

## CHAPTER 2. ALUTIIQ MANUFACTURING

### A Short History of Alutiiq Manufacturing

—Adapted from *Igaruacirpet* (Steffian 2018:8-28)

Archaeological data help us to understand the antiquity and development of Alutiiq manufacturing. This section provides an overview of Alutiiq manufacturing practices and artistic traditions based on archaeological evidence from the Kodiak region (Tables 2.1 and 2.2). It is intended as a broad introduction to the manufacturing traditions used to group tools in the ATI.

Native people have lived on Kodiak for at least 7,500 years. Archaeologists believe they arrived by boat, paddling east from the Alaskan mainland to explore the mountainous land visible on the horizon. These early settlers were skilled craftspeople who built substantial houses and made sophisticated tools—boats, harpoons, and waterproof clothing. They lived in small groups that traveled seasonally. They explored the resources available on Kodiak and maintained connections with the mainland to access familiar materials—chippable stone and antler. The objects people left behind illustrate the materials they worked, demonstrate the skills they possessed, and hint at their artistic practices.

Stone tools are the most common finds in Kodiak’s oldest settlements, in part because wood and bone are seldom preserved in such sites. However, this is also because stone is a widely available, durable material that can be shaped into tools and sharpened. Alutiiq ancestors were expert stone workers.

Kodiak’s early residents, those of the Ocean Bay tradition, worked stone in three ways: by chipping, pecking, and grinding. Craftspeople chipped glassy, sedimentary rocks like chert and basalt into a variety of blades, points, knives, scrapers, and other tools. Known as flint knapping, this technique requires both strength and precision (see Chapter 3). First, the knapper shaped a chunk of chert with a hammerstone, breaking off sizeable pieces of material to create a roughly formed tool. Then, using a smaller, softer hammer of bone or antler, the crafter refined the shape of the tool. Finally, the flintknapper used a slender length of bone to press thin flakes of stone off the edge of the developing tool, to thin and refine its shape and create a sharp edge. Some of the most beautifully chipped stone pieces are lance heads used to tip hunting spears. Early lance heads were made in a variety of sizes but are typically symmetrical, leaf-shaped pieces (Figure 2.1).

In addition to chipping a variety of hunting, processing, and manufacturing tools, Alutiiq ancestors made small figures of chipped stone. Although these figures are very rare, they provide some of the oldest images of people and animals from the Alutiiq world. One chipped stone effigy shows a fish in profile, perhaps a salmon. Another fragmentary piece may represent a human torso.

To shape large pieces of stone into lamps and sinkers, early Alutiiq ancestors used a sculpting technique called pecking (see Chapter 5). They selected a water-rounded beach cobble the size of a desired tool. Then they used another stone to batter the piece to shape, removing tiny bits of stone with each strike. Stone lamps and sinkers for deep sea fishing are a few likely examples of Alutiiq tools that were made this way.

