the 1800s, various sources referred to that village as "Nuniagma," which sounds very similar to Sarychev's "Uniagma." It was a maritime Chukchi community, probably from time immemorial.³

Entering the St. Lawrence Bay and "...passing about 4.5 miles into the bay we anchored at the right shore close to a flat point where 4 tents or summer yurtas [huts - M.C.] of the sedentary Chukchis stood. This settlements consists of 4 tents build of wooden rifts and whale bones closed from above by walrus skins" (Sarychev 1811:182). This second site was another coastal Chukchi settlement on the northern shore of St. Lawrence Bay, later known by its Russianized name *Pinakul*. These two Chukchi camps, Nuniamo and Pinakul, served as common landing places for almost all of the ships that visited St. Lawrence Bay, from Captain Cook's voyage of 1777 and until the 1920s. During the Soviet era, the administrative and cultural center of the area was moved further inland, to a former small camp named *Katrytkino* (in CSY *Keshi*, in Merck's notation - *Gartschocher* - Titova 1978:145), where the modern town of Lavrentiya, an administrative center of the Chukotskiy district, is now located.

The expedition stayed at St. Lawrence Bay for 10 days, and after that two leaders of the expedition, Billings and Sarychev, took different routes. On August 14, 1791 Sarychev, with the bulk of the expedition's party, including Rohbeck, left Chukotka on board the *Glory of Russia*, went to the Aleutians, and proceeded from there to St. Petersburg. As for Billings, Merck, and a few other expedition members, they went by a small boat to Mechigmen Bay on August 13, 1791. After a short stay in that area, they arranged for a group of reindeer Chukchi to take them by land to Nizhne-Kolymsk on the Kolyma River, which they eventually accomplished via an arduous sled-journey of several months (Sarychev 1811; Titova 1978:4).

On August 4, 1791, their very first day in Chukotka, Merck and Billings visited Nuniamo and spent a night there. They boarded the ship again the next day, August 5, and Merck made a note in his diary:

The Chukchis started to visit the ship. Some of them were sedentary, other possessed reindeers (Tschautschu), they were nomads who constantly change their camping places. This time they arranged their camps in two places on the southern shore of the bay. Interpreter Daurkin also arrived, accompanied by the Chukchis, who live further from here. On many skin-boats (baidaras) they came for trading to the first settlement [Pinakul - M.C.]. Here they stranded their boats and used them as shelters. Mr. Rohbek sat with them to make notes on everything he could learn by asking them. Later during our slow travel I had much free time to develop and check these notes (Siberia 1980:195).

The analysis of the expedition's itinerary helps identify the time and the circumstances under which Rohbeck could have compiled his Naukanski vocabulary. That might have happened in Pinakul only sometime between August 4-12, 1791. It turned out that among the traders "who arrived with Daurkin and who lived further from there" there was a boat-crew from Naukan. Rohbeck, obviously, took his vocabulary with him on the return trip to St. Petersburg, since his original handwritten word list was later put together with other of Sarychev's papers and published in his book as a separate attachment. As for Merck's notes, they were transferred after the end of the expedition to another Russian-German naturalist, Academician P.S. Pallas; thus, they did not become a part of Sarychev's collection, which was mentioned by the latter with regret (Sarychev 1952:233). That means that when Merck referred to his "development and checking" of Rohbeck's materials, he had in mind not Rohbeck's vocabulary proper but rather some ethnographic notes, which they quite probably had initially taken together. As for the strange title of Rohbeck's vocabulary and its reference to the mouth of the Anadyr River, the only explanation I have is that such a title has been added by some of the later editors of the manuscript in Pallas' team. The latter was obviously not a reliable expert in local geography and his misnomer was a cause of confusion for many a later scholar (see Fortescue 2004; Krauss 2005:167).

Another unsolved mystery is the sources of Merck's own information on the Uelenski language, bearing in mind that he himself never visited the village of Uelen. Of course, upon his landing in Pinakul, with Billings and Rohbeck, he might have met there, besides the Naukan boats, also some visitors from Uelen. But that is a guess only that may be but vaguely confirmed by Merck's allegation that at a later time

³In 1958, after the closure of Naukan, most of the Naukan Yup'ik Eskimo were resettled to Nuniamo, but not for a long time, since Nuniamo was itself abandoned in 1975 (Chichlo 1983).

on his sled journey he was "developing" what had been done by Rohbeck, rather than taking his own notes.

The chronicle of the expedition offers indications to some other prospective sources on Uelenski language that might have been available to Merck. As mentioned above, on August 13, 1791, two parties of the expedition, one headed by Billings accompanied by Merck, another headed by Sarychev, split and took different routes. Billings and Merck joined the reindeer camp of a rich Chukchi herder named Imlerat, who was invited by the expedition's Chukchi interpreter Nikolay Daurkin to meet the expedition in Lavrentiya Bay. There, Imlerat and Daurkin persuaded Billings to abandon his initial plan to take a sea route across the Bering Strait and along the arctic coast of Chukotka to the mouth of the Kolyma River, arguing that the route would be impassable because of heavy sea ice. Sarychev was very unhappy with Billings' decision and opposed it. In the anticipation of the original Billings' trip to the Kolyma by sea, the second interpreter of the expedition, Cossack officer Ivan Kobelev, was sent to the Uelen area to prepare local residents for the forthcoming arrival of the expedition. While in Uelen, Kobelev made a short trip to the Diomedes and King Islands in mid-August 1791 (Titova 1978). At that time, he did not know anything about the change of Billings' itinerary and was probably waiting for the arrival of the expedition's boat somewhere around Uelen. To inform him on the change of plans, Billings sent a boat under Sergeant Gilev, who spent two days (August 21–23) in Uelen looking for Kobelev. Not finding him there, Gilev continued his travel northwest by a local skin-boat. That means Gilev was probably in close contact with at least some Uelen people for at least a month. In his report, Gilev referred to a captured "American" (i.e., Alaskan Eskimo) woman, also to some Chukchi who brought them fish from the *Puuchta* River (Titova 1978:106; the place name is recorded in its CSY version, like in Merck's report). However, Gilev could not find Kobelev (and eventually returned to St. Lawrence Bay); whereas the latter learned from some Chukchi reindeer herders that Billings was indeed traveling by land. The herders brought Kobelev to Kolyuchin Bay where, on October 5th, he finally joined Billings and Merck's party. Upon his arrival, Kobelev was accompanied by "20 Chukchi from Kolyuchin Bay"; among them, there were probably some of his fellow travelers to Alaska across the Bering Strait, that is, people from Uelen (Titova 1978:146).

We know from Merck's and Billings' diaries that, after meeting Kobelev, they both parted with Imlerat's group and continued with Kobelev and his party for the rest of their journey to Kolyma. That means that for the following several months Merck was traveling together with Kobelev and his Native companions from Kolyuchin Bay and/or from the

northern shore of the Chukchi Peninsula adjacent to Uelen. Kobelev undoubtedly was Merck's and Billings' main, if not the only, interpreter during their long trip with a caravan of reindeer sleds (and sled-drivers) to Nizhne-Kolymsk. It is probably due to Kobelev's translation and explanations that Merck eventually added Russian suffixes to a number of Native place and language names. All that gives us some hints concerning the prospective sources of Merck's information on the Uelen language.

What Are the Words Marked by "U" in Merck's Manuscript

Vdovin (1954), who was the first to approach Merck's manuscript as a valuable reference to the former language areas in Chukotka in the 1700s, was also the first to claim that the words marked with a sign "u" in the manuscript relate to some Eskimo language spoken in the village of Uelen. After citing four words from Merck's text (one of them *uluun* 'spear,' evidently a Chukchi loan), he wrote: "Merck's data undoubtedly indicate the presence of Eskimo speakers in the village of Uelen now inhabited by the Chukchi" (Vdovin 1954:77). Having come to that reasonable conclusion, Vdovin nevertheless skipped the next question: What kind of Eskimo language was spoken in Uelen? As stated above, both Krauss and I analyzed the full text of Merck's manuscript during the 1970s and 1980s, and we both arrived at the same conclusion that that language was in fact a dialect of CSY. My position was presented in short and without any linguistic argumentation about twenty years ago (Chlenov 1988:67–68); Krauss' analysis was published recently (Krauss 2005).

Titova, the editor and translator of Merck's manuscript, made a footnote to Merck's reference in passim on "the Uelenski dialect (speech? Germ. *Mundart*) for which a vocabulary is compiled" stating that "...Merck refers here to the dictionary of 12 languages published in G.A. Sarychev's book of 1811 (Titova 1978:100), thus obviously referring to the Naukanski vocabulary by Rohbeck. But the words in Merck's manuscript are absolutely different from those listed by Rohbeck. That means that Titova's reference is incorrect and we still have to explain what is the meaning of the letter "u" put by Merck in his text after most of the words of the "Sedentary Chukchi" language, and also why he did it.

I fully agree with Vdovin and other later students who believe that this letter should be interpreted as an abbreviation for "Uelenski." In the beginning of his notes Merck gives the name of the Big Diomedes Island first in Chukchi as *Imaglin*, and then in Uelenski as *Imaeklin* (Titova 1978:100). The widespread local Eskimo name of this island is *Imaagliq*, with a back velar *-q-* evidently reflected in Merck's *Imaeklin*.

Even more, after writing this name, Merck put a letter *U*, and added "in the Uelenski dialect in which the vocabulary [was compiled]" (Titova 1978:100). That is a clear indication that "*U*" should be understood as "Uelenski" and not as something else. As for the vocabulary, mentioned above, it might refer to either a vocabulary that was compiled by Merck himself during his voyage and that was somehow lost afterwards, or simply to the limited number of words in his manuscript, which were marked by the letter "*u*." The very fact that the letter "*u*" stands after the very first Eskimo word where it was needed to differentiate the languages of reindeer and sedentary Chukchis is just another proof that it should be understood as "Uelenski."

In her publication of Merck's manuscript, Titova (1978:151–154) attached two word-lists, one named "Chukchi words found in Merck's manuscript about the Chukchi," and the other titled "Words from the Eskimo language found in Merck's manuscript about the Chukchi (marked with a letter "*u*")" (Titova 1978:153).⁴ Titova compiled both of those lists herself from the manuscript, obviously to help the future students of Merck's materials. For that, she is to be praised by every Eskimo linguist to use her publication. However, not all of the 74 words she put into her "Eskimo list" are actually marked with the "*u*" sign in the manuscript. For an unknown reason, she omitted in her translation a part of the manuscript on leaf 32 recto and verso; the text remained unpublished, but the following words were nevertheless included into the Eskimo word-list: *gamyjik* 'sledge,' *gatypagyt*⁵ 'eider-duck,' *kokawa* 'covered sledge,' *khoren* 'reindeer,' *kuingit* 'reindeer,' *nachschak* 'seal,' *nachtschalueta* 'wooden box for fire-stone,' *nelvyl* 'reindeer herd,' *nilkhat* 'cormorant,' *pariak* 'beluga,' *sikit* 'ground-squirrel,' *tshukak* 'baleen,' *tungtu* 'caribou,' *uliabak* 'polar fox,' *waliamnak* 'grindstone.'

Some of these words, namely *khoren*, *kokawa*, and *nelvyl* are obviously of Chukchi origin. All three relate to the nomadic way of life and were probably used by the Eskimos as loan-words. The remaining words are undoubtedly of Eskimo origin; so we analyze them here as part of the Uelenski language corpus. Another portion of Titova's Eskimo word-list consists of some words that were not marked by "*u*" in the manuscript but were indicated as words used by the "sedentary Chukchi" without specific relation to Uelenski.

The first "unmarked" word is *kachlibagyt*, 'clothes.' Merck writes: "Their clothes are called Kerker, and the sedentary – Kachlybagyt" (Titova 1978:124). This is

without doubt an Eskimo word, which sounds very similar both in CSY and in NY:⁵ CSY *qallevaget* 'female fur coat, kerker (pl.);' *qallevagek* 'female fur coat (sing.);' NY *qallivik* 'female fur coat,' *qallivaget* 'female clothes.'

The second unmarked word is *machak*, 'broad outer fur clothes (parka).' Merck writes: "the Russians call it Kuklaencke, the reindeer-Chukchi Utitschgin, the sedentary – Mackak (Titova 1978:111). There is a clear correspondence with CSY *maqak* 'a double outer parka done of thin reindeer skins dressed over a usual parka.' I have not found an exact NY equivalent, although the root is present in NY in *maqaghqe* 'muffle up.'

The third word of the "unmarked origin" is *ulit* or 'warm fur curtain.' In Merck's manuscript the meaning is literally 'Iniri, and the sedentary call it Ulit,' again without the letter '*u*' (Titova 1978:105). It is not quite clear what Merck meant here. The inner sleeping chamber in the coastal Eskimo dwelling is called *aagra* in both CSY and NY. In CSY *uliik* means 'fur blanket (dual);' *uliget* 'fur blankets (pl.);' in NY *ulik* 'fur coverlet (dual);' *ulikutaq* 'fur blanket.' Interestingly enough the plural in Uelenski, *ulit* is formed not according to the CSY model, i.e., not from the stem type 4 (cf. *aghneq* (sing.) – *aghneghet* (pl.), *uliik* (dual) – *uliget* (pl.)), as is the case in modern CSY, but from stem type 3 (cf. *aghnaq* (sing.) – *aghnat* (pl.), **uliik* (dual) – *uliit* (pl.)). It is not the only example of this type of derivation in Uelenski that differs from modern CSY. It seems that this type of plural formation is more characteristic of NY, than of CSY.

The fourth word is *kjaigit* translated as 'winter dwelling.' Merck: "The sedentary Chukchi call their winter dwellings Kjaigit, the reindeer Chukchi – Gleirat" (Titova 1978:106; again without a "*u*" mark). This word has a clear analog in NY *qaygi* 'small underground dwelling, cave.' The CSY uses the word *nenglu* for old underground houses. No doubt both NY *qaygi* and sedentary Chukchi *kjaigit* are etymologically related to the widespread Eskimo root **qadgi* that normally designates a communal winter (men's) house in various Eskimo languages. As far as I know this root does not exist (is not recorded?) in CSY and Sireniski NY does have it. Interestingly enough, the Chukchi word *qlegran*, which is the correspondence to Merck's *gleirat*, also means 'big subterranean house.' This is a cultural term easily loaned. If this word in Merck's manuscript were accompanied by a "*u*" mark I could have speculated that this Uelenski word was either a loan from NY or from Inupiaq, or, more probably, that the Uelenski retained it as a reflex of a widespread root

⁴Here and below all the Yup'ik Eskimo words are given in their standard CSY orthography.

⁵Here and below Merck's words marked with 'U' and otherwise indicated as used by the sedentary Chukchi are compared with words from modern CSY and Naukanski. The abbreviations used below: U – Uelenski; CSY – Central-Siberian Yup'ik, or Chaplinski; NY – Naukanski.

lost in other Siberian/Asiatic Eskimo languages. Since we lack a non-controversial reference that this word belonged to the Uelenski language, it cannot be used, together with three other clearly Eskimo words, to analyze its position among other Eskimo languages in Asia.

More controversial is the affiliation of a few other words that also lack the "U" mark in the published text but were nevertheless included by Titova into her "Uelenski" word-list.

The first word is the term used for the Russians, *Lelueromky*. Merck writes: "The reindeer Chukchi call the Russians *Milgitanggitan* and by the way also *Leluramkitt*...that means 'bearded people'...the sedentary call the Russians *Lelueromky*" (again without a "U"—Titova 1978:100). No doubt this word is of Chukchi origin and Merck's translation is absolutely correct; it means 'bearded or mustachioed people.' Significantly, this Chukchi word is used as a denomination for Russians in CSY only (*laluramka*, *laluramke* 'a Russian (sing.)', *laluramket* 'Russians (pl.)'. The NY form is *anguyak* ('enemy, stranger, also a Russian'). NY *anguyak* initially meant 'enemy, stranger,' and its use for 'Russian' is a calque from Chukchi *tanngetan* ('enemy, stranger, a Russian').

The second word is the self-denomination of the sedentary Chukchis, *Nimillaen*. Merck writes: "The sedentary Chukchis call themselves *Nimillaen* (those who live on one place, sedentary)— again without a "U" mark (Titova 1978:98)." There is no such word in any of the present-day Eskimo languages in Asia. As far as I know the Chukchi also do not have such a word and do not use it for either Eskimo or maritime Chukchi people. One can, nevertheless, find it in various forms in some Russian travel accounts from Chukotka of the early 1800s (i.e., Lutke's *Namollo*). Etymologically it seems to be related to Chukchi *nem* 'dwelling.' It closely resembles the self-denomination of the sedentary Koryak known in its Russianized form as *Nymylan*, from which it may be taken by some Kamchatka interpreters accompanying early Russian expeditions. Other indications that this name was once used in Chukotka are modern Siberian Eskimo personal names, such as Numelin (CSY) and Nomelian (NY).

Two more words found their place in Titova's "Uelenski" vocabulary presumably by mistake. The first word is *okamak*, or 'small figurines of gods' (Merck writes: "the Chukchis have small figurines of gods — Gamangau or Okamak, they carry them attached to the belt" — Titova

1978:101). There is neither a "U" sign nor other indication that the second word relates to the language of "sedentary Chukchis." Perhaps the two words are simply synonyms. No comparable word is to be found in the nearest Siberian Eskimo languages: in CSY *ukamaq* means 'hauling a boat along the shore,' in NY *ukamagbhte* means 'the one who hauls a boat.' The second problematic word is *poka-jomrot* or 'moose-willow.' The exact quotation from Merck reads as follows: "The reindeer Chukchis name the willow Jomrot or Jomrat; the sedentary — Okjuet,u; another type of willow they name Pokata or Poka-Jomrot because it looks fluffy" (Titova 1978:127). Clearly enough, that second term is a version of some Chukchi word, not an Eskimo one, since I could not find any Eskimo word with a similar meaning.

Position of Uelenski Language: Lexical Analysis of Merck's Word List

Thus the corpus of the specifically Uelenski words consists of 63 and not of 74 words, as listed by Titova.⁶ Below I provide a lexical analysis of Merck's Uelenski word list, by comparing it to similar forms known in CSY and NY that have common or close meaning. Comparison with the Central Alaskan Yup'ik, Alaskan Iñupiaq, or Sireniki language might be illuminating as well; but my knowledge of those languages is too limited for such a study.

Twelve Uelenski words in Merck's list are the names of the months (Titova 1978:136); some of these could hardly be associated with any familiar month names known in the present-day Yup'ik languages across the area. It should be noted that the names for the months are highly variable in Eskimo languages, as they are often derived from independently different roots; also, there may be many different month names even within one language area. For example, numerous and quite distinctive names for the same months in CSY have been recorded by many scholars, including myself, in different CSY-speaking communities, even from different informants (see month names or name lists in Krupnik 2001; Rubtsova 1971; Shinen 1976; Sivuqam 1985; Vakhtin and Emel'ianova 1988).

For this and other reasons, identification of Merck's Uelenski names for months is quite insightful but also very complicated. My colleagues, Michael Krauss and Steven Jacobson, at the ANLC, have done some preliminary comparison of Merck's list of month names with those from other Yup'ik languages. The results of their study of almost twenty years ago have never been published; I cite it here with their kind permission, using the manuscript version of their original text of 1987 (Krauss and Chlenov 1987).

⁶I have not specifically analyzed the Chukchi portion of Merck's vocabulary; but a cursory inspection gives an impression that some Eskimo words might have been added to it by mistake. See, for instance, Chukchi *aengaengeli* 'shaman,' which reminds its CSY counterpart *alignalghi* 'shaman' (Titova 1978:103).

Edscheachtschu 'January.' Krauss and Jacobson view it as a distorted CSY word *nazighaghhsiq* or NY *nayyughaghhsiq* 'moon of newly born ringed seal cubs.' It roughly corresponds to January-February; the word derives from *nazighaq* 'ringed seal cub.' Merck's transcription is too distorted to be identified with either CSY or NY. But here, as in most other Uelenski glosses, as well as in other Eskimo words transcribed in the 18th to the early 19th centuries, the old *Ç is retained and not being replaced by S, as in all modern Yup'ik languages on the Asiatic mainland.

Tailuechtschuch 'February.' Krauss and Jacobson associate it with CSY *teghiugluggsiq*, or *teghiugluggsaghviq* 'moon (month) of newly born bearded seal cubs'; roughly corresponds to March. The name is derived from CSY *teghigluk* 'newborn bearded seal cub.' This identification looks phonetically much more plausible than the previous one. In NY the equivalent form for this month is *imlavik*, derived from *imlaa* 'white skin of seal cub.'

Tlioghwit 'March.' This name can be easily identified with CSY *lluughvik* 'moon of the bird-sling.' The name is derived from CSY *lluk* 'sling'; it roughly corresponds to April. The NY correspondence to this month is *kepneghheghhsiq* 'moon the ice breaks'; another interpretation is the 'end of winter,' from CSY *kepneq* 'portion' (Krupnik 2001:394).

Nedshechtsch 'April.' The normative CSY form for this month in Chukotka Yup'ik is *ellngaghvik* - 'moon when the water stands out from below the ice.' It is derived from CSY *ellngaghaquq* 'to flow and from' **llnga-* 'flow, leak.' St. Lawrence Island residents interpret it as 'moon of the draining tundra' and identify it not with April-May, as do Siberian Yup'ik, but with July (Sivugam 1985:126). The NY analogue for this month cannot be found; therefore, this word in Merck's list remains unidentified. Krauss and Jacobson relate it to the first month of the year (in Merck's notation *edscheachtschu*); but that hardly clarifies what was actually meant by Merck or his informants. One should also bear in mind that Merck coped with the complicated Yup'ik phonetics with great difficulty, using Chukchi informants and Chukchi translations.

Kiutagbnaet 'May.' The first analog that comes to mind is the NY *kuiget aaniit*, 'mother of rivers.' However, in CSY this part of the year is *kiigem aghnaa* 'summer woman.' The plural form *-aghnaet* 'women' with its distinctive voiced uvular *-gh-* (in the modern CSY transliteration, this sound is written exactly like Merck did it in 1791) points to such an identification with CSY plural *aghnaat* and correspondingly *kiiget*.

Angutoghwit 'June.' An analogue to this word exists in CSY dialect of St. Lawrence Island only. Krauss and Jacobson note that the name "*angotoghwik*" appears in a St. Lawrence annual calendar first compiled by Shinen (1976). The islanders themselves use the word *angutughwik*, 'moon of plant gathering' as an alternative name to *ellngaghvik* and identify it with July (Sivugam 1985:126). In N this part of the year is called *kigyughvik* 'moon of sorrel gathering.'

Pelerwit 'July.' Can be easily compared to CSY *paliughvik* 'moon of withering plants,' or 'moon to gather berries,' it is derived from *paliq* 'wither'; roughly corresponds to July and August. In NY this part of the year is, again, designated by a different word *siklaghwik* 'moon to gather roots,' or by *ququnivik* 'moon to gather young willow sprouts' which corresponds more or less to the same season.

Kmulaewick 'August.' An analogue to this name, as first identified by Krauss and Jacobson, exists in St. Lawrence version of CSY only. Shinen (1976) spells it as "*komlavik*," the islanders use the form *kumlavik*, with the meaning 'moon of freeze-up.' It is derived from CSY and NY *kumla-* 'light frost'; on today's St. Lawrence Island it coincides with September, not with August (Sivugam 1985:126-27).

Naiwagwit 'September.' Like the previous name, it exists only in St. Lawrence Island version of CSY. Shinen (1976) gives the spelling "*naayvughvik*," the islanders use the form *naayvaghvik* 'moon of the freezing lakes.' On St. Lawrence Island, it corresponds to October (Sivugam 1985:126-27). Derived from CSY *naayvaq* 'lake,' and *naayvagh-* 'freeze (of lakes).'

Akumuk 'October.' Can be soundly identified with CSY *aqumuk* 'moon of the sun standing still,' derived from CSY and NY **aqum-* 'to sit,' locally interpreted as the moon (month) when people sit inside their dwellings. Roughly corresponds to November. In NY this month is designated by a word *aqumtuq* derived from the same Yup'ik stem.

Kangaingytschik 'November.' Krauss and Jacobson compare it to CSY *kaneghyngesiq* 'moon of the frozen dew,' derived from CSY and NY **kaniq* 'hoar frost.' Roughly corresponds to December. In NY this month is called *kanuyasiq* derived from the same Yup'ik stem.

Galluebick 'December.' Can be compared to CSY *qaluvik* 'moon of netting tomcod'; roughly corresponds to the period from November to January. Derived from CSY and NY **qalu-* 'netting fish.' In NY this month is called *perughniighvik* 'moon of first snow hunting.'

Notwithstanding the inconsistency of some identifications, Krauss and Jacobson's analysis of the Uelenski names for months clearly illustrates that Merck's list consists of primarily CSY terms and not of the Naukanski, or any other known (or unknown) Yup'ik or other language. Moreover, it brings us to a conclusion that within CSY dialectal realm, the Uelenski language was closer to the St. Lawrence CSY version than to any other variety of that language (see references to that also in Krauss 2004:170).

This overall conclusion that Merck's Uelenski language was very close if not almost identical to CSY can be corroborated by several other words from Merck's list. Among the remaining 54 words, eleven match very closely to both their CSY and NY analogs:

Aiwok – walrus. Both CSY and NY have *ayveq* 'walrus.'

Algakpach – placenta. Both CSY and NY have *alghaghbpak* 'placenta.'

Awtuk – menses. CSY *aawk* 'blood'; *aawggtuq* 'menses (past tense)'; NY *awk* 'blood.'

Kamgyt – 'woman's boots.' CSY *kaamget* 'boots (pl.)' *kamgek* 'boots, fur-boots (dual)'; cf. NY *kamgek* (dual), *kamget* (pl.) 'fur-boots.'

Kuingit – reindeer. Both CSY and NY have *quynqiq* 'reindeer'; CSY *quynqiit* (pl.).

Mytschegan – blubber. Both CSY and NY have *mesiig* 'melted blubber.'

Nachschak – ringed seal. Both CSY and NY have *neghsaq* 'ringed seal.'

Naenuk – 'polar bear.' CSY *nanuq*; NY *nanuq*.

Natschahat – hood. Equivalent form in CSY is *nasaghak* 'a hood not sewn to the parka (dual)'; or *nasaghat* the same in plural, or just *nasag* 'hood.' NY has both words *nasaghaq* and *nabsaq* for 'hood.'

Sikuk – needle. Both CSY and NY have *sikuq* 'needle.'

Tschukak – baleen. Both CSY and NY have *suuqaq* 'baleen.'

In ten other words on Merck's list, both CSY and NY analogs to Uelenski forms are derived from the same roots; but morphologically and phonetically the Uelenski forms are closer to the CSY than to the NY versions:

Aningwab – abscess. CSY *aningwaaq* 'abscess, boil, furuncle'; NY *aningoq* 'abscess.'

Atkughat – fur coat. CSY *atkuk* 'fur coat, parka (dual)'; *atkuget* 'fur coats sewn from reindeer skin dressed over one's head (pl.)'; NY *atekuk* 'fur coat, parka (dual).'

Gamyjik – sledge. CSY *qamiyek* 'sledge'; NY *qamawuk* 'sledge.'

Kannach – oil-lamp. CSY *keneq* 'fire,' *keneqetaaghek* 'lamp, oil-lamp'; NY *ekneq* 'fire,' *eknitaq* 'lamp, oil-lamp.'

Kochligit – trousers. CSY *qulliget* 'trousers,' *qulligek* 'breeches, trousers (dual)'; NY *qulliik* 'trousers, breeches.'

Nikschik – ivory fishhook. CSY *nakshek* 'fishhook'; NY *neggsiq* 'stick for hauling in the catch from the water, fishhook.'

Packak – moss. CSY *peqaq* 'marsh moss used as wick in oil-lamps'; NY *epeqaq* 'moss.'

Tainagli – graphite.⁷ CSY *tagnegbli* 'black inking stone for dyeing thread,' *tagnelghi* 'black graphite, black inking stone.' The respective NY forms are *tangeq* 'black,' *talngaghrik* 'inking graphite stone,' and *tangelghi* 'blackened.'

Tughnagaityk. Merck translated it as 'welcome of strangers,' but the context under which this word was used in his text leaves no doubt that the true meaning of this word was not so much "welcome" as rather a particular ritual aimed at conjuring harmful spirits (Titova 1978:132). That is why the CSY form *tughneghituq*, 'there are no *tughneghat*, i.e. harmful spirits,' could be used as the closest analog. Cf. CSY *tughneghaq* 'evil spirit, guardian spirit,' in NY *tunghaq* 'evil spirit, devil.'

Tungtu – caribou.⁸ CSY *tungtu*, NY *tuntu* 'caribou.'

⁷Worth mentioning is that the consonant sequence *-gl-* and *-ghl-* appears in CSY and Uelenski but not in NY.

⁸The nasalized *-ng-* in this word is characteristic for CSY and Uelenski, not for NY.

Seventeen more Uelenski words in Merck's list have semantic and phonetic analogues in CSY only, since the corresponding meanings in NY are produced from etymologically different roots: *achwaitutue* -- holiday running⁹ (cf. CSY *afqaataquq* 'to run (after someone), to call, invite (someone)'; NY *agbhpalleg*, *agbhpalleghet* 'running (after someone)'; *agheiluk* -- mitten (CSY *aghilluk*; NY *ayggaq* 'mitten, hand,' *ayepghhaataq* 'mitten'); *akubetschabt* -- short boots made from seal's skin sewn with fur inside¹⁰ (cf. CSY *akughvigasaget* 'beautifully ornamented boots sewn from fur from reindeer's legs to knee length,' *akughvigaget* 'summer boots to knee length sewn from scraped hairless skin'; NY *ivghusiik* 'medium sized boots made of scraped hairless seal's skin,' *ivghusiagbruk* 'short boots made of scraped hairless seal's skin'; *akubhjachpuet* - boots made of seal skin to hip length (CSY *akughvighaput* 'long fur boots' (pl.) *akughvighaghpaget* 'fur boots to knee length made of scrapped hairless seal skin'; cf. NY *ivghusiq* 'long fur boots'); *amagaghun* -- oar (CSY *angwaaghun*; NY *anguaghun*, *ipute*); *gatypagyt* - eider duck (CSY *qatepak* (sing.), *qatepaget* (pl.); NY *amaghullek*, *tegmiapik*, *qengallek* 'eider-duck drake'; *kallick* -- woman's raincoat (CSY *qalik* 'raincoat done of manufactured walrus or bearded seal intestines'; NY *sillaghaq* 'woman's raincoat'); *kupagyt* - earrings (CSY *qupagek* (dual); *qupaget* (pl.) 'earrings or beads plait into one's hair (pl.)'; *nachtschalueta* -- wooden box for fire-stone (cf. CSY *naaghsalgutaq* 'box of matches'; NY *eknitet* 'box of matches'); *nelvyl* reindeer herd¹¹ (CSY *ngilvil* 'reindeer herd'; cf. NY *peyugtemke* 'herd (of any animals)'; *quyngit* 'reindeer herd'); *nigachpach* - net made of sinew or leather threads (CSY *negaghhpak* 'fishing net'); *nilkhat* -- cormorant (CSY *ngeelqag* (sing.); *ngeelqat* (pl.); cf. NY *gurgiq*); *pariak* - beluga, white whale (CSY *puugzaq*; NY *sitoq*); *sikit*¹² -- polar ground squirrel (CSY *sikik* (sing.), *sikiget* (pl.); NY *qiitaq*; *talueuchtichyi* - chin tattoo (CSY *tamlugun* 'chin tattoo' from *tamlu* 'chin'); *uwaela* -- holidays (CSY *vuvalla* 'holiday'; cf. NY *krisma* 'holiday' (most certainly, from

English "Christmas");¹³ *waliamnak* -- whetstone (cf. CSY *walamnaak*¹⁴ 'file'; NY *penagun* 'file').

Thus 45 Uelen words out of 66 can be associated with the modern CSY words. Only four other words on Merck's list (not counting the word *kjaigit* analyzed above) can be matched to their quite distinctive Naukanski analogs: *echtykyngak* - cremation¹⁵ (CSY *egteghuq*, *egtekaghuq* 'the one who lost or threw out his children'; NY *egtekegengaq* 'cremation, literally -- to throw out'; *kolumtschit* - kettle (CSY *qulmesiin* 'pot (sing.)', *qulmesiit* 'pot (pl.)'; NY *qulumsin* 'pot' *qulumsi* 'kettle'); *okjuet* - 'willow foddered by reindeer' (CSY (?) -- cf. NY *equt* 'willow foddered by reindeer'¹⁶); *uliahak* - Arctic fox (CSY *qatelghi*¹⁷ cf. NY *ulagaq*).

This extremely limited number of words in Merck's list that are closer to NY than to CSY certainly cannot be taken as a proof of specific relation between U and NY. These are either clear Chukchi loanwords or items related to the lifeways of reindeer breeders, or are products (reflexes) of the general Yup'ik stems widely distributed in the area and not specific to NY.

Finally there are several words in Merck's "Uelenski list" for which I was unable to come to any conclusion regarding their origins. Some do not resemble Eskimo words, either Yup'ik or Iñupiaq; others probably belong to the Chukchi language. A few seem to be clear typos, like *runmuckel*, woman's pronunciation *zunmuckel* 'arm tattooing' (origins unknown?), or *wutschelkalin* 'polar ground squirrel 5.5 inch long,' which seems to be a Chukchi word.

A few of Merck's glosses clearly resemble Eskimo (Yup'ik) words; but their identification with potential analogues in modern CSY or NY is not as firm as for the words listed above. Even in those cases, however, most such words resemble CSY more than NY.

⁹By 'holiday running' Merck possibly meant the invitation to participate in a holiday delivered by special running heralds. This might be indicated by the semantics of CSY *afqaataquq* 'to run after someone, to invite guests.'

¹⁰The final *-ht* in Merck's gloss can be interpreted as designating the plural suffix *-get*. The combination *-tsch* reflects the old **č* now replaced in all Asiatic Eskimo languages by *s*.

¹¹This word is also not significant, not only because CSY *ngilvil* is a loanword from Chukchi *nelvel* with the same meaning. Generally speaking reindeer breeding is alien to the Eskimos; so the Eskimo languages do not possess developed terminology for this type of economy. Cf. NY where the word for 'reindeer herd' is simply *quyngit*, which means 'many reindeer.'

¹²The word given by Merck *sikit* (pl.) is certainly identical to CSY *sikik* (sing.) but interestingly enough the plural formation is different from the standard CSY *sikiget*. This type of inflection more resembles NY. But the root is undoubtedly the same as in CSY, not NY.

¹³Strictly speaking this word is meaningless for comparison: the CSY *vuvalla* is a Chukchi loanword, in NY it is replaced by an English loanword *krisma*, which did not exist in the late 1700s.

¹⁴This is a Chukchi loanword.

¹⁵Cremation is practiced in Chukotka by the Reindeer Chukchi only. The Eskimo and the Coastal Chukchi usually bury the corpses or leave them in coffins on the ground. That is why we find a strange semantics here, because a person who was burned after his death cannot "reincarnate" in his descendants. The semantics of this word, again, does not come from the realities of the Eskimo way of life and the word itself is hardly suitable for any comparison between U and NY.

¹⁶I could not find any lexical equivalent for this item in CSY. It seems that the NY word is also a Chukchi loanword thus not belonging to the genuine Naukanski "Sprachgut."

¹⁷The CSY *qatelghi* looks like a lexical tabooing and is derived etymologically from CSY *qatelghi* 'white.' As for the U *uliahak* most probably it is not a Naukanski word, but rather a retention in U of a widely distributed Eskimo root for Arctic fox.

Atkabutschikschi 'girls tattooing: two lines along the nose and along the forehead.' Resembles somehow CSY *atngngaghusiq* (or *atngaghuta*) 'tattooing of two lines along the nose,' NY *atggaghute* 'tattooing.'

Juguljachtschi 'tattooing in a form of a lying little person.' That should be a derivation from CSY, NY *yunk* 'man,' cf. for instance CSY **yugulagbhsiq*.

Knugut 'annual remembrance of dead ancestors'; traditional ritual commemoration of the dead is called in CSY *aghqesaq*, but cf. CSY *qungugbaq*, *qungugbat* 'cemetery,' NY *qunguq* 'dead person.'

Publiangok 'dead person.' It can be compared to NY *puwlangghalghii* 'swollen, inflated by gas or compressed air.' Cf. also CSY *paangh*, *paneghaataquq* 'to starve,' *puuvileq* 'tumor, swell,' *puuvlegh* 'to swell, swell up.'

Tawatauato 'a cry during sacrifices'; cf. NY *tawatawatan* 'enough,' CSY *tawatawatitut* 'that's how they are!' *tawatetaquq* 'so it is.' The semantics of interjection are normally very vague so it remains unclear what should be the right comparison to the form as written down by Merck. Possibly it is a Russian loanword from *davay-davay* 'do it!'

Tunchlutuk 'let us wrestle.' Slightly resembles the imperative mood from CSY verb *tughumghaqa* 'to wrestle' - *tughumghalluta*, NY *akulluta* 'let us wrestle.'

Ukchutschichtschi 'tattooing on cheeks.' May be a derivation from CSY *ullunak* 'cheeks.'

Conclusions

The majority of the Uelenski language glosses recorded by Merck in 1791 can be clearly matched with their modern CSY analogs or differ from them but slightly. Few if any words in Merck's list can be treated as lexically specific or characteristic to Naukanski Yup'ik, to say nothing about other Iñupiaq or Yup'ik languages adjacent to the Bering Strait area. Therefore, there is hardly any doubt that the so-called "Uelenski" language as documented by Merck in the late 1700s was nothing else but one of the dialects of Central Siberian Yup'ik (CSY), or Chaplinski Asiatic Eskimo language, according to the Russian terminology.

The specific dialectal position of Uelenski within CSY is, however, not at all clear. The Uelenski CSY language probably had a slightly unusual form of plural formation for a number of nouns, when formed from different stem-type, than in modern CSY. It also had a significant number of Chukchi loanwords indicating extensive Chukchi influence on its speakers. If the "Uelenski" language is to be indeed associated with the residents of the village of Uelen and of some other communities along the Arctic coast of Chukotka, northwest of Cape Dezhnev, one may assume that by the time of Merck's visit to the Bering Strait (1791), that area was probably already populated by the mix of the Yup'ik and Chukchi speakers. Vdovin (1965), Leont'iev (1976) and I in 1985 have independently reported the names of two historical segments of the Uelen community: the *Tapkarallit* and the *Enmerallit*. Quite probably, those names might have reflected the former Yup'ik and Chukchi sections of the village, respectively, where the *Tapkarallit* (from CSY and NY *tapghaq* 'sand spit') could have been a traditional name of the Yup'ik-speaking people who lived on the long Uelen sand bar.

On the other hand, there are certain words that are characteristic to both the Uelenski and the CSY dialect of St. Lawrence Island. Additional arguments for this unexpected closeness reported by Krauss (2005:170) are extremely intriguing. If proven, they can shed some new light to the many unresolved mysteries of ethnic history of the Bering Strait region during the last three centuries.

At the same time, the Uelenski language clearly differed from other CSY dialects distributed to the west of Chaplinski CSY, along the northern shore of the Gulf of Anadyr. I can see an additional proof to this in the fact that Merck's informants in 1791 clearly singled out Uelenski as a separate language, not just a version of what Merck called the "second language of the Sedentary Chukchi," i.e., Chaplinski or CSY. The southern boundary of the Uelenski language was also clearly marked in his report and was positioned at or very close to the village of Uelen, that is hardly a few dozen miles from the Pouten Bay that Merck marked as the northernmost extension of CSY. There could have been some local realities that forced Merck's informants to make such clear definitions for distinct language areas, although, the latter were, probably, defined more by cultural, or societal (tribal) boundaries than by the distribution of the languages themselves.

Another conclusion one comes to from the data presented above is that the former Yup'ik language(s) that once existed more than 200 years ago along the eastern shore of the Chukchi Peninsula, particularly around St. Lawrence and Mechigmen Bays, was in no way an element

of a dialectal continuum from Naukanski to CSY. Although this area was geographically a bridge between the Naukanski and the Ungaziq (Chaplinski) Yup'ik, the language spoken here was most probably another dialect of the same CSY and one rather close to Uelenski. This is just another argument in favor of the hypothesis first postulated by Krauss (1984; see also Fortescue 2004:168) and later explored by me elsewhere (Chlenov 1988) that the Naukanski Yup'ik represented the most westerly and the latest extension of the dialect continuum belonging to the Central Alaskan Yup'ik. Its distribution on the Asiatic shore was always limited to a narrow rocky ledge of Cape Dezhnev. Ecologically and geographically that latter area was like the "third" of the Diomede Island being removed from its position in the middle of Bering Strait and accidentally attached to the Asian shore.

Acknowledgements

The data for the analysis of Merck's "Uelenski" language materials were collected in Chukotka in the 1980s, during my fieldwork among the Chaplinski- and Naukanski-speaking Siberian Yup'ik Eskimo. My special thanks go to Lyudmila Aynganga (from Provideniya) and Margarita Glukhikh (from Lavrentiya) for their assistance. Special thanks to Krauss and Jacobson for sharing their unpublished materials, and to Igor Krupnik, Michael Krauss and Steve Jacobson for editing and formatting the paper for this issue.

References

- Arutyunov, Sergei A., Igor I. Krupnik, and Mikhail A. Chlenov
 1982 *Kitovaia alleia. Drevnosti ostrovov proliva Seniavina* [The "Whalebone Alley." Antiquities of the Senyavin Strait Islands]. Nauka Publishers, Moscow.
- Bogoras, Waldemar
 1904 The Chukchee: Material Culture, Religion, Social Organization. *Memoirs of the American Museum of*
 -1909 *Natural History* XI, pt. I-III. Leiden and New York. [Reprinted by the AMS Press, New York, 1975].
- Bronshtein, Iu., and Nikolai B. Shankenburg
 1941 Zapiski doktora K. Merka – uchastnika ekspeditsii Billingsa–Sarycheva v 1785–1792 gg. [Notes of Dr. K. Merk, member of the Billings and Sarycheff's Expedition, 1785–1792]. *Sovetskaia Arktika* 4:76-88. Leningrad.
- Chlenov, Mikhail A.
 1988 Ekologicheskie factory etnicheskoi istorii raiona Beringova proliva [Ecological Factors in Ethnic History of the Bering Strait Region]. In *Ekologiya amerikanskikh indeitsev i eskimosov*, edited by V.A. Tishkov, pp. 64–75. Nauka Publishers, Moscow.
- Chlenov, Mikhail A., and Igor I. Krupnik
 1983 Dinamika areala aziatskikh eskimosov v XVIII–XIX vv. [Dynamics of the Asiatic Eskimo Area, 18th and 19th Centuries]. In *Iazyk i etnos*, edited by N.I. Tolstoy, pp. 129–139. Nauka Publishers, Leningrad.
- Dolgikh, Boris O.
 1960 Rodovoi i plemennoi sostav narodov Sibiri v XVII v. [Clan and Tribal Composition of the Peoples of Siberia in the 17th Century]. *Trudy Instituta etnografii AN SSSR* 55. Moscow and Leningrad.
- Efimov, Aleksei V.
 1950 *Iz istorii velikikh russkikh geograficheskikh otkrytii v Severnom Ledovitom i Tikhom okeanakh, XVII–pervaia polovina XVIII v.* [To the History of the Great Russian Geographic Discoveries in the Arctic and the Pacific Oceans, 17th and the first half of the 18th Centuries]. Geografiz Publishers, Moscow.
- Efimov, Aleksei V., ed.
 1964 *Atlas geograficheskikh otkrytii v Sibiri i Severo-Zapadnoi Amerike XVII–XVIII vv.* [Atlas of the Geographic Discoveries in Siberia and Northwest North America, 17th and 18th Centuries], compiled by A.E. Efimov, M.I. Belov, and O.M. Medushevskaya, Nauka Publishers, Moscow.
- Fedorova, Svetlana G.
 1971 Issledovatel' Chukotki i Aliaski kazachii sotnik Ivan Kobelev [Ivan Kobelev, Cossack Officer and an Explorer of Chukotka and Alaska]. *Letopis' Severa* 5:156-172. Moscow.
- Fortescue, Michael
 2004 How Far West into Asia have Eskimo Languages Been Spoken, and Which Ones? *Études/Inuit/Studies* 28(2):159–183.
- Golovko, Evgenii, Elisaveta A. Dobricva, Steven A. Jacobson, and Michael E. Krauss, compilers.
 2004 *Slovar' yazyka nauchanskikh eskimosov*. Alaska Native Language Center, Fairbanks.
- Gondatti, Nikolai L.
 1897 Sostav naseleniia Anadyrskoi okrugi [Population Composition of the Anadyr District]. *Zapiski Priamurskogo otdela RGO* 3(1):166-178. Khabarovsk.

