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GOLUBETS, GRAVEHOUSE, AND GATE: Old Russian Traditions and the Wooden Mortuary Architecture in Russia, Siberia, and the North Pacific

By

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Abstract

The cemetery in the Tanaina (Dena'ina) village of Eklutna, Alaska, features brightly coloured miniature houses constructed of wood to mark graves, rather than using simple crosses or stones. These gravehouses give the cemetery the appearance of a village for the dead. Most of the structures have a Russian Orthodox cross at one end, and this has led most who see the cemetery to conclude that the combination represents a synthesis of Athabascan traditions, in the form of the gravehouse, and Russian Orthodox Christianity, as represented by the cross.

As this study will demonstrate, there are various problems with this proposal in that gravehouses are found among groups which are neither Orthodox nor Athabascan, yet have features of construction and ornament in common. Furthermore, research reveals that gravehouses were not part of the funerary traditions of the First Nations and Native Americans where such structures are found today, but have been used for centuries in European Russia. Although gravehouses were forbidden there at various times, social and religious dissidents, such as some accords of Old Believers, continued to use them and may have introduced this form of folk architecture to some groups of aboriginal Siberian peoples who, with Russians, may have encouraged the use of the gravehouse, or *golubets*, in the Northern Pacific regions of North America. The ornament and symbolism of the gravehouses in the Northern Pacific share similarities with those on the other side of the Bering Strait, supporting the notion of a common origin.

This study seeks additional supporting evidence, supported by some documents and oral traditions, that Old Believers and other Russian Sectarians may have been among the Russians who explored and settled in the Northern Pacific region during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This possibility provides a deeper understanding of the origin and meaning of gravehouses in the North Pacific, and presents new interpretations of the probable significance and contributions of aboriginal Siberians and Russian dissidents in the history of Russian America.

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Table of Contents

Title Page	i
Abstract	ii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Figures	vi
List of Maps	xiv
Acknowledgments	xv
Introduction	1
a. Methods of Research	2
b. Format	4
Chapter 1: Background and Definitions	
a. Background and Definitions	7
b. Previous Research	8
c. Russian Orthodox Burials Today	15
d. Gravehouse and *Golubets*	21
e. Other Types of Gravehouses and Terms Used for Them	26
Chapter 2: Types of Gravehouses and Their Distribution	
a. Shed, Cache, or Crib Gravehouses	33
b. Tent Grave Covers	38
c. Box Burials	39
d. Miniature Houses	44
e. Pavilion Gravehouses and Roofed Posts or Crosses	52
f. Hollowed Log with Shaped Roof (*Domovina*)	58
g. Chapel Gravehouses	59
h. Rounded-roofed Pavilion or Quonset Hut-Type Gravehouses	63
i. Long, Open-Shed Gravehouses	64
j. Summary	64
Chapter 3: Non-Orthodox Russians and Evidence of Their Presence in Russian-America	67
a. Origins and Issues of Dispute	70
b. Art, Architecture, and Industrial Expansion	74
c. Variations of Old Belief and Russian Sectarianism	78
d. The *Khlysty* and *Skoptsy*	87
e. Circumstantial Evidence for the Early Presence of Old Believers	90
f. Marriage, Celibacy, and Loyalty Disputes in Russian-America	96
g. Evidence in Native American Folklore, Legend, and Codes of Appearance	100

h. Parallels in Calendrical Traditions 110
Chapter 4: Funerary Tradition and Change in Eurasia and the North Pacific
a. Funerary Tradition and Change in Siberia 116
b. Funerary Tradition and Change in North America 128
c. The Development of Gravehouses in the North Pacific 132
d. Tradition and Change at Eklutna 138
e. The Eklutna Gravehouses 142
Chapter 5: Symbol and Meaning
a. Ornament and Symbol in Eklutna and Russia 151
b. Roofed Crosses and the Tree-of-Life Motif 159
c. *Golubets* and Concepts of the Soul 165
d. Conclusion 170
Appendix 173
Bibliography 250
Illustrations 296
Maps 390
Vita 397
Partial Copyright Liscense 398

List of Illustrations

Fig. 1.1: Chapels and gravehouses at Eklutna, Alaska, looking east.

Fig. 1.2: Cemetery Cross and gravehouses, Eklutna, looking west.

Fig. 1.3: Ruined grave, Kenai Cemetery.

Fig. 1.4: Grave crosses, Kenai Cemetery.

Fig. 1.5: Decorated grave, Kasilof Cemetery.

Fig. 1.6: New grave covered by blanket, Eklutna Cemetery.

Fig. 1.7: New grave covered by blanket, Eklutna Cemetery.

Fig. 1.8: Brass or bronze cross affixed to grave cross, Cemetery in Kalinovka village, Buryatia, Siberia.

Fig. 1.9: Same grave as shown in Fig. 1.7, now having miniature church-type gravehouse erected over the burial.

Fig. 1.10: Gravehouses in Eklutna Cemetery, showing varying sizes of structures.

Fig. 1.11: Gravehouse at Eklutna with dish.

Fig. 1.12: Table at gravesite in cemetery at Ulan Ude, Buryatia, Siberia.

Fig. 1.13: Table and bench at gravesite in cemetery at Novi Zagon village, Buryatia, Siberia.

Fig. 1.14: Table with cloth, teapot, and cloth on new grave of Willie Mack in Bella Coola. Photo was taken in 1923 by Harlan I. Smith, who later photographed the grave again after a memorial stone was erected. Courtesy of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, MCC/CMC No. 58547.

Fig. 1.15: Gravehouses with roofed crosses in cemetery of the Church of St. John the Forerunner (1786) in Kandalaksha village, Arkhangelsk' district on the Kola Peninsula. Photograph by B. A. Plotnikov, reproduced in Igor Grabar, *Istoriia Russkovo Iskusstva: Architektura*, Moskva: Izdanie I Knebel, 1909, 431.

Fig. 1.16: Tiered gravehouses of similar form to those shown in Fig. 1.15, in Eklutna cemetery.

Fig. 1.17: Gravehouses in cemetery of the Church of the Bogoyavleniya (1644), Egolmskaya Pustinya, Olonets district, near Kargopol. Photo by D. B. Mil'eva, reproduced in Grabar, 347.

Fig. 1.18: Carved wooden icon of Calvary Cross, dated 1593, from Kem region near Arkhangesk. Reproduced in *Carved Icon-Stands and Wooden Sculpture of the Russian North*, Catalogue of exhibition held in Moscow in 1995, Moscow: Novosti, 1995, 91 and 164.

Fig. 1.19: Three gravehouses with roofed crosses in cemetery at Taltsy, between Irkutsk and Lake Baikal in the Cisbaikal.

Fig. 1.20: Detail of far gravehouse shown in Fig. 1.19.

Fig. 1.21: Detail of central gravehouse shown in Fig. 1.19.

Fig. 1.22: Gravehouse in cemetery in Barguzin village, Buryatia, Siberia, 1991. Courtesy of Jennifer Lort of Victoria, B.C.

Fig. 1.23: Detail of gravehouse shown in Fig. 1.22 in Barguzin village, Buryatia, Siberia, 1991. Courtesy of Dr. Michael Tripp of Victoria, B.C.

Fig. 1.24: Ruined gravehouse in Kugoti village cemetery, Buryatia, Siberia. From the south.

Fig. 1.25: View of the same gravehouse shown in Fig. 1.24, from northwest.

Fig. 1.26: View of the same gravehouse shown in Figs. 1.24 and 1.25, from east.

Fig. 1.27: Booth-type iron metal gravehouse in the Lazarus Cemetery of the Alexander Nevsky Cathedral, St. Petersburg, from front.

Fig. 1.28: View of same structure as shown In Fig. 1.27, from side.

Fig. 1.29: Gravehouses in Eklutna cemetery, showing among others, chapel-like gravehouse with roof elements extensions that resemble those on structure illustrated in Figs. 1.27 and 1.28. Photograph c. 1918. Courtesy of the Anchorage Museum of History and Art B67.23.52.

Fig. 1.30: Ruined *domovina* in Kalinovka village cemetery, Buryatia, Siberia.

Fig. 1.31: Gravehouses with roofed crosses in Lapp cemetery, village of Iokanga, in Murmansk region. Photograph reproduced in S. P. Tolstova, *Narodi Mira - Etnograficheskie Ocherki: Narodi Evropeiskoyi Chasti SSSR, II.*

Fig. 1.32: Gravehouses with roofed posts in Old Believer cemetery in the Murmansk region. Photograph reproduced in A. Opolovnikov, *Russkii Sever*, Moskva: Stroiizdat. 1977.

Fig. 1.33: Gravehouses with roofed posts in Old Believer cemetery in the Murmansk region. Photograph reproduced in A. Opolovnikov, *Russkii Sever*, Moskva: Stroiizdat. 1977.

Fig. 2.1: Gravehouses with roofed crosses in a Yakut cemetery, Yakutia, Siberia. Photograph reproduced in Waldemar Jochelson, *The Yukaghir and the Yukaghirized Tungus*, (Vol. IX of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, edited by Franz Boas), Leiden and New York: E. J. Brill, Ltd., and G. E. Stechert, 1926, 229, Plate XV, fig. 2.

Fig. 2.2: Tlingit log-cache type gravehouse on Chilkat River, photographed by G. T. Emmons between 1883 and 1885. Photograph courtesy of the Photograph Collections, Province of British Columbia, Royal British Columbia Museum, PN 1566.

Fig. 2.3: Gravehouses and totem in cemetery at Hoonah, Alaska. Photograph courtesy of the Glenbow Archives, NA-860-16.

Fig. 2.4: Tahltan gravehouses above Stikine River at Telegraph Creek, British Columbia. Photograph taken by T. W. Carlyon. Courtesy of the Photographic Collections, Province of British Columbia, RBCM, PN 3345.

Fig. 2.5: Tlingit gravehouse in cemetery at Klukwan, Alaska, taken c. 1900 by H. G. Barley of Skagway. Courtesy of University of Alaska Fairbanks, Alaska Polar Region, Roger D. Pinneo Collection, 73-23-39.

Fig. 2.6: Koyukon gravehouses with crosses and poles at Andreaski, Alaska, on the Lower Yukon River. Photograph was taken near the turn of the century by B. B. Dobbs. Courtesy of Alaska State Library, Alaska Historical Collections, PCA 12-184.

Fig. 2.7: Ruins of Tsimshian double-tent gravehouse in old cemetery at Hazelton, B.C.

Fig. 2.8: Box-like memorial with roofed cross near Kovda village in Murmansk region. Photograph reproduced in A. V. Opolovnikov, *Cokrovishcha Russkogo Severa*, Moskva: Stroiizdat, 1989, 120.

Fig. 2.9: "Eskimo Cemetery." Gravebox with effigy. Courtesy of University of Alaska Fairbanks, Alaska Polar Region, Barrett Willoughby Collection, 72-116-67.

Fig. 2.10: "Indian graves, Teller Reindeer Station, Port Clarence, Alaska." Courtesy of Alaska State Library, Alaska Historical Collections, F. H. Nowell Collection, PCA 48-20.

Fig. 2.11: "Eskimo graves. Sledge Island." Courtesy of Alaska State Library, Alaska Historical Collections, B. B. Dobbs Collection, PCA 12-32.

Fig. 2.12: Kazeem box-burial with cross in Siberia. Photograph reproduced in Andrei V. Golovnev, "From One to Seven: Numerical Symbolism in Khanty Culture," *Arctic Anthropology*, 31, 1 (1994), fig.3.

Fig. 2.13: Box-burial of Tungus (Evenk) shaman in Siberia. Photograph reproduced in Jochelson, 227.

Fig. 2.14: Tuvan miniature house-type gravehouse in Siberia Reproduced in Vilmos Dioszegi, *Tracing Shamans in Siberia: the Story of an Ethnographical Research Expedition*, Oosterhout, The Netherlands: Anthropological Publications, 1968, fig. 11a.

Fig. 2.15: Miniature-house memorials on graves of Peter Lukovitch Kalmikoff (1864) and Lukinin Waliovna Kamikova (1886) in Inms, in the Caucasus. Photograph courtesy of British Columbia Archives and Records Service, Tarasoff Collection, 47534.

Fig. 2.16: Gravehouses in Dukhobor cemetery in Passmore, British Columbia. Photograph courtesy of British Columbia Archives and Records Service, C-06151.

Fig. 2.17: Gravehouse in Dukhobor cemetery in Grand Forks, B. C. Photograph courtesy of David Chamberlin, PH2484, 1996.05.13, 1996.

Fig. 2.18: Gravehouse in Nazko, B.C. cemetery taken by Gary White and John Veillette in Oct. 1974. Photograph courtesy of the Photographic Collections, Province of British Columbia, RBCM, PN 16582.

Fig. 2.19: Gravehouses in cemetery at Ulgatcho, B.C. Photograph courtesy of the Photographic Collections, Province of British Columbia, RBCM, PN 3299.

Fig. 2.20: Gravehouses, unknown location in B.C. Photograph courtesy of the Photographic Collections, Province of British Columbia, RBCM, PN 17564.

Fig. 2.21: Gravehouses at Stellaqo Lake cemetery, B.C.

Fig. 2.22: Old gravehouses, Stellaqo Lake cemetery.

Fig. 2.23: Gravehouse in cemetery of St. Peter's Church, Kitwanga, B.C.

Fig. 2.24: Elevated gravehouse of William Leason at Gitlakdamix, photographed in 1905 by G. T. Emmons. Photograph courtesy of the Photographic Collections, Province of British Columbia, RBCM, PN 4081.

Fig. 2.25: Gravehouse in cemetery at Little Salmon River. Photograph courtesy of David Barlow.

Fig. 2.26: Gravehouses above Whitehorse. Photograph courtesy of Martin Segger.

Fig. 2.27: Ruined gravehouses in cemetery at Canyon Creek, Yukon Territory.

Fig. 2.28: "Indian tombs, mouth of Inklin River." Courtesy of Alaska State Library, Alaska Historical Collections, PCA 4-58.

Fig. 2.29: "Indian grave, Taku Village, Alaska." Courtesy of Bancroft Library Collection, F. H. Nowell, c. 1898-1901.

Fig. 2.30: Gravehouses at Nulato. Courtesy of University of Alaska Fairbanks, Alaska Polar Region, Ben

Mozee Collection, 79-26-29.

Fig. 2.31: Detail of gravehouse at Nulato showing window curtains and table within. Courtesy of University of Alaska Fairbanks, Alaska Polar Region, Ben Mozee Collection, 79-26-686.

Fig. 2.32: Nu-chan-luth gravehouse at Clayoquot, B.C., with cross and sewing machine. Photograph courtesy of the Photographic Collections, Province of British Columbia, RBCM, PN 4756.

Fig. 2.33: Tsimshian gravehouses at Hazelton, B.C. Courtesy of B.C. Archives and Records Service, D-03267.

Fig. 2.34: Tsimshian gravehouse at Kitwancool in photograph taken by John Smyly in 1967. Photograph courtesy of the Photographic Collections, Province of British Columbia, RBCM, PN 4201.

Fig. 2.35: Ruins of Tsimshian gravehouse at Kitwancool in photograph taken in 1996.

Fig. 2.36: Ruins of Tsimshian gravehouse at Hazelton in photograph taken in 1996.

Fig. 2.37: Gravehouses at Kispiox, B.C. in photograph taken by R. E. Benedict. Photograph courtesy of the Photographic Collections, Province of British Columbia, RBCM, PN 3800.

Fig. 2.38: Pavilion-type gravehouse at Hazelton, B.C. Photograph courtesy of the Photographic Collections, Province of British Columbia, RBCM, PN 4360.

Fig. 2.39: Ruins of gravehouse at Kitwancool, B.C.

Fig. 2.40: Gravehouses in Yakut village of Olbut, Siberia. Photograph reproduced in Jochelson, plate XV, fig. 1.

Fig. 2.41: Tsimshian gravehouse at Meanskinisht (Cedarvale) in photograph taken in 1973 by Gary White and John Veillette. Photograph courtesy of the Photographic Collections, Province of British Columbia, RBCM, PN 16591.

Fig. 2.42: Seventeenth century roadside cross at Kizhi Island Architectural Preserve, from side.

Fig. 2.43: Roadside cross at Kizhi, from front.

Fig. 2.44: Drawings of roofed posts illustrated in N. N. Veletskaia, *Yazicheskaya Simbolika Slavyanskikh Arkhaicheskikh Ritualov*, Moskva: "Nauka", 1978, 185.

Fig. 2.45: Roofed post marking the grave of Russian painter, Boris Kustodiev, in the Tikhvin Cemetery of the Alexander Nevsky Lavra in St. Petersburg.

Fig. 2.46: Roofed cross with suspended lantern in Tikhvin Cemetery, St. Petersburg.

Fig. 2.47: Roofed cross in cemetery at Ninilchik, Alaska.

Fig. 2.48: Roofed cross in yard of St. Nicholas Church, Juneau, Alaska.

Fig. 2.49: Roofed cemetery cross at Eklutna.

Fig. 2.50: Cemetery chapel in Lazarus Cemetery, St. Petersburg.

Fig. 2.51: Cemetery chapel in Lazarus Cemetery, St. Petersburg.

Fig. 2.52: St. Nicholas Chapel, Kenai, Alaska.

Fig. 2.53: Octagonal chapel near Solvychigodsk in Vologda region of Russia. Reproduced in Grabar, 339.

Fig. 2.54: Octagonal chapel alongside church and bell tower in Tver region, reproduced in Grabar.

Fig. 2.55: Octagonal chapel in the Old Believer complex of the Ethnographic Museum, Ulan Ude, Buryatia, Siberia.

Fig. 2.56: Chapel-type graves at Juneau. Courtesy of the Alaska State Library, Alaska Historical Collections, Winter & Brown Collection, PCA 114-12.

Fig. 2.57: Octagonal gravehouse on Douglas Island, near Juneau, Alaska, in 1995. Photograph courtesy of Sylvia Rylander.

Fig. 2.58: Same gravehouse shown in fig.2.57 in 1998.

Fig. 2.59: Octagonal gravehouse on Douglas Island marking the grave of Mrs. Gilbert Jackson who died in 1901.

Fig. 2.60: "Indian graves -- Hazelton, B.C." Photograph courtesy of B.C. Archives and Records Service, B-00703.

Fig. 3.1: "Attributes of the Divine Service and Symbols Used by Old-Believers. Late 18th - early 19th century. Anonymous artist, cat. 5." in *Loubok -- Russian Popular Prints From the Late 18th - Early 20th Centuries*, Moscow: Russkaya Kniga, 1992, 58.

Fig. 3.2: "Attributes of the Divine Service and Symbols Used by Old-Believers and the Official Orthodox Church. Late 18th - early 19th century. Anonymous artist, cat. 6." in *Loubok -- Russian Popular Prints From the Late 18th - Early 20th Centuries*, 59.

Fig. 3.3: "Attributes of the Divine Service and Symbols Used by Old-Believers and the Official Orthodox Church. The 1880s. Anonymous artist, cat. 103." in *Loubok -- Russian Popular Prints From the Late 18th - Early 20th Centuries*, 60.

Fig. 3.4: Icon shelf in Old Believer home in the village of Saratovka, Buryatia, Siberia.

Fig. 3.5: Copper-alloy cross with the "Image Made Without Hands" at top. Private collection.

Fig. 3.6: Copper-alloy cross with image of the Lord Sabaoth at top. Private collection.

Fig. 3.7: Copper-alloy triptych similar to ones known to have been produced at the Vyg Monastery. Private collection.

Fig. 3.8: Two copper-alloy triptychs inset into "written" icon. Private collection.

Fig. 3.9: Copper-alloy cross with paper flowers behind, in an Old Believer house in Saratovka, Buryatia, Siberia.

Fig. 3.10: Old Believer woman wearing traditional sarafan and headdress, Ulan Ude, Buryatia, Siberia.

Fig. 3.11: As above, side view.

Fig. 4.1: Ruined double-gravehouse at Eklutna.

Fig. 4.2: "Indian Graves, Old Knick. Oct. 12, 1918." Photograph taken by H. G. Kaiser. Courtesy of Alaska State Library, Alaska Historical Collections, PCA 108-69.

Fig. 4.3: Double-gravehouse. Photograph taken by H. G. Kaiser. Courtesy of Alaska State Library, Alaska Historical Collections, AEC-G936.

Fig. 4.4: Alex family graves, Eklutna cemetery.

Fig. 4.5: Chiligan family graves, Eklutna cemetery.

Fig. 4.6: Eklutna cemetery prior to 1985. Photographs taken by Neil Sutherland, reproduced in Dana Stevens, *Alaska: Land of Many Dreams*, N.Y.: Crescent Books, 1985, 141.

Fig. 4.7: Eklutna cemetery prior to 1985. Photographs taken by Neil Sutherland, reproduced in *Alaska: Land of Many Dreams*, 136.

Fig. 4.8: Area of Eklutna cemetery seen in Figs. 4.6 and 4.7 showing colour changes.

Fig. 4.9: As above, with detail of "star-shaped" gravehouse.

Fig. 4.10: "Eklutna Graves" showing earlier colour scheme, perhaps c. 1950's. Photograph courtesy Anchorage Museum of History and Art, B75.159.101.

Fig. 4.11: Tiered-gravehouse and chapel-gravehouse as above, showing earlier colour and decorative schemes. Photograph taken by Carl Rylander, c. 1932, courtesy of Marian Rylander.

Fig. 4.12: Church of the Saviour from Spass-Bezhy (1628), now in the Ipatiev Architectural Museum at Kostroma.

Fig. 4.13: Chapel from the Perm region, reproduced in Grabar, *Istoriya Arkhitekturi, Do-Petrovskaya Epokha, I*, Moskva: Isdanie I. Knebel, c. 1909, 357.

Fig. 4.14: Church of the Transfiguration from the village of Kozliatyevo (1756), now in the wooden architectural museum at Suzdal.

Fig. 4.15: Chapel of the Archangel Michael (eighteenth century) from the village of Lelikozero, now at Kizhi Island, Lake Onega.

Fig. 4.16: Roadside cross, Kizhi Island.

Fig. 4.17: "Indian Graves at Old Knik, Cook Inlet, Alaska (Eklutna), Sydney Laurence Co." c. 1915. Photograph courtesy of The Anchorage Museum of History and Art, B83.5.3.

Fig. 4.18: Eklutna cemetery, c. 1946, showing same gravehouses as in Fig. 4.17. Photograph courtesy of The Anchorage Museum of History and Art, B89.20.154.

Fig. 4.19: Eklutna cemetery, 1996, showing same gravehouses as in Figs. 4.17 and 4.18.

Fig. 4.20: Eklutna cemetery, detail of houses in same area as above.

Fig. 4.20: Eklutna cemetery, detail of houses in same area as above.

Fig. 5.1: Window surrounds on house in Old Russian complex, Ethnographic Museum, Ulan Ude, Buryatia, Siberia.

Fig. 5.2: Window surrounds on house in Old Believer village of Decyatnikovo, Buratia, Siberia.

Fig. 5.3: Gravehouses in Eklutna cemetery, one with solar/rainbow decoration.

Fig. 5.4: House in Old Believer village of Kalinovka, Buryatia, Siberia, with solar motif in gable.

Fig. 5.5: Oshevnev house from northern Russia, now at Kizhi Island, showing carved *polotentse* and *prichelini*.

Fig. 5.6: Carved window surround on house in Kostroma.

Fig. 5.7: Carved window surround on house in Taltsy architectural preserve.

Fig. 5.8: Window surround on house in Irkutsk, Siberia.

Fig. 5.9: Gravehouses in Eklutna cemetery.

Fig. 5.10: Gravehouses in Eklutna cemetery.

Fig. 5.11: Buryat house with "horn" motif on window surrounds. Buryat complex, Ethnographic Museum, Ulan Ude, Buryatia, Siberia.

Fig. 5.12: "Scroll" or "Wave" pattern on window surrounds of Old Believer house in village of Tarbagatai, Buryatia, Siberia.

Fig. 5.13: "Scroll" or "Wave" pattern on ridgecrest of gravehouse in Eklutna cemetery.

Fig. 5.14: Eklutna gravehouse with serrated ridgecrest.

Fig. 5.15: Eklutna gravehouses with serrated and half-circular ridgecrests.

Fig. 5.16: Tiered gravehouse with triangular and floral motifs, Eklutna cemetery.

Fig. 5.17: Chamber of the Palace of the appanage princes, Uglich. Detail of brickwork incorporating floral, triangular and zig-zag motifs.

Fig. 5.18: Oshevnev House at Kizhi showing window surrounds, *polotentse*, and *prichelini*.

Fig. 5.19: Detail of a *prichelina* on the Yelizarov House, now at Kizhi.

Fig. 5.20: Carved window surrounds and painted shutters featuring Tree-of-Life motif on house in Old Believer complex, Ethnographic Museum, Ulan Ude, Buryatia, Siberia.

Fig. 5.21: Painted gate and house in Old Believer village of Decyatnikova, Buryatia, Siberia.

Fig. 5.22: Painted and decorated gate in village of Ust-Barguzin, Buryatia, Siberia. Photograph courtesy of Jennifer Lort.

Fig. 5.23: Gate dated 1906, in Old Believer Complex, Ethnographic Museum, Ulan Ude, Buryatia, Siberia.

Fig. 5.24: Painted cemetery gate decorated with blazing sun motifs in village of Bonaparte, B.C.

Fig. 5.25: Gate decorated with zig-zags and blazing suns from Old Believer village in the Ural Mountains. Reproduced in E. N. Bubnov, *Russkoe Derevyannoe Zodchestvo Urala*, Moskva: Stroiizdat, 1988, 85.

Fig. 5.26: Gate decorated with zig-zags and blazing suns from Old Believer village in the Ural Mountains. Reproduced in Bubnov, 86.

Fig. 5.27: Cemetery gate in Interior Salish village in the Nicola Valley, B.C. Photograph taken by Fred Auger in 1964. Courtesy of the Photographic Collections of the Province of British Columbia, RBCM, PN 6688.

Fig. 5.28: Cemetery gate in Interior Salish village of Shackan in the Nicola Valley, B.C. Photograph taken by Fred Auger in 1964. Courtesy of the Photographic Collections of the Province of British Columbia, RBCM, PN 13572.

Fig. 5.29: Decorated barn gate in village of Kluevka, Buryatia, Siberia.

Fig. 5.30: Drawing of Old Believer round-roofed gravehouse with roofed cross on which is affixed small bird. Reproduced in Veletskaia, 185.

List of Maps

Map 1: Native groups of northwestern North America, from McClellan, *Part of Land and Part of Water.*

Map 2: European Russia, from Opolovnikov and Opolovnikova, *Wooden Architecture of Russia*, frontispiece.

Map 3: Siberia, showing settlements and forts from 1478-1710. From Martin Gilbert, *Atlas of Russian History*, London: J. M. Dent, 1993, 33.

Map 4: Detail of Lake Baikal area and location of Irkutsk and various Old Believer villages near Ulan Ude, Buryatia, Siberia.

Map 5: Cultural Areas of North American Indian Groups, c. 1500-1850, Lois Sherr Dubin, *North American Indian Jewelry and Adornment, From Prehistory to the Present*, New York: AHarry N. Abrams, Inc., 1999, 30.

Map 6: Cutural groups of the Northwest Coast, Dubin, 382.

Map 7: Ethnological Map of Siberia, showing locations of various ethnic groups.

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Golubets, Gravehouse and Gate: Wooden Mortuary Architecture in Russia, Siberia, and the North Pacific

Introduction

The Tanaina (Dena'ina) Indian village of Eklutna, Alaska, located twenty-eight miles northeast of Anchorage, is best known for its historical complex with two Russian Orthodox churches, two cemetery chapels, and many brightly painted "spirit houses" which cover most of the graves.

The spirit houses, most of which feature an Orthodox cross at the foot of the grave, have generally been considered an example of the synthesis of Athabascan traditions with Russian Orthodox belief. They are not, however, found in some other Russian Orthodox Tanaina cemeteries, but exist in villages which are neither Orthodox nor Athabascan. Furthermore, early references made by explorers and missionaries to funerary architecture in these communities make no mention of house-like monuments on graves. On the other hand, such monuments marked the graves of some "accords," or doctrinally different groups, of Old Believers and Russian sectarians, long after such structures were forbidden by reforms of the Orthodox Church and by state authorities in seventeenth-century Russia.

As dissenting groups in Russia, Old Believers and members of the various sects sometimes loosely related to, but distinct from, the Old Belief were forcibly or voluntarily settled in the most isolated regions of the Russian Empire - in the far north of European Russia, the Caucasus, the Baltics, Poland, Ukraine, Moldavia, and Siberia. Their exile to Siberia and northern Russia coincided with the expansion into Siberia and today's Alaska of merchants and hunter-entrepreneurs, or *promyshlenniki*. With their high regard for self-sufficiency and practical experience in remote regions, these religious and social dissenters were almost certainly among those who made the first contact with the indigenous peoples of Alaska and coastal Canada, as shall be demonstrated by both architectural and ethnographic evidence.

This study suggests that there is a connection between the gravehouses in Russia and Siberia and those found in the Alaskan-Canadian North Pacific region. It is primarily concerned with a class of anonymous vernacular architecture. Because folk architecture is closely related to ethnographic practices, religious beliefs, and history of cultures, the study is interdisciplinary. Gravehouses have never been regarded as "important" architectural monuments and have not been accorded the significance they deserve. They show the transmission and transformation of religious and cultural concepts of different societies,

illustrating through architectural form and decoration the results of historic yet undocumented contacts between different groups of people in the Northern Pacific region.

Though it may not be immediately obvious, this research is related to issues explored in my MA thesis, "True to God and King: Alabaster Heads of St. John in Late Medieval England" (University of Victoria, 1994). These private devotional tablets depict the head of St. John the Baptist, flanked by standing saints and other iconographic symbols. Both the gravehouses and the alabaster panels are folk artifacts; and both are concerned with religious iconography. Each illustrates a belief in the continuance of life after death and a careful regard for the state of the soul in this life and the next. To some degree, both are related to funerary practices and customs. The alabaster tablets derive from the production of tomb monuments and carved altarpieces. Grave and spirit houses not only mark burials but may also serve as memorials apart from the cemetery. The gravehouses, like the alabaster tablets, represent particular views of Christian belief in their respective societies, and betray variances of Christianity within those societies.

Gravehouses in Russia and Siberia indicate a continuance of practices and concepts in Russian Christianity developed before the seventeenth century Reforms. Because gravehouses were forbidden by secular authorities and by the reforms of the Church, their very existence reflects the particular beliefs about clerical and secular authority current among those who defied the prohibitions by continuing to use these structures. Although the dates of their production and use are quite different, both the gravehouses and the alabaster tablets express Medieval concerns about the visible display of the correct conduct of one's life on earth and the destiny of one's soul after death.

The study of the gravehouses is made more complex by the fact that contacts with those who used them were not limited to other European Christian societies, as was largely the case with those who used the alabaster tablets. Rather, the impact of contact by Russian Christians with pre-Christian traditions in Asia and North America, as well as in Europe, must be considered.

Methods of Research:

The study's interdisciplinary and intercultural nature has required the use of various research methods, including reviews of art historical literature, research in photographic archives and museums for visual evidence, and field interviews about ethnographic information. The literature reviews covered a broad range of topics: Russian architecture, especially the wooden architecture in the North and Siberia; the history of the Schism of the Russian Orthodox Church and the development of the various divisions among Old Believers and sectarians; Russian funerary traditions, especially as they compare to those of

the indigenous peoples with whom they came in contact; the exploration of and settlement in Siberia and Russian America, and the consequent activities of the Russian-American Company; and the beliefs, both before and after contact, of the indigenous peoples in Siberia and the North Pacific, especially relating to death, memorials, and the soul.

For the archival research, I reviewed the photographic collections in the British Columbia Provincial Archives, the British Columbia Ethnographic Section Collection, the Yukon Territorial Archives, the Alaska State Library Archives, the Oregon Historical Society, the Washington Historical Society, the Anchorage Museum of History and Art, and several private collections. These photographs provide visual records of Russian architecture; gravehouses in North America, Russia, and Siberia; mortuary totems, cremations, cairn, cave, or scaffold burials; and evidence of the use of grave goods and the importance of funerary feasts in Siberia and North America.

Travel to museum collections offered the opportunity to view icons, paintings, objects of decorative art, and the architecture related to Russian Orthodoxy and Old Belief, and to Russia's expansion into Siberia and North America. Ethnographic collections illustrated traditional forms of art and architecture as well as changes made as a result of contact with Europeans. Open-air architectural museums in European Russia and Siberia provided examples of architectural styles and ornamental details used by Russians in various locations of the country from the late 14th century until the early 20th century. I visited the Ethnographic Museum in Ulan Ude (in the Transbaikal region of Eastern Siberia), as well as the open-air architectural museums at Taltsy (near the western shore of Lake Baikal, Siberia), Kizhi Island (in northern Russia, Lake Onega), Suzdal and Kostroma (in the Volga region to the east and northeast of Moscow), and Kolomenskoye (in the southern outskirts of Moscow). Museum research also included viewing collections of icons, folk arts, decorative arts, paintings, and ethnographic materials in north and central Russia, Siberia, Alaska, and northwest Canada.

Additional ethnographic-related field research was done in Siberia, Alaska, and Canada. With a translator-guide, I visited a number of Old Believer homes in Transbaikal villages south of Ulan Ude (Buryatia, Siberia), and was able to interview the inhabitants about the use of gravehouses in Russia and Siberia. In addition, we searched for these structures in village cemeteries. I made three trips to Alaska, and returned through the Yukon and British Columbia to visit Alaska Native and First Nations villages there. On these trips, I interviewed anthropologists, architectural historians, and members of various Alaska Native groups and First Nations communities about gravehouse traditions in North America.

Format:

The dissertation consists of five chapters with an introduction, illustrations, and appendix. In the first chapter, the Eklutna cemetery is introduced, in part because by general consensus it most clearly shows Russian traditions of Christianity fused with aboriginal beliefs. The graves here best demonstrate the ornamentation and colour that may suggest Russian connections. The accounts by explorers and early missionaries show a divergence in funerary practice after contact with Europeans. Following the description of contemporary funerary practices and the erection of gravehouses today, the gravehouse traditions in Russia are introduced. This discussion examines the gravehouses of Russia which are known by various terms, including *golubets*, *domovina*, and *budka*. The analysis of the forms of gravehouses found in Russia is supplemented by a discussion of Eurasian folk beliefs as they relate to the erection of funerary monuments in the form of crosses, roofed crosses, or houses. Here, a solution for the paradox of the origin and meaning of gravehouses in North America is first suggested which allows for the early presence of Old Believers and other religious or social dissident in Russian America.

In Chapter 2, different types of gravehouses in Russia are described in detail and compared with those found in North America. This typology of gravehouses includes the cache or log-crypt surface burials; tent-like grave covers over surface or sub-surface burials; box burials; miniature houses which mark either surface or sub-surface burials; pavilion shrines and roofed posts or crosses; chapel-like structures; round-roofed quonset-like memorials; log coffins or memorials; and the long, open shed-like gravehouses. The distribution of each type is noted.

The third chapter summarizes the history of Old Belief and Russian Sectarians, and the evidence to support the theory that they were among the first Russians to come into contact with peoples of the First Nations in the Pacific Northwest during the eighteenth century. One form of evidence is the presence in Alaska of Byzantine-style and metal icons favoured by pre-Reform Orthodoxy, the manufacture and use of which was forbidden by Petrine Reforms. In spite of the prohibitions, the Old Believers continued to make and distribute these objects throughout Russia and Siberia, and some appear to have arrived in Russian America as well. Alaska Native oral traditions about fugitive Russians and the speculations by Russian missionaries and explorers about "lost colonies" of early Russians in North America also suggest that the presence of religious and social dissidents was likely in Alaska at this time. Finally, certain religious practices of Alaska Native Orthodoxy conform closely to those encountered in the Old Belief. There are also possible correlations between reports made by Russian priests in Alaska and by priests in Russia and Siberia

regarding the behaviour of their parishioners and the pervasive appeal of Old Belief in their own villages.

The fourth chapter examines traditional aboriginal funerary practices in Siberia and North America and summarizes the development of gravehouse architecture in these regions following contact with European Russians. Pre-contact trading networks ensured that European ideas as well as goods preceded the actual arrival of the Russians in the region. The Russians continued the same policies in North America they had practiced in the discovery, exploration, and settlement of Siberia and the Russian Far East. Furthermore, they introduced a pre-Reform Russian Christianity to many of the aboriginal peoples of Siberia, providing parallels between Old Believer and aboriginal Siberian Christian traditions. Finally, aboriginal Siberians accompanied the Russians in their exploration and settlement of Alaska. Their influence may have provided an important link in the adaptation and transmission of the gravehouse as a funerary monument among other First Nations peoples of the Northern Pacific. This chapter also describes traditional funerary practices at Eklutna and compares the gravehouses here with the wooden architecture of northern Russia and Siberia.

The fifth chapter provides a detailed description and analysis of the Eklutna gravehouses and their ornamental decoration. The correlation between ancient symbols, Russian decorative elements, and the ornament and colour used on the Eklutna gravehouses is examined. Although somewhat speculative, the symbolic and iconographic meanings of the motifs are traced to similar devices used in Eurasian folk art and architecture. The analysis of the forms of gravehouses found in Russia is supplemented by a discussion of some Eurasian folk beliefs, especially as they relate to the erection of funerary monuments in the form of crosses, roofed crosses, or miniature houses. In this chapter, we seek to establish the deep and widely-spread European roots of this folk architecture, to suggest the possible origins of its use, and place it in social and religious context. The meaning of the gravehouse and its relationship to concepts of the soul are discussed. Finally, in this chapter, a summary of the evidence for the early presence of Old Believers in Russian America is provided, emphasizing once again how this solves the paradoxes about the origins and meanings of the gravehouses located in North America.

The appendix consists of a descriptive list of photographs of funerary structures in the North Pacific, including gravehouses, cemetery gates, carved and roofed-crosses, and mortuary totem poles. These photographs, housed in various archives or private collections, were used to compare decorative motifs, architectural styles, and monument type in various locations in Alaska and Canada.

Gravehouses have been used in recent memory among peoples of the First Nations in the Northern Pacific region. Yet, anthropological and ethnological research reveals that such structures were not traditional prior to contact with Europeans. On the other hand, similar gravehouses are known from similar research on Russian Old Believers, who used this form of memorial prior to the exploration and settlement of Russian America, although such structures were forbidden by the secular and religious authorities in Russia. The very existence of gravehouses in native American cemeteries located in regions under direct or indirect Russian influence by the eighteenth century suggests a connection with gravehouses in Russia. The fact that the North American structures incorporate many symbolic and ornamental details similar to those found in Russian folk art strengthens this probability. Native American folklore and records of the Russian American Company, explorers, priests and missionaries further suggest that Old Believers and other Russian Sectarians were among the Russian population in Siberia and North America, where they may have exerted a greater influence on Native peoples than has previously been suspected. This dissertation combines architectural history with ethnology, anthropology, religious history, and informed conjecture to solve a mystery about contact between many different peoples and how folk art and architecture record the changes which result from it.

Chapter 1: Background and Definitions

Spanning an arc from the Columbia River to Alaska, across the Bering Strait through Siberia to the Caucasus in southern Russia, and to Karelia and the Kola Peninsula in the north, one finds evidence of a shared tradition of mortuary architecture in the form of gravehouses and roofed crosses. In North America, the house-like grave markers are often called "spirit houses." There is little consensus among anthropologists about their origin on this continent: some argue that the gravehouses are indigenous, while others support the theory that they were introduced by Europeans.[1] Gravehouses have received little scholarly attention, aside from the debate among anthropologists concerning their origin. Only a few recent studies have attempted to analyze their form, decoration, and symbolic significance to the First Nations of North America. None have compared the form and use of these gravehouses and roofed crosses in North America with those in Russia.

Various names have been applied to the gravehouses in Russia and Siberia, where they have been used historically both by European Russians and by some of the aboriginal peoples of Eurasia. Here, too, there have been few systematic attempts to categorize or analyze the gravehouses. Most references to them are found in ethnographic literature, folklore, and oral tradition about aboriginal peoples or the Old Believers, those who separated from the Russian Orthodox church in the seventeenth century but consider themselves the only true Orthodox Christians.

Explorers' reports from both sides of the Bering Sea mention various funerary traditions and burial practices among the peoples with whom they came in contact. With few exceptions, which shall be noted, gravehouses are not among the types of grave markers described in these early reports. On the other hand, contemporary Russian Orthodoxy claims the use of gravehouses is not part of its own tradition, and, indeed, such structures were forbidden at various times by church or state in Russia. Thus, the presence of gravehouses in North America gives the appearance of a paradox. As this study shall argue, however, this form of funerary architecture was likely introduced into Siberia and the North Pacific by Russian Christians before the seventeenth century Schism, or by those who had rejected the authority of the official Orthodox Church as a result of it. Based on stylistic and iconographic evidence, as well as that provided by Native American oral tradition, this study proposes that gravehouses in Russia and the Northern Pacific region are certainly related. The possibility that they were introduced by Old Believers or Russian

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[1]Written communication, Lydia Black, June 1996.

Sectarians is corroborated by circumstantial evidence found in reports made by administrators of the Russian-American Company and Russian Orthodox missionary priests sent to Alaska during the Russian period of control.

Written and visual descriptions of gravehouses appear to post-date the initial contacts with Russian explorers and settlers. The use of gravehouses in Alaska and Canada tended to increase among Native American groups during the latter half of the nineteenth century, but then declined in all but a few communities during the twentieth century, after reaching an apex of use from about 1890 to 1930. In itself, this trend supports the argument that gravehouses were introduced into this area, and that their use was adapted but transformed by First Nations to fit their own traditions as a result of contact with other religious and social concepts that likewise affected other funerary practices. This dissertation examines the location and distribution of gravehouses in the Pacific Northwest regions of Alaska and Canada, links them to structures which are similar both in style and concept in Russia and Siberia, and suggests the origin and symbolism of the structures found on each side of the Bering Strait.

Background and Previous Research:

The Tanaina (Dena'ina) village of Eklutna, Alaska, provides a revealing case study of the problem of gravehouse use in the North Pacific region (Map 1). Eklutna's Alaska Native villagers are largely Russian Orthodox in religious belief. Yet, the Tanaina, while in very early contact with the Russians, were not subject to them. Today, the cemetery remains active, but is simultaneously promoted as a tourist attraction by the village. Thus, it not only represents many of the contradictions surrounding the understanding of the history and use of gravehouses in the Northern Pacific; it is also accessible and open to research.

Eklutna is distinguished by its cemetery, "probably the most colorful one in existence on the American continent."[2] Two churches and two chapels are situated on the east side of the cemetery (fig 1.1). The older of the churches, dedicated to St. Nicholas, was probably erected here in 1897 when a group of Tanaina moved it to this area from the nearby village of Old Knik, where it had been built initially in 1889.[3] The new Saint

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[2] Eklutna Church information leaflet, n.p., n.d., 3.

[3] Alison K. Hoagland, *Buildings of Alaska*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1993, 106; Michael R. Yarborough, "'A Village Which Sprang Up Before My Very Eyes' An Historical Account of the Founding of Eklutna," in: Nancy Yaw Davis and William E. Davis. *Adventures Through Time: Readings in the Anthropology of Cook Inlet, Alaska, Proceedings of a Symposium*, Anchorage: Cook Inlet Historical Society, 1996, 109-122. According to some sources, the church dates from as early as 1830, (see Ann Chandonnet, *On the Trail of Eklutna*. Chicago: Adams Press. 1991, 45-47). The disparity is due to that fact that various villages in the region were called "Knik," leading to confusion about the identity of

Nicholas Church was built between 1954 and 1962, primarily by a local Tanaina from the community, Mike Alex, and his sons.[4] The two smaller chapels, one dedicated to the Mother of God, and the other to St. Herman of Alaska, are also recent.