**Table 2.1. Temporal trends in Alutiiq manufacturing and artwork**

Cultural Tradition	Lifestyle	Artistic Trends
<p><b>Ocean Bay</b> 5500 BC–2000 BC</p> <p>Early Ancestral Hunters: <i>Cuumillat Pisurtat</i></p>	<p>A small population of people moves seasonally to harvest coastal resources, especially sea mammals. They live in tents and sod houses and are skilled mariners who store food, travel, and trade with the mainland.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Major types of manufacturing present</li> <li>• Careful craftsmanship and finishing</li> <li>• Chipped stone effigies show people and animals</li> <li>• Stone sculpting</li> <li>• Ochre grinding</li> <li>• Evidence of clothing arts</li> <li>• Slate grinding begins</li> </ul>
<p><b>Kachemak</b> 2000 BC–AD 1300</p> <p>Early Ancestral Fishermen: <i>Cummillat Iqallugusqat</i></p>	<p>A growing population gradually fills the landscape and sod house villages appear. People focus more intensely on fish, harvesting and storing large quantities of cod and salmon. They travel and trade extensively in neighboring regions. Evidence of warfare and territoriality appear.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Elaborately sculpted stone lamps</li> <li>• Small, decorative ivory carvings</li> <li>• Use of off-island materials like antler, ivory, and coal in art</li> <li>• Ownership marks incised in slate tools</li> <li>• Jewelry becomes popular</li> <li>• Rock art appears with imagery that continues to be used in later times</li> </ul>
<p><b>Koniag</b> AD 1300–AD 1763</p> <p>Chiefs and Slaves: <i>Tuyunkut, Metqit-Illu</i></p>	<p>Alutiiq communities are socially stratified, with powerful chiefs who organize labor, own slaves, trade over long distances, and lead warfare. People live in multifamily homes where they store very large quantities of food and materials. Lavish winter festivals honor ancestors and the spirit world and help chiefs demonstrate their power.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pictures of people incised in slate</li> <li>• Emphasis on woodworking</li> <li>• Elaborate sewing arts</li> <li>• Representation of <i>sua</i> in carvings</li> <li>• Production of ceramics begins</li> <li>• Use of distant materials and designs in art</li> <li>• Evidence of art tied to ceremonial life, as recorded in the nineteenth century</li> </ul>
<p><b>Alutiiq</b> AD 1763–present</p> <p>Russians and Americans: <i>Kasaakat, Merikaansat</i></p>	<p>The conquest of Kodiak by Russian traders kills many Alutiiq people and suppresses traditional cultural education and practices. New languages, religions, social customs, and educational systems are introduced. The commercial fishing industry develops. In the second half of the twentieth century, Alutiiq people work to reawaken and live their culture.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Use of European and Euroamerican trade materials in artwork: e.g., beads, red wool, bullet casings</li> <li>• Cyrillic characters incised in slate</li> <li>• Alutiiq-style objects made with Western images</li> <li>• Western-style objects made with Alutiiq materials, colors, and designs</li> <li>• Cultural suppression reduces the transmission of knowledge and the practice of the arts</li> <li>• Use of new mediums</li> </ul>

**NOTE:** The cultural traditions summarized in Table 1.2 represent unique ways of living at different times in the past. Archaeologists identified these traditions by studying objects, animal remains, and structures found in Kodiak’s archaeological sites. Many archaeologists believe that Kodiak’s earliest settlers were the ancestors of the Alutiiq people, their lifestyle and culture adapting and changing over the millennia.

**Table 2.2. Alutiiq terms for manufacturing techniques**

English	Alutiiq	Comment
<b>Battered</b>	Mulut'uusuun <sup>c</sup>	"thing for battering"
<b>Bend</b>	Perluku <sup>m</sup>	refers to bending with steam
<b>Braided</b>	Qillerngauq <sup>c</sup>	
<b>Burnt</b>	Kuamasqaq <sup>m</sup>	"thing that was burnt/ burnt thing"
<b>Carved</b>	K'ligngasqaq <sup>m</sup>	"thing that is carved"
<b>Chipped</b>	Ilaiyarngasqaq <sup>m</sup>	"chipped one"
<b>Cut</b>	Kepumasqaq <sup>m</sup>	"one that was cut off," not the piece
<b>Drilled</b>	Ukigngasqaq <sup>c</sup> (one that has a hole)	"one that has a hole"
<b>Groove</b>	Nemerwik <sup>c</sup>	"place for tying on"
<b>Ground</b>	Mingurngasqaq <sup>c</sup>	"thing that has been ground"
<b>Incised</b>	Qelluugluku <sup>c</sup>	"scratch with sharp tool"
<b>Knotted</b>	Qilleq'artuq <sup>h</sup> ; ila'arngauq <sup>h</sup>	second term from combined dictionary
<b>Maker's Mark</b>	Canamasqam cetai <sup>c</sup> / pilisqam cetai <sup>c</sup>	From the verb to mark it
<b>Molded</b>	Munaun <sup>h</sup>	"handiwork, handicraft, artwork" (combined dictionary)
<b>Notched</b>	Etqirngauq <sup>c</sup>	from etqiq - to score, notch, mark (on a log)
<b>Pecked</b>	Pu'ugturluku <sup>c</sup>	"to peck it" (like a bird)
<b>Polished</b>	Rirngasqaq <sup>c</sup>	"shiny one"
<b>Sawn</b>	Pilaumasqaq <sup>c</sup>	"sawn thing"
<b>Twined</b>	Qipurluku <sup>m</sup>	"to braid / twist it"

m = term in modern usage, h = historic term, c = term created by Elder Alutiiq speakers