Jacobi A.

- 1938 Heinrich Mercks ethnographische Beobachtungen ueber die Voelker des Beringsmeers 1789–1791. *Baessler Archiv*, Bd.15, S.113-137.

Krauss, Michael E.

- 1985 Sireniksi and Naukanski. In *Yup'ik Eskimo Prosodic Systems: Descriptive and Comparative Studies*, edited by M.E. Krauss, pp. 174–190. *ANLC Research Papers* 7. Alaska Native Language Center, Fairbanks.
- 2005 Eskimo Languages in Asia, 1791 on, and the Wrangel Island–Point Hope Connection. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 29(1–2):163–185.

Krauss, Michael, and Mikhail A. Chlenov

- 1987 Correspondence concerning the Origins of the Uelenski language. Unpublished manuscript in author's possession.

Krupnik, Igor I.

- 1994 "Siberians" in Alaska: Siberian Eskimo Contributions to Alaskan Population Recoveries, 1880–1940. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 18(1-2):49–80.
- 2001 *Pust' govoriat nashi stariki. Rasskazy aziatskikh eskimosov-Yup'ik. Zapisi 1975-1987 gg.* [Let Our Elders Speak. Stories of the Yup'ik/Asiatic Eskimo, 1975-1987]. Russian Institute for Cultural and Natural Heritage, Moscow.

Leont'iev, Vladilen V.

- 1969 K voprosu o toponimakh Pevek i Paek [On the Issue of the Place-Names Pevek and Paek]. *Izvestiia Sibirskogo otdeleniia Akademii Nauk SSSR (obshchestvennye nauki)* 1(1): 102–107. Novosibirsk.
- 1976 Etnicheskaia istoriia poselka Uelen [Ethnic History of the Town of Uelen]. *Kraevedcheskie zapiski*. Magadan.

Leont'iev, Vladilen V., and Klavdia A. Novikova

- 1989 *Toponimicheskii slovar' Severo-Vostoka SSSR* [Dictionary of Place-Names of the Northeast of the USSR]. Magadan Publishing House, Magadan.

Menovshchikov, Georgii A.

- 1963 Paleoeskimoskie toponimy Severo-Vostochnoi Sibiri [Palaeo-Eskimo Place-Names of Northeast Siberia]. *Voprosy iazykoznaniiia* 6:117-125. Moscow.
- 1971 Eskimoskii substrat v toponimike Chukotskogo poberezh'ia [Eskimo Sub-Stratum in the Place-Names of the Chukotka Coastal Areas]. *Sovetskaia etnografiia* 4. Moscow.
- 1972 *Mestnye nazvaniia na karte Chukotki: kratkii toponimicheskii slovar'* [Local Place-Names on the Map of Chukotka: A Brief Gazetteer]. Magadan Publishing House, Magadan.
- 1975 *Iazyk naukanskikh eskimosov* [The Naukan Eskimo Language]. Nauka Publishers, Leningrad.
- 1983 *Eskimosko-russkii i russko-eskimoskii slovar'* [Eskimo-Russian and Russian-Eskimo Dictionary]. Prosveshchenie Publishers, Leningrad.

Menovshchikov, Georgii A., and Nikolai B. Vakhtin

- 1983 *Eskimoskii iazyk* [The Eskimo Language]. Prosveshchenie Publishers, Leningrad.

Merck, Karl H.

- 1814 Nachrichten von den Sitten und Gebräuchen der Tschuktschen, gesammelt von Dr. K.H.Merck auf seinen Reisen im noerdlichen Asien (aus einer Handschrift). *Journal fuer die neuesten Land- und Seereisen*, Bd.16, S.1-27,184-192; Bd.17, S.45-71, 137-152.

Miller, Vsevolod F.

- 1897 Ob eskimosskikh narechiakh Anadyrskogo okruga [On the Eskimo Dialects of the Anadyr District]. *Zhivaia starina* 2:133–159. Moscow.

Oovi Kaneshiro, Vera, and Adelinda Womkon Badten, transcr.

- 1975 *Pangeghhtelghhet* [Visits to Siberia]. Alaska Native Language Center, Fairbanks.

Rubtsova, Ekaterina S.

- 1971 *Eskimossko-russkii slovar'* [Eskimo–Russian Dictionary]. Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia Publishers, Moscow.

Sarychev, Gavriil A.

- 1811 *Puteshestvie kapitana I. Billingsa chrez Chukotskuiu zemliu ot Beringova proliva do Nizhnekolymnskogo ostroga i plavanie kapitana Galla na sudne "Chernyi oriol" po Severo-Vostochnomu okeanu. S prilozheniem slovaria narechii dvenadtsadi dikikh narvodov* [Navy Captain Joseph Billings' Voyage across the Chukchi Land, from the Bering Strait to the Nizhne-Kolymsk Fortress and Navy Captain Gull's Voyage in the Ship *Black Eagle* across the North-Eastern Ocean. Accompanied by the Dictionary of Twelve Dialects of the Savage Peoples]. Schnoor, St. Petersburg.
- 1952 *Puteshestvie po severo-vostochnoi chasti Sibiri, Ledovitomu moria i Vostochnomu okeanu s 1785 po 1793 gg.* [Voyage along the Northeastern Part of Siberia, Icy Sea and Eastern Ocean, 1785–1793]. Geografiz Publishing House, Moscow.

Shinen, David

- 1976 *Siberian Yupik Literacy Manual*. Bilingual Education Resource Center, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Nome.

Siberia

- 1980 *Siberia and Northwestern America, 1788-1792. The Journal of Carl Heinrich Merck, Naturalist with the Russian Scientific Expedition Led by Captains Joseph Billings and Gavriil Sarychev*. F. Jaensch, transl. The Limestone Press, Kingston, ON.

Sivuqam Nangaghnegha

- 1985 *Sivuqam Nangaghnegha. Lore of St. Lawrence Island. Echoes of Our Eskimo Elders*. Vol. 1: Gambell, A. Apassingok, W. Walunga, and E. Tennant, eds. Bering Strait School District, Unalakleet.

Titova, Zinaida D. (editor and translator)

- 1978 *Etnograficheskie materialy severo-vostochnoi geograficheskoi ekspeditsii 1785–1795 gg.* [Ethnographic Data of the Northeastern Geographic Expedition, 1785–1795]. Magadan Publishing House, Magadan.

Vakhtin, Nikolai B., and Nina M. Emel'ianova

- 1988 *Parktikum po leksike eskimosskogo iazyka* [Manual to the Lexical Work in Eskimo Language]. Prosveshchenie Publishers, Leningrad.

Vdovin, Innokentii S.

- 1954 *Istoriia izicheniia paleoaziatskikh iazykov* [The History of the Studies in Palaeo-Asiatic Languages]. Academy of Sciences, Moscow and Leningrad.
- 1961 *Eskimosskie elementy v kul'ture koriakov i chukchei* [Eskimo Elements in the Culture of the Koryak and the Chukchi]. *Sibirskii etnograficheskii sbornik* 3, *Trudy Instituta etnografii AN SSSR* 64. Nauka Publishers, Moscow.
- 1965 *Ocherki istorii i etnografii chukchei* [Essays in the History and Ethnography of the Chukchi]. Nauka Publishers, Leningrad.

LANDSCAPES, FACES, AND MEMORIES: ESKIMO PHOTOGRAPHY OF ALEKSANDR FORSHTEIN, 1927–1929

Igor Krupnik

Arctic Studies Center, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. krupniki@si.edu

Elena Mikhailova

Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (MAE-Kunstkamera), St. Petersburg, Russia. Elena.mikhailova@kunstkamera.ru

Abstract: The paper addresses the legacy of a young Russian Eskimologist, Aleksandr Forshtein, whose professional career was destroyed by his arrest and 10-year sentence to the labor camps in Siberia in 1937. Forshtein's contribution to Eskimo studies has been almost erased, except for his collection of some 150 photographs taken in several Siberian Yupik communities in Chukotka in 1927-1929. The collection has been preserved at the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Forshtein's home institution; it has never been studied or published. A joint project launched in 2003 brought Forshtein's photographs to life and also offered them for the first time to the descendants of the Yupik people featured in his photographs. The paper discusses the role of historical photographs in modern efforts in heritage preservation and the attitude of today's Native knowledge experts towards old images of their communities stored at distant museums.

Keywords: Historical Photographs, Siberian Yupik, Heritage Preservation

One of the many outcomes of Native-European contacts in the Bering Strait region over the last 300 years has been an exponential rise in the various types and sources of documentation on Native cultures. Sketchy accounts and hand-drawn maps of the early 1700s were soon replaced by extensive reports written by trained naval explorers and naturalists; those were illustrated with professionally made drawings, word lists in Native languages, and detailed charts with local place-names. By the late 1800s, several new types of records had been added, such as ethnographic and landscape photography (pioneered by Edward W. Nelson in 1878-79); population censuses; ethnological collections; linguistic data for Native grammars and dictionaries; recordings of Native stories and myths; and sound recordings on wax cylinders (first by the Harriman Expedition in 1899). The early decades of the 20th century introduced individual body and facial measurements with portrait photos (Waldemar Bogoras in Chukotka in 1901 and Riley Moore on St. Lawrence Island, 1912); use of movie camera and documentary footage; and stratified archaeological excavations (Diamond Jenness on Diomed in 1926 and Henry Collins on St. Lawrence Island in 1928).

Those early records on many local communities in the Bering Strait region were usually well cared for, processed, published, and researched by generations of scholars. At the same time, several new factors added pressure against many traditional forms of Native cultural transmission. Because of rapid economic change, government schooling, loss of indigenous languages, and missionaries' activities, people's knowledge of their history in many places is now weaker than it used to be just a few decades or generations ago. As a result, scholars and museum workers now routinely operate with objects, texts, songs, stories, art designs, and images that Native people do not use anymore or cannot even recollect.

This situation is particularly true in the realm of visual imagery from the North. In the old days, elaborate stories about places and distant lands had been commonly recalled. They helped memorize local features via hunting and voyage narratives, place-names and associated stories, travel and navigational instructions. A similar mechanism in terms of personal or family stories helped preserve visual memory of ancestors, their particular features, and character. As those mechanisms weakened, visual memory also shortened, so

that today's people often cannot recognize images of the old places and faces they have not seen themselves. This literally puts the limit of Native visual memory at about 1910 in Alaska and around 1925 or even 1930 in Chukotka, because of the shorter life span of elders on the Siberian side.

It also explains why local people are so anxious these days to get access to historical photos of the old places, sites, and faces from the region. Some Native families have personal photographs going back to the 1940s or even to the 1920s (Norbert 1998); but very few have earlier pictures or old books with their reproductions. So, very few people have had a chance to see the images of their grandparents (or even parents) as young people and children, and hardly anybody could recognize the face of his or her great-grandfather or a long-abandoned ancestral site from an old photograph. Historical photographs, thus, emerge as a crucial source to expand community memory and people's personal knowledge of their deceased ancestors.

In recent years, many historical photo catalogs, illustrated books, and other forms of visual repatriation became available to local audiences. Special projects have been launched to publish collections of old stories illustrated by photographs and maps with old place-names, and other historical records in what has been called "knowledge repatriation" (Krupnik 2001a; 2001b). Again, the situation is much better in Alaska and Canada, where scores of such source-books and historical photo catalogs have been produced (cf. Burch 1981; Campbell 1998; Crowell et al. 2001; Ellana and Sherrod 2004; Fair 2004; Fienup-Riordan 2000; 2005; Gagnon et al. 2002; Hart 2001; Hart and Amos 2004; Krupnik et al. 2002; Laugrand et al. 2000; Lopp Smith and Smith 2001; Schaaf 1996; Senungetuk and Tiulana 1989; *Sivuuqam* 1985-89), compared to Chukotka, where there are but a rare few (e.g., Krupnik 2001a; Leonova 1997).

This paper describes a recent effort aimed at knowledge (visual) repatriation of one historical collection of about 150 photographs taken in several Chukotka Yupik communities between 1927 and 1929 by the Russian ethnologist and linguist Aleksandr Forshtein (Aleksandr Semionovich Forshtein, 1904-1968—Fig.1).¹ Prior to our project, Forshtein's name was all but unknown in Chukotka and no local resident had ever seen any of his photos. The photographs have been stored as glass negatives for 75 years at the Museum of Ethnography and Anthropology (MAE—Kunstkamera) in

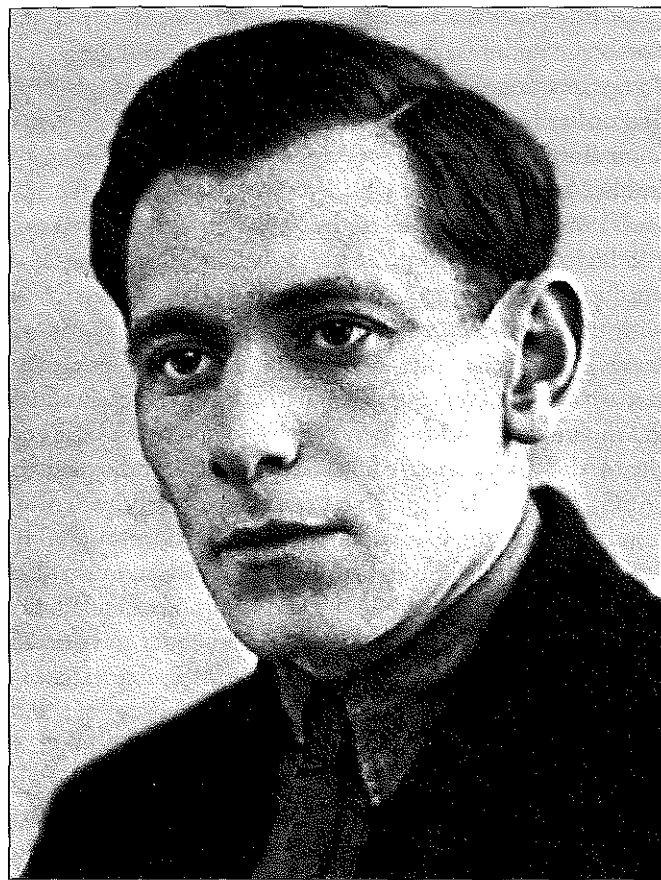


Fig.1: Aleksandr S. Forshtein, 1904-1968. MAE collection.

St. Petersburg (then Leningrad), Russia. They had not been researched or published since they were taken in the 1920s.

Forshtein's contributions to Yupik (Siberian Eskimo) ethnology and linguistics have been all but erased from the scholarly record. An aspiring Russian Eskimologist, a favorite student of Waldemar Bogoras (1865-1936), Forshtein was arrested in 1937, at the age of 33, and sentenced to a 10-year term of forced labor in the GULAG prison camps. Although Forshtein survived his ordeals, he neither came back to Leningrad nor returned to his earlier work on Yupik language and ethnology. None of his papers were published after 1937. For more than twenty years, his name was literally stricken off from the official history of Soviet northern studies (cf. Levin and Potapov 1956; Menovshchikov and Rubtsova 1949; Vdovin 1954).² His Yupik textbooks and other publications were reportedly lost or destroyed during the 1930s; none of Forshtein's several language textbooks and folklore collections was ever reprinted.

¹A Russian version of this paper has been submitted to the journal *Antropologicheskii forum* (Krupnik and Mikhailova 2006: 184-220), published by the MAE-Kunstkamera in St. Petersburg, in order to make it more accessible to Russian readers. We use here the Russian, rather than the anglicized version of Forshtein's name (i.e., Alexander Forstein). All Russian names are given in the Library of Congress transliteration system, except for a few names that have established American transliteration, like Waldemar Bogoras (Vladimir Bogoraz), Waldemar Jochelson (Vladimir Iokhel'son), and Leo Shternberg (Lev Shternberg).

²The earliest exception was Mikhail Sergeev's (1955) seminal monograph that included a reference to one manuscript by Forshtein titled "The Asiatic Eskimos" (with no date). Forshtein's name was publicly listed again in the early 1960s but merely in passing (i.e., Ivanov 1963:221-223; Menovshchikov 1962:9), and more explicitly in 1975 (Gagen-Torn 1975:199, 205).

This paper is a synopsis of what is known today about Forshtein and his short-lived career in Eskimology (cf. Krauss, *this issue*), and more. Its special focus is on the story of Forshtein's photography from the four Siberian Yupik communities of Chaplino (*Ungaziq*), Naukan (*Nuvuqaq*), Imtuk (*Imtuk*), and Sireniki (*Sighinek*) taken between 1927 and 1929. Both present authors had first learned about Forshtein's photos stored at MAE in the 1980s. It was not until 2002, following a project in knowledge repatriation with the St. Lawrence Island Yupik communities (Krupnik et al. 2002), that one of us (I.K.) suggested a similar initiative be undertaken on behalf of the Yupik communities in Chukotka. It eventually became a collaborative effort of the MAE-Kunstkamera, Smithsonian Arctic Studies Center (ASC), the local Beringian Heritage Museum in Provideniya, Chukotka, and the Chukotka Yupik association "Yupik." In 2003, ASC and the Museum of Beringian Heritage provided financial support to the MAE-based scanning of Forshtein's photographs; these were later sent to Chukotka and offered to local experts for identification, comments, and storytelling (see *Acknowledgements*). Our paper reviews those efforts and uses some of the recently recorded stories as illustrations.

Alexander Forshtein—a Life Shattered by the GULAG

Little information has been preserved on Forshtein's personal life and academic career. His meager documentary files at the Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences (RAS) and at MAE contain few records beyond some standard personal forms and a few memoranda to the MAE administration. Reshetov (2002) summarized most of this information in the only brief biographical essay on Forshtein published to this day. Few personal letters, no diaries, and hardly any manuscripts, field notes, or other records pertaining to Forshtein have been recovered.³ Whatever we know of Forshtein from those sources may be summarized in the section below.

Forshtein was born on December 26, 1904 in Marseille, France to a Russian-Jewish émigré family. The family returned to Russia in 1911, to the southern city of Rostov-on-Don, where Forshtein attended local school between 1911 and 1919. Forshtein obviously came from a well-educated family. Between 1919 and 1926, he traveled widely and combined or alternated several short job stints with occasional college and university classes. Forshtein also held

numerous clerical and teaching positions at a fairly young age, including his short-term teaching tenure in a village school on the Kola Peninsula. There he contracted scurvy and was decommissioned to Leningrad. In August 1926, he was admitted to the Ethnography Division of the Leningrad University, where he joined a group of students in Siberian and Northern studies supervised by Waldemar Bogoras and Lev (Leo) Shternberg (Reshetov 2002).

There are many reasons to believe that both Bogoras and Shternberg tutored some of these young students as their prospective heirs in ethnology of Native Siberian nations they had studied themselves in the late 1800s and early 1900s as political exiles and during the Jesup North Pacific Expedition (Krupnik 1998:206-7). After a few years of training, those young men and women were rushed to Siberia to be stationed in local communities as teachers, low-level administrators, and cultural workers (Antropova 1972; Gagen-Torn 1975). Upon return from fieldwork, they became experts in ethnology and social change in their regions: e.g., Erukhim Kreinovich (Kreynovich) on the Nivkh, Sergei Stebnitskii (Stebnitsky) on the Koryak, Nikolai Shnakenburg on the Chukchi (Krupnik 1998). Forshtein was Bogoras' disciple in the study of the Yupik people of Chukotka, whom Bogoras had visited during the Jesup Expedition in 1901.⁴

Forshtein went to his own fieldwork in Siberia at the age of 22 in summer 1927, just after his first year of anthropology training with Bogoras and Shternberg. In spite of his short classes in Northern languages, Forshtein listed in his professional record a brief Chukchi grammar textbook he compiled with another classmate, Sergei Stebnitsky in 1927, under Bogoras' supervision (Reshetov 2002:276). Forshtein had spent almost two years, 1927/28 and 1928/29 teaching and traveling along the Bering Strait coast of Chukotka (see below). All his Yupik photographs at MAE originated from that trip. He then returned to Leningrad in summer 1929 to take his university exams and to defend his senior thesis of some 150 pages, "Asiatic Eskimos as Sea-Mammal Hunters," that was recommended for publication (RAS Archives 4, p.36). We may assume that he graduated externally, without taking all his required classes.

³A few pages of Forshtein's linguistic notebook from Sireniki happen to be preserved in Bogoras' personal file at the RAS Archives in St. Petersburg (File 250 – see Krauss, *this issue*); more records may be probably retrieved from this and other Academy's documentary sources. Sergei Slobodin recently recovered and published three letters by Forshtein to Waldemar Jochelson in New York from late 1936 to early 1937 (Slobodin 2004a; 2004b). Three personal letters by Forshtein to Georgii A. Menovshchikov have been preserved at the Magadan Provincial Archives in Magadan; copies were kindly forwarded to us by Svetlana V. Budnikova. Other prospective sources, the file of Forshtein's interrogation and trial in 1937–38 (partly copied by Vakhtin), and a tiny collection of Forshtein's papers in Copenhagen, still await a thorough study.

⁴In his essay on the Yupik (Siberian Eskimo) language for the Russian handbook of Native Siberian languages (1934), Bogoras cited Forshtein's data alongside his old field notes from 1901, particularly with regard to population figures and some first-hand information on the Yupik communities in Chukotka.

From his personal record and the dates on his photographs, we see that Forshtein returned to Chukotka in late 1929 and stayed there until 1933. This time, he was positioned as a teacher and school principal in the Chukchi communities along the Arctic coast: in Uelen, Cape Shelag-sky (in 1930/31),⁵ and at the mouth of the Kolyma River in 1931/32 (Reshetov 2002:277).

In late 1933, he was hired at the Institute of Anthropology and Ethnography in Leningrad (the then-official name for MAE). He also taught classes to northern indigenous students at the Leningrad Pedagogical Institute (since 1933) and at the Institute for the Peoples of the North (*Institut narodov Severa*) in 1933-35 (Reshetov 2002:277). He also managed to find time to make good use of his linguistic skills and field materials. According to the list compiled by Michael Krauss (1973; *this issue*), Forshtein published or edited about a half-dozen textbooks, primer, readers, and folklore collections in Siberian Yupik for local schools. His memorandum of January 1934 (RAS Archives 4, p.36) refers to several ethnological papers he had written or that were under preparation (Forshtein 1927; 1929; 1930a; 1930b; 1930c; 1934; n.d.-a; n.d.-b; n.d.-c; n.d.-d). Unfortunately, his unpublished manuscripts are presumed lost after his arrest in 1937. Reshetov (2002:278) also argues that Forshtein played a key role in the design of the exhibit on the history of technology of Arctic peoples at MAE in 1936 (MAE Archives, F. K-IV, op.8, no.131).

The pinnacle of Forshtein's career in Eskimology was his three-month stay at the Danish National Museum in Copenhagen in April-July 1936. By that time, it was an extraordinary case for a Soviet ethnographic specialist to visit European or North American research institutions on a prolonged individual trip. In Copenhagen Forshtein evidently worked under Kaj Birket-Smith, then the Head of the Ethnology Department at the National Museum. He also made personal contacts with other Danish Eskimologists, such as William Thalbitzer and Louis Hammerich,⁶ and he might have been introduced to several other Danish northern scholars, including Wilhelm Schultz-Lorentzen, Peter Freuchen, Helge Larsen, and Therkel Mathiassen.⁷ Forshtein brought as a gift

from the *Kunstkamera* a substantial collection of prints of contemporary photographs from Siberia (including several dozen prints of his own photos from Chukotka) and a small set of carved ivory objects and Native drawings; both are still preserved at the National Museum, with extensive Russian hand-written captions made by Forshtein. We have little information on what he actually did in Copenhagen over three months in 1936, but he clearly understood the vulnerability of his status. In June 1936, Forshtein made a desperate appeal to Franz Boas asking for a chance to extend his stay in the West for a year or two, after he learned of Bogoras' death in Russia (Krupnik 1998: 213-214). Unfortunately, it was too late; Forshtein's life was to change dramatically in less than a year after his return from Denmark.

In May 1937, Forshtein, Kreinovich, and several other faculty members of the Institute for the Peoples of the North, including its Director, Ian Koshkin (Al'kor), were arrested and charged with "espionage and terrorist conspiracy" (Reshetov 2002:278; Roon and Sirina 2003:61; Vakhtin n.d.). Forshtein and Kreinovich were accused of being members of the "Japanese spy network," presumably recruited during their early work as teachers (!) in the Russian Far East in the late 1920s. The absurdity of the charges is quite obvious. All imprisoned researchers received death sentences as "spies and terrorists" in January 1938; Koshkin and several others were executed shortly, whereas Forshtein's as well as Kreinovich's sentences were commuted to ten years of forced labor in the deadly GULAG camps in East Siberia (Reshetov 2002:279; Roon and Sirina 2003:62). Remarkably, they survived and were both released in 1948.

Unlike Kreinovich, who returned to Leningrad and went back to academic life—to be re-arrested and sentenced again a few years later—Forshtein dropped out of any academic activity. He remarried, changed his last name, and reportedly worked as an employee in local economic agencies in the southern regions of the Soviet Union: in Georgia, Armenia, and, later, Uzbekistan.⁸ According to his daughter, he died in Tashkent in 1968, at the age of 64 (Reshetov 2002:279). As far as we know, he never returned to his Siberian Yupik studies.⁹

⁵In 1930/31 Forshtein was reportedly teaching at a small Native school with four(!) Chukchi students at Cape Shelag-sky, Chaun Bay (Kaltan 1931). The classes took place in a Chukchi skin-tent, which was also used as a residence for Forshtein, his wife, and their small child.

⁶Three personal letters by Forshtein to Thalbitzer written between December 1936 and April 1937 (all in Danish) are currently preserved in Thalbitzer's letter collection at the Royal Library in Copenhagen. Hammerich is known to be the first foreign scholar who started inquiring upon Forshtein's whereabouts in the late 1950s, when the contacts between Russian and Western northern specialists finally resumed, evidently because he remembered Forshtein.

⁷According to Hans-Christian Gulløv (personal communication to IK, 2005), Forshtein most certainly was introduced to Schultz-Lorentsen and Larsen, who both worked closely with Birket-Smith, and to Mathiassen, who was then the curator of the Danish prehistory collections at the National Museum. Other Greenlandic specialists, such as Eric Holtved and Eigil Knuth, could have been available during Forshtein's stay in Copenhagen, if not on their summer fieldwork in Greenland. Peter Freuchen, not associated with the museum, was also very active at that time, always seeking out new visitors from the North, particularly someone as exotic as Forshtein, with his firsthand knowledge of the Russian Eskimos and other Soviet indigenous peoples.

⁸That phase of Forshtein's professional career is described in three of his letters to Georgii Menovshchikov written in 1965, though probably in a slightly exaggerated way.

⁹Michael Krauss kindly shared his record of talking about Forshtein with Danish linguist Louis Hammerich in the 1970s. Hammerich, who should have remembered

Despite Forshtein's abrupt disappearance and no further contribution to the field of Eskimo studies after 1937, his name and the memory of his work in Chukotka never faded away completely. It was preserved within a small group of his elderly peers as well as among the next generation of Eskimo linguists and ethnologists. Both authors learned of Forshtein's name during their graduate research in Yupik ethnology in Russia in the 1970s, mostly through references in earlier publications and manuscripts. On the Alaskan side, Michael Krauss at the Alaska Native Language Center in Fairbanks, recovered titles and copies of Forshtein's publications of the 1930s (see Krauss 1973; *this issue*), which he later shared with his Russian colleagues. Krauss was also the first to come across a reference to Forshtein's visit to Copenhagen in 1936 and to his communications with Birket-Smith and Boas. He kindly shared a copy of Forshtein's letter to Boas from Copenhagen that was eventually published by one of us (Krupnik 1998: 213-214). Reshetov's short recent paper (Reshetov 2002) helped re-establish Forshtein's name among the Russian Siberian specialists as well (Slobodin 2004a, 2004b; Vasil'kov and Sorokina 2003).

This account may be slightly livened by some personal recollections of the late Russian Eskimologist, Georgii A. Menovshchikov, shared with Michael Krauss in 1990. Menovshchikov (1911-1991), the dean of Soviet Yupik studies and another former schoolteacher in Chukotka in 1932-34 to become a Yupik linguist, received his professional training in Leningrad between 1934 and 1936. He most certainly had plenty of chances to interact with Forshtein; we now know that the two also corresponded in the 1960s and had met around 1965, when Forshtein visited Menovshchikov at the Institute of Linguistics in Leningrad. According to Menovshchikov, Forshtein's linguistic publications had minimal impact. His Yupik textbooks were printed in the Roman Yupik orthography that was abolished and replaced by a Cyrillic-based orthography in 1937 (see Krauss, *this issue*). Menovshchikov claimed that Forshtein's textbooks were lost in shipment and never reached local schools anyway, thus were not known to Yupik readers (Michael Krauss to IK, June 2, 2003). Yupik elders interviewed in the 1970s remembered Forshtein's name but vaguely and with no personal details (Krupnik, field notes). His was indeed a life and career aborted by the GULAG, one of many shattered lives in the tragic record of Russian academia under the Stalinist regime.

The recovery of Forshtein's life story opens another intriguing aspect of the scientific legacy. It has long been as-

sumed that it was Nikolai Shnakenburg, Forshtein's colleague and fellow Bogoras student, who was the first to report on the unilineal kin units, clans or gens, among the Siberian Yupik of Chukotka. Shnakenburg's unpublished manuscript, "Eskimosy" (The Eskimo, 1939) had been originally written as a chapter for a four-volume handbook on the peoples of the Soviet Union in preparation prior to World War II. That handbook was never published (its manuscript is preserved at the MAE Archives); in the 1950s, some of its early contributions were re-used for a far more monumental 18-volume series, *Peoples of the World* published by the Russian Institute of Ethnography. Its 1100-page volume on the peoples of Siberia (Levin and Potapov 1956) had a section on the Asiatic Eskimos written by Menovshchikov, "with the use of materials by N.B. Shnakenburg" (Levin and Potapov 1956:8). In his chapter, Menovshchikov (1956:941) recycled a description of clan-like kin-groups among the Yupik, including the very list of clan groups from Shnakenburg's paper of 1939. Menovshchikov later published another clan list of his own in a special paper dedicated to the clan system of the Chukotka Yupik people (Menovshchikov 1962b).

The problem is that we have no records of any fieldwork by Shnakenburg in the Yupik communities referred to in his manuscript. He was primarily a specialist in the Chukchi culture, stationed on the Arctic coast of the Chukchi Peninsula (Reshetov 1995:3) and he hardly had any first-hand knowledge of the Yupik language and social system. Even if he had passed through some Yupik villages on his route, he had no clues to look for a social system that had eluded many researchers before him, including his mentor Bogoras (Krupnik 1996: 35-36). Forshtein, on the other hand, had both the required knowledge of and the rapport with local Yupik communities. We now have references that he indeed had been working on several papers focused on the Yupik social structure, including a paper titled "The Formation of the Clan (Russian: *rod*) among the Asiatic Eskimo" (RAS Archives 4, p.36, see Forshtein n.d.-a).

There are other reasons to believe that it was in fact Forshtein who collected data on Siberian Yupik clans, including their names, either on his earlier fieldwork or from the Yupik students he later worked with in Leningrad. One of his hand-written Russian captions to the drawings he donated to the National Museum in Copenhagen in 1936 reads as follows: "Drawings by the Eskimo Majnga from the Lakarmit group (community, Russian 'obschina') in the village of Ungazeq on Cape Chaplin" (Forshtein Collection, 143/36, p.7, translated by I.K.). This is the earliest known reference

Forshtein from 1936, referred to his meeting with "an unnamed former German World War II prisoner," who reportedly saw Forshtein as "a broken man" in one of the GULAG camps. According to Hammerich, Forshtein never went back to his Yupik studies and had become a textbook writer (?) in Tashkent (Michael Krauss, personal communications to IK, 2003, 2004). Hammerich most certainly received this information from some of Forshtein's Russian colleagues during the 1960s, presumably from Georgii Menovshchikov, at the 5th International Ethnological Congress in Moscow in 1964, or after that.

to the largest clan in Ungaziq, Lakarmit (*Laakaghmiit*) that was later listed by Shnakenburg (1939), Menovshchikov (1956; 1962), and all further students of the Siberian Yupik social system. After Forshtein's arrest in 1937, some of his manuscripts might have been preserved and later used by his colleagues, in order to get his data published. This had been a common practice in those dark years, when so many scholars vanished in the GULAG and their writings stood no chance to get published unless under someone else's name. Thus, we believe we should credit Forshtein as the most likely pioneer to "discover" the clan system among the Yupik Eskimo of Chukotka. Most certainly, it was he who also compiled the first list of Yupik clan names that was later cited by Shnakenburg (1939) and Menovshchikov (1956:941).

Forshtein Photo Collections at MAE

At present, there are three photo collections attributed to Forshtein at MAE in St. Petersburg. The first collection (# И-104, 66 units) contains the pictures of the Chukchi people and Chukchi villages and camps, primarily from the Arctic coast of Chukotka, dated between 1928 and 1931. Most of the photographs were in fact taken in 1931, when Forshtein was stationed at Chaun Bay, near Cape Shelagsky, East Siberian Sea. The second and by far the largest collection of some 140 photos (И-115) titled "The Eskimos," is made of pictures taken in various Yupik (Siberian Eskimo) communities between 1927 and 1929. The small third set of 12 negatives and prints (И-429) is registered as "objects from personal collection; Asiatic Eskimo, Cape Chaplin"; it features some twenty ivory carvings obviously purchased by Forshtein during his trips. In all three collections, photographs were labeled, dated, and registered by Forshtein himself.

In the MAE Accession records, Forshtein's Yupik photo collection is listed as a "gift from A.S. Forshtein received in 1929." All original images were large-size glass negatives (9 by 12 cm). The collection was processed seven years later, in 1936, when Forshtein made a full list of 147 images with captions. The original accession of 1929 listed 150 negatives; the 1936 registry had 147 items (the original nos. 30, 126, and 127 were already missing). The 1936 inventory supplied a short caption for each negative: the name of the village or camp where a photo was taken; a brief description of the scenery or activities, usually of a few words; and the name(s) of the person(s) on portrait-style photos. Since Forshtein was familiar with recording of Yupik language materials, people's names are usually easy to recognize from his brief captions.

No dates are available for individual photos, only the reference to the origins of the whole collection, "From the

expedition of 1927-1929; Asiatic Eskimos of the Chukchi Peninsula." The lack of dates is a sad omission compared to his Chukchi collection, in which every image is supplied with a day, or at least a year, obviously from Forshtein's field notes. This may be explained by the time when Forshtein processed his Yupik photos at MAE. That happened on April 10th, 1936, or barely a week prior to his departure to Copenhagen for the Danish National Museum. Forshtein was obviously very short on time and under pressure from MAE administration to clear off his museum duties in advance of a long trip. His prints presented to the Danish National Museum have identical captions, also without specific dates.

Luckily, all Forshtein's photographs at MAE survived his arrest and his disappearance into the GULAG camps. Most of his negatives were backed up with medium-size contact prints (9 by 12 cm) and remained safely in the MAE Siberian collections as prospective illustration materials. They were hardly ever used for research and were never published under his name. We were able to trace just a few of Forshtein's images used in MAE publications: in the handbook "*Narody Sibiri*" (Levin and Potapov 1956:937, 939) and in another monumental volume, *Istoriko-etnograficheskii atlas Sibiri* (Levin and Potapov 1961:196). None of the three photos bear Forshtein's name or offers any reference to his work.

When the Forshtein collection was retrieved and researched in 2003, seven of the original 147 glass negatives were found missing or broken without backup prints and 15 more were lost or broken, but had prints available for scanning. The remaining 140 images, 125 negatives and 15 prints, have been scanned and enhanced (edited) by the personnel of the MAE Visual Anthropology Lab (see *Acknowledgements*). The glass negatives are of a fairly good quality and generally remain in better shape than the backup prints. Scanned images were recorded on CDs, organized by communities; copies were mailed in 2003 to the Arctic Studies Center, Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., and to the Beringian Heritage Museum in Provideniya, Russia, for further work with local experts in Chukotka and St. Lawrence Island.

Tracing Forshtein's Chukotka Routes through Photos, 1927-1929

Forshtein's Yupik photography from 1927-1929 is probably our best source to reconstruct his field routes and to shed some light on his relationship with the local people. We know that Forshtein went to Chukotka in summer 1927 under a two-year teaching contract with the Far-East "Committee of the North" (*Dal'nevostochnyi Komitet Severa*). He had been offered a position at the school in the Chukchi village of Uelen, just north of Bering Strait. Forshtein's route

to Chukotka in late spring 1927 was by train to Vladivostok and then by cargo ship *Kolyma* to Bering Strait. In his published letter to his university professors of June 1927 he reported: "I am going as a Chukchi teacher to [the village of] Uelen at Cape Dezhnev. Will reach Uelen by July 20th. Will stay at Chukotsky Nos [Cape Dezhnev-IK, EM] at least for a year, until I can get myself deeply immersed in Chukchi life; then hope to make a trip along the Arctic Coast" (Anonymous 1927:39; Reshetov 2002:276). Every contracted student was required to serve in the North for at least two years, before one could return to Leningrad to complete one's education. Eventually, Forshtein's teacher's contract with the Committee of the North lasted for six-and-a-half years: from May 6, 1927 till October 28, 1933 (RAS Archives 142:6), with just a short break for a trip to Leningrad in summer 1929.

We believe that Forshtein's first tenure of 1927-29 was not that of a teacher in Uelen but rather of a traveling inspector for the District Educational Office (that included all of the Russian side of Bering Strait) or even of a substitute teacher in some other communities. His employment record from his personal file indeed stated that he had worked "with the educational institutions under the Far-East Educational Office as a head (principal) of native schools (at Ungaziq, Chaun, and Pokhodsk) and as an inspector for native education of the region from May 20, 1927 till October 28, 1933" (RAS Archives 142:5, 6). We assume that something did not work for Forshtein's initial position in Uelen in 1927 (or in early 1928) and that he swiftly shifted his interest to the Yupik communities in southern Chukotka. His university senior thesis of 1929, "Asiatic Eskimos as Sea-Mammal Hunters," and all of his later publications and linguistic work on the Yupik language were good testimony to that shift in his research interest.

Once can see the same shift in his photography of 1927-1929, though indirectly. There are hardly any pictures of 1927-1929 among his "Chukchi" photographs, except for two photos that feature school building and the wireless station in Uelen, and three other pictures of the new cultural center in the nearby Lavrentiya Bay. On top, there are two photos dated 1928 from Chukchi villages near Senyavin Strait, some 150 miles south of Uelen. That means that by 1928 Forshtein was either traveling through or had moved from Uelen to southern Chukotka.

Indeed, his largest single set of images from 1927-1929 of 62 photos came from the Yupik village of Ungaziq

("Ungazek" in Forshtein's captions) at Cape Chaplin. We believe that Forshtein might have been working as a substitute teacher or even as principal at the Ungaziq village school at least by winter or spring of 1928. Forshtein's photography from Ungaziq includes images from almost every season: from fall hunting to mid-winter scenes and rituals to the beginning of spring to mid-summer communal activities. Eight photographs from the nearby village of "Sekluk" (*Sigluk*) were also taken in both summer and wintertime. It looks like Forshtein could have spent a full year (or more?) in and around Ungaziq; at least he was there for a much longer time than at his initial job placement at Uelen.

Forshtein's Yupik folklore collection published in 1935 and 1936 (see Krauss, *this issue*) has a subtitle "Recorded by A.S. Forshtein in the village of Ungazek." Also, Georgii Menovshchikov (1977:124) in his memoirs from his early teaching years in Chukotka referred to Forshtein as a teacher "at the first regular school in Ungaziq in 1928." Nikolai Shnakenburg's manuscript, "The Eskimo" (1939), which, as we assume, might have been written with substantial use of Forshtein's texts and notes, refers extensively to an anonymous "schoolteacher from the village of Ungaziq at Cape Chaplin" and his observations of spring and summer 1928. One extended quotation, for example, described a bowhead whale hunt and the following distribution of baleen among five crews in Ungaziq in April 1928. We believe that in this and other cases Shnakenburg's manuscript cited Forshtein's field notes or some of his later writings that were somehow available to Shnakenburg in the late 1930s.

The main argument, however, can be taken directly from Forshtein's photos from Ungaziq and also from other Yupik communities. Despite hardly a year of his university training in ethnology, Forshtein proved to be an avid field photographer as well as a competent ethnographer. Forshtein was clearly following the path of his famous mentor, Waldemar Bogoras, who also took some 150 photos in Ungaziq in 1901 (Bogoras' photo collection from Ungaziq is now preserved at the American Museum of Natural History in New York). Either advised by Bogoras or thanks to his personal intuition, Forshtein took his photographs in several thematic "sets" of images, such as building a dwelling, launching a boat, documenting shaman performance, or a certain ritual (see below). Among those are six thematic sets from Ungaziq that feature specific rituals, both inside a family dwelling and outdoors, often taken in a sequential order.¹⁰ Those pictures, plus several more images of family meals and tea-drinking parties taken in the inner living quarters of Yu-

¹⁰Forshtein was clearly interested in the documentation of Yupik ritual practices and in attending ceremonies that took place during his sojourns in the villages. Sergei V. Ivanov (1963:221-23) quoted a long and very detailed description of the Yupik winter ceremony that had been reported to him by Forshtein in 1936, who observed it first-hand. "Unfortunately," as Ivanov admitted, "those highly valuable field notes (!) remain unpublished."

pik houses, testify to Forshtein's rather intimate rapport with local villagers, who were at the same time his students and their parents. Bogoras obviously did not have such a rapport during his three-month stay in Ungaziq; at least, we have no evidence for this in his photography of 1901.

Besides Ungaziq and Siqluk, Forshtein visited other Yupik communities in southeastern Chukotka, including the two westernmost villages Imtuk (*Imtuk*) and Sireniki (*Sighinek*), where he took 23 and 13 photographs, respectively. He made this trip by dogsled, as Bogoras had in 1901, as there are several images of dog-teams. He traveled presumably in late spring, since some of his Imtuk and Sireniki photographs featured melted snow and people moving from winter houses to lighter summer tents. That usually happened in late May or June (Krupnik 2001:37, 190). We may assume that he stayed at Imtuk and Sireniki for some time in June, since some of his pictures showed very little snow on the ground and a full row of summer tents erected along the beach. Forshtein made this trip either in May-June 1928 or a year later, which means that he stayed in Ungaziq until spring 1929.

Besides southern Yupik villages, Forshtein also visited two Siberian Yupik communities in the North, Naukan (*Nuvuqaq*) at East Cape (23 images) and "Imaklek" (*Imaqliq*) on Big Diomed Island (4 images), which are close to Uelen. Pictures from both places depict mid-late summer scenery, with some floating sea ice but no snow. As seen from the pictures, Forshtein had visited both places by a steamer or large motorboat. In Naukan he made several personal portraits (all taken in school or outdoors) and documented the construction of a new stationary winter house, which was usually a late summer activity. No pictures were taken inside family dwellings; that speaks of a fairly short visit. The time could have been summer of 1928 or 1929, most probably on Forshtein's return trip to Uelen for his subsequent departure to Leningrad.