The most interesting feature of this small cemetery is the architecture marking the graves. Most of the graves are covered by small house-like structures, each distinguished by its size, colour, and ornament. A large roofed cross surrounded by a circle of stones stands at the entrance to the graveyard (fig. 1.2).[5] The inscription along the arms of this cross reads, "Give Rest O Lord to the Souls of Thy Servants Who have Fallen Asleep," part of a prayer taken from the funeral service of the Russian Orthodox church.[6]

The Eklutna spirit houses, as they are called locally, are said to be a synthesis of aboriginal and Russian Orthodox traditions. Tour guides refer to them as "unique to Athabascan Indians of Alaska and Canada."[7] The information leaflet provided by the St. Nicholas Church calls them "part of the Athabascan Indian tradition and culture within this region."[8] They are, however, unique neither to Athabascans nor to North America.

Although these remarkable examples of religious folk architecture have become increasingly important to tourism in Eklutna, and as a result have received some popular attention, they have inspired little scholarly research into their function and decoration. An exception is a recent MA thesis by Sheryl Williams, "The Origins and Development of the Tanaina Indian Grave Architecture at Eklutna, Alaska."[9] This brief thesis discusses the anthropological background of the Eklutna region, introduces information about pre-contact funerary traditions, and devises a preliminary system of stylistic analysis, which is expanded here. Williams does not discuss in depth the origins of the gravehouse tradition, nor compare the Eklutna structures with those elsewhere.

The Eklutna cemetery is also discussed in a few pages of Nancy Yaw Davis's

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the village in question. Yarborough believes the village mentioned by Fr. John Bortnovsky in his journals is correctly identified both as Eklutna and by an earlier designation, Old Knik. For arguments of earlier dates for the church, and the possibility that Bortnovsky referred to a different church and settlement, see: Alberta Stephan, (147: "Athabaskan Natives of Upper Cook Inlet" in Davis, *Adventures Through Time*, 145-154; Chandonnet, (1979:27; 1985:45-6). Yarborough and Dr. Andrei Znamenski believe there should no longer be any uncertainty about the date of this church's constructio. Dr. Znamenski's research indicates that the church was completed by 1889 by combined efforts of missionary Nikolai Mitropolsky, deacon Nikolai Sorokovikov, and local Tanaina (written communication, May 21, 1999).

[4]Hoagland, 106; Davis, 47.

[5]The circle of stones acts symbolically as a fence which separates the holiest ground. As will be seen below, fences protect graves from wild animals in a practical way, but also separate the consecrated burial from the unconsecrated ground surrounding it.

[6]Eklutna church information leaflet, 3.

[7]Personal observation, 1989, 1990, 1991, and 1996.

[8]Eklutna Church Information leaflet, p. 3.

[9]Sheryl Williams, "The Origins and Development of the Tanaina Indian Grave Architecture at Eklutna, Alaska," Savannah: Savannah College of Art and Design, 1997.

thesis on the sociology and politics of the village, "A Tanaina Indian Village."[10] Davis's interest in the cemetery reflects her concerns as an anthropologist. While she describes the gravehouses and reports information on the traditions concerning them as practised at the time of her research, the focus of discussion in this section of her thesis is the spatial distribution of the graves and how this reflects known family divisions in the community. She notes an interest in the visual differentiation of the family plots and how decorative elements could be used as a means of defining familial units. She makes no attempt otherwise to analyze the form, style, or symbolism of the houses and their decoration.

Ann Chandonnet wrote two popular booklets on Eklutna, which include chapters on the cemetery. A compilation of articles written for an Anchorage newspaper, *On the Trail to Eklutna*, includes historic photographs and a summary description of the cemetery's gravehouses, churches, and chapels, and provides the locations of some of the other gravehouses in Alaska and Canada. Most of the booklet covers the history and background of Eklutna, and gives biographical information about several of the community's leading members. Again, no attempt is made to analyze the architecture, nor to offer possible explanations of the meaning of the decoration or the origin of the gravehouses, aside from a speculative connection to spirit houses in Thailand.

Other references to the cemetery are found in brief paragraphs, photograph captions, or footnotes in scholarly and popular literature. Alison K. Hoagland, in her *Buildings of Alaska* for example, includes two paragraphs about and a photograph of the gravehouses, based primarily on Chandonnet's information. In most of these works, the gravehouses are repeatedly described as a unique synthesis of traditions, with an Athabascan grave cover in the form of the house and its decoration, combined with the Russian Orthodox cross. This synthesis, it is alleged, shows the transformation in religious beliefs following contact.

Although Eklutna is sometimes represented by tour guides as having a unique cemetery, even among Native American locations, Chandonnet expands the geographic region where gravehouses are found: "...others just like them can be found in the northeast at Sutton, at Knik [with about 20 graves] across the Inlet, in the Yukon Territory, in the Aleutians and at Tyonek."[11] She mentions photographs or descriptions in travelers' accounts of similar gravehouses at Cottonwood Creek, Nulato, Nenana, Mosquito Flats, Russian Mission, Eyak Lake (Cordova), and New Archangel (Sitka) - all in Alaska; and at Marsh Lake, Upper Laberge, Fort Selkirk, Little Salmon River, Champagne, and Aishihik

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[10]Nancy Yaw Davis, "A Tanaina Indian Village," MA Thesis, University of Chicago, 1965.
[11]Chandonnet, 13.

in the Yukon.[12] Sheryl Williams discusses the use of gravehouses by the Ahtna Indians in Alaska near Copper Center and Chickaloon, and includes illustrations of gravehouses as far away as the Chippewa cemeteries in Michigan and Minnesota.[13] North Pacific gravehouses are found, as well, in several other interior Alaskan sites, and along the coast of Southeast Alaska and British Columbia at least as far south as the Columbia River, which divides Washington from Oregon.

Gravehouses with gable or pyramidal roofs are found along the lower reaches of the Yukon River. Although no studies of these have been located in the literature review, brief descriptions with accompanying photographs can be found in encyclopedic reference works and travelers' accounts. Large gable-roofed gravehouses, sometimes having decorative ridgecrests like those of the Eklutna houses, are found in the Yukon Territory and British Columbia. Again, there has been no systematic study of these structures. Catharine McClellan illustrates and describes some of them in her *My Old People Say: An Ethnographic Survey of Southern Yukon Territory*, and *Part of Land: Part of Water: A History of the Yukon Indians.*[14] She suggests that both the style and form of the gravehouses resemble those of European circumpolar structures, and that they were likely introduced by Russians along with certain funerary practices. She does not explain, however, how this might have occurred nor offer a comparative study of the gravehouses.

Some of the largest and most elaborate gravehouses were those constructed in

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[12]Ibid., 52-54.

[13]Williams, 1. Arthur B. Cozzens ("A Cherokee Graveyard," *Pioneer America* 4,1 [Jan 1972], 8) published a photograph and descriptive note about similar structures near Stillwater, Oklahoma. According to information he received, the gravehouses, which had slat sides and shingle or board roofing, dated from the late 1800s and they went out of use by the 1920s. The houses were said to protect the offerings of food from dogs and wild animals. Further research is necessary to determine if there is any link between the Cherokee graves and those in the Pacific Northwest. Williams was told that the Chippewan graves were probably connected to the slaves in the Minnesota-Michigan area who had come from the Cook Inlet region, and thus might have direct connections to the Alaskan structures. Links might be found for gravehouses of similar style to those at Eklutna which have been noted in Texas cemeteries (Terry G. Gordon, *Texas Graveyards*, Austin: University of Texas, c. 1985). It is known that Alaska Natives came with the Russians to Fort Ross, where there was interaction with Spaniards and American Indians under their influence. The tradition might have spread as recently as this century, through intermarriage and migration related to contacts made in boarding schools administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs for much of this century. Relative recent covered graves with lattice-work walls were photographed in Clairfield, Tenn., and published by Jack Corn (*Kentucky Folklore Record* 23, 1 (1977), 34-37).

According to Davis, "The [Eklutna] cemetery is not limited to members of the village or restricted to Tanainas. Two individuals from southeast Alaska were buried here on the basis of their membership in the Russian Orthodox Church. There is also a grave for a man who was originally from Copper Center, a village in interior Alaska. Four recently buried people were from Kenai, and one Aleut who died in the village is buried in the new area on the south." [Davis, 25.) There are several graves without houses, but I was unable to confirm if any of these graves marked by crosses alone belong to those who were not from Eklutna.

[14]Catharine McClellan, *My Old People Say: An Ethnographic Survey of Southern Yukon Territory*, Parts 1 and 2. Ottawa: National Museum of Man/National Museums of Canada. 1975; *Part of Land, Part of the Water: A History of the Yukon Indians*. Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre. 1987.

Tlingit villages of Southeast Alaska and Tshimshian villages of Northwest British Columbia. Many of these are now ruined or have disappeared altogether, and can only be studied through historic photographs. There is little scholarly literature on these gravehouses, and as with those at Eklutna, most of what has been written is found in anthropological and ethnographic studies rather than those on art or architectural history. The only study of Tlingit gravehouses located in the literature review is "An Analysis of the Tlingit Gravehouse in South-east Alaska and North-west British Columbia," an MA thesis in anthropology by Diana French.[15] It includes some of the descriptions of earlier burial structures by Spanish, English, French, and Russian explorers, as well as some analysis of the ornament and construction techniques of Coastal and Inland Tlingit gravehouses. French uses drawings based on historic photographs, written descriptions, and notes from her fieldwork on sixteen gravehouses in the Inland Tlingit area near Atlin, B.C. She concludes that the Inland Tlingit gravehouses are directly related to those of the coast and were brought up the Taku and other river systems by Coastal Tlingit from Sitka, where they were introduced under Russian influence. She makes no attempt, however, to include the Athabascan, Tsimshian, Russian, or other structures in her study.

Sergei Kan has researched the mortuary customs of the Tlingit and, as part of his study, included brief descriptions of gravehouses in Southeast Alaska.[16] Like French, he concludes that gravehouse use, along with certain funerary practices, was the result of Russian and other European influences which modified Tlingit customs and beliefs. In particular, he notes the resistance to accepting burial over traditional cremation, and observes that lining graves with lumber served to "keep the dead warm."[17] He suggests that, after contact with Europeans, traditional elevated mortuary boxes were gradually brought closer to the ground and given a gable or pyramidal roof, and began to include elements of Russian and American architecture.[18] Eventually, they took the form of miniature houses with European features. Kan notes with caution, however, that "the

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[15]Diana Elizabeth French, "An Analysis of the Tlingit Gravehouse in South-east Alaska and North-west British Columbia," MA Thesis, Victoria: University of Victoria, 1976.

[16]Sergei Kan, "Memory Eternal: Orthodox Christianity and the Tlingit Mortuary Complex." *Arctic Anthropology* 24,1 (1987), 32-55; "Russian Orthodox Missionaries and the Tlingit Indians of Alaska, 1880-1900," Paper presented at the 2nd Laurier Conference on North American Ethnohistory and Ethnology, Huron College, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, May 11-14, 1983; *Symbolic Immortality: The Tlingit Potlatch of the Nineteenth Century*, Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989; "Words That Heal the Soul: Analysis of the Tlingit Potlatch Oratory," *Arctic Anthropology* 20, 2 (1983), 47-60.

[17]Kan, "Memory Eternal," 38.

[18]Ibid., 37-38.

question of the origin and evolution of the Tlingit mortuary architecture is a complex one and has not been fully answered."[19]

George T. Emmons includes descriptions of gravehouses among the Tlingit in his ethnographic study. Frederica de Laguna, in her editorial notes of a recent edition of Emmons's book, augments the discussion of gravehouses in Southeast Alaska but, like Kan, notes that the houses seem to be a reinterpretation and modification of elevated burial boxes following contact with Europeans, especially Russians.[20]

References to gravehouse use among the Haida are also found in brief notices, photographs, or footnotes. George MacDonald, in his studies of Haida mortuary art and practice, suggests that Haida gravehouses are unlike other traditional Haida structures, but closely related to Tlingit gravehouses and caches. This implies that gravehouses are not an indigenous Haida architecture and may have been introduced after European contact, although indirectly.[21] Margaret Blackman has researched contemporary funerary practices but does not specifically address the origin of gravehouse use among the Haida.[22]

Unpublished research of First Nations cemeteries in British Columbia was undertaken in the 1970's by Gary White and John Veillette. White and Veillette photographed various grave markers, including gravehouses, and kept field notes indicating, in some cases, the sizes of structures, the types of nails used in construction, descriptions of ornamental details, and indications of colour remaining on the monuments.[23] This important work contributed to the present research since many of these structures have since been destroyed or damaged. A comparison of photographs from various dates combined with field notes taken by those who saw the structures in different states has made it possible to reconstruct details which would have otherwise been lost.

A few pages are given to the discussion of gravehouses among the Tshimshian in Ronald Hawker's MA thesis, "In the Way of the White Man's Totem Pole: Tsimshian Gravestones 1879-1930."[24] Like those researching Athabascan and Tlingit gravehouses,

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[19]Ibid., 35, footnote 4.

[20]George Thornton Emmons, *The Tlingit Indians*, edited with additions by Frederica de Laguna. Vancouver/Toronto and New York: Douglas & Mcintyre and the American Museum of Natural History, 1991, 285-286.

[21]George F. Macdonald, *Haida Burial Practices: Three Archaeological Examples.* Archaeological Survey of Canada, Paper No. 9, Ottawa: National Museum of Man and National Museums of Canada, March 1973; *Haida Monumental Art: Villages of the Queen Charlotte Islands.* Vancouver and Seattle: UBC Press and University of Washington Press, 1995 reprint of 1993 edition.

[22]Margaret B. Blackman, "Ethnohistorical Changes in the Haida Potlatch Complex," *Arctic Anthropology* XIV, 1 (1977), 39-53.

[23]John Veillette graciously allowed me to examine photographs, contact sheets, and the field notes of this research.

[24]Ronald William Hawker, "In the Way of the White Man's Totem Pole: Tsimshian Gravestones 1879-1930," MA Thesis, University of Victoria, 1988.

Hawker concludes that those found in Tsimshian culture represent changes to funerary concepts following contact with Europeans. He further suggests, like Kan, that their use eased the psychological transition as the Tsimshian gave up cremation in favour of interment under pressure from European clergy.

This dissertation incorporates some of the information presented in previous research but expands the geographic scope of the study of gravehouses to include not only other parts of Alaska and Canada, but Russia and Siberia as well. It also seeks to reconcile some of the contradictions concerning the question of whether gravehouses are indigenous to North America, or result from European, particularly Russian contact. This is accomplished through a new interpretation of corroborative written evidence along with stylistic and iconographic analyses.

The contradictions concerning the origin and meaning of gravehouses in the North Pacific are both subtle and complex, as the case of the Cook Inlet Tanaina, and other groups in Alaska and Canada, suggests. At Eklutna, only the crosses to the east of the spirit houses are said to show Russian influence. Of the gravehouses themselves, Archpriest Nicholas Harris claims:

> They are an Indian institution; the Orthodox church does not know of this in the way the Indians do. In the case of the Eklutna Indians, the spirit houses bring together both traditions in their burial rites. They still have the aboriginal spirit house, but over the house is the Orthodox cross, which shows that the person buried there is a member of the Orthodox church. My understanding is that the spirit house is simply a monument. But perhaps the deeper meaning is that it is a gesture of love. In the case of a little child, they might take the little garments or toys and put them into the spirit house.[25]

Yet, this position presents a number of problems. While gravehouses are found in some Athabascan communities near the coast, or along river networks extending from the coast, they have never been used in many other Athabascan villages. On the other hand, gravehouses, often of a different style and larger size, are found in non-Athabascan villages. There is evidence of the use of similar structures among the Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, Coast Salish, and other peoples of the Northwest coast of the United States and Canada; in some Yup'ik, Inupiaq, and Coastal Eskimo villages; and in parts of the Aleutian Islands. Russian Orthodoxy is the dominant religion in some coastal villages, but not in all, and is less influential in the interior regions, where many villages are Roman Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian, or of other denominations.

The absence of gravehouses in some Russian Orthodox Tanaina villages of the

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[25]Chandonnet, 53.

Cook Inlet region other than Eklutna might be explained in part by practices and beliefs which have undergone change in recent times, or by the deliberate or accidental destruction of structures once found in these cemeteries. Many gravehouses, being of perishable materials, have collapsed or disappeared. Ruins of old gravehouses can be seen at the outer edge of the Eklutna cemetery and in the graveyard near the Orthodox church in Kenai (fig. 1.3). Here, part of the cemetery may have been bulldozed to make room for a house in the 1950s.[26] Today, the graves are marked by both eight-ended (three-bar) and four-ended (one-bar) crosses. Some are surrounded by fences (fig. 1.4), but most are not.

The Old Kasilof cemetery, located on the Kenai Peninsula, may have also had gravehouses during the early decades of the century, but, if so, these may have been deliberately destroyed in the 1930s by a Protestant minister in the community as pagan or pre-Christian survivals.[27] The poignant individuality of grave decoration at Kasilof reflects still the tradition of leaving personal belongings of the deceased in the gravehouse (fig. 1.5). In contrast to the information given at Eklutna, sources on the Kenai Peninsula indicated that the gravehouses once used in this region were "of Russian origin" or at least influenced by Russian Orthodoxy.

Russian Orthodox Tanaina Burials Today:

Without doubt, the funerary customs and burial practices of the Alaska Native Russian Orthodox Tanaina today have been influenced greatly by Russian contact.[28] Among the Orthodox Tanaina today, burial takes place in accordance with Russian Orthodox practice. At Old Iliamna, according to Joan Townsend,

> Burial practices today are similar to those of Anglo-Americans and follow the dictates of the Russian Orthodox Church. In the past, persons unrelated to the dead person prepared the body and took care of all necessary arrangements. A similar situation prevails today. People in the community other than the relatives dig the individual's grave. They wash the body and put new clothes on it. A white band with a cross on it is placed on the forehead of the dead person, and before the coffin is closed the relatives kiss the cross. Prayers are said while the coffin is nailed....The body is now kept at the church three days. On the third day, burial takes place....Today, a short time after the funeral, a "feast" is given for those non-kin who have helped with the funeral, but this is not a "feast" in the sense of a potlatch. There is no specific amount of time which must elapse

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[26]Oral communication with Nick Sacaloff, Salamatof Native Association, Inc., August 1996.

[27]Oral communication, Alan Boraas, Kenai Peninsula Community College, Aug. 1995. I have not been able to confirm if the stories of destruction at Kasilof and Kenai represent events at two different cemeteries, or if this occurred at only one of the sites and the account has been applied to both. Catherine Cassidy (oral communication, Aug. 1995) indicated the spirit houses at Kasilof were little log structures which "had since deteriorated and are no longer there."

[28]The traditional Tanaina custom of cremating the dead will be described in Chapter 4.

between the funeral and the "feast."[29]

At Pedro Bay, only white crosses mark the graves; there are no gravehouses. Otherwise, the funerary practices are similar to those at Eklutna and Old Iliamna. During the funeral service, a cross is erected at the foot of the grave. The head is oriented to the west with the cross above the feet to the east. Thus, the faithful can gaze upon the sign of salvation, and rise to stand next to the cross when, at the Second Coming, Christ appears in the east.[30] Richard Morris ascribes a similar rationale to the orientation of the crosses erected at the foot of graves in the Russian Old Believer communities in Oregon, Alaska, and Alberta:

> After completing prayers and circling the grave, the relatives place the lid on the casket and lower it into the grave. Then, at the foot of the grave, they place an Orthodox cross in cement...Traditionally graveside crosses were of wood and were made during the gathering for the funeral. However, the crosses are now made of square metal pipes. The eight-ended cross remains at the foot of the grave....The grave cross is oriented toward the east, toward the Second coming of Christ. These Old Believers explain that the dead will simply rise up to stand next to their cross to face the returning Christ.[31]

The practice of orienting the graves so that the dead lie facing the east, or the rising sun, can also be found in other European areas, such as the Tyrol in Austria.[32] There the symbolic function appears to be identical:

> The dead therefore are like a large army looking out for Him who has risen and awaiting His call, when He will summon them also to the resurrection.[33]

According to information Williams obtained from an Eklutna informant, "the cross is constructed during the funeral service and pounded into the ground with the final words of the priests."[34] A blanket, held at the edges by stones, is placed over the grave for the

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[29] Joan B. Townsend, *Ethnohistory and Culture Change of the Iliamna Tanaina.* PhD dissertation, University of California, 1965, 229-231.

[30]Also noted by Anton Serge Beliajeff in "Pomorian Old Believer Tradition, Icons in the Daily Life of Pomorians in the United States" in: Richard Eighme Ahlborn and Vera Beaver-Bricken Espinola, eds., *Russian Copper Icons and Crosses from the Kunz Collection: Castings of Faith,* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991, 15. This is also found at Eklutna as noted by Williams, 21-22; Eklutna church leaflet, 3, and personal observations in 1995 and 1996.

[31]Richard Morris, "Icons Amidst Russian Old Believers of Oregon and Alaska", Ahlborn, et. al., *Castings of Faith,* 12-13.

[32]Josef A. Jungmann. *The Early Liturgy To the Time of Gregory the Great,* London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1959, 138-139.

[33] Ibid., 139.

[34]Williams, 20, (from interview with Bobby Alex in July 1997).

next forty days, during which the gravehouse is constructed (figs. 1.6 and 1.7). According to Chandonnet's informant, the blanket shows respect for the deceased:

> Red blankets show the highest respect. Other colors show clan associations, says Fullenwider, and sometimes the blanket is simply the deceased's favorite color.[35]

The information leaflet at the Eklutna church simply states the that the blanket "is given instead of flowers as in the American Tradition."[36] The tradition probably stems from the association of a blanket with warmth, and from the necessity to protect the spirit of the dead from cold when cremation was replaced by burial, a belief which probably affected other First Nations peoples as well. The Tlingit, for instance, believed the spirits of those who were not cremated wandered about cold and hungry. Support for the theory that this was similar to beliefs in the Cook Inlet region comes from the inscription on a plaque erected near a gravehouse at the Sutton Historical Society near Chickaloon, Alaska. The spirit house marks the grave of John Goodlataw, an Ahtna Indian originally from Chitina, Alaska. Although he died in 1935, the spirit house was not erected until 1990. The inscription also records slight variations between the beliefs of the Ahtna and those of the Cook Inlet Tanaina:

> The custom of erecting spirit houses above the grave of a deceased relative comes from the mixing of Athabascan and Russian Orthodox beliefs. An Indian must be buried with the person's head upriver. The blanket on top of the grave keeps the person warm. Relatives must wait at least 40 days before erecting the Spirit House so the person's spirit is not trapped in the house. Sometimes the family uses specific colors for their Spirit Houses to identify their clan. Note the Orthodox cross.[37]

The forty-day mourning period is typical of both Orthodox and Old Believer tradition and has its roots in antiquity. In the same way that pre-Christian ornamental symbolism could be replaced or supplemented by new Christian interpretations, the ritual calendar of antiquity and various traditions related to the ancient cult of the dead influenced Christian practices:

> In the Roman liturgy it is the third, the seventh and the thirtieth day that are singled out [for divine services held in memory of the dead]; the same days are observed in Christian Egypt. Among the Syrians, it is the third, the ninth and the thirtieth day, and in the Greek church, the third, the ninth and the fortieth day that are observed. All these dates for the commemoration of

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[35]Chandonnet, interview with Debbie Fullenwider, 53.

[36]Eklutna Church information leaflet, 3.

[37]Plaque from the Sutton Historical Society (Chickloon). I am grateful to Sheryl Williams for calling this site to my attention and providing me with a slide of both the gravehouse and the plaque.

> the dead go back to pre-Christian traditions, particularly to traditions of the ancient Orient.[38]

Jungmann explains that these traditions are related to the opinions of ancient people about the nature of the soul and the process of its separation from the body; for instance, it was assumed that the soul lingered on in the vicinity of the body for three or even seven days. The development of this concept is probably connected to the physical changes apparent in the body, combined with the notion that the soul remained on earth until the body was definitely decayed. Thus, "the decay of the body and the final departure of the soul from the world appears to have been put as rule on the thirtieth or fortieth day."[39]

Various interpretations were attached to the important traditional feast days. After the acceptance of Christianity, the Greeks apparently replaced the offerings of the thirtieth day with a memorial on the fortieth day, because "that is how Moses was lamented by his people."[40] Other theological associations acceptable to the Church were assigned for the various feast days: the third day commemorated the Resurrection of Christ on the third day after his death; the fortieth day recalled His ascension into Heaven forty days after His resurrection.[41] The ninth day was seen by some as the day the soul reaches Heaven,[42] or, alternatively, as the moment when a "battle for the soul breaks out between the spirits in the air and the angels; on the fortieth day after death the soul is led before the judgment seat of God and receives from God the final decision."[43]

In Russian Christianity, closely associated as it is to Greek Orthodoxy, the forty-day period also had a variety of symbolic associations, many of them Biblical. Two of these were mentioned by one of Williams' informants -- the forty days and nights of the Great Flood and the forty days of Christ's Temptation in the Wilderness.[44] *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* cites many other Biblical associations with the number forty, which are sometimes given as the basis for this length of time for mourning:

> Forty days was a typical period of time for ritual observances: the fasting of Moses (Ex. 34:28), Elijah (1K. 19:8), and Jesus (Mt. 4:2 par.); Moses' stay on Mt. Sinai (Ex. 24:18; cf. Dt. 9:9). The Flood lasted forty days (Gen. 7:4); the challenge of Goliath was forty days (1 S. 17:16). Jonah proclaimed, 'Yet forty days, and

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[38]Jungmann, 142.
[39]Ibid., 143-144.
[40]Margaret Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*, London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1974, 32.
[41]Jungmann, 144; Alexiou, 32.
[42]Alexiou, 32.
[43]Jungmann, 144. See also Hieromonk Seraphim Rose, *The Soul After Death: Contemporary "After-Death" Experiences in the Light of the Orthodox Teaching on the Afterlife*, Platina, CA: Saint Herman of Alaska Brotherhood, 1980.
[44]Williams, 21.

> Nineveh shall be overthrown' (Jonah 3:4), and there were forty days between the Resurrection and the Ascension (Acts 1:3).[45]

This last association is probably the most significant in the mortuary context in Russian Christianity. The idea that the soul remains in the vicinity of the house or grave represents a conflation of Christian and Old Slavic beliefs:

> In certain areas in Russia it is believed that the soul flutters around in the hut looking for a place to live, 'like a bird for a nest,' finds a shelter behind the holy icon, and after forty days is taken away by an angel. With these and similar beliefs was connected the custom of making an opening in the roof of the hut, so that the soul could escape more easily.[46]

Morris describes a similar contemporary belief among the Old Believers in Oregon, Alberta, and Alaska: "They affix the personal icon of the deceased to the cross [at the foot of the grave], where it remains until the memorial service on the 40th day after death; at that time it is believed that the soul has departed from the grave."[47] Figure 1.8 shows a brass icon affixed to a gravepost in the Old Believer village of Kalinovka in Siberia, confirming a similar practice here.

After the forty-day mourning period has elapsed at Eklutna, a gravehouse is placed in position on the grave, with the front end facing east (fig. 1.9).[48] The memorials vary in size according to the age and status of the deceased. Those made for adults are usually less than six feet long and two to four feet high, and those for children are much smaller -- closer to fifteen inches long and a foot high (fig. 1.10).[49]

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[45]The passage notes the significance of forty in other contexts as well: "The most frequently used round number in the Bible is forty, which has the sense of a relatively long period of time and more specifically is the traditional number of years in a generation. In the forty years that Israel spent in the wilderness the old generation died out and was replaced by the new (Ex. 16:35; Nu. 14:33f; 32:13). A sense of completeness or maturity is attached to the number...A man was considered to reach full adulthood at forty (Josh. 14:7; 2S. 2:10; Acts 7:23)...Isaac and Esau married at forty (Gen. 25:20; 26:34). Moses' life was divided into three periods of forty years (Ex.7:7; Dt. 34:7; Acts 7:23, 30, 36). Eli (1 S. 4:18), Saul (Acts 13:21), David (1K. 2:11), Solomon (1 K 11:42), and Jehoash (2 K. 12:1) all reigned forty years. Periods of rest (Jgs. 3:11; 5:31; 8:28) and oppression (13:1) in the time of the judges commonly lasted forty years." *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1988, 558.

[46]Felix J. Oinas, "*Golubec* and some notions of the soul," *Essays on Russian Folklore and Mythology.* Columbus: Slavica Publishers, Inc., 1984, 79.

[47]Morris, in *Castings*, 12.

[48]This photo can be compared with fig. 7, which shows an earlier view when only the blanket is visible on the grave which is covered by the chapel-house in figure 9. For information on the mourning period at Eklutna and the construction of the gravehouse see: Williams, 21; Chandonnet, 53; leaflet, 3; oral communication at Eklutna, 1995 and 1996.

[49]Chandonnet, 49; Williams, 18; personal observations, 1995 and 1996.

Figure 1.11 shows a bowl outside one of the gravehouses. This recalls both Tanaina and Russian Orthodox customs.[50] Formerly, possessions of the deceased were left in the house along with food offerings for the spirit of the deceased:

> Until a few years ago, the graves were "fed" three times a day during the 40-day period. "Usually a favorite dish of the deceased's is put under the spirit house, and for the period of mourning it is kept filled with food. Sometimes a favorite tea cup.[51]

In the Russian Orthodox tradition, the family would come to the grave on the days appointed for memorial feasts, such as the third, ninth, and fortieth days, but also on the anniversary of the death, namedays, and other appointed days of remembrance.[52] Usually a bowl of rice mixed with honey and raisins would be shared, and part of it left at the grave in remembrance of the dead.[53] This is close to the tradition among Old Believers and some of the older Russian Orthodox.

> Nearby [at the final service at the grave site], a close relative holds a large bowl of *kutya* (a cold, cooked wheat mixed with honey) with several spoons around the edge. As opposed to the symbol of "living bread, the *kutya* represents the cold flatness of death - but with the sweet reminder of life eternal." After each final farewell, each person eats three spoonfuls of sweet *kutya* before leaving the cemetery.[54]

Similar customs are still observed in Siberian Old Believer cemeteries of the Transbaikal. Many of the graves are equipped with tables for mourners' use during various memorial feasts, which also feature *kutya* and other foods. Figures 1.12 and 1.13 show tables at graves in the Ulan Ude and Novi Zagon cemeteries in that region. A parallel to this can be seen in an archival photograph of 1923 taken by Harlan I. Smith of a table set with a teapot, cloth, and clock at the grave of Willie Mack in Bella Coola, B. C. (fig. 1.14).

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[50]This is similar to contemporary funerary customs of the Russian Orthodox Tlingit in Southeast Alaska. See Kan, *Symbolic Immortality* and Kan, "Memory Eternal," 32-55.

[51]Chandonnet, 53. Probably the food was placed on the grave prior to the building of the gravehouse, then the dishes left in the gravehouse where food would continued to be placed for extended periods of mourning or for special times of remembrance.

[52]These are without doubt connected to the days appointed for memorial feasts for the dead in Ancient Roman and Greek traditions, extending perhaps, as far back as Ancient Egypt. It is certain that bringing food and drink to the graves of the dead is widespread, and perhaps nearly universal. Such shared customs would, however, make it easier for one people to adapt additional funerary practices of another. The specific foods -- rice or wheat with raisins and honey -- and the days appointed for remembrance found, as they are, in both Russian and Native American Orthodoxy, suggest that there is a specific correlation between the two traditions.

[53]Eklutna information leaflet, 3.

[54]Morris, "Customs in Two Traditional Russian Communities," in David R. Counts and Dorothy A. Counts, eds., *Coping With the Final Tragedy: Cultural Variation in Dying and Grieving*, Amityville, NY: Baywood Publishing Company, Inc., 1991, 94.

Rifles and other personal effects are also visible on the grave, placed there, according to Smith's notes, by Mack's wife on the day of the funeral.[55]

Gravehouse and *Golubets*:

Although burial practices were certainly influenced and transformed by Russian Orthodoxy, similar Russian influences on the form, style, and decoration of the structures which mark many of the graves at Eklutna are more speculative. Yet, the gravehouses and their ornament closely correspond to Russian architecture and decoration. The Eklutna gravehouses include miniature gable-roofed houses, chapels, or structures with decorative elements which recall Russian *bochki* arches or onion domes, gambrel-roofed structures, and some with tiers, varied rooflines, and unusual profiles. None of these forms is typical of traditional Tanaina architecture prior to contact, but they do recall the imaginative wooden architecture of Northern Russia and Siberia.

Most of the Eklutna gravehouses are miniature gable-roofed structures enclosed by side walls and resembling tiny houses. A few have an open-slat framework covered by a plank roof, recalling a shed; several of them enclose smaller gravehouses. Many of the structures are decorated with ridgecrests incorporating various geometric patterns. This type of gable-roofed gravehouse with carved or sawn ridgecrest is nearly identical to that found in Russian Orthodox Skolt Lapp communities of Karelia and the Kola Peninsula in northern Russia, and in Old Believer cemeteries of the Russian North (Map 2). Other graves at Eklutna include tiered structures and some that resemble miniature churches or chapels. These, too, are also similar to types found in Russia.

Small house-like grave markers, while rare today, were still found throughout Russia during the first half of this century, when they were documented in photographs taken near the turn of the century. Several tiered monuments appear in the foreground of an older photograph of the Church of St. John the Forerunner (1786) in Kandalaksha, a village in the Arkhangelsk district on the southern edge of the Kola Peninsula (fig. 1.15).[56] The house on the right appears to have a decorative ridge crest, the ends of which project over gables. It also has a roofed cross at the western end, or foot of the grave. This can be compared with a similar tiered gravehouse in the left foreground of a photograph from Eklutna (fig. 1.16).

Three gravehouses are visible in the foreground of a photograph of the steep-roofed

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[55]A second photograph taken by Smith in 1924 shows a tombstone where the table had been in the 1923 photo.

[56]Igor Grabar, *Istoriia Russkovo Iskusstva: Architecktura*, Moscow: Izdanie I Knebel, 1909, 431.

Church of the Bogoyavleniya (1644), Eglomskaya Pustinya, in the Olonets district near Kargopol (fig. 1.17).[57] These appear to be small log structures with roofs formed by planks inserted into and extending down from the ridge crests. The crosses, however, rise from the centre of each small hut, rather than the end of the structure, as was customary.

Small gravehouses of this type, constructed of logs or planks, are of great antiquity in Russia and are described in various studies of Russian ethnography and folklore. W. R. S. Ralston, in *The Songs of the Russian People, as Illustrative of Slavonic Mythology and Russian Social Life*, published in 1872, mentions terms for grave monuments of various types. One of these, *golubets*, describes a gravehouse much like those at Eklutna and the Kola Peninsula:

> Upon the [grave] mound, it is supposed, a memorial was set up in the shape of a tent, or small wooden house, in which not only the soul might find rest and shelter when visiting the body in which it used to abide, but also the relatives of the dead when they came to mourn over his remains. Traces of this custom are still to be found in Russia. In the Government of Chernigof, for instance, the White-Russians still, in spite of ecclesiastical prohibitions, erect over graves a kind of log-hut. Such a construction is known in some other districts as a *Golubets*, a term sometimes applied to the roofed cross commonly set up over a grave.[58]

This passage, in addition to describing the gravehouse form of memorial, states that the hut construction was forbidden by the official Russian Orthodox church, and that the name used for the gravehouse was sometimes applied to the roofed cross alone. It also adds the suggestion that the *golubets* could be full size.

Felix J. Oinas expands this definition as applied to grave house architecture and its related forms, and adds the information that these were forbidden by the government as well as the church authorities:

> The same terms are also used for denoting various kinds of grave monuments, such as a wooden house-shaped structure with a pitched roof and a cross on top (structures of this type were forbidden by the government some time ago); or, more often, just a post or cross with covering roof over it. For grave monuments, the term *golubec* is usual, and *gólbéc*, *gólbcik*, *góbcik* infrequent. In the Don area, chapels in the cemetery are also called *golubcy*.[59]

Golubets is rarely found in contemporary Russian-English dictionaries. When it is listed, it is most commonly defined as a dish made of cabbage stuffed with rice or millet. This, at first, seems unrelated to funerary architecture. In older Russian dictionaries,

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[57]Ibid., 347.
[58]W. R. S. Ralston, *The Songs of the Russian People*, London: Ellis and Green, 1872, 330-331.
[59]Oinas, "Russian *Golubec*," 77.

however, the ancient and more comprehensive definitions relate complex meanings and show the rich associations between language and belief.[60] There are two dozen definitions for *golubets* and its related forms in the dictionary compiled by Vladimir Dal', including some which refer to architectural forms or details. Among the architectural definitions for *golubets* are the foundation pit or entrance into the cellar of a peasant home, a wooden addition to the stove, or the wooden bench near or behind the stove which was often used for sleeping.[61] A special house or barn with a hiding place for valuables was called a *golubets*, as was a wooden trunk for storing treasures. Finally, it is defined as a "grave monument which is cut from logs with a roof like a kiosk or house. Now forbidden. Also any monument, especially a cross with roof. *Golubets* and *goluboi* from *golub* (dove) but also *golubets* in meaning of house from *golbets* (Scandinavian)."[62] The varied meanings of the terms moved with settlers from Northern Russia to Siberia (Map 3).[63] Here, in addition to its meaning as a log house monument on a grave, the *golubets* can also be constructed of brick, or be simply a large box with a cross. A dictionary of Russian literary language defines *golubets* as "a construction of logs and boards over the graves. A little house that encloses the grave hill. Also a wooden cross with a roof. *Golubtsi* stand over the graves of Old Believers."[64] A dictionary of the language of the 11th - 17th centuries gives additional definitions of *golubets*. In the 11th and 12th centuries, the term was used for a treasure box for keeping holy objects, similar to an ark or catafalque. In the 14th to 16th centuries, it described part of the church, especially the rooms where the sepulchers holding the bones of saints were located. It also referred to stone containers, as in a tale about Constantinople where, "under the Church of the Saviour, there is holy water that is put into stone *golubtsi* and placed between the city and sea."[65] In the Medieval sense, this form of *golubets* is similar to a gravehouse in that it holds holy objects, such as the bones of the saints.

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[60] Vladimir Dal', *Tolkovii Slovar Zhivogo Belikorusskogo Yezika, Tom I.* Moskva: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatelstvo Inostrannikh i Natsionalnikh Slovarei, 1956, 370.

[61] A nineteenth-century account describing the method of building a peasant stove mentions the *golbets*: "...a rectangular box is made of boards and placed on the hearth, leaving a gap of 7 to 10 inches between it and the wall (the stove, of course, is almost always built in a corner); from the third side boards are fixed from the store-room (*golbets*) to a post set at the corner of the stove where the mouth should be and fixed by beams to both walls of the hut...." (R. E. F. Smith, "The Russian Stove." *Oxford Slavonic Papers.* New Series XVIII (1985), 100-101).

[62] Dal', 370.

[63] In Novosibirsk, *golubets* is defined as the space behind the stove, or the wide boards put between the stove and the wall where one could sleep. Here, too, it refers to the cellar or foundation pit, but can also mean the doorway or entrance into a cellar, or a secret hiding place in the cellar or behind the stove (A. Il Fedorova, *Slovar Russkikh Govorov Novosibirskoii Oblasti,* Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1979, 99).

[64] *Slovar Sovremennogo Russkogo Literaturnogo Yezika*, 242. The entry notes the use of this term for grave monuments in literary references from 1762, 1771, 1780, 1790, 1806, 1834, and 1847.

[65] *Slovar Russkogo Yezika*, IX-XVII bb. 69.

Confirming Ralston's observation that the term is applied equally to roofed crosses, or even roofed posts, Oinas notes that the name for cemetery chapels in some regions is also related to *golubets*. The house-shaped monument, according to him, was forbidden by the government. This differs slightly from Ralston's observation of the ecclesiastical prohibitions but most likely indicates that both church and state enacted regulations against the use of gravehouses. The probable reason for the prohibition, as well as one of the symbolic purposes of the *golubets*, can be inferred from remarks made by chroniclers and preachers as they attempted to discourage pre-Christian practices following the Baptism of Rus':[66]

> The high burial mounds of the pagan kings...are contrasted to the grave of the Christian princess Olga. Olga is buried by a priest in a grave *na meste* i.e., without a burial mound or the small wooden structure erected on it for the soul to rest during its journey to the other world.[67]

Niederle describes a gravehouse similar to the Eklutna type in his research in 1924 on ancient Slavic funerary traditions:

> Sometimes a canopy, in the shape of a roof or even a miniature house was erected above the grave. These structures of different kinds served one and the same purpose: in addition to protecting the grave, they functioned as the place of temporary sojourn or rest for the soul of the dead, while it was leaving the grave or returning to it.[68]

The original purposes of the gravehouse or roofed-post -- protection of the grave from animals and the elements, as well as protection of the soul hovering near the grave -- are reinforced by this last statement. The rationale for both these functions is deeply rooted in the past. The antiquity of these small gable-house monuments on graves in Russia is attested to by their appearance on carved wooden icons of the Calvary Cross, such as one illustrated in figure 1.18 from the Kem region near Arkhangelsk'. Made in 1593, this icon depicts a "Calvary Cross with the Passion Implements in the Cathedral." Usually, the cross shown on such icons stands at the top of a small hill or cave which covers the grave of Adam, represented by a skull.[69] Here, instead, a large cross surmounts a low gable-roofed house which contains the "Skull of Adam." This particular icon apparently recalls the actual use of gable-roofed house monuments on graves in Medieval Russia: "such

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[66]The traditional term for Russia's acceptance of Christianity under Vladimir in A. D. 988.

[67]Gail Lenhoff, "The Notion of 'Uncorrupted Relics'", in Boris Gasparov and Olga Raevsky-Hughes, eds. *Christianity and the Eastern Slavs*, Vol. 1. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993, 263.

[68]Quoted in Oinas, 81.

[69]A discussion of the significance of this feature in relation to the cross as a grave monument is found in Chapter 5.

crosses were popular in Northern Russia and were erected either on the grave or as a monument..."[70]

In the Transbaikal, the term *golubets* seems generally to apply to either the roofed cross or the house-like construction. Examples of these are found in the Cisbaikal near the Taltsy architectural preserve, which is located between Irkutsk and Lake Baikal (fig. 1.19 and Map 4). Three different, but similar, styles of *golubtsi* are shown in this photograph. The cemetery also has roofed and unroofed crosses without gravehouses. The *golubets* closest to the cemetery chapel is a small log construction with vertical planks forming the sloping roof (fig. 1.20). The roof planks are fitted into a miniature *shelom* or *okhlyupen* (a hollowed log or post) which forms the ridgecrest. The cross has a wide roof with carved *prichelini*. The middle *golubets* is made of squared logs with interlocking notched ends (fig. 1.21). The roof has wide horizontal planks surmounted by a thick plank serving as the ridge crest. The roofed cross at the end has carved decorations along the "eaves." The third gravehouse (fig. 1.19, left) is built of planks with three additional flat boards formed into a slightly rounded roof with no ridge crest. The cross, unlike those in the other two examples, rises from within the *golubets* instead of being placed next to the outside face.

Photographs attest that at least four *golubtsi* without crosses still remained in 1993 in the cemetery at Barguzin on the eastern shores of Lake Baikal (fig. 1.22). These memorials are constructed of logs or squared logs with vertical boards forming the gable roof. On one, although deteriorating, it can be seen that the ridegcrest imitates the *shelom* but is constructed with two separate boards now coming loose from the roof (fig. 1.23).

At Kugoti, Siberia, another gravehouse of squared log construction still survives, albeit in an even more ruinous state than those at Barguzin (figs. 1.24 through 1.26). The vertical roofing planks were slotted into the ridgecrest, and some of these survive in place on one side of the memorial (figs. 1.24 and 1.25). From the front, one can see the *prichelini* and the unroofed eight-cornered cross (fig.1. 26). The nails on the front were likely once used to hold an icon in place. Traces of red colour are still visible on the cross, as are very faint inscriptions.[71]

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[70]*Carved Icon-Stands and Wooden Sculpture of the Russian North*, From Catalogue of exhibition held in 1995 in Moscow, 91 and 164. The *tsata*, according to the Old Russian dictionary, was a medal that Russians wore, given to them by a prince as a reward for their courage. I am grateful to Ekaterina Pasnak bringing this source to my attention and for providing this, and other Old Russian translations in this chapter. The outer edge of the carved icon is inscribed with a prayer to the Virgin: "All of creation rejoices in you, O full of grace: Assembly of angels and the race of man. O sanctified temple and spiritual paradise, the glory of virgins, from whom God was incarnate and became a child. Our God before ages He made your body into a throne and your womb He made more spacious than the Heavens."