By about 6,500 years ago, Alutiiq ancestors began practicing a third stone working technique—slate grinding (see Chapter 4). Slate is abundant on Kodiak, and easier to obtain and work than fine-grained, chippable stone. Over time slate tools replaced many chipped stone tools. To work slate, people broke thin leaves of stone into rough tool shapes. They shaped some tools by sawing the slate. Using a sharp-edged piece of stone, craftspeople cut deep parallel lines into a thin leaf of slate, and then broke the slate along the saw marks. Stone workers shaped other tools by chipping the edges of a piece of slate. Then they ground these roughly shaped tools to a smooth, lustrous finish. Slate is easily shaped by grinding it against a smooth beach cobble with a bit of sand and water. The oldest slate tools are long, slender bayonets and lance heads. Like chipped stone points, they tend to be symmetrical. However, because slate is easy to work, there are a great variety of ground slate lance shapes and styles, including some with barbs.

Slate also provided a canvas for artistic expression. This soft material can be incised—scratched with another piece of stone to add a design. Some early slate lance heads and pieces of worked slate have incised marks that may be designs.

In addition to stone, early tools from Kodiak demonstrate that people worked wood and hard animal tissues: bone, antler, and ivory. Archaeologists have yet to recover wooden tools from early sites, and wood was less abundant in the distant past before spruce trees colonized Kodiak. However, stone adze blades and splitting wedges made from sea mammal bone preserve evidence of woodworking. Similarly, house remains tell us that people shaped logs into posts and burned both driftwood and locally harvested willow, alder, and

cottonwood in their hearths. It is very likely that Alutiiq ancestors shaped wood into a variety of tools for hunting, fishing, and household use.

Evidence of working bone and antler is more common. Early sites hold a variety of stone tools used to drill, split, and carve bone, and some contain beautifully made bone tools (Figure 2.1). For example, craftspeople carved barbed harpoon points from sea-mammal bone and finished them with a smooth surface. Perhaps they sanded these pieces with gritty chunks of stone or burnished their surfaces with a smooth pebble.

**Figure 2.1. Tools commonly found in the Ocean Bay tradition (ca. 7,500 to 4,000 years ago)**



Top row (from left): Ground slate knife, slate bayonets, and projectile point, carved bone; carved antler tools—fishhook, harpoon heads, grooved lance shaft for holding microblades. Bottom row (from left): Chipped stone tools including projectile points of red chert, burin-like-tool, microblade core, pièce esquillée (wedges), drill, and side blades.

At the Rice Ridge site, the early sewing arts are represented by fine bone needles. These are about the size of a modern sewing needle and made of bird bone. They are slender tools and are too delicate for use with heavy sea-mammal hides. However, they could have been used on gut skin (animal intestine) or perhaps bird skins. The needles, and a variety of scrapers, hint that

the sewing arts were sophisticated and included the manufacture of waterproof gut skin clothing (Hausler 1993).

Finally, early islanders ground great quantities of hematite, a soft, locally available iron oxide, to create ochre. People ground this mineral on large stone slabs with hand-sized grinding stones. The result was a bright red powder. This powder may have been used to tan hides although this application doesn't explain the very large quantities of ochre found in some sites. Layers of red ochre-stained earth, sometimes over an inch thick, cover the floors of early houses and tents and are found outside structures too. Whatever the answer, this red powder was widely used throughout Kodiak prehistory and was a source of pigment for paint. Over the millennia, evidence of ochre grinding and ochre-covered house floors are less frequent. However, pieces of hematite and objects decorated with red paint are found in archaeological sites.

Together, early Alutiiq tool assemblages demonstrate that Kodiak's first residents were skilled at working the materials available to them. The early cultural industries show care in manufacture and finishing, attention to symmetry, and the widespread use of red pigment. They also show that decoration and the portrayal of humans and animals were all present. These themes carry on into later Alutiiq artwork.

Over the span of Kodiak history, the manufacturing methods used by Alutiiq craftspeople remained very similar. People continued to chip, grind, and peck stone; to carve wood and bone; and to sew into the historic era. Weaving is also probably ancient, although delicate woven items are rarely preserved. The oldest examples are about 1,500 years old (Heizer 1956).

One major addition to traditional Alutiiq manufacturing was the production of ceramic pots. About 500 years ago, Alutiiq people began working clay into containers. They may have learned this art from their neighbors, since people on the western Alaska Peninsula made and used pottery beginning at least 2,000 years ago. Alutiiq people made pots by mixing local glacial clay with sand and gravel and using a coiling technique to build the base and sides of containers. This created large, sturdy, dark brown cylindrical jars that were probably hardened in a fire and used for cooking and food storage. Many have a thick crust of burned material around their rims.