We know that in summer 1929, Forshtein returned to Leningrad, in order to graduate from the university. Besides his photographic collection, he also brought some ethnographic specimens that he later donated to MAE. A larger collection of 67 objects (# 4211), all from the Yupik Eskimo, was registered and processed in 1933; the accession date is listed as November 1, 1929. Forshtein's other accession consisted of one object, Yupik skin boots from the village

of Imtuk (# 5116), and was also dated 1929. These dates confirm Forshtein's short stay in Leningrad between his two stints in Chukotka, as he had to catch the last steamer out of Vladivostok no later than mid-September. The man evidently returned to the city for just a few months, after two years spent in the North. He passed his university exams, left behind the objects and the images he collected on his trip, got married, and stormed out of the city to go back to Chukotka for four more years.¹¹ Things were indeed moving fast for Aleksandr Forshtein, who was then twenty-five years old.

Old Photos, Today's Memories: Forshtein's Photos Revisited, 2004

Of the four Chukotka Yupik communities most extensively documented by Forshtein in 1927-29, Chaplino (*Ungaziq*), Naukan (*Nuvuqaq*), Sireniki (*Sighinek*), and Imtuk (*Imtuk*), only one, Sireniki, remains today at its old location.¹² Naukan and Chaplino were closed by the Soviet authorities in 1957 and 1958, respectively, and their residents were forced to relocate to other villages. Imtuk was abandoned even earlier, in 1932-33, when its residents moved to Sireniki, where a new school and a bigger store had been built. Even Sireniki, the only remaining village, has been dramatically rebuilt and little of the old site is recognizable in the town of today.

Despite several decades of abandonment, strong memories and numerous stories are still associated with each of the former Yupik villages (cf. Krupnik 2001). They all refer to the past "cultural landscapes," that is, to the realities that ceased to exist some fifty or even more years ago. Here the power of historical photography and of human memory meet and often make a perfect match. This section reviews today's stories associated with some of Forshtein's photographs. They have been recovered from various sources—as narratives of today's elders, child memories, comments of experts, and recordings kept in earlier field notes.

1. Landscapes from Sireniki—"Ruins of an old pit-house" (И-115-60 to 62—Fig. 2).

The ruins of the old underground houses built of large whale jawbones and skulls, once used to cover a large area at Sireniki. Yupik elders in the 1970s recalled stories associated with the old houses and with traditional rituals once performed

¹¹Forshtein married his fellow ethnology student Klavdia Myl'nikova, a specialist in Tungus-Manchu people of the Amur River valley. She went with him to Chukotka and stayed there for almost four years. A student of Leo Sternberg, Myl'nikova-Forshtein made her own name in the studies of Tungus folklore and linguistics. Her career was broken, however, after Forshtein's arrest, as she was fired from the Institute, pushed from academic studies, and even forced to leave Leningrad. On Myl'nikova's life see Khasanova 2002.

¹²Four other Siberian Yupik communities featured in Forshtein's photos, Imaqliq on Big Diomed, Siqluk, Avan, and Tasiq, are similar "virtual" cultural landscapes. They all had been closed by the 1940s and 1950s, and their residents were removed to other villages.



Fig.2: "Ruins of the underground house-pit." MAE, И-115-60. Sighinek/Sireniki, spring 1928 or 1929.

there by their ancestors (Krupnik 2001:36-37, 316-317). A written comment of 2004 to Forshtein's photo by Klavdia (Klava) Makarova (née Skhaugwi/Sigbaawyi, born 1959), adds more recent memories to the old picture:

These are old underground houses, *nenglu*; that's how they are called (in Yupik). My mother Vera Kawawa, born 1929, once told me a story about how she used to work at the construction of a community ice-cellar. It was around 1945; she was a young girl back then. They dug the ground at the hill near the shore called *Saaygu*, which used to be an observation site for our elders. They always sat there in the old days and watched the hunters at sea with their binoculars.

When they dug deep into that hill, they found an underground house, an old *nenglu* inside. It was oval in shape and was well preserved. It was flanked with bowhead whale skulls all around and it had many ribs and whale jaws placed on top for the roof. It had a long entrance that was going toward the shore. Look, they also found human remains in that pit-house—of two women and a child. One woman, as my Mom recalled, had black hair with bead head decorations. We call

them "*qopaget*" (*qupaget*). That woman was lying inside the living portion of the house, *aagra*. The other woman was gray-haired; she had a wooden dish, *qayutaq*, next to her, with the leftovers of whale blubber. The child's skeleton was probably that of a 4-5-year-old; it was put on a small sled. They found so many objects inside, like spoons, combs, and house utensils made of bone, wood, and clay. Some of them were decorated. It was a well-to-do family, Mother said, as seen from the house stuff and also from the bead jewelry.

We have been told that in the old days they left the houses with all the stuff inside if somebody died in the family of an unknown cause and passed quickly. They never entered such houses, just abandoned it; they never even walked around (February 2004; translated by I.K.¹³).

Klava Makarova is 47 years old and, thanks to her late mother, Vera Kawawa, who was an accomplished storyteller, she preserves the memory of the old site that is now almost obliterated by the later construction work. In several written comments to Forshtein's photographs taken 30 years prior to her birth, Klava repeatedly referred to her mother's stories about the "old life" in Sireniki and Imtuk. Some of her sto-

¹³This and other translations of today's comments to Forshtein's pictures follow a more colloquial Russian style in which they have been written or recorded.



Fig.3: "Family of Iyain, the Eskimo." MAE, И-115-25. Naukan, summer 1929.

ries quote Kawawa's father Numylen, Klava's late grandfather, whom she never saw. Numylen, who passed away in the late 1950s, is remembered as a much-esteemed elder and cultural expert. He was a successful middle-aged hunter in 1928 or 1929, when Forshtein visited Sireniki. To Klava, Forshtein's photos offer a priceless link to her mother's childhood years, to the memory of her grandfather Numylen, and to her own Yupik cultural roots.

2. *Faces from Naukan—"The family of Iyain, the Eskimo"* (И-115-25—Fig. 3) and others.

Eight portrait and family photos were taken by Forshtein in the northern Yupik community of Naukan in the summer of 1928 or 1929. Most of Forshtein's captions to family pictures list the names of adult men only. Elizaveta Dobrieva, who was born in Naukan in 1942 and who now lives in Lavrentiya, identified all of the people featured on Forshtein's Naukan photographs; she also offered extensive written comments to the village and scenic images from the old village:

Iyayen (Iyain) was an esteemed sea-mammal hunter. He was born, got married, grew old, and died in Naukan.

The little girl sitting at his lap is his youngest daughter *Atutuuyi/Atutugyi*. She is an elderly lady today, Irina Nikolaevna Tsukanova. Since the 1950s and to this day she has been living in Provideniya. She worked as a nurse at the local hospital for many years. She had no children of her own. The other girl's name is *Atangiq*; she was the second of Iyayen's children (August 2004).

On the back of the 11 by 8.5" photocopy of the image, Dobrieva drew a genealogical chart of *Iyayen's* family going back to *Iyayen's* grandfather *Uqoya*. It goes down to some of *Iyayen's* grandchildren, who are now in their 50s and even 60s. *Iyayen* was a middle-aged man during Forshtein's visit; so, he was probably born around 1885. *Uqoya*, his grandfather, could have been born around 1830 or 1840. Five generations of his lineage, or some 180 years of Naukan history, are preserved in that short written comment by Dobrieva. *Atutugyi/Irina* Tsukanova (born 1926 or 1927) remains the only living person featured on Forshtein's 140 Yupik photographs and, thus, it would seem the only Yupik person in Chukotka today, who personally met Forshtein, although as a very small child.

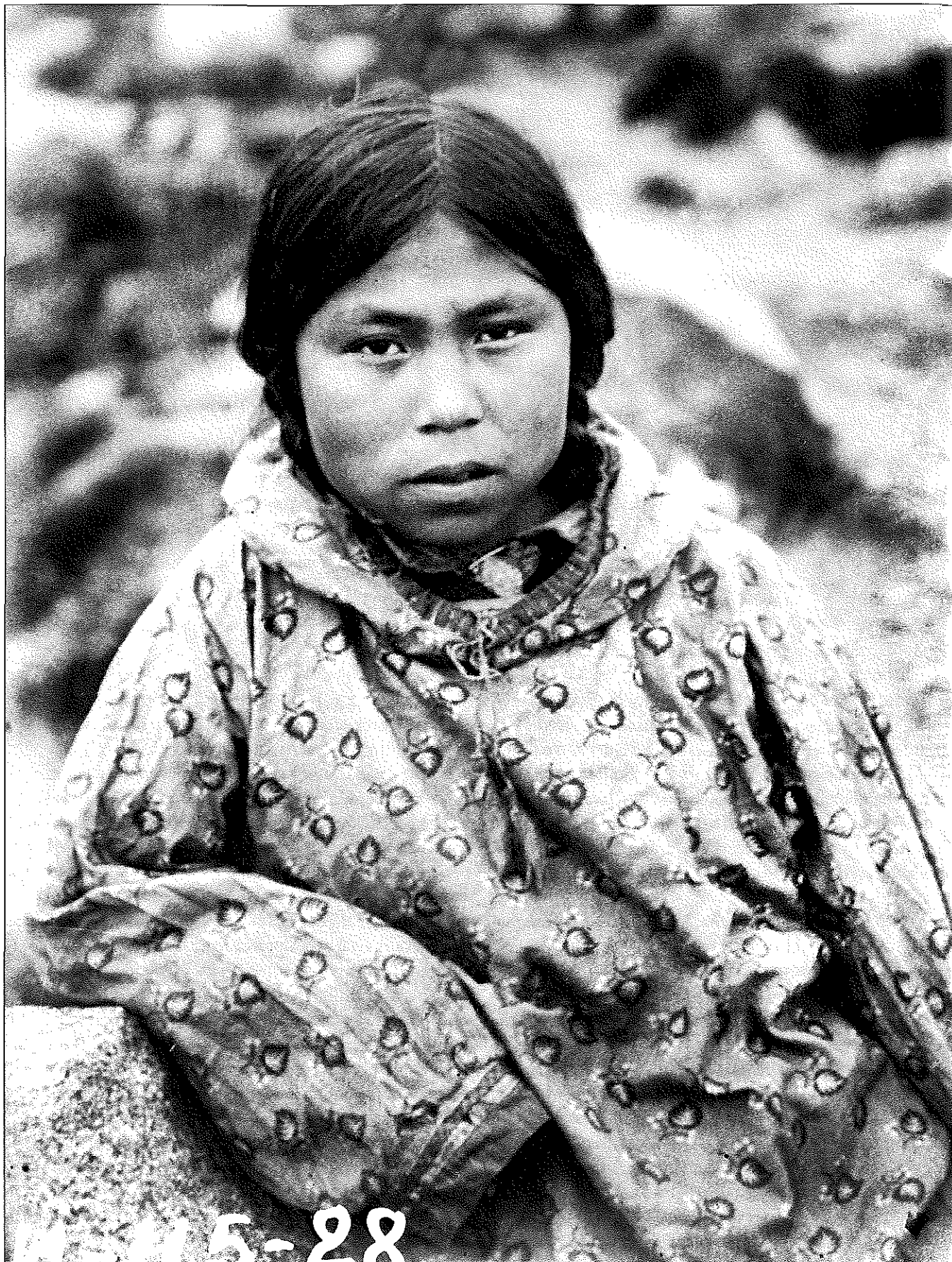


Fig.4: "Tlingeun, the schoolgirl." MAE, II-115-28. Naukan, summer 1927 or 1929.

Forshtein's photos also featured some people whom Dobrieva and almost all of today's living Naukan people have never seen. Three pictures feature young schoolgirls. To one of the photos ("Tlingun, the schoolgirl"—Fig.4), Dobrieva wrote a short caption:

Llingegun was a daughter of Anaya and Qutgeggun. After she graduated from the village seven-grade school, she and another girl, Singeggun, daughter of Iyayen (see Fig.3), went to study at the medical school in Khabarovsk. They both got sick and passed away there; they were buried there (August 2004).

The picture of another young woman, *Alperagtenga* carries a similarly sad caption:

Alperagtenga, Llingegun, and Sitngegun were the activists in their generations. Alperagtenga, upon graduating from the village seven-grade school, went to study in Leningrad, at the Institute for the Peoples of the North. She got sick and died there; she is buried there (August 2004).

These are probably the only pictures of these three young Yupik women, who died 70 years ago. They will be eventually shared with their families, as the only pieces of memory of young lives cut short. To Dobrieva and other members of her community, these and other photos taken by Forshtein are of immense value. The former Naukan residents have hardly any photographs of their old site or of their relatives from that early time. Also, they have no easy access to other early photography from Naukan that exists elsewhere, particularly in Alaska.¹⁴ After being evicted from the old site in 1958, they have heroically preserved the legacy of their homeland for almost fifty years (Leonova 1997). Forshtein's photographs provide a strong visual link to the old memories and fathers' landscapes, despite more than two generations of physical separation.

3. Images from Ungaziq—"Attyrak festival by Matlu, the Eskimo: ritual objects" (I-115-124 and I-115-125—Fig.5).

Two images in this series of eight photographs depict the so-called *Attyrak* festival held by "Matlu, the Eskimo." Both the name of the person and of the festival can be easily identified. Matlu (*Mallu*) was a well-known hunter in Ungaziq and also a prominent local Soviet activist in Forshtein's time. *Attyrak* (*Ateghaq*) was the Yupik name of the early spring ceremony that marked the beginning of

spring hunting. Each boat captain performed it separately, though the ritual, reportedly, was more or less uniform (cf. Voblov 1952). We found clues to the pictures in the story of the *Ateghaq* festival recorded from *Uugsima* (U.I. Ukhsima, 1915-1989) in 1977 and 1979 (Krupnik 2001:267-268; translated by I.K.):

In the spring, just before they started hunting, they usually killed a dog. Not a lead-dog, of course, but a full-grown dog. Grandpa always did the killing for our family. They watched how the dog was dying: if it passes quickly, it's good. If it is dying slowly and barks a few times, that's a bad signal. Grandpa knew, how to make the dog to die fast.

[...] They did this festival in the spring, mostly in April; usually, it was held inside the house (skin-tent). They made a large pile in the middle of the inner room: they put the pokes (seal-skin floats, *awataghpaget*), the mast from the whaleboat, the sails and skin lines. They pulled it all in the middle. They also put in that pile a big wooden bowl full of meat. They used to cover it with a sail—I don't know why they did it and I don't remember it clearly. I was a little girl then. My Grandma used to prepare this meal for the festival. She boiled reindeer meat in the evening and then she made it into sort of ground meat, mixed with blubber and seal oil. Almost like a paté, but with no salt. We called it *perara*, *peraramen*. They made five lumps, sort of, on the surface of the ground meat; they put it for the night on top of the sleeping chamber, where it's warm at night.

In the morning, they open it up and they check the bowl carefully. If one or two of the lumps are missing, that means they are to get a whale or a polar bear this spring. Because we regard the whale and the polar bear as "god-given animals." They are given by God to a few people only, to those whom He wants to reward. So, they check: if all lumps are still there—well, no whale or polar bear comes this season.

Then they take the skin-boat and move it to the shore, with this bowl of meat and other stuff, like tobacco. Up to the festival, they usually keep the skin-boat near the house during wintertime. Just made a temporary boat-rack of four paddles or

¹⁴See, for example photos from C.W. Scarborough Collection of the 1920s (88-130-36N) preserved at the Archives and Manuscripts, Alaska and Polar Regions Department, University of Alaska Fairbanks, that have been reproduced as cover images in the recent Naukan Yupik Dictionary (Dobrieva et al. 2004).

oars. They usually break this temporary rack during the festival and put the boat on its permanent rack at the shore. I don't know what else they did it up there—they probably ate the meat and gave the pieces (to the spirits). Small pieces. They usually brought the leftovers back home from the shore, so that we could eat it in the evening. That's it, that's the festival. They start spring boat hunting after that.

The sequence of events described by *Uugsima* is featured in minute detail on Forshtein's photographs from 1928 or 1929. That same festival is also depicted on nine other images labeled "The First Hunt Ceremony by Yata, the Eskimo." Altogether, those seventeen photographs in the MAE collection illustrate all of the phases of the *Ateghaq* ceremony, including the killing of the dog; the boat stored near the house; the moving of the boat down to the beach; the boat launch in a small patch of open water; and the elderly women feasting on the meat inside the house at the

One could hardly look for more different settings than those of a dim Yupik skin-house, where the original Forshtein's photos were taken; the neat modern apartment in Provideniya, where the elderly *Uugsima* recalled the ceremony some fifty years later (Fig. 6); and of the museum storage in St. Petersburg where the old glass negatives of the event were recovered twenty-five years after that recording. Still, all of the puzzle pieces miraculously came together. *Uugsima*, the storyteller, had been featured herself as a young girl on one of Forshtein's photos in 1928 or 1929 (Fig. 7). She had lived a long life and is fondly remembered as a cultural expert and social activist by Chukotka Yupik people.

Conclusions: The Life and the Legacy

Our study of Forshtein's photography at MAE offer ample illustrations both to the opportunities for "knowledge repatriation" and to its limitations. We have retrieved substantial new data on the professional career and life of Alexander Forshtein, particularly on his days and deeds in



Fig.5: "Aftyrak festival by Matlu, the Eskimo. Ritual objects." MAE, И-115-125. Ungaziq, spring 1928 or 1929.

conclusion. The "ritual objects" featured on image И-115-124 turned out to be pieces of ordinary Yupik hunting gear as described by *Uugsima*: seal-skin float, manila and skin lines, retrieving hooks, whaling darting gun, walrus harpoon shafts, a decorated paddle, and several wooden bowls with food.

Chukotka, and on his visit to Copenhagen. His photos at MAE are now safely backed by high-resolution electronic scans that allow easy reprints for future publication, display purposes, and outreach. Forshtein's photography is currently one of the best-documented files among MAE historical photo collections from Siberia and the only one that is ac-



Fig.6: Uugsima (U.I. Uksima) around 1988. Photographer, V.I. Mostiaev. Museum of Beringian Heritage, Provideniya.

accompanied by comments and writings of local Yupik experts from Chukotka and Alaska. A new CD of Forshtein's pictures was produced by MAE in 2005 (Fig. 8); its cover features a picture of a young Yupik woman from Naukan, *Alperagtenga*, whose short life was described by Dobrieva in her written comment collected as a part of our project.

Also, copies of Forshtein's images and of the recently produced CD were mailed to cultural institutions and several families in Chukotka; they hopefully will be used by the local museums in Anadyr, Provideniya, and Lavrentiya for future exhibits and sharing with the families. Some 30 of the best Eskimo photographs by Forshtein will be featured as illustrations in a new collection of papers on Chukotka cultural heritage, with a brief life story of Forshtein, to be published soon (Bogoslovskaya and Krupnik n.d.). We hope this will mark a beginning of a "return journey" of Forshtein's photos from St. Petersburg back to Chukotka Yupik communities. Local people long for old images; they enjoy both writing down stories associated with historical photos and reading the narratives of others. The emotional significance of such personal "reunions" with the past often goes beyond the value of any scholarly records.

Our study also revealed many deep memory and knowledge losses that, unfortunately, cannot be repaired. Unless or until some new troves of Forshtein's personal papers are recovered, we have to operate with pieces of scanty records only (see Krauss, *this issue*). It may well be that Forshtein's professional legacy has been obliterated by the GULAG beyond repair, since, after his arrest and ten years of forced labor he never returned to Eskimo studies. Hence, his knowledge and talents were lost to his colleagues and prospective students, and his full scholarly potential never materialized. We now know from his letters that, following his trip to Denmark in 1936, Forshtein had started to forge contacts with Western scholars, such as Thalbitzer and Jochelson, by mailing to them copies of his publications and those of his fellow students of Bogoras and Shternberg. These emerging professional contacts were terminated by Forshtein's arrest and imprisonment. We may only guess what would have been his contribution to Russian Eskimo studies if, blessed by his experience, training by Bogoras, and his contacts with many Western colleagues, Forshtein had enjoyed a full professional career—as did some of his peers and fellow teachers-cum-linguists, like Georgii Menovshchikov (1911-1991), Ekaterina Rubtsova (1888-1971), Elizaveta Orlova (1899-1976), Petr Skorik (1906-1985), Innokentii Vdovin (1907-1996), and others. His old tragedies are our today's losses; both cannot be rectified even if Forshtein's professional name can be restored some 70 years later.

The history of the Siberian Yupik communities visited by Forshtein followed a tragic path of its own. The residents of most of the villages featured in his photographs, Ungaziq, Naukan, Imaqliq, Siqluk, Avan, were forcibly removed from their homes, often with no chance to revisit their old places for decades and generations. This inflicted irreparable damage to people's memory of their former landscapes, place-names, hunting grounds, and ritual sites, consigning entire blocks of cultural knowledge to oblivion. Many personal lives were also shattered by the relocations of the 1940s and 1950s, as alcoholism, poor health, and depression ravaged Yupik elders and young adults alike. Today's elders often express frustration about their inability to identify many faces in old photographs. They complain that the untimely passing of so many has left "hardly anybody around who still remembers those old days."

Although some stories about abandoned Siberian Yupik villages have been put in writing and published (i.e., Aivangu 1985; Krupnik 2001; Leonova 1997), many more have been lost. As generations that used to live, hunt, feast, marry, and play at old sites gradually pass away, their children, who are today's elders, preserve only pieces of the old traditions associated with their ancestors' landscapes and their former homelands. In this regard, Native oral tradition



Fig.7: "Ukhsima, the schoolgirl." MAE, И-115-19. Ungaziq, 1928 or 1929.

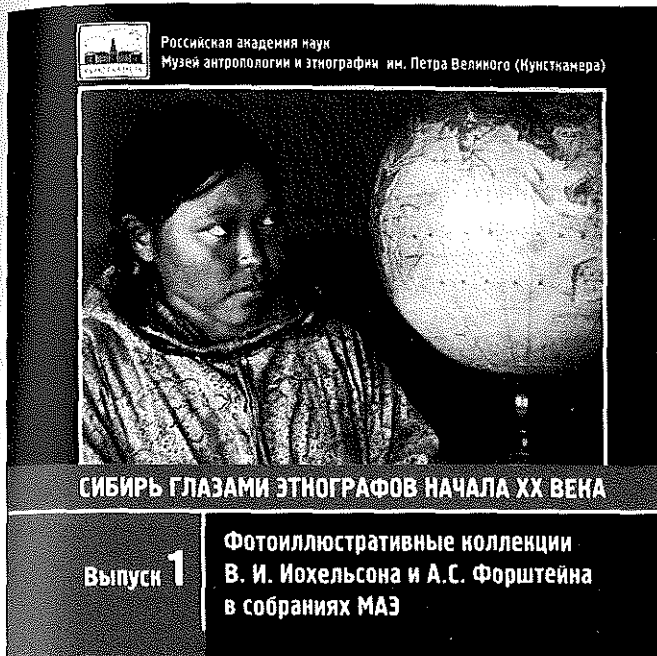


Fig.8: Cover of the CD, *Siberia as seen by the ethnographers of the early 1900s*. Photo collections of V.I. Jochelson and A.S. Forshtein at MAE. Pt.1 (MAE 2005).

and culture were shattered as the advance of Russian Eskimo studies had been arrested by the loss of Forshtein in 1937.

Still, this article features for the first time a rare personal photo of Forshtein (Fig. 1), so that new generations may now visualize a face behind the name. In a few Yupik houses in Chukotka and at several local museums and schools people may now enjoy the images of their great-grandparents and of their long-abandoned home sites preserved in Forshtein's photographs, something their parents never had a chance to do. If those modest steps help fill some voids inflicted by the past century, our effort in "visual repatriation" was worth undertaking.

Acknowledgements

This project was a collaborative venture and many people deserve our gratitude. The search for collections and records related to Aleksandr Forshtein has been a common pursuit for over two decades. We are particularly thankful to our colleagues Michael Krauss, Nikolai Vakhtin, and Mikhail Chlenov, who generously shared their findings, notes, and insights with us. At MAE in St. Petersburg, Aleksandr M. Reshetov and Iulia P. Kupina were instrumental in locating certain documents related to Forshtein's life. The staff members of the MAE Audiovisual Anthropology Laboratory, Nikita V. Ushakov, Aleksandr N. Tikhomirov, and Ekaterina B. Tolmacheva, did a superb job in processing Forshtein's glass negatives and old prints. In Chukotka, Tatiana Zagrebina, Director of the Museum of Beringian

Heritage in Provideniya, and Igor Zagrebin, museum curator, were fine partners in this collaborative effort. In Copenhagen we received great help from Hans-Christian Gulløv and Anna Bahnson at the Danish National Museum, and also from Bent Nielsen and Darya Morgunova, who researched Forshtein's letters to Thalbitzer at the Danish Royal Library. Svetlana V. Budnikova at the Magadan Regional Museum in Magadan kindly shared with us copies of two of Forshtein's letters to Georgii Menovshchikov. Michael Krauss, Anna Sirina, and Sergei Slobodin offered valuable comments to the first draft of this paper as well as some records we used in this text.

We are also grateful to Nadezhda Sudakova and Elena Vasil'eva, now in Nome, and to Rosa Iirgu and Valentina Yatta Koonooka, now in Gambell, St. Lawrence Island, who were instrumental in forwarding print copies of Forshtein's photographs to their home Chukotka communities of Lavrentiya, Provideniya, Sireniki, and New Chaplino, and in transmitting them back to us with notes and stories attached. In Gambell, Willis Walunga was a great source of comments to Forshtein's photos based upon his unique knowledge of Yupik heritage. Finally, our utmost thanks go to our Siberian Yupik partners—Lyudmila Ainana, Elizaveta Dobrieva, Klavdia Makarova, Alla Wyie, Valentina Viri, Vladimir Nasalik, Nikolai Ranumai, and others—who generously contributed their time and knowledge to this project. We thank you all.

References

Aivangu (Vladilen Leont'iev, Editor)

1985 *Nash rodnoi Unazik* (Our Beloved Ungaziq). Magadan Publishing House, Magadan.

Anonymous

1927 Khronika. Studenty-ethnografy na Dal'nem Vostoke [News. Ethnography Students in the Far East]. *Etnograf-issledovatel'* 1:35-39. Leningrad.

Antropova, Valentina V.

1972 Uchastie etnografov v prakticheskom osushchestvlenii leninskoi natsional'noi politiki na Krainem Severe (1920-1930 gg.) (The Role of Ethnologists in the Practical Implementation of Leninist National Policy in the Far North, during the 1920s and 1930s). *Sovetskaiia etnografiia* 6:19-27. Moscow.

Bogoraz-Tan, Vladimir G. (Bogoras, Waldemar)

1934 Yuitskii (Aziatsko-eskimoskii) iazyk (Yuit/Asiatic Eskimo Language). In *Iazyki i pis'mennost' narodov Severa*. Vol.3-Paleoaziatskie iazyki (Paleoasiatic Languages), edited by Ia. P. Al'kor, pp. 105-128, Uchpedgiz, Moscow and Leningrad.

Bogoslovskaya, Lyudmila S. and Igor Krupnik [Editors]

n.d. *Tropoiu Bogoraza. Nauchnye i literaturnye materialy* (In the Footsteps of Bogoraz: Scientific and Literary Sources). *Trudy Chukotskogo filiala SVKNII* 10. Anadyr and Moscow (in press).

Burch, Ernest S., Jr.

1981 *The Traditional Eskimo Hunters of Point Hope, Alaska: 1800-1875*. North Slope Borough, Barrow.

Campbell, John Martin [Editor].

1998 *North Alaska Chronicle: Notes from the End of Time. The Simon Paneak Drawings*. Museum of New Mexico Press, Santa Fe.

Crowell, Aron L., Amy F. Steffian, and Gordon L. Pullar [Editors]

2001 *Looking Both Ways: Heritage and Identity of the Alutiiq People*. University of Alaska Press, Fairbanks.

Ellana, Linda J., and George K. Sherrod

2004 *From Hunters to Herders: The Transformation of Earth, Society, and Heaven Among the Inupiat of Beringia*, edited by Rachel Mason. National Park Service, Anchorage.

Dobrieva, Elizaveta A., Evgeniy V. Golovko, Steven A. Jacobson, and Michael E. Krauss

2004 *Naukan Yupik Eskimo Dictionary*. Alaska Native Language Center, Fairbanks.

Fair, Susan W.

2004 Names of Places, Other Times: Remembering and Documenting Lands and Landscapes near Shishmaref, Alaska. In *Northern Ethnographic Landscapes: Perspectives from Circumpolar Nations*, edited by Igor Krupnik, Rachel Mason, and Tonia Horton, pp. 230-254. *Contributions to Circumpolar Anthropology* 6. Arctic Studies Center, Washington, D.C.

Fienup-Riordan, Ann [Editor]

2000 *Where The Echo Began, and Other Oral Traditions from Southwest Alaska, Recorded by Hans Himmelheber*. University of Alaska Press, Fairbanks.

2005 *Yup'it Qanruyutait: Yup'ik Words of Wisdom*. Transcriptions and Translations from the Yup'ik by Alice Rearden with Marie Meadé. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

108 Landscapes, Faces, and Memories: Eskimo Photography of Aleksandr Forshtein, 1927-1929

Forshtein, Aleksandr S.¹⁵

- 1927 Kratkaia grammatika chukotskogo iazyka (Brief Grammar of the Chukchi Language). Unpublished manuscript prepared with Sergei Stebnitsky.
- 1929 Aziatskie eskimosy kak morskii okhotniki (Asiatic Eskimos as Sea-Mammal Hunters). Unpublished graduation thesis, Ethnology Division, Leningrad University, Leningrad.
- 1930a Aziatskie Eskimosy (Asiatic Eskimo). Unpublished article prepared for *Dal'nevostochnaia entsiklopediia* (Encyclopedia of the [Russian] Far East).
- 1930b Iazyk aziatskikh eskimov (The Asiatic Eskimo Language). Unpublished article prepared for *Dal'nevostochnaia entsiklopediia* (Encyclopedia of the [Russian] Far East).
- 1930c Morzhovyi promysel (Walrus Hunting). Unpublished article prepared for *Dal'nevostochnaia entsiklopediia* (Encyclopedia of the [Russian] Far East).
- 1934(?) Chaunskie Chukchi (The Chaun Bay Chukchi). Unpublished manuscript.
- 1936 O nauchnykh ustanovkakh "po istorii tekhniki narodnostei Arkticheskoi Evropy i Ameriki. Tezisy doklada s "nametkoi ekspozitsionnogo plana" (On the Scientific Approach to the "History of Technology of the Peoples of Arctic Europe and America." Brief summary, with sketch of the design of the exposition). 25 pp. MAE Archives, F. K-IV, op.8, no.131. St. Petersburg.
- n.d.-a Stanovlenie roda u aziatskikh eskimov (Development of Clan (Gens) System among the Asiatic Eskimo). Unpublished paper.
- n.d.-b Shamanskii iazyk (Shaman Language). Unpublished paper.
- n.d.-c Materialy po iazyku eskimov (Asiatic Eskimo Language Materials). Unpublished paper.
- n.d.-d Sotsial'naia struktura obshchestva aziatskikh eskimov (Social Structure of the Asiatic Eskimo Society). Unpublished paper.

Gagen-Torn, Nina I.

- 1975 *Lev Iakovlevich Shternberg* (Leo Ia. Shternberg). Nauka, Moscow.

Gagnon, Mélanie [Editor]

- 2002 Inuit Recollections on the Military Presence in Iqaluit. *Memory and History in Nunavut 2*. Nunavut Arctic College, Iqaluit.

Hart, Elisa J.,

- 2001 *Reindeer Days Remembered*. Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre, Inuvik.

Hart, Elisa J., and Beverly Amos

- 2004 *Tariurmiutuakun Qanuq Atuutiviksaitlu Ilitchuriyaqput Ingilraan Inuvialuit Qulianginnin. Learning About Marine Resources and Their Use Through Inuvialuit Oral History*. Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre, Inuvik.

Ivanov, Sergei V.

- 1963 Ornament narodov Sibiri kak istoricheskii istochnik (Ornamentations of the Peoples of Siberia as a Historical Resource). *Trudy Instituta etnografii AN SSSR* 81. Moscow and Leningrad.

¹⁵Except for Forshtein 1936, the whereabouts of Forshtein's unpublished materials remains unknown. Most of his manuscripts were presumably lost after his arrest in 1937. His entries for the unpublished Far East Encyclopedia (*Dal'nevostochnaia entsiklopediia*) may be preserved in the Encyclopedia's file at the Regional Archives in Khabarovsk. The current listing is made according to Forshtein's memos in his personal file at the MAE Archives in St. Petersburg.

Khasanova, Marina M.

- 2002 Negidal'skaia kolleksiia K.M. Myl'nikovoi v sobraniakh MAE (MAE Negidal collection by Klavdia Mylnikova). In *Muzei. Traditsii. Etnichnost'. XX-XXI v.* Pp. 101-105. St. Petersburg and Cisheneu.

Krauss, Michael

- 1973 Eskimo-Aleut. In *Current Trends in Linguistics* 10:796-902. Mouton, The Hague and Paris.

Krupnik, Igor

- 1996 The "Bogoras Enigma:" Bounds of Cultures and Formats of Anthropologists. In *Grasping the Changing World. Anthropological Concepts in the Postmodern Era*, edited by V. Hubinger, pp. 35-52. Routledge, London and New York.
- 1998 Jesup Genealogy: Intellectual Partnership and Russian-American Cooperation in Arctic/North Pacific Anthropology. Part 1. From the Jesup Expedition to the Cold War, 1897-1948. *Arctic Anthropology* 35(2):199-226.
- 2001a *Pust' govoriat nashi stariki. Rasskazy aziatskikh eskimosov-yupik. Zapisi 1975-1987 gg.* (Let Our Elders Speak. Yupik-Asiatic Eskimo Narratives, 1975-1987). Russian Heritage Institute, Moscow.
- 2001b Beringia Yupik "Knowledge Repatriation" Project Completed. Some Team Members' Reflections. *Arctic Studies Center Newsletter* 9.

Krupnik, Igor, Willis Walunga, and Vera Metcalf [Editors]

- 2002 *Akuzilleput Igaqullghet/Our Words Put to Paper. Sourcebook in St. Lawrence Island Yupik Heritage and History.* Igor Krupnik and Lars Krutak, comps. *Contributions to Circumpolar Anthropology* 3. Arctic Studies Center, Washington, D.C.

Krupnik, Igor and Elena Mikhailova

- 2006 Peizazhi, litsa, i istorii: eskimoskie fotografii Aleksandra Forzhhteina (1927-1929) (Landscapes, Faces, and Stories: Eskimo Photographs by Alexander Forshtein, 1927-1929). *Antropologicheskii forum* 4:188-220. St. Petersburg.

Laugrand, Frédéric, Jarich Oosten, and Francois Trudel, comps.

- 2000 Representing Tuurngait. *Memory and History in Nunavut* 1. Nunavut Arctic College, Iqaluit.

Leonova, Valentina, G., comp.

- 1997 *Pamiat' o Naukane* (The Memory of Naukan). Unpublished collection of memoirs, stories, and ethnographic interviews of the Naukan Yupik elders. Lavrentiya.

Levin, Maxim G., and Leonid P. Potapov [Editors]

- 1956 *Narody Sibiri* (Peoples of Siberia). Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Moscow and Leningrad.
- 1961 *Istoriko-etnograficheskii atlas Sibiri* (Historical and Ethnographic Atlas of Siberia). Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Moscow and Leningrad.

Lopp Smith, Kathleen, and Verbeck Smith [Editors]

- 2001 *Ice Window. Letters from a Bering Strait Village: 1892-1902.* University of Alaska Press, Fairbanks

Menovshchikov, Georgii A..

- 1956 Eskimosy (Eskimos). In *Narody Sibiri*, edited by M. Levin and L. Potapov, pp. 934-949. Nauka, Moscow and Leningrad. (Translated in 1956. *The Peoples of Siberia*, edited by M. Levin and L. Potapov, pp. 836-850, University of Chicago Press, Chicago).

- 1962a Grammatika iazyka aziatskikh eskimov. Chast'1 (Grammar of the Asiatic Eskimo Language. Part 1). USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow and Leningrad.
- 1962b O perezhitochnykh iavleniiakh rodovoi organizatsii u aziatskikh eskimov (On the Relict Phenomena of the Gens System among the Asiatic Eskimo). *Sovetskaia etnografiia* 6:29-34.
- 1977 *Na Chukotskoi zemle* (In the Land of Chukotka). Magadanskoe izdatel'stvo, Magadan.
- Menovshchikov, Georgii A., and Ekaterina S. Rubtsova
- 1949 Spisok literatury na iazyke aziatskikh eskimov (List of Literature Published in the Asiatic Eskimo Language). In *Materialy po iazyku aziatskikh eskimov* (Asiatic Eskimo Language Materials) by Vladimir G. Bogoraz, pp. 253-254. Uchpedgiz, Leningrad.
- Norbert, Eileen
- 1998 Charles Menadelook Photographs—A Family Collection. In *Imaging the Arctic*, edited by J.C.H. King and H. Lidchi, pp. 156-159. British Museum Press, London.
- Russian Academy of Sciences Archives
- n.d. Personal file of A.S. Forshtein. Russian Academy of Sciences. Archives, St. Petersburg Branch. File 4, Folder 4, No.4690, 41 pp. (Fond 4, Opis'4, No. 4690—RAS Archives 4); File 142, Folder 5, No.174, 1 pp. (Fond 142, opis 5, n.174—RAS Archives 142).
- Reshetov, Aleksandr M.
- 1995 Otdanie dolga, II. Pamiati sotrudnikov Instituta etnografii AN SSSR, pogibshikh v boiakh za rodinu (Paying Tribute, Pt. 2. To the Memory of Staff Members of the Institute of Ethnography Who Perished Defending the Motherland [in the Second World War]. *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie* 4:3-24.
- 2002 Aleksandr Semionovich Forshtein (1904-1968). Stranitsy biografii repressirovannogo etnografa (Aleksandr Semionovich Forshtein, 1904-1968: Biographical Pages on the Life of a Purged Ethnographer). In *II Dikovskie Chteniiia. Materialy nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii*, edited by A. Lebedintsev, M. Gelman, and T. Gogoleva, pp. 275-279. Severo-Vostochnyi nauchnyi tsentr, Magadan.
- Roon, Tatyana P., and Anna A. Sirina
- 2003 E.A. Kreinovich: zhizn' i sud'ba uchenogo (Erukhim Kreinovich: the Life and Fate of a Scientist). In *Repressirovannye etnografy* 2, edited by D. Tumarkin, pp. 47-77. Vostochnaia literature, Moscow.
- Schaaf, Jeanne [Editor]
- 1996 *Ublasaun. First Light. Inupiaq Hunters and Herders in the Early Twentieth Century, Northern Seward Peninsula, Alaska*. Shared Beringian Heritage Program, National Park Service, Anchorage.
- Sergeev, Mikhail A.
- 1955 Nekapitalisticheskii put' razvitiia malykh narodov Severa (The Non-Capitalist Transition of the Minority Peoples of the North). *Trudy Instituta etnografii AN SSSR* 27, Moscow and Leningrad.
- Shnakenburg, Nikolai B.
- 1939 Eskimosy (The Eskimo [of Chukotka]). Unpublished manuscript. Archives of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, St. Petersburg, F. K-1, Op.1, no. 557.
- Senungetuk, Vivian, and Paul Tiulana
- 1989 *A Place for Winter: Paul Tiulana's Story*. The Cook Inlet Native (CIRI) Foundation, Anchorage.

Sivuqam Nangaghnegha

1985-89 *Sivuqam Nangaghnegha. Siivanllemta Ungipaqellghat. Lore of St. Lawrence Island. Echoes of Our Eskimo Elders.* Anders Apassingok, Willis Walunga, and Edward Tennant, comps. Vols. 1-3. Bering Straits School District, Unalakleet.

Slobodin, Sergei B.

2004a Review [V.I. Iokhelson. Koriaki. Material'naia kul'tura i sotsial'naia organizatsiia, 1997. Russian translation: Waldemar Jochelson. The Koryak. Material Culture and Social Organization]. In: *Materialy po istorii Severa Dal'nego Vostoka*, pp. 239-253. SVKNII, Magadan.

2004b O russkom perevode knigi V.I. Iokhel'sona "Koriaki. Material'naia kul'tura i sotsial'naia organizatsiia (On the Russian Translation of Jochelson's "The Koryak. Material Culture and Social Organization"). *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie* 6:14-30.

Vakhtin, Nikolai B.

n.d. Notes from Files at the Leningrad KGB Office (Komitet Gosudarstvennoi Bezopasnosti po Leningradskoi Oblasti).

Vasil'kov, Yaroslav V., and Marina Sorokina, comps.

2003 *Liudi i sud'by: biobibliograficheskii slovar' vostokovedov—zhertv politicheskogo terrora v Sovetskii period (1917-1991)* (Men and Destiny. A Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of Oriental Scholars, Victims of Political Repression during the Soviet Era, 1917-1991). Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie, St. Petersburg.

Vdovin, Innokentii S.

1954 *Ocherki istorii izuchenii paleoaziatskikh iazykov* (Review of the History of Studies in Paleoasiatic Languages). Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Leningrad.

Voblov, I.K.

1952 Eskimoskie prazdniki (Eskimo Festivals). *Sibirskii etnograficheskii sbornik* 1. Pp. 320-334. *Trudy Instituta etnografii AN SSSR* 18. Moscow and Leningrad. [Translated by Charles Hughes and published as Voblov 1959].

1959 Eskimo Ceremonies. *Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska* 7(2):71-90.

THE ESKIMO LANGUAGE WORK OF ALEKSANDR FORSHTEIN

Michael E. Krauss

Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska Fairbanks, AK 99775, ffmek@uaf.edu

Abstract: The paper focuses on another aspect of the legacy of the late Russian Eskimologist Aleksandr Forshtein (1904-1968), namely his linguistic materials and his publications in Eskimo languages and early Russian/Soviet school programs in Siberian Yupik. During the 1930s, the Russians launched an impressive program in developing writing systems, education, and publication in several Native Siberian languages. Forshtein and his mentor, Waldemar Bogoraz, took active part in those efforts on behalf of Siberian Yupik. The paper reviews Forshtein's (and Bogoraz') various contributions to Siberian Yupik language work and language documentation. As it turned out, Forshtein's, as well as Bogoraz' approach had many flaws; several colleagues of Forshtein achieved better results and produced alternative writing systems for Siberian Yupik language. This review of the early Russian language work on Siberian Yupik is given against the backdrop of many colorful personalities involved and of the general conditions of Russian Siberian linguistics during the 1920s and the 1930s.

Keywords: A.S. Forshtein, V.G. Bogoraz, K.S. Sergeeva, E. P. Orlova, Yuit

This paper that evaluates the Eskimo language work of Aleksandr Semenovich Forshtein (1904-1968) must begin with a painfully conflicted apology. In the early 1980's I was invited by Isabelle Kreindler of Haifa University to contribute a paper to a collection on Soviet linguists executed or interned by Stalinist repression in the former USSR during the years 1930-1953 (Kreindler 1985). Unfortunately, I felt compelled then to decline that invitation, however much I wished to write especially on Forshtein's tragedy. That reluctant refusal was because I so deeply appreciated my contacts with Igor Krupnik and his colleagues Mikhail Chlenov, Nikolai Vakhtin, Evgenii Golovko, of the new generation of Eskimo scholars in the Soviet Union. They were my trusted partners ("co-conspirators") in a joint effort to restore Russian-American relations across the Cold War divide in the North Pacific/Bering Strait region, at both the academic and indigenous community levels. Also, at the same time my personal political status at that phase of Cold War tension was questionable in the former USSR (e.g. the KGB had been reportedly warning Eskimos in Chukotka that Krauss was a CIA operative). I thus had not only to fear for the continuation of my contacts, but also even for the welfare of those involved. Such was the insidiousness of that system, which

forced me to compromise a freedom taken for granted on this side.