[71]According to an informant in Tarbagatai, Siberia, a similar house-like grave memorial was in the cemetery of the village of Barykino. She recalled having seen it as a child and was told it was made by people who did not live there anymore. At Kugoti, too, I was told *golubtsi* were made by an accord of Old Believers, specifically "Dark Believers," who had all died or moved away (Aug. 1996).

The Kugoti and Barguzin gravehouses, like those found on the Kola Peninsula, are similar in size to those in Eklutna. Other gravehouses are found at Sutton and Knik and scattered along the trails that connect old Tanaina villages. A photograph, illustrated in Chandonnet's booklet, was taken about 1898 at Old Tyonek and shows a small white spirit house in the lower right foreground.[72] Yet, based on written descriptions by priests, there must once have been gravehouses at Tyonek and Kasilof which were much larger and of a different style than the small monuments at Eklutna today.

Other Types of Gravehouses and Terms Used for Them:

The August 8, 1881, travel notes of Hieromonk Nikita, appointed as the Kenai missionary in 1880, describe a house which was shaped like a chapel, but large enough to accommodate many belongings of the deceased:

> We had time to see the cemetery and the grave of the former local chief, over which a small house in the shape of a chapel had been built. It had a door, a window and a table. Inside we found hanging on a wall his suit, wool topcoat, Zimmerman hat, etc. a complete outfit. On a table stood a samovar with a tea set, tea, sugar, toast, etc. There was also a gun, a revolver, powder, shot, bullets, tobacco, a tobacco pouch, three pairs of gloves embroidered with beads and very much valued by Kenai people, a wash basin, soap, a razor, etc., all things used daily by a well-to-do native. In general, Kenai Indians still follow their ancient pagan custom of putting things on the graves of their dead, believing that the dead continue to enjoy the same things as their living relatives...In Kasilov village, upon my advice, a native removed from a grave a large new samovar, which costs $30 to $40 here. Later he sold this samovar and was glad to get some profit out of a thing which otherwise would have remained useless on the grave.[73]

Townsend also includes a remark made by Ivan Petroff which not only confirms the use of such large and elaborate gravehouses, but also recounts the same or a similar incident involving Nikita's efforts to discourage the placement of goods in these. It also provides the valuable information that the house Petroff describes was placed over the burial of a Christian Indian:

> The bodies of chiefs and prominent persons are frequently placed in a structure resembling a small house with door and window, and gifts are deposited at the graves and burial-places. At the death of a chief it is the custom to carry all his belongings into the hut that shelters his remains. In the vicinity of Toyonek I saw such a burial-house nearly filled with articles most valuable in the eyes of the natives, among them several Russian

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[72]Chandonnet, 53, photo by Orvill Herning.

[73]Joan Townsend, "Journals of Nineteenth Century Russian Priests to the Tanaina: Cook Inlet, Alaska," *Arctic Anthropology* XI, 1 (1974), 10-11.

> samovars, worth $50 to $60 apiece, breech-loading arms, rifles, large numbers of blankets and deer-skins, richly-ornamented garments, etc. The deceased who had been thus honored was a Christian, and not long after my visit the Russian missionary proceeded to the burial-house and carried off all the articles of value and sold them at auction for the benefit of the church. No opposition was made at the time of this summary proceeding, but it is very probably that the resentment naturally caused thereby in the hearts of the natives will rankle there for years, until some opportunity presents itself for vengeance.[74]

Fall, in *Patterns of Upper Inlet Tanaina Leadership, 1741-1918*, described a new twist made by the Tyonek Tanaina to this larger gravehouse model:

> Benila Ts'ulyalen used the wealth he obtained in his trading ventures to enhance his prestige. An informant (cf DRHA 2:60, Alexan n.d.) described a "store" which this "qeshqa" (leader) operated at Tyonek. As the story goes: 'When his favorite wife died, he built a 20' x 20' store on top of his wife's grave. He put lots of grub and clothes in there...When the poor people run out of something, they take a pack and go over there and help themselves to whatever they needed. They never used to steal. Whatever they needed was in that store on top of his wife's grave...Rich guys went to his store and bought stuff. But poor people went over there and just took stuff. Just like a regular store there...And when it got one half empty, not much left, he told his people to fill it up again.'[75]

Neither in Townsend nor Fall is there any description of the style or ornamentation of the larger grave monuments at Tyonek, aside from the Nikita's remark that the grave he saw was in the form of a chapel, again implying that it covered the grave of a Christianized Native. Although he considered these structures to be the remnants of pagan traditions, there are Russian prototypes to these larger, more elaborate structures as well as to the small, colourful, and decorative spirit houses of Eklutna.

Some of the evidence for the use of similarly large gravehouses in Russia comes from literary and musical traditions. A large number of different types of Old Russian folk and spiritual songs are still used by groups of Old Believers in Russia and abroad, including the pre-Nikonian forms of liturgical singing (*znamenny* or neumatic chant), *dukhovnyi stikh* (spiritual verse), *byliny* (epic folk tales or songs), lyric songs and ballads, seasonal songs, wedding songs and laments, and keening (funerary laments).[76] The

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[74]Ibid., 25-26. Quoting Petrof, 1884, 163.

[75]James Arthur Fall, *Patterns of Upper Inlet Tanaina Leadership, 1741-1918*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Madison: University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1981, 289-290.

[76]See, for instance, James Bakst, *A History of Russian-Soviet Music*, New York: Dodd, Mead, & Co., 1966 reprint of 1962 edition; Margarita Mazo, *Old Believers: Songs of the Nekrasov Cossacks*, annotations to Smithsonian Folkways Recording, Washington, D.C.: Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural Studies, 1995; André Lischke, *Spiritual Chants of the Russian People*, Moscow: Conservatory of Moscow, 1993.

funerary laments are of particular importance here, for they offer evidence both for types of grave architecture and the beliefs about the spirit after death which contributed to the architecture's development. N. N. Veletskaia, for instance, provides a description of an archaic mortuary construction, or *golubets*, as it is given in an Old Russian funerary lamentation.[77] In this lamentation, a tomb is described with detailed precision: the house-like construction had grilled windows cut out; window frames with glass were put in; warm stoves made of brick were constructed; oak floors were laid; cross beams of maple were inserted. Then sugar-sweet dishes were laid out with honey drinks as offerings for the funerary feast.

Veletskaia notes that such "tombs" were widespread in the Russian North into the 19th century, and existed still in the 20th century as schematic models of the house, often with flat roofs and a little opening in the frontal walls. A heritage of pre-Christian funeral traditions, the practice of building such gravehouses was widespread in the 17th century. The Holstein Ambassador Adam Olearius mentions similar constructions in the account of his travels in Russia during this period: "Over the graves of the deceased Russians that were in some way wealthy...they put a little hut, in which a person could stand at full height."[78] There is evidence of a range of sizes and forms used for these constructions. James Cracraft refers to regulations enforced by the Holy Synod established by Peter in describing a type called the *budka*:

> ...in October 1723 the Synod took action to implement the tsar's decree that 'no little houses [*budki*] for the reading of the psalter are to stand over the graves in parish churchyards; rather, such prayers are to be said inside the churches.' At the same time, the Synod forwarded to the bishops the tsar's command that only 'important persons' should be buried in urban churchyards; everyone else was to be buried 'outside the towns...because of the harmful vapours which emanate from bodies which are sometimes infected.'[79]

A *budka* is defined as a booth, box, stall, or hut.[80] An example of an iron grave booth is found in the Lazarus Cemetery of the Alexander Nevsky Lavra (Monastery) in St. Petersburg (figs. 1.27 and 1.28). The booth is raised on a stone podium and has two steps leading to the door in front. The other three sides have openings with decorative ironwork

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[77]N. N. Veletskaia, *Yazicheskaya Simbolika Slavyanskikh Arkhaicherskikh Ritualov*, Moskva: Nauka. 1978, Chapter 1.

[78]Yuri Shirokov, tr., *History of Moscow*. Moscow: Progress Publishers. 1976, 59.

[79]James Cracraft, *The Church Reform of Peter the Great*, London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1971, 213.

[80]*Oxford Russian Dictionary*, 34. It is a "box, booth, or stall; a (rail.) trackman's hut, crossing-keeper's hut; sentry-box; dog kennel; prompt-box; telephone booth. Of course, many of these definitions are recent meanings, but the descriptions of a hut, kennel-shaped structure, box, booth, or stall reinforce the concept of architecture of varying sizes built over graves.

screens. The barrel roof has two decorative *kokoshnik*-shaped extensions[81] above each end which recall in their silouettes the *bochki* arches or onion domes of Russian churches. This form, with the stylized dome and extensions above the roof, is similar to a chapel-like gravehouse in Eklutna with a similar dome or *bochki* arch extension[82] (fig. 1.29). The iron booth in figures 1.27 and 1.28 has a cross on the apex above the door, and a head, perhaps a portrait of the deceased, at the back over an inscription which fills the rear wall.

In some cases, terms for gravehouse constructions refer to cemetery chapels, or to shacks where bodies could be stored while awaiting burial. In some dictionaries, one meaning for the word *dom*, often applied to the gravehouse in Russia, is a type of large funerary structure, capable of being filled with personal belongings like those described in Tyonek and Kasilof. In some cases, this term refers to a less elegant construction. *Slovar Russkogo Yazika, IX-XVII* defines *dom* as a place where people were buried in the 17th century.[83] It was called the "miserable house" and was built behind the city gates. It was a kind of barn or shack with a pit where the bodies of all those who had been killed or had died in the street were placed until spring. They were usually buried on the 7th Thursday after Easter. Ralston describes these types of structures as the *ubogie domui*, or "poor-houses":

> To these descriptions may be added one more, that of the old Russian practice of burying, at the commencement of every spring, the bodies of the unknown and uncared-for dead which had accumulated during the winter in the *Ubogie domui* - "poor-houses" set apart for the reception of the bodies of friendless strangers, or of persons who had been murdered or who had died suddenly, and, in fact, for the remains of all the waifs and strays of humanity. During the winter these corpses lay in pits dug within the "poor-houses;" in the spring charitable people met together, took the dead bodies from their temporary resting-place, and buried them decently in consecrated ground. There was a cemetery near Moscow called the "Potter's Field" - in allusion to that which was bought with the thirty pieces of silver "to bury strangers in" -to which the charitable citizens were wont to resort on the seventh Thursday after Easter, there to dig graves for the bodies, and to have divine service performed for the souls, of the friendless dead.[84]

Semik, the Thursday of the seventh week after Easter, had its origin in pre-Christian times and coincided with the custom of remembering the dead.

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[81] A decorative architectural feature, a miniature version of the bochka. Opolovnikov, 252.

[82] A form of gable used in Russian architecture with the shape of an ogee arch, or in silhouette an onion dome, culminating in a sharp point. Opolovnikov, 252.

[83] *Slovar Russkogo Yazika, XI-XVII*, 306. The *dom* here is also identified as a church (as the House of God), a church institution that has land, such as a monastery, and the house of the Archbishop which serves as the administrative centre of the area.

[84] Ralston, 333.

> On that day, all houses, yards, and town and village streets were decorated with birch-trees. Singing and wearing wreaths of flowers, the citizens of Moscow carried birches embellished with coloured ribbons to Mar'ina Roshcha (Mar'ina Grove; in those days on the outskirts of the city), where the main festival was held....On this day, the girls used to weave wreaths and hang them on the birch-trees. It was believed that if a girl's wreath became untwisted before the Trinity, she would get married that year.[85]

Here, we see the close relationship between death and the renewal of life, especially as embodied in the growth of new leaves and flowers in the spring, and in the foretelling of marriage. Linda J. Ivanits confirms the use of the *ubogie doma*, and the tradition of conducting the funeral rites on the seventh Thursday after Easter, in her study of Russian folk beliefs:

> The custom of placing the unclean dead in special shacks or pits (*ubogie doma*) until *semik* (in most places, the seventh Thursday after Easter), when funeral rites were performed, evidently arose soon after Christianization as a compromise between folk customs and church teaching. Chronicles attest to these burial shacks as early as 1215. Although these shacks were outlawed during the reign of Catherine the Great, materials from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries make it clear that the Russian peasant remained reluctant to place the unclean side by side with Christian dead.[86]

While older publications refer to both the house-like structure and the roofed cross or post by the same term, *golubets*, Alexander Opolovnikov and Yelena Opolovnikova use distinct names for each. Some Old Believers in Siberia also differentiate between various types of memorials, though they continue to use *golubets* for some gravehouses and roofed crosses, and *domovina* for other house-shaped memorials carved from larch logs, as in a ruined example from the Old Believer cemetery at Kalinovka in the Transbaikal (fig. 1.30), or for the coffin itself, also sometimes carved from a log. Opolovnikov and Opolovnikova, on the other hand, refer to the house-like monument as the *domovina* rather than *golubets*, and the roofed cross or pole as the *stolbets*:

> Old burial grounds are now extremely rare, though even ten or twenty years ago they were still common in a few virtually uninhabited and isolated northern areas of the country....These ancient cemeteries - apart from those in the Yakutia region of Siberia - adhered to the rite of the Old Believers. Their characteristic grave memorials are the *domovina* and the *stolbets*. The *domovina* was an oblong rectangle under a tiny, double-sloping roof of horizontal or vertical boards. It was built from logs (the older and rarer ones) or plain boards. The *domovina*, whose size varied with the sex and age of the deceased, was placed directly onto the grave-mound and served

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[85]Alla Sytova, *The Lubok: Russian Folk Pictures - 17th to 19th Century*, Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers, 1984, 131 and 152.

[86]Linda J. Ivanits, *Russian Folk Beliefs*, New York: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 1989, 120.

> to decorate the grave and to protect it from damage. More importantly, perhaps, it symbolized the Old Believers' conviction that the spirit of the deceased lived on in the *domovina* itself; the word derived from *dom* (house) and was a miniature version of a simple *izba* with a *brus* type plan. Its roof was complete with *shelom* and *prichelini* (the latter with carved suns and other symbols originating in pagan times).[87]

This passage describes several elements which are remarkably close to those characteristic of the Eklutna gravehouses: the frequent use of a small gabled house with a roof built of logs or planks; the use of both horizontal or vertical boards on the sloping roof; variation in size to indicate the age and status of the deceased; the decoration with solar or other pre-Christian motifs which probably had been assigned new Christian interpretations; and the structure's function as a refuge or house for the spirit of the deceased.

Gravehouses in a Russian Orthodox Lapp cemetery in the Murmansk region show striking similarities to the Eklutna structures, also (fig. 1.31). The structure in the foreground appears to have stones holding down the edges of a blanket or grave covering underneath. Constructed of planks or squared logs, the roof has horizontal boards surmounted by a sawtooth ridge crest. The other houses vary in size, and some appear to have painted decoration emphasizing their vertical roof planks. Most structures have a cross at one end, some roofed.[88] Karl Nickul shows a similar grave from an Orthodox Lapp family burial ground in the 1930's in *The Lappish Nation* .[89] Like the gravehouses at Taltsy, it is long and low, and includes the roofed cross, but also has a carved sawtooth ridge crest and other features similar to the Eklutna graves.

Opolovnikov provides illustrations of gravehouses from the Murmansk region in *Russkii Sever*.[90] Rather than crosses, these memorials have roofed posts at one end (figs. 1.32 and 1.33). Small windows of various shapes are cut into the western faces of the house walls:

> There was a tiny window in the west wall for communicating with the soul of the departed, so tiny that an adult hand could hardly squeeze through. The window was cut according to a number of traditional designs, circular, semi-circular, square, oblong and rhomboid.[91] On special days relatives

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[87]Alexander Opolovnikov and Yelena Opolovnikova, *The Wooden Architecture of Russia: Houses, Fortifications, Churches*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1989, 146.

[88]Lapp cemetery, Iokanga. S. P. Tolstova, *Narodi Mira - Etnograficheskie Ocherki: Narodi Evropeiskoyi Chasti SSSR, I-II.*

[89]Karl Nickul, *The Lappish Nation: Citizens of Four Countries*, Bloomington: Indiana University, 1977, fig. 47, Grave in Sollaz, family burial ground.

[90]Alexander Opolovnikov, *Russkii Sever*, Moskva: Stroiizdat, 1977.

[91]These appear to be solar motifs, similar to those found on ridge crests of the Eklutna gravehouses which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

> would place little presents in the *domovina* for the loved one: wool, colourful material, needles and thread for women, hunting and fishing equipment for men. Toys were left for the children, and food and small coins for all the dead. Such gifts were sacrosanct, safe from even the most cynical and hard-bitten criminal.[92]

As has been noted above, the offerings of food and personal items were also important at Eklutna and elsewhere in the Cook Inlet region. Whether called *golubets*, *domovina*, *ubogie doma*, *budka*, *chasovenik*, or *stolbets*, architectural structures which held remains or marked burials were common in Russia prior to the seventeenth century, and continued to be used in Old Believer cemeteries into the twentieth century. Decorative elements, and the symbolism expressed by the structure itself, were tied to Old Russian funerary practices and beliefs. These traditions combined Christian with pre-Christian concepts, which in part explains why such structures would have been forbidden at about the same time as other religions reforms were enacted.

By contrast, descriptions and accounts of similar structures in the northern Pacific region of the Americas indicate that gravehouses of all types are relatively recent, only having been used since contact with Europeans in the eighteenth century. Furthermore, there are close parallels between all types of gravehouses in Russia and North America, where the construction of these likewise shows greater similarity to Russian than Native American tradition.

The many references to and descriptions of gravehouses, and the rich linguistic evidence itself, confirm the former importance the gravehouse had in Russia, especially during the period coinciding with Russia's expansion into Siberia and North America. The Eklutna graves appear to imitate Russian architectural forms, both religious and domestic, and are similar in size, shape, and decoration to gravehouses in Northern Russia and Siberia, as the following chapters shall further demonstrate. Gravehouses along the coast of Southeast Alaska and British Columbia have distinct similarities to both the shack or shed type of Russian burial structures, and to the elaborate and well-crafted house described in Russian funerary laments. It is obvious that in form, decoration, and function, gravehouses in the Pacific Northwest are directly related to earlier forms found throughout Russia. The gravehouses on both sides of the Bering Strait fall into numerous types, and the following chapter will compare examples from Russia and North America of each of these observed during the field research or identified in photographic archives.

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[92]Opolovnikov and Opolovnikova, 146.

Chapter 2: Types of Gravehouses and Their Distribution in Eurasia and the Northern Pacific Region

Gravehouses in European Russia, Siberia, and the Northern Pacific fall into a distinct typology.[1] The types include the cache or crib structure, box burials, tent-like grave covers, miniature houses of various sizes, pavilion-like open-walled sheds and roofed crosses, miniature chapels, rounded-roofed sheds or houses, long sheds with three closed walls and one open, and log burials or monuments shaped to resemble a miniature house. These various forms of grave-markers, collectively, can be called *golubtsi*, besides other names, as Chapter 1 discusses. The gravehouses vary in size, appearance, and, to some degree, in function. Yet, they are related to one another and fall under the same general designation. Descriptions and distributions of each of these forms of gravehouse are discussed in the remainder of this chapter.

Shed, Cache, or Crib Gravehouses:

The shed gravehouse is widely distributed along the coast from the Northern Tlingit region near Yakutat to the Columbia River Basin, and in the interior of the Yukon Territory, British Columbia, and Alaska (Maps 5 and 6). It appears to have been most commonly used for burials of shamans and may have derived, at least in part, from storage huts or the *ubogie doma* of Russia. The architecture is often indistinguishable from *klet*-form storage caches, either raised on posts or built at ground level. This form of architecture was introduced to aboriginal Siberian peoples by European Russians when they began to explore and settle Siberia. These caches (*labazi*), like shed or cache gravehouses, are often of log construction with sod, log, or plank roofs which can be flat, single-sloped, or gabled. They can be built directly on the ground, or elevated on one, two, or four posts or logs.[2] These Russian caches are distinct from traditional First Nations house or cache constructions and appear to have been adopted by Native Americans in the Alaska and Yukon at the same time they began building Russian-type log structures for housing, just as Russian building materials and techniques were adapted by aboriginal Siberians.[3] Prior to contact, for example, the caches of the Southern Tutchone consisted of

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[1]Siberia and the Russian Far East are part of Russia today. The specific designations used here emphasize the different regions which were annexed by European Russia from the sixteenth century on, and even today have a special character and ethnic makeup.

[2]Opolovnikova and Opolovnikov illustrate such caches located in Irkutsk Province, Siberia, and in Archangelsk Province and Karelia in the Russia North, *Wooden Architecture*, 76-78.

[3]Oral communications, Kwaday Dan Kenji (Long Ago People's Place), Champagne, Yukon Territory, 1996; Eklutna and Kenai, 1996.

underground constructions, or of platform or pole caches rather than log buildings or elevated huts.

Two flat-roofed shed or shack gravehouses in a Yakut cemetery are illustrated in a photograph accompanying Waldemar Jochelson's research on the Yukaghir and the Yukaghirized Tungus for the Jesup North Pacific Expedition at the beginning of the twentieth century (fig. 2.1 and Map 7).[4] In his comments on these structures, Jochelson describes them as square log structures, "like small storehouses," covered with sod.[5] These were placed directly over the grave.

Some of these storehouses were elevated and had plank or log roofs, such as the gable-roofed Russian storage cache now located at the Kenai Museum. Such a structure resembled the aboriginal elevated mortuary box used for storing ash-chests or remains. Thus, the Russian log cache can be seen as a precursor to the Native American ground-level storehouses for ash-chests or gravehouses erected over burials in more recent times.

Elevated log caches of a Russian type used for storing ashes or remains of the deceased are most common in reference to post-contact practices in Southeast Alaska, particularly among the Tlingit. Several eyewitnesses to Tlingit funerals, quoted in George Emmons's study of the Tlingit, describe elevated structures with either gable- or single-sloped roofs. George Wardman, for example, observed a cremation in Sitka in 1879. The residue of ash and bone, "along with some of the wood ashes, was placed in a box, which was deposited in a sort of small hen-coop on stakes, scores of which dot the hill behind the village."[6] Emmons also consulted Mrs. Eugene Willard's *Life in Alaska*, taking notes on her description of the burial of a Chilkoot baby boy at Haines:

> Cremation took place on a little hill, some distance from the houses. Here the ashes were put into a box and the latter was set in a miniature house on four high stakes. The graveyard looked like a village of such small houses. On the night after the cremation, a feast for the dead was held.[7]

One of the most common forms of the cache type of gravehouse was not elevated, but consisted of a log framework with a slightly sloping roof. Its form was identical to that of the *klet*-form Russian storage cache built directly on the ground, and probably to the *ubogie doma*, or "poor-houses," used to store bodies in Russia, described in Chapter 1.

Found primarily in Southeast Alaska and the Yukon, this appears to have been one

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[4]Waldemar Jochelson, *The Yukaghir and the Yukaghirized Tungus*, (Volume IX of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, edited by Franz Boas), Leiden and New York: E. J. Brill, Ltd., and G. E. Stechert, 1926, Plate XV, fig. 2, 229.
[5]Ibid., 229.
[6]George Wardman (1884:63-64) quoted in George Thornton Emmons, *The Tlingit Indians*, 276.
[7]Emmons, 277. Mrs. Willard was the wife of a Presbyterian missionary posted at Haines in the early 1880's (citing Willard, 1884:255).

of the earliest forms of gravehouse in the Pacific Northwest and most closely associated with the burial of shamans. Like the *ubogie doma*, they held remains rather than marking an interment. Emmons observed several gravehouses of this type and described one similar to a Chilkat River grave photographed in 1883-1885 (fig. 2.2):

> The ordinary gravehouse was of rough or squared logs, eight or ten inches in diameter, notched and fitted over each other near the ends, thus forming a permanent crib work that only the elements and time could obliterate. It was about six feet wide, seven feet deep, and six or more feet high in front. The roof of two or more overlapping layers of heavy split boards and bark, laid lengthwise from front to rear, with an incline to shed water, was often weighted down with heavy logs and boulders. Whether built up from the ground or resting on four stout corner posts, the heavy split flooring was raised a foot or more from the foundation. Often the front was covered with perpendicular, smoothed planks on which was carved or painted an animal figure, or such a figure surmounted the structure. Sometimes carved corner posts acting as spirit guards were placed in front; sometimes a Chilkat blanket was hung over the face of the hut. The gravehouse always faced the water, wherever it was placed, either on shore or mountainside.[8]

Elsewhere, Emmons stated that this type of gravehouse is the oldest he had observed, and that some "were so decayed that they must have dated back well to the early half of the nineteenth century."[9] He concluded that the earliest of the shed-type houses were constructed of logs, sometimes faced with boards across the front.

> Gravehouses of later construction were wholly of planks, and in all cases there was a floor raised above the ground....Later, gravehouses followed no particular pattern. There were built of boards, with high pitched [gable] roofs, windows, and rude attempts at ornamentation. with the advent of missionaries and conversion of the people, burial [inhumation] replaced cremation; fenced enclosures, crosses, and tombstones took their places among the old gravehouses.[10]

A log crib gravehouse with no decoration, similar to those described by Emmons, was photographed and sketched by Albert P. Niblack about 1885-1887.[11] The illustration shows the log structure with either a single-sloping or flat roof at the top of a hill. The broken canoe of the deceased is in the foreground. E. P. Allen made a series of photographs in 1897 of a log-crib gravehouse on Duke Island, showing both the exterior and interior of the structure. A description of it or of a similar gravehouse on Duke Island was included by Dorsey in *A Cruise Among the Haida and Tlingit Villages*:

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[8]Emmons, 395. The photograph also appeared in the *American Museum Journal*, Vol. VIII, May, 1908, no. 5, cover and 70-72.
[9]Emmons, *Tlingit Indians*, 285.
[10]Ibid., 286.
[11]Niblack 1890: Plate LXV, Figs. 346-349, reproduced in Kan, "Memory Eternal," 39, figure 2.

> ...We were rounding a point on Duke Island, when we espied one of these little houses perched far up on a rocky point which was piled high with innumerable drift. We were soon ashore with the camera and found ourselves well repaid for our pains. The house was about thirty years old, and its roof was covered with a thick growth of moss. It was about five feet high and nearly six feet square. Removing a portion of one of the walls, we could see the body, which had been carefully wrapped in several cedar-bark mats, and tied into a neat bundle with stout cedar-bark rope. Over the bundle were branches of bog myrtle, and under the head was a box. Removing the wrapping still further, we disclosed the desiccated body of a woman doctor. In one hand she clasped a long knife, its steel blade entirely wasted away, leaving only the handle. In the other hand was a beautifully carved wooden pipe inlaid with finely polished abalone shells....[12]

These examples indicate that the log-crib gravehouse was used for burials of Tlingit shamans along the coast of Southeast Alaska from the early to the middle nineteenth century; as such, this type probably represents one of the earliest forms of gravehouse in this region. Log crib gravehouses are depicted in photographs from the Chilkat River in north Lynn Canal to Duke Island in the Southern Panhandle of Alaska, but are also noted among peoples in the Yukon Territory.[13] In the Yukon, too, this is considered to be one of the older types of houses which, in some cases, held cremations rather than burials:

> The old houses for holding cremations are almost always square, somewhat higher walled [than tent-type], and have single-pitched roofs. They usually lack windows and are made of roughly split and adzed logs. Painted trim, if any, is of red ochre paint.[14]

Variations to the log crib or cache type of gravehouse are also found throughout Southeast Alaska. These structures are of a similar shape, but are sometimes built of planks rather than logs, and use traditional totemic figures or designs in the decoration. Four crib or cache type gravehouses are shown in a photograph of the Hoonah cemetery (fig. 2.3). These appear to be constructed of planks and the front of one is decorated with a traditional form-line design.

The later decoration of the cache-type gravehouse sometimes included three-dimensional sculpture, especially in examples from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. T. W. Carlyon photographed several of the Tahltan (Athabascan) graves at

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[12]Dorsey, as recorded from his article by Dan Savard on reverse of Field Museum photo 857, Provincial Archives, October 26, 1977.

[13]See, for example, 1888 photographs by G. T. Emmons of Thluhuggu (Grouse Point near Icy Strait in the Hoonah area), an 1888 Emmons photograph from Killisnoo, an undated photo by Winter and Pond of a shaman's grave near Sitka, E.P. Allen's photographs from 1897 of a shaman's grave on Duke Island near Metlakatla, an undated photo by Case and Draper of a shaman grave in Klawan, and possibly the same grave photographed in 1902 by C. F. Newcombe (near Hydaburg). Emmons photographed a log crib shed with sloping roof in the Upper Skeena River village of Kitzegukla in 1910. McClellan notes this type among the Southern Tuchone, Tagish, and Inland Tlingit (McClellan, *My Old People Say*, 249-250).

[14]McClellan, 249.

Telegraph Creek, B.C. Although undated, on the basis of a comparison with later photographs of the same houses, Carlyon's must have been taken prior to 1912. In one, several gravehouses line a ridge overlooking the Stikine River (fig. 2.4). The house on the left appears to rest on a sledge and has a six-pane window in the front wall and a gable roof. In the centre is a cache-type house constructed of planks. It has a flat roof and appears to rest on a log foundation. A small six-pane window in the side wall is visible and a sculpted wolf head emerges from the front wall. Other tombs in the photograph include a grave box elevated on two poles, and several other modified cache-like structures, one of which has a decorative fence around the upper edge. Another of Niblack's illustrations shows a chief's grave in Wrangell. It is of a traditional log-cache type with a single-sloping roof, but the roof is surmounted by a large carving of a wolf.[15]

In some of the later examples, the cache-type gravehouse is completely transformed into a totemic animal, as illustrated in a photograph of a gravehouse in Klukwan taken in 1900 by H. G. Barley of Skagway (fig. 2.5).[16] The squared-log base supports an upper structure of planks. An extension, representing the snout of a wolf with teeth bared, is attached to the front wall of the gravehouse. Two vertical planks extend above the front corners of the house to represent the wolf's ears, and the eyes are painted on the front wall. These later forms seems to indicate an adaptation of a Russian form of cache architecture, sometimes used in Siberia or European Russia for tombs, combined with traditional mortuary art to become a new and distinct Native American architecture.

Shed-like graves were also found in Haida villages. They are, however, relatively rare and may have been introduced into the region by the Tlingit. MacDonald notes the ruins of shed roof gravehouses in Haina,[17] and square-timbered shed gravehouses as well as box-like crib graves of shamans in Cumshewa,[18] Skedans,[19] and Tanu.[20] He also describes shamans' graves at Kiusta, Kung, and Yan. These structures are a cross between the crib- and box-type of grave:

> Each consisted of a square, crib-like structure with two narrow corner posts at the rear and two elaborately carved larger posts at the front. The floor of the mortuary, meant to support a single shaman's body, was raised about one-half metre above the ground on supporting rails that ran through holes in the sets of front and back

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[15]Structures which combine log or planks with totemic effigies are illustrated in photographs from the Tahltan region, especially at Telegraph Creek, from Klukwan (some taken about 1898-1909), from Thluhuggu (Grouse Point -- a shaman's grave here is very similar to the Telegraph Creek example), and from Wrangell.

[16]See Neg. 73-115, Roger D. Pinneo Collection, (73-23-39) University of Alaska Fairbanks.

[17]MacDonald, 62.

[18]Ibid., 69.

[19]Ibid., 83.

[20]Ibid., 86.

> posts. These structures had flat board roofs weighted down with heavy rocks which tended to make them collapse inward after a few years.[21]

The Haida shaman crib-grave may represent a traditional form of burial, then, while the shed-roofed cache gravehouse is more likely influenced directly by Russian forms, or indirectly via the Tlingit following their own contacts with Russians.

Tent Grave Covers:

As noted above, Niederle described some gravehouses in Russia as consisting simply of the roof alone. Ralston, too, observed that a tent was sometimes set upon the grave as a memorial and was called by the same term as a gravehouse. Wooden tent-type markers are distributed widely, especially in western Canada and Southeast Alaska. They appear to be related to pavilion-type gravehouses, discussed below, although the latter are usually more complex and decorative. Most of the tent-type gravehouses are small and simple gable roofs which cover the grave. Figure 2.6 is a photograph taken near the turn of the century by B. B. Dobbs of gravehouses on the Lower Yukon River in Alaska at Andreafski (Koyukon). Some of these are gable structures, but at least four of the graves visible are triangular structures resembling wooden tents.

The ruins of a double triangular tent-type gravehouse are shown in figure 2.7, from the old cemetery at Hazelton, B. C. (Tsimshian). Other wooden tent-type structures are described in Appendix I, as seen in photographs from Telegraph Creek (Tahltan), the Peace River District and Hudson's Hope region (Beaver), Fort St. James (Upper Carrier), Nulato (Koyukon), St. Michael's (Yup'ik), Kitwanga (Tsimshian), Klukwan (Tlingit), Pennock Island/Ketchikan (Tlingit), Takush Harbour/Smith Inlet (Kwakiutl-Quawshelah), Rivers Inlet (Kwakiutl-Heiltsuk), Blunden Harbour (Kwakiutl-Nakwakto), Alert Bay (Kwakiutl-Nimpkish), Quattishe (Kwakiutl-Quatsino), Campbell River (Kwakiutl-Euclataw/Campbell River), Comox (Coast Salish-Comox), Nootka (Northern Nootka/Nu-cha-nulth), and Ahousat (Central Nootka/Nu-cha-nulth). They are, therefore, very widespread in North America as well as in Russia.

Salisbury saw a tent-like gravehouse among the pavilion- and house-type structures on a rocky knob at Canoe Pass near Craig:

> In one corner of the jungle a small tent had been set up over the grave and the brambles and weeds grew as rank within it as in a hothouse. In other places, simply a low fence surrounded the grave, while in some cases the graves have already become so encompassed by the fiercely growing jungle as to be completely

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[21]Ibid., 170.

> inaccessible...Near the tent-covered grave hung a heavy Hudson bay blanket on which totem figures...had been outlined in pearl buttons.[22]

McClellan observes that the double-pitched roof set directly on the ground, "rather like a wooden version of a pup tent," and a structure resembling a low-sided wall tent were early forms of the gravehouse used to cover inhumations in the Yukon Territory.[23] Cloth tents, canvas, or blankets are temporarily placed over graves in Southern Tuchone cemeteries until the memorial potlatch is held, when the gravehouse is constructed.[24] This recalls a similar practice at Eklutna where a blanket covers the grave for forty days, after which the gravehouse is erected. Whether of cloth or wood, the tent-type cover provides some protection for the grave itself, as well as comfort and protection for the spirit.

Box Burials:

Box-tombs, sometimes also called *golubtsi* in Russia, appear in photographs and were described by early observers in both Russia and North America. These were used in Northern Russia, Siberia, the Aleutian Islands, the Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta region of Western Alaska, and in the Arctic. For reasons which will be discussed below, this type of burial may follow a structural form that was common to various cultures on both sides of the Bering Strait prior to contact. In Russia, they are synonymous with the gravehouses, as indicated by the common term used for them, but in Siberia and North America, box-burials appear to be precursors of the gravehouses, and were in some cases traditional forms of memorials.

As noted above, box-type markers are also called *golubtsi* in Russia. This indicates that they were likely an early form of gravehouse, especially when combined with roofed crosses as many are. An example of this type from the Murmansk region is shown in figure 2.8 (Kovda). Like pavilion-type markers, box-type structures are sometimes used as roadside crosses or memorials in addition to their function in cemeteries. It is probable that, like the cache- and tent-type markers, these are precursors of the miniature house type of construction, and that they once enclosed the body of the deceased rather than marking a burial below the surface.

Box-type markers with Russian crosses, roofed or unroofed, appear in

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[22]O. M. Salisbury, *The Customs and Legends of the Thlinget Indians of Alaska*, New York: Bonanza Books, 1962, 226.

[23]McClellan, 259; personal observation of a tent covering a grave at Haines Junction, Yukon Territory, 1996.

[24]June Helm, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 6: Subarctic*, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1981, 501; McClellan, *My Old People Say*, 250.

photographs from the Aleutian Islands, in Yup'ik areas such as St. Michael's and Russian Mission, and in Cook Inlet, where early photographs of the Kenai cemetery include similar structures. There are fewer early descriptions of these, perhaps because they more closely resemble above-ground stone chest tombs elsewhere in Europe, and thus, may have seemed less remarkable to visitors. Furthermore, this type of marker appears not to have been forbidden in Russia and so was used in the cemeteries of official Russian Orthodox churches. This may help explain why they are found in regions of Alaska that were generally more closely associated with the centres of Russian Orthodox missionary activity, such as the Aleutians, the Lower Yukon River, Kodiak Island, and the Lower Cook Inlet.

Elevated boxes in Native American cemeteries with traditional forms of decoration and grave goods, such as those found along the Yukon, Innoko, and Kuskokwim Rivers, have been the subject of more notice in the literature. E. W. Nelson, for example, visited several village along the Innoko River in December, 1880, and recorded the Festival to the Dead as he observed it in Anvik. He was also able to observe funerary customs in the area, and among his remarks are descriptions of the elevated grave boxes in the cemeteries located on the high banks above the river:

> The boxes are made of rude hewn planks fastened together by wooden pegs...A grave box at the latter place [the graveyard on the bank opposite the village] was about 3 1/2 by 4 feet horizontal measurement and 3 feet deep. It was strongly made of planks. The bottom was one foot above the ground. The box was supported by a post at each corner, these posts extending three feet above the top of the box. Two feet over the top of the box was a flat roof of split logs covered with birch bark. As a rule, these boxes and posts are made with a rude symmetry that is creditable to the skill of the maker.[25]

In some cases, carved posts about four feet high representing human heads and bodies were placed before the graveboxes:

> These images are very well made and all of the newer ones had on skirts of drilling or some other cloth. Most of them were sheltered from the weather by an A-shaped roof. I was informed that these figures represent the dead in boxes behind them, and the relatives place new clothing upon them and make food offerings at the period of the festivals to the dead. At the end of a year from a person's death, the relatives go to the grave and open the box to see if the clothing needs replacing. If it is in good preservation, the box is reclosed and it is optional whether they visit it again or not. If the clothing is decayed, then new articles are spread over the body and the box is closed again.[26]

Further north, some graveboxes of the Inupiaq (Innuit) were likewise decorated by masks

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[25]James Van Stone, ed., *E. W. Nelson's Notes on the Indians of the Yukon and Innoko Rivers, Alaska*, Chicago: Fieldiana Anthropology/Field Museum of Natural History, Vol. 70, 1978, 29-30.
[26]Ibid., 30, footnote 13.

or effigies, as seen in an undated photograph from the Barrett Willoughby Collection (fig. 2.9).[27] Here, the box is neither elevated nor painted, but support stakes are visible along the edges of the box, as is the carved mask which rests on the top.

The graveboxes at the mouth of the Innoko River were photographed by Nelson on December 7, 1880.[28] He noted about thirty graves at the time of his visit, and stated that some had been washed away by flooding. As at Anvik, most of the graves had long, peeled poles placed upright in the ground before the gravebox, but these had rifles and other goods fastened to them instead of the effigy figures he had observed at Anvik.[29] These graveboxes, again like those at Anvik, were made of hewn slabs with supports and roofs. Many of these, however, are described by Nelson as decorated with red and black paint or with other articles of foreign manufacture:

> On boxes containing men were usually painted in black the figure of three or four reindeer [caribou]. On the side of one boy's grave the same figures were marked and the box was studded with brass buttons. On the boxes containing women were painted in black the figures of the present style adapted from the Innuits. Hanging under the roof of one woman's grave was her head belt and hair ornaments. Upon a post, and sheltered from the weather by a double sloping roof, was a good pair of snowshoes. Sheltered in the same way and placed before a man's grave was a bow and quiver full of arrows. Drawn completely around some of the grave boxes was a width of drilling or ticking and several small strips of cloths fluttered from the tops of the poles. This cloth about the grave box is renewed on each of the two years following the death....[30]

Nelson also described the burial of a shaman. Here, the box was only slightly elevated above the ground. It was painted red, probably red ochre, and decorated with figures of a deer, an otter, and a sealskin oil bag, in black paint. The box itself rested on two logs of wood which elevated it slightly above the ground. The box measured about three and a half feet long by fifteen inches square at the ends. According to Nelson's informants, this was the shaman's second grave box, his first having already fallen into disrepair.[31]

Frederic Whymper also observed the burial and mourning customs among the Koyukon and near Nulato. According to him, the dead were not interred, but placed in oblong boxes raised on posts. These "four-post coffins," as he calls them, were sometimes decorated with strips of skin hanging over them or with various possessions of

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[27]Barrett Willoughby (72-116-67).
[28]Sometime after 1895, John Wright Chapman photographed a grave near Anvik of a man said to have died before 1884 which depicts the killing of a beluga, and Ales Hrdlicka photographed in 1929 a grave on the lower Innoko River of a caribou hunter. These photographs are in Helm, 611, along with one of the photographs taken by Nelson.
[29]VanStone, *Nelson*, 31.
[30]Ibid.
[31]Ibid.

deceased, such as the canoe and paddles placed on the top of the box. Other small possessions were often put inside with the corpse.[32] Whymper describes a four-post grave-box enclosed with rails, and flag waving over it at "Co-Yukuk" village,[33] and states that these box-tombs are common to the coast peoples as well as along the Yukon River.[34]

Photographic evidence, too, indicates the use of elevated or above-ground box-tombs along the Arctic Ocean and Bering Sea coasts. Some box burials of the northern Arctic are elevated on poles or posts as illustrated in the photograph taken in 1894 by F. H. Nowell at the Teller Reindeer Station at Port Clarence, Alaska (fig. 2.10). Here, two graves are visible: one is a scaffold burial supported by a framework of lashed poles. The other is a box-type burial raised on a sturdy framework of timbers. The rifle and other possessions of the deceased have been suspended beneath the elevated box.

Further down the coast, E. J. McDaniel described box burials accompanied by sleds and other possessions of the deceased in letters he sent to his family from St. Michael's in 1899:

> They bury their dead right back of the houses on top of the ground. They put the dead in an old box on top of the ground, then they drive four stakes around the box and pile some driftwood on top. Next they hang his best bow and arrow on one of the stakes, and on the three other stakes hang his best dog whip and paddles. They also pile his canoe and dog sled on top of the wood....[35]

The custom of breaking the sled and leaving it on or beside a box-tomb is common among the indigenous peoples of the Arctic on both sides of the Bering Strait, although this itself may represent a conflation of traditional customs with those introduced after contact with Europeans. Figure 2.11 shows a box-type marker from a grave on Sledge Island off the coast of Alaska's Seward Peninsula. A broken sled lies inverted on the ground near the box burial, along with other goods. This is similar to a Kazeem box-burial in Siberia (fig. 2.12), which also includes a traditional broken sled and other funerary goods, as well as a Russian Christian cross. Among the Khanty and Kazeem, a small wooden shed made of four or five logs covered with four or five pieces of sod was also used, after contact, to mark graves.[36]

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[32]Frederick Whymper, *Travel and Adventure in the Territory of Alaska*, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966, 186 (illustration of Co-Yukon Four-post coffin with baidarka on top on 187).
[33]Ibid., 199.
[34]Ibid., 186.
[35]Jeff Kunkel, ed., *Alaska Gold: Life on the Frontier, 1898-1906, Letters and Photographs of the McDaniel Brothers*, San Francisco: Scottwall Asso. Publ., with the California Historical Society, 1997, 26.
[36]Andrei V. Golovnev, "From One to Seven: Numerical Symbolism in Khanty Culture," *Arctic Anthropology*, 31, 1 (1994), 64-65.

A parallel type of box burial of a Tungus (Evenk) shaman was recorded in Siberia by Jochelson (fig. 2.13). Like some in North America, the Tungus elevated grave-box was placed on cross logs lying on the ground, although the platform had collapsed by the time Jochelson recorded it. The grave consisted of an inner box made of a tree trunk and an outer box of boards. The box was supported on the sides by poles which were driven into the ground. These posts were decorated with figures of wooden birds, said to be divers, the spirit guides of the shaman buried here, and common among both the Yakut and northern Tungus shamans. The heads of the birds placed near the head of the deceased were turned towards the sunset, while those at the feet faced sunrise. Jochelson observed that the wood for the coffin and box was worked with an iron ax, but no metal nails were used in the construction of the tomb. The willow boards were sewn. According to his guide, the shaman buried here had died about one hundred years before, thus, about 1796.[37] A recent study of the photographs of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition suggests that above-ground graves were wide-spread because of carnivores and permafrost.[38]

Although it would at first appear that the box-tombs represent an indigenous form of burial, ethnographic literature suggests that they are adaptations which have retained many traditional elements. Most descriptions of customs in the Arctic and Bering Sea region where box-type burials were found by the end of the last century indicate that, prior to contact with European Russians, practices were somewhat different, often involving exposure or cremation, as shall be discussed in Chapter 4.