Despite broad continuity in the materials and skills used in traditional manufacturing, there were important shifts in manufacturing over the span of Alutiiq history, particularly in the creation of decorative pieces. Alutiiq artifacts show more decoration over time, as well as increased diversity in those decorations.

One of the most striking artistic developments was in pecked stone objects. About 2,500 years ago, Alutiiq people began decorating their stone oil lamps. The small, plain, triangular lamps of early eras became large oval lamps with dramatic designs carved in their surfaces. The designs were both cut into the stone and carved to create raised elements. Some lamps have geometric designs made with bars, ridges, and grooves. Others show human and animal forms like a whale's tail, an animal face, or a human face. Still others have three-dimensional sculptures inside. A seal, a person, or a pair of breasts might sit in the bowl of the lamp. As the oil in the lamp burned, the small sculptures were revealed. Each sculpted stone lamp was unique and must have taken incredible skill and many hours to create. These lamps were probably family heirlooms.

We don't know why people made these intricate lamps, but artwork of all kinds became more common after about 2,700 years ago (Figure 2.2). In part, this may be because more recent items are preserved. There are just more artifacts remaining from the past 2,700 years of Alutiiq history, because older artifacts have been lost to natural forces like decay and erosion. However, it also likely reflects changes in the organization of Alutiiq society. Archaeologists believe that the population of Kodiak had grown substantially by this time and that people were living in larger communities, storing quantities of food, and moving less. Kodiak's landscape was filled with villages whose residents harvested from the surrounding lands. This made it difficult for people to move to new areas to harvest foods and materials, so trade became popular. Instead of moving people closer to resources, Kodiak residents moved resources to people by exchanging stores, materials, and perhaps artwork.

**Figure 2.2. Tools commonly found in the Kachemak Tradition.**



Top row (from left): carved objects of antler, bone, and ivory—leister prong, barbed harpoon heads, toggling harpoon head, arrow point, ornamental pin, fish lure, fishhook prong. Bottom row (from left): ground slate ulus and lance heads, red chert projectile points, coal labret, notched cobble net sinker, ground slate knife.

Walrus ivory was one of the popular trade materials of the time and was used primarily to make small carvings: portable pieces of artwork. Alutiiq people obtained ivory in trade with people on the Alaska Peninsula and worked it into stunning, three-dimensional depictions of

animals. Each carving was carefully shaped and polished. Like decorated lamps, some of the carvings combined geometric shapes and incised designs with animal parts, like a whale's tail. Others are animal shapes, like a whale's body. Some of these pieces may be jewelry or clothing decorations. Alutiiq people added ivory carvings to hunting hats in the historic era. Whatever their function, the use of a rare material for these carvings suggests they were valuable. It is possible that these small works were a type of currency, an item that held value and that could be traded for the food or materials a family needed.

It is also likely that this artwork had strong ties to spirituality: that it acted as an amulet for people who depended upon animals for their well-being. Certain animals may have been associated with specific people or families. Elders report that every Alutiiq hunter had two animal- spirit helpers, one representing the land and the other the sea. These spirits guided the hunter through life, and hunters may have carried carvings of these animals. Other types of artwork suggest that population growth and trade led to competition and more careful control of resources. Slate lance heads from this time often have ownership marks, designs incised in their surface to identify the hunter to whom they belonged. Each hunter developed one or more inscriptions, for his lances, which helped him identify and retrieve his kills.

People also began to wear jewelry. Labrets (lip plugs), beads, pendants, and pins are common finds and occur in a variety of styles. The distribution of these styles suggests that certain families, communities, or even regions of Kodiak had unique ways of dressing. Archaeologists hypothesize that the patterns in people's clothing and the styles of their jewelry helped them identify each other's social ties in an increasingly competitive landscape. Much of this jewelry was made from valuable materials not available on Kodiak: ivory, coal, and limestone. The use of rare materials signals that jewelry, and the social messages it carried, was important.