Furthermore, I feel the need to warn the reader to bear with me that in the recent process of research for the present paper, I was repeatedly faced with new discoveries and realizations about Forshtein's work, especially in his relations with his mentor Vladimir Bogoraz scientifically and personally. Understanding of that relationship and of Bogoraz's overall role in the Soviet Eskimo language work in the 1930s thus became an important component to this paper.

Discovery of Soviet Eskimo Language Work and Forshtein, 1969-1974

I first came upon the name of A. S. Forshtein in 1969-70, which I was spending on sabbatical at MIT, with fine libraries there and at Harvard. I had been assigned by Dell Hymes the task of writing chapters on Na-Dene (Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit-Haida) and Eskimo-Aleut languages, *Current Trends in Linguistics* (see Krauss 1973). For the Eskimo-Aleut, which I was making largely bibliographical, for work

both on and also in those languages, I made a special effort to include all of the Soviet linguistic or language works on "Asiatic Eskimo," actually four languages. I detail these, as Forshtein himself had evidently had contact with all four:

1. Chaplinski Yupik—the Chukotka side of Central Siberian Yupik (CSY) virtually identical with that on St. Lawrence Island, Alaska; Chaplinski remains the "official" Soviet Eskimo language and therefore the only standard for all Russian Eskimo language publications, including schoolbooks;

2. Naukanski Yupik—formerly on East Cape at Bering Strait, Russia only, proudly independent, unhappily forced to make do with the Chaplinski schoolbooks;

3. Sireniskii—a separate sub-branch of Eskimo, coordinate with the Yupik branch; it is now entirely extinct, and in Forshtein's time it was already ceding to Chaplinski, with schoolchildren beginning to become monolingual in Chaplinski;

4. Big Diomedes Iñupiaq—now extinct as such, but still spoken by elders on Little Diomedes Island, Alaska.

The MIT and Harvard libraries had collections as fine as then existed for such bibliographical purposes, though they of course did not have the schoolbooks themselves. From especially the annual *Ezhegodnik Knigi SSSR*, the annual bibliography of all books printed in the USSR in any language, I was able to come up with a listing of over 80 Soviet Eskimo (Chaplinski Yupik) schoolbooks printed 1932-1969. This was a startling revelation of sorts, of a very creditable production for an indigenous community of roughly 1300, especially as compared with Alaska's wretched record.

My Eskimo bibliographic chapter was published in 1973 (Krauss 1973), and during the early 1970s, I managed to get copies of virtually this entire literature for the Alaska Native Language Center (ANLC) at the University of Alaska at Fairbanks, most of all through the International Book Exchange of the Lenin Library in Moscow (presently the Russian National Library). Those came in the form of microfilms, which we then printed out and bound as reconstituted books. We then presented complete sets of these to the St. Lawrence Island village schools at Gambell and Savoonga, as a part of the newly established Yupik language program that the recently established ANLC was helping to implement; this did include, of course, new materials in a new American Roman orthography developed for the Island

Yupik language. The collection of the Yupik Eskimo books or facsimiles thereof sent in 1974 to the Island was accompanied by a detailed report I had written for the Islanders, to describe and explain each vein and item of that literature (Krauss 1974). At the same time, Soviet propaganda, much of it by Chukchi journalist Iurii Rytkeu, converted this to a story that the St. Lawrence Islanders, having nothing else to read in their own language, were gratefully learning to read thanks to the Soviet material.

Little did I realize at that time that, ironically, no such collection of that Soviet Eskimo literature existed in Chukotka itself, which the Yupiks could see or perhaps had ever seen the likes of, certainly at least since 1958. That year, the two largest Yupik villages on the Russian side, Naukan and Chaplino, were both closed by the authorities and the people were removed from their ancestral homes, lest any contact with their American relatives remain possible, and to "facilitate their merging" with the Chukchis and local Russians. The children were taken from their parents, put into village boarding-schools, the only language of which was Russian, and the Eskimo-language books were burned (Georgii Menovshchikov, personal communication, 1976).¹

**Orlova, Forshtein, Sergeeva,
and
1932-1936 Eskimo Schoolbooks**

We now return to Forshtein and focus on the early period of that remarkable Soviet accomplishment in establishing a school literature in Chaplinski Yupik 1932-1936. Those years were the period of Soviet Northern minorities' literature in the so-called "Alfavit Narodov Severa," (Alphabet for the Peoples of the North), a Latin-based alphabet motivated by Komintern ideals or ambitions, for Communism worldwide, not just USSR. The first Soviet Eskimo book was the 1932 primer *Xwan̄kuta Ihaput*, i.e. in the American orthography *Whanḡkuta Igaput*, "Our Book." It was composed on the Soviet model (and/or translated therefrom) by the "brigade" (team) of Yupik students Bychkov and Leita at the Khabarovsk Technical School, under the supervisory editorship of Elizaveta Porfir'evna Orlova (1899-1976). Orlova was a Russian ethnographer and educator, and a fellow student of Forshtein. She was a champion of truly minority languages, like Itel'men and Aleut, as well as Yupik, whom I managed to meet in Leningrad in 1976 shortly before her death. The 1000-copy printing of the Orlova primer never reached its destination—lost in shipment, apparently. A single copy reached Provideniia in

¹The ANLC effort did little for the viability of the St. Lawrence Island language in the long run, as no real investment in the program was forthcoming from the Bering Strait School District. By now the Island Yupik children are mostly speaking English; the common language between the Russian side and the Islanders is also becoming English. Now, a movement is beginning on the island, at least in some circles, to take significantly more responsibility and control of the status of the Yupik language in the school, so that real community initiative and commitment may eventually grow enough to keep the language alive.

Chukotka, where three copies were made of it on tracing-paper, for further such copying in the nearby Yupik villages in 1933-34 (Sergeeva 1935; Menovshchikov 1967; 1979:61-68; Budnikova 1990). We learn from Budnikova (1990) that the primer was very successful and popular, such that it also inspired, starting in spring 1934, the local production of a Yupik-language wall-newspaper (poster), which created quite a sensation.

We have no record of any further Soviet Eskimo books published in 1932-1934. The main contemporary bibliographical source, the *Ezhegodnik Knigi SSSR*, is incomplete for that period, except, fortunately, for 1935. However, it is usefully supplemented, quite thoroughly, for any Eskimo books printed 1931-1934, including those planned for 1934 and 1935. These were two Northern nationalities book-directories for the years 1931-1933 (*Ukazatel'* 1934) and 1931-1934 (*Ukazatel'* 1935), published by the Institute for the Peoples of the North, which Bogoraz headed and where Forshtein worked 1933-1936.

Vladimir Germanovich Bogoraz (1865-1936, known in the West as Waldemar Bogoraz) was the leading Soviet authority on Northern minority languages in Russia. Starting as a political exile, he had much studied Chukchi, and in 1901 also some Yupik, mainly Chaplinski, on the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, organized by Franz Boas for the American Museum of Natural History in New York. Bogoraz tried to write up an Eskimo grammar in Russian and also in English in New York, where he stayed upon his return from the expedition 1903-1904. He also worked on his 1901 Eskimo grammar some more in 1918, but he never got that grammar in shape to publish during his lifetime (except for a shortened Russian version in 1934). One can imagine that Bogoraz was happy to have his protege Forshtein in Chukotka in 1927-1933 (see Krupnik and Mikhailova, *this issue*).

Forshtein's own Chaplinski grammatical sketch was reportedly written by 1930, which raises the question of the degree to which Bogoraz might have used Forshtein's work for his own. Bogoraz does indeed acknowledge a contribution by Forshtein in a footnote to the shortened grammatical sketch of Chaplinski he himself published soon after (Bogoraz 1934). That may be the first time Forshtein's name appears in print, aside from his student travel report of 1927 (Reshetov 2002). The degree to which that 1934 Chaplinski grammatical sketch is really Bogoraz's and not to some extent Forshtein's will be taken up below.

For late 1934 we have an unpublished evaluation by Forshtein (See subsection "Forshtein and Bogoraz Attack Orlova," this paper), no doubt volunteered by Forshtein and so assigned to him by Bogoraz, severely criticizing the Orlova team's work in the Yupik primer of 1932. One factor may be that the 1932 primer clearly was written in what may be called the "Avatmii" (Avan) dialect of Chaplinski, which has a few noticeable phonological differences from Chaplinski and which would show in spelling.² For such traits the Orlova primer could easily be stigmatized. That primer is thus in fact the only instance of the distinctive Avatmii dialect in print, of any kind, to the present. We also have Bogoraz's letter of January 1935 (See subsection "Forshtein and Bogoraz Attack Orlova," this paper), adding to Forshtein's critique also Bogoraz's strong support of his own protege's vastly superior skills.

We have good evidence to support such a claim from the *Ukazatel'* for 1931-33 (1934:20, plan for 1934) that Orlova was also to produce a Yupik reader for Class 1 (*Kniga dlia chteniia 1 god obucheniia*) and an arithmetic textbook, also for Class 1 (*Uchebnik arifmetiki 1 god obucheniia*), each to be printed in 1000 copies. For these, according to the *Ukazatel'* for 1931-34 (1935: 28, plan for 1935) Forshtein was to write back-translations into Russian, 500 copies of each to be printed. No such reader or arithmetic text evidently ever appeared in print with Orlova's name attached.

Meanwhile, Katerina Semenovna Sergeeva (1899-1975) had in 1933 become teacher at the Ureliki Yupik school (near Provideniia) in Chukotka. There she began working with a gifted young woman from Sireniki, Wye (Weyi), then 16, and a teenage boy, Atata, then 13, also of Sireniki. Wye (1917-1997) ended up being the last speaker of her native Sireniki language, and Atata (1920-1946), ended up being a KGB operative, assigned to travel to St. Lawrence Island (Igor Krupnik, personal communication, 2005). They were the same Yupik students at the Ureliki school, who had begun in 1934 the wall-newspaper mentioned above. They had also become involved by 1935 in a new Eskimo language "brigade," systematically writing down Yupik folklore in Chaplinski, Sireniki, and Avatmii, as well as using the written language in local business meetings, a practice which soon stopped (Budnikova 1990). These materials were never published; but they or some of them may be preserved in Sergeeva's personal file at the Magadan Regional Museum (cf. Budnikova 1989). The Sergeeva Yupik team was also somehow proofreading the Yupik textbooks that were to be published in Leningrad in 1935 in the new Latin orthography, now under the names of Sergeeva, who had returned to Leningrad by 1935, and Forshtein. So it is

²e.g., *saxsin* for *saqsin*, i.e., Alaskan spelling *saaghsin* for *saaqsin* 'what are you doing?'

in any case quite clear that Orlova's contribution was eliminated, her reader and arithmetic manual were rejected, with her role now taken over by Sergeeva and Forshtein.

The Latin alphabet Yupik schoolbook work done by Forshtein and Sergeeva, mostly headed under the latter's name, was all published in 1935-1936, before the conversion to Cyrillic orthography, implemented according to general intensifying Stalinist policy (see below, and Krauss 1973a; 1974; 1975). That 1935-1936 literature may have been in "better" Yupik, or was at least in a more prestigious dialect. In any case, however, the new Latin orthography itself was definitely not for the better (see below and Krauss 1975:59-61).

Stalinist Terror and Forshtein's Arrest, 1937

The period 1932-1936 of the Soviet "Latin" Yupik alphabets (1932 and 1935-1936) was one of relative political "liberalism." During that period Forshtein enjoyed in 1936 a goodly stay abroad in Copenhagen (see Krupnik and Mikhailova, *this issue*), and an Eskimo schoolbook could be published in Russia in an international alphabet, of all things, on the history of aviation, teaching Eskimo children in Chukotka facing Alaska, that the first airplane that flew was invented by the American Wright brothers (see Appendix 1, A12).

Such "liberty" was to change radically with the onset of the Stalinist terror of 1937. A merely trivial symptom was the abolition of the Alphabet of the Peoples of the North, including that for Yupik, along with those for other new nationality literatures in the USSR. All of these were ordered to be converted to new alphabets designed on a Cyrillic base. In the case of the Soviet Yupik, this transition was presided over by Sergeeva herself, who continued through 1939. Sergeeva was then in turn replaced by two other Russian linguists and former village schoolteachers, Georgii Alekseevich Menovshchikov (1911-1991) and Ekaterina Sergeevna Rubtsova (1888-1971). Anyone who wished to persist with the old "Latin" orthography became an "enemy of the people" (Budnikova 1990).

The 1936-1937 changes were especially tragic for Forshtein. His mentor Bogoraz died May 10, 1936, apparently of natural causes, but unexpectedly. Forshtein learned of this during his stay in Copenhagen, April through

end of July 1936. Though Bogoraz himself would hardly have been in any position to protect Forshtein, news of Bogoraz's death might further have alarmed Forshtein and motivated him to write to Boas in New York. His letter is dated June 30, 1936, introducing himself, saying that he had valuable materials on Asiatic Eskimo, several dialects of which it would become impossible to do further research on within ten years. Forshtein would be especially able to work up dictionaries for two dialects, albeit with "blank spots." These were presumably Chaplinski and most probably also Sireniskii.³ Forshtein hoped that Boas could invite him to New York to work a year or so under his guidance. Forshtein adds that it would be "of great importance" to receive Boas's response by his scheduled departure date, 25 July. Sadly, it turned out that Boas was away on vacation, and sent his reply (negative, there was no money, and Boas was retired) only on August 29, 1936 to Copenhagen, whence it was forwarded to Forshtein by then back in USSR. This evidence of Forshtein's attempt to abuse his leave from the Soviet Union, absconding with his valuable papers, could easily have been an additional factor in his arrest in May 1937 (see Krupnik and Mikhailova, *this issue*).

Forshtein's Eskimo Language Works

The Appendix constitutes a full listing of all Forshtein's known publications, planned publications, and unpublished scientific papers that have been located, all on Chaplinski or Sireniskii Eskimo.⁴ These fall into the following categories: A. published Chaplinski schoolbooks for which Forshtein is shown as author, translator, editor or otherwise contributor (12 items); B. Chaplinski schoolbooks which are listed as "planned" (or "in print"), for which Forshtein is listed as author or translator, or probably was intended as such, which may or may not have been written, but never were published (6 items); and C. unpublished manuscript and/or typescript materials written or partly written by Forshtein, found in the Bogoraz personal file at the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg (4 items). Unpublished papers listed by Forshtein in his 1934 memorandum preserved at the Academy of Sciences Archives and referred to by Krupnik and Mikhailova (*this issue*) are not repeated here.

[The Appendix was originally written as part of the article text, starting at this point. Much more than a mere listing of Forshtein's Eskimo language work, it includes commentary to each entry, often relevant to the article text, so might also be read at this point].

³Most varieties of Asiatic Eskimo were at that time actually not losing their viability, all children speaking them, with many or most still monolingual. The exception was Sireniskii, which was at that time indeed ceding to Chaplinski (Krupnik 1991). It seems clear that Forshtein must indeed have had some contact with all four varieties of Asiatic Eskimo, but the preponderance of his time and contact must have been with Chaplinski and Sireniskii. His publication was of course all Chaplinski, and the only set of linguistic field notes we have from him is Sireniskii, plus possibly some Chaplinski. Forshtein's exaggeration of the declining state of the Eskimo 'dialects' in Russia is understandable in the framework of the time and especially of his personal situation (see his letter to Boas of June 30, 1936 in Krupnik 1998:213-214).

⁴Not counting his published student travel report of 1927, or reported Chukchi grammar with Stebnitskii, also 1927.

Excursus:

Evaluation of Bogoraz's Eskimo Transcription

In order to come to some evaluation of the linguistic quality of Forshtein's original fieldwork, with as little documentary evidence we have of it (see C2 in the Appendix), we must first go into the phonology of the language(s), and the linguist's ability to recognize the essential sound distinctions on which the structure of the language is based.

All Eskimo-Aleut languages make fundamental distinctions in two ways which differ from European languages generally, including Russian. First, they all make a systematic contrast between velar and uvular (=front velar and back velar) consonants, and, second, they have a system of only four (or three) vowels, where a systematic contrast between single and double (=long) vowels is crucial. Failure to observe the velar/uvular contrast is almost as serious as would be a failure to observe Russian palatalization ("hard" vs. "soft" consonants), and failure to observe vowel length would be even more serious than to ignore Russian word-accent.⁵ If insight into these structures is lacking, the result is not merely a heavy "foreign accent," but is also failure to observe fundamental grammatical structures, which depend on those sound distinctions.

To evaluate Forshtein's performance in this regard, we must first evaluate that of his mentor Bogoraz, who (alone) prepared Forshtein for the fieldwork, directly and/or through his published (and perhaps also unpublished) work. We have no record that any Eskimo speakers were available in Leningrad in 1926-27, i.e., Forshtein had no access to any other recent source of information on Eskimo, except of course foreign Eskimo, especially Greenlandic, such as that by Kleinschmidt and Thalbitzer, which Bogoraz certainly knew and cited.

The velar/uvular consonant distinction or contrast forms a 2x3=6 system, the 3 being the systematic 3-way contrast in all Eskimo-Aleut between 1) stops (plain, neither aspirated nor voiced), i.e. *k/k'*; 2) voiced fricatives, i.e. *g/g'*; and 3) voiceless fricatives, i.e. *x/x'*, to use here the Latin equivalents for the Cyrillic letters which the Soviet Eskimo literature ended up using by 1946, when that finally started fully to reflect an adequate level of observing the contrast (see Fig. 8).

Bogoraz began his most relevant fieldwork lengthily with Chukchi, which has a clear velar/uvular *k/k'* (= *k/q*)

contrast, and which Bogoraz definitely observed (though shakily, with frequent errors) at least by 1901, when he also did his first and only Yupik Eskimo fieldwork (Fig. 1). Chukchi, it should also be noted, has that contrast only for the stops *k/q*, not for the fricatives. Where Eskimo has four contrasting fricatives, *g/g'* and *x/x'*, paralleling *k/q*, Chukchi has only one, *g* (which has a predictable variant which sounds more like *x*).

In his Eskimo transcriptions of 1901, Bogoraz does manage to distinguish Eskimo *k* and *q* somewhat, but rather more shakily than he did in Chukchi, writing *q* (his long-tailed *k*) correctly about 20% of the time, but *k* 80%, as though it were the non-uvular *k*, which he correctly writes *k* about 99% of the time, rarely *q*, 1%, the reverse mistake. However, for the two Eskimo voiced fricatives, *g* and *g'*, Bogoraz makes a rather clear distinction, somewhat more clearly or accurately than he does for *k* and *q*, and obviously for a different reason, this time for the uvular. For the uvular Bogoraz quite regularly writes a symbol resembling lower-case Latin *h*, with both more or less of a downward extension, and a bar to the right from the top. From his first Eskimo text publication in 1909 on, however, he has representing that symbol in print a Latin *r* instead, usually with a dot underneath, clearly demonstrating that he recognizes that sound as the very widespread highly fashionable European uvular version of the trilled *r*, made at the back of the tongue instead of front. That *r* was and is prevalent for example in "good" French, much German, definitely Yiddish, and also in much Russian of the time in urban intellectual circles, including very probably Bogoraz and Forshtein themselves. It is still quite widespread in Russian, though hardly recognized these days except as a common "speech defect." It also explains such Russian spellings as *Sirenik*- for the village name *Sighinek*, where in Russian the *r* is now of course usually the tongue-tip trill.

For the non-uvular Eskimo *g*, Bogoraz often also wrote the same symbol (printed as dotted *r*), mistakenly, but only about 40% of the time. He in fact wrote something else about 60% of the time for it, as that *g* so often failed to meet his auditory expectations for *r*. He heard it with difficulty, often as nothing, zero, e.g. writing *ugu* as *uu*, or writing it as *w* after *u* before something else, e.g. *uwa* likewise as *y* after *i*, i.e. as nearly zero, and occasionally in certain positions he wrote *h* (later *g*) for it. In other words, though he had little or no idea of Yupik *g* as such, somewhat more often than not he did in a sense distinguish, however accidentally, *g* from *g'*, thanks to his Yiddish-Russian uvular *r*. (In fact, Bogoraz also

⁵Bogoraz and Forshtein did indeed fail to recognize Eskimo vowel length as such, though they did sometimes mark it as accent (along with accent without length). Russian Eskimo linguistics only began to recognize vowel length in the 1940s, mainly through the work of Rubtsova, but long vowels have never been recognized in schoolbook orthographies. This issue is covered at length in Krauss 1975.

Consonant Transcription Conventions Employed in Siberian Yupik Linguistics.
(Figures 1 through 8 and "St. Lawrence Island.")

1. Bogoraz 1901

k	k k*
ø h h*	h*
x	x

2. Bogoraz 1909-34

k	k
ø g r*	r*
x	x

3. Forshtein 1929

k	k
g*	r*
h*	h*

4. Orlova 1932

k	q
h	g
x	x

5. Forshtein -
Sergeeva 1935-6

k	q
g	r
h	h

6. Sergeeva 1937

k	k'
g	r'
x	x

7. Sergeeva -
Rubtsova 1938-41

k	k'
g	g'
x	x

8. Rubtsova -
Menovshchikov 1946-

k	k'
g	g'
x	x'

St. Lawrence Island

k	q
g	gh
g(g)	gh(h)

Notes

1.-3. * symbols modified as described in text; ø = zero, y, w

6.-8. Latin equivalents here shown for Cyrillic symbols.

seemed to distinguish that *r* from the tongue-tip retroflex *r* that also occurs as such in all Asiatic Eskimo; that he also wrote *r*, of course, but without the dot underneath.)

For the voiceless Yupik fricatives *x* and *x'*, Bogoraz always wrote only *x*, having no inkling of a difference (though Russian has an *x* more like Eskimo *x*, and Yiddish one more like Eskimo *x'*). This failure is in fact quite expectable, given the above. The Yupik *k* and *q*, though much shakier still than that in Chukchi, he knew or sensed he had to deal with, from Chukchi. The *g/g'* contrast he heard a bit more clearly, but that sensibility came only because of his native Russian dialect and/or Yiddish. With those sensitivities coming from two different altogether unrelated directions, Bogoraz presumably sensed no connection between the two highly parallel contrasts, i.e. the same single contrast distinguishing both pairs, which of course applies equally to the third pair, *x/x'*. This last structural point is particularly unfortunate, because in fact there are in Yupik grammar extremely frequent parallel alternations between *g* and *x*, as well as *k*, and likewise of course between *g'* and *x'*, as well as *q*. It is not clear when Bogoraz first read Kleinschmidt (1851) or Thalbitzer, Bogoraz's contemporary in Copenhagen, both of which

Bogoraz often cites at least in his later publications, as they make that picture quite clear for Greenlandic. Without that picture, one not only fails to create an appropriate writing system, one also misses a lot of points in Eskimo grammar.

Fig. 1 illustrates Bogoraz's 1901 performance. For the *k/q* contrast I write a light dotted vertical separation line, for the *g/g'* a heavier dashed one, and for the *x/x'* no line. The shades of gray represent degree of failure to distinguish the two consonant series.

In his subsequent publications (Bogoraz 1909, 1913, 1934, and his 1918 manuscript published posthumously in 1949) however, some of which cite Kleinschmidt and Thalbitzer, Bogoraz continues with only *x* for *x/x'*, and something similar to his 1901 treatment for *g/g'*. For *k/q*, however, for some reason very difficult to fathom, he gives up nearly all his *q*'s, writing only *k* instead, with few exceptions (in the texts most notably Raven's caw, "qoq!"—see Fig. 2). One can only guess whether this is because of indifference, or of frustration with his 1901 transcription that he understood was faulty, but had no good chance to correct himself. Therefore, perhaps for both reasons, he

ended up “simplifying” his transcription by changing his *q*’s to *k*. As we shall see, for his grammar he then found himself painfully forced to backtrack a bit.

Bogoraz’s first published two-dimensional table of consonants is 1909, showing that there is some kind of system, but he fails to arrange symbols *g h q r x k* with any insight, or much correspondence to his actual usage. His 1918 (1949:45) table is much better, where he in fact shows a *k::q::g::r* proportion, but then has *x* and *h* both under *k*, with nothing corresponding under *q*; likewise his 1934 table, but there also missing *r*, and both later tables correspond only partly to his actual usage. As Bogoraz’s data and texts are all from 1901, this belated partial recognition of the system and the contrasts as such cannot be applied to the data, essentially lacking the necessary information. As a result, in the texts published in 1949 with the 1918 grammar, *q* as such is extremely rare, as noted, virtually always written *k*, and in the vocabulary no words begin with a *q*, only *k*, although many are (latterly there) provided with a *-q* as the inflectional singular ending.

This last inconsistency points to a rather painful brief spot in his 1918 grammar (1949:50-51), where Bogoraz faces up to the fact that Chaplinski has a dual number in its fundamental grammar, and that that dual is represented by a *-k* ending, which contrasts with the *-q* for the singular. He thus has correctly (i.e. corrected) *angyaq* ‘boat’ (singular), *angyak* (dual), *angyat* (plural). ‘Woman,’ however, he has *arnak* [*q*], *arnik* [*arnak*], *arnat*, respectively. Here, instead of simple respelling as in *angyaq*, he guesses the singular ends with a *-k* which is “pronounced” (? , added in brackets) as a *-q*, and decides there must be a different vowel in the dual but, then in brackets thinks the better of it. For ‘man’ he has *yuk*, *yuuk*, *yuit*,⁶ which are in fact *yuuk*, *yugek*, *yuget*, respectively, in American Yupik spelling, with a lengthened vowel in the monosyllabic singular, automatic alternation of *-k* with *-g-* (mentioned above, but here unrecognized altogether), which is automatic when adding the usual suffixes *-ek* and *-et* for the dual and plural. In an important sense even more seriously, for ‘arm’ he has *talik* in the singular, *talikik* for the dual, *talit* plural; the correct forms are of course *talliq*, *tallik*, *tallit* in American spelling. Bogoraz’s dual here is instead the possessed *tallikek* ‘his two arms,’ a different paradigm. Here a consequence is that Bogoraz’s limitations undermine the control he needs of the data to prevent slipping into a different paradigm, a very serious pitfall in constructing a grammar.

This problem then leads Bogoraz on to say of the dual, which in fact pervades all Yupik inflection in both nouns and

verbs (and those of all Eskimo except Greenlandic Inuit and Sirenikski)—that the dual is “quite rare” in Asiatic Eskimo, which, moreover, “has gone even farther than the Greenlandic in giving up the dual.” Bogoraz’s whole section on the verbal endings, the largest part of the paper, then ignores the dual. This resulting distortion is a major example of the consequences of failing to hear the sounds adequately.

Here, however, it becomes extremely important to add a point made by Nikolai Vakhtin, our colleague in Eskimo linguistics, with whom I fully agree. According to Vakhtin, my evaluation of Bogoraz’s contribution to Eskimo linguistics is highly one-sided and is preoccupied with its weaknesses at the phonological pole (phonetics, orthography, some levels of grammar), whereas in other respects, as Vakhtin points out, e.g. the semantics of verb-tense suffixes, Bogoraz’s work is quite outstanding and still has much to offer (Nikolai Vakhtin, personal communication, February 5, 2005).

Forshtein’s Eskimo Transcription

Now, for Forshtein, careful examination of his 1929 Sirenikski notes reveals that his grasp of the sounds is hardly better than Bogoraz’s in 1901, and in some ways not even as good (Fig. 3). There is no trace of any *k/q* distinction, writing only *k*, in spite of Forshtein’s obvious contact also with Chukchi (cf. Krupnik and Mikhailova, *this issue*). — Also, the Bogoraz-Stebnitskii Chukchi dictionary of 1937 fully recognized *k/q*. This is also in spite of the—evidently failed—possibility for Forshtein to learn from Bogoraz not to repeat Bogoraz’s regrettable mistake of missing that contrast in Eskimo as Bogoraz himself had in 1901. Forshtein of course also had a new chance to hear that even if he had learned nothing from Bogoraz, but he does not, and of course misses entirely also the *x/x’* distinction, only writing indiscriminately a lengthened *h* symbol (similar to what Bogoraz wrote in 1901 for “*r*”) for both. Somehow that symbol based on *h* shows indeed some vague familiarity with Bogoraz’s 1901 materials, though the symbol is used now by Forshtein for the voiceless pair instead of for the voiced (see further the Appendix, A11).

The voiced fricative contrast, *g/g’*, on the other hand, Forshtein happened to recognize significantly better even than did Bogoraz, no doubt for the same Yiddish-Russian reasons. Forshtein writes the non-uvular as *g*, rather regularly, never confusing it with the uvular with his cursive version of Latin *r* (see Fig. 3). Both the *g* and *r* have a micron regularly written over them, which though entirely redundant, does show that the Eskimo sounds are in some way different from

⁶This deficient transcription is evidently the origin of what became the “official” new Soviet ethnonym *Yuit* for Eskimos.

the Russian ones, and perhaps makes the work look more technical or "scientific." Forshtein's micron over the *r* might not have had to be totally redundant if he had recognized that Asiatic Eskimo also has a tongue-tip retroflex fricative *r* as well as the uvular, maybe by then (as now) Russianized as a trill, not nearly so frequent as the uvular, but still definitely contrasting with it. Bogoraz had recognized that, writing it always as an *r* without the dot beneath, as noted above, but Forshtein writes that too with the same symbol he uses for the uvular. For example, in the word for the inner skin-curtained part of the Eskimo house, written for St. Lawrence Island Yupik *aagra*, Forshtein writes *agra* with the micron too (over the *r* as well as the *g*), thus with a highly Parisian (or Yiddish) accent!

It is true that since Sireniskii has indeed lost the dual, Forshtein's notes might in that respect not fare so inadequately, but it is equally clear that his 1929 notes for Chaplinski could only be as good as, or more likely, poorer than Bogoraz's. This is less excusable for Forshtein than for Bogoraz, however, for three reasons. First, one must seriously wonder at the quality of mentoring or instruction Forshtein got from Bogoraz, or the quality of Forshtein's learning from him, not to have profited at all from Bogoraz's experience with the *k/q* contrast, also e.g. not to have noticed the tongue-tip/uvular "*r*" contrast Bogoraz recognized. In fact there is only the vaguest correspondence between their strengths and weaknesses, at least at this phonological level, Forshtein influenced only by the same external factors as Bogoraz. Second, Forshtein in 1929 showed no sign of Bogoraz's knowledge of the literature, sufficient at least to cite Kleinschmidt and Thalbitzer, in German and English, languages Forshtein knew probably as did Bogoraz, because of his family background and, especially, in view of his recorded correspondence in English and Danish during his trip to Copenhagen in 1936. Third, there were also advances in linguistic theory, especially phonemic theory, the all-important "discovery" of the "phoneme." That theory could have reorganized the poorly understood welter of Eskimo phonetic details into an insightful structure. Forshtein absolutely had to be aware of those advances somehow. That is proven by the fact that his loose page 1 is explicitly entitled "*Fonemy*" (Phonemes), an extremely early attestation (if that sheet too is 1929, then maybe the very first attestation) in Russian of the new word that was just becoming quite the rage abroad, e.g. Prague, at the time. The rest of that page nevertheless reveals no such structure, only a linear sort of alphabetized list of the consonants, devoid of any new insight in spite of the title. Sloppily, it even leaves out the *g* and "*r*."

Thus it seems that Forshtein's work failed for some reason to share at least through 1929 in any of the advances

made either in Eskimo or theoretical linguistics during the first third of the last century. Instead it dwells on phonetics, the turn-of-that century Latin-Anglo-based arsenal of phonetic symbols especially for the details of European vowels. Bogoraz and Forshtein each used about 15 symbols for Eskimo vowels, which in Chukotka form a clear-cut system of four phonemes. Those symbols, one may suppose, provide the work with a highly technical and prestigiously "scientific" appearance. It is at the same time true that those vowel symbols could indeed have partially compensated to show, indirectly, some of the missed consonant distinctions, e.g. they both write 'kill' (*tuqu-*) as *toko-*, as the essential *k/q* distinction has an effect which they often heard on the vowels, but hearing only this way, if at all, they missed the essential nature of the system.

Orlova's 1932 Primer: Different Approach

We now come to a convergence and confrontation of two starkly contrasting approaches to Eskimo linguistics. Elizaveta Porfir'evna Orlova (1899-1976), a trained ethnographer with field-experience in Itel'men, was supervisor of the Eskimo textbook team of [Ivan] Bychkov (ca. 1916-?) and [Nikolai] Leita (Legta, American spelling Legh'ta; 1910-1975) at the Technical School in Khabarovsk in 1931-32. They were faced with the problem of adapting the Alphabet of the Peoples of the North as a practical standard in which to write and print the Chaplinski schoolbooks. Their result, luckily, came from a tradition quite independent of the "scientific" phonetics with which Bogoraz and Forshtein were so unluckily preoccupied. This alphabet was based on a relatively standard Latin alphabet, with fewer symbols, which did not allow for getting lost in a welter of vowel phonetics, and which did allow very conveniently for at least *k/q* as such (Fig. 4). Probably because of that "opening," and contact with other northern languages with similar contrasts (for example, Orlova also was familiar with Aleut and Itel'men, both of which also have the velar/uvular contrast systematically), the Orlova group made brilliant strides in recognizing at least two of the three pairs, the *k/k'* which they of course wrote *k/q*, and the *g/g'*, which they wrote *h/g*. Another important reason for their success very probably is that Bychkov and Leita were much more actively involved as peer-collaborators with Orlova, whose performance was much more subject to their understanding and approval than was Forshtein's. Forshtein never even named his sources in the field, e.g. those he supposedly transcribed the Ungaziq folktales from, and who most probably never even saw the results from their "informant-scientist" contact printed in 1935.

The resulting 1932 primer text from the Orlova team also shows a rather separate and maybe less "scientific"

solution in its choice of symbols too, especially in ignoring the “r” for the uvular, using the *g* for that instead, and in their “Russo-Slavic” identification of velar *g* as *h, g* and voiced *h* being variants of the same phoneme in much Russian, especially of a type considered far less “intellectual.” True, their crucial advance did not include the *x/x’* contrast, both still being written with *x*. The reasons for that continuing failure are not clear. It now seems doubtful that the Orlova group was limited from that by Bogoraz’s disapproval—they certainly got that anyway. Most likely, they too did not see the structure as such, but just heard there were five different consonants that had to be written differently, for which they picked *k, q, h, g, and x* (Fig 4).

Forshtein and Bogoraz Attack Orlova

The Orlova team’s advance may well in any case have been greeted with sharp ambivalence by Bogoraz in 1932, while Forshtein was away in Chukotka, and by Forshtein no less upon his learning of it, perhaps not before his return to Leningrad in late 1933. The *k/q* contrast and probably also the *h/g* (i.e. *g/g’*) could not have been a surprise to Bogoraz, nor was he probably offended by the reduction of the vowels now to five; in fact, in preparing his Eskimo grammatical sketch for its 1934 publication, as will be noted below, he cites the Orlova work with some implied approval and his transcription is significantly influenced by it. The negative side of that is clearly to be seen later in Bogoraz-Forshtein’s attack on Orlova of late 1934–early 1935 (see the Appendix, C3). It now seems also clear that the proletarian *h/g* spelling may have been just one more disagreeable factor, on top of the Bychkov-Leita Avatmiit dialect, compared to the mainstream Chaplinski represented by several Chaplinski students then available as Yupik consultants in Leningrad, not to mention the personal and political factors of a terrifyingly tense time.

The first salvo was fired by Bogoraz in his formal evaluation of Orlova’s textbook (Appendix, C3: *Otzyv ob eskimosskom uchebnike E. Orlovoi*. RAN Archives, Fond 250-1(or 5?)-175). This very revealing item was written by Bogoraz February 18, 1935. According to my notation, it “disapproves of Orlova’s new ‘Uchebnik’ (which never appeared—M.K.), nearly not revised, so do not use or publish. Interesting. Agrees with Forshtein’s criticism” (for which see below).

I distinctly remember that Bogoraz’s report also mentions Forshtein, recommending him highly as a far better choice for such work than Orlova. To this should be added Reshetov’s (2002) citation of Forshtein’s own “*otzyv*” (evaluation) of Orlova’s 1932 primer, sent to the Administration (i.e., Bogoraz) of the Institute of the Peoples of the North

on December 27, 1934. There the primer is “composed altogether illiterately, and not only does not help the development of a national literature, but on the contrary it shows and continues to show to this day a harmful influence on the language, simplifying the morphological structure into a sort of jargon” (very much parroted, as I recall in Bogoraz’s “*otzyv*” above—translation mine, MK). The cited document is presumably from the MAE Archives. Sometime during the year between Forshtein’s return in late 1933, and December 1934, during which Orlova had been drafting her reader and arithmetic manual to follow up on the 1932 primer which Bogoraz had been at least somewhat favorably inclined to, his evaluation of Orlova’s work changed sharply for the worse. One might imagine that this change might have had some connection with Forshtein’s quite active presence in Leningrad after November 1933 (see Krupnik and Mikhailova, *this issue*).

Bogoraz’s “Grammatical Sketch” of 1934, Forshtein’s Role, and Orlova

During precisely Forshtein’s absence, Bogoraz had been corresponding with Boas, from September 27, 1929 to November 19, 1933, to be exact, about publishing in English his (Chaplinski) Eskimo grammatical sketch. Bogoraz enquires, consistently, to the effect “By the way, anything to report on the publication of my Eskimo grammar?” Boas says at one point, April 24, 1931, that he was thinking about putting it in the *International Journal of American Linguistics*, but in the end nothing, both conceded, was to come of it. Bogoraz to Boas, last letter: “I am sorry that my Eskimo work after all the trouble we had on it, you and me, has found no way to publication. I am afraid that the delay will outlast even the toughness of my life.” Though Boas’s excuse was lack of funds, it seems probable that he recognized that Bogoraz’s sketch did not in any case meet his standards of linguistic quality. Jochelson’s Aleut work was significantly better than Bogoraz’s Eskimo, but in the end Boas did not see fit to publish that either. Boas, no stranger to Eskimo, had himself done far better in his early fieldwork with Canadian Inuit forty years earlier (Boas 1888).

Publication of Bogoraz’s Eskimo grammatical sketch in Russian soon became another matter, however. What must indeed have been the abridged Russian version (Bogoraz 1934) of that same grammatical sketch did then appear the next year as “Yuitskii (aziatsko-eskimosskii) iazyk” (The Yuit [Asiatic Eskimo] Language). It was submitted to the printer January 23, 1934, only two months after Forshtein’s return, perhaps allowing Forshtein some time to have some last-minute involvement in the work, but in any case enough time for Bogoraz to make a last-minute acknowledgement of Forshtein’s contribution. In fact, since that acknowledge-

ment is not in the galley-proof (see below), it was presumably added even after January 1934.

Footnote number one of Bogoraz's paper translates as follows: "The materials forming the basis of the sketch were collected over thirty years ago, namely 1901 at the time of my three-month stay among the Asiatic Eskimos, chiefly in the village of Ungaziq. The work was carried on rather assiduously, and all texts, tables, and phraseology were composed and checked in a circle of young Eskimo friends, who helped me at all times as much as they were able. Chukchi served as the spoken language among us, and many texts have Chukchi and Russian or Chukchi and English as interlinear translations. The material was worked up in 1918, simultaneously in English and Russian, and for various reasons neither version has yet been printed until now. On the other hand, a number of additions and corrections have been introduced from materials of A. S. Forshtein, who spent three years among the Yuits and recently returned to Leningrad. Newer data on the settlements and population of the Yuits are also reported by him" (translation mine-MK).

This brings us to what possibly might be a fourth group of manuscript documents including work by Forshtein, namely his comments on Bogoraz's grammar preserved in Bogoraz's personal collection at the RAN Archives in St. Petersburg (Appendix 4. No title or date. Fond 250-1(or -5?)-57. Cover page "Professor B. G. Bogoraz-Tan. Ocherk grammatiki iazyka asiatskikh eskimov. Napisano neizvestnoi rukoi." (Grammatical sketch of the Asiatic Eskimo language. Written in an unidentified hand). My note of 1990 reads "62 leaves, in pencil, partly carbon copy, hand Forshtein's [? - This is indeed uncertain, as I had perhaps not yet seen Forshtein's manuscript notes at that moment], with some bits in Bogoraz's [hand]. Spelling as 1935 schoolbooks [!],..." and from the examples copied this is indeed the case, spelling as in Forshtein's folk tales submitted to the printer in late 1934, and the Forshtein-Sergeeva 1935-36 books. From the rest of my notes, it is also clear that this is the manuscript version of the Bogoraz grammatical sketch of 1934 cited above. Also most closely related to this are two other files from the same collection, 250-1-55 and 250-1-54. The file (*delo*) No. 250-1-55 has cover page "Bogoraz-Tan, V. G. Eskimoskii iazyk, korrektura mashinopis' 1934," with my notes, "60 leaves. 1-16 galley proofs of 1934, with corrections and changes, some significant, in Bogoraz's hand (no trace of Forshtein)-typescript [leaves] 17-60, definitely to the galley, corrections etc. on that in Bogoraz's hand and another's (not as in 250-1-57) [so the unidentified hand in ##250-1-57 or 250-1-55 may be Forshtein's, but not in both]); but [text] is rather different, especially introduction in some ordering and sometimes wording, so looks like real ms. is -57, done by Forshtein[?], with acknowledgement

added even later (not in galley)." There is also #250-1-54, noted "Eskimoskii iazyk. Mashinopis' s avtorskimi popravkami" (Eskimo language. Typescript with author's corrections), 2 leaves, typescript only, but of -1-57 version, Forshtein's[?], aborted?"

From these notes it was unclear just what Forshtein's role was in Bogoraz's 1934 Russian published version of his Eskimo grammatical sketch. I then examined this sketch closely in comparison with Bogoraz's manuscript of 1918 published in 1949, to judge how much in fact it owes to Forshtein. Bogoraz called it "my" grammar in writing to Boas, and the Russian 1934 version is under Bogoraz's name only, albeit with the last-minute acknowledgement to Forshtein. Since we are aware that Bogoraz was not above putting his own interests above Forshtein's on occasion, it certainly behooves us to compare the two sketches to see to what extent Bogoraz is indeed indebted to Forshtein for any improvement in the 1934 sketch. A careful comparison of the 1918 and 1934 results clearly shows that any such role for Forshtein must have been more of a clerical or secretarial nature than anything substantive. Bogoraz 1934 does have Forshtein's more up-to-date data on the Siberian Yupik settlements and populations in the introduction, but beyond that I could identify no new data or approaches that should be attributed to Forshtein. The 1934 sketch is of course shorter than the 1918, but it covers generally the same material, many same examples, same paradigms, in much the same order and manner and wording as the 1918, including the same serious faults. For example, Bogoraz cites *kikmik* 'dog' (1934:110-112), but *kikmi-q* 'dog' (singular), correctly *qikmiq*, with the same examples and false information about obsolescence of the dual number as in 1918.

On the other hand, Bogoraz (1934:108) refers to the establishment of Eskimo literature in the new alphabet in the Orlova team's recent primer (1932), which is to be followed by a reader and arithmetic manual for the first two years of elementary school, presumably under Orlova's name, as indicated in his Institute's *Ukazatel'* for 1934. Bogoraz refers moreover to Orlova's primer, taking examples from it four times, each time acknowledged in a footnote, so evidently Bogoraz is still supportive of Orlova. The sample texts appended are Bogoraz's own, from 1901. The spelling there is also influenced by Orlova's. The vowels are simplified similarly, and soft sign is used for schwa as in Orlova 1932. The uvular *g'* is still "r", but the velar (non-uvular), which Bogoraz calls "gamma," when not also "r" is written *g*, except in the first text, where, as in Orlova, it is written *h*.