Box-type monuments are widely distributed. They appear in photographs or literature, for example, at Telegraph Creek (Tahltan-Athabascan), at the Stony Creek Reserve (Stony Creek-Upper Carrier/Athabascan), at Kenai (Tanaina-Athabascan), in the Aleutians (Shemya, Amchitka, Eagle Harbour, Belkovsky - Aleut), in the Yukon-Kuskokwim region (St. Michael's - Yup'ik), in the Arctic (at Port Clarence, Quartz Creek near Nome, Point Hope, Sledge Island, Hotham Inlet, and Barrow - Inupiaq).

Box burials associated with totem poles in Southeast Alaska and British Columbia, by contrast, should be considered separately, and almost certainly were used traditionally before contact with Europeans. These include the shaman box-burials of the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian, as well as some box burials in caves and trees found along the lower British Columbia coast.

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[37]Jochelson, 227-228. Siberian graves will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

[38]Laurel Kendall, et. al., *Drawing Shadows to Stone, The Photography of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, 1897-1902*, New York and Vancouver/Toronto: American Museum of Natural History in association with Douglas & McIntyre, 1997, plate 42.

Miniature Houses:

The most varied and widely distributed form in the Pacific region of North America, and probably in Russia during former times, is the miniature house. In North America, this type can range from tiny structures no larger than shoe-boxes to elaborately decorated structures about the size of a small cottage. These European-style houses are sometimes equipped with windows, porches, and furnishings and often display imaginative carved wood lace along the eaves, window-surrounds, and edges of the house. The construction, as well as the decoration, bears little resemblance to that of traditional houses built in these First Nations and Alaska Native communities, but obviously emulates styles found throughout Russia and Siberia, in particular those which became common along the west coast of North America during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Many of these also appear to feature bright colours, often expanding the traditional palette or using traditional colours in non-traditional ways.

In Russia, the most common form of *golubets* is the miniature house type. Found in the far north of Russia, down the Volga and Don river systems, in the Caucasus region, and throughout Siberia, these *golubtsi* vary in size and type of construction. In Alaska and Canada, the spirit house type can be made of planks or logs and, in more recent times, of metal or fibreglass. In both Russia and North America, the miniature house type can be plain or elaborately decorated with carved or sawn ornament and colour.

As indicated in Chapter 1, the gravehouse in Russia had various forms, from a small tent, to a prayer chapel or booth, to a shack or cache for temporary storage of bodies, to a large house-like structure complete with furnishings. Old Believer gravehouses in Russia which resemble small *izba*-type log houses are illustrated in Veletskaia's study of Russian rituals, and appear to be constructed of squared logs with dove-tailed joints and include a front doorway. The roof is supported by purlins, also typical of northern Russian log construction.

The Yakut gravehouse to the left in figure 2.1 is a miniature log house with a roofed cross enclosed by a fence. Half-logs are used to create the gable roof which features a *shelom* or *okyulpen* with decorated ridgecrest. It is impossible to tell from the photograph if the gravehouse has a door, and Jochelson does not mention doors or windows. The fact that this marks the grave of a Christianized Yakut is made evident by the presence of the cross. Kendall's remarks on this photograph emphasize this fact as well:

> As Christianity spread, concerns with burial resulted in mortuary adaptations for some of the converted on both sides of the north Pacific. In this Sakha cemetery,

> the slanted crosspiece of the Russian Orthodox church is visible along with several *sergey* (posts carved to represent traditional Sakha drinking vessels.)[39]

These special drinking vessels, called *choron*, were used in the spring *ysakh* festivals for offerings of *kumiss*, fermented mare's milk.[40]

One of the most common forms of gravehouses in Russia and Siberia is the long, low, gable-roofed structure of logs or planks, already discussed in Chapter 1. A photograph illustrating an account of Vilmos Diószegi's research on Siberian shamans shows a house of this type in a Tuvan cemetery (fig. 2.14). When he photographed the cemetery, he was also able to observe several groups of people taking part in commemorative feasts beside the graves:

> The crosses of the Orthodox Church stand out prominently at the end of the graves which differ from the Russian graves: there are little wooden houses fabricated over some of them, others are weighed down by large, flat stone-slabs. On one side of the little houses I notice a rectangular opening: I can see that food and drinks are placed through these upon the grave. Beside the stone-covered graves there are flat, horizontally placed smaller stones next to the large slabs: food and drink stand on them. A little further there is a fire. Every once in a while a few bites of food are thrown upon it or they pour a little brandy over the flames. Thick smoke rises up towards the sky.[41]

Although Diószegi states that the graves with houses differ from Orthodox Russian graves, these are clearly related to the *golubtsi* found in northern Russian cemeteries and elsewhere in Siberia. The offering of food and drink, and the placing of food in the fire for the deceased, represent parallel traditions found in pre-Christian Slavic customs as well as among Tuvan and other Eurasian peoples.

In addition to the miniature-house form found in aboriginal and Old Believer cemeteries, there are house-like memorials in Dukhobor cemeteries in the Caucasus region of Southern Russia. The Dukhobors and their relationship to Russian Orthodoxy will be discussed in Chapter 3; like Old Believers, they separated from the official church at least by the seventeenth century and have features in common with some of the Priestless concords of Old Believers. Figure 2.15 shows the graves of Peter Lukovitch Kalmikoff (1864) and Lukinin Wailovna Kamikova (1886) in Inms. Each of these structures is a large model house with a picket fence and a garden flanking the front door. Both appear to have stucco decoration and ridgecrests.

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[39]Ibid., plate 52.
[40]Ibid., plate 50.
[41]Vilmos Diószegi, *Tracing Shamans in Siberia: the Story of an Ethnographical Research Expedition*, Oosterhout, The Netherlands: Anthropological Publications, 1968, 80-81 and fig. 11a.

Much smaller and less impressive are some of the gravehouses found in Canadian Dukhobor cemeteries. Miniature structures of wood with roofs of wood or metal in Passmore, B.C. are seen in a photograph of March 1961 (fig. 2.16). Each of the houses holds flowers. A gravehouse in Grand Forks, B.C., of similar size and design but holding a food offering, was photographed in 1996 by David Chamberlin (fig. 2.17). It is a simple, wooden, box-like structure with a metal roof. The large opening reveals the offering within. The wall-covering at the back of the interior is peeling away. Another wooden house was photographed in Castlegar, B.C., by White and Veillette in about 1973. Their notes record that a cross with the house was inscribed with the name Harry T. Chernoff. The cross, in particular, is unexpected in a Dukhobor cemetery, as such religious symbols are rarely used among the Dukhobors. The use of these houses in Canadian Dukhobor cemeteries confirms the deep roots of this tradition in Russia, where they constituted a part of Russian funerary practice prior to the separation of Dukhobors from official Russian Christianity.

In North America, the miniature-house form of gravemarker is found from Point Hope and Kotzebue in the High Arctic, along the Yukon and Kuskokwim River systems and their deltas, in Cook Inlet and Prince William Sound, in the Yukon Territory, British Columbia, and the Alaska Panhandle, to Vancouver Island and even the Lower Mainland. Small, decorated structures like the Eklutna gravehouses are found among the Ahtna at Sutton and Chickaloon; among Coastal Eskimo (Chugach) at Nuchek; among the Koyukon at Galena, Koyukuk, Nulato, and Ruby; at Telegraph Creek and other Tahltan sites; among the Tutchone at Champagne, Asihihik, Fort Selkirk, Upper Lake Laberge, Whitehorse, and Little Salmon River; among the Beaver Indians of the Peace River; in Métis cemeteries of Northern Alberta; among the Carrier at Anahim Lake, Nazko, Cariboo, Quesnel, Alexandria, Fraser-Fort George/Prince George, Stony Creek, Frances Lake, Necoslie, Fort St. James, Nautley, Stellaquo, Burns Lake, Fort Babine/Lake Babine, and Hagwilget; among the Tsimshian at Gitlakdamix and Kitwanga; among the Southern Kwakiutl at Gilford Island, Kingcoe Inlet, Turnour island, Alert Bay, Fort Rupert, and Quattishe; among the Coast Salish at Comox and near New Westminster; among the Bella Coola; and along the West Coast of Vancouver Island at Friendly Cove and Kyuquot.

In some cases, the similarities of form and decoration of these houses are striking. A photograph taken by White and Veillette in October 1974 shows a small gable-roofed grave house with open walls similar to those at Eklutna (fig. 2.18). It is surrounded by a fence which features a pediment recalling the Eklutna double-house form. The inner house

has a carved pediment ornament recalling similar features on northern Russian houses.[42] Several of the other gravehouses in the Nazko cemetery have zig-zag or half-circle ridgecrests identical to those on many of the Eklutna gravehouses.[43] A photograph of graves at Asihihik taken by Richard Harrington in the 1950's shows a gravehouse with a zig-zag crest and gable ornaments similar to the chapel-like grave at Eklutna.[44]

Tiered houses, similar as well to those at Eklunta are seen in photographs from Ulgatcho, B.C. (fig. 2.19). One with a star painted on the face clearly has a scalloped ridgecrest, while others (more visible in other photographs) have zig-zag crests. In some regions, the houses lack the decorative ridgecrests yet strongly resemble the general form of the Eklutna structures. Two plain gravehouses are illustrated in figure 2.20. The gravehouse on the right is of the platform type, probably a variation of the tiered form found in Eklutna and Northern Russia. The ruins of a picket fence partially surround the gravehouse. Both it and the small gravehouse on the right have crosses attached to the front end.

Long, low gravehouses which recall similar structures in Russia and Siberia are found in the Stellaqo Lake cemetery (fig. 2.21). These are constructed of wood, or of galvanized iron and glass in some cases. One of the older graves had a taller, shorter gravehouse, now in ruins (fig. 2.22). When White and Veillette saw it in 1973, it still retained traces of blue paint, none of which remained by 1996.

While most gravehouses in the Tsimshian villages are of the large, elaborately decorated type, a few small houses are also seen in this region. A modern, small model house of logs was photographed in 1996 in the cemetery of St. Peter's church at Kitwanga (fig. 2.23). Marking a grave of the 1970's, it has windows, shingle roof, and miniature porch. More typical of early Tsimshian graves is that of William Leason at Gitlakdamix, photographed in 1905 by G. T. Emmons (fig. 2.24). This striking example shows a mixture of elements typical of both the small, decorative houses of Eklutna and the larger elevated graves found among the Tlingit in Southeast Alaska. Like early Tlingit gravehouses, it is elevated on four posts and features an opening in the front which reveals a gravebox surmounted by a carved crest figure, thus showing a synthesis of European decorative ornament on the house with traditional forms within. The exterior of the house has decorative shinglework and a wood-lace ridgecrest recalling those at Eklutna. There are, in addition, turned wood finials at the apex of the gables, and onion-dome ornaments

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[42]This is clear from a series of photographs on contact sheets provided by John Veillette.
[43]White and Veillette contact sheet number 74019 from Nazko, 17 October 1974.
[44]See Richard Harrington, *Richard Harrington's Yukon*, Seattle: Alaska Northwest Publishing Company, 1974.

above each corner. The roof and ornaments appear to be painted a darker colour than the wall shingles.

In addition to the small plain and decorated houses, larger gravehouses are widely distributed in Alaska and western Canada. In such diverse geographic and cultural regions as Kotzebue on Seward Peninsula, Champagne in the Yukon Territory, Hazelton, B.C., and Southeast Alaska, these gravehouses are miniature homes, formerly furnished with the possessions of the deceased. Examples of gravehouses having a typical size and design for this area can be seen in Whitehorse (fig. 2.25) and Little Salmon River (fig.2.26). These have similarities with houses in Canyon Creek near Whitehorse, also also with Inland Tlingit gravehouses at the mouth of Inklin River. The ruins of the Canyon Creek gravehouses still retain traces of red and blue paint (fig. 2.27). These gable-roofed miniature houses have windows, often multi-paned, or with several windows on each face of the house. Archival photographs reveal that these often were curtained, and that the interiors of the houses were finished and furnished. The gable-roofed gravehouses in figure 2.28 were near the confluence of the Taku River and belonged to the Inland Tlingit. According to McClellan, there are three collapsed cabins, two caches, four gravehouses, and two graves which can still be seen in this area:

> Three of the gravehouses are on a rocky point, while the fourth and newest house and the two grave with fences are on a ridge behind. The largest of the old gravehouses is said to be that of the shaman....All three of the gravehouses contain Chinese leather decorated chest of burned bones. One of the gravestones has a Tlingit style carving of a raven and her young marking the grave of a...woman from Juneau or Telegraph Creek who died in 1908.[45]

Like the Canyon Creek gravehouses, these appear to have a contrasting colour of paint for the window surrounds, edges of the houses, and roofs.

Some of the Tlingit houses display a synthesis of traditions, just as in the box-like tombs discussed above. A Winter and Pond photograph taken near the turn of the century of the Chilkat cemetery at Klukwan shows seven or eight gravehouses of varied form.[46] Two of these are large gable houses with multi-paned windows. Another is a large log cabin with traditional Russian construction, including a decorative *shelom* or *okyulpen*. To the right of this house is a smaller version, elevated on a single pole like a Russian cache. To the far right is a house more typical of traditional Chilkat construction with vertical planks, and decorated with a frog crest. A Tlingit gravehouse near Juneau, photographed by W. H. Case, again near the turn of the century, is constructed of planks and does not

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[45]McClellan, *My Old People Say*, Part 1, place description index, 20.
[46]Juneau, Winter and Pond PCA 87-26.

appear to have any windows, but is decorated with flags and a traditional Chilkat blanket, recalling the way some early cache type gravehouses were decorated in this region.[47] By contrast, another of the Tlingit graves near Taku Village in the Juneau region, photographed by F. H. Nowell between 1898 and 1901, bears no resemblance to Tlingit construction or decoration (fig. 2.29). This house has a hipped, shingled roof, and dormer windows above curtained windows in the side walls. Both the roof and dormer windows have serrated ridgecrests. A grave stone is in front of the house.

In addition to gable- or hipped-roofs, some gravehouse have pyramidal roofs. These are found from the north along the Yukon River in Alaska, to the Tsimshian villages in British Columbia. A photograph of the Nulato cemetery taken about 1910 shows a number of square houses with pyramidal roofs. Crosses are attached to one side of each house, and most are accompanied by American flags and tall poles (fig. 2.30). Most of the houses have multi-paned windows in one side; other archival photographs reveal that these often had curtains. The windows could be opened to place offerings inside, where tables held cups and plates (fig. 2.31).

Whether found among Tlingit, Athabascan, or Tsimshian, large gravehouses strongly resemble the elaborate *golubtsi* described in Russian laments. Early accounts of these large gravehouses provide evidence both for the wealth of possessions placed in the structure and the underlying purpose for the adaptation of the gravehouse as a memorial in the North Pacific region. Of Tlingit graves, Salisbury states:

> We puzzled for sometime after our arrival, over the odd little structures we saw on the shore of a small island in front of the Demmert end of the village....They might have been children's playhouses, they were so small. Two or three were in the jungle which had grown around them, making it impossible to get to them, but one stood closer to the edge of the rocky bank. It was inclosed and roofed over, with windows in the front which revealed a grave within....These odd affairs were "dead-houses" in which the natives buried their dead when the missionaries had weaned them from cremation. They were evidently very old and their nearness to the village indicated they were among the first made.....Only one of the dead houses bore indication of its contents, but about that were piled what was left of an iron bedstead, a bed spring, and a mattress. I understood that, because when the natives became Christianized, gave up cremation, and took to burying their dead, they could no longer spiritualize the food, clothing, weapons and personal effects of the deceased by burning them, so they adopted the only other possibility - that of piling all such things, even to sewing machines and phonographs, about the grave where they would be accessible if needed by the spirit, and free from molestation.[48]

Archival photographs reveal similar instances of bedsteads, phonograph players, and sewing machines left in or near gravehouses in other geographic and cultural regions.

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[47]Juneau, PCA 39-2790, W. H. Case and H. H. Draper Collection.
[48]Salisbury, 223-224.

Figure 2.32 shows a small gable-roofed gravehouse in the Nu-chan-luth cemetery at Clayoquot with a cross at one end and a sewing machine at the other.

George A. Dorsey confirmed similar conditions among the Tsimshian, who according to Hawker, French, and others, likely adopted the use of gravehouses from the Tlingits. The gravehouses at Hazelton were among the largest and most varied in design and decoration of any in the Pacific Northwest. Gravehouses lined streets like miniature villages, as photographs taken about 1915 show (fig. 2.33). Dorsey visited Hazelton in the 1890's and described the detailed furnishings of the houses he observed there:

> In one of the houses, which was substantially built and neatly carpeted, I saw through a glass window two chairs, a washstand with full assortment of toilet articles, and an umbrella, while at the rear of the house stood a table on which was spread a neat cloth, and on the table was a lamp. On the floor was a new pair of shoes. Over the table hung a large crayon portrait of the departed occupant of the grave beneath. In another house I saw chests of clothing, and suspended from a cord were garments of various kinds, including a complete costume of the fraternity of the Dog Eaters.[49]

Hawker notes that ceremonial regalia were traditionally burned and could not be inherited. The gravehouse provided a repository for this and other possessions of the deceased which could not be passed on, nor any longer destroyed.[50]

Like those of the Tlingit and Tsimshian, gravehouses along the Yukon River in Alaska often held the possessions of the deceased. Archival photographs confirm that gravehouses in Nulato, Galena, and Koyukuk were decorated with curtains and equipped with tables, tea services, and various possessions of the deceased. Clair Fejes records that at Nulato, these possessions were sometimes "borrowed" by villagers:

> The little houses, containing some treasure belonging to the dead, were placed over the graves. Sometimes a small table was set and food brought. Poldine Carlo of Nulato told of the woman who had her accordion buried with her. Every time there was a dance in the village, villagers borrowed her accordion for the night, replacing it the next day.[51]

McClellan notes that the gravehouses in the Tagish, Tuchone, and Inland Tlingit regions were ransacked by soldiers, construction workers, and curio seekers during this century, and that few, if any, belongings of the dead are any longer deposited visibly at the graves.[52] In former times, however, these also were equipped with furnishings. Many of

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[49]Dorsey, "Up the Skeena River to the Home of the Tsimshians," *Popular Science Monthly*, 1897, 190-191, quoted in Hawker, 133.

[50]Hawker, 132-133.

[51]Claire Fejes, *Villagers: Athabaskan Indian Life Along the Yukon River*. New York: Random House. 1981, 72.

[52]McClellan, *My Old People Say*, 250.

these were constructed of split planks nailed; they measured about seven by six feet, with roofs beginning about four feet from the ground. Crosses or posts surmounted with a ball and cross rose to as much as eight feet from the ground level. The availability of lumber and good woodworking tools made it possible to construct and decorate ever more fancy gravehouses:

> Elaborate woodwork trims, larger windows and more of them, and elaborate roofs became possible. One house at Old Johnston Town is said to have had silver dollars along each angle of the roof. Tar paper, corrugated tin or aluminum, shingles, and fibreglass have all been put to use in recent gravehouse construction. Frequently the windows are nicely curtained, and the houses have been painted brilliant greens, blues, reds, and whites.[53]

Few gravehouses retain their decoration or brilliant colours, and most are now in a ruined state. John Smyly photographed the ruins of a pyramidal-roofed gravehouse in Kitwancool in 1967 (fig. 2.34). The photograph shows a square gravehouse with a pyramidal roof from which emerges a turned wood finial and pole. A multi-paned window is visible in one wall, a doorway in another. The window surround appears to have traces of colour. The roof is already partially ruined. The ruins of an almost identical house also at Kitwancool are seen in figure 2.35 in a photograph taken in 1996. The roof of this house has almost collapsed, the glass in the window is missing, and the house itself is listing slightly.

Many of the houses in the Tsimshian region are in a similar state of ruin. In contrast to the photographs of Hazelton cemetery from the first decade of the century which show streets lined with gravehouses of many sizes and forms, photographs taken in 1996 reveal that only a few ruined structures remained, and these were in severe disrepair (figs. 2.36). This, as well as the European style of ornament and type of construction, suggests that gravehouses were an adopted, not traditional, form of marking graves.

Large gravehouses are also found among the Interior and Coast Salish at Comox, on the Saanich Peninsula, and from the mouth of the Fraser River to the upper reaches of the Fraser Canyon, and at Lillooet, Anderson and Seton Lakes. An archival photograph from the 1860's shows a large gable gravehouse at Lillooet. The influences of Christianity are evident from the large cross in front the house. Effigy figures and various personal possessions of the deceased which also surround the house indicate a large degree of synthesis between Christianity and traditional funerary practices.

The miniature house form of grave monument is distributed over a vast geographic area among widely differing ethnic groups in Russia, Siberia, and the Pacific Northwest.

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[53]Ibid.

In all cases but the Haida, they reflect European construction and decorative elements. While some of the Haida gravehouses appear to retain traditional Native American architectural elements, they appear to be relatively rare and recent forms of mortuary structures.

Pavilion Gravehouses and Roofed Posts or Crosses:

A form of *golubets* which is closely related to the miniature-house is the pavilion gravehouse or shed. The pavilion- or open-walled houses are found in both Russia and North America. This type is very common in Southeast Alaska and British Columbia and probably derives from the roadside crosses and grave memorials of Russia and Eastern Europe. Like the miniature houses, these structures are often elaborately decorated in European style, with carved or sawn wood lace along the edges of roofs and the low fence-like walls. Pavilion-type gravehouses usually appear to have been brightly coloured at the time of their construction.

Achival and field research has revealed evidence of pavilion structures, large and small, plain and decorated, at Telegraph Creek (Tahltan), Eklutna (Tanaina), along the Yukon River near Nenana or Tanana (Tanana), Nazko (Carrier), Angida (Tsimshian), Kitwanga (Tsimshian), Kitwancool (Tsimshian), Hazelton (Tsimshian), Kispiox (Tsimshian), Kisgegas (Tsimshian), Kitslock (Tsimshian), Hoonah (Tlingit), Killisnoo (Tlingit), Kake (Tlingit), Ketchikan (Tlingit), Tuxican (Tlingit), Wrangell (Tlingit), Howkan (Haida), Kasaan (Haida), Gwayasdums/Gilford Island (Kwakiutl - Gilford Island), Alert Bay (Kwakiutl - Nimpkish), Sechelt (Coast Salish), and Bella Coola.

The pavilion-shed is often very close to the miniature house in appearance. Like the miniature house, the pavilion can, as noted above, be large or small, plain or elaborately decorated. It can have gable or pyramidal roofs. The main difference between the two types is the lack of walls in the pavilion-shed. It has a floor or slightly elevated platform which sometimes supports a box, cross, or totem effigy figure. Instead of walls, there may be a picket fence, slats, lattice-work, or turned wood fence. The roof is usually supported by corner posts which can also be made of carved or turned wood.

French illustrates pavilion structures at Howkan and on Pennock Island near Ketchikan, described by her as a multiple Christian burial, "which according to Keithahn, superseded the gravehouse."[54] She also indicates that some of the pyramidal-roofed structures at Kake, with lathe-turned posts for the fence-walls, were built not long before they were photographed in the 1930's.[55] In the 1920's, little pavilions with shingled roofs

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[54]French, 40 and 49.
[55]Ibid., 49.

supported by four corner posts were erected at Klawock. Simultaneously, gravestones replaced totem poles near the gravehouses, although grave goods continued to placed in the gravehouse or near the grave.[56]

A row of gravehouses at Kispiox, many of which are gable- or pyramid-roofed pavilions, appears in an undated archival photograph taken by R. E. Benedict for the U. S. Forest Service (fig. 2.37). These structures are built along the edge of a ridge, and are of a variety of sizes and shapes. Some of the pyramidal-roofed gravehouses have a variable slope, giving them an unusual profile. Figure 2.38 shows a closeup of a similar gravehouse at Hazelton, B.C. The relatively ornate structure is square, with a decorative solid plankwork half-wall surmounted by open lattice-work on the upper half. The upper portions of the corner posts are of turned wood. Turned wood finials rise above each corner of the roof. An additional pole may have extended from the decorative element at the point of the roof, as is indicated in photographs of similar structures.

Some pyramid-roofed pavilion-style gravehouses have straight roof lines, such as a ruined example from Kitwancool seen in a photograph taken in 1996 (fig. 2.39). The decorative turned-wood pole extends from the centre point of the roof. This gravehouse is very similar in design and construction to a grave in a modern Yakut graveyard at Olbut, Siberia, photographed by Jochelson during the Jesup North Pacific Expedition (fig. 2.40).[57] Surmounted by a cross, this grave shows clear influences of Christianity. Thus, while it covers a Yakut grave, it reflects Russian influences.

An undated photograph by V. Sobleff of the cemetery at Killisnoo, Alaska, shows one small gable-roofed pavilion gravehouse amidst fenced graves with Russian crosses.[58] The roof of the gravehouse is shingled, and a picket fence replaces the wall. A small roofed porch extends from the centre of one long side of the house. Russian roofed crosses of an old style are also visible in the photograph. Both gable- and pyramidal-roofed pavilion-shed gravehouses in the North Pacific have counterparts in Russia, or are in other ways associated with Russian mortuary forms. Figure 2.41 shows a gravehouse at Meanskinisht (Cedarvale) taken in 1973 by White and Veillette. According to their field notes, at that time the gravehouse retained traces of yellow or pale green paint. One of the gables was worked in a herringbone design while the other was not. Cut and wire nails had been used in the gravehouse's construction. The house had balustrade sides and turned wood corner-posts, and appears to have had an extended ridge crest which recalls the Russian *shelom*. Meanskinish was established in about 1888, so the gravehouse is

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[56]Ibid., 39-40.
[57]Jochelson, *Yukaghir and Yukaghirized Yakut*, plate XV, figure 1 (Jesup Expedition, Vol. IX).
[58]Juneau, PCA 1-70, V. Sobleff Collection.

probably more recent.[59] It can be compared to a seventeenth-century roadside cross now at Kizhi Architectural Preserve on Lake Onega in northern Russia (figs. 2.42 and 2.43). This structure has an elevated platform which supports the cross which rises from the centre. Russian and Eastern European roadside crosses of this type are crucially linked to the development of the pavilion-type gravehouse in Siberia and the North Pacific. In Russia, this structure is also known as a *golubets*, which similarly links it to the gravehouse form there.

Although interment generally replaced cremation among the Russians after the introduction of Christianity, roofed posts and crosses, along with chapels and structures similar to gravehouses, continued to be placed at crossroads, on farmsteads, near wells or streams, on hills, and in the centres of villages as memorials to the dead whose bodies were unrecovered for various reasons. As Lenhoff notes, there is also evidence that burials were made at crossroads and elsewhere during the Muscovite period:

> Ignorant or superstitious Christians are accused of giving their dead to sorcerers to be buried in pagan mounds, woods, fields, and other places outside the boundaries of the Christian cemetery - a clear parallel to the placing of remains in "unclean" locations such as crossroads.[60]

The roadside cross from Kizhi has elements in common with grave markers that likely recall an earlier funerary function. It has decoratively carved *polotentse* and *prichelina*. The ridge crest extends over the apex of the gable with a stylized horse head or bird.[61] The base is formed of squared logs, while the roof is supported by four carved corner posts. The form of the structure is very similar to the large gravehouses found in

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[59]White and Veillette field notes for October 14, 1973.

[60]Lenhoff, "The Notion of 'Uncorrupted Relics'", 267.

[61]Both horse and bird were solar symbols: the horse was said to pull the chariot of the sun across the sky by day, and water birds conveyed the sun's boat through the darkened waters of the night. Likewise, both had connections to the funerary cult. See, for instance, L. A. Tul'tseva, "Calendrical Religious Festivals in the Life of the Contemporary Peasantry (Based on Materials from Riazan Oblast)" in *Sovetskaia etnografiia*, 1970, No. 6, 111-118, trans. in *Soviet Anthropology and Archeology*, XIII, 1 (1974), 38-54; S. I. Dmitrieva, "Folk Art of the Russians of the Mezen'" in *Sovetskaia etnograpfiia*, 1983, 5, trans. in *Soviet Anthropology and Archeology*, XXII, 3 (1983-4), 59-91; L. S. Gribova, "Traditional Carving on Rural Buildings of the Perm Komi", in *Sovetskaia etnografiia*, 1968, 6, pp. 107-116, trans. in *Soviet Anthropology and Archaeology*, XIII, 4 (1975), 54-73; Anatoli I. Martynov, "The Solar Cult and the Tree of Life", in *Arctic Anthropology*, 25, 2 (1988), 12-29; A. K. Ambroz, "On the Symbolism of Russian Peasant Embroidery of Archaic Type", in (*Sovetskaia arkheologiia*, 1966, no. 1), trans. in *Soviet Anthropology and Archeology*, VI, 2 (1967), 22-37; Anthony Netting, "Images and Ideas in Russian Peasant Art", in *Slavic Review*, 35 (1976), 48-68; G. I. Okhrimenko, "Russian Decorative House-Painting of the Transbaikal," in (*Sovetskaia etnografiia*, 1966, no. 1, trans. in *Soviet Anthropology and Archeology*, VI, 2 (1967), 38-51; Miranda Green, *The Sun-Gods of Ancient Europe*; London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1991; Alison Hilton, *Russian Folk Art*, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995. Aspects of the symbolism will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5.

Southeast Alaska and the northwest coast of Canada. A cross, inscribed with prayers for the dead, rises from the centre of the elevated floor of the shrine.

A variation of the memorial or roadside shrine was a miniature house or pavilion with gable-, pyramidal-, or multiple gable roofs, elevated on a single post. This type of structure is also seen as a gravehouse in the North Pacific. One of the gravehouses in figure 2.3 resembles a miniature house elevated on a single post, and is nearly identical to many of the roadside shrines of Eastern Europe and northern Russia. A decorative fence encloses the platform on which the miniature house rests.

Roofed crosses are closely linked to the roadside pavilion memorials and gravehouses. Like the latter, roofed crosses often served similar functions, but also have a close link to the log coffin and *domovina* log gravehouse. Here, roofed crosses and posts appear to combine the idea of the shamanic tree or Tree of Life with the house-form meant to provide protection for the spirits of the dead. The terms applied to roofed crosses and posts include *stolbets* (from post or column), *chasovenki* (linking these structures to cemetery chapels), and *golubets* (making them synonymous with gravehouses themselves).

While Ralston and Oinas call the roofed cross or roofed pole a *golubets*, this type of marker is identified by Opolovnikov and Opolovnikova as the *stolbets*:

> The *stolbets* (from *stolb*, a column) was placed at the head of the grave, close up to the eastern wall of the *domovina*. This little roofed column, square, round, or octagonal, measured from 70 to 180 centimetres in height and up to 18 centimetres in diameter. It took the place of the cross and seems to be a relic of pagan times; and yet, crosses, too, are found in these cemeteries. The *domovina* and *stolbets* bear witness to a certain religious dualism in the Russian mind, combining a physical cult of the dead with the more spiritual Christian teaching on the immortality of the soul. Sometimes there was also a small brass icon, which was inserted in the west side of the column, thus facing the *domovina*.[62]

The *stolbets*, or *golubets* in its form as a roofed post or cross, appears to be closely related to the house form in its symbolism. Some of the roofed posts in Old Believer cemeteries have carved ridge crests quite similar to those on the Eklutna gravehouses, and, like the houses, are sometimes called *chasovenki* (small chapel or prayer house) (fig.2.44). In Niederle's research, Oinas recalls, the post as a grave marker was used in Slavic antiquity when cremation was practised:

> ...after the corpse was burned, the ashes and the remains of the bones were collected into a heap or in an urn and were either interred in the grave or were placed upon the grave on a stone or on a post, whichever was the

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[62]Opolovnikov and Opolovnikova, 146.

custom of the locality...[63]

A roofed post marks the grave of the Russian painter Boris Kustodiev, in the Tikhvin Cemetery of the Alexander Nevsky Lavra in St. Petersburg (fig. 2.45). Typical of the old form formerly used in many Old Believer cemeteries, either in conjunction with gravehouses or alone, this marker features an ornamented double edging of sawtooth and pierced-circle motifs along the gables. The ridgecrest recalls the horse- or bird-like shape of the end of the *shelom* on village houses. An eight-ended (three-armed) cross fills the rectangular space which surmounts a post carved with scrolls and vine and floral patterns. Another marker, found in the same cemetery, has the eight-ended cross rather than a post beneath the roof. A lantern is suspended from the arms of the cross, which would have been lighted on special occasions such as memorial feasts (fig. 2.46).[64]

These posts were not restricted to the cemetery. Oinas explains that they, like certain forms of the *golubets* such as the pavilion-type gravehouse, could also mark other places of memorial or spiritual significance:

> Posts with the remains of the deceased were set up not only in cemeteries, but also at roadsides. According to the Russian Primary Chronicle, "whenever a death occurred, a feast was held in commemoration of the deceased, and then a great pyre was constructed, on which the deceased was laid and burned. After the bones were collected, they were placed in a small urn and set upon a post by the roadside, even as the Vjaticians do to this day." Mansikka connects these posts with the roofed posts set up until recently on roadsides leading to the cemetery; at these posts the people left objects which had come into contact with the dead. The posts were erected, according to Mansikka, evidently as places of relaxation and sojourn for the returning souls and as a means of attracting them. The purpose of the roof was to protect the soul from wind and bad weather, for it could alight in the niches and on the figures of the post.[65]

Roofed crosses and house-like structures were also found in cemeteries and at crossroads in Lithuania, where they could commemorate important family dates, events in

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[63]Oinas, 81.

[64] Such practices were already known in Ancient Rome. Toynbee notes: "There were doubtless many other private family occasions for cult at the tomb - for instance, the departed's birthday (*dies natalis*); and provision could be made for the lighting of lamps at the grave on the Kalends, Ides, and Nones of every month." (J. M. C. Toynbee *Death and Burial in the Roman World*, Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996 reprint of 1971 edition published by Cornell University Press, 63). These occasions were in addition to the annual commemorations of the dead, the *Parentalia*, or *dies Parentales*, (13-21 February), the *Lemuria* (9, 11 and 13 May), and festivals which had loose connections with the cult of the dead, such as the Feast of Roses (*Rasalia*, *Rosaria*) (May and June) (63-64).

[65]Oinas, 81. Gail Lenhoff compares the passage from the *Primary Chronicle* about cremation with one which describes the funeral of prince Oleg in 912, in which he is buried. Lenhoff notes that "we can reconstruct a series of oppositions that determined the Kievans' view of themselves as enlightened Christians rejecting the dark practices of the past. The handling, placement, and concealment of the corpse acquired particular importance, although archeological findings suggest that pagan customs varied and, not infrequently, overlapped with Church protocol" ("The Notion of 'Uncorrupted Relics'", 262-3).

the life of the community or parish, or national events. "These monuments were erected on homesteads, in churchyards, cemeteries, along roads, rivers and streams - places where some important events had taken place."[66]

While roadside shrines are almost non-existent in Alaska today, there are a few rare examples of the roofed cross or post. A comparison of old photographs reveals that in some areas of the Alaskan and Canadian coasts roofed crosses or posts have disappeared over time or been replaced by the standard unroofed type.[67] One roofed cross still remains in the cemetery at Ninilchik, the village founded by the Russian-American Company as a place to settle some of its older employees in the 1840s (fig. 2.47).[68] There is a roofed cross shrine on the grounds of St. Nicholas Church in Juneau (fig. 2.48), and the cemetery cross at Eklutna has bars extending from the top lending the appearance of a roof (fig. 2.49).

Roofed crosses and posts are most common in Russia and Siberia among certain concords of Old Belief, or in villages of the far north of Russia. In most of the areas where roofed crosses can be found in Alaska, or where they appear to have once been, based on archival photographic evidence, these is circumstantial evidence that Old Believer convicts, agricultural settlers, or other workers for the Russian-American Company may have been present during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

Roadside shrines, pavilion and elevated house or lantern shrines, and other constructions marking crossroads, streams, fields, or other sites of importance or danger, including cemeteries, were without doubt used by Russians in North America just as they had done elsewhere. Such monuments and memorials would have been seen even by those Native Americans who were not necessarily in direct contact with Russians. Such important markers, in addition to the actual grave memorials, provide an important link in the sequence of the adaptation and development of gravehouses in the North Pacific.

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[66]Stase Bernotien, et. al. *Lietuviu Liaudies Menas* (*Lithuanian Folk Art*). Vilnius: Vagos. 1993, 18. See illustrations 295-394.

[67]See photographs in Fern A. Wallace, *The Flame of the Candle: A pictorial history of Russian Orthodox Churches in Alaska*, Chilliwack: Sts. Kyril and Methody Society, 1974, for two photographs of Karluk, one of which shows a roofed cross in the cemetery which appears to have been replaced by an unroofed marker in the second. Roofed crosses are also visible in old photographs of cemeteries at Kenai (PCA 16-21, Alaska State Library, Juneau) and an unidentified village, probably St. Michael's or Russian Mission (from 1888, PCA 27-92, Alaska State Library). There were once roofed crosses in Seldovia and Port Graham as well (oral communications, 1996).

[68]See Katherine Arndt's article, "Released to Reside Forever in the Colonies:' Founding of a Russian-American Company Retirement Settlement at Ninilchik, Alaska" in Davis, *Adventures Through Time*, 235-250, for a history of the founding of Ninilchik.

Hollowed Log with Shaped roof (*Domovina*):

The *domovina*, or shaped-log, gravehouse is still used today in parts of Siberia. The term has also been applied to the miniature house type in European Russia by recent architectural historians. The shaped-log memorial appears to be very ancient and probably represents parallel traditions with log coffins used both in Europe and Asia, and with the tree burials and mortuary totems of North America.

In several of the Transbaikal villages, a distinction was drawn between the *golubets*, as a constructed house-like memorial, and the *domovina*, which was either a coffin or a memorial made of one or two logs which sometimes had the top shaped like a gable roof. This type of shaping is more clearly seen in the ruins of a *domovina* now without cross or fence which lies among the graves of the Kalinovka village cemetery (fig. 1.30). Traces of inscriptions can still be seen on several of these *domovini*. In some villages, larch logs lie near the gates awaiting their future use as *domovini*. It is said that a skilled craftsman could hew a depression that would perfectly match the body it was to receive.[69]

Some dictionaries today define *domovina* as the coffin, itself especially one dug out of a log or tree trunk.[70] According to older dictionaries, this and related terms were used for coffins cut from one piece of log in Pskov, Novgorod, Vologda, and Kostroma.[71] Other terms are also used for coffin:

> The Russian word for coffin, *grob*, [Lithuanian *grabas*, Gothic *graban*,] did not originally bear that meaning, but signified something dug out.[72]
>
> The old heathen Slavonians commonly placed their dead in hollowed-out trunks of trees. Such a trunk is called *koloda*,[73] and by that name a coffin is known in many of the provincial dialects of Russia. The Slovenes used these trunk-coffins up to the beginning of the present century, and to this day the Raskolniks[74] of the Chernigof Government still inter their dead in

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[69]Oral communication, Svetlana-Sesegma Rabdanova, Ulan Ude, Aug. 1996.

[70]*Oxford Russian Dictionary*, 118.

[71]Dal', *Tolkovii Slovar Zhivogo Belikorusskogo Yezika, Tom I.*, *Domovina*, *domovishche*, and *domovye* refer to the coffin in Pskov. Dal' notes that such coffins are used by peasants from the other three cities listed. The *domovishche* is also the name given to a "persecution house" or to any habitation beside one's own home, including barracks and trenches (466). A. Il. Fedorova, *Slovar Russkikh Govorov Novosibirskoii Oblasti* defines *domovina* as a coffin, but mentions that it is identical to one of the meanings of "house," thus suggesting a correlation between the houses of the living and the dead (131). In *Slovar Sovremennogo Russkogo Literaturnogo Yezika*, *domovina* is defined as a coffin, especially for the poor, but an old meaning is also for a settlement for nomads. *Domovishche* is defined both as a place where people stay, or as an old term for a coffin. Dates for some of the references for this term are given for 1704, 1771, 1790, 1809, and 1895 (958).

[72]*Oxford Russian Dictionary* defines *grob* as the coffin; grave or burial-place; or grave in the figurative sense as meaning "death." *Grobnitsa* is defined as a tomb or sepulchre, 98.

[73]*Oxford Russian Dictionary* defines *koloda* as a bock or log; or as a (water-)trough, 197.

[74]*Raskolnik* was a pejorative name for the Old Believers, meaning "Schismatic."

them.[75]

It is possible these terms were used for coffins and related mortuary structures because of the similarities between the coffins made of hollowed-out trunks of trees, sarcophagi, and trunks made for storing food and valuables. *Domovini* may have come into use because of the resemblance in shape to the house, and the natural correspondence between the *dom*, or house, of the living and the coffin, or *domovina*, as a house for the spirit of the dead.

Although log *domovini* in the form of gravehouses appear to be unique to Russia and Siberia, the use of logs as coffins is also seen among many Eurasian and North American native peoples. Parallels include the coffin burials of ancient Siberians to the burial of bones or ashes in mortuary totems in Southeast Alaska and British Columbia. To some extent, tree burials of groups in Alaska and Canada appear to derive from similar concepts. These include variations of thought expressed in mythologies related to the Axis Mundi, shamanic or world tree, and Tree of Life. The shaping of the roof of the *domovina* in Siberia and Russia, and the application of the term *domovina* to Old Believer gable-roofed gravehouses ties them specifically to the Russian miniature house form in a way that is not found in North America, however.

Chapel Gravehouses:

Another type of gravehouse common to both Russia and North America is the miniature chapel. This probably derives from Russian cemetery chapels, sometimes called *golubtsi*, conflated with *izba*-like gravehouses. Some small chapel-houses, such as those in Eklutna, now bear less resemblance to their original prototypes than do some of the large chapel-houses in Southeast Alaska. These chapel-type gravehouses clearly recall octagonal Russian churches or chapels which developed in the Russian North, and which were likewise used by the settlers in Siberia. It is unlikely the stylistic roots of this type of gravehouse are to be found in any of the other European cultures which were in contact with Native North Americans during the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, nor are there prototypes of this type of structure found in traditional Native architecture.

In Russia, prayer chapels were sometimes called *golubtsi*, thus linking them linguistically to other forms of gravehouses. On other occasions, they were called *chasovenki*, and are synonymous with the tall roofed crosses which are discussed above. The Russian examples of cemetery chapels take various forms -- square or rectangular log

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[75]Ralston, 317-318.

or plank constructions with gable or pyramidal roofs, hexagonal or octagonal chapels, and round chapels of stone, brick or wood.

Large chapels mark graves in the Lazarus Cemetery in St. Petersburg (figs. 2.50 and 2.51). These, in addition to their identifications as *golubtsi*, can be defined as *domi*. Here, these elaborately decorated miniature churches illustrate the concept of the *dom* as the House of God which is combined with the meaning of the house for the spirit. They also serve as a place for the reading of Psalms and for prayers. The round chapel in figure 2.50 is surmounted by a tent roof capped by a small gilded onion dome. Eight arches, decorated with Romanesque-style carving, are supported by engaged columns. A rosette has been cut into the lunette above the door set in the space between two of the columns. There are double arches in the drum above the lower row of *bochki* arches. These, in turn, support the tent roof and short drum with its dome.

The second chapel (fig. 2.51) has the form of a dome-on-square Byzantine church. The shallow helmet dome is decorated with gold arabesques, as are the lunettes of the arches in the four sides. The drum of the dome has eight sets of columns supporting round arches. The arches above the door and along the drum have zig-zag and sawtooth carving typical of both Romanesque architecture and that found in the Caucasus.