Increasing attention to social ties is also suggested by the development of petroglyphs. Petroglyphs are designs pecked in boulders found along Kodiak's coast. By about 1,200 years ago, Alutiiq people began creating these large, visible images in key locales on the landscape: at the mouths of productive salmon streams and at bay entrances. Many of these glyphs show human faces, often in groups that may represent families or ancestors. Perhaps these images showed affiliations between families and traditionally used harvesting areas. Some glyphs show animals, ceremonial activities like dancing, and aspects of Alutiiq beliefs like human-animal transformation. Dancing figures and figures holding drums suggest that the performance arts and elements of Alutiiq spirituality recorded historically were practiced for at least 1,000 years. The petroglyphs also display imagery found in later artwork: a connected nose and brow to show human faces, a spiral or concentric circle motif that represents the Alutiiq universe.

Some of the designs used in petroglyphs were also incised into portable pieces of stone (Figure 2.3). About 650 years ago, Alutiiq people began drawing human images on pebbles and pieces of slate. Researchers call these artifacts incised stones. The stones are small, detailed works of art that show people's faces, jewelry, and clothes, and occasionally ceremonial gear and geometric designs. Some of the drawings are so intricate you can see small elements of clothing—a piece of parka embroidery, fringed seam decorations, or the number of beads used in a headdress. Archaeological sites from this time, a period of about 150 years, are filled with these small works of art. Some are simple examples with a few incised lines representing a face. Others are large, elaborately incised pictures of people and clothing. We

Figure 2.3. Tools commonly found in the Koniag Tradition.



Top row (from left): Ground slate ulu, flensing knife, projectile point, end blades and lance, carved harpoon head. Middle row: Incised slate pebble, carved compound fishhook with barb and shank, fish harpoon valve, arrow, and wooden labret. Bottom row (from left): Granite splitting adze, greenstone planing adze.

don't know why people made these illustrations or how they were used, but they hold rare information on ancient dress and personal decoration. Furthermore, they illustrate that Alutiiq people created an array of elaborately designed and decorated clothing. The sewing arts were a central form of artistic expression. The development of incised stones coincides with another major change in Alutiiq society: the emergence of social classes. Archaeologists believe that as the population of Kodiak grew and people competed for resources, leaders emerged to control labor and to manage harvesting activities and the resulting supplies. When Russian traders arrived on Kodiak, Alutiiq communities had three distinct classes: the wealthy, common people, and slaves. Much of the artwork from the last 650 years of Alutiiq history is tied to displaying the status of wealthy community leaders and supporting the ceremonies that perpetuated the social and spiritual order that gave these leaders power. We know that the wealthy wore special clothing, particularly for ceremonial events. Because incised stones often show people in elaborate clothing, sometimes with ceremonial gear, they may hold pictures of



powerful community leaders, or of the ancestors from whom these leaders inherited their skills, position, and power.

Archaeological data document an expansion in woodworking during the Koniag tradition. Alutiiq settlements hold more and larger woodworking tools: mauls, splitting adzes, planing adzes, chisels, and a variety of knives. People used these tools to build very large houses and community buildings (men's houses, or *qasgit* in Alutiiq). Here men met to plan travel, trade, and warfare; to hold festivals; and to make tools.

Wooden objects from well-preserved Alutiiq settlements include almost any class of tool you can imagine, from wooden harpoons, water scoops, and skin-working boards to toys, ceremonial gear, and amulets. Wooden containers are especially common. As people accumulated quantities of food to feed large communities and stockpiled supplies for trade, they needed containers to store their harvests. Baskets, boxes, and bowls are common finds, and some of the wooden containers were made with steam. Craftspeople carved thin wooden boards, heated them with steam, and bent them to form the sides of a box. The ends of the board were then lashed or pegged together, so that a single board formed all four sides of the box. Next, the bentwood rim was pegged to a flat base.

In addition to sculptural elements, wooden objects were decorated. A variety of wooden handles, spools, boxes, and gambling dice are shaped like animals or include three-dimensional carvings of birds, seals, ermine, bears, or fish. Birds are particularly common, probably because they are revered for their ability to traverse the universe—to walk on land, fly through the sky world, and swim in the sea world. Some tools have small faces carved into their surface, representations of the human-like spirit, or *sua* in Alutiiq, inside of them. Others were painted. People crushed minerals and mixed them with oil or blood to create paint. Red and black paint appear on artifacts as a background color, as geometric designs, and as illustrations. In some cases, people mixed a sparkly mineral (perhaps ground molybdenite) into black paint to create a glittery effect. Still other objects, like labrets and bowls, were inlaid with small objects—shells or animal teeth—or feature carved designs. All these decorations helped to finish items. They added beauty and demonstrated respect for the world in which people lived. They also illustrated status; wealthy people wore the most elaborately decorated objects to demonstrate their power and status.