It is even unclear that Forshtein was involved actively in any way in Bogoraz's preparation of the sketch published in 1934 (beyond perhaps leaving his 1928-29 Eskimo notes

with Bogoraz before his 1929 return to Chukotka, where he had an unknown amount of contact with Eskimo during his 1929-33 stay—see Krupnik and Mikhailova, *this issue*). Forshtein might indeed hardly have been able to identify such things as the *-q* singular ending, let alone worry that that might be inconsistent with the spelling of ‘dog’ on the preceding page. Far from appropriating credit due Forshtein for himself—and presumably having little good reason to fear that Forshtein’s scholarship might surpass his own—it now seems clear that Bogoraz’s acknowledgement to Forshtein in the very late footnote was motivated by personal rather more than by any scientific reasons. It is ironic indeed that the main linguistic improvement by early 1934, clearly based on the “illiterate” Orlova work, and acknowledging Orlova in the text and four footnotes, becomes so dramatically disacknowledged by the end of 1934 as to finally “axe” Orlova in favor of Forshtein (and Sergeeva).

Enter Sergeeva

As noted, after drafting at least a new reader and probably also an arithmetic manual for Class 1 sometime at the end of 1934 Orlova was dismissed (“axed,” by the Bogoraz-Forshtein or rather Forshtein-Bogoraz evaluations), to be replaced by Forshtein. Simultaneously perhaps, into this drama enter also Katerina Sergeeva (1899-1975). Sergeeva had been a schoolteacher at Ureliki, at least 1933-34, where she had also worked with especially Wye and Atata, had been posting by 1934 a wall-newspaper; having Chaplinski, Sirenikski, and also “Avatmii” folktales transcribed; and had herself also started transcribing and translating Chaplinski folktales from the gifted storyteller Kivagme, later published, in Russian only (Sergeeva 1962, 1968). We know Sergeeva was back again to Ureliki in 1938-41. She must have been in Leningrad at least part of that interim, 1937-38 certainly, when she taught at the Leningrad Pedagogical Institute, where among her pupils in Eskimo were two former Eskimo schoolteachers, Rubtsova and Menovshchikov. We learn from Budnikova (1989) that Sergeeva “finished in 1935 her third (final) course/year at the Leningrad Institute of History, Philosophy and Linguistics, where Professor V.G. Bogoraz taught.” She must have returned to Leningrad some time possibly in autumn 1934(?), to finish up her last year of studies there (by 1935), and at the same time begin to “translate” all the schoolbooks so noted above, especially “with the help of Amkagun Nynliuvak” (Amqaawen Nengluvak, a Yupik student who was then in Leningrad) and “under the editorship of Forshtein.”

It is quite unclear just what the sequence and procedure was, and what the roles of Forshtein, Amqaawen Nengluvak, and Sergeeva were, in the production of the 1935-36 schoolbooks. Probably throughout 1934 Forshtein

worked in Leningrad first on preparing the folktales he had, it is claimed, transcribed at Ungaziq. Unless Forshtein had a nice and very enlightening stay in or near Ungaziq during his second Chukotka trip, then those tales must have been transcribed by 1929, in a manner far inferior to what was submitted to the printer in 1934. No storyteller’s name or date but also neither Amqaawen’s nor Sergeeva’s appeared on the book. It is impossible to imagine how it came out as well as it did without significant (but uncredited) help from Sergeeva and/or Amqaawen (or someone else from among the Yupik students then in residence in Leningrad). Even more amazing was the short time prior to the December 1934 date of submission to printer, to have revised the transcription that profoundly—unless otherwise Forshtein somehow had amazing insights during his second (undocumented!) stay at Ungaziq. In either case Forshtein became a fast learner.

The new 1935 Latin orthography (Fig.5) had a simplified vowel inventory, like Orlova’s, which could resemble a system. This “new” Eskimo orthography also has *k/q*, like Orlova’s, but it never quite reached the (relative) vowel simplicity or *k/q* accuracy level of the Orlova team’s work. (Such was not to be achieved until the Rubtsova-Menovshchikov era beginning 1938-39—Fig.8.) The main change in the “new” orthography was the conversion of Orlova’s *h/g* for *g/g’*, to *g/r* for that (now ignoring the difference between uvular “*r*” and the tongue-tip *r*). It also converts Orlova’s *x* (for undifferentiated *x/x’*) to *h*. There is no new insight, but only for some reason the maximum change from Orlova the alphabet will comfortably allow, in all three fricatives thitherto distinguished, *h/g/x* becoming *g/r/h*, respectively. (See Figs. 5, 6, and 7 for the subsequent 1937 and 1938 conversions of Sergeeva’s Latin system to the Cyrillic orthography.)

In any case, insofar as the folklore text transcription of 1934 and the rest of the 1935-36 schoolbooks listed above were indeed really Forshtein’s work, one must after all concede that Forshtein must at least have been open-minded and capable enough that he could appreciate the great significance and practicality of the Orlova-Sergeeva advances over his own and Bogoraz’s previous approach, to go along with them in a positive and industrious way, at least now with Sergeeva’s collaboration, insofar as Forshtein did indeed have anything much more than a nominal association with that work. Since the first schoolbook with Sergeeva’s name attached was submitted to the printer in February 1935, it is hard to imagine she became part of the process later than Forshtein, though perhaps her joining in the work was planned or became official a bit later than Forshtein’s. Study of her personal materials reported by Budnikova (1989; 1990) at the Magadan Regional Museum would almost certainly go a long way to unravel this complicated little historical knot.

Conclusions

To be frank, this paper started out with the intention of appreciating Forshtein's forgotten contribution in the martyrology of Soviet science during the 1930s, and that point should not be lost. However, on close scrutiny of what is left of Forshtein's to Eskimo linguistics, his contribution and potential that was lost, both, prove somewhat less substantial than I originally expected to show. (The loss of whatever documentation he did specifically of Sireniski is especially unfortunate, however.) Instead of revising accordingly the whole paper, I preferred to take the reader along in my "journey" of discovering more of these facts, some of which are not very pretty, about the dramatis personae involved in the history of Soviet Eskimo linguistics. Please note that much goes even beyond the personal, as we are dealing with human beings of fascinatingly different Russian types, all interacting under the mounting stresses of Stalinist terror during the 1930s that aborted Forshtein's academic career and changed his life forever.

Postscript

As this paper was nearly finished, a small file of Forshtein materials, mainly listings and descriptions of photographs and drawings presented in 1936 by Forshtein to the Danish National Museum, was located by Hans-Christian Gulløv (Ethnography Department archives), transmitted by Michael Fortescue, in swift response to our enquiry. The transcriptions of thirty-four Chaplinski words in the manuscript (written in two different Russian hands) is essentially in the 1935-36 Soviet Latin Eskimo orthography, with about 10% error in *k/q* discernment. This is clear evidence that Forshtein had indeed learned the system pretty well at some point.

Still more recently, December 2005, through Bent Nielsen and Daria Morgounova of the University of Copenhagen, we received copies of letters to William Thalbitzer, dated December 30, 1936, March 4, 1937, and April 3, 1937, from Forshtein in Leningrad, the last written the month before his arrest. The letters are in a rough basic Danish. Forshtein does not seem to show awareness of his imminent arrest. He is hoping to revisit Copenhagen and work at the University with Thalbitzer—mortal enemy of Forshtein's erstwhile host Birket-Smith at the Museum (personal communication, Igor Krupnik)—on the "great [pan-?]Eskimo dictionary" or "Eskimo dialect dictionary." His last letter ends with "P.S. I am now translating my Eskimo fairytales in[to] Danish. When I shall finish it, I shall soon send you my translations."

In the March letter, Forshtein includes a table of his 1927-1929 statistics on the Asiatic Eskimo village populations (mostly translated from Bogoraz 1934), and a "linguistic card from my card file. I have about 8,000 words of the east-asiatic dialect and 2,000-2,500 words of the south-asiatic dialect in the card-file (not counting texts)."

The "linguistic card" is revealing. It is on a slip of paper smaller than the March letter it was sent with, but the same small size as the April letter paper; the glossing is in Danish; so it is obviously not of Forshtein's original corpus. The slip is basically in two columns, each headed by a hypothetical stem, first column Chaplinski with Danish gloss, second the Sireniski ["[equivalent["]] for each of the six Chaplinski subentries, no gloss, not needed, so no doubt elicited directly from the Chaplinski that Forshtein had earlier elicited. On this 1937 slip the spelling is "modernized" or updated from his experience with the Orlova-Sergeeva system, writing e.g. *q* as well as *k*, but as often as not the *q* is misused for *k* and the *k* misused for *q*, no vowel length is shown, and *e* and *o* are used especially before uvulars, a usage probably reinforced by Greenlandic orthography. But this is without insight: e.g. CSY *ilulluk* 'bad-tempered person' Forshtein has written mistakenly ending with *-q*, not realizing that the reason he originally heard *u* before the final consonant there rather than *o* was because the word ends with *k*, not *q*. He has simply written *q* at the end because he now knows so many Eskimo singulars end with *q*. The Sireniski equivalent, actually *qungllunghagh*, on the other hand, he has mistakenly starting with *k-*. Forshtein is of course unable to supply the correct spelling from his 1927-1929 notes. Instead of acknowledging this, he now guesses. Moreover, he neither recognizes the pan-Eskimo suffix in *ilulluk* for 'bad', *-lluk* (not **-llug*), nor takes the hint that where he heard *u* to sound more like *u* than like *o*, so wrote *u*, that is because what follows is a *k*, not a *q*, so he should not change this particular *k* to *q*. Thus, though he knows more in 1937 than he did in 1929, he is unable, at least for this only sample document that we have, to make any real improvement from what he has learned from Orlova-Sergeeva.

On the other hand, it should be noted that in spite of the serious shortcomings in phonology, the slip shows good insight in the following way. Forshtein has here Chaplinski derivatives he recognizes come from the same root, which he writes *ilu*: namely the derivatives *ilulluk* 'bad-tempered person' (his Danish *rasende*, *bitter*, i.e. 'furious, bitter'), and *ilutuqaq* 'brave one' (his Danish *Helt*, *dristig*, i.e. 'hero, bold'). Beneath, he makes cross-reference to "*iluk*—Midte ['center, middle'], i.e. *ilu* 'interior,' here with good semantic insight somehow correctly seeing—with Danish glosses probably obscuring somewhat the original Russian—the relation "state or quality of inner person" in the Yupik thought.

From his very interesting statement on the number of "words" he had collected, plus this "card," where one can see that of the six Chaplinski items listed, at least three are predictable derivatives that would not rank as separate dictionary entries, likewise four of the seven Sireniskii "equivalents," we may therewith have the only real indication we shall ever have of the size of Forshtein's lost lexical corpus. If the 8,000 and 2,000-2,500 figures are realistic, then the Chaplinski and Sireniskii corpora would constitute something like 4,000 and 1,000 entries, respectively. No matter how much of this has subsequently been documented, certainly the loss was not trivial.

Finally, I note from Budnikova's 1990 report that Sergeeva's papers at the Magadan Museum archive may well include not only important revelations and answers to many personal questions raised in this paper, but also some important documents for Asiatic Eskimo languages, not least further texts, from 1934, in Sireniskii, now extinct. I also point out that the papers in the Bogoraz Collection at the St. Petersburg Academy Archives, especially Files 250-1(or -5?)-57, -55, -54, need to be reexamined to determine more exactly how Forshtein was involved in the preparation of Bogoraz's Eskimo grammatical sketch in 1934 as well as for the evidence of any more field notes and manuscripts by Forshtein himself.

Acknowledgements

I am deeply indebted to Igor Krupnik for getting me involved in this tribute to Misha Bronshtein, for his sharing with me his knowledge of Forshtein and Forshtein's milieu, and for major critical review of the present paper. I also much appreciate the work of Nikolai Vakhtin in finding the archival material on Forshtein's arrest, and valuable criticism of my initial evaluation of Forshtein's work. Also much appreciated is the help of Hans-Christian Gulløv, Michael Fortescue, Bent Nielsen, and Daria Morgounova, in locating and copying for me the Forshtein materials in Copenhagen.

Appendix :

Russian Eskimo Schoolbooks with Forshtein's Name: Commentary

A. Published Yupik Schoolbooks

All published Yupik schoolbooks are entered in order of the date they are listed as received by the printer, since they are all printed in 1935 or 1936. They are each cited for authorship (if any), then the Latin-orthography titles and credits are listed, then the Russian, followed by square-bracketed transliteration of the Latin orthography into American St. Lawrence Island orthography, and translation of the Russian into English. All of the Russian Eskimo textbooks were

handsomely illustrated. Size of all the originals seen and perhaps all items is 22 x 15 cm. pages.

1. A. S. Forshtein (author). *Jupigim unparatangi. Forstejnym Unazimi igaqusimakangi. / Skazki aziatskikh eskimosov. Zapisany v poselke Ungazik A. S. Forshteinom. [Yupigem Ungipaghaatangi. Forshteinem Ungazimi Igaqusimakangi. / Stories of the Asiatic Eskimos. Transcribed in the village of Ungazik by A. S. Forshtein.] Leningrad: Ogiz-Detgiz, 1935. 24 pages. (Submitted to printer November 20, 1934. 1000 copies printed.)*

Six traditional stories, in simplified style, one song text. No Russian translation. See 11. below, identical in content.

2. N. S. Popova (author). *Arifmetika, nutan batarjubwalbanun aphturevigmun. Sivuleq Nyeheqleq. Russim uluna jupigstun mumihtska K. S. Sergeevam. Kajotkalkk mumihtlermun Wje Sereinegmi ama Amkagun Nyluvak. Mumihthe nalkomi A. S. Forshteinym. / Uchebnik arifmetiki, dlia nachal'noi shkoly. Chast' pervaja, pervyi klass. Na iuitskii (eskimoskii) iazyk perevela K. S. Sergeeva. V perevode pomogali Vyie Sireinermi i Amkaun Nynliuvak. Perevod pod redaktsiei dots. A. S. Forshteina. [Arifmetika, nutaan ghataghyuggaallghanun apeghtughivigmun. Sivuliq nengighqelleq. Ruusim ulunga mumigtekaa K. S. Sergeevam. Kayukellukek mumigtelleghmun Weyi Sighinegmii ama Amkagun Nengluvak. Mumigtellghii naallghumi A. S. Forstejnem. / Manual of Arithmetic, for elementary school. Part one, first class. Translated into the Yuit (Eskimo) language by K. S. Sergeeva. Help in translation by Vyie Sireinermi and Amkaun Nynliuvak. Translated under the editorship of A. S. Forshtein.] Leningrad: Uchpedgiz, 1935. 68 pages. (Submitted to printer February 20, 1935. 1200 copies printed.)*

Fine introduction to numbers 1-100, addition, subtraction, simple multiplication and division, figures, diagrams, illustrations and word-problems throughout directly relevant to Eskimo life. First class (after preparatory) is comparable to US grades 2-3. For Russian translation see 3. below. Reference found to Popova, Nataliia Sergeevna (1884-?), as author of arithmetic manuals, years 1-3, 1933-1942, some translated into national languages, also Yiddish, English. Probably a replacement by the Sergeeva-Forshtein team for the same planned, and probably drafted, by a team under Orlova, listed under her name in the 1931-1933 Ukazatel' (1934, page 20), plan for 1934, "Uchebnik arifmetiki 1 god obuchenii, 4 p. l. 1000 ekz." [Manual of Arithmetic, year 1 of instruction, 4 galley sheets (= 64 pages), 1000 copies."] Cf. also A.4. below.

3. *Kontrperegovod uchebnika arifmetiki s iuitskogo (eskimoskogo) iazyka*. Chast' pervaya. [Back-translation of manual of arithmetic from the Yuit (Eskimo) language. Part one.] Leningrad: [Uchpedgiz], 1935. 20 pages. (Submitted to printer April 1, 1935. 700 copies printed.)

Russian translation of A2. above. No credit explicit, but back-translator presumably Forshtein; cf. A5 below.

4. K. S. Sergeeva (author). *Igaq atehiturjahqaaq, nutan batarjubwalha*. Qaphalhitnun takunun iganun kajusmaq Amkagun Nynliuvak. Mumigtellghii nalhohqomi A. S. Forstejnem. / *Kniga dlja chteniia, dlja pervogo klassa nachal'noi shkoly*. Chast' pervaya. V rabote nad nastoiashchei knigoi pomogal Amkaun Nynliuvak. [Igaq Atightughyaghqaaq, nutaan ghhataghyuggaallgha. Qepghallghitnun taakwnun iganun kayusimaaq Amkagun Nengluvak. Mumigtellghii naallghughqumi A. S. Forshteinem. / Reading-book for the first class of elementary school. Part one. Help in the work on the present book by Amkaun Nynliuvak. Composed under the editorship of A. S. Forshtein.] Leningrad: Uchpedgiz, 1939. 96 pages. (Submitted to printer April 30, 1935. 1200 copies printed.)

Noted on Russian title page: "Kniga dlja chteniia" (Reading-book), part 1, of E. [lena] Ia. [kovlevna] Fortunatova and "Kniga dlja chteniia," part 1, of P. N. Zhulev were used in the composition of this book.

Fortunatova is widely listed as author of primers and readers of the time, including those for rural schools. Reference to Zhulev is harder to find. Bulk of text and illustrations specifically relevant to Eskimo life, but also sections on domestic animals, elephants, camels, lions, tigers, cities, factories, October Revolution, Lenin, Stalin, Red Army, May Day. For Russian translation see A5. below. For second printing, see A8. below. For a teaching-aid for this book, see A9. below. Probably a replacement by the Sergeeva-Forshtein team for the reader planned, by a team under Orlova, listed under her name in the 1931-33 (1934, page 20) *Ukazatel'*, plan for 1934, "Kniga dlja ucheniia 1 god obucheniia, 5 p. l. 1000 ekz" [Reading-book, year 1 of instruction, 5 galley sheets (= 80 pages), 1000 copies]. There is record in Budnikova 1990 that this was actually written, in 1934, with the title *Apextuset'hat* [Apeghtuusat Igat. Book of Teachings], said to be a translation from a Koryak reader by Zhulev. Cf. also A2. above.

5. K. S. Sergeeva (author). *Kniga dlja chteniia*. Chast' pervaya. Peregovod s eskimoskogo iazyka A. S. Forshteina. [Reading-book. Part one. Translated from the Eskimo

language by A. S. Forshtein. Leningrad: Uchpedgiz, 1935. 24 pages. (Submitted to printer May 13, 1935. 700 copies printed.)

Russian translation of A4. above, issued separately, as "aid for teachers in Eskimo schools."

6. A. Iakobson (author). *Ajwan jugwi*. Russim uluna jupigastun mumihtakaa K. S. Sergeevam, kajusimaaq Amkagun Nynliuvak. Mumigtellghii [sic] nalhomi A. S. Forstejnem. / *Liudi Severa*. Perevela na eskimoskii (iuitskii) iazyk K. S. Sergeeva, pri uchastii Amkauna Nynliuvaka. Pod redaktsiei A. S. Forshteina. [Aywaan Yugi. Ruusim ulunga Yupigestun mumigtekaa A. S. Sergeevam, kayusimaaq Amkagun Nengluvak. Mumigtellghii naallghumi A. S. Forstejnem. / People of the North. Translated into the Eskimo (Yuit) language by K. S. Sergeeva, with the participation of Amkaun Nynliuvak. Under the editorship of A. S. Forshtein.] Leningrad: Ogiz-Detgiz, 1935. (Submitted to printer June 17, 1935. 1000 copies printed.)

Russian original presumed extant, but no reference found; two other references, 1927 and 1931 found, then 11 more 1950-1964, all juvenile literature, with (co-)author "A. Iakobson," who was perhaps also arrested in or after 1937. Treats Coastal Chukchi, Nenets, Reindeer Chukchi, Even, Evenk, Vogul (Mansi), Nanay, Ude(ge), Nivkh, Yukagir, but not Eskimo.

7. Aleksandr Forshtein (author). *Jupigem akuzilha (Bukvar)*. Takut igat nalhohqomanka Leningradmi Ajvani Institutnani Amkagun-lu. / *Eskimoskoe slovo (Bukvar)*. Bukvar' proveren na zaniatiiakh po eskimoskomu iazyku v Institute Narodov Severa s eskimosom Amkaun. [Yupigem Akuzillgha (Bukvar). Taakut igat naallghughqumaanka Leningradmi Ayvaani Insitutngani Amkagunllu. / The Eskimo Word (Primer). Primer checked in studies at the Institute of the Peoples of the North with the Eskimo Amkaun.] Leningrad: Uchpedgiz, 1935. 90 pages. (Submitted to printer September 28, 1935. 1200 copies printed.)

Colophon: "Tirazh 1200 ekz. (1201-2400)" probably implies that this is the second printing, of 1200 more copies. Cf. 8. below, which is a second printing, or rather resetting, with no such indication.

Pages 81-90 are the Russian translation of the Eskimo text, which ends page 80; the translation is issued as part of the book, elsewhere done only in Orlova's 1932 primer, perhaps because they are both relatively short (Orlova's 5

pages), and/or because they are both early in the sequence. In any case, though it is not listed in the *Ukazatel'* either 1934 or 1935, Forshtein's primer is presumably to replace Orlova's of 1932. For teaching-aid for this book, see A9. below. In the 1974 Krauss report to accompany the collections sent to St. Lawrence Island, I had noted of Orlova 1932 that "This primer moves rather fast, and goes on to end up with fairly advanced readings, since for the first four years of the Russian program, 1932-1935, it was the only Eskimo book they had. The spelling in this book is actually quite good, better in fact than anything printed until about 1939." For Forshtein's 1935 primer I had noted "This completely new primer moves more slowly, and is very interesting."⁷

In the section of the 1974 report which introduces the Eskimo primers generally, I noted: "They teach the alphabet, letter by letter, very carefully, never using words with letters that have not yet been introduced. Usually by about the middle of the book [in this case page 50] all the letters have been introduced, and the second half [here 30 more pages] gives continued practice in reading. Like most of the readers as well, these primers contain a lot of material on native life, and also city life and other kinds of Russian life, and also communist teachings, with readings on Lenin and Stalin and the Red Army, and so forth. There have actually been seven primers printed, in 1932, 1935, 1937, 1947, 1953, 1960, and 1965. An eighth is to be printed in 1974." [This was followed by 1985 and 1990, thus ten, or perhaps 11, if this 1935 primer is a second printing. That of 1937 is the Cyrillicization of the 1935, by Sergeeva and a new team. 1947-1965 is the series under Rubtsova, with major or minor changes, and 1974-1990 is by Ainana and Analkvasak, with minor changes.] The report continues, "It is especially interesting to compare them to see how the writing system has changed, and how times have changed to become much more modern in the stories and illustrations, but many things have remained the same."

8. K. S. Sergeeva (author). *Igaq atehturjahqaq... Mumih̄t̄he n̄alhohmi A. S. Forstejn̄m. / Kniga dl̄ia chtenīia... Sostavlena pod redaktsiei dots. A. S. Forshteina. [Igaq Atightughyaghqaq... Mumigtellghii naallghughmi A. S. Forstejn̄m. / Reading-book... Composed under the editorship of Docent A. S. Forshtein.] Leningrad: Uchpedgiz, 1935. 92 pages. (Submitted to printer October 8, 1935. 1200 copies.)*

Reprinting, or rather slightly new edition, of A4. above, identical in content and pagination, entirely reset

type, with a few sporadic minor changes in text and spelling throughout, illustrations identical except for new portrait of Lenin, page 59. Colophon page new, as appropriate, with change also of "responsible editor" from S. M. Lazuko to I. S. Vdovin. Change also on Eskimo title page, from "N̄alhohqomi A. S. Forstejn̄m" to "Mumih̄t̄he n̄alhohqomi A. S. Forstejn̄m," meaning "translated under the editorship of ASF" instead of "under the editorship of ASF," significance unclear. No new or reissued Russian translation noted. Probably the absence of indication in the colophon of such a copy-printing number as "(1201-2400)" in A7. above is because this is not a mere reprinting. It is in any case difficult to understand how a second printing of the primer or a second nearly identical edition of this reader could have been needed or justified when already printed in nearly as many copies as there were Eskimos altogether, 1200, to produce now two copies of each for every Eskimo person, unless perhaps, as so often happened, the first 1200 of each were lost in shipment. If that was the case, the losses were indeed quickly recognized and acted upon!

9. G. P. Vasil'ev (author). *Metodicheskoe posobie, k bukvariu "Jupiḡm akuzil̄ha" i k knige dl̄ia chtenīia "Igaq atehturjahqaq"* [Methodological aid for the primer "Jupiḡm akuzil̄ha" and reading-book "Igaq atehturjahqaq."] Leningrad: Uchpedgiz, 1935. 40 pages. (Submitted to printer November 27, 1935. 700 copies printed.)

Translation of notice on unnumbered page after title page: "In the composition of the present teaching-aid, the author made use of instructions about the structure of the Eskimo language from A. S. Forshtein. The latter also composed the Eskimo text needed for exemplification" ("tekst voprosnika"). This Eskimo language material appears copiously throughout the book, bicolunar with Russian translation (or original?) thereof.

10. E. Charushin (author). *Puql̄ahlaḡm nunagan trejkusi. Jupiḡstun mumih̄t̄kaa K. S. Sergeevam. Kajusimaq Amkagun N̄n̄liuvak. / Zhivotnye zharkikh stran. Na eskimosskii iazyk pereveli K. S. Sergeeva i Amkaun Nynliuvak, pod redaktsiei A. S. Forshteina. [Puqlaghllagem Nunangan Teghikusi. Yupigestun mumigtekaa K. S. Sergeevam. / Animals of Warm Lands. Translated into the Eskimo language by K. S. Sergeeva and Amkaun Nynliuvak, under the editorship of A. S. Forshtein.] Leningrad: Ogiz-Detgiz, 1935. 10 pages. ([Submitted to printer ?]. 1000 copies.) Faulty photocopy,*

⁷It also includes a Yupik song text, favorite on both sides. When in 1971 I showed a copy of the book to John Apangalook of Gambell, who probably had never read his own language, Apangalook noticed the song text, and read it out fluently. I remarked I was impressed with the feat. He replied to the effect, "Well, it's my own language, isn't it?"

submission date not on page; may well be earlier in sequence, but not later. Eskimo title page from outside front cover only, and Russian on back only. Forshtein's editorship noted only on latter.

Evgenii Ivanovich Charushin was a very popular writer and illustrator for children's animal books. This one shows and tells of tigers, crocodiles, elephants, giraffes, kangaroos, camels, lions, monkeys. Russian translation not provided; original presumably available. References for Charushin's books are found for 1929-1938, and again 1958-, but not for the Russian original of this book. From the dates, it appears Charushin may also have been "repressed" (i.e. sent to GULAG at roughly the same time as Forshtein).

11. *Jupigem Ungparatani*. Forstejnym Ungazimi igaqosimani... Alhan ulimalha nalhohqshqaq nutarahtun igahatun. / *Skazki aziatskikh eskimosov*. Zapisany v poselke Ungazik A. S. Forshteinom. Izdanie vtoroe ispravlennoe po novoi orfografii iuitskogo (eskimoskogo) iazyka. [Yupigem Ungipaghaatangi. Forstejnem Ungazimi igaqosimangi... Allghan ulimallgha naallghughqeghqaq nutaghaghtun igaghtun. / Stories of the Asiatic Eskimos. Transcribed in the village of Ungazik by A. S. Forshtein. Second edition corrected according to the new orthography of the Yuit (Eskimo) language.] Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Detskoi Literatury [Detgiz], 1936. 24 pages. (Submitted to printer March 15, 1936. 1000 copies.)

Contents identical with A1. above, but text completely reset, perhaps 8 letters changed per page, about half for frequent hearing or typographical errors (e.g. *k* to *q*, *l* to *z*, *v* to *i*), minor systematic change (especially final *-o* to *-u*; *-o* is a Dano-Greenlandicism (!) somehow occurring mainly in A1. above). One sadly telling change, p. 5, *x* to *h*, for voiceless uvular fricative, which the spelling fails to distinguish from the velar one; *x* as in Russian, and in the original Soviet Eskimo alphabet as in Orlova 1932, is no longer in the Forshtein-Sergeeva Eskimo alphabet, but *x* is also a phonetic symbol appropriate for either fricative. Forshtein, understandably, had a momentary slip in using the *x* in the first edition, for a uvular. The letter *x*, being available, now unused, could easily and aptly have been used to distinguish, as opposed to *h*, the two importantly different sounds. However, Forshtein's mere correction of the "typo" clearly shows that he still had no inkling of the underdifferentiation, a serious defect in his orthography.

12. V. Tambi (author). *Nat'n juk pahqejma t'han'arm'ny*. Jupigestun mumihsimi amkagun Nynliuvak, mumihthe nalhohqomi A. S. Forstejn. / *Kak chelovek nauchilsia letat*. Na eskimoskii iazyk perevel Amkaun

Nynliuvak, pod redaktsiei A. S. Forshteina. [Naten Yuuk peghqiimaa Tenganeghmeng. Yupigestun mumigsimi Amkagun Nengluvak, mumigtellghii naallghughqumi A. S. Forsteyn. / How Man Learned to Fly. Translation into the Eskimo language by Amkaun Nynliuvak, under the editorship of A. S. Forshtein.] Leningrad: Detgiz, 1936. 32 pages. (Submitted to printer May 5, 1936. 1000 copies.)

Last known publication involving Forshtein, who was already in Copenhagen when it reached the printer. Amqaawen alone translated, Sergeeva in Chukotka not involved. Amqaawen Nengluvak (1914-1950) of Ungaziq was explicitly credited for his involvement in items A2, A4, A6, A7, and A10 above, as helping Sergeeva translate, this last being the only one he is credited with doing without Sergeeva. Examination of Sergeeva's personal papers at the Magadan Museum would probably do much to clarify Amqaawen's role in the work.

References found to V. Tambi as (co-)author of children's books especially on autos, submarines, etc., from 1929 to 1937, perhaps also a victim of the GULAG. No Russian translation provided; original presumably available, but no references found. Accounts of Montgolfier, Blanchard, Lilienthal, Wright brothers, hardly a "true communist" or suitably nationalistic perspective.

B. Soviet Eskimo Schoolbooks Planned, with Forshtein's Name

Books listed in the *Ukazatel'* printed in 1934 and 1935 as planned. Three (B2., B3., B4.) are probably to be identified with printed books listed above, and three (B1., B5., B6.) were evidently never printed.

1. "Morskoi Zver" perevod Forshteina. 1 p. l. 750 eks. [Marine Mammals, Forshtein's translation, 1 galley sheet (16 pages), 750 copies.] Listed in 1934, page 22. No author given, no references found for such a title, but planned also for Nenets, Even, Chukchi, Saami, Koryak. This translation may have been written, but there is no indication that it was ever printed.

2. Forshtein. Sbornik skazok, zagadok, i t. d., na iuitskom iazyke, 1 p. l., 750 ekz. [Collection of stories, riddles, etc., in the Yuit language, 1 galley sheet (16 pages), 750 copies.] Listed in 1934, page 22. Planned for the "Folklore Series" under the same designation also in 12 other northern nationalities' languages of the 15 for which alphabets had been established. There is no indication this was ever printed as such, but it most probably took the shape of Forshtein's Stories of the Asiatic Eskimos, 2 editions, of 1935 and 1936, A1. and A11. above.

3. A. S. Forshtein (author). Uchebnik arifmetiki dlia I klassa, 4 p. l., 1200 eks. [Manual of Arithmetic for Class I, 4 galley sheets (64 pages), 1200 copies.] Listed in 1935, page 27. Forshtein is named for what is probably the Popova Manual listed as translated by Sergeeva with Wye and Amkaun, A2. above. Forshtein's back-translation thereof, A3. above, is also listed as planned for 1935, page 28.

4. A. S. Forshtein (author). Kniga dlia chteniia, dlia I klassa, 5. p. l., 1200 ekz. [Reading-book, for Class I, 5 galley sheets (80 pages), 1200 copies.] Listed in 1935, page 27. Forshtein is named for what is probably the Sergeeva Reading-book for Class I, A4. above. Forshtein's (back-)translation thereof is also listed as planned for 1935, page 28.

5. A.S. Forshtein (author). Kniga dlia chteniia, dlia II klassa, 6. p. l., 1200 ekz. [Reading-book, for class II, 6 galley sheets (96 pages), 1200 copies.] Listed in 1935, page 27. There is no indication that any second class reader actually appeared for Eskimo until Rubtsova's of 1948. Unlike the case of the preceding, no (back-)translation of this is listed on page 28.

6. Kurdov (author). Krasnaia armiia, 1 p. l., 1000 ekz. [The Red Army, 1 galley sheet (16 pages), 1000 copies.] Listed in 1935, probably to be translated by Forshtein, as Forshtein is the only translator for Eskimo listed in the 1935 *Ukazatel'*. Author is probably V. I. Kurdov, for whom there are references as author and artist for children's books of 1935, 1940, and 1960-65. Translations of the Red Army book were planned also for 11 other northern nationalities' languages of the 15 for which alphabets had been established. No reference to the Russian original of the Red Army book is easily found.

C. Archival Linguistic Materials of Forshtein

This third category of Forshtein's Eskimo language work, in spite of its skimpiness, presents a very different and far more evaluative view of him. All known unpublished materials are limited to those seen at the Academy of Sciences Archive, Leningrad, in the Bogoraz' personal file (Fond 250); they are documented from my notes taken on my visit to that archive in 1990.

1. Bogoraz-Forshtein correspondence, 1927-/,1930 (Fond 250-4-351). In my notes the dates are joined by both hyphen and comma, it being unclear which was the correction, followed by "Vladivostok, Khabarovsk," perhaps an indication that the comma is the correction, and that there are as few as two letters. To this might be added a comment by Bogoraz in "A study of paleoasiatic and Tungus languages" (Fond 250-1-175, pp. 24-25?): "S. G. [sic] Forshtein, a student at the [Leningrad] University, who went to teach

school at Ungaziq, from Leningrad June 1927, arrived by steamer October 1927. He took along wireless for communication, but it hardly works."

2. [Notes on Sireniki language]. No title, but on cover-page: "Forshtein, A. 'Linguisticheskie zametki po eskimoskomu iazyku' [Linguistic notes on Eskimo language], Fond 250-5-84. One notebook, 30 pages, 15x19 cm., numbered as 15 leaves, but 22 pages with writing. Done at Imtuk, no sources named, no date, but probably in 1929, as the work partly takes Chaplinski as a point of departure for checking the Sireniki equivalents, and therefore probably follows a sequence in which Forshtein's contact with Chaplinski precedes that with Sireniki.

C3 (Bogoraz's evaluation of Orlova's textbook, 1935, possibly drafted with the use of Forshtein's earlier evaluation of the same textbook) and C4 (Forshtein's comments to Bogoraz's "Grammatical sketch" of 1934) are listed and covered in the text under "Forshtein and Bogoraz Attack Orlova," paragraph 2, and next section, paragraph 3.

References

- Boas, Franz
 1888 The Central Eskimo. In *6th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for the Years 1884-1885*. Pp. 399-669. American Philosophical Society, Washington D.C.
- Bogoraz(-Tan) Vladimir G. (Bogoras, Waldemar)
 1901 Materialy po eskimosskomu iazyku. [Eskimo language materials.] Arkhiv Russkoi Akademii Nauk. Fond 250-1-135. St. Petersburg.
 1909 Materialy dlya izucheniia iazyka aziatskikh eskimosov. [Materials for the study of Asiatic Eskimo.] *Zhivaia Starina* vyp. 2/3, kn. 70/71:178-190.
 1913 The Eskimo of Siberia. *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History* 12. *The Jesup North Pacific Expedition* 8(3). New York.
 1918 Linguistic Materials of the Aiwan Dialect of the Eskimo of Asia. Manuscript Division, New York Public Library, New York.
 1934 Iuitskii (aziatsko-eskimoskii) iazyk. [The Yuit (Asiatic Eskimo) Language.] Pp. 105-126 in *Iazyki i pis'mennost' narodov Severa*, Ia. P. Al'kor, ed. Chast' III. *Iazyki i pis'mennost' paleoaziatskikh narodov*. Uchpedgiz, Leningrad.
 1949 *Materialy po iazyku aziatskikh eskimosov* [Eskimo language materials]. Uchpedgiz, Leningrad.
- Bogoraz, V.G. and S. N. Stebnitskii
 1937 *Luoravetlansko-Russkii (chukotko-russkii) slovar'*. [Chukchi-Russian dictionary.] Uchpedgiz, Leningrad.
- Budnikova, S. V.
 1989 Katerina Semenovna Sergeeva. *Kraevedcheskie zapiski* 16:50. Magadan.
 1990 *K voprosu sozdaniia i razvitiia pis'mennosti eskimosov Chukotki*. [On the question of the establishment and development of Chukotka Eskimo literature.] Unpublished manuscript of paper presented at the 10th Inuit Studies Conference, Fairbanks.
- 1935/ *Ezhegodnik knigi SSSR*. [USSR book annual.] Izdatel'stvo Vsesoiuznoi knizhnoi palaty, Moscow. Kleinschmidt,
 1991 Samuel P.
 1851 *Grammatik der grönländische Sprache*. G. Reimer, Berlin.
- Krauss, Michael E.
 1973 Eskimo-Aleut. in Linguistics in North America. In *Current Trends in Linguistics*, Vol. 10, edited by Thomas A. Sebeok, pp. 796-902, Mouton, The Hague and Paris.
 1974 St. Lawrence Island and Siberian Eskimo Literature. Unpublished materials on file Alaska Native Language Center, Fairbanks.
 1975 St. Lawrence Island Eskimo Phonology and Orthography. *Linguistics* 152(May):39-72.
- Kreindler, Isabelle
 1985 *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Soviet Native Languages: their Past, Present, and Future*. Mouton, The Hague, Paris.
- Krupnik, Igor
 1991 Extinction of the Sireniki Eskimo language: 1895-1960. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 15(2):3-22.

- 1998 Jesup Genealogy, Intellectual Partnership and Russian-American Cooperation in Arctic/North Pacific Anthropology. Part I. From the Jesup Expedition to the Cold War, 1897-1948. *Arctic Anthropology* 35(2):199-226.
- Menovshchikov, Georgii A.
- 1967 V eskimosskoy shkole [In an Eskimo school]. *Prosveshchenie na krainem Severe* 15:56-60.
- 1977 *Na chukotskoi zemle*. [In the land of Chukotka.] Magadanskoe Knizhnoe Izdatel'stvo, Magadan.
- Reshetov, Aleksandr M.
- 2002 Aleksandr Semenovich Forshtein (1904-1968). Stranitsy biografii repressirovannogo uchenogo. [ASF.... Pages of a biography of a "repressed" scholar.] Pp. 275-279 in *Dikovskie chteniia II, Materialy nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii*, A. I. Lebedintsev *et al.*, eds. SVKNII, Magadan.
- Sergeeva, Katerina S.
- 1935 V Ureliskom natssoвете. [At the Ureliki national soviet.] *Sovetskii Sever* 35(1):95-101.
- 1962 *Skazochnik Kivagme*. [The storyteller Kivagme.] Magadanskoe Knizhnoe Izdatel'stvo, Magadan. Second edition, 1968, ibidem.
- 1934 *Ukazatel' literatury izdannoi na iazykakh narodov Severa v 1931-1933 gg.* [Directory of literature published in the languages of the peoples of the North in 1931-1933.] Izdatel'stvo Instituta Narodov Severa, Leningrad.
- 1935 *Ukazatel' literatury izdannoi na iazykakh narodov Severa v 1931-1934 gg.* [Directory of literature published in the languages of the peoples of the North in 1931-1934.] Izdatel'stvo Instituta Narodov Severa, Leningrad.

THE ART OF WORK AND THE WORK OF ART: BECOMING AN ARTIST AND PRACTICING ART IN YUP'IK ESKIMO ALASKA

Molly Lee

Curator of Ethnology, University of Alaska Museum of the North, Fairbanks, AK 99775; ffmcl@uaf.edu

Abstract: The Western conception of art for art's sake does not necessarily apply to many of today's indigenous artists. Most commonly, such artists learn their craft from family members in a small village; later they often move to the city where they have access to different buyers and where they come into contact with other artists and types of artwork. In this paper, I use the case study of one Yup'ik Eskimo artist to reflect on these issues. Born, brought up, and trained by family members in the rural community of Hooper Bay, she moved into Anchorage as a student and stayed on after graduation to take advantage of the greater opportunities in the city. In her own words, she describes her family art training and considers the effect of city living on her work as she grew more confident of her abilities. Overall, she might be said to have moved from an artist who made work largely for economic reasons, to one who more closely approximates a Western art professional for whom the satisfactions of creativity are uppermost.

Keywords: Yup'ik Eskimo Art, Art and Economics; Urbanization and Acculturation, Anthropology of Work, Anthropology of Art

Introduction

"Artists," as Stuart Plattner (1996:78) points out, "face the existential problem of making a living as well as making art." Since the rise of humanism and its attendant emphasis on the individual, however, one of the loftiest imperatives of Western culture has been that a true artist is one whose commitment to creativity somehow transcends the economic realities governing other human enterprises (Plattner 1996). Explicitly or implicitly, we measure the value of art by the extent to which an artist privileges his or her allegiance to the creative spirit above economic necessity. In his insightful analysis of the St. Louis art world, Plattner (1996) classifies artists into three groups according to the prominence of economics in their lives. "High-art" artists adhere most strictly to the "art over money" norm; "business artists" are willing to sacrifice cultural significance in their work to the realities of generating an income; and "hobbyist artists" invest so little time and energy into making art that economic gain is relatively inconsequential (Plattner 1996:79).

Native American artists are one group for whom Plattner's art/money analysis is insufficiently descriptive. Most¹ fall under the rubric of business artist because they, too, are governed by economic necessity, yet, for a variety of reasons that I will consider here, the relationship between earning a livelihood and creativity is more complicated among Native American business artists. Artistic freedom, pricing, and access to raw materials are a few of the reasons. The cultural biography of one such artist, Rosalie Bunyan-Serovy, a Yup'ik Eskimo from southwest Alaska, offers a rich case study in which to examine the interplay of art and money among Native American artists more generally. This article is dedicated to my close colleague and friend, Mikhail Bronshtein, and overlaps with his research in its focus on the art of the arctic and the artists who create it (cf. Bronshtein et al. 2002).

¹This analysis does not include the small number of Native American artists who have joined the world art system through going to art school, having dealers, selling their work in galleries, and becoming subject to mainstream art criticism (cf. Graburn 1999:347-350).



Fig. 1: Hooper Bay, May 1980. Photograph by James Barker.

Hooper Bay: the Setting

Hooper Bay, Alaska, the Yup'ik Eskimo village where Rosalie Bunyan was born (Fig.1), is a community of some 1,500 people located in the Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta of southwestern Alaska. The Y-K Delta, as it is known familiarly across Alaska, is almost certainly the least acculturated region of the state if not the US. Located at the edge of the shallow, muddy Bering Sea, Hooper Bay is situated in the low-lying country between the mouths of the Yukon and Kuskokwim rivers, an area laced with streams and rivers and offering abundant fish and wildlife for subsistence activities. Because of the shallowness of the Bering Sea, the village (known as *Naparyarmiut* in the Central Yup'ik language), was virtually inaccessible by the Russian, then American, ships that plied northern waters during the 19th century. The earliest explorer to leave a description of the settlement was Smithsonian ethnologist Edward Nelson who, in 1878, identified it as Askinuk and reported that its residents ".... ran out at our approach, unharnessed our dogs ... and carried our bedding into the [community house] with the greatest goodwill" (Nelson 1899:297).