Parallels to these large cemetery chapels exist in Alaska today. A large log chapel built in 1906, for example, rises over the graves of Hieromonk Nicholai and two others near the site of the original Russian Orthodox Church in Kenai, Alaska (fig. 2.52). Although it is usually portrayed as a chapel rather than a gravehouse, it carries on the tradition of placing a structure where worshippers can pray over a grave or other sanctified site. In this sense, it is identical to the *golubets* in its form as a cemetery chapel or memorial shrine.

Wooden gravehouses in the Yakut cemetery at Olbut in the Kolyma district of Siberia (fig. 2.40) emulate domed chapel structures. The central grave is a square construction, while that on the right is octagonal. Both are surmounted by domes which imitate the cupolas of Orthodox churches, according to Jochelson's research in about 1902.[76] Jochelson also remarks on the long association between the Russians and aboriginal peoples of this region, noting that as early as 1714,

> the Russian Government issued an order addressed to the Siberian Metropolitan Feodor bidding him to demolish the idols and many chapels of the Siberian natives and convert them to Christianity....The Siberian natives knew, of course, that every people has its deities and saints similar to their own....When they saw the Russian

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[76]Jochelson, Plate XV, fig. 1, p. 228.

> priests in their vestments and the ikons, they regarded the priests as Russian shamans and the idols as images of shamanistic spirits....[77]

Jochelson's wording is curious, for he does not explain the type of "chapels" which were ordered destroyed. As will be discussed in Chapter 3, the Old Believers and Russian Sectarians had already arrived in Siberia and the East prior to 1714, and it is possible that the "chapels" refer to those erected by natives who had already converted to the Old Ritual which was under attack by the official Russian Orthodox administration. Indeed, circular, hexagonal, and octagonal structures strongly resemble many of the Old Believer chapels of the Russian North and Siberia. Figure 2.53 illustrates an archival photograph of an octagonal log chapel near Solvychigodsk in the Vologda region. It has a tiny window cut in at least one wall and a small door. The point of the roof is surmounted by a carved post with dome and cross. A small plank or board-covered log chapel, also octagonal in shape, is seen in the right of another archival photograph from the Tver region (fig. 2.54). It has clear similarities to a chapel in the Ethnographic Museum at Ulan Ude in Siberia, specifically identified as an Old Believer structure (fig. 2.55). Like the previous examples, it has a small entry door, and small windows cut into some of the walls. Here, the dome surmounts a tall, narrow drum, which more closely resembles a post. A three-barred cross rises above the ball-like dome.

The chapel-like gravehouses in Southeast Alaska and northwest British Columbia certainly follow in both form and style the octagonal or square chapels and gravehouses of Russia and Siberia. This is clearly seen in a series of photographs of gravehouses in the Juneau area. In figure 2.56, taken by Winter and Brown, several chapel-type gravehouses are seen in the left foreground. As French observes, these were likely built during the 1880's, after the establishment of Juneau in 1880-81.[78] Two of these gravehouses are surrounded by picket fences, and all three appear to rest on log foundations. Of the two most clearly visible, one seems to be square with a shingled, pyramidal roof, while the other appears to be square with a plank roof. Both are surmounted by bulbs or stylized domes, and crosses, and have at least one window. Other gravehouses of the gable-roofed type are visible on the cleared hillside in the background. Each of the gravehouses in the foreground has decorative serrated eaves similar to the carved ends of the roadside shrine at Kizhi (figs. 2.42 - 2.43), which also rests on a log foundation. The trim along the sides of the houses, surrounding the windows, and along the edges of the roof appears to be of a contrasting colour to that used on the houses themselves.

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[77]Ibid., 239-240.
[78]French, 45.

Two octagonal gravehouses still stand in a small roadside Native cemetery on Douglas Island, across the channel from Juneau (figs. 2.57, 2.58, and 2.59). Figures 2.57 and 2.58 show the same gravehouse. In figure 2.57, taken in 1995, the gravehouse still retains some of the contrasting colour of the roof edging, although part of the roof has already fallen in and the window panes and door are missing. Figure 2.58 shows the degree of destruction this house had suffered by 1998. The hole over the doorway has enlarged; more seriously, the remainder of the roof on the back side has fallen away completely, and two walls have either fallen in or been torn down.

The second house, seen in the background figure 2.58, is shown in detail in figure 2.59. Although the roof is octagonal, the front of the house has a door with two flanking doorways or windows, giving the appearance from the front that the house is rectangular. Two posts support the overhang of the roof to create a porch. Inside the gravehouse, there is a stone marker, behind which is a three-barred wooden cross still bearing traces of yellow paint. Artificial flowers and dishes surround the marker, which is inscribed with the name of the deceased, Mrs. Gilbert Jackson, and the date 1909.

St. Nicholas' Church in Juneau, said to have been planned and partially constructed in Siberia, is also an octagonal chapel.[79] Both the octagonal gravehouses and the church continue a Russian form which particularly favoured in Northern Russia and was long continued to Old Believers when they moved from the North to Siberia.

The round or octagonal chapel may have influenced some of the structures in the Tsimshian region. White and Veillette photographed the ruins of a large unfinished octagonal gravehouse at Kispiox in the early 1970's. According to their notes, cut nails were used in the construction of the house, and they believed each side would have had louvered windows, some of which were found stacked inside the house.[80] At least two circular chapel-houses once existed at Hazelton, where a number of photographs depict them from various angles. The are visible at the left and right of figure 2.60. Each of these are round chapels with tent roofs surmounted by bulbs and poles. While they have been termed "carpenter gothic," they bear strong resemblance to Russian tent-roofed forms of construction, and include finials topped by miniature dome-like motifs. The gravehouse to the left of figure 2.60 has windows cut into the walls, and is fronted by the doorway. The grave on the right has no windows in the side of the house, but replaces the door with a large twelve-paned window. A fence surrounds this gravehouse.

Chapel-like gravehouses need not be circular or rectangular. The small chapel gravehouses at Eklutna copy rectangular structures with varied rooflines, domes, or *bochki*

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[79]St. Nicholas Church information leaflet and oral communication with staff in Juneau, 1998.
[80]Field notes, White and Veillette.

arches. The prayer booths, or *budki,* illustrated in Chapter 1, are also rectangular or square. The chapel-gravehouses, whether in Russia or North America, vary in size, as do the Russian chapels they emulate.

Rounded-roofed Pavilion or Quonset Hut Type Gravehouses:

A variation of the Pavilion type gravehouse was found only in the Tsimshian region during the field and archival research. These gravehouses, which are probably relatively recent, have turned wood or picket fence enclosures covered by a semi-circular barrel roof supported by corner posts. An example is illustrated in a photograph of the Hazelton cemetery (fig. 2.60). Other photographs show round-roofed gravehouses which feature lattice-work and wooden floral appliqués (fig. 2.33). The round-roofed pavilion in figure 2.60 showed signs of disrepair even in about 1910-1915, when the photograph was taken.

Similar appliqués to that on the gravehouse shown in figure 2.33 were seen on a round-roof gravehouse photographed at Kitwancool by J. B. Scott. The same gravehouse, or one similar to it, can be seen in the background of a photograph of 1910 taken at Kitwancool by G. T. Emmons. In some cases, this rounded-headed type is enclosed, much like a quonset hut. An example of this was seen in several photographs of a gravehouses at Hazelton which had decorative "spirit catchers" at the corners. These carved wood finials resemble stylized blossoms, and likewise appear on some corner posts of grave fences and gravehouses elsewhere in the Tsimshian region.

The rarity of this type, and the brief duration of its use in a limited geographic area, suggests that it was a regional variation that may have emulated types of architecture other than the gambrel-roofed form seen at Eklutna, or the rounded log gravehouses and *domovini* of Russia and Siberia -- perhaps the quonset hut instead. It appears to have been a style largely confined to the Tsimshian region and built at the height of elaboration of styles, forms, and ornamentation typical of the end of the nineteenth to beginning of the twentieth centuries.

Field and archival research suggests that the round-roofed pavilion and quonset-hut types were found only in British Columbia. These bear some similarity to the gambrel-roofed structure at Eklutna, to the rounded roofs of examples at Taltsy, and to the carved-log *domovina.* These latter examples, however, are much smaller and, with the exception of the Eklutna grave, earlier than the large quonset-hut structures with rounded roofs found among the Tsimshian. These gravehouses can have walls or be open like the pavilion-type. Because these appear to be both late and of limited distribution, they may derive from European prototypes, such as the quonset hut, introduced after the departure of the Russians.

Long Open Shed Gravehouses:

Archival and field research revealed long, open-shed gravehouses only in the Interior and Coast Salish areas. This type of gravehouse is a structure enclosed on three sides with a slanted plank, shingled, or metal roof. Gravegoods of the deceased, as well as carved effigy figures are thereby protected from the elements by this long open shed. Many of the photographs also show flags and crosses in association with the burials.

One such grave, recorded between 1867 and 1870 by F. Dally on the Cariboo Road below Lytton, was described in his field notes as follows:

> Yadoski's grave by the side of the Fraser River is one of the handsomest of the Indian Mausoleums in that country. He is represented carved in wood with the base stuck upright in the ground, having a piece of folded printed calico bound as a band round his head and his legs encased in or ornamented with another piece of printed calico of a lighter colour. Various deceased members of his family are represented in carved figures near to his own effigy, his family totem or crest which was a bear is also artistically carved about the grave of which the family was very proud. There was also suspended from one of the poles his gun but having the lock previously removed to prevent robbery, and also for his convenience and comfort on his arrival in the happy hunting grounds there are also several brass and copper kettles disposed about the front part of the grave, but with holes purposely knocked in them so as to render them unfit for any worldly use.[81]

The use of gravegoods and effigy figures is undoubtedly traditional in this region; whether the open shed gravehouses are traditional or a local variation of a new form can only be determined with additional research. In any case, this type appears to be relatively late and of limited geographic and cultural distribution.

Summary:

Literary and physical evidence confirms that gravehouses of differing forms were used in Russia at the time Siberia and lands in the North Pacific beyond the Bering Sea were being settled and explored by Russians. Anthropological research and explorers' reports, as well as the illustrations which accompany these, indicate that gravehouses found among aboriginal Eurasians display Christian symbols and should be seen as evidence of an adaptation of at least some Russian Christian beliefs and traditions. Finally, we know that several forms of gravehouses were forbidden by the Russian Church and government at various times, but continued to be used by Old Believers.

A comparison of individual types of gravehouses and related structures has shown a remarkable similarity between those found in Eurasia and those in the North Pacific. In

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[81]Dalley's notes as recorded on reverse of print in Archives.

addition to the similarities between the gravehouses at Eklutna and Russian church-forms, colour and ornamental motifs used on the ridge crests have parallels in domestic architecture in Russia and among Russian Old Believers in Siberia.

It seems unlikely that houses with such similar ornamental details as those in the Northern Pacific would have developed independently over such a wide geographic region, or among so many different language and cultural groups. The similarity of form and detail supports, instead, the notion that they derive from some common outside source. Since such forms are also found in Russia, and since the Russians were present in the Northern Pacific from the Bering Sea to Fort Ross near San Francisco, Russia undoubtedly provided that source. McClellan also draws this conclusion:

> The general style of all the earlier gravehouses and fences probably reflects relatively recent Russian influences, even though the idea of gravehouses is apparently old in the circumpolar area....The long low houses have the same notched "ridge poles" found on some of the early Tutchone gravehouses and on some of the Copper River Ahtna. The same convention may account for the notches on the Tagish ridge pole...and it perhaps represents a stylized backbone of the corpse....Wooden crosses are erected at one end of many of the fences in the inland Tlingit area, and a number of these are of the Russian orthodox type.[82]

In rare instances, a gravehouse can be linked specifically to known Russians. In the woods away from the main cemetery in Nuchek, there is a small moss-covered log house with one or two tiers for walls. It was constructed for the Russian-Aleut son of Spiridon Grigor'ev, one of the managers for the Russian-American Company.[83] Richard Pierce's *Biographical Dictionary of Russian America* includes an entry on Grigor'ev:

> R(ussian) A(merican) C(ompany) Prikashchik, explorer of Copper River region. In 1843 the RAC was concerned over the loss of furs through the Kolchane, in the Lake Plavezhnoe region, selling exclusively to Kolosh (Tlingit) middlemen, who in turn sold to the English. In October 1843 Governor A. K. Etholen, finding that I. M. Komkov's expedition to Lake Plavezhnoe had failed, ordered two expeditions into the interior of south central Alaska. The first, under P. V. Malakhaov was to go up the Sushitna River starting from Nikolaevskii Redoubt. The other, under Grigor'ev, was to go from the Konstantinovskii Redoubt (Nuchek) on Hinchenbrook Island, ascend the Copper River, and search for Tazlina Lake, which according to the Mednovtsy (Copper River people) also flowed out of Lake Plavezhnoe. The Cook Inlet based party led by Malakhov failed due to rapids in the Susitna, which made travel on it with laden baidarkas impossible, so that route was considered impractical. Grigor'ev's party reached Tazlina Lake, but did not have

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[82]McClellan, *My Old People Say*, 250.

[83]Personal communication, Aug. 1996, John Johnson. See also, John Johnson, "Nuchek: Russians and Chugach-Aleuts at Fort St. Constantine and Helen," in *Bering and Chirikov: The American Voyages and Their Impact*, O. W. Frost, ed. Anchorage: Alaska Historical Society, 1992, 379-383.

> time to go farther. In 1860, Grigor'ev is mentioned as the manager of Konstantinovskii redoubt.[84]

This, then, provides a link between Russian known to have lived in the region by the 1860's and the appearance of gravehouses here. Yet, if such structures were forbidden in Russia, there is an apparent paradox. A solution about the origin and meaning of the gravehouses in the North Pacific is possible, however; it requires an approach to the evidence which allows the possibility that some Old Believers, Russian Sectarians, or officially Orthodox Russians who sympathized to some degree with these groups, were among those *promyshlenniki* and settlers who came to North America. These may have introduced the gravehouse, along with other features of Old Orthodoxy, to some parts of the Tanaina region and certain other First Nations villages of coastal Alaska and Canada, from which this mortuary architectural form was taken as a "Native American" custom into the Interior of Alaska and Canada.

The history of Old Believers and Sectarians in Russia is itself complex and often contradictory, and accounts of Old Believers in North America prior to the twentieth century are nearly non-existent. Yet, there are features of Alaska Native Orthodoxy that seem to be quite close to some forms of Old Belief, and folk tales and Russian legends suggest the presence of non-Orthodox Russian Christians in North America prior to and during the Russian-American period. The following chapter summarizes the many variations of belief in these non-Orthodox movements and provides some of the circumstantial evidence that suggests that members of these groups were in North America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

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[84]Richard A. Pierce, *Russian America: A Biographical Dictionary*, Kingston, Ont. and Fairbanks, AK: The Limestone Press, 1990, 180-181.

Chapter 3: Non-Orthodox Russians and Evidence of Their Presence in Russian-America

In Russia and Siberia, gravehouses have been used primarily among certain concords of Russian Old Believers or Sectarians and by Eurasian aboriginal peoples who were introduced to Orthodox Christianity prior to the institution of the seventeenth-century Reforms from which the schism between the official Russian church and Old Believers originated (1666-67). There is little doubt that Siberian aboriginal peoples accompanied the Russians to North America, as their presence is noted in official records and reports;[1] less study has been devoted to the religious relationship that might have existed between these Siberian aboriginal peoples and the indigenous population of North America. If these Russianized Siberians were at least nominally Christian, as seems evident from written accounts and the physical evidence of crosses in cemeteries, their form of Christianity, mixed without doubt to some degree with their own indigenous practices, may have influenced the belief systems of the aboriginal populations they encountered in North America.

Nor has the possibility of Old Believer and Sectarian presence in eighteenth- or nineteenth-century North America been explored.[2] Today, most scholars of Old Belief in North America concentrate only on the groups which have arrived in the twentieth century. Beliajeff states:

> No one knows exactly when the first Old Orthodox arrived in the United States of America....It is reasonably certain that the first groups of Old Orthodox came from Lithuania, Poland, and Belorussia during the last

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[1]Lydia Black notes, for example, Kamchadal, Koriak, and Yakut in her preliminary list of *promyshlenniki* engaged in the Aleutian trade up to 1783. "*Promyshlenniki*....Who Were They?" in *Bering and Chirikov*, 280; Richard A. Pierce, *The Russian-American Company: Correspondence of the Governors, Communications Sent: 1818*, Kingston: The Limestone Press, 1984; Lydia Black, *The Journals of Iakov Netsvetov: The Yukon Years, 1845-1863*, Kingston: The Limestone Press, 1984; Lydia Black, *The Journals of Iakov Netsvetov: The Atkha Years, 1828-1844*, Kingston: The Limestone Press, 1980; A. I. Alekseev, *The Destiny of Russian America: 1741-1867*, Edited by Richard A. Pierce, Alaska History #34. Kingston and Fairbanks: The Limestone Press, 1990; R. A. Makarova, *Russians on the Pacific, 1743-1799*, Trans. by R. A. Pierce and A. S. Donelly, Kingston: The Limestone Press, 1975.

[2]This is, in part, due to specialization of research, whereby scholars in one discipline have little opportunity to become aware of the work of scholars in others. Thus, for instance, scholars of Old Belief are normally not concerned with the study of Russian-American exploration and settlement, nor are specialists in this discipline concerned with the history of Old Belief. The situation is further complicated by the fact that many Old Believers and Sectarians were essentially undocumented, or travelling and working under false passports; and much written about Old Belief is biased against or in favour of it as compared to the official church.

> decade of the nineteenth century; however, it seems that the most important movement occured in the ten years preceding the First World War.[3]

David Z. Scheffel cites a similar date for the arrival of the first Old Believers in Canada:

> The earliest evidence of a tangible link between Canada and the Old Belief can be traced to the first decade of the century....Unsubstantiated claims suggest the presence of "some" Old Believers in north-western Alberta around the turn of the century, but nothing hints at numbers large enough to warrant a separate diocese.....[4]

Scheffel goes on to note, however, that the Old Orthodox Canadian bishopric established November 22, 1908, "was intended to counter the inroads made by the Russian state church in Alaska. This would suggest yet another possible mission field, namely among the native population."[5] It could also suggest that there were already Native Americans practicing the Old Rite by this time. Circumstantial evidence hints that Old Believers might have been in Alaska much earlier than currently accepted, and may have converted some Alaska Natives to Russian Christianity apart from the missionary efforts of the official Church; but at least one document confirms that Old Believers were in Alaska by as early as 1836. Three clauses of the *Ukase* of September 3, 1836, issued by Tsar Nicholas I to institute compulsory education for the children of settlers in Russian America refer to Old Believers and sectarians specifically:

> 8. Children of Orthodox faith should be encouraged to engage schismatic sectarian children to follow their example, as a first start in education.
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> 9. Should schismatic sectarians wish to let their children attend school only on the condition that studies be conducted there on the basis of the use of

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[3]Anton S. Beliajeff, "The Old Believers in the United States." *The Russian Review* 36 (1977), 76.
[4]Scheffel, "Russian Old Believers and Canada: A Historical Sketch", *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, XXI (1, 1989), 3. On the settlements of Old Believers in North America during this century, see also: Paul John Wigowsky, *Freedom for an Old Believer*. Woodburn, OR: Private Publication. c. 1982; Michael James Smithson, *Of Icons and Motorcycles: A Sociological Study of Acculturation Among Old Believers In Central Oregon and Alaska*. University of Oregon, Ph.D. Dissertation. c. 1977; Arthur Carl Piepkorn, *Profiles in Belief: The Religious Bodies of the United States and Canada*. New York: Harper & Row. 1977; *The Old Believers*. National Film Board of Canada; Richard A. Morris, "Customs in Two Traditional Russian Communities," 94, in *Coping with the Final Tragedy*....; Alexander Dolitsky and Lyudmila P. Kuz'mina. "Cultural Change vs. Persistence: A Case from Old Believer Settlements," *Arctic* 39, 3 (1986), 223-231; Dolitsky, Muth, and Kuz'mina, *Change, Stability, and Values in the World of Culture: A Case From Russian Old Believers in Alaska*, Anchorage: Alaska-Siberia Research Center, 1991; David Z. Scheffel, *In the Shadow of Antichrist: The Old Believers of Alberta*, Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press, 1991; Scheffel, "The Russian Old Believers of Alberta," *Canadian Geographic* 103, 5, 62-69; Scheffel, "There is Always Somewhere to Go...': Russian Old Believers and the State," Skalnik, Peter, ed. *Outwitting the State*, New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 1989; R. A. Morris, *Three Russian Groups in Oregon*; Kathe Todd-Hooker, "The Russian Old Believers in Woodburn, Oregon," *Shuttle, Spindle & Dyepot* (Winter 1996-97), 58-61.
[5]Scheffel, "Russian Old Believers and Canada: A Historical Sketch", 3.

> old-fashioned stamp books, or on the basis of books edited at the Old Believers' printing offices, accept them on such conditions and conduct studies on the basis of the use of such books.
>
> 10. The teacher should be especially careful not to confuse schismatic sectarian children and not to upset their parents by reproaches against sectarian life, but induce them to respect the Orthodox Church and its teachings.[6]

Starr comments briefly on these clauses in the body of his text:

> Rules 8 through 10, however, pertain directly to the instruction of children of the *staroobriadtsi* or *Staroviertsi* (Old Believers) of whom a number had migrated to the New World via Siberia in the early nineteenth century to escape persecution by the Holy Synod.[7]
>
> History does not elaborate on their adjustment to Alaskan life. Perhaps, as such splinter groups have always been prone to do, they maintained themselves exclusively apart from the community and, in this instance, from the clergy and missions of the New Faith, in particular. That they opposed the educational benefits and perquisites of the community may be inferred from the inclusion of these specific Rules in the *Ukase* of 1836.[8]

Their deliberate separation might explain why these early Old Believers in Alaska were forgotten; alternatively, it is possible that the official church was successful in its efforts to reintegrate the Old Believers under the *edinoverie* movement, or something similar to it.[9] The early presence in North America of Old Believers and Russian Sectarians could have been forgotten subsequent to the sale of Alaska for various reasons: some may have been among those Russians who returned to Siberia and European Russia after the sale of Alaska to the United States in 1867, some may have disappeared into the forest,[10] many

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[6]Frederick J. Starr, *Education in Russian Alaska*, iv-v. See also appendix of dissertation where Starr includes a photostat of the original document in the Library of Congress.

[7]Starr cites *Sbornik Imperatorskovo Istoricheskovo Obshchestva*, Vol. XLIV, 322.

[8]Starr cites *Polnoye Sobraniye Zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii*, (Complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire from 1649 to 1867), St. Petersburg, Imperial Chancellory, in Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., Vol. XIV, Law 12434.

[9]*Edinoverie* (unity in faith, same faith, similar faith) was a form of reunion between the official church and a group of Old Believers by which Old Believers accepted the authority of the church, on the condition they could use pre-Reform service books, liturgy, and rituals. See K. A. Papmehl, "The Moscow Old Believers, Metropolitan Platon and the *Edinoverie* Movement: 1775-1801," S. D. Cioran,, et. al., eds., *Studies in Honour of Louis Shein*, Hamilton: McMaster University, 1983, 105-115.

[10]This should not be considered impossible. As recently as 1978, a family of Old Believers was "discovered" by a group of geologists in Siberia. The family had lived in complete isolation from other human beings for more than 40 years. The parents had evaded all contacts with the outside world since the 1920's when they fled from the Old Believer settlement of Tishi, about 150 kilometres from Abaza (near the upper reaches of the Abakan River). In 1934, the family was contacted by a patrol and asked to return to Tishi. Instead, the family moved deeper into the forest where they remained hidden until the arrival of the geologists. See Vasily Peskov, *Lost in the Taiga*, New York: Doubleday, 1994 English translation by Marian Schwartz of 1992 Russian edition.

were likely assimilated into the local population. If so, this might also account for distinctive qualities of Alaska Native Orthodoxy, as will be discussed below.

Origins and Issues of Dispute:

One major difficulty in determining whether, and how, Old Belief and Alaska Native Orthodoxy are related lies in the definition and interpretation of Old Belief itself. At its most basic, "Old Believers," "Old Orthodox," or "Old Ritualists," are those Russian Christians who consider themselves the true "Orthodox" believers and who reject the reforms of the Russian church instituted under the Patriarch Nikon from about 1654 to about 1667. The decisions of the Moscow *Stoglav* (Hundred Chapters) of the Church Council of 1551 were often cited by both Old Believers and the official Church for authority in religious matters during the period of Reforms. They differed, however, in their interpretations of the "answers" and in the choice of those they cited in defense of their respective decisions.[11] The most important tangible symbols of dispute between the Old Believers and the official Church included the proper form of the sign of the cross (with two fingers or with three),[12] the number of special hallelujahs at certain points in the ritual (twice or three-fold),[13] the shape of the cross (eight-pointed -- also called eight-cornered, eight-sided or eight-ended -- or four-pointed), [14] the spelling of the name of Jesus (Isus or Iisus), the direction of processions (with or against the sun),[15] the validity or non-validity of old Russian religious books, disputes over the acceptance of Western artistic, linguistic,

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[11]Jack Edward Kollmann, Jr., *The Moscow Stoglav ("Hundred Chapters") Church Council of 1551*, vol. 1, PhD Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1978, 179-180.

[12]Ibid., 297-304. *Stoglav* Chapter 31: "They should arrange the right arm, that is to say the right hand, for the representation of the cross by joining together the thumb and last two fingers, and by joinging the index and middle fingers, extended and slightly bent....If anyone does not bestow a blessing with the two fingers the way Christ did, or does not make the sign of the cross [on himself] with two fingers, the holy Fathers have said that he will be anathematized." The two raised fingers signify Christ's dual nature, with one finger bent to show Christ's descent from Heaven. The three fingers joined below connote the Trinity.

[13]Ibid., 289-293, 295-297.

[14]Ibid., 220, 273-277, Old Believers have interpreted question 8 of *Stoglav* chapter 41 to authorize the eight-pointed cross. The eight-pointed cross has three cross bars; the four-pointed cross, such as is used by the Roman church, has one cross bar. In sixteenth century Russia, four-, six-, and eight-pointed crosses are shown in pictorial and sculptural sources, as are five- and seven-ended or pointed crosses where the upper cross bar is flush with the top of the upright piece. Avrich notes that Pugachev promised to "replace the four-pointed cross of the Nikonians with the eight-pointed cross of the dissenters" as one means of recuriting Old Believers for his uprising (Paul Avrich, *Russian Rebels: 1600-1800*, New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1972, 191).

[15]The Old Believers continued to favour clockwise, or sun-wise processions. This direction for ritual movement has long been evident in pre-Christian religion as well. As will be discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, clockwise spirals are two-dimensional represenations of the movement of the sun as observed in the Northern hemisphere. It might have its origins in the high arctic regions where the movement of the sun would be most obvious during summer months.

and theological conventions, and various other details of Russian ritual or tradition that did not conform to the contemporary Greek practice.[16]

Some of these differences were taught and illustrated in folk prints or drawings called *lubki* (*loubki*), such as those shown in figures 3.1 through 3.3. Figure 3.1 shows the "correct" forms of blessing, shape of the cross, and various other attributes of liturgical worship, according to Old Belief.[17] These are contrasted with those in figure 3.2, which illustrate the forms used by the official reformed church. Figure 3.3 repeats this didactic message in a *lubok* which is divided into two scenes. On the left are the attributes of the Divine Service and symbols used by Old Believers, while on the right are those of the

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[16]For some of the studies of Old Belief see: Frederick C. Conybeare, *Russian Dissenters*. New York: Russell and Russell, Inc., 1962; Serge Zenkovsky, "The Russian Church Schism: Its Background and Repercussions," *The Russian Review*. 16, 4 (1957), 37-58; Zenkovsky, *Russia's Old-Believers: Spiritual Movements of the Seventeenth Century*, Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1970; Alan Wood, "Avvakum's Siberian Exile, 1653-64," *The Development of Siberia: People and Resources*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989, 1-34; Thomas Robbins, "Religious Mass Suicide Before Jonestown: The Russian Old Believers," *Sociological Analysis* 47, 1 (1986), 1-20; Pia Pera, "Dispotismo Illuminato E Dissenso Religioso: I Vecchi Credenti Nell'eta di Caterina II," *Rivista Storica Italiana* 97, 2 (1985), 501-617; William Palmer, *The Patriarch and the Tsar*, Vol. 1-6, London: Trübner & Co., 1871-1876; Walter Kolarz, *Religion in the Soviet Union*, London and New York: Macmillan & Co. Ltd. and St. Martin's Press, 1961; A. I. Klibanov, *History of Religious Sectarianism in Russia (1860's -1917)*, Oxford: Pergamon Press, n.d.; Geoffrey A. Hosking, ed. *Church, Nation and State in Russia and Ukraine*, London: Macmillan Academic and Professional Ltd., for the University of London School of Slavonic and East European Studies, 1991; Boris Gasparov and Olga Raevsky-Hughes, eds. *Christianity and the Eastern Slavs*, Vol. 1, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993; Michael Bourdeaux, *Opium of the People: The Christian religion in the U.S.S.R*, London & Oxford: Mowbrays, 1965; Vladimir Bontch-Brouevitch, *Materiali k istorii i izutcheniu russkavo sektantstva i staroobryadchestva: Shtundicti. Postniki. Svobodnie khristiane. Dukhovnie. Skoptsi. Staroobryadtsi*, Sankt Peterburg. 1910; Serge Bolshakoff, *Russian Nonconformity: The Story of "Unofficial" Religion in Russia*, Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1950; Anton S. Beliajeff, "Articles and Books Relating to the Old Orthodox (Addendum)," *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique* XX, 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1981), 489-490; Beliajeff, "Articles and Books relating to the Old Orthodox in languages other than Russian," *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique* XXI, I (Jan-Mar. 1980), 109-121; Beliajeff and Morris, "Towards a Further Understanding of the Old Believers," *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Sovietique* 28, 3-4 (1987), 425-428; Stephen K. Batalden, ed. *Seeking God: The Recovery of Religious Identity in Orthodox Russia, Ukraine, and Georgia*, DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1993; Pierre Pascal, *Avvakum et les débuts du raskol: la crise religieuse au XVIII sècle en Russie*, Paris & La Haye: Mouton, 1969; Ethel Dunn, "A Slavophile looks at the *Raskol* and the sects," *SEEJ* XLIV, 102 (Jan. 1966), 167-179; L. N. Mitrokhin, "Methods of research into religion: Based on Materials Relating to Tambov and Lipetsk Regions," *Town, Country and People*, 182-201; Alexander V. Muller, trans. and ed. *The Spiritual Regulation of Peter the Great*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1972; Robert O. Crummey, "Old Belief as Popular Religion: New Approaches," *Slavic Review*. 52, 4 (1993), 700-712; Lyudmila P. Kuz'mina, "Ethnocultural Aspects of Research in the Oral Tradition of the Russian Population of Siberia," *Review of Ethnology* 8 (1982), 126-131; Marjorie Mandelstam Balzar, ed. *Russian Traditional Culture: Religion, Gender, and Customary Law*, Armonk, N.Y. & London: M. E. Sharpe, 1992.

[17]For comparisons of the old and new liturgical practices see: Peter Waldron, "Religious Reform after 1905: Old Believers and the Orthodox Church," *Oxford Slavonic Papers* 20 (1987), 110-139; Roy R. Robson, "Liturgy and Community Among Old Believers, 1905-1917" *Slavic Review* 52, 4 (Winter 1993), 713-724; Robson, *Old Believers in Modern Russia*, DeKalb: Northern Illinois Universtiy Press, 1995; Robson, *Old Believers in a modern world: Symbol, ritual, and community, 1905-14*, PhD Dissertation, Boston College, 1992; Priest Pimen Simon, et. al, trans. and eds., *Old Orthodox Prayer Book*; Paul Meyendorff, *Russia, Ritual, and Reform: The Liturgical Reforms of Nikon in the 17th Century*, Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminiary Press, 1991.

official church. This illustrates clear references to other matters of dissension apart from the liturgical issues. The worshippers are shown clothed in traditional long caftans and wearing beards. In the right-hand view, however, the worshippers are depicted without their beards, wearing Western-style clothing, and standing in a form of church officially approved.[18] This *lubok* thus illustrates some of the many topics that complicate the understanding of Old Belief -- issues which included a distrust of Western secularism, disagreements over Russian folk traditions and beliefs, linguistic disputes, the turmoil resulting from wars and unrest along Russia's borders, and social upheavals, as well as the specific changes to liturgical books and services more often associated with the origin of the movement.[19]

Initially, the relationship of Russian Christianity to contemporary Greek Orthodoxy was of special significance to the development of Old Belief. The reforms were tied, in part, to the doctrine of the Third Rome.[20] According to this doctrine, both Rome and

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[18]In 1655, Nikon issued certain regulations on building new churches according to plans approved by the church authorities. Under these, the tent style churches were forbidden. Churches were allowed only one, three, or five domes. The rules were impossible to strictly enforce, especially in the wooden architecture of the Russian north, where multi-domed and tent-style churches contined to be built. (George Vernadsky, *The Tsardom of Moscosw 547-1682, Part II*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1969, 765). For the impact of reforms and Old Believer influences on developments in architecture, see: Roy R. Robson, "An Architecture of Change: Old Believer Liturgical Spaces in Late Imperial Russia" in *Seeking God*, 160-181; G. I. Okhrimenko, "Russian Decorative House-Painting of the Transbaikal," originally published in *Sovetskaia Etnografiia*, 1966, No. 1, *Soviet Anthropology and Archeology* VI, 2 (Fall 1967), 38-51; William C. Brumfield, "The 'New Style' and the Revival of Orthodox Church Architecture, 1900-1914," *Christianity and the Arts in Russia*, 105-123; Vera Shevzov, "Chapels and the Ecclesial World of Prerevolutionary Peasants," *Slavic Review* 55, 3 (Fall 1996), 585-613.

[19]The revolts of the Streltsy (1682 and 1698) and the uprisings led by Stenka Razin (1667-1671) and Emel'ian Pugachev (1773-1775) were among several associated with the social aspects of Old Believer disputes with the State, and likewise closely related to the unrest in and wars with Poland, the Ukraine, and Lithuania. See James H. Billington, "Neglected Figure and Features in the **Raskol**," Andrew Blaine, ed. *The Religious World of Russian Culture*, 189-206; Georg Michels, "The First Old Believers in Ukraine: Observations about Their Social Profile and Behavior," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 16, 3-4, (1992), 289-313; Georg Michels, "The Solovki Uprising: Religion and Revolt in Northern Russia," *Russian Review* 51, 1 (Jan. 1992), 1-15; Boris Uspensky, "The Schism and Cultural Conflict in the Seventeenth Century," *Seeking God*, 106-143; Paul Call,*Vasily L. Kelsiev: An Encounter Between Russian Revolutionaries and the Old Believers*, Belmont, MA: Nordland Publishing Co., 1979; Paul Avrich, *Russian Rebels, 1600-1800*, 143-145, 183-195, 203, 221. 249-265. For Old Believer responses to the "new religion" of secular government and opposition to other Western influences, see Michael Cherniavsky, "The Old Believers and the New Religion," *Slavic Review*. XXV (1966), 1-39; Michael Cherniavsky, *Tsar and People: Studies in Russian Myths*, New York: Random House, 1969; Rober H. McNeal, *Tsar and Cossack, 1855-1914*, Oxford: Macmillan in association with St. Antony's College, 1987, 17; John T. Alexander, *Catherine the Great: Life and Legend*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989, 169-180; Robert K. Massie, *Peter the Great: His Life and World*, New York: Ballantine Books, 1980; George Vernadsky, *The Tsardom of Moscow, 1547-1682, Parts1 and 2*. For comparisons of the old and new liturgies, see: Paul Bushkovitch, *Religion and Society in Russia: The Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Centuries*, New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

[20]See Dimitri Strémooukhoff, "Moscow the Third Rome: Sources of the Doctrine," *Speculum* XXVIII, 4 (1926), 84-101; Nicholas Zernov, *Moscow The Third Rome*, London and New York: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and The MacMillan Company, 1938; Donald W. Treadgold, "The Meeting of Moscow and Rome in the Reign of Vasilij III, in Andrew Blaine, ed. *The Religious World of Russian*

Constantinople had fallen into heresy, making Moscow the rightful centre and upholder of Orthodox Christianity. Furthermore, the doctrine stated that there would be no more "Romes" and that, should the Russian Church fall into heresy, its result would be the end of the world. This doctrine coincided with a rise in apocalyptic expectations in the seventeenth century, fueled by plagues, solar eclipses, and political events, which to Old Believers confirmed the arrival of the Antichrist.[21]

Past studies tended to characterize Old Believers as a small minority, mostly peasants, who fanatically followed pre-Reform rituals out of ignorance and superstition. Today, the topic is treated with greater respect and recognition of the complexity of the many issues involved.[22] Scholars have reconsidered the percentage of the population thought to have been Old Believers, and most now agree that the earlier official estimates were too low.[23] These, and other studies, confirm that Old Belief had an undeniable

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Culture: Russia and Orthodoxy, Vol. II, Essays in Honor of Georges Florovsky, The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1975, 55-74.

[21]For instance, Archpriest Avvakum ascribes a full eclipse of the sun in 1654 to the revelation of God's wrath: "At that time Nikon the Apostate was defining the faith and the laws of the Church, and for this God poured forth the vials of his wrathful fury upon the Russian land.' This fury, according to Avvakum, was the plague that killed nearly half the population of Moscow. A comet also appeared in 1655-56. Avvakum notes a later eclipse in 1666. This was the year a council, composed in part of Greeks, confirmed Nikon's reforms and anathematized Old Belief. Thus, the combination of events in 1666, with its resemblance to the number of the Beast of the Apocalypse (666) and the celestial events left strong impressions. For more on this topic, see Kenneth N. Brostrom, *Archpriest Avvakum: The Life Written by Himself, with the Study of V. V. Vinogradov*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, (Michigan Slavic translations, No. 4), 1979, 18, 38-39, 210-211.

[22]Old Belief encompassed, at various times, the clergy and aristocracy, as well as the military, merchants, townspeople, and peasants. Some were drawn to the movement for religious, others for political reasons. For related discussions see: Cynthia H. Whittacker, "The Reforming Tsar: The Redefinition of Autocratic Duty in Eighteenth-Century Russia," *Slavic Review* 51, 1 (Spring 1992), 77-98; Richard Hellie, "The Church and the Law in Late Muscovy: Chapters 12 and 13 of the *Ulozhenie* of 1649," *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* 25, 1-4 (1991), 179-199; Gregory L. Freeze, "The Orthodox Church and Serfdom in Prereform Russia," *Slavic Review* 48, 3 (Fall 1989), 361-387; Philip Longworth, "Russian-Venetian Relations in the Reign of Tsar Aleksey Mikhailovich," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 64, 3 (July 1986), 380-400; Paul Call, *Vasily L. Kelsiev: An Encounter between the Russian Revolutionaries and the Old Believers*; Evgenii V. Anisimov, *The Reforms of Peter the Great: Progress Through Coercion in Russia*. London and Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe. 1993; Paul Avrich, *Russian Rebels: 1600-1800*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co. 1972; Charles E. Timberlake, ed. *Religious and Secular Forces in Late Tsarist Russia: Essays in Honor of Donald W. Treadgold*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1992.

[23]The deflated numbers were due, in part, to the fact many Old Believers refused to have any contact with the official church or state on religious grounds and so were not included among those who registered. For others who evaded enumeration, the motivation may have been economic, as Old Believers under Peter I, for example, were subject to a double poll tax. There were various methods for avoiding imperial authorities during census enumerations. Some called themselves members of the Russian Orthodox church, and local priests were sometimes bribed to enroll them on parish registers. Others fled to border regions or hid from authorities. The official church, too, had its own need to report the lowest possible numbers of Old Believers, and to make every effort to return Old Believers to the fold of official Russian Orthodoxy. See: Roy Robson, *Old Believers in Modern Russia*, 19-22; Robson, *Old Believers in a Modern World*, 77-90; I. S. Belliustin, *Description of the Clergy in Rural Russia: The Memoir of a Nineteenth-century Parish Priest*, Gregory L. Freeze, trans., Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985; Gregory Freeze, *The Parish Clergy in Nineteenth-Century Russia: Crisis, Reform, Counter-Reform*, Princeton: Princeton University

influence on cultural developments in nineteenth-century Russia, where it was closely associated with the concept of "Holy Russia."

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries -- the period coinciding with the Russian expansion into North America -- there was a preoccupation with Old Belief on the part of government, the clergy of the official Church, and members of the intelligentsia. The contradictions resulting from the desire to eradicate the movement, coupled with a grudging admiration of it, further blurred the historic accounts.[24] The qualified admiration Old Belief and Russian Sectarianism stemmed in large part from the hard work and piety displayed by many of these people. By the end of the nineteenth century, scholars looked to Old Believers, who had preserved Old Russian art, music, and other traditions, in their efforts to restore features of Russian national identity.

Art, Architecture, and Industrial Expansion:

Old Believers were a significant force in art and architecture. They provided artists with themes of old Russian life and with financial support. Old Believers collected Byzantine-style icons as well as contemporary paintings of Russian life.[25] Even today,

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Press, 1983; Freeze, "Counter-Reformation in Russian Orthodoxy: Popular Response to Religious Innovation, 1922-1925" (internet site); Peter Waldron, "Religious Reform after 1905: Old Believers and the Orthodox Church," *Oxford Slavonic Papers* 20 (1987), 110-139; Bolshakoff, *Russian Nonconformity*, 15-16; Zenkovsky, "The Ideological World of the Denisov Brothers," 65; Conybeare, 239-249.

[24]See Ronald Vroon, "The Old Belief and Sectarianism as Cultural Models in the Silver Age," Robert P. Hughes and Irina Paperno, eds., *Christianity and the Eastern Slavs, Vol. II: Russian Culture in Modern Times*, Berkeley, LA, and London: University of California Press, 1994, 172-189; Eugene Clay, "God's People in the Early 18th Century: The Uglich Affair of 1717," *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Sovitique*, 26, 1 (1985), 69-124; William J. Comer, "Rogozhin and the 'Castrates': Russian Religious Traditions in Dostoevsky's *The Idiot*,"*Slavic and East European Journal*, 40, 1 (Spring 1996), 85-99; Paul Call, *Vasily L. Kelsiev: An Encounter Between the Russian Revolutionaries and the Old Believers*; Thomas H. Hoisington, "Melnikov-Pechersky", 679-694; Freeze, trans. *I. S. Belliustin: Description of the Clergy in Rural Russia*; Freeze, *The Parish Clergy*; Peg Weiss, *Kandinsky and Old Russia: The Artist as Ethnographer and Shaman*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995; James L. West, "The Neo-Old Believers of Moscow: Religious Revival and Nationalist Myth in Late Imperial Russia," *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* 26, 1-4 (1992), 5-28; Freeze, *From Supplication to Revolution: A Documentary Social History of Imperial Russia*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988; Harry Walsh, "The Great Schism in Russia: New Artistic Reactions to Old Historical Controversies," *Clio* 21, 1 (1991), 23-34; Ethel Dunn and Stephen P. Dunn, "Religion as an Instrument of Cultural Change: The Problem of the Sects in the Soviet Union," *Slavic Review* XXIII, 3 (Sept. 1964), 459-478; Paul Avrich, *Russian Rebels*, 262-265.