In addition to the large number of wooden containers, Alutiiq people began to make and use ceramic pots about 500 years ago, as described above. Variation in the shape of these pots and in the style of their collars (the area surrounding the opening of the pot) may reflect different pot makers or the families who used the pots. Like ownership marks on slate hunting lances, the visual characteristics would have helped people identify the owner of the pot and its contents. Although craftspeople smoothed the clay on the outside of their pots, surface decorations are rare. In a few cases, craftspeople added a groove or an incised line.

Patterns of stone working changed too. People chipped stone infrequently. Most hunting and cutting tools were made from ground slate: projectile points, end blades, and single- and double-edged knives. People also continued to peck stone, although they no longer decorated their oil lamps. Instead, they made many lamps in a uniform style with a flat, highly polished rim and a carefully shaped, oval base. These finely crafted pieces could be quite large, suggesting they were centerpieces for family and community gatherings.

Despite this change in lamp style, decorative stone carvings are still present, although largely as stone sculptures. A water-worn piece of granite from Karluk has a stylized human face reminiscent of Alutiiq masks. A sandstone sculpture from Chirikof Island shows a human figure, and a pecked stone maul features the face of a bird. It is possible that there were certain craftspeople skilled at this particular art. We know that Alutiiq communities had a variety of specialists. There were political leaders, spiritual leaders, healers, shamans, and whalers. Perhaps there were also people known for their artistry—craftspeople who practiced and taught certain artistic traditions like stone sculpting.

Another notable late prehistoric trend is the use of materials and designs from truly distant places. For example, Alutiiq people began to use abalone and dentalium shells from Southeast Alaska, weave spruce root, and paint with Tlingit-inspired form line designs. The use of materials and patterns from another culture shows social connections across the Gulf of Alaska and the ability of wealthy leaders to obtain exotic materials. Alutiiq craftspeople transformed these distant materials and designs into objects inspired by their own culture. Spruce-root weavings resemble Tlingit weaving but are twined with Alutiiq techniques and surface patterns. Similarly, the painted designs include some classic Tlingit form line elements, but these are combined with Alutiiq animal designs. This combination of Alutiiq and Tlingit imagery is most evident in the elaborately painted and decorated spruce-root hats collected by early European explorers in the region (Steffian 2018:133-134).

The arrival of Europeans in the Gulf of Alaska, and the conquest of Kodiak by Russian traders, dramatically altered the Alutiiq manufacturing and arts. Russian colonists carried disease to Kodiak that engulfed the Native population, killing thousands. Many others died of starvation. Colonists conscripted people, forcing them to harvest and process local resources and to manufacture goods for use by the Russians. This left little time for personal harvesting or production. Similarly, both Russian and American colonists looked down on unfamiliar Alutiiq traditions, interpreting ceremonial performances and personal ornamentation practices as evil and disgusting. The result was the suppression of cultural practices and the gradual loss of traditional manufacturing knowledge.

One of the most obvious changes in Alutiiq objects was the addition of European materials—glass beads, red wool cloth, medallions, copper rings, and other goods (Figure 2.4)—to Alutiiq creations. Russian traders used glass beads to pay Alutiiq people, which were popular and quickly incorporated into carvings, garments, and jewelry. Although Alutiiq craftspeople made and used beads for thousands of years, they were never manufactured in large quantities. Commercially produced beads arrived in Alaska in wooden barrels carrying many thousands of the shiny, colorful objects. Beads were inlaid into carvings and used to make earrings, belts, bracelets, and headdresses. The exquisite, beaded headdresses Alutiiq women wear today developed from this new, abundant material. Women redesigned traditional ceremonial hats using glass beads to create lavish garments. The more beads, the wealthier the wearer.

Alutiiq craftspeople also began to use traditional materials to make European-style items. Impressed with the skill of Alutiiq seamstresses, Russian sailors commissioned capes and hats styled after European fashions but made of local materials. Similarly, incised slate objects from the historic era reflect colonial culture—incised with a picture of a sailing ship or Cyrillic writing. Craftspeople also decorated European items with Alutiiq motifs. For example, peg

calendars used to track the Russian Orthodox ecclesiastical year and its special days were painted with Alutiiq colors and designs.