Compared to other parts of Alaska, the Y-K Delta is not only isolated but also poor. Subsistence hunting and fishing are the most stable source of food, but harvesting the catch requires expensive equipment such as guns, boats and snow machines and the fuel to run them (Hensel 1999). According to the US 2000 Census, the yearly median household income in Hooper Bay is about \$27,000 and unemployment there can reach as high as 37%; 50% or more of Hooper Bay's households receive some form of welfare, and most are still without running water or sewer hookups (US Census 2000).

These grim statistics, however, tell only part of the story. Long a center of cultural and artistic richness, Nelson and other 19th century ethnologists found Hooper Bay a fertile site for collecting Yup'ik Eskimo artifacts. There, Nelson traded glass beads and other imported goods for masks, fur clothing, snuff boxes, ivory and trade-bead jewelry, sleds and memorial grave posts (Nelson 1899:966). Today, the village is famous for its finely coiled grass baskets; its distinctive masks were danced in ceremonies well into the 20th century.



Fig. 2: Rosalie Bunyan, Bethel, Alaska, April 2003. Photograph by James Barker.

Becoming an Artist in a Yup'ik Eskimo Village

Rosalie Bunyan was born 47 years ago in Hooper Bay into a family of artists (Fig. 2). Her grandfather, George Bunyan, was a shaman and, like many of this profession, was a famous mask maker (Bunyan-Serovy 2003, personal communication; Fienup-Riordan 1996:290) (Fig. 3). Her father, Dick, was also a great artist and made the last traditional Hooper Bay kayak in the 1980s (Zimmerly 2000:44-45; Fig. 4). To keep himself and his family afloat in the mixed cash-and-subsistence economy characteristic of rural Alaska, Dick Bunyan made and sold artifacts to visiting school teachers and health aids or on infrequent trips to Anchorage, over 1000 km miles away. Rose says:²

I used to watch my dad when he made stuff...Like, he carved wooden bowls and ladles and masks and snow goggles. And then I also watched him carve ivory story knife [pp. 7-8] And then if somebody wanted something, maybe my sisters would tell him, that certain people wanted stuff [p. 11].

Rosalie's artistic education followed the standard Eskimo style of learning—through-watching rather than the Socratic method of instruction typical of post-industrialized cultures. The Eskimo method requires that children observe—and observe so acutely that they can often perform a task adequately on the first try. As adults, they often recount these experiences. Rosalie tells the following story in which Dick Bunyan's role as a mentor in his daughter's artistic development is evident:

I always followed him around, wherever he went [she recalls]. And then one day he wanted to go gathering some wood. I must have been about maybe six. And I said, Can I come with you? And he said, No, you're gonna make me go slow. And I said, I can run, and I won't make you go slow. And he said, You're gonna get tired. I never get tired. And then he said, You're gonna get cold. And I said, I won't get cold, I have a parka. And he said, Boy, you have an answer for everything. So he let me follow him along. And I ran. I didn't want to slow him down. And I was panting and he says,

²This and all quoted material that follows are drawn from the transcript of my interview with Rosalie Bunyan-Serovy held in Bethel, Alaska on April 4, 2003. Pages are cited in brackets following the transcript manuscript notation.



Fig. 3: George Bunyan, Rosalie's grandfather, 1946. Photograph by Alfred Millotte.

Are you tired? I said, No. So we stopped and rest. And then we got to the beach ... And then I was playing and there was something that the waves had brought in ..., and I got scared. I saw it and I said, Dad, what is that over there? And he got his binoculars, What is that? And [he] said, Let's

go see ...what it is. And my heart was pounding. And we got there, it was a little walrus. And the last thing that I remember was he was chopping the head off. And so many years after that, after I moved to Anchorage and started carving, my dad sent me this box; it had some walrus teeth and a small little tusk. So I cut the tusk up and carved it. And then when I went to Hooper Bay, he gave me the other side of the tusk, and then the rest of the walrus teeth. And he goes, Do you remember where this came from? And I said, no. That was the one that you had found when you were only a little girl [pp. 5-6].

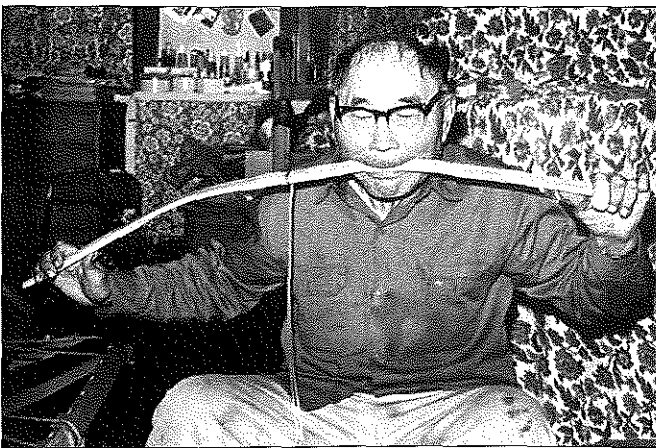


Fig. 4: Dick Bunyan, Rosalie's father, bending a kayak rib, 1976. Photograph by David Zimmerly.

Rosalie is an artist of greater range than normal for someone trained in an indigenous culture, where divisions of labor between the sexes are standard (Teilhet 1977). She sews coiled grass baskets and furs - woman's work - but also carves wood and ivory and makes masks, occupations that by and large are left to men. Her life circumstances explain this unusual range. When she was four or five, her mother died, leaving Dick Bunyan to raise his children alone. Rosalie

remembers worrying about mastering the skills that would be required of her later as a Yup'ik woman:

Whenever I got together with my cousins, we sewed grass. That's where I learned to make baskets. And then I learned how to do skin sewing by watching the elderly women [p. 6].... Whenever I went to my friend's house, whenever I've seen their mother sewing, I would watch them because I was worried about when I got older, I wanted to know how. I was thinking I got to learn how to sew because if I -- if I get older and I have a husband, I don't want people to think that I'm dumb because I didn't know how to sew [pp. 8-9].

At the same time, though, Rosalie was mastering the skills of mask-making, a decidedly male art form:

[My dad] made about a dozen masks one time. Wooden masks. And when he painted them, I was ... maybe 12 years old. ... And I said I can help you paint them ... I know how. I seen some wooden masks that were painted. And so he goes, Well, if she knows how, do it. And so then so he let me help him paint it [p. 11].

Developing an Artistic Career

After finishing elementary school in Hooper Bay, Rosalie moved into Anchorage to live with her sister and attend high school, graduating in 1977. A year or so later she dropped out of community college to become an artist:

...When I was a little girl I used to think some day when I grow older, I'm going to make stuff and sell them and make my money that way. And then I forgot all about it ... And then one of my friends said, You should work for yourself, and I was thinking how am I going to do that [p. 10]?

It was then that she first took up ivory carving, an art form at which both her father and grandfather had excelled:

The very first time that I ever worked with ivory was a walrus ivory tooth. I sanded it all by hand. And made it real smooth. And I made that into a necklace... I might have been 19...Then after that, I did some scrimshaw on walrus slabs. And then made little Eskimo figurines with walrus teeth [p. 22].

Unlike most Alaska Native artists, for whom consumer expectations largely govern output, Rosalie traveled to the beat of her own drummer:

I made what I wanted. I first started doing... a lot of little figurines, and then after about ... a year or two, I decided to make Eskimo dolls. My very first Eskimo doll that I had made was when I was a little girl somewhere around six, seven, eight years old... [It] was made... from the -- the cover of [a] ...homemade blanket... I stuffed it with the scraps from the material that I had cut out. And for the hair, I used that imitation fur off of my jacket... And... that was my first one [p.14].

Before long, Rosalie combined her doll-making and ivory-carving skills to create an ivory-faced doll of her own invention (Fig. 5):

...When I started making the ivory face dolls, ... I made them with ivory feet and ivory hands ...I had to really think about it. I had invested into... fur, leather, and ivory, and I sat [on them] for a few years ...I wanted to use my materials wisely And so I drew my own patterns [p. 15].

The doll was so successful that it won Best of Show at the Anchorage Fur Rendezvous craft sale several years ago. Dick Bunyan was especially proud of his daughter's ivory carving abilities and encouraged the high standards of workmanship for which Eskimo artists have long been known:

He -- he was really proud and when he first seen me start making my ivory face dolls, he would watch me for hours and he would tell me always -- always try to do a good job. And don't -- don't rush when you're, doing your work [p. 9].

Still, after some time, she grew dissatisfied:

...I decided ... I'm tired of making the same thing over and over, so I'm going to build up my inventory, starting with a small something, like the earrings or necklaces...I want people that can't afford much, to have something when ... they go to the shows, [so] they can take something home. ...It took me a few years to build that [inventory] up. And now that there's enough small stuff, I decided I better start making the big stuff [again] [p. 17].



Fig. 5: Rosalie with one of her ivory-headed dolls, April 2003. Photograph by James Barker.



Fig. 6: Edna Mathlaw shows Anthropologists Chase Hensel, Phyllis Morrow, and Molly Lee goods for sale at the Camai Craft Fair, Bethel, April 2003. Photograph by James Barker.

She has now begun to do just that, experimenting with ivory bas reliefs, and scrimshandered³ tusks and baleen strips. She hopes to begin on a full-sized Hooper Bay-style mask like her grandfather's sometime soon.

Selling Her Work

Urban-based artists such as Rosalie have a variety of venues in which to sell their work. Like many, Rosalie began by marketing her ivory-faced dolls at flea markets around Anchorage. She sold out several times and then decided to move up a notch to participate in the cycle of arts-and-crafts fairs held annually in Alaska's regional and urban centers (Fig. 6). Crafts-fair participation represents a more serious commitment on the part of an artist as it requires a cash investment of a hundred dollars or more for renting table space. So an artist must be confident that he or she can make that back and more. Rosalie does well from the sale of her handmade Yup'ik ivory and bead jewelry. Her ivory-faced dolls sell out so fast she cannot keep them in stock (Fig. 5). Always concerned to deepen public perceptions of Alaska Native art, she likes to bring with her to craft fairs unfinished

dolls she is working on and plans to enter in competitions later. She enjoys showing them to customers even in their unfinished state. But if she does that, there are sometimes unintended consequences, as she explains:

[When I do that, my] dolls don't make it to the show, [she says], most of the time, I bring them... not to sell them, but to show them, and they buy them, and then I don't have anything for [later] shows [p. 18].

Several years ago, Rosalie decided to try her hand at retail. The death of her father, Dick, in 1989, was a severe blow, and she decided to make a change:

I couldn't concentrate on my dolls after he was gone. So I asked my friend at the One People Gift Shop... She always asked me if I wanted to work for her. And so I worked with her for a few months to get over [his death] [p. 21].

³To apply scrimshaw to a surface.



Fig. 7: Rosalie Bunyan and her husband, Jim Serovy, Bethel, Alaska, April 2003. Photograph by James Barker.

Later on, deciding to strike out on her own, Rosalie opened a small shop in midtown Anchorage where she planned to sell only her own work. Soon, though, she discovered that keeping the shelves stocked with what she, herself, had made was running her into the ground.

When I first opened, I was gonna just fill it up with my own work... And it was getting close to Christmas and people were placing their custom orders, I got busy right away... When I did the shows, I told them where I was and people started placing their orders... Around Christmastime, I would work until two o'clock in the morning. I would open up at 10:00. And as soon as I opened, I would start sewing. And then I was thinking, boy, if I keep making my own stuff, I'll always have empty shelves... I've got to do something... So I started buying, my relatives' works... And then... sometimes tourists would come [in and say] I'm going to go fishing in Homer, I'm going to be back in three days. I want an Eskimo doll like that. And... I would be working all night... before they came and pick up their stuff. And after they picked up their stuff, I would go to bed [p. 29].

When Rosalie married Jim Serovy in 1997, she gave up the shop and moved with him to Glennallen, a community about two hours' drive from Anchorage (Fig. 7). As often the case with Alaska Native artists, Rosalie has found Jim's influence on her career and his encouragement in following her own path to be critical (Bydalek 2006:7). At one point, someone teaching marketing had suggested that Native artists provide certificates of authenticity with their work (Fig. 8). Jim helped Rosalie write hers and edited it on their computer. At his urging, she also began numbering her dolls and got together a book of family photographs to show potential customers, especially tourists.

After experimenting with different sales approaches, Rosalie seems to have settled on the crafts shows as the best venue for her work, especially as it brings her into contact with her customers:

I like to do shows because I like meeting people and seeing people that I know, [especially because] when I work at home, I work from morning way into the night [p. 19].

Certificate of Authenticity

This is to certify that the work of art described below is an authentic original work of art executed by the artist and guaranteed as represented.

Artist: Rosalie Bunyan

Title: _____

Medium: _____

Year: _____

Rosalie Bunyan was born and raised in the Bering Sea Coast village of Hooper Bay, Alaska. Her artwork is steeped in the Yup'ik traditions of this windswept land. Her father, Dick Bunyan, was a kayak builder and carver. His father was a shaman and a maskmaker. The work of all three is well represented in print, film and museums.

Fig. 8: Rosalie's certificate of authenticity designed by Jim Serovy. Photograph by Angela J. Linn.

Hard though the work may be, she still finds it rewarding:

I like working on everything that I do. ..[she reflects,] When I think about it, I love to do arts and crafts [p. 34].

Discussion

If we are to define work as "purposive activity directed toward meeting physical and social needs satisfying to those who either produce or consume goods and services" (Nash 1984:45), then business artists—those whose para-

mount need is to make a living even if it means sacrificing some amount of creativity—are doing work as well as making art. With the exception of those who go to art school and become part of the world art system, most Alaska Native artists, including Rosalie, fall into the business-artist category. Before her marriage, Rosalie was among the 17% of Alaska Native artists whose sole support was her work (Bydalek 2006:6). Yet there are a number of special circumstances that Native American business artists share. For one thing, the choice of items they can make and sell is far more limited than is that of a mainstream business artist. For Native Americans, selling art means creating something that is ethnically identifiable, either because it is made out of exotic materials or because it resembles a prototype that buyers associate with Native Americans generally or, as in the case of Rosalie, a particular sub-group (Graburn 1999:347). Rosalie's ivory-faced dolls are a good example. They are made from ivory and fur, both of which collectors associate with Eskimo/Inuit culture. When Rosalie tired of making them she shifted to beadwork and other identifiable object types, that are identifiably Eskimo; if she wants to sell her work, she must conform to this expectation.

Another problem faced by Native American artists trying to make a living out of selling art is that the option of mass production is not open to them. A mainstream ceramicist can switch from making hand-molded coffee mugs to making others in less time-consuming techniques and still attract buyers. Native American business artists, however, do not have this latitude. Beyond its identifiable ethnicity, the single most important feature of a Native American artwork is authenticity. As Rosalie's descriptions of developing her ivory-faced doll reveal, to be authentic³ the work of art must not only look "ethnic" but must also look handmade. Some years ago, Rosalie's husband, Jim, wishing to attract more high-end customers for his wife, printed out certificates of authenticity for Rosalie to attach to her art works. They also put together a family album with photographs of Rosalie's father and grandfather for Rose to take with her to selling venues to establish that she came from a family of Yup'ik Eskimo artists.

A third factor differentiating mainstream and Native American business artists is the difficulty and expense of obtaining raw materials and its reflection in the relatively high price they must charge to make a profit. This is especially true for urban-dwelling Alaska Native artists. Rather than requiring only a trip to the hobby shop, obtaining raw materials such as sealskin, basket grass, or ivory, necessitates

³To qualify an artist must submit documentation proving that he or she has no less than 1/4 Alaska Native blood quantum; is a tribal or Native Corporation member; resides in the state of Alaska; and is producing items for sale that are made primarily of natural materials. The program, administered by the Alaska State Council on the Arts, distributes annually 150 Silver Hand tags to eligible artists to attach to their work of art (Alaska State Council on the Arts 2006).

an expensive trip home or a family member who can secure these materials off the land and is willing to send or bring them to town. Because of the high cost of raw materials, souvenir buyers often find the price of Alaska Native art prohibitive. Instead, as often as not (Bydalek 2006:6), the buyers are Alaska residents who understand the market forces that are at work in the setting of such high prices.

Another problem differentiating Native American business artists is finding a profitable location for selling their work. This, of course, is dramatically different for Alaska Native rural- and urban-based artists and a compelling reason why many of them move to town. For the most part, selling art in the Alaskan bush is more haphazard and less profitable than in an urban center. In the Y-K Delta, the biggest unknown is travel. Scattered around the Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta and Calista corporate region are some 50 villages ranging in size from 41 inhabitants in the community of Platinum to 1,500 or so in Hooper Bay, excluding the 6,000 people in Bethel, the Y-K Delta regional center. Travel between nearby villages—by boat in the summer and snow machine in the winter—is routine, but almost none are reachable from the outside except by air and it is remoteness, more than size that characterizes rural Alaskan communities.

If Rosalie had chosen to remain in Hooper Bay, marketing her work would follow a distinctly different trajectory than in town. In most bush communities, the non-Native school teachers are the only local market. Art-making villagers sometimes travel to regional or urban centers, most often for health-related concerns: their travel is generally paid by one of the social service agencies. If so, they often take arts and crafts with them to sell at gift shops or to non-Natives they encounter. This is relatively infrequent, though, because of the cost.⁴

In rural Alaska, it is more common for arts-and-crafts consumers to come to the artist. In general, there are virtually no tourists in isolated southwestern villages. Instead, the buyers are people whose work brings them there, like construction workers, visiting nurses or dentists, a school-district representative, or a TV repairman. Whatever their profession, it is an unusual day when a flight from Bethel, the regional center in southwest Alaska, skids to a stop on the gravel air strip of a village without disgorging at least one potential consumer of arts and crafts.

In the bush, Artist-consumer transactions are easily arranged. In a small village, word of a visitor's arrival quickly

spreads. No sooner have they stowed their gear at the school⁵ than there is a knock on the door. An artist has come to sell a pair of ivory and baleen earrings or a colorful grass basket. Failing such encounters, seasoned outsiders in search of arts and crafts walk to the village store and make an announcement on the CB (Citizen's Band) radio to advise the community of their interest.

The transition from making art on the local level to developing the artistic repertoire and social skills requisite to the more cosmopolitan setting of Anchorage is no small feat. Rosalie undoubtedly learned hard lessons about the larger world after her move to Anchorage as a teenager. After a small village school, a large metropolitan high school is an experience that has sent many young Alaska Natives into a hasty retreat for home. But watching Rosalie interacting with her non-Native customers today suggests she has put the skills she picked up in school to good use. While confining herself to object types within the range of those associated with Native art in the minds of Western consumers, Rosalie has nonetheless remained flexible enough to experiment, and to have developed at least one specialty, her ivory-faced doll, uniquely her own. Through her non-Native husband, she has also developed marketing strategies—the certificate of authenticity, numbering her pieces, the photograph album—appealing to mainstream buyers in their search for the unique, the exotic and the authentic.

Another factor that is different for Rosalie in Anchorage than it would be in Hooper Bay is pricing her work. Pricing Native art in rural Alaska is largely an individual concern. In Eskimo culture generally there is a reticence about personal matters that is born of respect. Artists seem to figure out what the market will bear by trial and error, though they might discuss it with a close relative. Consequently, prices tend to be all over the map, though a reasonable estimate would be 30% to 50% lower than what Rosalie can get in Anchorage or in other urban areas. One common problem in selling their work is that Alaska Natives charge too much because they do not understand the economic realities of urban marketing, where the price of artifacts is routinely doubled to allow for overhead costs such as rent and electricity. Rosalie may be an urban-based artist, but her training was decidedly rural. Her recollections of how she learned her trade and of the standards she brings to it is in many ways typical of someone who learned to make art in a non-market, in an economy in transition away from a non-market-based system. In such groups, education takes place in kin-based settings (Applebaum 1984:9; Weltfish 1979:226); from this

⁴In January, 2007, a round-trip ticket from Bethel to Scammon Bay is \$288, a distance of about 240 km (<http://www.state.ak.us/admin/dgs/cam/pdf/12fares.pdf>). On a web special the cost of a round-trip ticket from Fairbanks to Seattle, a trip almost 15 times the distance, can on occasion cost roughly the same amount.

⁵In Alaska, the village schools are the social hub of the community. Generally speaking they accommodate visiting personnel in rooms set aside for that purpose; sometimes the visitors sleep on the floor of the gymnasium.

perspective, her father's guidance and the inspiration both she and her father received from her grandfather's reputation fall within the acknowledged patterns of such groups. The same could be said of the work habits Dick Bunyan instilled in his daughter. As is the rule in transitional economies, his training was task-oriented, not time-oriented (Applebaum 1984:15). He emphasized taking time to do a job well rather than accomplishing it in a timely fashion, as would probably have been underscored by a mainstream parent. Rosalie's description of her long hours fulfilling special orders certainly lives up to her father's expectations. That a father would encourage a daughter to take up male occupations like wood- and ivory-carving, however, is more unusual. It goes against the accepted norm of the male/female division of labor, which as recently as half a century ago was strictly adhered to in Eskimo/Inuit culture (Giffen 1930). The most likely explanation is that Dick Bunyan, who interacted with visitors and outsiders on a regular basis in the selling of his own work, realized that to make a living as a craftsperson, Rosalie was going to need all the abilities he could provide her with, and that in modern times she was unlikely to be criticized for this transgression.

In conclusion, the case study of Rosalie Bunyan-Serovy contributes to general theory in the economics of cross-cultural art in that it comments on a special sub-group of those Plattner has called "business artists." Most indigenous business artists privilege economics over the cultural significance of their work, but they can be differentiated from mainstream business artists on the basis of their diminished choice of artworks they can sell. They are also different in having the difficulty and expense of obtaining raw materials, the high prices they must charge, and their selling venues. The better connected or more worldly either move into urban Alaska, as Rose did, and sell their work at the annual round of craft shows and/or some gift shop. But there are many who by choice or necessity never leave the village. Lacking the access to funding information for grants and other forms of assistance available to their urban peers (Bydalek 2006:3), they perforce rely on the slow-but-steady parade of school teachers, health and social-service aides, and construction workers for marketing their work. Whichever path they choose, making a living as a Native American artist requires hard work and ingenuity. Native artists in rural Alaska are further hampered by the expense of long-distance travel, and the problems of keeping up with the fluctuating preferences of non-Native collectors and tourists, and absence of any tools to educate their buying public (Bydalek 2006:6). Fortunately, many, such as Rosalie, find that art-making can be financially rewarding if they stay connected to the artistic models provided by their upbringing while at the same time seeking to interpret them in innovative ways. If they succeed,

they can avoid the pitfalls of seeking out occupations that take them ever further from their ties to the past.

Acknowledgements:

I presented a preliminary version of this article in "Works of Art: Aesthetic Tradition and Individual Creativity in the Marketplace," at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association. I thank James Weil and Michael Chibnik, organizers of the panel. I am grateful to Rosalie Bunyan-Serovy for allowing me to tell her story as an example of the life of an Alaska Native artist, to James Barker for his wonderful photographs, to my graduate student, Hiroko Ikuta, who helped with the interview and to Igor Krupnik for judicious editing and prodding.

References

Alaska State Council on the Arts

2005 <http://www.awrta.org/index.cfm?section=arts>. Website accessed in 2005.

Applebaum, Herbert

1984 Theoretical Introduction. In *Work in Non-Market and Transitional Societies*, edited by Herbert Applebaum, pp. 1-40, State University of New York Press, Albany.

Bronstein, Mikhail, Irina Karakhan, and Jury Shirokov

2002 *Reznaia kost' Uelena. Narodnoe iskusstvo Chukotki* [Ivory Carving in Uelen: The Folk Art of the Chukchi Peninsula]. Bilingual catalog. Sviatigor Publishers, Moscow.

Bunyan-Serovy, Rosalie

2003 Taped and Transcribed Interview with Molly Lee. April 4, 2003, Bethel. Manuscript in the possession of the author.

Bydalek, Carmen

2006 Alaska Native Arts and Culture Assessment: Recommendations to the Alaska Native Heritage Center and Other Cultural Institutions in Alaska... to Improve Infrastructure Available to Alaska Native Artists. [Unpublished report in the possession of the author].

2007 www.eed.state.ak.us/aksca/Call4Art/Recommendations.doc. Website accessed January 2007.

Fienup-Riordan, Ann

1996 *The Living Tradition of Yup'ik Masks*. University of Washington Press, Seattle.

Giffen, Naomi M.

1930 *The Roles of Men and Women in Eskimo Culture*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Graburn, Nelson H. H.

1999 Ethnic and Tourist Arts Revisited. In *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Settings*, edited by Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner, pp. 335-354, University of California Press, Berkeley.

Hensel, Chase

1999 *Telling Ourselves*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Nash, June

1984 The Anthropology of Work. In *Work in Non-Market and Transitional Societies*, edited by Herbert Applebaum, pp. 45-55. State University of New York Press, Albany.

Nelson, Edward W.

1899 The Eskimo about Bering Strait. *Bureau of American Ethnology for the Years 1896-1897. 18th Annual Report*, part 1, pp. 3-518. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

Plattner, Stuart

1996 *High Art Down Home*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Teilhet, Jehanne

1977 The Equivocal Role of Women Artists in Non-Literate Cultures. *Heresies* 1(2):96-102.

U.S. Census

2000 <http://www.epodunk.com/cgi-bin/genInfo.php?locIndex=27953>. Website accessed January 2007.

http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/QTTable?_bm=y&-geo_id=25000US6595&-qr_name=DEC_2000_SF3_U_DP3&-ds_name=DEC_2000_SF3_U&-redoLog=false&-sse=on. Website accessed February 2007.

Weltfish, Gene

1979 The Anthropology of Work. In *Toward a Marxist Anthropology: Problems and Perspective*, edited by Stanley Diamond, pp. 215-256, Mouton, The Hague.

Zimmerly, David W.

2000 *Qayaq: Kayaks of Alaska and Siberia*. University of Alaska Press, Fairbanks.

A YUPIGET (ST. LAWRENCE ISLAND YUPIK) FIGURINE AS A HISTORICAL RECORD

Hans-Georg Bandi

Berne, Switzerland. email: hagebandi@mac.com

Abstract: The pursuit of scientific data often follows a fortuitous course, as a series of personal discoveries can evolve into a view of the past. In this paper, I recount my personal experiences with the various types of prehistoric armor employed on St. Lawrence Island. The knowledge of armor is preserved in the crafts tradition of modern Gambell, which served as my first introduction to defensive armor. Ethnographic collections of armor have served as confirmation for details in the figures first encountered in 1967.

Keywords: Warfare, St. Lawrence Island, Military Equipment

In 1967, following a number of earlier reconnaissance visits, I worked for the first time with a Swiss archeological team on St. Lawrence Island, Alaska, south of Bering Strait. Quite fortuitously, our team witnessed the spectacle arranged by the inhabitants of the village of Gambell at the northwestern tip of the island to celebrate the centennial of the sale of Alaska by Tsarist Russia to the United States in 1867. Gambell residents had constructed a modern replica of a traditional semi-subterranean winter house and of a large summer skin-covered tent, both in the old way. Wearing traditional fur clothing, they imitated the attack of enemies arriving in a large walrus skin-covered boat from the sea. Evidently, by that time some elders still remembered quite well the times when people had to live in the village, then called Sivuaq, without purchased clothing and firearms and with no television, "iceboxes," canned food, motorboats, snowmobiles, gasoline, electricity and other modern inventions. The most important part of the event was the attack of the men coming by umiaq from the sea to the island. Yet the "enemies" jumping from the boat wore fur parkas and not slat armor, which was the usual battle dress of warriors in former times, as we discuss below.

A second time I came very close to such armored warriors during that same summer of 1967. The main purpose of our project was the search for prehistoric burials on St. Lawrence Island.¹ Until then practically no ancient graves had been discovered on the island during the extensive excavations of old dwelling sites by Geist and Rainey (1936), Collins (1937), and others. This posed the question of whether during the period of the Okvik, Old Bering Sea and Punuk cultures, going back to the first millennium B.C., the dead, instead of being buried, were covered with skins and exposed in the tundra or offered to the sea. If this were so, traces of them could not be found. But this became highly doubtful when, starting in the 1940s, Russian archaeologists discovered evidence of the same cultures of sea mammal hunters that inhabited St. Lawrence Island on the opposite side of the Bering Strait on the Chukchi Peninsula (Arutyunov, Levin and Sergeev 1964; Rudenko 1961). There they found huge ancient cemeteries with richly provisioned burials, first near Uelen, and later also near Ekven and other nearby sites. It would be very improbable that people of the same cultures and practically in sight of each other would have different burial customs.

¹The excavation was carried out as a research project of the Seminary of Prehistory of the University of Berne, Switzerland and was partially supported by the Arctic Institute of the University of Alaska, Fairbanks (see more in: Bandi und Bürgi 1971/72; Bandi 1984, 1987; Bandi and Blumer 2002, 2004).

Based at Gambell, we started our survey in the summer of 1967 that eventually led to the discovery of several ancient burials that—in contrast to nearby Chukotka—belonged mostly to the Punuk period (Bandi 1993, 1995; Bandi and Blumer 2002). Many of the old burials were carefully constructed and covered with whale bones and stones (cf. Bandi 1993, 1995). The second burial we opened that summer of 1967 revealed the skeleton of a man, 35 to 40 years old, who was laid stretched out on his back in a well prepared grave. Between his bones we found 15 arrow points made of organic materials, one still fixed in a vertebra, and one weapon point (arrow, lance or dagger?) of basalt (cf. illustrations in Bandi 1993:51; 1995:170). Only one arrow had hit this Yupik “Saint Sebastian” from the front, piercing the nose opening and probably killing him by reaching the brain. All the other arrows and also the basalt point had hit him from the back, probably when he lay defenseless on his stomach. At first I thought of a sacrifice or an execution. Of note is that 12 of the arrow points were made of ivory, but three were of caribou antler. Typologically, the points belong to the Punuk culture and all of them could be identified as weapons for war. The presence of caribou antler points to contacts—friendly or hostile—with inhabitants of the Chukchi Peninsula where, as opposed to St. Lawrence Island, caribou was evidently abundant during the Punuk period.

Scientific excavation in houses in 1967 yielded further evidence of ancient armored warriors, producing individual components of plate armor. In addition, a few native diggers from Gambell offered us similar bone or ivory plates for sale. These diggers knew the purpose of these plates, either by oral tradition or from the explanations they had received while assisting archeologists Otto Geist and Henry Collins during their earlier excavations on the island in the 1920s and 1930s (Collins 1937; Geist and Rainey 1936). Both Collins and Geist, as well as Edward W. Nelson before them (1899), had described Eskimo plate armor and reproduced their images in their publications. But the illustrations offered by Geist, Collins or Nelson show either single plates or groups of plates, but not complete plate armor sets:

Several 19th century ethnographers describe and chronicle the geographic distribution of slat armor of various types, commencing with Friedrich Ratzel (1886), Walter Hough (1895) and Berthold Laufer (1914). A full set of slat armor collected from Wales, Alaska by the minister H. R. Thornton, is illustrated in the two latter works (Hough 1895:Pl.2; Laufer 1914:Pl. XXIX), as well as in Thornton's book (Thornton 1931:24).

Later, in the 1970s, I was able to inspect a complete set of plate armor preserved at the Sheldon Jackson Museum in Sitka (Fig. 1). It reminds one of bullet proof vests of today

and consists of leather lining with cross straps on which the plates are fixed. In some cases the bone or ivory plates were replaced by metallic ones when sheets of brass or bronze alloys became available from American or European whalers in the late 19th century (cf. Hough 1895:633). This proves that plate armors were still in use at this period. But iron plates were used at least a century before that: the Thomas Burke Museum in Seattle has some armor and helmets made of iron plates of Koryak origin. They are dated by riveted French silver coins from the period of Louis XVI, crowned in 1774 and executed during the French Revolution, 1794 (Bandi 1974/75, 1995).

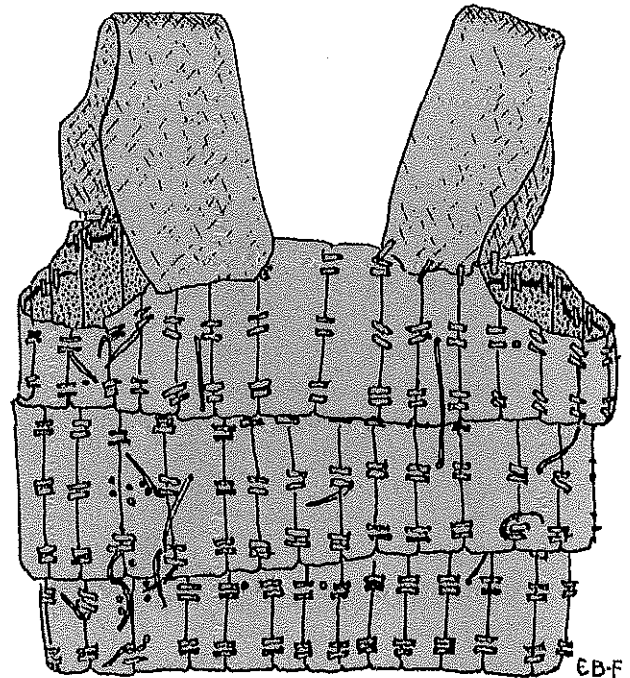


Fig. 1: Plate armor from Cape of Prince of Wales, Alaska. Sheldon Jackson Museum, Sitka, Alaska (drafted by Elisabeth Bürki-Flury after a photograph from the author).

A very special transition between the plate armor, for which Henry Collins postulated an Asiatic origin (Collins 1937:325ff, following the research of Laufer 1914:174ff), is a second variant of armor in the Bering Sea area termed by Hough (1895:633) “band or banded armor.” Band armor is also represented by a specimen collected (or received?) in 1851 by Ferdinand von Wrangel (Vrangel), then the Head of the Russian-American Company, without a precise location provided. At present, the piece (Fig. 2) is curated by the Ajaloomuseum in Tallinn, Estonia; another, incomplete specimen is at the Neuchâtel Ethnography Museum in Switzerland (Csonka 2005). Band armor lacks the leather lining and the cross straps. The upper part has at the back a neck cover made of split walrus tusks and on the front some plates protecting the face. The lower part is a skirt-

like construction consisting of five bands or rows of ivory plates fixed together with leather straps. The top row stays fixed, while the four others can be lifted up to the hips in the manner of a telescope (see the full reconstructed picture of an armor-clad warrior in Fitzhugh and Crowell 1988:227). A complete set of band armor was collected by Commodore John Rogers from the Chukchi Peninsula in the later 19th century and is archived in the Smithsonian Institution (Hough 1895:Pl. 4). While band armor is mentioned in the annals of the 12th century Khitan dynasty of northern China (Laufer 1914:191ff), it may be considerably older. The Yupik Eskimo from Plover Bay, Siberia, right across from St. Lawrence Island, also used another type of band armor, constructed of baleen strips (Hough 1895:634; in Hough's report the armor is called "Chukchi").

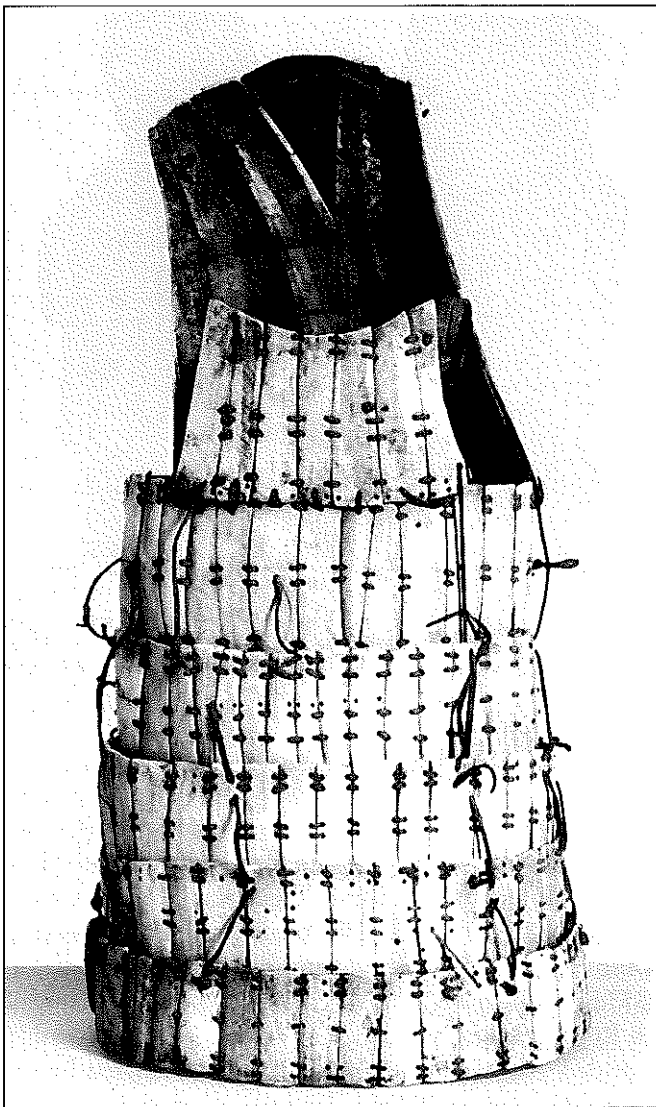


Fig. 2: Transition of plate armor to band armor (photo from Rousselot and Grahammer 2004: 156).

I had my first direct contact with an armored warrior in the shape of a sculpture at Gambell early in the 1970s.



Fig. 3: Yupiget ivory sculpture of a warrior with band armor, by Larry Aningayou (H.G. Bandi, personal collection; photo Regula Bandi).

The then young hunter and carver Larry Aningayou once handed me a strange figurine of an archer made of ivory (Fig. 3). The figure is 11.5 cm in height and represents a man who has a large collar on his shoulders that is higher than his head and runs out in the direction of the arms. He is ready to shoot an arrow. From the hips to the ankles he wears a wide skirt made of alternating bands (rows) colored ivory and black. Evidently, the figure was not a representation of a hunter, because the Puvuk people were specialized in sea mammal hunting for which they used harpoons as opposed to bow and arrows. Furthermore, a wide skirt protecting the lower part of the body would be a handicap in hunting. Larry told me that he had sculpted the figure according to the description given to him by the old men of the village of the equipment of warriors in the former times. He had never seen such an outfit himself. Subsequently, I saw an authentic ethnographic specimen of a banded armor at the Smithsonian Institution, Museum of Natural History in Washington, D.C. displayed at the ground-breaking exhibit "Crossroads of Continents" (Fitzhugh and Crowell 1988:227). More banded armors can be seen at the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (MAE) in St. Petersburg. This second variant of Bering Sea armors consists of an upper and a lower part (Fig. 4).

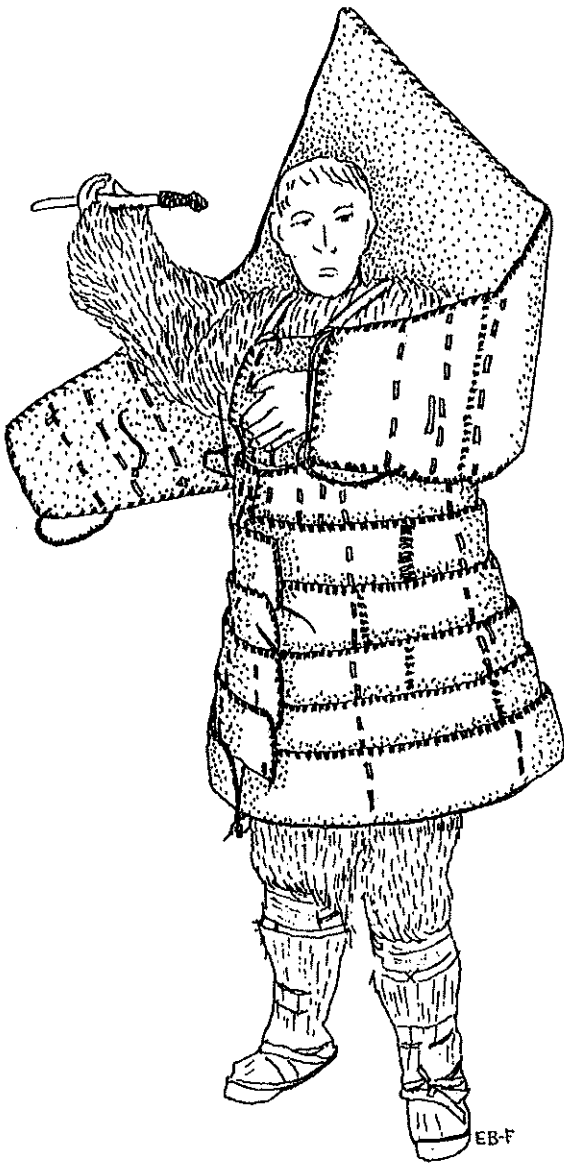


Fig. 4: Band armor of an Asiatic Eskimo Warrior. National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution (re-drafted by Elisabeth Bürki-Flury after Fitzhugh and Crowell 1988:227).

The upper part is made of sealskin and wood. It protects the head and the neck as well as the upper part of the back and both arms against arrows, lances and daggers. The lower part is formed by different colored bands, about 20 cm wide, of which the example in Washington has six, while Larry's figure has five. It is truly amazing how precisely the Gambell sculpture, based on the memory of the village elders, corresponds with the preserved original specimen. This would seem to prove with some certainty that warriors protected by banded armors were still remembered around 1900, when the generation of elders of the 1970s were

born and raised. James VanStone (1983:21) observed that an ivory figure from the Kukulek site near Savoonga on St. Lawrence Island, attributed to the Punuk culture, shows indications of banded armor. The memory of the equipment of armored warriors seems also to be present in Siberia: a young woman from a Chukchi village, who saw the figure of Larry Aningayou, was well aware of the equipment in connection with former tribal wars.

Collins (1937:326) wrote that the distribution of plate armor in Alaska was restricted to the Bering Sea region, mentioning especially the Diomed Islands, Cape Prince of Wales and St. Lawrence Island. Collins (1937:326ff) distinguished them from the types of armor used in Northeast Siberia by the Chukchi and also by the Koryak in the northern part of Kamtchatka. The distribution of banded armor, which never has been found in an archaeological context, might be about the same as plate armor. But the origin of this variant has still to be clarified. The fact that it is also known by the Itelmen farther south in Kamtchatka may point to an Asiatic origin as well. Documentary records allowed Laufer (1914:262) to infer that plate armor evidently diffused northward from southern Manchuria, among the Sushen who were in contact with the Chinese who had used various types of armor.

Numerous sources describe the sophistication as well as cruelty that were the common feature of raids and conflicts in the Bering Sea area.² Edward W. Nelson (1899:330), describing traditional warfare in the Bering Sea area, offered the following observation:

In ancient times the Eskimos of the Bering Strait were constantly at war with one another, the people of Diomed Islands being leagued with the Eskimos of the Siberian shore against the combined forces of those on King Island and the American shore from near the head of Kotzebue Sound to Cape Prince of Wales and Port Clarence. An old man from Sledge Island told me that formerly it was customary among the people of the Siberian coast to kill at sight any Eskimo from the American shore who might have been driven by storm across the strait, either in umiaks [sic] or on the ice.

One could argue that, even by the standards of other Arctic populations, the ancient warfare in the Bering Sea area and Northern Alaska was more intense, frequent, and brutal. One reason for this may be the proximity of different competing ethnic and linguistic groups. Very likely another

²The issue of the traditional warfare in Alaska and nearby Siberia is explored in great length in several publications (Bandi 1995; Birket-Smith 1959; Burch 1974, 1988; Fienup-Riordan 1990; Malaurie 1974; VanStone 1983, and others) and, most recently by Burch (2005) – Editors' note.

cause was probably a certain influence from the Asiatic side. Such influences probably reached the Bering Sea area at the time of Punuk culture around the second half of the first millennium A.D. New types of arrow points, the composite bow of greater efficiency, wrist guards and, of course, slat and band armors diffused northward into the Bering Strait region, as suggested by Collins (1937). But it is also probable that the transfer of the new military equipment was not the only reason for the spread of warfare in the vast area adjacent to the Bering Sea and Bering Strait area. Elsewhere (Bandi 1995:180–181), I hypothesized that it was the increasing importance of whaling in the Punuk era that required the coordinated activity of disciplined skin-boat crews commanded by experienced captains. But the same discipline and organizational skills were also the essential requirements for victorious raids on enemy villages along the shores.