[25]Old Believer influences on studies of art and architecture are discussed in: *Drevnie Ikoni: Staroobriadcheskovo Kafedralnovo Pokrovskovo Sobora pri Pogozhskom Kladbishche v Moskve*. 1956; Nikolay Andreyev, "Nikon and Avvakum on Icon Painting," *Studies in Muscovy: Western Influence and Byzantine Inheritance*, London: Variorum Reprints, 1970, 37-44; Boris Uspensky, *The Semiotics of the Russian Icon*; Roy Robson, "An Architecture of Change: Old Believer Liturgical Spaces in Late Imperial Russia,"*Seeking God*, 160-190; A. Rusakova, *Mikhail Nesterov*; *Boris Kustodiev*; Ahlborn & Espinola,*Castings of Faith*; John O. Norman, "Pavel Tretiakov and Merchant Art Patronage, 1850-1900," *Between Tsar and People: Educated Society and the Quest for Public Identity in Late Imperial Russia*, 93-107; John E. Bowlt, "The Moscow Art Market" in *Between Tsar and People*, 108-128; James M. Curtis, "A Place for Us: *Embourgeoisement* and the Art of Konstantin Korovin," *Between Tsar and People*, 325-

most Old Believer homes in the Siberian Transbaikal, such as the one in figure 3.4 in the village of Saratovka, feature one or more old or old-style icons, along with coloured eggs, candles or oil lamps, and willows. For Old Believers, retention of the traditional style was a matter of great theological importance. They did not venerate icons having a style influenced by Western humanism.[26]

In addition to preserving the Byzantine-style icon painting, Old Believers continued to make and use icons of carved wood and metal, although these were forbidden by the official church and often confiscated in raids on Old Believer churches, chapels, and homes.[27] Yet, the production and trade of metal icons and crosses were conducted openly, with few exceptions.[28] These "forbidden" icons were cast in various centres and

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339; Dmitri V. Sarabianov, *Russian Art: From Neoclassicism to the Avant-Garde, 1800-1917*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1990; *Kandinsky and Old Russia*. Vasily Perov, Vasily Maximov, Ivan Kramskoi, Ilya Repin, Vasily Surikov, Nikolai Ge, Konstantin Savitsky, Viktor Vasnetsov, Alexei Savrasov, Valentin Serov, Mikhail Vrubel, Mikhail Nesterov, Andrei Ryabushkin, Nikolai Roerich, Boris Kustodiev, Konstantin Korovin, Henri Matisse, Vasily Kandinsky, Kazmir Malevich, Vladimir Tatlin, Mikhail Larionov, and Natalia Goncharova are among the artists who incorporated Old Russian or Old Believer themes or folk art motifs into their own work.

[26]The efforts of Old Believers to preserve and continue the old style of icon painting has been of enormous importance to the study of Old Russian icons. Father Dmitry Grigorieff says of this, "There has been a marked decline in Orthodox iconography in the last three centuries. The influence of the Renaissance and Humanism upset the delicate balance of the spiritual, theological, and material elements of the iconographic tradition...Only the Old Believers, oppressed by state authorities, preserved the tradition. Fortunately with the beginning of this century, a revival of the traditional church art has appeared. And that is an incalculable gift to the millennium of Russian Christianity." Ahlborn and Espinola *Russian Copper Icons*, 6.

[27]Vera Espinola notes that a resolution passed on 29 March 1721 stated the objects originating from the Old Believers and schismatics should be thrown either into the fire or water, and that many of the brass icons and crosses of the Smithsonian's Kunz Collection indicate burial due to the impact of silicious material (Ahlborn and Espinola, 9). Beliajeff further comments, "it is remarkable that on 31 January 1723 the Holy Governing Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church under Peter the Great forbade the casting and selling of holy images from copper alloy, the only exception being baptismal crosses around the neck. To justify this prohibition, the authorities claimed that the images were not skillfully executed and poorly portrayed the saints, and, therefore, deprived the saints the honor due them. Those copper-alloy icons that were in use were to be locked in the sacristy; those on sale in the markets were to be confiscated and sent to the main magistracy of each town. In May of the previous year, the Holy Synod had also forbidden churches to have icons of any materials that were carved, hewn, or sculpted, or that were painted unskillfully or were not in agreement with the Holy Scripture." Beliajeff notes, however, that such icons continued to survive in churches of the North and in Siberia, and that the use of these icons was wide-spread in Siberia, although efforts were made to confiscate them throughout Russia and Siberia. In Nizhi-Novgorod alone, an 1854 estimate of the number of Old Believer metal icons and crosses suggested that, if melted down, would "provide enough copper to cast cannon for at least one artillery brigade." An *ukaz* of the Holy Synod, dated 30 April 1858, likewise mandated the seizure of icons and books in Old Believer houses and chapets, and P.I. Mel'nikov participated in the the removal of "tens of thousands of icons." (Ahlborn and Espinola, 17.) See also W. S. Simpson, "Russo-Greek Portable Icons of Brass," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* (1867), 113-123; Stefan Jeckel, *Russische Metall-Ikonen - in Formsand gegossener*, Bramsche: Rasch Druckerei und Verlag Gmb H & Co. 1979; Diane Le Berrurier, "Icons From the Deep," *Archaeology*. November-December (1988), 20-27; Zenkovsky, "Staroobriadtsy Tekhnokraty Gornogo Dela Urala," *Transactions of the Association of Russian-American Scholars in the USA*. 10 (1976), 153-181.

[28]An exception was made, for instance, for the *Stranniki*, or "Wanderers," whose radical anti-establishment views made them especially dangerous in the eyes of the authorities (Beliajeff, in Ahlborn and Espinola, 17).

distributed throughout the country by merchants, tradesmen, and pilgrims.[29] The origin of these crosses and icons can sometimes be determined by specific iconographic variations. Figures 3.5 through 3.8 present examples of the variations in these icons. The crosses in figures 3.5 and 3.6 have subtle differences in the iconography and inscriptions, indicating origins from different "accords" or "concords" of Old Believers.[30] Figure 3.7 shows a triptych nearly identical to those made in one of the most important centres of Northern Russia (Vyg), which heavily influenced the entire northern area. Many of the merchants and *promyshlenniki* who arrived in Alaska in the 18th century also originated from this region.[31]

The icons used by Old Believers sometimes combined metal crosses or triptychs with painted panels, as illustrated in figure 3.8. This particular example is also striking for its additional folk touches of red colour around the metal icons. The two triptychs at the top are similar to those from the important Priestless Old Believer monastery at Vyg.[32]

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[29]Some of the studies on the importance of Old Belief among merchants include: Clowes, Kassow, and West, *Between Tsar and People*; Pierre Kovalevsky, "Le <Raskol> et son role dans le développement industriel de La Russie," *Archives de Sociologie des Religions*, 3 (1957), 33-57; Valentine Tschebotarieff Bill, "The Morozovs" *The Russian Review* 14, 2 (April 1955), 109-116; James L. West, "The Rjabusinskij Circle: Russian Industrialists in Search of a Bourgeoisie, 1909-1914" *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 32, 3 (1984), 358-77; William L. Blackwell, "The Old Believers and the Rise of Private Industrial Enterprise in Early Nineteenth-Century Moscow," *Slavic Review* XXIV, 3 (Sept. 1965), 407-424; Jo Ann Ruckman, *The Moscow Business Elite: A Social and Cultural Portrait of Two Generations, 1840-1905*, DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1984; Anton Serge Beliajeff, *The Rise of the Old Orthodox Merchants of Moscow, 1771-1894*; Blackwell, *The Beginninngs of Russian Industrialization*, 1800-1860, Princeton, 1968; Anders Henriksson, *The Tsar's Loyal Germans: The Riga German Community - Social Change and the Nationality Question, 1855-1905*, New York and Boulder: Columbia University Press and East European Monographs, 1983.

[30]The cross in fig. 2-5 conforms to the type used by the Pomorian concord, discussed below, and includes at the top the "Image Made Without Hands." The inscription stands for Jesus Christ, and below, Son of God. Fig. 2-6, on the other hand features the Lord Sabaoth at the top of the cross, and the inscription has Old Church Slavonic letters corresponding to the Latin INRI ("Jesus of Nazareth, king of the Jews") (Ahlborn, 18).

[31]This icon is nearly identical to one illustrated in the Malcove Collection which is described as 18th or 19th century. These are typical of "Deesis" triptychs from Vyg. For studies on the Vyg Community, see: Robert O. Crummey, *The Old Believers and The World of Antichrist: The Vyg Community and the Russian State, 1694-1855*, Madison, Milwaukee, and London: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1970; Robert O. Crummey, "Interpreting the Fate of Old Believer Communities in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries" in *Seeking God*, 144-159; Robert O. Crummey, "The Spirituality of the Vyg Fathers," *Church, Nation and State in Russia and Ukraine*, 23-37; Zenkovsky, "The Ideological World of the Denisov Brothers," *Harvard Slavic Studies* III (1957), 49-66; John Sullivan, "Eighteenth-Century Russian Verse from the Vyg Community of Old Believers," *Slavic and East European Review* 67, 4 (1989), 517-529; V. Malyshev, "The Confession of Ivan Filippov, 1744," *Oxford Slavonic Papers*. XI (1964), 17-27.

[32]Red has important symbolism in Old Russia, where it indicates the life-blood, but also purity (from fire). The two small triptychs are probably 18th century icons from Vyg. They are nearly identical to others known from Vyg. The icon on the left shows St. Antip, and that on the right the Kazan Mother of God. Each is flanked by two wings with six sets of saints. On the right wing of each image (proper right) are Peter and the archangel Michael in the upper register, George and Basil in the middle, and Peter of Moscow and John Chrysostom in the lower. On the proper left are Paul and the archangel Gabriel, Gregory and Dimitri, and an unidentified bishop and Blaise (Ahlborn, 56). The central cross is similar to one illustrated in Ahlborn, listed as an 18th century Three-bar Cross. It includes a post at each end of the top crossbar

Music, like liturgy and icons, had been changed by the Reforms and by Western influences; Old Believers, however, continued to favour old musical traditions, just as they had with art:

> Those who adhered to the old Russian Church not only refused to accept innovations in the church canon, but also refused to accept new church rituals and the new practice of part singing using staff notation...
>
> Theirs [the Old Believers] is the sole milieu in which church chant continues to be sung in unison, using "kryuk" notation. "Kryuk" or "zanmenny" notation...is an indigenously Russian musical system that was used for transcribing church hymns for the first seven hundred years of Christianity's existence in Russia. It represents a semiographic type of notation found in many national cultures during the Middle Ages.[33]

In addition to the traditional chant, Old Believers preserved Russian bell-ringing practices.[34] By the 19th century, professional musicians began to look to Old Believer musical traditions for themes and forms in their own compositions.[35] Like art-historians, these scholars began to regard the Old Belief as the true repository of Old Russian traditions and the source of a national identity.

Many Old Believers were among the merchants and industrialists of Russia and, as such, tended to establish close connections with Siberia quite early. Others fled to or were

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surmounted by a seraphim head, which is traditionally surrounded by three pairs of crossed wings (Ahlborn, 42-43). The inscriptions above the flanking saints identify them as St. Evdokia (?), St. Basil, St. Maria (?), and an unidentified saint. A similar use of red trim around metal icons embedded in a panel icons from Vyg Monastery is illustrated in E. P. Vinokurova, et. al., *Neizvestnaya Rossiya*, Gosudarstvennii Istoricheskii Muzeii, 1994, catalog numbers 36 and 56.

[33]L. Pimenov, *Russian Old Believers Singing*. Recorded Album and Jacket Notes, The Morozov Old Believer's Choir, various dates, and The Choir of the Strelnikovo Old Believers Community in Kostroma Province recorded in 1984. Album issued on honor of the Millennium of Christianity of Russia (988-1988). Also see Margarita Mazo, *Old Believers: Songs of the Nekrasov Cossacks*, annotations to Smithsonian Folkways Recording, Washington, D.C.: Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural Studies, 1995; *Neizbestnaya Rossiya*; Abby Smith and Vladimir Budaragin, *Living Traditions of Russian Faith*, Washington, D. C.: Library of Congress, 1990, 35-40.

[34]See Edward V. Williams, "Aural Icons," *Christianity and the Arts in Russia*; Edward V. Williams, *The Bells of Russia: History and Technology*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985. In this regard, a study of the musical traditions of Alaska Native Orthodoxy might prove useful.

[35]For instance, themes of Mussorgsky's *Khovanshchina* and Rimsky-Korsakov's *The Legend of the Invisible City of Kitezh* are specifically drawn from Old Belief. *The Legend of the City of Kitezh* stems from ancient folk belief whereby a city which had refused to surrender to Khan Baty's troops was hidden by God, supplemented by The Chronicler of Kitezh, a manuscript work of the Old Believers. Lake Svetloiar, near the town of Semenov in Nizhnii Novgorod Province has remained a pilgrimage site for Old Believers. More recent attention has been given to study of "special" or "curative" qualities of the Lake's water. For a discussion of the Legend and the various oral and written interpretations of it, see N. I. Savushkina: The Legend of the City of Kitezh in Old and New Transcriptions," (*Russkii fol'klor*, Vol. XIII, Leningrad, "Nauka" Publishing House, 1972) trans. in *Soviet Anthropology and Archeology*, XIV, 1-2 (1975), 16-49. Mussorgsky and Rimsky-Korsakov, as well as Rachmaninoff, Glazunov, Borodin, Balakirev, and others used Old Believer liturgical chant and folk songs as the basis for church music and symphonic works. See also, for example, James Bakst, *A History of Russian-Soviet Music*, New York: Dodd, Mead, & Co., 1966 reprint of 1962 edition.

exiled to Siberia during periods of persecution, and many of these were considered "convicts," owing to the fact that their religious dissent had political ramifications. The precise beliefs and practices varied from group to group, as did degrees of relationship to the official church and to the government. Thus, it is necessary to summarize the various "concords" of Old Belief and Russian Sectarians.

Variations of Old Belief and Russian Sectarianism:

The disparity between official presentations of the Old Believers as a susperstitious, uneducated, and ignorant minority, and scholarly studies of the musicial, artistic, and literary contributions of Old Belief is not the sole source of contradiction. The fragmentation of Old Belief itself complicates the discussion, especially where it concerns the role of Old Believers in North America during the Russian-American period.[36] Concords of Old Believers varied in their religious outlook, their relationship to state authority, and their approach to material concerns of this world. Thus, they ranged from wandering pilgrims who forsook all possessions, to rich industrialists and merchants; from political rebels, to conservative supporters of the Tsarist administration, including many of the Cossacks;[37] from people who could scarcely be distinguished from their Orthodox neighbors, to those who rejected contact with all outsiders (including Old Believers of other concords), as well as all priestly authority, and even external symbols of Orthodox faith (including icons and churches). Some practised strict dietary restrictions against all "non-Russian" substances such as tea, wine, and potatoes, while others became distillers, tea merchants, or potato farmers.[38]

The paradoxical attitude of the state towards Old Belief complicates the discussion, as well. Periods of active persecution alternated with periods of relative freedom and prosperity.[39] The prohibitions against Old Belief were not repealed, but were simply not

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[36]The period of greatest fragmentation of Old Belief coincides with the settlement of Siberia, the exploration of the North Pacific, and with the creation and activities of the Russian-American Company in these regions (c. 1640 to 1867).

[37]At least a fifth of the Terek Cossacks openly professed Old Belief. Among the Yaik, or Ural, Cossacks, specialists writing "in 1878 estimated 92 per cent were Old Believers and in 1862 the official data showed 82 per cent Old Believers and fewer than 1 per cent Orthodox." (Robert H. McNeal, *Tsar and Cossack, 1855-1914*, Oxford: Macmillan in association with St. Antony's College, 1987, 17.)

[38]L. N. Mitrokhin notes, for example, that in the Tambov region, the *Khlysts*, a sectarian group, "live by selling vegetables, grain, and fruit. It is worth noting that all the household plots of the Khlysts are under potatoes. The Khlysts do not eat potatoes, because they regard them as the Devil's apple, and they grow potatoes exclusively for the market." Here, the dietary restrictions of the Khlysts did not prevent them from growing the prohibited food for consumption by others. L. N. Mitrokhin, "Methods of research into religion, Based on Materials Relating to Tambov and Lipetsk Regions," in G. V. Osipov, ed. *Town, Country, and People*, London: Tavistock Publications, 1969, 197.

[39]From the beginning, the periods of active persecution seem to alternate with relative official toleration. The periods of toleration under Peter the Great, Catherine the Great, and Alexander I are particularly

enforced. Some concords actually enjoyed the protection of particular tsars while other communities suffered persecution under the same leaders.[40] Thus, confusion about the history, goals, definition, and population of Old Believers has been inevitable, although many recent studies have sought to reassess these issues, and provide much of the circumstantial evidence for an Old Believer role in Russia's Siberian and North American exploration and settlement.

The initial horrors of the Schism sometimes resulted in the dubious choice between self-immolation or condemnation to death by fire at the stake as heretics.[41] The Old Believers who survived this phase were faced with the long-term prospect of life in the world of Antichrist. The fragmentation into various concords was due largely to differences in how one should cope with this impossible situation. There were disputes over how much contact, if any, with outsiders was permitted; what, if any, property should be owned, and whether it should be held in common or individually; what, if any, contact with the state could be maintained without becoming polluted by it. Did holding passports, registering births, deaths, and marriages, paying taxes, saying prayers for the Tsar, or using money with the image of the Tsar signify one's receiving the "Mark of the Beast" of the Apocalypse?

Perhaps the most controversial issue for Old Believers involved clerical authority and the possibility that the Apostolic Succession had been broken. Because Paul of Kolomna, the only bishop who had joined the movement, died in 1656 without consecrating a successor, the Old Believers were left without priests. One major branch, the *Popovtsy* (Priestly or Priested), chose to continue to use priests consecrated by official Orthodoxy. According to this concord, the Russian Orthodox church erred in ritual but had

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important as they coincide with the exploration and settlement of Alaska. A period of repression resumed under Nicholas I and in 1842, a reclassification of the Old Believers and sectarians was introduced into the Criminal Code. This separated those who were "less harmful" from the "more harmful" and "especially harmful" sects. After the death of Nicholas I, the conditions for religious dissidents again improved under Alexander II. See Andrew Blane, "Protestant Sects in Late Imperial Russia," in Blane, *The Religious World of Russian Culture: Russia and Orthodoxy, Vol. II: Essays in Honor of Georges Florovsky*, The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1975, 280-281; Robert O. Crummey, "Old Belief as Popular Religion", 705-706.

[40]See in particular the discussions of this point in Crummey, *The Old Believers and the World of Antichrist* about the relationship of the leaders of the Vyg Community of Priestless Old Believers with various Tsars and tsarinas; Robson, *Old Believers in the Modern World*, 69-77.

[41]According to an *ukaz* of December, 1684, government agents were instructed to hunt down Old Believers and arrest all who were absent from the state church or those who were accused by local gossip of following Old Belief (Crummey, 41). Some of the leaders of the movement thought it better to die by one's own hand while still true to the faith, than to risk denial of the true faith under torture, thus saving one's life but losing one's soul. This was the rationale for the self-immolation of thousands in the early years of the Schism. According to Michael Bourdeaux, "The last case of a suicide on account of the *Raskol* occurred in 1897." (Michael Bourdeaux, *Opium of the People*, 30); on the mass suicides of Old Believers, see Thomas Robbins, "Religious Mass Suicide", 1-20.

not forsaken correct dogma, and therefore had not lost the Apostolic succession.[42] Although the Priestly were more united than the Priestless Old Believers, they divided into various concords on account of differences over the degree of acceptance of the official Church, the relationship with the secular state, and contact with outsiders. These concords varied from "Half-Old Believers" who would accept some Russian Orthodox sacraments, such as baptism and marriage in the official church, but held their own services according to the old ritual and conducted their own burial services apart from the Russian Orthodox. Robson notes that many of these concords

> never openly aligned themselves with any specific concord but instead maintained a secret allegiance to the Old Belief. Although scores of small, locally formed groups sprang up, they tended to wither and die, leaving few traces of their history.[43]

The *beglopopovtsy* (fugitive-priestly) accepted priests consecrated by the official church, but only those who fled from the official church and returned to the Old Rite. These fugitive priests were anointed by the Old Believers who welcomed them back; thus, this concord accepted priests, but not sacraments of the official church.[44] The *beglopopovtsy* were especially affected by the institution of *edinoverie* by the official church, whereby they were allowed to celebrate the old ritual under the auspices of the Russian Orthodox church.[45]

The *Belokrinitsa* hierarchy is also known as the Austrian Hierarchy. Along with the *Beglopopovtsy* and *Edinovertsi*, it is the other major Priestly concord and is essentially an off-shoot of the *beglopopovsty*. In 1846, the Bosnian Bishop Amvrosii agreed to lead an Old Ritualist diocese at the *beglopopovtsy* monastery of Belaia Krinitsa, Bukovina, then in the Austrian Empire.[46] Thus, it acquired its hierarchy, although many of the *beglopopovtsy* and *edinovertsi* did not recognize Bishop Amvrosii's consecration as valid and rejected his authority. The *Belokrinitsa* concord became a major force in the Old Believer movement, with dioceses spreading from the western provinces to the Russian Far East.[47] The Rogozhskoe Cemetery in Moscow, the chief centre of the *Belokrinitsa,*

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[42]Robson, *Old Believers in a Modern World* , 56.
[43]Ibid., 24.
[44]Ibid., 56.
[45]Robson, *Old Believers in Modern Russia*, 29; Robson, *Old Believers in the Modern World*, 58; Bolshakoff, *Russian Nonconformity*, 68.
[46]Robson, *Old Believers in Modern Russia*, 31-32; Robson, *Old Believers in the Modern World*, 59-61. See Robson for discussion of additional divisions within the Belokrinitsy; Bolshakoff, *Russian Nonconformity*, 63-64.
[47]Robson, *Old Believers in Modern Russia*, 60.

benefitted from the wealth of Old Believer merchants and industrialists, many of whom were patrons of the arts.

Finally, there are the concords, such as the *Chasovenniki*, who do not believe the Apostolic succession has been broken, but who practise as Priestless Old Believers because they have found no fugitive-priests they recognize and they do not recognize the authority of the *Belokrinitsa*. They are Priestly in theory, but Priestless in practice only because the clergy are not accessible to them. They continue to search for priests who have remained untainted by western influences.[48]

Priestly concords of Old Belief were especially strong in Moscow, in cities and villages along the Volga and Don Rivers, and in the Urals and the Caucasus, but were also found in Siberia and established settlements in Turkey, Poland, Rumania, Austria, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, and Germany.[49] Many of these communities prospered, and, as Bolshakoff points out, their wealth and influence brought about their destruction. The Russian government became alarmed by the possibility that the Old Believer centre of Vetka, located just across the border in Poland, might cause new disorders in Russia. In 1733-35, the inhabitants of Vetka were invited to return to Russia. When they refused, the Russian troops crossed the Polish border, sacked the city, and forcibly removed the 40,000 inhabitants.[50] Many managed to come back and restore Vetka once more, but the settlement was destroyed in 1764 under Catherine the Great, who allowed many of these Old Believers to settle in the Transbaikal. Many of them are still called "Poles" (because they came from across the Polish border) or *Semeiski* (because they were allowed to settle in

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[48]The *Chasovenniki* fled from Siberia to Manchuria and Sinkiang in the 20th century and from there have established settlements in Australia, New Zealand, Brazil, Oregon, Alaska, and Alberta. Part of the group that emigrated to Brazil in 1958 with the aid of the Ford Foundation, resettled in Oregon's Willamette Valley in 1964. Some of the Old Believers who had fled to Turkey joined the *Chasovenniki* in Oregon via New Jersey. The *Nekrosovtsy* were Priestly Old Believers who divided into two parishes in the middle of the 19th century. One drew its clergy from the *Edinovertsy*, the other from the *Belokrinitsa*. Around 1960, many of these returned to the Don region of the Soviet Union and in 1963, some came to New York and New Jersey with the assistance of the Tolstoy Foundation. Other "Priestless" Old Believers also came from Turkey to New Jersey in 1962. In 1964, some of them joined the Oregon groups of *Chasovenniki*. Like the *Chasovenniki*, they are Priestly in doctrine, but Priestless in practice (Arthur Carl Piepkorn, *Profiles in Belief*", 111-116; Anton S. Beliajeff, "The Old Believers in the United States", 76-80).

The villages in Alaska and Alberta were founded by members of the Oregon Old Believers. Alexander B. Dolitsky and Lyudmila P. Kuz'mina, "Cultural Change vs. Persistence: A Case from Old Believer Settlement," 223-231; Alexander B. Dolitsky, Robert Muth and Lyudmila Kuzmina. *Change, Stability, and Values in the World of Culture: A Case From Russian Old Believers in Alaska*; R. A. Morris, *Three Russian Groups in Oregon*; David Scheffel, *In the Shadow of the Anti-Christ*; Scheffel, "There is Always Somewhere to Go...', 109-120; Scheffel, "The Russian Old Believers of Alberta, 62-69; Scheffel, "Russian Old Believers and Canada: A Historical Sketch", 1-18; Kathe Todd-Hooker, "The Russian Old Believers in Woodburn, Oregon," *Shuttle, Spindle & Dyepot* (Winter 1996-97), 58-61.

[49]Bolshakoff, *Russian Nonconformity*, 59.

[50]Michels, *Old Believers in the Ukraine*, 305-306.

Siberia as families). Many of the *Semeiski* in the Transbaikal, however, consider themselves Priestless Old Believers.[51]

The Priestless (*Bespopovtsy*) concords form the second main division of Old Belief. For the Priestless, the death of the last priests consecrated before the Schism meant the end of sacramental life.[52] They were unable to accept fugitive priests from the Orthodox church, for the church in which these priests had been consecrated and blessed was the same one which had been tainted by the Reforms and which had pronounced anathema upon all who practiced the Old Rituals. Priestless Old Believers found it impossible to accept holy sacraments from priests they considered to be sinners, at best. Priestless concords were considered not only religious heretics, but dangerous social dissidents. As a result, many of these were among the political exiles along the Russian frontiers and in Siberia. Some of these concords worked actively against the government or separated themselves from all contact with it. Because of this, it is somewhat more difficult to obtain reliable information about certain beliefs and practices of these concords. This is unfortunate, because it appears that some more radical Priestless Old Believers and Sectarians were among those who most persistently continued to mark burials with gravehouses.[53]

Like Priestly Old Believers, the Priestless concords disagreed among themselves on matters of doctrine or worship, as well as on the correct relationship to the secular state. Most continued to create and venerate icons, although some, especially those closely related to the sects of "Spiritual Christians," rejected all external symbols and forms of worship. These concords of Priestless Old Believers and Sectarians considered veneration of icons

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[51]Personal communication, Aug. 1996. Such exiles may have been among those granted to Shelikhov by an *ukaz* of December 31, 1793. He had "asked the Governor-General of Irkutsk to use his influence with the crown to procure a number of exiles, skilled as blacksmiths, locksmiths, and foundrymen, and ten families of serfs for the development of agriculture." (Shelikhov, 26; see also "Order, Lieutenant-General Ivan Peel to G. I. Shelikhov, #991, Irkutsh, May 12, 1794 in Shelikhov, 132-134. Dmytryshyn and Crownhart-Vaughan date the instruction as May 11, 1794: "According to imperial decree, you are to build shipyards at Cape St. Elias, and send twenty families of settlers and ten families of agricultural workers there, or to some appropriate location on the mainland of the American continent" (Dmytryshyn and Crownhart-Vaughan, *Colonial Russian America: Kyrill T. Khlebnikov's Reports, 1817-1832*, Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1976, 1). At the same time, he sought to have clergy assigned to the colonies. The request was granted June 30, 1793, and clergy were selected from the area of Lake Ladoga. As this region had strong Old Believer influences, the clergy must have had experience dealing with schismatics and sectarians.

[52]Bolshakoff, 69.

[53]Personal interviews in Priestless Old Believer villages of the Transbaikal indicated that gravehouses and roofed crosses in this area represented "Dark Believers" (*Temnovertsy*) who were Priestless concords closely related to some Sectarian groups, or Sectarians themselves. These were in contrast to "Light" Priestless believers who tended to use eight-cornered crosses like most Priested Old Believers and official Russian Orthodox. Gravehouses are still found in Canadian Doukhobor cemeteries, as well as Old Believer cemeteries in Russia. For the Alaskan Old Believers and "Dark Believers," see Dolitsky, Muth, and Kuzmina, *Change, Stability, and Values*, 15.

or carved images to be expressions of idolatry and preferred worship based on direct and individual guidance of the Holy Spirit alone. The ramifications of their worship without priests, coupled with their status in the eyes of the state as more radical and dangerous than Priestly concords, resulted in greater persecution and fragmentation of the Priestless Old Believers.

The largest and most significant concord of Priestless Old Belief was the *Pomortsy* (Shore Dwellers, or Those Along the Sea).[54] They were among the Priestless Old Believers who continued to make and venerate icons of the Old style. The *Pomortsy* were an influencial force in the area around the lakes of the far north of Russia, especially in the Olonets region, which, according to Robert Crummey, "was one of the best seedbeds of Old Belief."[55] Paul, Bishop of Kolomna, arrived as an exile in the region as early as 1654,[56] and many Old Believer hermits took refuge in this remote area situated far from the centres of power of the church and government. The primary centre was the monastic community of Vyg, which exerted influence throughout Russia and into Siberia, from its organization in 1694 until its destruction by the government in 1855.[57] The establishment of the Vyg community coincided with a period of relative toleration under Peter the Great.[58]

The history of this community shows some of the contradictions and paradoxes of the relationship between the government and Old Belief. The Vyg community found itself near the front during the Great Northern War, fought between 1701 and 1721,[59] and prepared for a final confrontation in 1702 when news came that Peter's forces were advancing towards the settlement. According to a traditional anecdote, moderate members of the community convinced the rest that sacrifices should be made to prevent the destruction of the community. A delegation was sent to present the community's compliments to the emperor and offer their services to him in return for the right to continue using the old rites.[60] Some kind of compromise was made and the Vyg community was given full autonomy in return for its contribution to the development of state iron factories:

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[54]Robson, *Old Believers in Modern Russia*, 34-35; Robson, *Old Believers in the Modern World*, 61-64; Bolshakoff, 71-74; Conybeare, 153-156; Crummey, *Old Believers and the World of Antichrist*; Walter Kolarz, *Religion in the Soviet Union*, 140-142; Serge A. Zenkovsky, "The Ideological World of the Denisov Brothers", 49-66.

[55]Crummey, *Old Believers in the World of Antichrist*, 26.

[56]Ibid., 27-30.

[57]Ibid., xiv, 62; Conybeare, 154-155.

[58]Peter proclaimed general religious toleration in 1702, but retained many of the laws against Old Belief without enforcing them (Crummey, 62).

[59]James H. Billington, *The Icon and the Axe: An Interpretive History of Russian Culture*, New York: Vintage Books, 1966, 102.

[60]Crummey, 68.

> In 1705, [Prince] Menshikov's legislative order spelled out the conditions under which the community would be allowed to exist....The main duty of the Old Believers was to prospect for and extract iron ore which they were to ship in raw form to the nearest factory, located in the village of Povenets....The Vygovskaia Pustyn' had saved the essential features of its life by making an agreement with the infidel state. As long as Peter's government was willing to take a pragmatic approach to the continued existence of the Old Believers, the community was free to govern itself and preserve its beliefs.[61]

This very freedom to practise the Old Rite had come at a great cost to the unity of the community and, along with the question of marriage, became a major cause of the splintering of the Priestless concords. Theodosius Valiliev, formerly in union with the Vyg community, organized his own sect, the Theodosians, in 1706, over disagreements on the problem of the proper relationship to the state. For a time, the Theodosians were among the most radical of the Priestless groups. Their followers were encouraged to live in separate communities and have as little contact with outsiders as possible. While Simeon Denisov of the Vyg community introduced prayers for the Russian empress Anna in 1738, on the grounds that the Apostle Paul had allowed prayer for the Roman emperor, the Theodosians rejected the possibility of praying for the ruler, whom they perceived as the Antichrist:

> If the Russian Church is the synagogue of Antichrist and the Russian State supports it, the Russian State is necessarily the work of the Antichrist; and to pray for rulers who serve Antichrist is blasphemous....Furthermore, the Theodosians taught that it was equally sinful to observe the law of Antichrist's state; consequently they prohibited their followers from obeying the imperial laws and from appearing before the magistrates.[62]

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[61]Ibid., 69.

[62]Bolshakoff, 74-75. For the State, prayers for the Tsar, like the taking of the oath of allegiance, was a sign that one was not a political rebel. Thus, some Old Believers, like those at Vyg, came to an accommodation with the State, whereby their religious dissension could be separated from any political dissension toward the state, which would naturally be considered treasonous by the latter. This issue, as will be seen below, may have entered into a controversy over the taking of the oath of allegiance in Alaska in 1801. The political aspects of religious non-conformity were mentioned in the account of Sir George Simpson in 1841 in reference to Peter's tolerance except for political dissent: "Though the Eastern church, as such, had never been addicted to persecution, in the worst sense of the term, yet Peter the Great was the first sovereign of Russia who treated other denominations with justice and liberality - doing so, by the by, at the very time at which William the Third was introducing the same equity and humanity into England. In consequence of Peter's amelioration of ecclesiastical system, all sects now enjoy liberty of conscience in Russia, two cases perhaps excepted. The Roman Catholics, partly because they are chiefly Poles, and partly because they are suspected of clinging to Papal influence, are regarded with suspicion, but nothing more; and the Roskolniaks, a more fanatical tribe of schismatics from the national church, are sometimes driven about unceremoniously enough as disturbers of the public peace. Such are the only exceptions; and even in them there is vastly more of political caution than of sectarian intolerance" (De Armond, 181, Sir George Simpson, 1841).

Nor were the Theodosians alone in their opposition to Vyg's leaders. A smaller radical group, the Philippians, also left Vyg over the issue of prayers for the empress Anna. The disruptions of their leader, the former Vyg monk Philip, finally led to his denouncement to the civil authorities as an enemy of the State by the Denisovs, who continued to lead the Vyg community.[63] When the authorities arrived to arrest him, Philip burned himself with seventy followers. His remaining followers continued as one of the most severe and secretive groups, rejecting all contact with the state and imposing life-long celibacy.

Among the most radical extremists were the *Stranniki* (Wanderers), or *Beguny* (Runners). Euphemius, a deserter from the army and follower of the Philippians, founded the movement after concluding the Philippians were too worldly.[64] He and those who followed him were fierce in their denunciations of both civil and religious authority. In their beliefs and practices, the Wanderers had much in common with the Cathars in the medieval West.[65] The Wanderers, in turn, were divided into two groups -- those who could touch no money because the image of the Antichrist was impressed upon the coin, who had no property, passport, or name, and who wandered as a pilgrim or fugitive from place to place -- and "Home Christians," often well-to-do peasants who fed, sheltered, and concealed the active wanderers and became true Wanderers only on their deathbeds.[66]

By 1870, according to one specialist's count, there were 130 different sects of Old Belief in Russia. Many of these were small and radical groups which had continued to splinter away from the various Priestless concords.[67] While some groups, such as the Self-Baptizers, Prayerless, and Sighers rejected the sacraments, they did not demand celibacy as did some of the Priestless Old Believers and some Sectarians:

> The marriage union is accomplished among them without any religious rite; they only insist on a mutual agreement of bride and bridegroom and parents; but one party must not abandon the other without evidence there has been open violation of the marriage tie to excuse it.[68]

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[63]Ibid., 77.
[64]Ibid., 78-80; Conybeare, 156-164.
[65]Coneybeare, 159-161; Bolshakoff, 79.
[66]Bolshakoff, 79-80; Comer, "Rogozhin," 96.
[67] These included, among others, the "Saviourites," who denied all sacraments and public worship (Bolshakoff, 80-81); the *Netovtsi*, or "Nothingites," who likewise rejected baptism and other sacraments (Coneybeare, 164); "Self-Baptizers," who performed their own baptisms and marriages (Coneybeare, 164-5); and the "Prayerless" and the "Sighers." The latter two groups are similar to the Russian "Sectarians" in rejecting all symbols of worship, in their incorporation of many aspects of Gnostic, Cathar, and Manichean belief, and in their emphasis on the role of the Holy Spirit as both sole source and means of worship (Coneybeare, 168-172).
[68]Ibid., 169-170.

Issues of celibacy, marriage, and the degree of contact with or respect for civil and religious authority also divided the Russian Sectarians. Some of these groups are nearly indistinguishable from some of the concords of Priestless Old Belief, especially in its more extreme forms. Their origins, however, differ from that of Old Belief, and are somewhat obscure. Divided into "Spiritual Christians" and "Mystic Christians," the Sectarians were exiled or volutarily settled in many of the same areas as Old Believers and, like them, may have arrived in North American earlier than formerly thought.[69]

The *Dukhobortsy* (Doukhobors, "Spirit Wrestlers") and *Molokanye* (Molokans, "Milk Drinkers") are the most important of the "Spritual," "Rationalist," or "Protestant" sects whose departure from Orthodoxy preceded that of the Old Believers by several generations.[70] While some specialists detect foreign influences from Unitarians, Lutherans, Calvinists, Quakers, Anabaptists, Freemasons, and Rosicrucians, Coneybeare recognizes traits of the Cathars, Albigensians, and Bogomils in many of their beliefs and practices.[71] Thus, he suggests,

> ...we must regard this sect to some extent as a continuation on Russian soil of the primitive semi-gnostic, perhaps Marcionite and Pneumatic, Christianity of the first centuries. As it radiated from Asia Minor through the Balkans to South Russia, so from Rome it spread by way of Milan, Marseilles and Lyons throughout Western Europe. Widely diffused in the west under the crust of dominant Catholicism, it emerged into the light in the great upheaval of the Reformation; latent equally

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[69]For studies on the Doukhobors in Canada, see Koozma J. Tarasoff, "One Hundred Years of Doukhobors in Retrospect," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, XXXVII, 3 (1995), 1-23; Harry B. Hawthorn, ed. *The Doukhobors of British Columbia: Report of the Doukhobor Research Committee*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1952; Tarasoff, "The Spirit Wrestlers," *This Country Canada*, No. 4 (Winter 1994), 52-63; Tarasoff, "Doukhobors - Their Migration Experience" *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, IV, 1-2 (1972), 1-13; Paul H. Avrich, "The Sons of Freedom and the Promised Land," *The Russian Review* 21, 3 (July 1962), 264-276; Tarasoff, *Pictorial History of the Doukhobors*, Saskatoon: Modern Press, 1969; Tarasoff, *Plakun Trava: The Doukhobors*, Grand Forks: Mir Publication Society, 1982; Tarasoff, "Doukhobor Survival through the Centuries," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, XXVIII, 3 (1995), 4-23; *In Search of Utopia: The Doukhobors*, National Film Board of Canada; William Janzen, *Limits on Liberty: The Experience of Mennonite, Hutterite, and Doukhobor Communities in Canada*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990; N. G. Kosachova, "The Doukhobors," Jeletzky, T. F., ed., *Russian Canadians: Their Past and Present*, Ottawa: Borealis Press, 1983; F. Mark Mealing, "Doukhobor Architecture: An Introduction," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*. XVI, 3 (1984), 73-88; John Philip Stoochnoff, *Doukhobors As They Are*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1961; Stoochnoff, *Toil and Peaceful Life*, Vancouver: Liberty Press, 1971; George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, *The Doukhobors*, Toronto and New York: Oxford University Press, 1968; J. C. Yerbury, "The 'Sons of Freedom' Doukhobors and the Canadian State," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, XVI, 2 (1984), 47-70; John W. Friesen, "Pacifism and Anastasia's Doukhobor Village," *Alberta History* 41, 1 (Winter 1993) 14-19; Donald T. Gale and Paul M. Koroscil, "Doukhobor Settlement: Experiments in Idealism," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* IX, 2 (1977), 53-71.

[70]Coneybeare, 261-326. The Molokanye derived from the Dukhobos and for purposes of this study will be included with the Dukhobors. There seems to have been at least some contact between some Old Believers and Sectarians. The Oregon Old Believers chose to settle in the Willamette Valley in part because a group of Molokanye was already established there. Their manner of worship and beliefs vary, however. (Morris, *Three Groups*).

[71]Coneybeare, 261-264; Bolshakoff, 97-101.

> among the Slavs it came to the surface when the Raskol movement and the so-called reforms of Peter the Great stirred Russia to her depths.[72]

The first official notice of the Doukhobors occurred in 1792, when active persecution of them broke out in Ekaterinoslav. They were known to have spread throughout Russia and Siberia, with adherents in the regions of Kharkov, Tambov, the Caucasus, Saratov, Vogonezh, Kursk, and the Don. There were also Doukhobors in Moscow and Kaluga; in the north, including Finland, the region of Archangel'sk, and the island of Esel; and to the east in Irkutsk and Kamchatka. Under the tolerant reign of Alexander I, they were, like the Old Believers, allowed to worship and live in relative peace. During this period, many settled beside Mennonite and Hutterite communities in the Milky Waters area of the Crimea.

The Doukhobors, like Priestless Old Believers, rejected all authority of the Orthodox church; to them,

> The Church is a society selected by God Himself. It is invisible and is scattered over the whole world; it is not marked externally by any common creed. Not Christians only but Jews, mohammedans and other may be members of it, if only they hearken to the inward word....the inward word...existed in all ages, and enlightens all who are ready to receive it, whether they be nominally Christians or not.[73]

They are equally non-Orthodox in regard to marriage and other sacraments. As to the sacraments of the Church, the Doukhobors considered them offensive to God on the basis that they are mere signs rather than reality, and that real communion comes by word, thought, and faith.[74] Marriage, they believed,

> should be accomplished without any ceremonies; it needs only the will of those who have come of age and who are united in love to one another, the consent of the parents, and an inward oath and vow, before all-seeing God, in the souls of those who are marrying, that they will...remain faithful and inseparable. An external marriage ceremony, apart from the inward marriage, has no meaning...[75]

The *Khlysty* and *Skoptsy*:

Russian mystical thought dates from at least the fifteenth century, but ecstatic sectarians came to the attention of the authorities during the reign of empress Anna (1730-40). They called themselves "God's People" (*Bozh'i liudi*), or "Christs" (*Khristy*), but this latter term was perverted by a pun into *Khlysty* (Flagellants) after the whips said to be

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[72]Coneybeare, 263.
[73]Hawthorn, 266-7.
[74]Ibid., 268.
[75]Ibid.

sometimes used in their worship.[76] The origin of their doctrine is obscure, but it is distinguished by several characteristics: ecstatic worship, with singing, dancing, and prophesying; strict asceticism; a belief that their leaders were divine or divinely inspired; a conviction that the end of time was near; a belief in their community as God's chosen people; active and equal participation of women; and external adherence to Orthodoxy.[77] Bolshakoff notes that many of the features of their doctrine and worship are similar to Hindu teaching, particularly of the Vishnuite sect, but that other characteristics are common to the Manichaens and Bogomils:

> The People of God movement appeared first in the Volga provinces, whose traders and sailors traveled often to the Caspian Sea, Persia, and India, where Hindu beliefs could have been absorbed. on the other hand, the Manichaean writings were known in Russia for many centuries, and the Church made frequent efforts to stop them from spreading.[78]

Like the Doukhobors, the Khlysty believed that Christ is manifested in each individual and that, at the death of one of the Christs, the Christhood passes into the body of another. In Khlysty doctrine, the Holy Spirit in a Khlysty Christ would select his Mother (*Bogoroditsa* or *Theotokos*) and twelve apostles, who would then guide the congregation, called a "ship" or "nave." At his death, the Christhood would pass into the body of another, who then became the prophet and leader for the sect.[79]

The purpose of the religious meetings of the Khlysty was to achieve the soul's union with the Holy Spirit through ecstatic dances and controlled breathing. These meetings, called *radenie*, would culminate in prophesies and speaking in tongues.[80] Some members were considered healers and miracle-workers. Some aspects of the Khlysty are similar to shamanism, but they are in other ways closer to Old Belief.[81]

Although they acquired a reputation for promiscuity based on the assumption of others that their ecstatic meetings must end in orgies, in fact, the Khlysty as a rule emphasized perpetual celibacy.[82] Khlysty and Skoptsy did not recognize old (pre-Reform) or new (Nikonian) books. For them, the only authority was the revelation of the Holy

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[76]Vernadsky, *Tsardom*, 698-9; J. Eugene Clay, "God's People"; William J. Comer, "Rogozhin and the 'Castrates'."
[77]Clay, 69.
[78]Bolshakoff, 88.
[79]Vernadsky, 701; Coneybeare, 340-341.
[80]Vernadsky, 701, Bolshakoff, 90-91.
[81]Clay, 91.
[82]They generally condemned the practice of self-mutilation, and it was over this that the Skoptsy left the Khlysty. In other matters of doctrine and practice, they are similar. Skoptsy called themselves either People of God or White Doves (*Belye Golubi*) (Vernadsky, 701; Coneybeare, 367; Bolshakoff, 92-93).