**Figure 2.4. Examples of Western artifacts commonly found in historic Alutiiq settlements.**



Top row (from left): Shell casing, iron snare pin, mahjong piece, pocket watch, samovar piece, hand painted ceramics, glass beads. Bottom row (from left): molded lead icon part, spoon, samovar spigot, glass bottle parts, transfer printed ceramics.

By the end of the nineteenth century, as Western goods became more accessible, and as Alutiiq people began earning wages in canneries and on fishing crews, many of the traditional cultural arts waned. These skills were not entirely lost, but they were preserved in a small number of culture-bearers who often worked in private to avoid being shamed for practicing Native traditions. Others refocused their traditional crafting skills in new industries such as boat building. Some craftspeople produced items for sale, altering the size of traditional items for Alaska's growing tourist market. Tiny grass baskets and model kayaks were popular Alutiiq crafts in the twentieth century.

As Native organizations grew out of the reparations of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971, the late twentieth century brought renewed interest in traditional arts across Alaska. On Kodiak, the Kodiak Area Native Association recognized that healing the social and emotional wounds of colonialism should involve cultural education. By supporting programs that taught everything from language and subsistence practices to the arts, they worked to promote cultural dignity. Culture-bearers assisted the effort and began to publicly share their knowledge for the first time in generations. The Alutiiq Museum, and its programs, grew from this effort. The result has been an Alutiiq arts renaissance.

Figure 2.5. Temporally sensitive cultural materials

CULTURAL ITEMS	TRADITIONS						
	Ocean Bay		Kachemak			Koniag	
	I	II	Early	Late	Trans.	Early	Late
<b>Sites</b>							
Camps							
Small Settlements							
Large Settlements							
Fort Sites							
Rock Art							
Weirs & Traps					?		
Caves						?	
<b>Structures</b>							
Ochre Surfaces							
Circular Stone Walls							
Single Room Houses							
Processing Structures							
Multiroom Houses							
<b>Features</b>							
Level House Entrance							
Sand-filled Post Holes							
Slate Slab Hearths							
Sloped Entrance Tunnel							
Clay-lined Pits & Features							
Cobble-lined Hearths							
<b>Technologies</b>							
Carved Organic							
Sewing							
Worked Cobble							
Chipped Stone							
Ground Slate							
Incised Stone							
Weaving					?		
Ceramics							

Notes: Based on observations from archaeological excavations

? = possibly older

Figure 2.6. Temporally sensitive cultural objects

ARTIFACTS	TRADITIONS							
	Ocean Bay		Kachemak			Koniag		
	I	II	Early	Late	Trans	Early	Late	
Blades & Blade Cores	█							
Microblades & Microblade Cores	█							
Bilaterally Slotted Bone Points	█							
Chipped Points with Triangular Base	█							
Bilaterally Barbed & Shouldered Harpoons	█							
Triangular Sandstone Lamps	█							
Chipped Stone Figurine	█							
Ochre Processing Tools	█	█						
Chipped Adzes (minimally ground)	█	█						
Tanged Slate Points		█						
Bayonets		█						
Bilaterally Barbed Harpoon Head with Line Guards		█						
Slate Knives with Serrated Stem		█						
Short Axis Cobble Net Sinkers		█						
Large Notched Pebble Net Sinkers		█	█					
Plummets			█					
Chipped Scrapers (Thumbnail)			█					
Ulus			█	█	█	█	█	
Chipped and Ground Adzes			█	█	█	█	█	
Labrets			█	█	█	█	█	
Lugged Points				█				
Barbed Slate Points (Three Saints Bay Style)				█	█			
Toggling Harpoons				█	█	█	█	
Unbarbed Arrows			?	█	█	█	█	
Fish Lures				█	█	?		
Decorated Lamps				█	█	█	█	
Ivory Carvings				█	█	█	█	
Small Notched Pebble Net Sinkers				█	█	█	█	
Incised Pebbles				█	█	█	█	
Diamond Cross Section Slate Points				█	█	█	█	
Composite Fish Harpoon Valves					█	█	█	
Pottery						█	█	
D-shaped Mauls						█	█	
Grooved Splitting Adzes						█	█	
Flat Rimmed Lamps						█	█	
Triangular Slate Endblades						█	█	