Beyond being an example of the great skill achieved by the Yupik people as ivory sculptors, the contemporary figurine carved by Larry Aningayou from Gambell demonstrates that the memory concerning those bloody wars of the last 1000 or 1500 years in the Bering Strait region is still present among the Native people on both sides of the Bering Sea. This memory, together with archaeological and ethnological records, can offer a surprising insight into the hostile relationships that once terrorized arctic hunting communities for centuries and generations.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Regula Burki and Al Campbell for the help in translation and Elisabeth Bürki-Flury for the drawings. For technical assistance I am grateful to Till Bandi and Yvon Csonka.

References

- Arutyunov Sergei.A., Maxim G. Levin., and Dorian A. Sergeev
 1964 Ancient Cemeteries of the Chukchi Peninsula. *Arctic Anthropology* 2 (1):143-154.
- Bandi Hans-Georg
 1974/ 1975 Metallene Lamellenpanzer der Eskimos auf der St. Lorenz Insel, Alaska. *Folk* 16-17: 83-95.
- 1993 Prähistorische Friedhöfe auf der St. Lorenz Insel, Alaska. In *Arktische Waljäger vor 3000 Jahren: Unbekannte Sibirische Kunst*, edited by A. M. Leskov and H. Müller Beck, pp. 37-52, V. Hase and Koehler Verlag, Mainz-Munich.
- 1995 Siberian Eskimos as Whalers and Warriors. In *Hunting the Largest Animals: Native Whaling in the Western Arctic and Subarctic*, edited by A.P. McCartney, pp. 165-184. Studies in Whaling No. 3, Occasional Paper 36, Circumpolar Institute, University of Alberta, Edmonton.
- Bandi Hans-Georg [Editor]
 1984 *St. Lorenz Insel-Studien, 1: Berner Beiträge zur archäologischen und ethnologischen Erforschung des Beringstrassengebietes*. Band I. Allgemeine Einführung und Gräberfunde bei Gambell am Nordwestkap der St. Lorenz Insel, Alaska. *Academica Helvetica* 5, Bern and Stuttgart.
- Bandi Hans-Georg, and Reto Blumer [Editor]
 2004 *St. Lorenz Insel Studien, IV: Anthropologie physique et archéo-chronologie de la population de l'île St- Laurent, Alaska*. *Academica Helvetica*, Bern-Stuttgart-Vienna.
- Bandi Hans-Georg, and Reto Blumer
 2002 Investigations by Swiss Archaeologists on St. Lawrence Island, Alaska. In *Archaeology in the Bering Strait Region*, edited by D.E. Dumond and R.L. Bland, *Anthropological Papers of the University of Oregon* 59:25-59
- Bandi Hans-Georg und J. Bürgi
 1971/ 1972 Gräber der Punuk-Kultur bei Gambell auf der St. Lorenz Insel, Alaska. *Jahrbuch des Bernischen Historischen Museums*, 1971/72, pp. 41-115.
- Birket-Smith Kaj.,
 1936 *The Eskimos* [English translation of *Eskimoerne*]. Methuen and Company, Ltd., London.
- Burch Ernest.S., Jr.
 1974 Eskimo Warfare in northwest Alaska. *Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska* 16(2): 1-14.
- 1988 War and Trade. In *Crossroads of Continents: Cultures of Siberia and Alaska*, edited by W.W.Fitzhugh and A. Crowell, pp. 227-240. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
- 2005 *Alliance and Conflict: The World System of the Inupiaq Eskimos*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
- Collins, Henry B., Jr.
 1937 Archaeology of St. Lawrence Island, Alaska. *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* 96(1). Washington, D.C.
- Csonka, Yvon
 2005 L'art de la guerre (cuirasse pare-flèches dorsale). In *Cent ans d'ethnographie sur la colline de Saint-Nicolas, 1904-2004*, edited by M.O. Gonseth, J. Hainard and R. Kaehr, pp. 274-277, Musée d'ethnographie, Neuchâtel.

Fienup-Riordan Ann,

- 1990 Yup'ik Warfare and the Myth of the Peaceful Eskimos. In *Eskimo Essays: Yup'ik Lives and how we see them*, pp. 146-166. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, NJ.

Fitzhugh William W., and Aron Crowell, eds.

- 1988 *Crossroads of Continents: Cultures of Siberia and Alaska*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Geist Otto W., and Froelich. Rainey

- 1936 Archaeological Excavations at Kukulik, St. Lawrence Island, Alaska. *University of Alaska Miscellaneous Publication 2*. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

Hoffman-Wyss, Anna Barbara

- 1987 *Prähistorische eskimogräber an der Dovelavik Bay und bei Kitnepaluk im westen der St. Lorenz Insel, Alaska*. St. Lorenz Insel-studien. Berner beiträge zur archäologischen und ethnologischen erforschung des Beringstrassengebeites. Band II. Academica Helvetica 5,^{II} Bern and Stuttgart.

Hough, Walter

- 1895 Primitive American Armor. *Report of the United States National Museum for 1893*, pp. 625-651, Washington, D.C.

Laufer, Berthold

- 1914 *Chinese Clay Figures. Part I. Prolegomena on the History of Defensive Armor*. Publication 177, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.

Malaurie Jean N.,

- 1974 Raids et esclavage dans les sociétés autochtones du Détroit de Bering. *Inter-Nord*, 13/14 :129-155.

Nelson, Edward W.,

- 1899 The Eskimo about Bering Strait. *18th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for the Years 1896-1897*. Washington, D.C.

Rousselot Jean-Loup, and Veronika Grahammer

- 2004 *Beyond Bering: The Russian Colonies in the North Pacific 1741-1867*. Galleria Gottardo/Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Lugano/Munich.

Ratzel, Friedrich

- 1886 Über die Stäbchenpanzer und ihre Verbreitung im Norpazifischen Gebiet. *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, pp. 181-216.

Rudenko Sergei I.,

- 1961 The Ancient Culture of the Bering Sea and the Eskimo Problem. *Arctic Institute of North America, Anthropology of the North. Translations from Russian Sources 1*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Thornton, Harrison R.

- 1931 *Among the Eskimos of Wales, Alaska 1890-93*. The Johns Hopkins Press/Humphrey Milford, Baltimore/London.

VanStone, James. W.

- 1983 Protective Hide Body Armor of the Historic Chukchi and Siberian Eskimos. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 7 (2): 3-24.

AFTERWORD:

MISHA BRONSHTEIN AND THE LEGACY OF THE EKVEN EXHIBIT IN TÜBINGEN

Hansjürgen Müller-Beck

Faculty of Prehistory, University of Tübingen hansjuergen.mueller-beck@uni-tuebingen.de

The history of archaeological field work in Chukotka extends over the last 60-some years, the product of research efforts by several national and regional Russian institutions (cf. Arutyunov, *this issue*; Mason, Krupnik and Csonka, *this issue*). During the last fifteen years, the ancient burial ground and settlement of Ekven on the Russian Bering Strait coast, south of Uelen, has served as the focus of an international project headed by the State Museum of Oriental Art (SMOA) in Moscow. This international project was sponsored jointly by Canada, Denmark, Germany, Russia, Switzerland-Liechtenstein, and INTAS (the International Association for the Promotion of Cooperation with Scientists from the Independent States of the former Soviet Union, from the European Union and Switzerland). Our friend and colleague Misha, (Mikhail) Bronshtein, served as the leading expert for the INTAS project, based on his enormous wealth of experience in prehistoric Eskimo art and the wide interacting region of the Bering Strait. Misha was also the one who had resuscitated the fieldwork in the Ekven burial ground in 1987, in collaboration with Sergei Arutyunov, one of the original leaders of the Ekven excavations from 1963 to 1974 organized by the then Institute of Ethnography and the State Museum of Ethnography in Leningrad, now St. Petersburg (cf. Arutyunov, *this issue*).

The significance of the renewed Ekven research first reached the community of arctic archaeologists in 1990, at the Inuit Studies Conference in Fairbanks, Alaska, with a presentation by Misha of a paper that described many of the most impressive burial finds. These results also filtered out to researchers in Western Europe, especially in Denmark, France, Germany and Switzerland. Coincidentally, in 1990, Alexander Leskov, then the Director of the SMOA, conceived a plan for the first traveling exhibit of the Ekven finds. To this end, Dr. Leskov, the founder of the Department of Archaeology and Prehistoric Art at the SMOA, collaborated with the late Valerii Alekseev, then the Director of the Institute of Archaeology in Moscow, who was active for many years in Chukotka anthropological research, as well as with Sergei Arutyunov, one of the leading Russian arctic ethnographers and archaeologists at the Institute of Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences in Moscow. Quite significantly, Dr. Arutyunov was also the supervisor of Mikhail Bronshtein's Ph.D. thesis on the prehistoric Eskimo art, defended in 1991. The exhibit that resulted from that partnership was in the well-established tradition of the SMOA's Department of Archaeology and Prehistoric Art venues, building on its immensely successful national and international exhibitions on the North Caucasian objects excavated from the Bronze Age

sites. Unfortunately, one of its authors, Valerii Alekseev, did not live to complete the project, succumbing to death after a short illness in late 1991; nonetheless, he had prepared an article on the prehistoric and contemporary indigenous populations of the Bering Strait region for the catalogue of this exhibit (Alekseev and Alekseeva 1993). As a consequence, the exhibit was organized and completed entirely by the Department of Archaeology and Prehistoric Art at SMOA.

To me, the Ekven exhibition was an event of a lifetime, the realization of a dream that coincided with the end of the Cold War. For nearly forty years, in my position at the Institut der [für] Urgeschichte [roughly equivalent to Prehistory—Ed.] of the University of Tübingen, I had been involved in arctic field work in Canada, and in the study of the American Paleolithic in northern Eurasia and Beringia. The prospect of presenting the impressive though little known Ekven material to the European public represented an incredible opportunity. So inevitably, I leapt at the chance to facilitate the exhibit, with the assistance of the University of Tübingen, due in large measure to my long acquaintance with Valerii Alekseev during my repeated museum studies in Russia or on his many visits to the “western” side of the divide of the Cold War-era. Together, we had often dreamed of international collaboration in museology and archaeology, even in the darkest years of the Cold War, as on my first trip to Siberia in the 1960s. The potential for such a beginning first occurred during the time of Glasnost¹ in the then Soviet Union in the late 1980s and it was realized as early as 1990 with the opening of Western Siberia to western scholars during the INQUA (International Quaternary Association) symposia in Novosibirsk and also in Krasnoyarsk, with its audacious regional museum constructed in the form of an Egyptian temple as a symbolic representation of the oldest known historical tradition, built before the First World War at the banks of the Yenisei River.

For scientists in Tübingen far distant Siberia had a considerable familiarity for over two centuries, ever since the pioneering expeditions of the botanist Johann Georg Gmelin (1709–1755), a former student of the University of Tübingen who became a member of the Russian Academy of Sciences in the mid-18th century. During the preparation of the exhibit, eventually entitled *Arktische Waljäger vor 3000 Jahren: Unbekannte sibirische Kunst* [“Arctic Whalehunters 3000 years ago: Unknown Art from Siberia”], the time range was purposefully extended to 1000 BC, beyond the limits of dated sites to include the still unknown, hypothetical formative period that undoubtedly led to the earliest dated finds (cf. Leskov and Muller-Beck 1993). The earliest mari-

time hunting cultures from Beringia are connected with the early Okvik and Old Bering Sea objects dated to the second half of the last millennium B.C. (Dinesman et al. 1999). As the exhibition planning proceeded, the Institut der [für?] Urgeschichte worked ever more closely with the colleagues of the SMOA and especially with Bronshtein, who was the Museum’s up and coming expert on Siberian art.

In 1993, University of Tübingen graduate student Clemens Pasda¹ was invited to participate in the excavation of the burial ground at Ekven as a guest in the still very much restricted Russian Far East. Pasda learned first hand of the controversial dispute between the authorities of the regional museum in Anadyr and the members of the excavation team from SMOA led by Bronshtein and Kirill Dneprovsky, SMOA archaeologist. It concerned the legal excavation rights and the storage of the finds from Chukotka. This dispute was finally settled by an agreement between SMOA and the Anadyr Museum, arranged by Leskov with the participation of the Russian federal authorities and the administration of the Chukotka Autonomous Region. The agreement involved a 50/50 split of the 1990s collections from the Ekven site, including the pieces from the highly endangered erosion front, with equal portions divided between the Russian Federation and the Chukotka Region, to be selected after analysis and conservation of the objects at the SMOA in Moscow.

Simultaneously, the Ekven Tübingen/SMOA exhibit continued to evolve, with cooperation from the City of Tübingen, and the design of several well-crafted showcases² [some of which are presently on loan from Tübingen at the Museum of Geology in Moscow]. Finally, the Ekven exhibit opened in Germany on April 3, 1993 in the newly built City Museum, housed in an old public building, of Tübingen. By the time the exhibit closed on May 23, 1993 more than 8,000 visitors—one of the highest numbers for a special exhibit ever at the museum—had viewed the exhibit. The handsomely produced catalogue, to which Bronshtein also contributed the lead paper on ancient Eskimo findings at Ekven (Bronshtein 1993), as well as several co-authored contributions, was also illustrated with superb pictures from the original prints at SMOA selected by Bronshtein. The exhibit then travelled to Munich, Moscow, Zurich, and Hamm in Westphalia until 1995, and subsequently, a portion of the exhibit, was brought to Copenhagen as part of a larger exhibit on arctic archaeology in 1998, sponsored by the Enkidu Foundation of Tübingen. The Copenhagen exhibit attracted over 50,000 people and also had Native artists from the Uelen community in Chukotka

¹Pasda was a graduate student of the prehistory and archaeology of hunting in Tübingen, subsequently and at present, he is Professor of Prehistory at the University of Jena.

²Designed by Interdesign, the company of Dr. Bobykin from Moscow.

demonstrating their ivory carving skills. In linking modern artists with the displays, the SMOA Ekven exhibit not only informed a wide audience about an important aspect of the archaeology of Chukotka but also informed the public about the hard realities of modern life in that remote part of the world. The importance of the exhibit was so great that the former Bundeskanzler (Chancellor) Helmut Kohl was recruited to write an introduction to the second edition of the catalogue, lauding the exhibit as a renewal of the long tradition of partnership in Siberian anthropological research between Russia and Germany.

With the agreement in 1993 between Moscow and Anadyr, forming the legal basis of the SMOA fieldwork in Chukotka, it was possible to start a larger international excavation at Ekven in cooperation with the Chukotka regional museum in Anadyr since 1994. In 1995 the Ekven excavations became an INTAS-sponsored project (INTAS-94-964) administered by the University of Tübingen, with the participation of archaeologists from Canada, Denmark, France, Germany and Switzerland. The overall leadership was handed to Kirill Dneprovsky and Mikhail Bronshtein. It also included teams from the Severtsov Institute of Ecology and Evolution of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Dinesman et al. 1999) and from the Research Institute and Museum of Anthropology at the Moscow State University in Moscow; both institutions have a long tradition of fieldwork in Chukotka. This work was advised by the "International Commission for Archaeology in Chukotka" established in Meudon (near Paris) in 1992.

During the first INTAS-sponsored season of 1995, the excavation of the burial ground at Ekven—by far not fully opened during almost three decades of excavations—was suspended. To secure a better understanding of the whole site and of its prehistoric ecology, a systematic excavation of the first ancient subterranean house (no. 18) at the nearby coastal site at Ekven has been started. In addition, the team conducted a cleaning of the eroding coastal beachfront with a complex house stratigraphy and some smaller surveys at Ekven and Cape Verblyuzhyi (Sphinx Point), evidently, an older settlement farther east. The excavation of the "house 18" and at the erosion front was continued from 1996 to 1999, as an international project led by Dneprovsky and Bronshtein out of the SMOA and with several Western archaeologists financed from France, Germany and Switzerland.

However, every year much of the international crew's field time had to be invested into dealing with the upcoming administrative and logistical problems. It also became evident that the existing local supply and transportation system was insufficient to assure safe fieldwork for a large interna-

tional group in Chukotka. Eventually, it was decided that the remaining excavation had to be done by a small Russian crew from the SMOA; it was conducted until 2002, when the first ancient subterranean dwelling ("House 18") was fully excavated. Western collaborators did some preliminary research on the findings from the excavated "House 18" (Müller-Beck 2003) and are planning to continue their work with the objects, including some experimental comparative studies in cooperation with modern Native ivory carvers and hunters from Uelen. This partnership may eventually lead to the establishment of an experimental open-air museum or a "historical park" in Uelen, including a 1:1 replica of an ancient underground dwelling, "House 18," which is an old dream of Misha Bronshtein.

It is our hope that some day a similar venture can be also started at Anadyr, closer to a larger modern community. It is also evident that such plans could materialize only if we secure continuous funding for smaller local efforts as well as for the resumption of an international excavation project at Ekven and Cape Verblyuzhyi. The SMOA team is currently working up the results of its ten-year excavations of the Ekven burial ground, with Kirill Dneprovsky and Mikhail Bronshtein acting as the prime co-authors, in cooperation with the Northwest Asian Commission of the German Archaeological Institute.

During all of those years, to the numerous participants of Ekven field expeditions, research and planning sessions, a small family apartment of Misha, his family, and his parents were true symbols of a welcoming and wide-open house that offered to many of us much more than the renowned Russian hospitality. That modest first-floor apartment at the outskirts of Moscow could keep and cater to up to six guests and even more. During our joint fieldwork in Chukotka, Misha was always able to clear any pending problem, often with the help of his numerous local friends, even if this required a long round-trip walk across the marshy tundra from Ekven to Uelen, when urgent communication was needed. Without him and his famed consistency (polite but relentless under any condition) our work in Ekven and in Moscow would have never been so successful. Thus, our natural gratitude to Misha eventually transformed into a genuine and deep feeling of respect. I have a special note to this, one coming from a person from Germany who happened to start his first contacts with people from Russia and Siberia in the awful year of 1945 and who eventually was able to travel to that "horrible" Siberia and even beyond, to the shores of the Bering Strait. I hope we will continue to walk and to work together with Misha for many years, whatever our fate may offer, until we have to do it on the other side of life, hopefully forever free of time.

References

Alekseev, V.P. and T.I. Alekseeva

- 1993 Die heutige und die prähistorische Bevölkerung des Beringstrassengebietes. In *Arktische Waljäger vor 3000 Jahren. Unbekannte Sibirische Kunst*. (2nd Ed.) pp. 7–18. v. Hase & Koehler, Mainz.

Bronshtein, M.M.

- 1993 Ekven—einzigartige archäologische Fundstelle in Nordostasien. In *Arktische Waljäger vor 3000 Jahren. Unbekannte Sibirische Kunst*. (2nd Ed.) pp. 75–84.. v. Hase & Koehler, Mainz.

Dinesman, Lev G. and others

- 1999 *Secular Dynamics of Coastal Zone Ecosystems of the Northeastern Chuckchi Peninsula*. Russian Academy of Sciences. Severtsov Institute of Ecology and Evolution. Mo Vince Verlag, Tübingen.

Dumond, Don E. and Richard L. Bland, eds.

- 2002 Archaeology in the Bering Strait Region: Research on Two Continents. *University of Oregon Anthropological Papers* 59.

Leskov, Alexander M. and Hansjürgen Müller-Beck, eds.

- 1993 *Arktische Waljäger vor 3000 Jahren. Unbekannte Sibirische Kunst*. (2nd Ed.). v. Hase & Koehler, Mainz.

Müller-Beck, Hansjürgen

- 2003 Ekven, Chukotka. Eine Waljägersiedlung an der Beringstrasse 1992–2002. *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Urgeschichte* 12: 87-112.

FOREWARD TO APPENDIX 1:

TWENTY YEARS ON: A PERSPECTIVE ON MISHA'S 1986 PAPER

Igor Krupnik

Another facet of memories related to this first Bronshtein's paper of 1986 (and to its earlier version published in Russian [cf. Bronshtein 1985]) is that it sheds new light on the relationship between archaeological data and its ethnological interpretation. The paper originated in the years of Bronshtein's Ph.D. research in Moscow, 1984 or 1985, when he produced his initial analysis of the Bering Sea prehistoric ornamentation styles based upon the miniature decorative patterns on ancient ivory objects. For the first time he argued that several prehistoric styles, like Old Bering Sea (OBS), Okvik, Birnirk, etc., or even their sub-style variations, OBS I, OBS II, etc., were historically coexisting rather than stratigraphically positioned cultural phenomena. More than that: he assumed that they served as identity markers to particular social units or small bands of migrants who lived side by side in the same communities with the bearers of other decorative traditions (Bronshtein 1985:106).

Bronshtein challenged me to find evidence of such practice in ethnological records from the contact-era Siberian Yupik societies in Chukotka. Sure enough, ethnological and oral history data lacked (and still lack!) any reference to support Bronshtein's claim. There is no solid evidence that social units within historical Eskimo communities—extended families, clans, neighborhoods, bands, or groups associated with men's houses—marked their harpoons or other tools with 'clan-specific' ornamentation and that such marked style differences could persist over several generations, even centuries. Of course, there was plenty of data on the clan-specific personal names, dances, historical narratives, details in ritual, clothing, and even facial ornamentation. Traditional

community life was always abundantly rich in available venues to express one's group identity; so, why should people spend hours and days in carving miniature ornamentation on hard-core ivories that won't be even seen with the naked eye! This is where archaeological hypothesis and ethnological records had no overlap whatsoever—or, at least, how it had been viewed back in the 1980s.

As much as Eskimo ethnologists remain skeptical to these days about the possibility that social units within Eskimo communities used different ornamental styles on hunting objects as markers of their identity, Bronshtein kept pushing that scenario in his later publications (Bronshtein 1988, 1991, 1993). His persistence was finally vindicated in a recent review of the available radiocarbon dates on ancient ivory objects from St. Lawrence Island, Alaska (Blumer 2002). Although Blumer's paper does not deal directly with ancient cultural sequences in Chukotka, it speaks as if reading from Bronshtein's playbook. It did argue for several migrant groups living side by side in prehistoric communities, such as old Gambell and for three or even four co-existing decoration/art styles being primarily *cultural* indicators rather than chronological markers, as universally assumed. Bronshtein's record of choice, the barely visible curves, hyphens, and dots on ivory harpoon heads, turned out to be the only surviving proof of the age-old social complexity. To the contrary, the richness of the accompanying ethnological tradition—stories, names, songs, rituals, clothing, facial and body ornamentations—has no remaining trace in the archaeological record. Literally, just a tip of the cultural 'iceberg' survived, whereas the whole iceberg's body was gone. We owe this valuable lesson to Michael Bronshtein.

References

Blumer Reto

- 2002 Radiochronological Assessment of Neo-Eskimo Occupations on St. Lawrence Island, Alaska. In *Archaeology in the Bering Strait Region: Research on Two Continents*, edited by Don E. Dumond and Richard L. Bland, pp. 61-99. *University of Oregon Anthropological Papers* 59.
- Bronshtein, Mikhail M. (Michael)
- 1985 Etnokul'turnye kontakty drevneberingomorskikh eskimosev po dannym ornamenta (Ethno-cultural Contacts of the Ancient Eskimo as Based Upon Ornamentation Styles). In *Mezhetnicheskie kontakty i razvitie natsional'nykh kul'tur*, edited by I. Krupnik, pp. 98-107. Institute of Ethnography, Academy of Sciences, Moscow.
- 1986 Tipologicheskie varianty drevneeskimoskogo graficheskogo ornamenta (K probleme etnokul'turnoi istorii Beringomor'ia v 1 tys. do n.e. – I tys. n.e.). *Sovetskaia etnografiya* 6: 46-58
- 1988 Skul'pturnyi dekor na drevneberingomorskikh (drevneeskimoskikh) izdeliakh iz kosti (The Sculptural Design on Old Bering Sea (Early Eskimo) Artifacts of Ivory). *Gosudarstvennyi muzei iskusstv narodov Vostoka. Nauchnye soobshcheniya* 19:7-23. Moscow.
- 1991 Drevneeskimoskoe iskusstvo kak istoriko-etnograficheskiy istochnik (Early Eskimo Art as a Historical-Ethnographic Source). Ph.D. Thesis summary. Institute of Ethnography, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow.
- 1993 Ekven: Einzigartige archäologische Fundstätte in Nordostasien. In *Arktische Waljäger vor 300 Jahren: Unbekannte sibirische Kunst*, edited by A.M. Leskov and H. Müller-Beck, pp. 73-83. Hase & Koehler Verlag, Mainz-Munich.

APPENDIX 1:

VARIABILITY IN ANCIENT ESKIMO GRAPHIC DESIGNS: ON THE PROBLEM OF THE ETHNIC AND CULTURAL HISTORY OF THE BERING SEA FROM THE 1ST MILLENNIUM B.C. TO THE 1ST MILLENNIUM A.D.¹

M.M. Bronshtein

State Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow

Abstract: By analyzing designs on Old Bering Sea, Okvik and other later Eskimo cultures, it is possible to reconstruct the design system of its predecessor termed Palaeoeskimo. The more complex motifs of Old Bering Sea represent a series of styles that developed abruptly after adopting iron for engraving, while the simpler forms of Birnirk and Dorset cultures represent the descendents of Palaeoeskimos, relegated to the peripheries of the Eskimo world, who irrupted into its center much later. Burial data, collected by Russians from the 1950s–1980s, from Cape Dezhneva reveals a considerable diversity in ethnic composition. Changes in style occurred abruptly; no transitional forms are known. Ipiutak culture provides an example of an Old Bering Sea group who migrated to North America at a fairly late period.

Keywords: Chukotka, Bering Strait archaeology, Culture Contact

Introduction

Ancient Eskimo designs engraved on bone (walrus ivory) artifacts have attracted the attention of researchers for over 100 years. From the first efforts of the early 20th century up to the most recent publications, Eskimo art has been considered a valuable historic and ethnographic source. Most dramatically, S.V. Ivanov (1963) termed the study of the designs of Siberian peoples “one of the most important and urgent ethnographic tasks.”

From the late 1950s until the early 1980s, an extensive body of material on Chukotka’s ancient Eskimo engraved art has entered circulation as a result of archaeological excavations (Arutiunov and Sergeev 1969, 1975; Dikov 1974, 1977, 1983; Sergeev 1959). The exceptional artistic variety and the extensive amount of new discoveries allow us to significantly complement and modify the conceptions of the ornamental art of the Old Bering Sea Eskimos from the 1st millennium B.C. to the 1st millennium A.D. These data are especially valuable because the overwhelming majority of bone artwork was found in well preserved burials containing purposefully placed grave goods. Thus, archaeologists have a chance to link the various types of ancient Eskimo designs

and other elements of their culture with greater precision and completeness, which in turn immeasurably raises the informative value and reliability of the designs as historic and ethnographic sources.

Despite a significant number of excavations, the ethnocultural history of the Bering Sea area in the 1st millennium B.C.–1st millennium A.D. is known only in a very general sense. Important stages in the formation and development of the cultures across the vast North Pacific region remain unknown or the subject of contentious discussion. The necessity to expand our knowledge is obvious. During the 1st millennium B.C. to the 1st millennium A.D., the Bering Strait region, including the islands and the continental coast of Chukotka and Alaska, witnessed intensive contacts of various ethnic groups of Asia and America. During this period the unique material and spiritual culture of Arctic sea hunters was formed and a variety of social processes led to the emergence of the modern ethnic groups of the Russian Far North and Alaska: Asian Eskimos, coastal Chukchi, Kerek, coastal Koryak, and Alaska Eskimos.²

¹Translated by Ms. Slobodina, edited by O.K. Mason.

²Editor’s Note: The accepted ethnic designations are Siberian Yup’ik (“Asian Eskimo”) and Yup’ik and Inupiat (“Alaska Eskimo”).

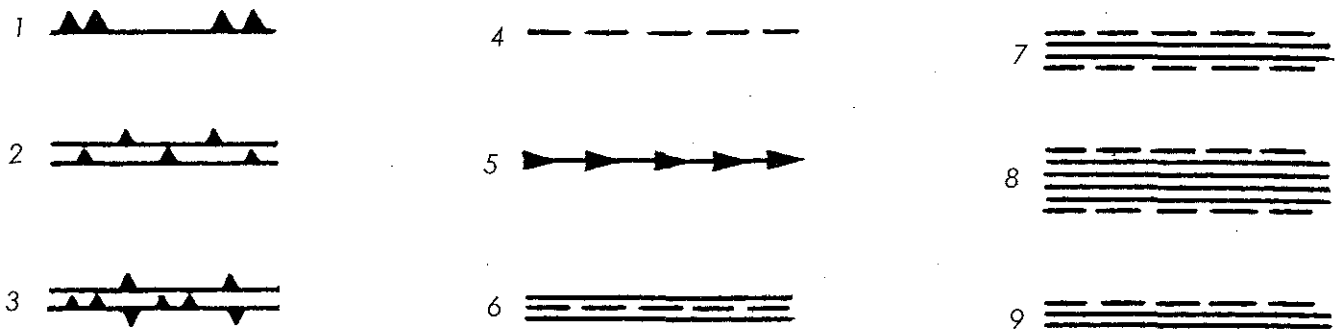


Fig. 1. Basic motifs of the Old Bering Sea graphic design, D_1 (1-3), D_2 (4-6), D_3 (7-9).

The ethnocultural history of the Bering Sea area during the two millennia in question is traceable only within the archaeological materials of the five Neolithic ancient Eskimo cultures mostly represented by burials and dwelling remains. Each culture can be characterized by an elaborate form of ornamental decoration. Archaeologists usually distinguish five independent styles in the ancient designs of the Bering Sea Eskimos, corresponding to the above-mentioned archaeological cultures: Old Bering Sea, Okvik, Ipiutak, Birnirk and Punuk. The recently excavated ornamental art of the ancient population of Chukotka allows a fresh perspective on the question of the originality for each of the typological variants of the Eskimo design.

Old Bering Sea burials are the most prevalent types within the Uelen, Ekven, Chini, and other cemeteries on the Chukchi Peninsula. According to the commonly held view, the most distinguishable feature of the Old Bering Sea (OBS) design is its complex curvilinear character. However, my analysis³ shows, using a series of Uelen and Ekven burials, that contain such important indicators of the Old Bering Sea culture, e.g., the numerous two-holed harpoon heads and the characteristic winged objects, contain both curvilinear *and* straight-line motifs, with the latter playing the leading role [Arutiunov and Sergeev 1973: Fig. 29 (55), 34 (100, 101), 54 (14); Arutiunov and Sergeev 1975: Fig. 35 (16, 17), 59 (8), 84 (4)]. In addition, although curvilinear designs occur in Ipiutak less frequently than in Old Bering Sea I, nonetheless, curvilinear designs are quite common in Ipiutak. A few curvilinear motifs are also used in other ornamental traditions of other ancient Bering Sea Eskimos. For these reasons, the definition of the Old Bering Sea design as curvilinear does not seem sufficiently precise. Curvilinear designs reflect a *quantitative* rather than a *qualitative* difference in Old Bering Sea ornamentation system from other typological variants of the Old Bering Sea design system. Curvilinearity in Old Bering Sea graphic designs

should be considered only a developmental tendency. The study of Old Bering Sea art was born when Henry Collins (1937) directed attention to curvilinearity and employed the changes in curvilinear designs to define late Old Bering Sea ornamentation styles. From my viewpoint, the evolutionary aspect of the OBS style was a momentous development and is considered below in a more comprehensive manner.

In my opinion, the aesthetic originality of the Old Bering Sea design is that it contains specialized complex or "micro-detailed" elements that either lack analogs in other ornamental systems or differ from the related motifs of the Okvik, Ipiutak, Birnirk, and Punuk styles (Fig. 1). My numerical calculations show that the micro-detailed motifs are the most widely spread design elements, due to their incorporation into the all essential parts of ornamental compositions. The motifs of the other ancient Eskimo designs, related to the Old Bering Sea graphic design elements that are discussed here, occur much less frequently in ornamental compositions.

Specifically, Old Bering Sea complex ornamental motifs form three well-defined groups; if one excludes their co-occurrence on the same object. The first group (D_1) is formed by designs of straight single or double lines, framed by tooth shaped forms (i.e., denticles (Fig. 1, 1-3). The second group (D_2) contains three types of dashes (Fig. 1, 4-6). The third group (D_3) includes three to six parallel lines, of which two outside lines are, as a rule, dashed (Fig. 1, 7-9). Thus, the Old Bering Sea graphic design includes three different styles (marked D_1 , D_2 , D_3), characterized by an obvious typological unity but simultaneously and noticeably different from each other.

Collins (1937:46-49, 85-92) is well-known for defining *three* ornamentation styles in Old Bering Sea ivory carving art. However, subsequently, Collins revised his scheme⁴

³Ancient Eskimo engraved artifacts from the collections of the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography were studied (Collections # 6479, 6485, 6508, 6519, 6561, 6587, 6588).

⁴Although not cited by the author, the clearest revisions are those of Collins (1961, 1964).

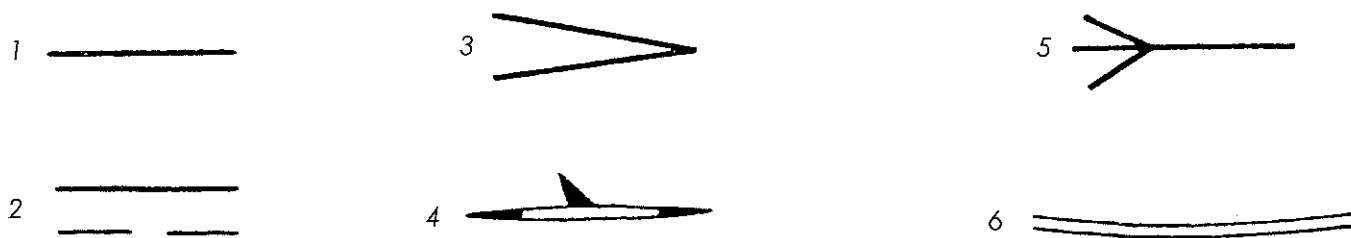


Fig. 2. The basic motifs of Okvik graphic design.

and most researchers presently distinguish only two styles in the Old Bering Sea design system. To a great extent this reflects the fact that the Old Bering Sea design classification, developed by Collins, lacks firm stylistic criteria. For example, Collins (1937:96) defines Style 2, as “more complex and harmonious” than Style 1. It is even more difficult to graphically distinguish Styles 2 and 3. The drawings of the basic motifs of Styles 1 and 2 were presented in Collins’s work, but Style 3 was only verbally described and not illustrated at all. Several elements coincide: OBS Style 1 motifs 12, 17, 19, 20 are nearly indistinguishable from the style elements in OBS 2–2c, 6, 7a, 8a (Collins 1937:96).

The deficiencies are quite understandable: in the 1930s, when Collins was developing the Old Bering Sea classification, scientists did not have the massive amount of archaeological material available to modern researchers. The Old Bering Sea design classification presented in this article represents a further development and elaboration of Collins’s scheme. Distinguishing a certain group of widely spread complex (“micro-detailed”) ornamental motifs as the basic indicator, it is possible to readily classify any Old Bering Sea graphic design—even in the cases of only partial preservation.

Stratigraphic superposition allows archaeologists to define a relative chronology for the various Old Bering Sea design styles. For example, in the Uelen cemetery, Burial 20(59)—Style D_1 —was overlain by Burial 19(59)—which contained Style D_2 ; Further, Burial 2(60), that contained some objects with Design D_3 , was above Burial 4(60)—Style D_2 (Arutiunov and Sergeev 1969:38).

Consequently, the discussed styles of the Old Bering Sea design replaced each other in sequence D_1 – D_2 – D_3 . This conclusion is supported by other materials, as well. In burials containing Design D_1 archaic harpoon heads were most common (types 2A2y2M3 and 2A2x2M3 in the classification by Arutiunov and Sergeev (1969:Fig. 34); for the D_3

burials, characteristic is the harpoon head that takes one of the last positions in the evolutionary range of ancient Eskimo toggle harpoons (formula 1BYM). In OBS D_2 burials, the whale bones that ancient Eskimos used to define burial pits occur more often than in burials with OBS D_1 . Nonetheless, whale bones were most frequent in graves with OBS style D_3 . This confirms that the hypothesis that the old cultures of the Bering Sea Eskimos evolved toward an increasing reliance on whale hunting.

The comparative analysis of specific burial complexes of the Uelen, Ekven, and Chini cemeteries testifies that the distinguished ornamental styles D_1 , D_2 , and D_3 mostly correspond with the three defined stages of the Old Bering Sea culture that, within a certain amount of confidence, can be considered early, middle, and late. Radiocarbon analysis of bone residues from two burials of the Ekven Cemetery, conducted in the Smithsonian Institution laboratory, provide some idea of the absolute chronology of the stages of Old Bering Sea culture. Thus, Burial 63, in the Uelen-Ekven cemetery, which can be considered an early stage of development as identified by ornamental motifs, is dated⁵ to 2220 ± 65 B.P. (SI-6718). By contrast, Burial 143 from the beginning phase of the late stage of the Old Bering Sea Culture produced an uncalibrated ^{14}C age of 1745 ± 75 B.P. (SI-6717). The dates [would, at first glance—Ed.] make the Old Bering Sea culture a bit older, which, in comparison with the available absolute ages of some Okvik and Ipiutak sites, a dating that seems believable.⁶ The correlation of ancient Eskimo cemeteries on Chukotka with archaeological findings from the islands in the northern part of the Bering Sea [St. Lawrence Island or the Diomedes] and from the coast of Alaska allows me to extend this periodization of the Old Bering Sea design to the entire region. Having defined the *originality* of the Old Bering Sea design, represented by a large number of sites, I can more precisely establish the particularity of other ornamental traditions of the ancient Eskimos of the Bering Sea from the 1st millennium B.C. to the 1st millennium A.D.

⁵Editor’s Note: The author originally cited this age in a calendrical format (B.C. without calibration). While a common practice in the 1980s, in order to infer calendar ages, it is necessary to calibrate ^{14}C ages (cf. Gerlach and Mason 1992).

⁶Editor’s note: The ages are probably too old due to the likelihood that human bone incorporated marine carbon that was significantly older than the terrestrial carbon reservoir (cf. Dumond and Griffin 2002). The burials are probably between 500 and 700 years younger.

The Okvik style of ancient Eskimo design was described⁷ by Rainey (1941:551) as “much simpler, more sketchy [*sic*], more irregular, and less pleasing, than the complex curvilinear designs of the Old Bering Sea stage.” Among the Okvik design system (Fig. 2), the motifs show a certain similarity with the main elements of Style D₁ and, simultaneously, distinguished with larger size, simplified form, and not so sophisticated production technique, served as the basis for Rainey, Rudenko (1961), and some other researchers to de-

and Ekven cemeteries. In my opinion, the graphic designs provide a certain idea of the basic motifs of the Birnirk culture: arrow-like and straight lines framed with triangles and beveled dashes (Fig. 3). Although Birnirk has a certain similarity to the Okvik and early Old Bering Sea engravings (Style D₁), the Birnirk ornamental tradition displays a quite noticeable difference from other typological variants of the ancient Eskimo design system.

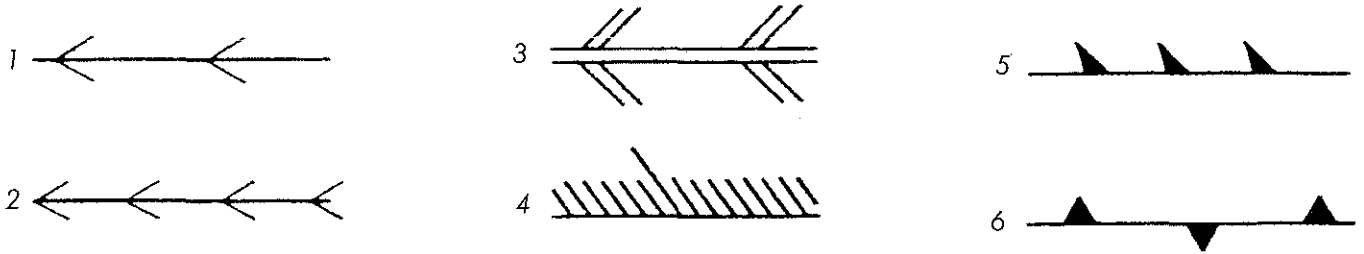


Fig. 3. The basic motifs of Birnirk graphic design.

fine the Okvik design as the predecessor to Old Bering Sea, as the earliest stage in its development. Analyzing the new archaeological data from Chukotka and employing correlations with previously known material leads me to disagree with this viewpoint. In the Uelen cemetery, based on the excavations of Arutiunov and Sergeev (1969), no less than 12 burials can be termed Okvik based on the characteristic harpoon heads with one line hole in their inventory. Each burial also had bone artifacts with a similar type of design that differed from Old Bering Sea I, apparently analogous to the ornamentation on the Okvik harpoon heads from the Ekven cemetery and from other areas of Chukotka and resembling a few designs found at the Okvik type site on the Punuk Islands. The motifs with the highest frequency of occurrence in the Okvik ornamental system are relatively large single and double parallel and convergent sections, parallel double lines, and deeply engraved arrow-like images (Fig. 2). In my opinion, these graphic elements should be strictly considered as Okvik ornamental motifs. The differences from the complex and micro-detailed elements of the Old Bering Sea ivory engraving are obvious. In light of the new data, both designs—Okvik and Old Bering Sea—appear as quite independent graphic systems, not directly derived from one another.

The ancient Eskimo materials from Chukotka obtained since the late 1950s include some from the Birnirk culture, as identified by the characteristic [single] barbed harpoon head (Ford 1959). According to my calculation, sixteen (16) Birnirk burials were recovered from the Uelen

Results from the recent archaeological excavations in Chukotka supplement the definition of a Punuk ornamental style as accepted by scientists following Collins (1937). Ekven and Uelen Punuk burials contained harpoons of the streamlined bullet-like shape and included engraved bone artifacts with the designs with the prevailing motifs that closely resemble Okvik, Early Old Bering Sea, and Birnirk motifs. However, like in the previous case, these motifs are conspicuously distinct and can nearly always be distinguished from other ornamental traditions. In general, larger motifs are characteristic in Punuk engraving dominated by straight lines, but, unlike the Okvik or Birnirk style, Punuk designs are combined also with bevel-lines (Fig. 4). Punuk designs in Chukotka often contain zigzag-like motifs, rarely used in other ancient Eskimo ornamental systems but widely distributed in the decorative art of modern (i.e., 19th century) peoples in Northeast Asia (Fig. 4:2-3).

No “pure” Ipiutak burials or sites have ever been found on the Chukchi Peninsula. However, some Old Bering Sea burials of the Uelen and Ekven cemeteries have walrus ivory artifacts covered with designs identical to the characteristic graphic designs in the Ipiutak cemetery on Point Hope in northwest Alaska. The basic elements in the Ipiutak style are complex and “micro-detailed,” with shapes that are similar to Old Bering Sea engravings, while some Ipiutak bone tools have motifs close to Okvik. Nonetheless, Ipiutak also has quite original designs composed of combinations of two or three parallel lines, often framed with small barbs, small concentric circles with detailed inner areas, smaller T-like

⁷Editor's note: In the original version of Bronshtein's paper the text of this quotation differed from the original in Rainey (1941:551). While admitting the author may have wished to translate Rainey for his Russian audience, the original English is restored in this paper.