Spirit in the "Book of the Dove," (*Kniga Golubinaia*) or the "Book of Deep Wisdom" (*Kniga Glubinnaia*).[83]

Unlike the Doukhobors or Priestless Old Believers, the "People of God" outwardly remained devout members of the Orthodox Church, attended services regularly, and took communion. This may explain why they did not initially come to the attention of church and government authorities.[84] The cult even appealed to some Orthodox and Old Believer monks and nuns:

> The soul's union with the Holy Spirit, to which the Khlysty aspired, seemed in line with Christian mysticism. The *radeniia* [pl.] gave vent to feelings suppressed by monastic discipline. As a result, nuclei of Khristy were formed in several monasteries and nunneries.[85]

While the majority of Khlysty adherants were peasants and artisans, there were also followers among the merchants and the movement even attracted members of the government and official church:

> In the eighteenth and the first quarter of the nineteenth centuries, a number of members of aristocratic families, as well as of church prelates, became sympathizers or even participants in the Khlysty movement.[86]

The Skoptsy, too, had a certain following among the merchants, aristocrats, and monastic clergy. In his discussion of Dostoevsky's *The Idiot*, William Comer observes:

> ...the Rogozhin family background, the house, and the novelized 'Castrates' are all fictional echoes of the historical position that actual 'Castrates' and their founder Kondratii Selivanov occupied in Saint Petersburg in the first years of the nineteenth century. Selivanov, having escaped from the exile imposed for his impersonation of the deceased emperor Peter III, took up residence in Saint Petersburg in 1797. Selivanov's fame as a holy man grew; although Emperor Paul had him committed to an insane asylum, he was released in 1802 by order of Alexander I, who extended to the sect the protection of official toleration. After the asylum Selivanov was moved first to the Smol'nyi almshouse; then, as the sect grew in fame and influence, he was installed in his own 'New Jerusalem,' a house built and maintained by the Petersburg merchant Nenast'ev. Selivanov's teachings attracted followers and admirers from all social groups, especially the merchants and the monastic clergy.[87]

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[83]Vernadsky, 699. The possible significance of the "Book of the Dove" as it relates to the meaning of gravehouse memorials in Russia and Siberia will be discussed in Chapter 5.
[84]Bolshakoff, 91; Vernadsky, 699.
[85]Vernadsky, 702.
[86]Ibid.
[87]Comer, 90-91.

Paul Call notes, "Some of the highest aristocrats were among Selivanov's visitors, and in 1805 the Tsar himself apparently honoured the chief Emasculate with a personal visit."[88] It was only after the Governor-General of St. Petersburg, Count Miloradovich, discovered that two of his own nephews were among the regular visitors at Selivanov's rites, and that several members of the Guard had joined the sect, that Selivanov was arrested in 1820 and sent to a monastery in Suzdal, where he remained until his death in 1832.[89]

While the Khlysty differed from the Doukhobors in continuing to maintain a connection with official Orthodoxy, they had certain common beliefs related to the Bogomils, Cathars, and Manicheans. These influences appear to have been especially strong in the Balkans and southern Russia, areas important to the development and survival of both groups. The mystical practices of the Khlysty were similar in some respects to Siberian shamanism and may have encourged the development of a form of aboriginal Christianity which incorporated elements of pre-Christian practice.

The Khlysty and Doukhobors also shared certain features with various concords of Old Belief, especially Priestless groups. Collectively, the Khlysty, Doukhobors, and some Priestless Old Believers with common beliefs and practices were called "Dark" Believers (*Temnovertsy*), who, according to the Priestless *Semeiski* of the Transbaikal, were among those who most commonly used gravehouses.[90] It is, then, significant that gravehouses can still be found in contemporary Canadian Doukhobor cemeteries, as well as in Old Believer cemeteries of the Transbaikal.[91] House-like memorials marking Doukhobor graves also appear in southern Russia and in Bogomil cemeteries in the Balkans.[92]

Circumstantial Evidence for the Early Presence Old Believers and Sectarians in North America:

As noted, both Priested and Priestless Old Believers, along with various other Sectarians, were located along the border regions of Russia. Isolation was particularly

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[88]Call, *Vasily I. Kelsiev*, 72.

[89]Ibid., 72-73.

[90]Personal communications, Ulan Ude, Kalinovka, Tarbagatai, and Kugoti, August 1996.

[91]White and Veillette also have a photograph of a gravehouse in the cemetery at Castlegar, B.C. While most Doukhobors reject the use of symbols such as the cross, this grave has a cross inscribed with the name of the deceased, "Harry T. Chernoff" (from White and Veillette field notes accompanying photographs). Perhaps this reflects a survival of influence from one of the other forms of Russian mystical Christianity in this region. Several gravehouses are shown in a photograph of "Repairing and cleaning up the Sion Cemetery, Grand Forks - 1960-61" in Tarasoff, *A Pictorial History of the Doukhobors*, Saskatoon: Modern Press, 1969, 198.

[92]The Bogomils in the Balkans often marked graves with stone monuments shaped like houses and temples, and decorated with motifs which recall those on gravehouses in Alaska and Russia. For Bogomil cemeteries see *The Bogomils*; Frances Stele, ed. *Art on the Soil of Yugoslavia From Prehistoric Times to the Present* (Published on occasion of the exhibition held in Paris 1971), Beograd: Jugoslavija. 1971; Rudolf Kutzli, *Die Bogumilen: Geschichte, Kunst, Kulture*, Stuttgart: Verlag Urachhaus Johannes M. Mayer GmbH & Co., 1977.

sought by Priestless Old Believers, who had settlements in Kostroma and the Viaznikov forests of the Vladimir region, along the Volga and Don rivers, in Siberia, in the areas near Novgorod and Pskov, in parts of Sweden, Poland, and Estonia, in the Olonets region, and along the shores of the White Sea. They were also found in Moscow. Many of the most important Priestless concords developed in the north, where there had been a chronic shortage of priests long before the Schism. As a result of this permanent shortage of clergy, northern laymen had long been accustomed to baptize, to confess their sins to one another, and to bury their own dead.[93] Children were taught to read from the old books, and literate laymen conducted the services allowed to the laity in a village chapel or prayer house.[94] Since priests rarely visited these remote colonies, the Priestless doctrine and practice were neither shocking nor unusual. In addition, there had been a long history of nonconformity in these northern regions, which had included the Strigolniks, the Judaizers, and the Nonpossessors. As Bolshakoff notes, "...these circumstances provided favorable soil in which the Priestless movement could take root.[95]

Many of the *promyshlenniki* originated from these northern regions. Stuart Tompkins, Olga Medushevskaia, Raisa Makarova, Svetlana Fedorova, and Lydia Black have all touched upon the social origins and positions of these men. Black, in particular, has researched how their origins might have affected their behaviour in the Aleutians and similar places in North America under Russian influence, and cites circumstances that contributed to the development of Priestless concords in the northern regions, noting parallel behaviours in the Aleutians that might stem from Old Believer practices:

> In religious matters, the people of this area [White Sea] were used to great independence. Traditionally, their religious communities were self-governed. Local festivals of pre-Christian origin merged with Christian observances, as was the case with the Radunitsa, commemoration of the dead. Incorporation of shamanistic practices of the local aboriginal populations into practices of Russian settlers was frequent. The recourse to shamans as curers even more so. More often than not, the daily religious life was conducted by laymen....In the 17th century, following the schism over the church reform, many communities followed the Old Belief. The practices of the latter reinforced the tradition of self-containment of the local religious communities and of conduct of the religious life without benefit of clergy....parallels in behaviour of the *promyshlenniki* in the Aleutian Islands suggest themselves.[96]

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[93]Bolshakoff, 69.
[94]Ibid., 70.
[95]Ibid.
[96]Black, *Promyshlenniki*, 287-288. These same conditions continued even after the arrival of missionaries in Alaska, in part because of the chronic shortage of priests, and the immense territory which had to be covered by them in their work. For Old Believer shamanistic curers in Siberia, see: F. F. Bolonev, "Archaic Elements in the Charms of the Russian Population of Siberia," in *Russian Traditional Culture*, 71-83; M. M. Gromyko, "Traditional Norms of Behavior and Forms of Interaction of Nineteenth-century

Other parallels include the importance of literacy among Old Believers and Alaska Native Orthodox. Old Believers tended to have a higher degree of literacy than other Orthodox peasants, and their literary traditions, including the *Lives* of their saints and martyrs, provided important models for literature of the nineteenth century.[97] Old Believers tended to collect books and use these, as well as the Bible, to teach their children at home.[98] We find, in this particular context, a revealing similarity with the Aleut population, as by Ioann Veniaminov noted in 1834:

> Almost all the people on the island of St. Paul and in any of the eastern districts have taught themselves how to read. They eagerly busy themselves reading Slavonic church books, although they understand next to nothing of their content.[99]

The use of metal icons and paper flowers among both Siberian Old Believers and Alaska Native Orthodox also provides circumstantial evidence for a connection between the two groups. Today, crosses and other cast icons are often found alongside painted ones in

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Russian Peasant," in *Russian Traditional Culture*, 225-235; N. A. Minenko, "The Living Past: Daily Life and Holidays of the Siberian Village in the Eighteenth and First Half of the Nineteenth Centuries," in *Russian Traditional Culture*, 159-223; V. G. Vlasov, "The Christianization of the Russian Peasants," in *Russian Traditional Culture*, 16-33; T. A. Bernshtam, "Russian Folk Culture and Folk Religion," in *Russian Traditional Culture*, 34-47; I. Ia. Froianov, et. al., "The Introduction of Christianity in Russia and the Pagan Traditions," in *Russian Traditional Culture*, 3-15; N. N. Veletskaia, "Forms of Transformation of Pagan Symbolism in the Old Believer Tradition," *Russian Traditional Culture*; Dianne E. Farrell, "Shamanic Elements in some Early Eighteenth Century Russian Woodcuts," *Slavic Review*, 52, 4 (Winter, 1993), 725-744; Crummey, "Old Belief as Popular Religion,", 708-709.

[97]On the importance of literacy for Old Believers and the impact of Old Belief on Russian literature, see: Serge A. Zenkovsky, "The Old Believer Avvakum: His Role in Russian Literature." *Indiana Slavic Studies* I, 1-51; Priscilla Hunt, "A Penitential Journey: The Life of the Archpriest Avvakum and the Kenotic Tradition," *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* 25, 1-4 (1991), 201-224; Thomas H. Hoisington, "Melnikov-Pechersky: Romancer of Provincial and Old Believer Life," *Slavic Review*. 33 (1974), 679-694; Harvey Goldblatt, "On the Reception of Ivan Vysens'kyj's Writings among the Old Believers," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 15, 3-4 (1991), 354-382; Abby Smith and Vladimir Budaragin, *Living Traditions of Russian Faith: Books and Manuscripts of the Old Believers*, Washington: Library of Congress, 1990; N. I. Savushkina, "The Legend of the City of Kitezh in Old and New Transcriptions," originally published in *Russkii fol'klor*, Vol. XIII, 1972, *Soviet Anthropology and Archeology* XIV, 1-2 (Summer-Fall 1975), 16-49; West, "The Neo-Old Believers of Moscow", 5-28; Jeffrey Brooks, *When Russia Learned to Read: Literacy and Popular Literature, 1861-1917*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983; Gosudarstvennii Istoricheskii Muzei, *Neizvestnaya Rossiya*, Moskva, 1994; Cherniavsky, *Tsar and People*; Vroon, Ronald, "The Old Belief and Sectarianism," 172-190; Hoisington, "Melnikov-Perchersky", 679-694; Comer, William J. "Rogozhin and the "Castrates", 85-99; Dewey, Horace, "*The Life of Lady Morozova* as Literature," *Indiana Slavic Studies* IV, (1967), 74-87; N. Leskov, *The Sealed Angel*; Leskov, *The Cathedral Folk*; Pavel Ivanovich Mel'nikov-Perchersky, *In the Forests* (*V lesakh*) ; Mel'nikov-Perchersky, *On the Hills* .

[98]This pattern is still repeated in homes of Old Believers who arrived more recently in Oregon, Alberta, and Alaska. See the National Film Board of Canada's *The Old Believers*, and Scheffel, *In the Shadow of the Antichrist.*

[99]Ioann Veniaminov, "Characteristics of the Aleuts of the Fox Islands," in Baron Ferdinand von Wrangell, *Russian America. Statistical and Ethnographic Information on the Russian Possessions on the Northwest Coast of America*. Kingston: The Limestone Press. (Tr. by Mary Sadouski from the German edition published in St. Petersburg in 1839), 134.

Old Believer homes in the Transbaikal. The cross in figure 3.9, from Saratovka, is illuminated by a candle, the wax of which has dripped over the edge of the shelf. Behind it are paper flowers. Like those parallels in literacy, the use of paper flowers with icons provide an intriguing parallel with a practice in Alaska Native Orthodoxy. In the Kuskokwim River village of Napaskiak, paper flowers are attached to willow twigs on Palm Sunday.

> The paper flowers are placed behind icons in the houses and are kept to be buried with the individual if he should die before the next Palm Sunday. The flowers of the past year are unceremonially burned.[100]

The Old Believer connection with the manufacture and use of metal icons is important to the discussion of early Russian exploration and settlement of Alaska and the North Pacific on two counts. First, similar cast copper-alloy icons were found in Alaska, despite the prohibitions in force against them during that period. This fact tends to support the view that Old Believers, or Orthodox in sympathy with them, were among the early settlers and explorers in the North Pacific and Alaska.[101] Second, the metal-work industry, of which the production of metal icons was only a part, contributed to the survival and even prosperity of some Old Believer groups, but also had a direct bearing on the exploration and settlement of Russian-America. Beliajeff notes, for example:

> The Pomorian Vyg Community was permitted to prosper under Peter the Great because of its contribution to the crucial iron and copper industries. As these industries spread into the Urals during the 18th century, Old Believer metallurgical masters from Vyg and elsewhere migrated with it [sic].[102]

The growing importance of Old Believer metallurgical expertise is also demonstrated by the fact that some of these families were initially selected to help outfit the Bering Expedition.[103] Beliajeff specifically notes the contribution of Old Believers in this field:

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[100]Wendell Oswalt, *Napaskiak: An Alaskan Eskimo Community*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1970 reprint of 1963 edition, 142. As this reference came to my attention after my return from Siberia, I have not yet confirmed if the paper flowers behind the Old Believer icons are used in the same way. As noted in Chapter 1, the icons themselves are often attached for at least 40 days to the gravepost or cross in Old Believer cemeteries in Russia, Siberia, and North America.

[101]For instance, an 18th century brass icon, "Triptych with Finial, Saints Julitta and Cyricus and Three Icons" (25819.130, Negative no. 87-5651-5) is illustrated in Ahlborn and Espinola, 57. Espinola notes a painted inscription on the reverse, "21163/Aleutian Is/J G Swan" refers to an earlier Smithsonian numbering, its attributed origin, and the collector." The icon's presence in Alaska at the time Swan was collecting materials for the Smithsonian suggests it was brought by someone who was willing to defy the prohibition against the manufacture and use of metal icons.

[102]Beliajeff, in Ahlborn and Espinola, 18.

[103]Len'kov, et. al. note that the original orders included instructions for arming the packet boats: "by order of the Admiralty College it has been determined to make for the packet boats at those [Demidovskie -- Authors] factories, instead of four-funt cannon, the same number of three-funt cannon at their present proportion and all supplies needed for them." (V. D. Len'kov, et. al. (trans. by Katherine L. Arndt) *The*

> The Old Believers clearly played a dominant role in the 18th century Russian metallurgical industry. Their dominance was particularly strong in the Urals, where they provided much of the labor force and most of the skilled masters. Building on their expertise and group solidarity, they soon established themselves as managers and owners as well. One Old Believer family, the Demidovs, controlled most Urals metallurgy by the early 18th century. They maintained close ties with the original Pomorian community at Vyg and supplied it with copper, gold, silver, money, and stores. Extensive Demidov properties were later sold to Savva Yakovlev, a Theodosian. In fact, most of the metallurgical specialists, both in the Urals and in other noted centers such as Olonets, Velikii Ustiug, and Tula, persisted in the Old Belief well into the 19th century.[104]

The Demidovs may provide a direct link between Old Belief and Russian America: Grigorii Ivanovich Shelikhov, the founder of the Shelikhov-Golikov Company in 1781 (the precursor of the Russian-American Company chartered in 1799), received financial assistance from an N. Demidov.[105] Richard Pierce observes in his discussion of Shelikhov's preparations,

> He was backed by an N. Demidov, one of the Ural mining magnates, who loaned him 50,000 rubles. This was a large sum; it is not clear how Shelikhov had gained this important ally.[106]

William Blackwell also notes the importance of Priestly (or Priestist) Old Believers in the realm of metal-work and other industries:

> By the end of the eighteenth century, hundreds of thousands of Priestists had set up communities in these desolate areas, groups which, although largely self-sufficient,

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Komandorskii Camp of the Bering Expedition (An Experiment in Complex Study), Anchorage: The Alaska Historical Society, 1992, 127. Additional research into the origins of some of the men named as members of the Bering Expeditions might reveal connections to Old Believer families. For instance, a "grenadier," Andrei Tret'iakov and an I. Tret'iakov were among those who died during the voyage of Bering's packet-boat, St. Peter (Alekseev, 294-295, footnotes 32 and 47). A Tret'iakov was also put in command of the *Petr i Pavel*, a vessel Grigorii Shelikhov built while in partnership in the company of Luka Alin and Petr Sidorov (Alekseev, 92). It is not known if either of these had any relationship to the Old Believer family of Tret'iakovs, but this, and similar instances may provide areas of future research.

[104]Beliajeff in Ahlborn and Espinola, 19, footnote 22. Merchants, who also had a major role in organizing and financing many of the later expeditions to North America, had a large number of Old Believers in their midst. See, for instance, West, "The Rjabusinskij Circle: Russian Industrialists in Search of a Bourgeoisie, 1909-1914," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 32, 3 (1984), 358-77; Pierre Kovalevsky, "Le 'Rascol' et son role dans le développement industriel de la Russie," *Archives de Sociologie des Religions* 3 (1957), 33-57; William L. Blackwell, "The Old Believers and the Rise of Private Industrial Enterprise in Early Nineteenth-Century Moscow," *Slavic Review* XXIV, 3 (1965), 407-424; Beliajeff, *The Rise of the Old Orthodox Merchants of Moscow, 1771-1894*, PhD Dissertation, Syracuse University, 1974.

[105]Accordig to Okun', this was Nikolai Nikitich Demidov (1773-1828), but Pierce argues that, based on the dates, it was more likely Nikolai's father, Nikita Akinfievich (1724-1789). Grigorii I. Shelikhov, *A Voyage to America, 1783-1786*, trans. by Marina Ramsay, ed. and intro. by Richard A. Pierce, Kingston: The Limestone Press, 1981, 8.

[106]Shelikhov, 8.

> maintained contact with each other and with religious centers that had developed...In return the religious centers received financial support from such wealthy communities as Ekaterinburg, where Old Believers owned most of the private metallurgical industry and numbered, according to most estimates, some 150,000, or the lower Volga area, where they came to control the east-west trade, the fairs, and the shipbuilding industry.[107]

The Demidovs are not the only figures with possible links between Russian-America and Old Belief or Russian Sectarianism. Although the evidence is largely circumstantial, it is possible that members of non-conforming religious groups, such as Doukhobors, Khlysty, and Old Believers were also connected to Russian-American Company personnel. The Company headquarters was established in St. Petersburg at about the time the Khlysty and Skoptsy found favour in the capital and elsewhere under Alexander I's tolerant policies. Furthermore, there is at least one direct connection between these groups and the Russian-American Company, although it manifested itself half a century later. Vasily Ivanovich Kelsiev was born into a family of impoverished gentry. At age ten, he began a ten-year course in a commercial school with the aid of a stipend from the Russian-American Company.[108] Employed at the main office of the Company in St. Petersburg, he corresponded with a friend who was a bookkeeper in the Sitka office. In 1858, he and his family left St. Petersburg for Sitka, where he planned to take up the post of assistant bookkeeper. Owing to problems with his wife's health, however, he came ashore at Plymouth, England. In May, 1859, he travelled to London to visit Alexander Herzen, who had emigrated there two years before. Herzen "was an idol of the Russian intelligentsia, and Kelsiev, like many others, had revered the very sound of his name."[109] As a result of this meeting, Kelsiev became involved in efforts to recruit the support of Old Believers and Sectarians for the social reforms sought by Herzen and the intelligentsia. Kelsiev's efforts among the Old Believers failed, primarily because of the fragmentation of the movement itself. He found most of the Priestly accords were loyal to the Tsar, while those most radically opposed to the government could not be convinced to join the efforts of the "Godless" intellectuals. By 1863, he was again employed by the main office of the Russian-American Company in St. Petersburg.[110]

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[107]Blackwell, *Old Believers and Private Enterprise*, 409.
[108]Richard Pierce, *Russian America: A Biographical Dictionary*. Fairbanks and Kingston: The Limestone Press, 1990, 226.
[109]Call, 28.
[110]Pierce, 226. Of course, Kelsiev's interactions with the Old Believers were in Russia, not Alaska. Yet, his interest in and sympathies with Old Belief might have been shared by others of his acquaintance. This point awaits further research.

Kelsiev's interest in Old Belief and other religious or political dissidents echoes that of other intellecturals during the nineteenth century. While he had no direct connection, as far as we know, to any Old Believers in North America, there are curious incidents recorded that tend to support the theory they were present, and were a problem to religious authorities in Russian-America, just as they were throughout Russia. The two most obvious areas concern issues of marriage and oaths of loyalty to the state -- both issues of dispute among Priestless Old Believers and more radical Sectarians who as a result of their beliefs would be subject to exile.

Marriage, Celibacy, and Loyalty Disputes in Russian-America:

The rejection of sacraments and marriage resulted in charges of impurity and sexual excesses against Dukhobortsi and Old Believers with similar views. These are precisely the charges laid against some of the *promyshlenniki* made by the first Orthodox missionaries to Russian-America. This issue, among others, led to problems between the Russian-American Company and the missionaries in their care. As Michael Oleksa observes, "The conflict between the missionaries and the company administration has hardly received the attention it deserves in popular histories."[111] In May 1795, just eight months after the arrival of the missionaries, Father Joasaph wrote to Grigory Shelikov,

> Since my arrival at this harbor [Kodiak] I have seen nothing done to carry out your good intentions. My own pleasure is that so many Americans are coming from everywhere to be baptized, but the Russians not only make no effort to encourage them, but use every means to discourage them. The reason for this is that their depraved lives become evident if compared to the good conduct of the Americans [the Native Alaskans]. Only with difficulty did I persuade a few Russian hunters to get married. The rest of them do not even want to listen to me.[112]

When the Holy Synod appointed Hieromonk Gideon of St. Alexander Nevsky Monastery to inspect the colony a few years later, he made similar remarks in his report to the company officials:

> ...the attitude of the Russians living here has, up to now, been based on rules incompatible with humanity....They have given up family life altogether, and have no good examples to follow. Therefore the poor Americans are, to the shame of the Russians, sacrificed to their immorality.[113]

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[111]Michael Oleksa, *Orthodox Alaska: A Theology of Mission*, Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1992.
[112]Ibid., 109-110.
[113]Ibid., 117.

Reports about "illegal marriages" also appear in the correpondence between the various offices of the Russian American Company in 1818. In a report to the Main Office on the 11th of April, the Governor appears to excuse three men shown as having "illegal marriages" in an audit:

> Although I note that these are not compiled properly, as they indicate for three men illegal wives, to have sent them back and returned to and from Kenai and Chugatsk Bays would take two years. Besides, in those localities, because of lack of churches and priests, marriages cannot be performed by church laws, but until the present, solemn promises were given to enter into lawful marriage at the first opportunity.[114]

Similar promises were often given by Old Believers in Siberia and Nothern Russia, and in some cases, marriages were performed in churches or bribes were given to have such marriages recorded.[115] Marriage, however, was not the only issue of contention between the Orthodox missionaries and the administration of company.

In 1801, there was a confrontation between the mission and the colonial governor over the administration of the oath of allegiance to the new Tsar. According to Father Gideon's Report,

> In accordance with the imperial manifesto published in 1796, the Kodiak people should have been brought to swear an oath of loyalty to the Russian Throne. As a result of being sent great distances by the company and the lack of time, this had not been done. Therefore, on January 1, 1801, Hieromonk Afanasii sought Baranov's permission to do this. In return, the hieromonk was shouted out and driven off with a warning not to return.[116]

After describing the ensuing confusion, Father Gideon claimed Baranov, the company manager, in a "towering rage,"

> began to call Father Afanasii a runaway serf, and the other clergy and officers rebels. Father Herman tried to calm the manager down, and asked him to state, in decent language, what his complaint was. Baranov shouted, 'Now you have found some kind of oath and turned all the Americans against us!' The humble elder replied,'The imperial manifesto was made public to all: if the religious mission has acted illegally at all, then the matter should be reported to the government....'"[117]

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[114]Pierce, *Correspondence*, 80.

[115]See Gregory L. *From Supplication to Revolution: A Documentary Social History of Imperial Russia.* New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988; Freeze, "Counter-Reformation in Russian Orthodoxy: Popular Response to Religious Innovation, 1922-1925" (internet site); Freeze, "The Orthodox Church and Serfdom in Prereform Russia," *Slavic Review* 48, 3 (1989), 361-387; Freeze, *The Parish Clergy in Nineteenth-Century Russia: Crisis, Reform, Counter-Reform*, Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1983; Freeze, "Social Mobility and the Russian Parish Clergy in the Eighteenth Century," in: *Slavic Review* 33, 1 (March 1974), 641-662.

[116]Oleksa, 223.

[117]Ibid., 224.

Baranov's response, in a letter to E. G. Larionov on March 22, 1801, gave a different interpretation of the events:

> New Year's Day a new thing happened. After the liturgy, the clerk...and several hunters were at my place drinking tea when the hieromonk ran in, very excited, and shouted that I must not send the bird hunting crew this year, and that all people on the island had to take the oath of allegiance immediately. After giving him some tea, I answered that because the bird crew would be leaving in May, there would be plenty of time, but to gather the people for the taking of the oath of allegiance right away was inconvenient for the hunters and the islanders....Suddenly he called me a traitor to the emperor, and accused me of interfering with the people's swearing the oath. I was sorely vexed at being called such a name because I make the interest of my country and the glory of our Monarch top priority in all my activities. I asked if he had an order from the bishop...He answered that they did not have a special decree but that the original manifesto was issued for 'all loyal subjects' and they consider the islanders to be such...Before leaving he told me that those men who live openly with unmarried girls would not be admitted to the church...I have not attended services since then.[118]

This curious incident is usually depicted as one which shows the concern of the monks to protect their Alaska Native flocks against the excesses of the "Russians" and to afford them the benefits of Russian citizenship.[119] Yet, other interpretations are possible. In both accounts, there is an implied understanding of the grave charges associated with the failure to take the oath. For many Priestless Old Believers and Sectarians, including Doukhobors, the taking of oaths was forbidden, and this, indeed, called their loyalty into question. It seems at least possible that this incident reflects a struggle between the clergy and the company officials who might have had some of these dissidents under their care.

Further support for the notion that Old Believers or Sectarians were among the settlers and workers in Russian America can be found in correspondence related to the possession of valid passports. As noted above, some Sectarians and Priestless Old Believers refused to carry passports on the grounds that doing so was an acceptance of the Mark of the Beast of the Apocalypse. On the other hand, some traded in false passports, arguing that these were necessary for the survival of true Christianity. Members of these concords, as well as some who accepted legal passports issued by the state, were able to set aside their normal principles about lies and honesty; some argued that it was, in fact, necessary to deceive the state whenever possible.

Although valid passports were required for all employees of the Russian-American Company, the Company was authorized to provide seven-year passports and to pay

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[118]Ibid., 224-5.
[119]Ibid., 223.

required taxes for these employees.[120] Correspondence in 1818 indicates that some of the passports lapsed or some employees were in possession of false passports.[121] For example, on April 3, 1818, a proposal to the North American office reads,

> On 21 March 1816, No. 66, the Main Office wrote to the NA office ordering that the hunter Liaskin, who was living here under the false name of Larionov, be deported, and that an answer be obtained from him as to how he came to adopt that false name. The NA office will please carry out that order at once, sending him on the CHIRIKOV to the port of Okhotsk, informing the Okhotsk office of the reason for his deportation, and sending along his 7 year passport if it is available. Besides this Laskin [sic] there are here under false names the fur hunters Samoilo Strakhov, under the name Rodion Antonov; Filip Pashenoi, under the name of Timofei Skurikhin; and Iakov Mikulov, under the name of Iakov Larionov, all of whom I have ordered deported on this year's transport. The office will therefore take depositions from these two as to how they perpetrated this crime and send the depositions and passports, where they are available, to the Okhotsk office for further action.[122]

Yet, in a letter to the manager of the Okhotsk office of May 3rd, Chief Manager Leontii Andreianovich Hagemeister's tone regarding these men is more conciliatory:

> Four men who lived here under false passports are being sent out. Make every effort to see that they are admitted under the Most Gracious [Imperial] manifesto [amnesty], which they wanted to utilize, and already under Mr. Baranov they expressed a wish to apply for new passports. One of them, Iakov Mikulov,

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[120]Dymtryshn and Crownhart-Vaughan, *Colonial Russian America*, 42; Pierce, *Russian-American Company, Correspondence*, 44, 67, 70, 93, 148-149; K. T. Khlebnikov, *Notes on Russian America, Part I: Novo-Arkhangel'sk*, trans. by Serge LeComte and Richard Pierce, Kingston and Fairbanks: The Limestone Press, 1994, 73-74. For information on the structure and rights of the Company, see Basil Dymtryshyn, "The Administrative Appartus of the Russian-American Company, 1798-1867," *Canadian American Slavic Studies* 28, 1 (Spring 1994), 1-52. For the differences between the Russian-American Company and the private compaines which preceeded it, see Alekseev, *The Destiny of Russian America: 1741-1867*; Lydia Black, "*Promyshlenniki*...Who Were They?"; Federova, *The Russian Population in Alaska and California:*; R. V. Makarova, *Russians on the Pacific, 1743-1799*; Stuart R. Tompkins, "After Bering: Mapping the North Pacific," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*. XIX, 1 & 2 (1958), 1-55; Stuart R. Tompkins and Max L. Moorhead, "Russia's Approach to America," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*. XIII, 2 (1949), 55-66 and XIII, 3 & 4 (1949), 233-255; V. N. Berkh, *A Chronological History of the Discovery of the Aleutian Islands*, Transl. from the Russian edition (St. P., 1823) by Dmitri Krenov, Richard A. Pierce, ed. Kingston: The Limestone Press, 1974. As noted by Dymtryshyn, from 1730 until 1796, none of the territories of the North Pacific were included in any constituted administrative unit of the Empire. This, without doubt, also led to situations where the need for a valid passport was of less urgency than in places under greater scrutiny by government officials.

[121]Pierce, *Correspondence*, 14, on instructions related to expired passports. A letter from Chief Manager Hagemeister to former manager Baranov on May 10, 1818 also refers to the assignment of blame regarding people in the colonies without seven year passports (105).

[122]Ibid., 46. On April 6th, Hagemeister sent a report to the Main Office in which he states that the Okhotsk office had demanded that 100 men with expired passports be sent there. "Finding execution of this demand completely impossible, but wishing to display readiness to carry it out as far as possible, I have decided to send 9 men from those named." One of these is Iakov Larionov, who has lived under a false passport. Hagemeister further explains that among the hundred people named, 29 requested to stay in America, and he encloses an attached list, noting, "Many others, who are absent on duty from this locality, will also wish to stay, with imperial permission, so as to put their affairs in order." (*Correspondence*, 71)

> formerly called Iakov Larionov [here], wishes to return. He is indebted to the company and is useful in this locality. Please try to get him a new passport and return him on the CHIRIKOV. I also ask the same for Samoilo Strakhov, who went under the name of Rodion Antonov.[123]

While it is not known why false passports were used, the possibility cannot be discounted that at least some may have provided means of work for dissidents who otherwise could or would not have been able to obtain legal documents.

Evidence in Native American Folklore, Legend, and Codes of Appearance:

In the two hundred years since the beginning of the Schism, years which coincide with the exploration and settlement of Siberia and Russian-America, Old Belief and related movements had fragmented into countless groups, sometimes having little in common except their tenuous legal status within the State and the open hostility they met from the official Church. While curious incidents between clergy and company administration can be interpreted to suggest the possiblity of Sectarian or Old Believer presence, direct connections can be made through Old Believer activities in the metal-work industry at the time of Alaska's exploration. Other circumstantial evidence related to Old Believers in North American during the Russian-American period exists in details of worship, dress, the wearing of beards, and Native folklore about "Lost Russians."

The Vyg community of Old Believers found it necessary to come to an agreement with the State in order to ensure its survival. Peter made similar accommodations with other groups of Old Believers, as well, including the Vetka and Starodub settlements and those in the Baltic. He granted Cossacks in the Caucasus the right to practice Old Belief, and to make the two-finger sign of the cross while swearing allegiance to him.[124]

At the same time, however, he enacted regulations that were of special consequence to Old Believers. Old Believers were required to register as schismatics and had to pay a double tax as a consequence. Peter's early reforms included enforced shaving (1705) and adoption of European dress (1701). These two reforms and the Old Believer responses to them are important, for they provide some of the circumstantial evidence for the presence of Old Believers, or those who sympathized with them, in Alaska during the Russian-American period.

In 1701, Peter decreed the adoption of Western dress.[125] In spite of this decree, Old Believers continued to wear Russian clothing of seventeenth-century style. While

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[123]Ibid., 93.

[124]Crummey, 70.

[125]"[All ranks of the service nobility, leading merchants, military personnel, and inhabitants of Moscow and the other towns, except the clergy] are to wear German clothes and hats and footwear and to ride in

some Old Believers now wear traditional clothing only for church, many in Alaska, Alberta, Oregon, and Siberia still use these garments for everyday as well. Figures 3.10 and 3.11 illustrate the traditional dress of Priestless *Semieski* in the Transbaikal region. Like the *Sinkingsi*, *Harbintsi*, and *Turchane* of Alaska, Alberta, and Oregon, here women's dresses are made from brightly-coloured floral prints or pastel solids. Traditional clothing for women consists of the *sarafan* (or jumper), *rubaha* (blouse), *zapon* (apron), *poyas* (tasseled belt), and baptismal cross. The headdress is also distinctive: the hair of a married woman is covered by a *shasmura* (bonnet with a drawstring and hair band), over which is a second scarf (*shikka*). For religious services, a third scarf is used which covers the hair, neck, and shoulders.[126] In the Transbaikal, various ornaments attached to the front of the scarf indicate the age and marital status of the woman.[127]

Old photographs of women in Alaska Native villages show women dressed in similar traditional garments. A recent videotape produced by the University of Alaska Fairbanks includes a segment on the all-night Easter service in the village of Russian Mission.[128] The women arrive at the church dressed in colourful *sarafans*, their hair covered by the *shasmura*, *shikka* and scarf.

Old Believer men also continued to wear traditional clothing, which included the *caftanye*, or long coat, and *rubaska*, or old-style shirt, and woven belt.[129] Although a few Old Believer men now shave, the majority do not. Clothing and men's beards have long served as symbols as potent as those directly related to liturgy and worship:

> In the Old Believer's life, appearance becomes higly symbolic of one's attachment to the group and of one's place within society. Traditional dress becomes identified and integrated with a total way of life, and the manner of dressing becomes one of the most important entities of their collective consciousness and representation.[130]

German saddles; and their wives and children without exception are also so to dress. Henceforth nobody is to wear [traditional] Russian or cossack clothes or to ride in Russian [i.e. Tartar(style)] saddles; nor are craftsmen to make such things or to trade in them. And if contrary to this the Great Sovereign's decree some people wear such Russian or cossack clothes and ride in Russian saddles, the town gatekeepers are to exact a fine from them...Also, craftsmen who make such things and trade in them will be, for this disobedience, severely punished" (Cracraft, 110-111).

[126]Todd-Hooker, "Russian Old Believers in Woodburn, Oregon," 59-60; Dolitsky and Kuz'mina, "Cultural Change," 228-229; David W. Rickman, "Costume and Cultural Interaction in Russian America" in Richard Pierce, *Russia in North America*, 240-288; V. A. Aleksandrov, *Na Putyakh Iz Zemli Permskoii V Sibir*, Moskva: Nauka, 1989, 128-131, 146171, 187, 192-195.

[127]Personal communication, Ulan Ude, 1996.

[128]*A Legacy of Faith: The Russian Orthodox Church in Alaska*, KUAC, University of Alaska Fairbanks. In addition to the similarity of clothing, the service itself is like the all-night Easter vigil of the Old Believers as observed in Oregon in 1991. It may also be significant that worshippers here, and in Kodiak in another segment, are shown blessing themselves with the two-finger sign. A closer comparison of Alaska Orthodox services with those of Old Belief might be fruitful.

[129]Todd-Hooker, 59; Dolitsky and Kuz'mina, 228-229.

[130]Dolitsky and Kuz'mina, 229.

More than other aspects of traditional appearance, Peter the Great's edict on shaving had important ramifications for Old Believers, and there is some evidence that disputes over this question may have extended even into North America. According to Peter's edict of 1705:

> All courtiers and officials in Moscow and all the other towns, as well as leading merchants and other townsmen, except priests and deacons, must henceforth by this the Great Sovereign's decree shave their beards and mustaches. And whosoever does not wish to do so, but to go about with [traditional Russian] beard and mustache, is to pay a [hefty] fine, according to his rank...And the Department of Land Affairs [in Moscow] is to give [such persons] a badge in receipt, as will the government offices in the other towns, which badges they must wear. And from the peasants a [small] toll is to be exacted every day at the town gates, without which they cannot enter or leave the town.[131]

Beard shaving and the wearing of foreign clothes were among the questions discussed by the Moscow *Stoglav* (Hundred Chapters), the Church Council of 1551. Although this is prior to the period under discussion, it is important because Old Believers, like the authorities of the official Church, considered this Council's decisions authoritative in such matters, although they disagreed on the exact meaning and interpretation of these decisions. Passages denouncing foreign customs were included in questions of sinful behaviour in the *Stoglav*:

> ...People calling themselves Christians, people thirty years old and old people are shaving their heads, beards and mustaches, and they are wearing garments and clothes of lands of other faiths. How can such persons be recognized as Christians?[132]

Wearing beards was an established Muscovite custom, and there were many rules against shaving from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. While the *Stoglav* council did not pronounce anathema against beard shavers, it discouraged shaving with statements such as "...it does not befit Orthodox Christians to do such a thing."[133] Yet, the council at the same time condemned shaving as a Latin heresy.[134]

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[131]James Cracraft, ed., *Major Problems in the History of Imperial Russia*, Lexington, MA and Toronto: D. C. Heath and Co., 1994, 111.

[132]Kollman, *Stoglav*, 550.

[133]Ibid., 555-556.

[134]"Likewise, the sacred canons prohibit all Orthodox Christians from shaving one's beard and cutting one's mustache. Such acts are not Orthodox, but Latin....A canon of the Apostles says as follows: 'If someone shaves his beard and appears thus, no service should be performed over him [at death], nor should the forty days' memorial service be celebrated for him, nor should liturgical loaves or candles be brought to church in his memory. He shall be accounted among the unfaithful, for this [shaving] is the custom of a heretic." (Ibid., 550).

Kollman notes that several of the passages of the *Stoglav* which argue against shaving misquote the Old Testament or cite the wrong Byzantine canons; the Apostolic canon quoted in footnote 134 does not exist.[135] Yet, the force of the Council, older tsarist decrees against shaving, and Muscovite custom determined that Old Believers would strongly resist Peter's reforms on this issue. Many Old Believers claimed that since man was made in the likeness of God, and icons showed Christ with a beard, shaving desecrated the image of God.

Alaska Native oral traditions include tales where the issue of beards and shaving is central; these seem to indicate the presence of groups of Russians with different beliefs in Alaska during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. An example is found in the Chugach tale of "The Soldiers that Ran Away from "Rooshia". According to this story,

> When the Americans bought Alaska there were ten soldiers who ran away from "Rooshia" [Russia], because they did not want to have their hair and beards cut off....They wanted to look like Jesus.[136]

The story ends by stating that Serebryanikov's (Serebrennikov) expedition up the Copper River was, in part, to seek the soldiers who ran away from "Rooshia" because they wanted to look like Jesus.[137]

There are additional stories about fugitives or other "Lost Russians," many of which include descriptions of "bearded" men. Some originated in Siberia and the Russian Far East.[138] While many of these tales clearly refer to mythical "bearded giants" or strange animals, a few may have a different interpretation altogether. Okladnikov believes some reflect the "naive peasant dream of a free land without authorities and taxes, and also the Old Believer legend of a sort of City of Kitezh."[139] I. D. Sel'skii was told in Yakutsk of

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[135]Ibid., 551.

[136]Kaj Birket-Smith, *The Chugach Eskimo*, Copenhagen: Nationalmuseets Publikationsfond, 1953, 142-143. It continues with a somewhat garbled account of how the men flee up the river (possibly the Copper River). Their hiding place, which has pigs, horses, cows, and chickens, is known by only one man, who marks the site on a chart. He visits the bay where they are located annually, but does not betray them to the Russian soldiers who come looking for the deserters. Eventually this man dies, but only after watching his wife burn the chart marking the location where the men are hidden. The story concludes with the Russians sending out expeditions to find the men, but failing because the Indians refuse to betray their hidden location.

[137]Serebryanikov's expedition was one of several made by the Russians. For details see Andrei V. Grinev, "On the Banks of the Copper River: The Ahtna Indians and the Russians, 1783-1867," *Arctic Anthropology* 30, 1 (1993), 54-66; William S. Hanable, *Alaska's Copper River: The 18th and 19th Centuries*, Anchorage: The Alaska Historical Society for the Alaska Historical Commission, 1982; James Kari, transcriber and ed. *Tatl'ahwt'aenn Nenn'- The Headwaters People's Country: Narratives of the Upper Ahtna Athabaskans*, Fairbanks: University of Alaska, Alaska Native Language Center, 1986; Alekseev, 264-265.

[138]A. P. Okladnikov, "The Land of the Bearded Ones" in *Soviet Anthropology and Archeology* VI, 4 (Spring 1968), 25-33.

[139]This legend tells of the city of Kitezh which vanished during an attack by the Mongol conqueror Batu Khan. It is made visible to the pure in heart alone.

the existence of a settlement on unknown islands of the Arctic Ocean near Alaska, presumably of Old Believers who had fled there. A hunter who stumbles onto it by accident is imprisoned there for a period, during which time he hears a bell and concludes that this is a secret schismatic settlement. He is eventually released and given gifts but sworn not to divulge the location of the settlement.[140]

Early accounts of the Russian exploration of Alaska are peppered with curious rumours of "lost Russians" (described as bearded and bowing before icons), and with speculation about where they might be located and how they might have arrived in North America. Svetlana Fedorova has analyzed many of these accounts and concludes:

> By the 19th century the possibility of traces of the Russian settlements surviving one-and-a-half or two centuries, in practical terms, was most unlikely, inasmuch as the small number of Russian colonists must have been by this time absorbed into the mass of the native population of northwestern America.
>
> Nevertheless, of itself the abundance of hearsay information about Russian settlements testifies that Alaska in the 17th and first half of the 18th century was probably the object of settlement by Russian emigrants. The possibility of such a settlement becomes entirely feasible if one takes into account the fact that Russian explorers and seafarers reached the northeastern extremity of Asia in this epoch and began to master the sea that washed the shores of Alaska.[141]

One of the most striking of these accounts is that of a supposed settlement of Russians along the River Kheuveren, the location of which has never been proved.[142] These people were believed by the Russian explorers sent to find them to have been the descendants of members of Dezhnev's expedition lost in 1648, when four of the seven

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[140]It tells of the existence "long, long ago of inhabitants who were first exiled here and who then fled and settled on unknown islands in the Arctic Ocean. Long ago, a certain hunter was examining his traps on the islands near the mouth of the Kolyma. He was caught in a blizzard and lost his way. He wandered for a long time in the watelands round about, and finally his dogs took him to of a few houses...The wanderer was taken in by a woman, but she said nothing to him at all. Late at night, the *muzhiks* returned from hunting and began to question the stranger as to who he was, where he had come from, how and for what purpose he had come, whether he had heard of them before and, finally whether someone had sent him. They kept him under guard for six weeks, placed him in a separate house, and did not permit him to move a step away or to converse with anyone. While thus imprisoned, he often heard the sound of a bell, and the inhabitants of the secret settlement gathered for prayer, from which he concluded that this was a schismatic convent. Finally, the inhabitants of that settlement in the wilderness agreed to let the trapper go but obtained from him an oath to keep silent of all he had seen and heard. Then, they bound his eyes, led him out of the village, and took him a very long way. When they parted, they made him a gift of a large number of polar foxes, red foxes, and *sivodushka* foxes." Okladnikov, "Bearded Ones," 30, quoted from Sel'skii "Opisanie dorogi ot Iakutska do Sredne-Kolymska," *Zapiski Sibirskogo otdeleniia Russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva, Vol. 1*, 1856, 84-108.