? = Possibly older or younger

**Table 2.3. Inorganic manufacturing Industries and artifact types**

Chipped Stone	Ground Stone	Worked Cobble	Incised Stone	Ceramics
Adze - planing	Adze - planing	<b>CHIPPED</b>	Incised Stones	Gaming Balls
Biface / Preform	Adze Chip*	Anchor		Pottery Vessel
Blade*	Arrow	Biface Abrader		Worked Clay*
Blade Core	Bayonet	Box Lid		
Blade Core Rejuvenation Flake*	Bead	Cobble Core		
Burin	Burin-like-tool	Cobble Scrap*		
Core	Carving Bit	Cobble Scraper		
Chipped Knife	Chisel	Cobble Spall		
Chipped Point	Disk	Net Sinker		
Drill	End Blade	U-shaped Abrader		
Flake*	Fastener	Ulu-shaped Scraper		
Flake Tool	Fishhook Barb	<b>PECKED</b>		
Graver	Fish Lure	Adze - grooved splitting		
Microblade	Ground Knife	Artwork / Sculpture		
Microblade Core Rejuvenation Flake*	Ground Point	Lamp		
Ornament	Ground Fragment*	Line Sinker		
Pièce Esquillée	Labret	Maul		
Scraper	Line Weight	Pecked Rod		
Shatter*	Nose Pin	Plummet		
Side Blade	Pendant	Story Rock		
Utilized Flake or Blade	Slate Core	<b>UNMODIFIED</b>		
	Slate Rod Hone	Abrader		
	Ulu	Burnishing Stone		
	Worked Fragment*	Gaming Ball		
		Hammerstone		
		Hearth / Box Slab		
		Hone		
		Line Weight		
		Pigment Grinder		
		Pigment Stone		
		Whetstone		

Note: \* = debitage

**Table 2.4. Organic manufacturing Industries and artifact types**

Collecting	Fishing	Hunting	Boating	Building
Clam Knife	Fish Harpoon Valve	Arrow Point	Angyaq Part	Adze Handle
Digging Stick	Fishhook	Arrow Shaft	Angyaq Model Part	Adze Socket
	Fishhook Barb	Bow	Kayak Part	Mattock
	Fishhook Shank	Dart Butt	Kayak Model Part	Plank
	Leister Center Prong	Drag Handle	Paddle	Shovel
	Leister Side Prong	Foreshaft		Wedge
	Leister Socket Piece	Finger Rest		
	Line Leader	Gorge		
	Lure	Gut Skin Jacket Cuff Clip		
	Net Float	Knife Handle		
	Rig Spreader	Lance		
	Snood	Non-toggling Harpoon Point / Dart		
	Spacer Bar Sinkers	Point Sheath		
	Stunning Club	Quiver		
		Shaft		
		Sinew Twister		
		Slotted Point		
		Snare Pin		
		Socket Piece		
		Throwing Board		
		Throwing Board Pin		
		Toggling Harpoon Point		
		Wound Plug		

Manufacturing	Cooking & Storing	Steam Bathing	Playing	Warring
Awl	Box Panel	Rock Paddle	Angyaq Carving	Armor
Comb	Fire-starter Drill	Rock Tong	Angyaq Model Part	Club
Drill Handle	Fire-starter Drill Bow	Water Scoop	Children's Doll	Shield
Flaker	Fire-starter Drill Handle		Hole & Pin Game	Shield Brace
Gut Scraper	Fire-starter Hearth		Kayak Carving	
Needle	Mortar		Kayak Figurine	
Net Gauge	Pestle		Kayak Model Part	
Paint Brush	Plug		Toy / Miniature	
Peg	Spoon			
Rodent-incisor Carving Tool	Tube			
Spool	Ulu Handle			
Tool Handle	Vessel			
Work Board	Vessel Handle			
Worked Fragment*	Vessel Lid			

Note: \* = debitage

**Table 2.4 Continued – Organic manufacturing Industries and artifact types**

<b>Gaming</b>	<b>Adornment</b>	<b>Spiritual Life</b>
Augca’aq Dart	Bead	Amulet Box
Augca’aq Target	Fastener / Button	Dance Wand
Dice	Hat Figurine	Drum Handle
Gaming Ball	Labret	Drum Rim
Kakangaq Disc	Labret Hole Stretcher	Drumstick
Kakangaq Target	Nose Pin	Feast Bowl
Tally Stick	Pendant	Figurine – animal
	Pin	Figurine – human
		Mask
		Mask Bangle
		Mask Hoop
		Maskette
		Ornament
		Rattle Cross Brace
		Rattle Hoop
		Shaman’s Doll