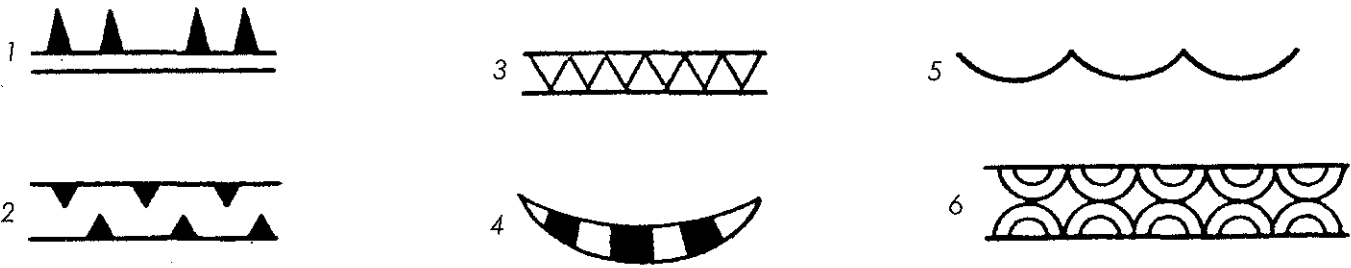


Fig. 4. Basic motifs of the Punuk graphic design.

figures, etc. (Fig. 5). In general, the Ipiutak design represents an independent system like those of the Old Bering Sea, Okvik, and other ancient Eskimo cultures in Chukotka and Alaska.

Having determined the aesthetic originality of the Old Bering Sea variants, on the basis of cemeteries and mixed-assemblage sites, archaeologists can specify the chronological correlations of the various archaeological cultures of Arctic sea mammal hunters of the Bering Sea. Most scholars consider Okvik and Ipiutak the earliest of the cultures discussed, and believe that Birnirk and Punuk were the latest cultures. According to this viewpoint, the Old Bering Sea Culture directly continued the Okvik tradition and precedes Punuk in the western Bering Sea region. In the eastern Bering Sea area,⁸ Ipiutak was succeeded by Birnirk (Bandi 1969:198). Another position has been formulated by Arutiunov and Sergeev (1975), who proposed that the Old Bering Sea, Okvik, and Ipiutak cultures were regional (territorial, to a great degree) and to some extent synchronic variants of the ancient Eskimo cultural tradition, formed in the Bering Strait area by the end of the 1st millennium B.C. Derived from a late Old Bering Sea and Okvik substratum, the succeeding forms of the Old Bering Sea culture, Birnirk and Punuk (Arutiunov and Sergeev 1975:184-185), appeared during the second half of the 1st millennium A.D.

My examination of the new data on the Old Bering Sea designs confirms the basic conclusions of Arutiunov and Sergeev (1975). Out of 16 Uelen and Ekven burials of mixed Old Bering Sea and Okvik character, only a single burial had the Old Bering Sea design of Style D₁ and Okvik designs. Four graves contained several of the Old Bering Sea ornamental styles—D₁ and D₂; while eight had the D₂ style of OBS; and three had both D₂ and D₃. In the materials from the Okvik site on the Punuk Islands, judging from Rainey (1941), Okvik designs are most often combined with the Old Bering Sea ornamental style D₁; and in some cases, D₂; but only in one case, D₃ [Rainey 1941:Pl. 4(3, 7-10), 6(7, 9), 9(3), 12(12), 13(8-9), 17 (3,5,10), 19 (7, 8), 21(6), 23(1), 25(6), 35(3), 36(7, 12)]. From these co-occurrences, one can reasonably conclude that Okvik co-existed with the Old Bering Sea Culture in the early (possibly during the final phase of the early stage), as well as the middle, and even the initial phase of the late stage of its development. The upper chronological limit of the Old Bering Sea culture is probably at the young end of the scale, rather than within the terminal end of the Okvik culture. This is substantiated by the fact that among the 36 Uelen-Ekven burials with the late Old Bering Sea style D₃, not a single artifact with the Okvik ornamentation was found.

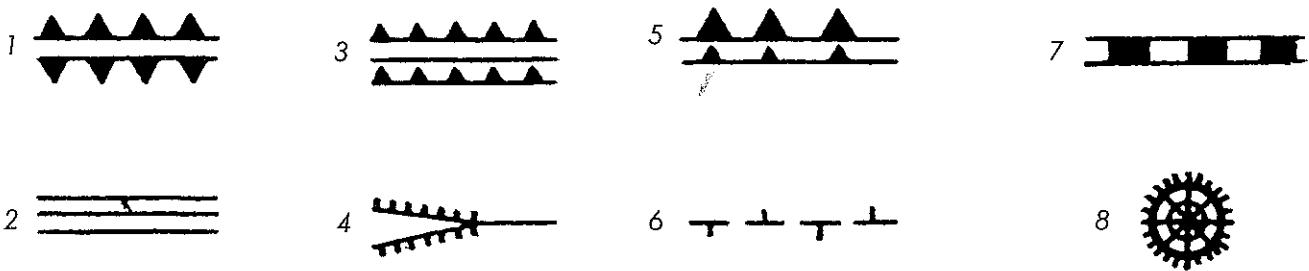


Fig. 5. Basic motifs of the Ipiutak graphic design.

⁸More accurately, the eastern Chukchi Sea; Bronshtein, writing in the mid-1980s could hardly have anticipated the discovery of an Ipiutak component at Qitcheavik near Golovin (Mason et al. n.d.). Most Ipiutak sites are north of Bering Strait, only one near Point Spencer was known in 1985. A Birnirk occupation may have occurred at Safety Sound (Bockstoece 1979), but the editor (Mason 2000) questions this attribution.

One of the more interesting cemetery finds includes the individual walrus ivory artifacts engraved with Ipiutak designs that occur within 31 burials of the Uelen and Ekven cemeteries. In the Ipiutak burial cluster, one burial also contained the Old Bering Sea Style D₁; one burial simultaneously contained the D₁ and D₂ designs; while seven also employed the D₂ style; with another eleven simultaneously using D₂ and D₃. Roughly one third (n=11) had only the D₃ style. It is noteworthy that most of the Uelen-Ekven burials with objects bearing Ipiutak ornamentation co-occur with the middle and late stages of the Old Bering Sea Culture.

According to the motifs within the Cape Dezhneva cemetery data base, the chronological correlation of Birnirk and Punuk in relation to the earlier Old Bering Sea cultures can be hypothesized as follows. In the Old Bering Sea burials of the Uelen and Ekven cemeteries, Birnirk and Punuk features appear during the transition from the middle to the late stage in the development of the Old Bering Sea Culture (n=15 burials). Birnirk and Punuk features are also found in five late Old Bering Sea burials. Seven Birnirk and Punuk burials at Uelen and Ekven had individual artifacts with Old Bering Sea D₃ design, while in six Uelen-Ekven burials the Birnirk and Punuk designs were found along with Okvik motifs. Eight burials had the Ipiutak ornamental tradition. In general, based on these data, it seems advisable to slightly move the time of the Birnirk and Punuk emergence farther back in the past. Very likely, the period of Birnirk and Punuk co-existence with the Old Bering Sea ethnic and cultural tradition was much longer than archaeologists have wished to believe.

The lengthy synchronic existence of the Old Bering Sea cultures allows archaeologists to consider them not so much as phases in the development of a single Eskimo cultural tradition—an approach that is typical for some foreign scholars (Bandi 1969:191-194, 196, 198-199)—but as local variants, possessing some specific features due to certain ecological and socio-historic factors. Each variant had various types of harpoons, most widely distributed in each culture, originality in graphic design and relief décor on bone tools, differences in burial orientation and in body position (e.g., a significant proportion of Birnirk burials are flexed). In my opinion, the implication is that people of various ancient Eskimo cultures of the Bering Sea were independent ethnocultural and probably ethnosocial communities, typologically close, judging by their areas, tribes, or related tribal groups. At the same time, the qualitative differences in their designs must have played the role of ethno-differentiating signs. The originality of the Eskimo design variants might also have

emerged to a great extent not spontaneously, but as a result of consensual activities aimed at emphasizing the unity of the people belonging to a certain ethnosocial group and in opposing them to foreigners.

The recently discovered ancient Eskimo materials from Chukotka can be used to specify the areas of individual ethnocultural communities of Arctic sea mammal hunters. Confirming the commonly held view that Old Bering Sea and Okvik traditions had a close mutual interference, the study of the Old Eskimo designs also occasions several amendments to our notion of the cultural referents of some specific sites of the Old Bering Sea–Okvik circle. For instance, the Okvik Site on the Punuk Islands is, from my viewpoint, not purely Okvik, as it is traditionally considered, but is actually Okvik–Old Bering Sea. A significant number of harpoons and other bone tools from Okvik contain designs with typical Old Bering Sea micro-detailed elements (Rainey 1941:492, 494, 540).⁹ The findings from Diomedé Island undoubtedly reveal its Old Bering Sea character (Collins 1937:pl. 14(3-6).

Among the identifiable burials within the Uelen Cemetery, twenty six Old Bering Sea graves, only ca. one third of the total OBS burials, contain ornamented artifacts. Eleven burials are Okvik, while ten contained both Old Bering Sea and Okvik designs. By contrast, according to my calculations, the Ekven Cemetery contains 84 Old Bering Sea burials; roughly half the burials have ornamented bone artifacts. Six Old Bering Sea burials at Ekven contain artifacts with Okvik engravings. Nonetheless, despite its proximity to Uelen, no *pure* Okvik burials have been found in the Ekven Cemetery.

Old Bering Sea Style D₁, which is not an Okvik design, covers Ipiutak harpoons at Point Hope, Alaska, as observed by Larsen and Rainey (1948:73, Fig. 13). A similar design decorates a bird hunting side-prong and a few other walrus ivory artifacts at Ipiutak (Larsen and Rainey 1948:143, Fig. 47; p. 137, Fig. 38). Okvik designs do occur at Point Hope, for example, the well-known baby walrus figurine (Larsen and Rainey 1948:125, Fig. 31) which is decorated with straight deep marks characteristic for the Okvik engravings. In general, the region with Okvik designs is identical with the area with Old Bering Sea design; no sites or cemeteries contain only the classic Okvik designs. Another possible culture exhibiting Okvik influences is the Kurigitavik culture, as described by Yamaura (1984); this culture covered only a small area on the American coast of the Bering Strait around Cape Prince of Wales. The character of the designs on the Kurigitavik harpoon heads as well as some construction

⁹In several cases, Rainey (1941:492, 494, 540) directed attention to the difference between these designs and the "typical Okvik" ones, calling them either "unique" or "close to the Old Bering Sea stage."

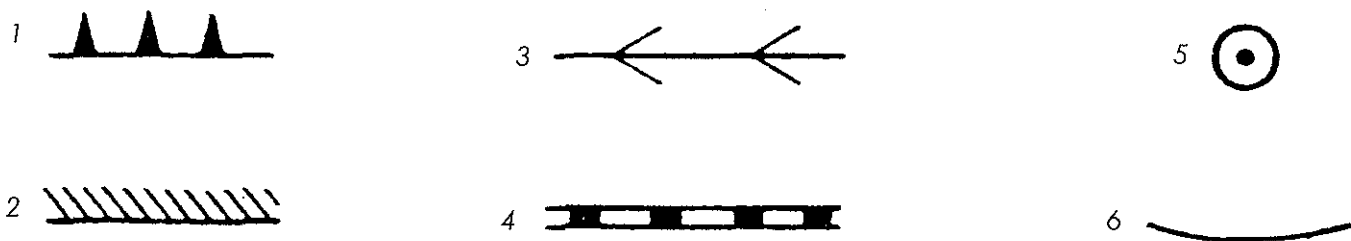


Fig. 6. A hypothetical reconstruction of the basic motifs of a "Paleo" Eskimo graphic design, predecessor of Old Bering Sea.

peculiarities testify, in my opinion, to this assumption. Further archaeological research will be necessary to more definitely solve this problem. However, even if the hypothesis of the Okvik character of Kurigitavik is confirmed this will hardly change the vision of the Okvik Culture as a very local, territorially limited variant of the Old Eskimo Bering Sea tradition.

In my opinion, the study of the new material on the ancient Eskimo designs provides firm reasons to consider some group(s) of the Ipiutak population as residents of the north-eastern coast of the Chukchi Peninsula, along with Old Bering Sea, Okvik, Birnirk, and Punuk people. For example, as noted above, Ipiutak designs are a unique occurrence in 31 Uelen-Ekven burials, about 20 percent of the total number of identifiable burials within the two largest ancient Eskimo cemeteries in Chukotka.

A formal analysis of the typological variants of the ancient Eskimo design provides the additional material for determining the degree of similarity of various ethnocultural traditions which existed among the Bering Sea mammal hunters at the beginning of the Common Era, C.E. or A.D. 1. According to my observations, two basic trends can be distinguished in the ornamental engravings of ancient Eskimos. The first is associated with the prevalent use of simple, easily distinguished motifs: deep straight lines, angle, triangles, arrow-like figures (Okvik, Birnirk, to a great extent Punuk design as well as the designs of the Old Bering Sea cultures of the American Arctic—Dorset and Thule). The second trend involves the extensive use of complex or micro-detailed elements: denticles, dash lines, discontinuous lines (Old Bering Sea and Ipiutak designs). A large number of common motifs, including the characteristic circle with a dot in its center, the similarity of some compositions and of many technical methods of bone working convincingly testify to both ancient Eskimo design variants originating from a common Palaeoeskimo ("paleo" Old Bering Sea) tradition.

In my opinion, the comparison of the most long-lasting or stable (i.e., long-term) elements from various ancient

Eskimo ornamental systems allows the reconstruction of the basic motives of a hypothetical "Palaeoeskimo" [equivalent to Arctic Small Tool tradition—ed.] design. In this construct, the principal motif was apparently the arrow-like figures, long triangles (spurs), double parallel lines, and circles with a dot in the center (Fig. 6).

According to the viewpoint accepted by many scientists, the Eskimo design system serves as the common basis for designs of many peoples of Northeast Asia and Northwest America, including Aleuts, northeastern Paleoasians, Athabascans and the Tlingit. The hypothesis of a genetic connection between the Palaeoeskimo and Ymyakhtakh (Burulga) designs (Fedoseyeva 1983) seems quite convincing (Arutiunov 1983). The hypothetical reconstruction of the basic motifs of the Palaeoeskimo engravings indicates that this extremely archaic ornamental tradition most probably appeared when the ancestors of Athabascans and Eskaleuts dwelled in the north-east of Asia—i.e., prior to crossing to North America.

The study of various typological variants of the ornamental art of Chukotka and Alaska Eskimos allows one to assume that the closest descendents to the Palaeoeskimo graphics were the Okvik and Birnirk artists, as well as Dorset and Thule peoples. This similarity is apparently explained by several different reasons. The archaic character of the Okvik design seems associated with the initial or substrate elements as Rainey (1941:551) noted, a number of archaic elements occur in the Okvik culture. In my opinion, the similarity of Okvik and the apparently older culture of the Fraser River mouth in British Columbia, noted by Dikov (1979:179-180), also testifies to the same archaic substratum. Probably, the emergence of the local Okvik variant of the Palaeoeskimo tradition can be primarily explained by the existence of *some* ethnic group, that had kept some archaic cultural peculiarities, among the Bering Sea mammal hunters in the 1st millennium B.C.—recalling that apparently Okvik was not territorially or chronologically isolated from the greater Old Bering Sea culture.

The affinity of Dorset and Birnirk designs to the Palaeoeskimo ornamental tradition is apparently associated with the isolated nature of both cultures, whose centers were located at the peripheries of the Eskimo world; a circumstance which resulted in the conservation of some archaic features. This delayed persistence was also linked to the factor of adaptation to the most severe conditions of the continental parts of the eastern Arctic (Dorset) and the Arctic Ocean coast (Birnirk).

The undoubted affinity with the Palaeoeskimo tradition is revealed by Punuk designs; however, in this case, the influence of the late Old Bering Sea design that had developed farther from the initial corpus is noticeable. In the Old Bering Sea design, this innovation or differentiation ("parting") started with the appearance of micro-detailed motifs, which, probably to a great extent, was catalyzed by the use of iron tools for processing and engraving bone by Old Bering Sea—and Ipiutak—people. For instance, judging by the character of ornamental designs, the Old Bering Sea Burials 6(59) (Uelen Cemetery) and Burial 204 (Ekven), containing iron burins, belong to the early stage of the culture (Arutiunov and Sergeev 1969, 1975).

The finest elements of the Old Bering Sea design were almost identical in the form to the traditional motifs of Palaeoeskimo graphics (Style D₁); furthermore, however, evolving into more "original" styles D₁ and D₂. The increasing curvilinearity in the Old Bering Sea design testifies, as often noted in research publications, to Far Eastern influences (Arutiunov and Sergeev 1969:171; Okladnikov 1951). Without downplaying the role of foreign cultures in the evolution of the Old Bering Sea design, I would rather emphasize another important factor associated with internal processes—the continuous cultural and social development of the Old Bering Sea Eskimos.

Various archaeological data, first of all, the graphic designs on bone artifacts, in my opinion, testify to the existence of smaller divisions within each Old Bering Sea ethnocultural community, on the level of the family or internal corporate groups. The Old Bering Sea design styles D₁, D₂, D₃, described above reflect more than stages in its development (early, middle, and late). Of 119 Uelen and Ekven cemetery burials containing identifiable designs, both styles D₁ and D₂ occur in 15 burials, while styles D₂ and D₃ are combined in 34 burials. Thus, 40 percent of the total number of Uelen-Ekven burials can be referred to periods of parallel, synchronous existence of different ornamental traditions. Let us note another important circumstance. Among hundreds of currently known Old Bering Sea ornamental compositions practically no designs can be classified as transitional from one style to another. Qualitative changes in the Old

Bering Sea Eskimo graphic design were apparently discrete and intermittent, and might have been caused by significant ethnocultural and ethnosocial changes among them. Micro-detailed motifs, distinguished as basic for each of the three styles of the Old Bering Sea ornamentation (Fig. 1), thus performed ethno-differentiating, declarative functions not only on the ethnic level [in relation to outsiders—ed.] but also on the internal level [family or corporate basis—ed.].

The ornamental styles D₁, D₂, D₃ were distributed across the entire territory of the Old Bering Sea culture that included the eastern coast of the Chukchi Peninsula, the islands of the northern part of the Bering Sea, and, probably, some parts of the continental coast of Alaska. Considering the large extent of this area, one can reasonably conclude that the ethnic groups and communities, each with its own typical ornamental style, had been quite numerous. Within individual Old Bering Sea ethnic subdivisions, there apparently were further ethnosocial sub-divisions, as shown by similar and different features in ornamental compositions within one style. According to my observations, ethnic subdivisions include both territorially related (Uelen. Ekven, Chini-insular) and territorially disjunct groups (Uelen-Chini, Ekven-insular).

The study of the graphic design and sculptural relief on ancient Eskimo artifacts made from walrus ivory allows one to offer a few assumptions for the specific reasons of cultural and social evolution of the Old Bering Sea people. From the stage of Style D₁ and Style D₂ co-existence to the initial stage of Style D₃, the most common motif in the Old Bering Sea graphic design and sculptural décor was the motif of the anthropo-zoomorphic face and heads of sea mammals which the Old Bering Sea population hunted. That this design was used as the principal motif meant that the Old Bering Sea Eskimos had made a quantum step toward specialization in sea mammal hunting, which in turn had led to a profound transformation of their spiritual culture. One cannot exclude that, in their midst, cross-cultural hunting communities emerged uniting sea mammal hunters.

Changes in household activities, social organization, material and spiritual culture of the Old Bering Sea Eskimos were accelerated by intensive contacts with other Eskimo communities. Judging by the design materials (cf. above, the data on the Uelen-Ekven burials containing artifacts with various ornamentation types), such contacts, apparently including migrations, occurred throughout the long history of the Old Bering Sea culture. Socioeconomic prerequisites of long-lasting inter-group connections apparently included the peculiarities of Arctic sea mammal hunting, which made hunters constantly move to search for new hunting spots, as well as the necessity to look for matrimonial partners

caused by the relatively low population size and density of the whole ancient Eskimo ethnocultural (ethnolinguistic?) community (Krupnik 1983:90-91).¹⁰

Similar demographic reasons apparently caused the division of the original Palaeoeskimo ethnocultural community into localized ethnic groups. The most important economic prerequisite of the ethnocultural differentiation of the Old Bering Sea population involved the development of sea mammal hunting and the formation of ecologically determined variants [i.e., communities that specialized in walrus or gray or bowhead whale hunting, versus the seal-hunting generalists—Ed.]. The Palaeoeskimo economic specialization, their consistent exploration of more and more remote areas on the Arctic coasts of Asia and North America (even Greenland), a gradual increase of the sea mammal hunters' population, the sophistication of the social structure of the Palaeoeskimo society, foreign cultural impulses, and substrata of various origins, resulted in the ethnosocial differentiation of discrete populations and the formation of independent ethnic traditions, evident in stylistic patterns.

In general, the analysis of all ancient Eskimo design systems, and the comparison of the conclusions with the results of studying other archaeological sources, allows me to distinguish the following five basic stages in the ethnocultural history of the Bering Sea region in the 1st millennium B.C. to the 1st millennium A.D.

1. Division of the "Paleo Bering Sea Eskimo" ethnocultural community into a series of local societies, including the early Old Bering Sea and Okvik ethnic groups. This probably occurred during the first half of the 1st millennium B.C. [associated with the development of the Arctic Small tool tradition—ed.]

2. Migration of a part of the Old Bering Sea people to Point Hope (northwest Alaska) and the formation of the Ipiutak community as a result of the admixture with local [Norton] people, hypothetically occurring in the mid-1st millennium B.C.

3. Active contacts among the Old Bering Sea, Okvik, Ipiutak ethnosocial groups; ethnic division processes in the middle of the Old Bering Sea period; [Hypothetical time:] late 1st millennium B.C. to the early 1st millennium A.D.

4. Transformation of the Okvik and very likely part of the Old Bering Sea people into the Kurigitavik, Birnirk, and Punuk societies; Ipiutak people were assimilated by Birnirk

and Punuk societies; parallel existence of the late Old Bering Sea society group and the people of the Birnirk and Punuk ethnic traditions; [Hypothetical time:] middle 1st millennium A.D.

5. Development of the late Old Bering Sea, and then the Birnirk and probably Kuritagivik people in the Punuk ("Thule-Punuk") ethnocultural community that later became the base for the formation of historic Eskimos societies both in Chukotka and Alaska, and also formed a substratum that amalgamated with the northeastern Paleoasians: coastal Chukchi, Kerek, and probably maritime Koryak during the second half of the 1st millennium A.D. from 500 to 1000.

Appendix

*Ethnic Referents of the Uelen-Ekven Burials**

(Excavations by S.A. Arutiunov and D.A. Sergeev 1969, 1975)

- Marks on single bone engraved artifacts: *b* – ones with the Birnirk design; *d* – ones with the Old Bering Sea design; *i* – ones with the Ipiutak design; *o* – ones with the Okvik design; *p* – ones with the Punuk design.
- Burials with Ipiutak designs in **bold**.

I. Old Bering Sea Culture

1. Burials containing bone engraved tools with Style D₁ design.

Uelen Cemetery: 15(59)ⁱ, 16(59), 17(59), 20(59), 23(59);

Ekven Cemetery: 25, 37-38, 63, 83

2. Burials containing bone engraved tools with Style D₁ and D₂ designs.

Uelen Cemetery: 14-15(58), 6(59)^o, 10(59), **18(59)^{o, i}**, 18a(59)^o.

Ekven Cemetery: 34?, 35, 40, 42, 68, 202?, 203?, 204?, 206?.

¹⁰On the supposed high population numbers of the Old Bering Sea Eskimos of southeastern Chukotka see: Krupnik (1983, pp. 90-91, Table 2).

3. Burials containing bone engraved tools with Style D₂ design.

Ulen Cemetery: 1(55)ⁱ, 2(55), 3(58), 4(58), 5(58)^o, 7(58), 7(59), 8(59)^o, 9(59)^o, 19(59), 22(59)ⁱ, 3(60)[?], 4(60)^o.

Ekven Cemetery: 7^o, 28ⁱ, 29, 57ⁱⁱ, 71ⁱ, 88, 113^o, 121, 130^{o,i}.

IV. Punuk Culture

Ulen Cemetery: 1(57)^{d 1o?}₁.

Ekven Cemetery: 14[?], 99-100, 114, 129, 139^d₂, 144[?], 155-156^{d 1b}₂, 158.

4. Burials containing bone engraved tools with Style D₂ and D₃ designs.

Ulen Cemetery: 5(57), 12(58)^{o,b-p}, 24(58)ⁱ, 2(60).

Ekven Cemetery: 10-112^{d 1i}, 15[?]_{p?}, 16[?], 17, 18^p, 49, 54, 95, 102, 132, 133, 136, 137^{d 1o, 1b-p?}, 140^{i-p}, 143^p, 147, 154, 168, 169^{b-p?}, 170-171^p, 182[?], 183-184^{i-p}, 185[?], 186^p, 187^p, 188[?].

5. Burials containing bone engraved tools with Style D₃ design.

Ulen Cemetery: 8, 9, 10, 11(57)ⁱ, 13, 14(57), 26(59)ⁱ.

Ekven Cemetery: 3, 4^{i?}, 5^{b-p?}, 6[?], 9, 12, 43ⁱ, 44^{i-p}, 45, 46, 52^p, 53ⁱ, 55^{i-p?}, 56^{i?}, 92^p, 103, 115, 148^{ii?}, 149^{ii?}, 150, 151[?], 152[?], 157, 161-162, 173, 177[?]-178[?].

II. Okvik Culture

Ulen Cemetery: 7(57), 18(57), 19(57), 20(58)^{d 2?}₂, 22(58)^p, 1(59)[?], 2, 3(59), 4(59)[?], 5(59)[?], 12(59)[?], 13(59)[?].

III. Birnirk Culture

Ulen Cemetery: 3(57)[?], 4(57)^{d 3i-p}₃, 6(57), 17(57)^{o,p}.

Ekven Cemetery: 8[?], 62, 67[?], 123^{d 1}₁, 125^{d 3}₃, 126^{d 3}₃, 135^{d 3}₃, 153, 163, 167, 189, 205.

References¹¹

Arutiunov S.A.

1983 Review of *The Ymyakhtakh Culture of Northeast Asia* by S. A. Fedoseyeva. *Sov'yetskaya arkheologiya* 4:257-258.

Arutiunov, Serghei and Michael Bronshtein

1985 The Problem of Distinguishing between Old Bering Sea and Okvik Ornamental Styles. *Jahrbuch des Bernischen Historische Museum* 63-64: 17-21.

Arutiunov, S. A., and D. A. Sergeev

1969 *Drevnie kul'tury aziatskikh eskimosov* (Uelenskii mogil'nik) [The Early Cultures of the Asiatic Eskimos (The Uelen Cemetery)]. Institut Etnografii Imeni N. N. Miklukho-Maklaia, Moscow.

1975 *Problemy etnicheskoi istorii Beringomor'ia (Ekvenskii mogil'nik)* [Problems of the Ethnic History of the Bering Sea (the Ekven Burial Mound)]. Nauka, Moscow.

1983 Nauchnye resul'taty rabot na Ekvenskom dreveeskimoskom mogil'nike (1970-1974) In *Na styke Chukotki i Aliaski* [Scientific Results of the Research at the Ekven Old Eskimo cemetery (1970-1974). At the Crossroads of Chukotka and Alaska], pp. 206-226, Nauka, Moscow.

Bandi, H.G.

1969 *Eskimo Prehistory*. University of Alaska Press, College.

Bockstoce, John R.

1979 *The Archaeology of Cape Nome, Alaska*. University Museum Monographs 38, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Collins, Henry B.

1937 Archaeology of St. Lawrence Island, Alaska. *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* 96(1).

1961 Eskimo Cultures. In *Encyclopedia of World Art*, vol. 5, pp. 1-28. McGraw-Hill, New York.

1964 The Arctic and Subarctic. In *Prehistoric Man in the New World*, edited by J. D. Jennings and E. Norbeck, pp. 85-114, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

1973 Eskimo art. In *The Far North: 2000 years of American Eskimo and Indian Art*, edited by H. B. Collins, F. de Laguna, Edmund Carpenter and Peter Stone, pp. 1-131, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Dikov, N.N.

1974 Chiniiskii mogil'nik (K istorii morskikh zveroboev Beringova proliva Severo-Vostochnnyy Kompleksnyi Nauchno-Issledovatel'skii Institut. *Trudy* 47, Izdatel'stvo Nauka, Novosibirsk.

[2002] *The Chini Cemetery: A history of Sea Mammal Hunters in Bering Strait*. Shared Beringian Heritage Program, National Park Service, Anchorage [Translation by Richard L. Bland].

1977 *Arkheologicheskie pamiatniki Kamchatki, Chukotki, i Verkhnei Kolymy*, Nauka, Moscow].

[2003] *Archaeological Sites of Kamchatka, Chukotka and the Upper Kolyma*. Shared Beringian Heritage Program, National Park Service, Anchorage [Translation by Richard L. Bland].

1979 *Drevnie kul'tury severo-vostochnoi Azii: Azii na styke s Amerikoi v drevnosti*. Izdatel'stvo. Nauka, Moscow.

¹¹The original Russian references are presented in original publication and with English translations where available.

- [2004] *Early Cultures of Northeast Asia*. Shared Beringian Heritage Program, National Park Service, Anchorage
[Translation by Richard L. Bland].
- Dumond, Don E. and Dennis Griffin
2002 Measurements of the Marine Reservoir Effect on Radiocarbon Ages in the Eastern Bering Sea. *Arctic* 55(1):77-86.
- Fedoseeva, S.A.
1980 *Ymyyakhtakhsкая kul'tura Severo-Vostochnoi Azii* [The Ymyyakhtakh culture of northeast Asia]. Nauka, Novosibirsk.
- Ford, J.A.
1959 Eskimo Prehistory in the Vicinity of Point Barrow. *Anthropological Paper* No. 47, part 1, American Museum of Natural History, New York.
- Gerlach, S.C. and O.K. Mason
1992 Calibrated Radiocarbon Dates and Cultural Interaction in the western Arctic. *Arctic Anthropology* 29(1):54-81.
- Ivanov, S. V.
1963 *Ornament narodov Sibiri kak istoricheskie istochniki (po materialam XIX nachala XX v.)* Trudy Instituta Etnografii, n.s. 81, Moscow and Leningrad.
- Krupnik, I.
1983a Drevnie i traditsionnye poseleniia eskimosev na yugovostochnom Chukotskom poluostrove. [Ancient and traditional settlements on the southeastern shore of Chukotka]. In *Na styke Chukotki i Alyaski*, edited by V.P. Alekseev, pp. 65-95, Nauka, Moscow.
- 1983b Early Settlements and the Demographic History of Asian Eskimos of Southeastern Chukotka (Including St. Lawrence Island). In *Cultures of the Bering Sea Region*, Papers from an International Symposium (Moscow), edited by H. N. Michael and J.W. VanStone, pp. 84-111, International Research and Exchanges Board, New York.
- Larsen, H.
1979/ 1980 Examples of Ipiutak Art from Point Spencer, Alaska. *Folk* 21/22:17-28.
- Larsen, H. and F.Rainey
1948 Ipiutak and the Arctic Whale Hunting Culture. *Anthropological Papers* No. 42, American Museum of Natural History, New York.
- Mason, O.K.
2000 Archaeological Rorschach in Delineating Ipiutak, Punuk and Birnirk in NW Alaska: Masters, Slaves or Partners in Trade? *Identities and Cultural Contacts in the Arctic*, edited by M. Appelt, J. Berglund, and H.C. Gullov, pp. 229-251, Danish National Museum, Danish Polar Center, Copenhagen.
- Mason, O.K., M.L. Ganley, M.Sweeney, C. Alix and V. Barber
n.d. *An Ipiutak Outlier: A Late 1st Millennium AD Qarigi in Golovnin Bay*. Final Report on the Qitchauvik Field School, 1998-2000. Shared Beringian Heritage Program, National Park Service, Anchorage (in press).
- Okladnikov A.P.
1951 Raskopi na Severe (Excavations in the North). In *Po sledam drevnikh kultur* (On the Trail of Ancient Cultures), Vol. 1, Moscow.

Rainey, F.

- 1941 *Eskimo Prehistory: The Okvik site on the Punuk islands. Anthropological Paper* No. 37, part 4. American Museum Natural History, New York.

Rudenko, S.I.

- 1961 *Ancient Culture of the Bering Sea and the Eskimo problem.* Arctic Institute of North America, Translations from Russian Sources No. 1, University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Sergeev, D.A.

- 1959 Pervye Drevaeberringomorskie pogrebeniia na Chukotke [The first Old Bering Sea burials in Chukotka]. *Akademiia Nauk SSSR Institut Etnografii Kratkie Soobshcheniia* 31:68-75 [Brief summaries of the Institute of Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences. USSR Academy of Sciences, Vol. 31], Moscow.

Yamaura K.

- 1984 Toggle Harpoon Heads from Kuringitavik, Alaska. Department of Archaeology, *Bulletin No. 3*, University of Tokyo, Tokyo.

APPENDIX 2

MIKHAIL BRONSHTEIN

LIST OF MAJOR PUBLICATIONS, 1981–2006

- 1981 *K voprosu o khudozhestvennykh osobennostiakh severoaziatskikh masok* [On Artistic Features of North Asian Masks]. *Nauchnye soobshcheniia GMINV* 15:16–33. State Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow.
- 1985a Etno-kul'turnye kontakty drevneberingomorskikh eskimosov po dannym ornamenta [Ethno-cultural contacts of the Old Bering Sea Eskimo, according to the ornamentation styles]. In *Mezhetnicheskie kontakty v razvitii natsional'nykh kul'tur*, edited by I. Krupnik et al., pp. 98–107, Institute of Ethnography, Moscow.
- 1985b The Problem of Distinguishing between Old Bering Sea and Okvik Ornamental Styles. With Sergei Arutyunov. In *Jagen und Sammeln. Festschrift für Hans-Georg Bandi zum 65 Geburtstag (3 September 1985)*, edited by R. Fellmann, G. Germann, and K. Zimmermann, pp. 17–21, Stämfeli & Cie AG, Bern.
- 1986a Tipologicheskie varianty drevneeskimosskogo graficheskogo ornamenta (k probleme etnokul'turnoi istorii Beringomoria v 1 tys. do n.e. – 1 tys.n.e) [Typological Variants of the ancient Eskimo Graphic Design: On the Problem of the Ethnic History of the Bering Sea Region, 1st millennium BC to the 1st millennium AD]. *Sovetskaia etnografiia* 6: 46–58. Moscow.
[TRANSLATED, EDITED AND PUBLISHED IN THIS ISSUE AS APPENDIX 1)
- 1986b K istoriko-etnograficheskoi interpretatsii drevneeskimosskogo ornamenta [Towards Historical and Ethnographic Interpretation of the Ancient Eskimo Ornamentations]. In *Genezis i evolutsiia etnicheskikh kul'tur Sibiri*, edited by I. Gemuev and A. Sagalaev, pp. 143–146, Institute of History, Philosophy, and Philology, Novosibirsk.
- 1987 Graficheskii ornament drevnikh eskimosov Chukotki kak istoriko-etnograficheskii istochnik [Graphic Ornamentations of the Ancient Eskimo of Chukotka as a Historical and Ethnographic Source]. In *Kul'tura i iskusstvo narodov Vostoka*, pp. 8–10, State Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow.
- 1988 Skul'pturnyi dekor na drevneberingomorskikh (drevneeskimosskikh) izdeliakh iz kosti [Sculptural Decoration on the Old Bering Sea/Ancient Eskimo Ivory Objects]. In *Nauchnye soobshcheniia GMINV* 19:7–23. State Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow.
- 1989 Mnogolikii Ekven [The Multi-faceted Ekven]. *Znanie–Sila* 8:94–97. Moscow.
- 1991a *Drevneeskimosskoe iskusstvo kak istoriko-etnograficheskii istochnik* [Ancient Eskimo Art as a Historical and Ethnographic Resource]. Summary of the Ph. D. thesis, 18 pp., Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Moscow.
- 1991b Antropomorfnaia skul'ptura drevnikh eskimosov Chukotki: Opyt tipologicheskogo analiza [Anthropomorphic Sculpture of the Ancient Eskimo of Chukotka: An Attempt at Typological Analysis]. *Nauchnye soobshcheniia GMINV* 20: 86–88. State Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow.
- 1991c Drevneuelenskii ornament (k probleme istoriko-etnograficheskoi interpretatsii drevnego iskusstva eskimosov) [Ancient Uelen Ornamentation Style: The Issue of Historical and Ethnographic Interpretation of Ancient Eskimo Art]. *Nauchnye soobshcheniia GMINV* 20: 99–107, State Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow.

- 1993a Ethnisch-kulturelle Geschichte der asiatischen Eskimos. With Sergei Arutyunov. In *Waljager vor 3000 Jaren. Unbekannte sibirische Kunst*. Exhibit catalog, edited by A.M. Leskov and H. Müller-Beck, pp.65–72, v. Hase & Koehler Verlag, Mainz-Munich.
- 1993b Ekven - einzigartige archaologische Fundstelle in Nordostasien. In *Waljager vor 3000 Jaren. Unbekannte sibirische Kunst*. Exhibit catalog, edited by A.M. Leskov and H.Müller-Beck, pp. 73-84, v. Hase & Koehler Verlag, Mainz-Munich.
- 1993c Vorwort zum Katalog. With Sergei Arutyunov. In *Waljager vor 3000 Jaren. Unbekannte sibirische Kunst*. Exhibit catalog edited by A.M. Leskov and H.Müller-Beck, pp. 85–92, v. Hase & Koehler Verlag, Mainz-Munich.
- 1994a La Préhistoire des Esquimaux. With Patrick Plumet. *La Recherche* 25(269):1004-1010.
- 1994b Unknown Chukotka: The Exhibition of Archaeological Finds, 1987-93. In *Bridges of Science between North America and the Russian Far East*, 45th Arctic Science Conference, Paper Abstracts, vol. 2, p. 154, Russian Academy of Sciences, Vladivostok.
- 1995 Ékven: l'art préhistorique béringien et l'approche russe de l'origine de la tradition culturelle esquimaude. With Patrick Plumet. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 19(2):5–59.
- 1997a Dreveneeskimoskoe iskusstvo Chukotki (k probleme izucheniia zakonomernosti razvitiia pervobytnoi kul'tury) [Ancient Eskimo Art of Chukotka: Toward the Study of Patterns in the Development of Primordial Cultures]. In *Razvitie kul'tury v kamennom veke*, pp. 158–160, Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, St. Petersburg.
- 1997b *Iskusstvo Chukotki/ Art of Chukotka*. With K. Dneprovsky, N. Otke, and Yu. Shirokov. Bilingual English-Russian exhibit catalog. State Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow.
- 1997c In Search of the Ancient Arctic Civilization. With Kirill A. Dneprovsky. *Nauka v Rossii/Science in Russia* 5(101):78–86. Moscow [In English and Russian].
- 1998 Drevnee iskusstvo Arktiki [Ancient Art of the Arctic]. With Kirill A. Dneprovsky. *Nauka v Rossii/Science in Russia* 5:48–54. Moscow [in Russian and English].
- 1999a The Chukotka Project. With Kirill A. Dneprovsky. *Nauka v Rossii/Science in Russia* 5:46–50. Moscow [in English and Russian].
- 1999b Chukotskie Mikeny [The Mycenae of Chukotka]. *Znanie–Sila* 4:18–28.
- 2000a Ekspeditsiia na krai sveta [An Expedition to the Edge of the Earth]. With Kirill A. Dneprovsky. *Mir muzeia* 3:46–55.
- 2000b Pervobytnoe obshchestvo v zerkale drevneeskimoskogo iskusstva [Primordial Society as Seen via Ancient Eskimo Art] *Nauchnye soobshcheniia GMINV* 23:149–154, State Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow.
- 2000c Dereviannaia skul'ptura eskimosov Beringova proliva [Wooden Sculpture of the Bering Strait Eskimo]. With Yuri A. Shirokov. *Nauchnye soobshcheniia GMINV* 23:152–162. State Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow.
- 2000d Po sledam odetykh v ryb'iyu kozhu [In the Footsteps of Those Dressed in Fish-Skin]. *Znanie–Sila* 7:36–50. Moscow.
- 2001a Proizvedeniia dreveneeskimoskogo iskusstva v sobranii Gosudarstvennogo Muzeia Vostoka [Objects of Ancient Eskimo Art in the Collection of the State Museum of Oriental Art]. In *Pamiatniki kul'tury. Novye otkrytiia 2000*, pp. 366–384, Nauka Publishers, Moscow.

- 2001b Zhilishche morskikh zverboev Chukotki [Dwellings of (Ancient) Sea-Mammal Hunters in Chukotka]. With Kirill A. Dneprovsky. In *Pamiatniki kul'tury. Novye otkrytiia 2000*, pp. 587–619, Nauka Publishers, Moscow.
- 2002a Uelenskii kostorezniy promysel v nachale XXI-go veka: problemy i perspektivy [Ivory Carving in Uelen at the Beginning of the 21st Centuries: Issues and Prospects]. In *Kostoreznoe iskusstvo i muzei Chukotki (istoriia, perspektivy)*, pp. 5–10, Anadyr Museum, Anadyr.
- 2002b *Reznaia kost' Uelena. Narodnoe iskusstvo Chukotki. Bone [Ivory] Carving in Uelen. The Folk Art of Chukchi Peninsula*. With Irina Karakhan and Yuri Shirokov. Svyatigor Publishing House, Moscow [parallel text in English and Russian].
- 2002c *Prazdniki narodov Rossii. Entsiklopedia* [Encyclopedia of the Festivals of the Peoples of Russia], edited by A.A. Nikishin, pp. 64–67, 70–71, 74–101, Rosman Publishers, Moscow.
- 2002d Structural and Artistic Features of “Winged Objects”: The Discussion Continues. In *Archaeology in the Bering Strait Region: Research on Two Continents*, edited by Don E. Dumond and Richard L. Bland, *University of Oregon Anthropological Papers* 59:127-138.
- 2002e The Northeastern Chukchi Peninsula during the Birnirk and Early Punuk Periods. In *Archaeology in the Bering Strait Region: Research on Two Continents*. Don E. Dumond and Richard L. Bland, *University of Oregon Anthropological Papers* 59:153-165.
- 2004a Arutyunov, Sergei. In *Encyclopedia of the Arctic*, Vol. 1, edited by Mark Nuttall, pp. 164–165, Routledge, New York and London.
- 2004b At the Entrance to the Stone Age. In *Beringia. Northern Expanses/ Severnyie prostory*, #1-2: 155-156 [Same paper in parallel Russian edition].
- 2004c Chukotskaia tsvilizatsiia [The Chukotka Civilization]. With Kirill A. Dneprovsky. *National Geographic Rossiia* 4: 114-123. Moscow [The Russian version of the National Geographic].
- 2005 Ancient History of Chukotka; Chukotka during the 17th to 19th Centuries. In *Chukotka. Istorii i kul'tura* [Chukotka. History and Culture Textbook for 8th and 9th grades], edited by V. Antokol'skii and I. Riga, pp. 8–77, Dizain, Informatsiia i kartografiia, Moscow.
- 2006 Drevnie zhilishcha Ekvena i Paipelgaka (itogi i perspektivy issledovaniia) [Ancient Dwellings at Ekven and Paipelghak (Some Results and Research Prospects)]. In *Beringiia – Most družby/ Beringia – Bridge of Friendship*, edited by L. A. Nikolaev, pp. 31-34, [pp. 241-243 (in English)], TGPU Publishers, [Tomsk State Pedagogical University], Tomsk.