[141]Svetlana G. Fedorova, *The Russian Population in Alaska and California, Late 18th Century - 1867*, Kingston: The Limestone Press, 1973, 97-98.

[142]For one of the letters proposing an investigation of the rumours, see Letter 21 on 21 Jan 1818 in Richard A. Pierce, *The Russian-American Company: Correspondence of the Governors, Communications Sten: 1818* (Alaska History, No. 25), Kingston: The Limestone Press, 1984, 7-8.

koches vanished.[143] As early as the end of the 1660's, Taras Stadukhin attempted to retrace Dezhnev's route around the Chukotskii Nos, and heard rumors that on an island "in the Penzhinsk sea live bearded men who wear long clothes and call the Russians brothers."[144] G. F. Müller saw in these reports a blend of rumours about Alaska's existence with legends about the "bearded" men of the Kurile Islands. As Fedorova notes, however, Müller did not consider the possibility of a Russian settlement in America to be a fantastic invention. In 1737 he wrote,

> There is genuine information in the ostrog of Anadyrsk obtained from the Chukchi that beyond the sea east of Chukotskii Nos there are islands or a mainland...The existence of a bearded people and their long clothes is confirmed by this information. From them they receive wooden cups, which in every way are like Russian work; and it is to be hoped that these people are actually descendants of Russians whose ancestors in the old days made sea voyages, had bad luck at sea, and remained on these islands or on the mainland.[145]

In his report to the Kamchatsk authorities on 12 September 1745, M. V. Nevodchikov wrote that one of his informants told him of a fourth large island called "Sabin," possibly the American continent or Alaska Peninsula beyond those they had aleady found in the Aleutians:

> ...on this island live many people and it is said that they are similar to the Russians and pray to God, have books and guns but not many, and at times visit them in baidaras.[146]

The mention of books in this case is significant, as Priestless Old Believers held books in high regard. Other reports noted that the type of dwellings conformed to traditional Russian log construction instead of yurts built by the Chukchi and Yukagirs.[147] Ivan Kobelev, a member of Billing's expedition, gained further information from native informants about this supposed settlement in July, 1799:

> ...on the American land by the river Khevren (Kheuveren), there is an ostrog called Kymgovei (Kymgoven), where dwell Russians who speak Russian, who read, write and worship icons, and in other ways differ from the Americans, for among the Americans beards are rare, and they pluck them, whereas among the Russians living there they are thick and large.[148]

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[143]Fedorova, 41.
[144]Ibid.
[145]Ibid., 41-42.
[146]Alekseev, 35.
[147]Fedorova cites reports from 1762 and 1769 on this question (44).
[148]Ibid., 45; Alekseev, 76-77.

Furthermore, the informant described "letters" written by these Russians on planks of wood or bark, much like those used by ancient Novgorodians.[149] These "settlers'" form of worship was described as well:

> [They] gather in a great building, where they pray. They also have a certain place on the floor where they place painted wooden planks, opposite which they stand, first the adult males and after them the others.[150]

In 1818, Eremei Rodionov set out with a detachment of seven men to gather more information about the Kheuveren settlement. He brought back an old *toion*, Kylymbak, from a Kuskokwim settlement. Kylymbak was one of the few local inhabitants who had once made a journey to the north of his village:

> Following the sea coast via 'Indian villages,' he reached a large river that flowed into the 'Western Sea.' On the north 'side' of this river was found a 'village of girls to which the local Indians from this side go...' The Alaskan inhabitants 'by trading ...with those women' obtained 'European goods:' iron axes, copper kettles, brass articles, tobacco pipes, tobacco, corals (beads).[151]

Fedorova suggested that despite the difficulty of determining the location to which Kylymbak referred, it could be the Koyuk or Kuzitrin River. Kylymbak adds further information of interest in his description of a ritual performed by the Indians when he visited a nearby village:

> '...the local Indians, as was their custom, played games [a ritual ceremony - S.F.] which were attended by two men who came on skis from the region of the girls' village. They wore shirts, or troeklinki, and trousers made out of deer skin without the hair and decorated with black paint and black skin boots and had beards. Kylymbak showed that the cut of the dress of those people was similar to Russian dress. The description of their weapons also suggested that they were not of local manufacture: 'they had a copper gun with one end of the barrel wide and the other narrow resembling a musket, and another had a copper tube like a gun that was decorated with black sepiami [?] and white lines. None of the local inhabitants understood the visitors' language and after looking at the'game' they disappeared.'[152]

This account is of special interest because of the mention of the separate "girl's village," with men of Russian appearance living nearby. Perhaps it indicates the establishment of a

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[149]Fedorova, 46; M. V. Thompson, *Novgorod the Great: Excavations at the Medieval City Directed by A. V. Artsikhovsky and B. A. Kolchin.* New York and Washington: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1967. Kobelev also travelled to King Island where he met American Eskimos who again spoke of bearded men living in the Alaska interior (Alekseev, 85).

[150]Fedorova, 46. This division by age and sex is still seen among some contemporary Old Believer services (personal observation, Woodburn, Oregon, 1991).

[151]Ibid., 66-67.

[152]Ibid., 67-68.

monastic community along the lines of Vyg, where a separate village for the women was built nearby, a pattern repeated in other regions settled by members of the *Pomorian* concord.[153]

Another group of "Lost Russians" was, without doubt, important to events in Alaska. Unlike the Khevren River settlements, in this case there was never any question about the origin of the men lost along the northwest coast of North America. The exact circumstances of their disappearance, however, remain a mystery. The men were members of the Second Siberian-Pacific Ocean Expedition organized by Vitus Johanson Bering and Aleksei Il'ich Chirikov. The report of their disappearance, submitted by Chirikov to the Admiralty College on December 7, 1741, documents, for the first time, European presence in what is now Southeast Alaska.[154]

For nearly a century, various rumours persisted about the possibility the men had survived, fueled by the fact that "meetings" with them or their descendants were reported by members of expeditions mounted by various nations.[155] Legends placed their supposed

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[153]Crummey, Old Believers, 72. The loss of the marriage sacrament for these Priestless Old Believers, combined with the requirement for celibacy necessitated the founding in 1706 of a convent on the Leksa River, about twelve miles from the men's settlement. The women's community was organized in the same way as the men's. Male workers, who lived in their own settlement near the convent, assisted the sisters with heavy labour.

[154]"On 18 July 1741, after the packet boat Sv. Pavel had sailed northward for two days along the coast of the American mainland from latitude 55° 36' N. (to latitude 58° N.), Chrikov decided for "appropriate reconnaissance," to send navigator Avraam Demet'ev and ten members of the crew ashore. The party took gifts along for the local inhabitants, "one copper kettle, an iron kettle, two hundred corals [beads - S.F.], three packages of Chinese tobacco [?], one bolt of nankeen, one of damask, five rattles [?], a paper of needles...ten one-ruble pieces." All the sailors were armed and took a small copper cannon and two signal rockets with them.

Six days then passed without communication of any sort from shore. Assuming the reason for such a long absence to be a defect in the boat, Chirikov on 24 July sent a detachment to aid them in a small boat, a carpenter and caulker with the necessary materials, "and boatswain Sidor Savel'ev volunteered to take them; and in addition, seaman Fadeev, who wanted to go ashore was sent to row the boat." The next day two boats of local natives issued from the bay where the Chrikov's men had landed. The smaller of the two, bearing four paddlers, one of whom wore a red dress, approached; but at a considerable distance from the packet boat the people in it "stood on their knees and cried twice: 'agai, agai,' waved their hands, and then suddenly turned and rowed back towards the shore." Numerous signs of friendliness expressed by the crewmen produced no results. Chirikov considered the aborigines' reluctance to approach the packet boat as direct proof that, "they had met the people we had sent ashore with hostility: they had either killed them or held them captive." The tragedy of losing fifteen crewmen was made worse by the impossibility of again landing due to the loss of both boats. On 27 July, then being at latitude 58°21'N., Chirikov on the advice of his officers, considering the difficulty of the return voyage and the limited stock of fresh water, made the painful but inescapable decision to cease waiting and to set course for Kamchatka (Fedorova, 78-79). For a more detailed account of the events, see Vasilii A. Divin, *The Great Russian Navigator, A. I. Chirikov*, trasn. by Raymond H. Fisher, Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1993 (The Rasmuson Library Historical Translation Series, Volume VI), 156-164 and A. I. Alekseev, *The Destiny of Russian America, 1741-1867*, trans. by Marina Ramsay, ed. by R. A. Pierce (Alaska History No. 34), Kingston and Fairbanks: The Limestone Press, 1990, 22-25.

[155]According to A. I. Alekseev, the men were navigator Avraam Mikhailovich Dement'ev and sailors of the first grade Petr Tatilov, Grigorii Zubov, and Ivan Oshmarin, the soldiers Iakov Asamalov, Nikifor Panov, Grigorii Kul'tyshev, Ivan Glatko, Michael Lozhnikov Men'shogo and the interpreters of the

settlements over hundreds of miles along the American coast, from L'tua Bay (near Yakutat) to the mouth of the Columbia River.[156] Because the survival and settlement of Russians in this region would support Russian claims to first discovery, and thereby give them exclusive rights to the land and resources, Spanish, British, and American interests were seriously threatened. Thus, the fate of the "Chirikov men" came to play a role in the Spanish and British expeditions in the Pacific, the Nootka crisis between these same nations, and in the eventual establishments of the boundaries of Russian-America which were transferred to the United States with the sale of Alaska.[157]

Chirikov reported that the crew of the *St. Paul* assumed the men had been killed or taken captive; many who have speculated about the men's fate have concluded they were either killed by native peoples or drowned in whirlpools without ever reaching shore. Sven Waxell, an officer on the *St. Peter*, wrote:

> One can assume with complete assurance...that when they approached the shore, the Americans probably hid and the men, who arrived in the boats, not suspecting the danger that threatened them as they landed on shore, dispersed in several directions beyond the water for berries and fruits or other necessities. Thus, it is necessary to assume, they were separated one from the other when the Americans, finally seizing the opportune time, appeared suddenly between them and the boat, cutting off their retreat. If most of the men, or even six or eight of them, had remained near the boat, with so many guns and powder they could have kept even several hundred of the savage Americans at a distance for some time, for they probably did not possess firearms...at least they could have pulled away from shore.[158]

Lev S. Berg, a researcher into the history of the exploration of Kamchatka and the Pacific Ocean, believed Chirikov's explanation was improbable:[159]

> ...Declaring that the mariners drowned, Berg cites the occasion when during the course of his voyage the French navigator La Pérouse lost two boats in a

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Kamchatka ostrog Dmitrii Sharakhov and Ivan Panov in the first boat. In the second boat to disappear were Boatswain Sidor Savel'ev and sailor Dmitrii Fadeev who volunteered to go with carpenter Fedor Polkovnikov and caulker Elistrat Gorin (Alekseev, 23-24). Further research might reveal the origins and backgrounds of these men. It might also be relevant to determine if any of these names are recognized by Alaska Natives in the region where the men might have settled.

[156]Fedorova, 78-80.

[157]Ibid.; Divin, 156-164; Glynn Barratt, "The Afterlife of Chirikov's Lost Men," *Bering and Chirikov: The American Voyages and Their Impact*, ed. by O. W. Frost. Anchorage: Alaska Historical Society, 1992, 265-275; Robin Fisher, *Vancouver's Voyage: Charting the Northwest Coast, 1791-1795*, Vancouver and Seattle: Douglas & McIntyre, 1992, 10-11; Barry M. Gough, *The Royal Navy and the northwest coast of North Aerica, 1810-1914: A Study of British Maritime Ascendancy*, Vancouver: UBC Press, 1971, 30-34, 41-45, 108-130, 146-148; Robin Fisher, *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890*, Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994 reprint of second edition published 1992, 1-23; Glynn Barratt, *Russian Shadows on the British Northwest Coast of North America, 1810-1890: A Study of Rejection of Defence Responsibilities*, Vancouver: UBC Press, 1983; Alekseev, 126-127, 146-149.

[158]Divin, 163-4.

[159]Ibid., 164. According to Divin, Berg's assertion is "without basis."

> whirlpool...The point of view of the American Golder is also without foundation. He explained the loss of the mariners by the fact that the longboat and small boat supposedly encountered a whirlpool. It is unlikely that both boats, on which were Russian mariners who had so often shown their courage and ability to cope with difficulties, were lost in such a manner when the natives' boats emerged freely from the bay and returned...[160]

What is of greatest interest, perhaps, is the reaction of both the Russian authorities and those of other nations. While it would certainly have been advantageous to Russia to prove the survival of the "Chirikov men," the possibility of prior Russian occupation of the land went against the interests of Spain and Britain, and eventually, of America as well. Yet, many of the accounts of "meetings" with the men or their descendants were reported by the Spanish. The question did not seem to be whether the men survived, but how far south their settlements extended, thus establishing the border between Spanish and Russian territorial claims. Of the men, Fedorova states,

> The legend about their settlement invariably accompanied all the seafarers setting out for the Pacific coast of America, and on many Russian charts of last quarter of the 18th c. the "landing place" marked (as on manuscript map of 1781...) ..."Captain Chirikov was at this place in 1741, and in 1774 a royal Spanish frigate found white and fair Indians". A similar mention about the sightings by the Spanish of "white and fair Indians" at latitude 53°20' north in 1774, is noted on another manuscript, "General Geographic Map Presented to Irkutsk Gubernia..., Compiled with Various Descriptions in Irkutsk in 1797."[161]

Various accounts also report that members of Spanish expeditions saw iron implements and weapons, apparently items which had been brought ashore by the "Chirikov men." Such a report of 1774 indicated that such items were seen by the Spanish when they landed on the Queen Charlotte Islands.[162] As noted in a communication of April 17, 1817, to Captain Leontii Adrianovich von Hagemeister from the main office of the Russian-American Company:

> In the file regarding this matter, there is even correspondence between the Empress Catherine and the King of Spain, who declares that, even though the Russians in question have settled in his domains, he cedes the territory to her and for her subjects.
>
> You will now appreciate just how important this matter is. It is important not only to seek out and find the people in question, but - even more - to determine through them the real limit of the territorities occupied by Russians.[163]

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[160]Ibid.

[161]Fedorova, 79-80.

[162]Ibid.

[163]Glynn Barratt, "The Afterlife of Chirikov's Lost Men," *Bering and Chirikov: The American Voyages and Their Impact*, ed. by O. W. Frost. Anchorage: Alaska Historical Society, 1992, 265-275; see also for other mentions of the men, Alekseev, 126-127.

The possibility the men survived is suggested in Alaska Native oral tradition as recounted by Mark Jacobs, Jr., a Tlingit Indian from Sitka with family lineage from Angoon, who states that these, or some other men survived to become heads of prominent families in Southeast Alaskan communities.[164] There are some significant differences in Jacob's version, including the number of men and the purpose they were sent ashore. Yet, it may indicate that at least some Russians deliberately left their ships and settled among the Native peoples on the coast. Those responsible for these men might have preferred to report they had been killed or captured.

If the men survived and eventually settled among the Native peoples along the coast, then this might also be important to the discussion of gravehouses and their development in Southeast Alaska and Northwest Canada. Whether or not the men might have fled because of religious or social concerns, it would push back the date of first contact between Europeans and First Nations peoples in this area, increasing the number of years during which changes in religious beliefs and burial practices could have occured.

Parallels in Calendrical Traditions:

There are, in addition to these various forms of evidence discussed above, parallels between certain Alaska Native calendrical festivities and those of the North Russian and Siberian Old Believers. Among these is *Slava* (also referred to as *Selaviq slavying*, or *slavie* from "Glory" or "Praise"). The common English term for this tradition is *Starring*. Although Alaska Native Orthodox communities vary to some degree in the specific activities associated with *Selaviq*, the most common elements include making and blessing a large, decorated, rotating, multi-pointed star, a processional led by it to households in the community with religious and secular caroling, religious services, distribution of special

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164"Another early encounter I recognize as an Indian version concerns a Russian sailing vessel in need of fresh water which sent eight men ashore to fill their water barrels. These eight men did not return to their ship. They took this opportunity to escape the cruel and harsh conditions on the Russian ship. As they left the ship, they decided aong themselves that they would eventually perish in the hazardous waters of the north Pacific. Why suffer under a cruel command until then? The decision to desert was easy. This incident was said to have taken place on the outer coast of Kruzof Island, at the head of Shelikof Bay. Although there weren't any permanent villages in the area, there were temporary camp sites established for subsistence activities. They eventually made contact with some local natives and were accepted and treated with respect, instead of being murdered as the Russian history tells it. They married Tlingit women and all was well until they spotted another Russian ship approaching. They explained that they would be shot or hanged if they were ever captured. So there was a hasty preparation to load them, as well as their families, into the canoes that were provided to them. Their offspring became some of the more prominent families in the village of Klawock...Very limited, but useful items were acquired from his original encounter." Mark Jacobs, Jr. "Early Encounters between the Tlingit and the Russians, Pierce, *Russia in North America*, 1-6, (2-3).

foods or gifts to those taking part in the procession, and mummery or masquerades.[165] The tradition is widespread throughout Orthodox regions of Alaska and is often connected, in addition to Christmas, with New Year's activities, and to remembrance of the dead. In Dillingham, for example, the star is burned after the 12-hour New Year's service, along with old Bibles, torn song books, old candles, and old holy pictures. This usually is done at the cemetery.[166] There is a parallel funerary association in parts of Russia:

> Mock funerals often involved carrying someone who pretended to be dead into the house and lamenting him in the midst of general laughter; sometimes a real corpse was used for this curious game. Among the ritual foods prepared for Yuletide celebrations were *kut'ia*, a special porridge of whole grains, and pork. *Kut'ia* was a part of the traditional Christmas Eve meal, and pork was normally served at the New Year. Some reports note that during the Yuletide season peasants lit bonfires and invited their dead ancestors to warm themselves, though by the nineteenth century this custom was not widespread.[167]

Fienup-Riordan recalls that in some parts of the Ukraine, *kut'ia* is als associated with starring:

> As soon as the host sees the first star in the sky, he carries a bowl of boiled wheat around the house three times, reciting prayers. After he returns, he stands in the doorway and calls out to the souls of the ancestors to join the family at supper. When the meal is done, candies are strewn under the table for the children to find. Kolyadi (folk carols) are then sung in the home, after which the family goes to church. The next morning the three-day house-to-house caroling begins....[168]

Thus, there are definite funerary elements to the festivities. Although Fienup-Riordan states that the "Holy Supper" did not take root in Alaska, she notes that *Selaviq* is related to the Yup'ik Feast for the Dead:

> ...the public occasion on which the spirits of the human dead were invited into the community to receive the fresh water, food, and clothing they required. During the Feast for the Dead, the feeding and clothing of the namesakes of the deceased were believed to feed and clothe the dead as well. *Selaviq* continues this tradition of honoring children, in whom the ancestors are in some essential way believed to live again.[169]

Masking is also associated with pre-Christian cults of the dead in Alaska, as well as in Russia and Eastern Europe. In Alaska's Kodiak and the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands, the

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[165]Ronald K. Inouye, "Starring and Slava: A Legacy of Russian America," in Richard A. Pierce, *Russia in North America*, 358-378; Oleksa, *Orthodox Alaska*, 188-194; Ann Fienup-Riordan, "Following the Star: From the Ukraine to the Yukon", in Barbara Sweetland Smith and Redmond J. Barnett, eds. *Russian America: The Forgotten Frontier*, Tacoma: Washington Historical Society, 1990, 227-236.
[166]Inouye, 362.
[167]Ivanits, 6-7.
[168]Fienup-Riordan, 228.
[169]Ibid., 234.

masking or masquerading tradition (*Masqalataq*) begins as the starring festivities end. This tradition is linked by some of the participants in these areas to the story of Herod and the Slaughter of the Innocents.[170] In Port Graham, the masquerading combines elements celebrating the death of the old year and arrival of the new:

> The day after Christmas starring...one person dressed in a mask and costume would chase the star to tear it up; the next day other maskers would be added. These maskers represented King Herod's men out to destroy Jesus, but they would always be rebuffed by the star's protectors. In a sort of Halloween fashion, individuals would masquerade to avoid identification. In earlier times the house-to-house masking involved dancing and pantomiming much like the starring.[171]

In Southwest Alaska, most Yup'iks consider *Selaviq* a "Russian" tradition, as the date it is celebrated and the carols and hymns derive from the liturgy or Ukrainian and Carpatho-Russian carols. Father Michael Oleksa, however, has proposed that *Selaviq* represents a synthesis of Russian Orthodox liturgy, Ukranian folk tradition, and ancient Eskimo traditions involving the Bladder Festival, a winter festival which also including masking. He further concludes that the tradition of caroling with the star was introduced into western Alaska by Father Yakov Korchinsky, a Ukrainian missionary, in only about 1905.[172] This, he explains, is likely because "the custom of 'following the star' originated in the Carpathian Mountains of Eastern Europe but is not a part of the Russian Orthodox tradition in the Soviet Union."[173] Yet, in fact, similar traditions are noted among Old Believers in Russia and Siberia:

> ...in Enisei province during Yuletide 'mummers' would visit all the houses 'with a star,' performing a song of greeting...[174]

As in the Alaska Native Orthodox villages, those taking part in the procession were given gifts or special foods. Here, too, caroling with the star is known as "giving praise."

> 'Eight of us gathered,' recalled Kh. Loparev, 'and we made a big, many-colored star, and after matins we walked round the entire village until mass, giving praise to Christ, and turning the star on its axis. After the singing, one of them 'gave a

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[170]Inouye, 363.
[171]Ibid.
[172]Oleksa, in Inouye, 372; Oleksa, 188; Inouye, 363.
[173]Inouye, 363.
[174]Mineko, "The Living Past," 161-162; Linda J. Ivanits, *Russian Folk Belief*, Armonk, NY and London: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 1989, 6-8. The tradition was also widespread in other parts of Eastern Europe and the Balkans. See for example references to similar practices in Yugoslavia and Rumania in Spiro Kulisic, *Traditions and Folklore in Yugoslavia*, Beograd: "Jugoslavia", 1966, x-xii, where many of the starring and masking customs are directly related to pre-Christian agricultural magic and as such, have many funerary associations. Some of these will be discussed in Chapter 5. Eva Frys, et. al, *Folk Art in Poland*, Warsaw: Arkady, 1988, 249-252 and illustrations 402-431 discuss Christmas and New Year's mummery and starring in Poland.

> sermon'; there were several of these. I remember the shortest of them, which we said in childhood: "I, a young peasant, jumped on the table, played the flute, greeted Christ; May the host and hostess prosper for many years!"'[175]

Like the stars in Alaska, those in Siberia were elaborately decorated with pictures, paper flowers, drawings, and lights or candles.[176] While Fienup-Rirodan states that "it is only in Alaska that the star is kept in motion," and that "In Eastern Europe, the star was held stationary", the quote above shows that in Siberia the star turned on its axis.[177] She notes the importance of ritual movement, both of processions and of the star itself, and how this recalls traditional Yup'ik ceremonials recalling the movement of the sun. As noted above, the issue of ritual movement - with or against the sun - was one of the points of dispute between the Old Believers and reformers in seventeenth century Russia. It is likely that certain elements of Old Belief which retain many pre-Christian practices and beliefs have close parallels to pre-Christian Yup'ik traditions.[178]

Like the procession with a rotating star, mummery is an element of the festivities in Siberia, including re-enactments of King Herod, and other folk dramas. In Samarov village of the Tobol'sk *uezd*, mummery was known as "listening." Participants

> garb themselves in various costumes and put on sometimes bizarre masks. These are the 'listeners' (masqueraders). In the bitter frost, they run from one house to another, where they are welcomed, and changing their voice, gait, and manners, amuse the hosts and try to remain unknown, although this happens seldom...[179]

In discussing the masking tradition at Port Graham, Oleksa notes, "These 'maskers' were, until recently, considered frightening, and children would run to hide from them."[180] Likewise, M. F. Krivoshapkin, a resident of the Eniseisk region reported about the mummers:

> One of them is a bogeyman: his face is covered with soot, there are horns on his head, rags on his ears, in his mouth a cigarette with the lit end inside; another is an actual devil - with horns, with tail, covered entirely in black calico; another is a shaman in Tungus clothing, carrying a drum, and covered all over with bells,

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[175]Mineko, 206.
[176]Inouye, 360-361; Mineko, 206.
[177]Fienup-Riordan, 234. Fienup-Riordan also states that the star is turned counter-clockwise, which she calls sunwise, and correlates this direction to traditional ritual movement of the Yup'ik ceremonials, as well as the direction of processions in the Russian Orthodox Church. In this, as noted above, the Alaska Native Orthodox appear to have accepted the new, counter-clockwise movement instituted by the Church reforms, rather than retain the older "sunwise" direction still used by Old Believers. Yet, they appear to have transferred the original meaning of movement "with the sun" to the new direction which is actually "against the sun" (Fienup-Riordan, 229-235).
[178]The Russian traditions are discussed in Chapter 5.
[179]Mineko, 207.
[180]Oleksa, 189.

> tambourines, models of loons and other birds and fish; and here is Death himself, tall, all in white, with a beet instead of a nose, with fangs carved from turnip and radish; here is one who has sewn himself in a bearskin and moved on all fours, stopping to rest on his hind paws; and here a harlequin, but with a mask so frightening and repulsive that it is impossible to look at. And the others are also disguised. They dance to the beat of the drum and peculiar whistling, chirping, clapping, etc.[181]

Thus, starring and masquerading are part of a pre-Christian tradition which is widespread throughout Eastern Europe and has been preserved in Russia by Old Believers and other conservative Orthodox peasants. It seems probable that these traditions were introduced into Alaska long before the beginning of this century, although they likely were readily accepted because of their similarity to parallel traditions such as the Bladder Festival and other winter ritual activities. A similar readiness to accept some funerary traditions and architecture is possible.

Various aspects of Old Belief and Russian Sectarianism have been explored in this chapter. There was no single stand taken by Old Believers regarding their relationship to the State, nor to the official Church. There were disputes over the validity of the sacraments, over issues such as marriage and non-canonical relationships, and over oaths of loyalty. These disputes also appear in the records and accounts of missionary-priests and Russian-American Company officials, lending support to the notion that these issues were as important in North America as they were in Russia itself. Native American folklore and explorers' reports suggest there were undocumented Russians in North America. According to the descriptions provided in folktales and rumours, these non-visible groups appear to have much in common with Old Believers, especially the Priestless concords. Their manner of dress and appearance, their attachment to books and icons, the separation of men's and women's villages recall features of life at Vyg and other centres of Old Belief in the Russian North. On several occasions, exiles were known to have been brought to Russian America as agricultural workers, metalworkers, or to work in other industries. Many exiles in Siberia at the time were Old Believers or other religious or social dissidents. In Alaska, too, certain features of Alaska Native Orthodoxy are closely related to Old Russian traditions preserved by Old Believers in the Ukraine, Moldavia, and other parts of Eastern Europe, as well as in Greater Russia and Siberia. Traditions such as "Starring," lengthy, monastic-style services, and the use of a two-fingered blessing sign in Alaska Native Orthodox villages appear to have more in common with Old Belief than with

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[181]Minenko, 205-206. Frys describes some of the mummers as beasts and devils as well and notes, "The bear most often accompanies carnival disguised men....also a devil and Death" (250). As in Siberia and Alaska, the story of King Herod is a prominant part of the masquerading activities (250-251).

the official Orthodoxy of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Finally, as has been demonstrated in Chapters 1 and 2, Old Believers used gravehouses in Russia and Siberia, even after they were forbidden by religious and secular authorities. It is significant that centres of gravehouse use today and in the recent past -- the Matanuska Valley and Cook Inlet, Prince William Sound, and Southeast Alaska -- were also sites mentioned as agricultural colonies or places where exiles worked in other industies. Like Alaska Natives, Old Believers would have been to some degree "outsiders." Yet, they, along with some of the *promyshlenniki*, would have had opportunity to establish close ties with Alaska Natives, thus introducing features of Old Belief, including the use of gravehouses.

The probability that gravehouses are a form accepted from Russian tradition and modified by Native North Americans is supported by literary and visual evidence which shows that these structures are often found in a Christian context or combined with crosses. Furthermore, this evidence suggests that quite different funerary customs were used in Siberia and North American prior to contact with Russians. This evidence is discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Funerary Tradition and Change in Eurasia and the North Pacific

Gravehouses were used on both sides of the Bering Strait during the nineteenth century. Some anthropologists have suggested that gravehouses are indigenous to North America or were introduced there by aboriginal Siberians; yet, a review of the ethnographic literature indicates that these structures were not traditional prior to contact with Russians. As has been argued above, both in form and construction, those in North America are closely related instead, to European Russian architecture.

The situation at Eklutna, which will be discussed below, parallels those found elsewhere in Alaska and northwestern Canada, and in Siberia itself. Native peoples on both sides of the Bering Stait shared many religious practices based on shamanism, as well as common funerary practices and beliefs. In general, cremation, tree burial, or exposure were the most common traditional forms of disposal of corpses. Along the southeast coast of Alaska and coastal British Columbia, box burials in trees or on scaffolds or platforms were also found and were described in detail by early European visitors to the region.

The literature suggests that the use of gravehouses developed almost simultaneously in Siberia and the North American Pacific region, with those in Siberia being slightly earlier. In both cases, the use of gravehouses was probably a response to pressures by Europeans to replace cremation by inhumation. European Russians arrived in Siberia nearly two centuries before they came to North America. This not only exposed aboriginal Eurasians to a pre-Reform Russian Christianity that had much in common with post-Reform Old Belief, but also gave them additional time to adapt and transform the gravehouse into a new traditional architecture of their own. Thus these Eurasians, along with Old Believers themselves, could have facilitated change in aboriginal funerary practice in North America.

Funerary Tradition and Change in Siberia:

Eastern Siberia was annexed to the Muscovite State as early as the 1630s,[1] a generation prior to the split between the Old Believers and the Russian Orthodox hierarchy in the 1660s. Thus, the form of Russian Orthdoxy found among Russianized aboriginal Siberians would have been similar to that in pre-Reform Greater Russia. The shortage of clergy in this vast geographic region would have, in itself, demanded that parishioners generally worship without benefit of priests. In addition, many of the Cossacks,

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[1]Oleg V. Bychkov, "Russian Hunters in Eastern Siberia in the Seventeenth Century: Lifestyle and Economy," trans. by Mina A. Jacobs, *Arctic Anthropology* 31, 1 (1994), 75.

promyshlenniki, and merchants who were active in Siberia came from areas of Russia which became strongholds of Old Belief following the Schism.[2]

There were other groups of non-Russian Eurasians who came to Siberia with the Russians, including the Komi-Zyrian and Komi-Perm peoples and other Christian and non-Christian migrants from the European Russian North of Finno-Ugric descent.[3] These had an even older contact with Russian Christianity, for they were introduced to it prior to 1471 and 1472 when the Moscow Principality annexed Novgorod and the Permian lands.[4] As would be the case in Siberia, the peoples in the Russian North suffered chronic shortages of clergy. The relative isolation of the Russian North and Siberia insured that these areas were less affected by the Old Believer schism of the mid-seventeenth century, and also prepared the population to welcome and protect Old Believers who fled to these regions in large numbers. Russian and non-Russian Christians alike continued to use books and rituals which closely coincided with those of the Old Believers, leaving little doubt that there were close parallels between the forms of Orthodoxy practised by Russians in Siberia and northern Russia, and those of their Russianized aboriginal Eurasian neighbors.

Gravehouses appear to have been first used among Eurasian aboriginals in regions with equally early contacts with Russians. For instance, gravehouses are recorded among Samoyedic-language peoples of the Petchora Valley and the regions of the Ob' and Yenisey Rivers. Yet, even here, as shall be seen, gravehouses do not appear to reflect original traditions. In relatively recent times, the Nentsy, a Samoyedic-speaking people living in a vast region stretching from the Kola Peninsula to the Yenisy and Ob' Rivers in Siberia, have buried their dead in a special log construction on the ground. Food products, crockery, and other possessions were placed beside the body in the grave, and the dead man's broken sled and several slaughtered reindeer were left beside the grave.[5] Long in contact with Russians in the North, the Nentsy particularly revered St. Nicholas and offered him sacrifices of reindeer, or rubbed icons showing his image with reindeer fat or blood. Here, as elsewhere in Eurasia, Russian Christianity was combined with pre-Christian beliefs and practices. The vestiges of pre-Christian burial traditions can be seen in the fact that children who died soon after birth continued to be buried in a bundle suspended from a tree or, if there were no trees, from stakes driven into the snow.[6]

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[2]The numbers of Russians in Siberia were significant. According to Bychkov, 15,983 trappers were active from 1620 to 1680 in Mangazeia, Eniseisk, and Ilimsk administrative districts alone (Ibid., 74-75).
[3]Ibid., 82.
[4]Ibid. 75.
[5]E. D. Prokof'yeva, "The Nentsy," 564-565 in *The Peoples of Siberia*, Chicago: University of Chicago, 1964 (originally published in Moscow: Russian Academy of Science, 1956, under the title *Narody Sibiri*).
[6]Ibid.; Alexander Haüsler, "Burial Customs of the Ancient Hunters and Fishers of Northern Eurasia," *Arctic Anthropology* V, 1 (1968), 63.

According to Henry Seebohm's informants, Samoyed peoples buried their dead only after they adopted Russian Christianity. Prior to their conversion, the deceased was dressed and laid flat on his back on the tundra. A reindeer was killed and laid by his side, along with his best harness, driving pole, and bow.[7] Seebohm saw a more recent wooden monument which he believed was a Samoyed memorial during his research on birds in the Petchora Valley, a region which was also one of the strongholds of Old Belief.[8] He described this structure but did not mention if it had a roof like a gravehouse, or was instead a box burial:

> On the top of the high embankment bordering the river I came upon a wooden monument, about a foot in height and width, and from two to three feet in length. The wood was entirely rotten, and I easily broke and tore open the lid that still covered it. Inside I found bones like those of a dog, a broken vessel of glazed earthenware, the rusty remains of an iron vase, and an abundance of mould. Outside were fragments of bleached bone, like the remains of an infant's skull. This was doubtless a Samoyed's tomb; but we could not determine if it was that of an infant, whose remains had been buried in the box, or that of an adult interred below.[9]

Among the Khanty and Mansi, both Ugrian peoples in the region of the Ob' River, the coffin was constructed from a larch tree, or a dugout canoe with the prow and stern removed and boarded over was used.[10] A lid was placed on the top of the board if it was used. The inside coffin or boat was sometimes painted with charcoal or chalk with figures of the sun, a moon, and a bird from the sparrow family which represented the soul, much like the soul-bird associated with the gravehouses and roofed crosses of Old Believers in northern Russia. Painting this image on the inside was meant to bind the soul to the place of burial and limit its possibility of wandering among the living.[11] This varies slightly from the Old Believer notions of the soul.

The structure of the grave itself varied from one location to another. The Northern Khanty and Mansi covered the coffin or boat with birch bark, and a gable roof was raised

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[7]Henry Seebohm, *The Birds of Siberia to the Petchora Valley*, New York: Hippocrene Books, Inc., 1986 reprint of 1901 edition, 66-67.

[8]Seebohm mentions specifically that most of the the peasants of Ust-Zylma and nearby villages are Old Believers and describes some of their icons and manuscript books. He mentions one of the books owned by his host as dating from about 1740 and profusely illustrated with coloured drawings and the many brass and enamel crosses, icons, and triptyches found in the houses. He notes that many of these came from the "monastery of Onega, on the south shore of the White Sea," probably the Vyg monastery of Preistless Old Believers.

[9]Ibid.,224-225.

[10]Ivan A. Lopatin, *The Cult of the Dead Among the Natives of the Amur Basin*, The Hague: Mouton & Co., Publishers, 1960, 119.

[11]V. N. Chernetsov, "Concepts of the Soul among the Ob Ugrians," *Studies in Siberian Shamanism*, ed. by Henry N. Michael, Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Arctic Institute of North America, 1963, 30-31.

over it, also made of logs and birch bark. The coffin or boat was then surrounded with a rectangular frame with a flat or gable roof.[12] Murashko and Krenke examined several of the old, half-rotten *kholmers*, or grave constructions, on the Lower Ob' River and described them in greater detail:

> On the cemetery site, among the shrubs, several well-preserved rectangular grave houses with dimensions of about 2 m long and 0.8 m wide were found. The height of the structures is approximately 0.5 to 0.8 m depending on the degree of preservation. They are made of wooden planks and constructed with nails with round cross-sections. In all probability, they were made in the first decades of the twentieth century. The wooden covers of these grave houses have fallen through, exposing boat-shaped coffins inside. The bows and sterns are severed and fixed with planks. In most cases, remains of the deceased were not found in the coffins, but occasionally there were weathered white skulls and burial utensils...Bronze and iron pots were placed at their feet inside the caskets. Some of the dead seemed to be buried in pits. Such graves resembled small oval mounds surrounded by remains of wooden constructions.[13]

In addition to the gable-roofed gravehouses, there was a form of *kholmer* which was supported by two or three posts, containing the coffin made of half of a boat within.[14] From the grave goods and other items excavated from these graves, the researchers have been able to determine that the oldest graves of this type in Western Siberia date from the seventeenth to early eighteenth century but that none in the Khalas-Pugor cemetery described here is older than the eighteenth century, and that many are from the twentieth.[15]

As Chernetsov notes, the burial customs of the Ob' Ugrian peoples have been influenced by long contacts with Russians and Russian Christianity.[16] Balzar's study of Khanty burials in the Ob' region also shows syncretism with traditional Russian practices, including the forty-day mourning period, the substitution of a Russian-style larchwood coffin for the boat coffin, the washing of the body of the deceased, the ritual of saying farewell to the deceased with kisses, and the use of the Russian cross alongside broken sleds, skis, and boats.[17] After the lid is nailed onto the coffin, birchbark and boards are placed over it.

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[12]Ibid., 31.

[13]Olga Murashko and Nikolai Krenke, "Burials of Indigenous People in the Lower Ob Region: Dating, Burial Ceremonies, and Ethnic Interpretations," *Arctic Anthropology* 33, 1, (1996), 40.

[14]Ibid., 55.

[15]Ibid., 47.

[16]Ibid., 39. The authors state that Russian settlers had already penetrated this Lower Ob region by the beginning of the seventeenth century, and that grave desecrations had led to a decree by the Tsar in 1610 prohibiting the desecration of Ostyak (Khanty, Mansi, and "Nenets") graves. They also record that Orthodox crosses were found in some burials, and that the position of the bodies in some coffins suggests Christian ceremonial practices (55).

[17]Marjorie M. Balzar, "The Route to Eternity: Cultural Persistence and Change in Siberian Khanty Burial Ritual," *Arctic Anthropology* XVII, 1 (1980), 82-84.

> Then each of the participants takes a turn at shovelling earth onto the grave, walking in a clockwise circle. A small "house" of boards is constructed on top, taking care to make a plugged hole or "window" that can be opened "for when the relatives come and feed the deceased" at future remembrance feasts. The top of the slanting house roof is made of five boards for men, and four for women.[18]

The windows of these houses, like those in gravehouses of Old Believers in northern Russia, are used during feasts of remembrance at the graveside. In the Khanty and Kazeem graveside memorial feasts, a candle is burned at the window of the gravehouse to awaken the deceased, who is then given small offerings of food, tea, wine, and vodka through the opening.[19] Laments are sung, just as they are at the Old Believer graveside memorial feasts.

Goods which are too bulky to put into the house are broken and placed upside down on the grave. These can include sleds, oars, boats, or skis. It would seem in the case of the Ob' Ugrians, boat burials were an earlier tradition,[20] which were later combined with a gravehouse of Russian style to further protect the grave and the soul of the deceased. In addition to the boat form of coffin, the Khanty, like some other Siberian peoples, also prepare a wooden effigy of the deceased. This, too, would seem to be a more ancient custom which would have housed the soul in former times.[21]

The Nganasans are close neighbors of the Nentsy, and like them, members of the Samoyed language group. They did not bury their dead, but left them on the ground on a deer sled.[22]

Tree burials seemed to be the most common practice among various Turkic-speaking groups. The Khakasy traditionally buried their dead in trees.[23] The Shors, a small Turkic-speaking people on the middle reaches of the Tom' River and in the basins of the Abakan, share with the Kets of the Yenisey Basin rituals for burying infants in trees, wrapped up in birchbark:[24]

> The most ancient ritual which was kept going with respect to adults right up to the end of the 19th century, and for children up to the first quarter of the 20th century, involved burying the deceased person in a tree, wrapped in birchbark. At the end of

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[18]Ibid., 82.
[19]Ibid., 83.
[20]Lopatin, *Cult of the Dead*, 119.
[21]Andrei V. Golovnev, "From One to Seven: Numerical Symbolism in Khanty Culture," *Arctic Anthropology* 31, 1 (1994), 64-65.
[22]A. A. Popov, "The Nganasans," 579 in *The Peoples of Siberia*, Chicago: University of Chicago, 1964 (originally published in Moscow: Russian Academy of Science, 1956, under the title *Narody Sibiri*).
[23]L. P. Potapov, "The Khakasy," *The Peoples of Siberia*, Chicago: University of Chicago, 1964 (originally published in Moscow: Russian Academy of Science, 1956, under the title *Narody Sibiri*), 366.
[24]L. P. Potapov, "The Shors," 442-443 in *The Peoples of Siberia*; Hausler, "Burial Customs," 65.

> the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries it became common to bury people in the ground, leaving a broken hunting sled at the site of the grave.[25]

The Kets had joined the the State of Muscovy in 1607, and probably under Russian influence, buried their dead in the ground, placing broken personal possessions on the grave. Yet, children were still buried inside cloven cedar stumps specially hewn for the purpose.[26]

Shamans in Siberia often were accorded special treatment, just as they were in Alaska and Canada. The body of a shaman in the Little Yenisey region was lifted by two poles or placed on the back of a horse and taken to the burial site. Here, it was placed on the ground and had the knees pulled up a little and face turned towards the west. It was then covered with white material, but no earth was placed over it.[27] In the Great Yenisey region, by contrast, shamans were buried "in the air," in a form of scaffold burial. The stand could be made of any type of wood except the birch tree, but pine or poplar were commonly used. Two pairs of forked twigs were stuck into the earth with poles placed horizontally across the shorter span. Sticks were laid lengthwise over these horizontal poles and covered with reindeer skin or horse hide to provide the platform for the body. The stand was fragile, even when first constructed, so that it would collapse easily, its disintegration generally occurring in about a year. The torn drum of the shaman, along with other paraphernalia, was hung on trees around the scaffold.[28]

The Yukaghir, a Paleo-Asiatic people, used both tree and scaffold burial for common people. The custom of placing bodies on elevated platforms served two purposes in this region: it protected the dead from carnivorous animals, and solved the problems associated with digging graves in the frozen subsoil.[29] According to mythological tales and other information collected by Waldemar Bogoras, "the Yukaghir used to gather the bones of their dead in pouches, and carried them along, or put them away in secret places," sometimes hanging them high on trees.[30]

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[25]Potapov, "The Shors," 464.

[26]A. A. Popov and B. O. Dolgikh, "The Kets," 616-617 in *The Peoples of Siberia.*

[27]Diósegi, *Tracing Shamans*, 291-294.

[28]Ibid. Examples of these in the Tuva region are discussed and illustrated in V. P. Dyakonova, Pogrebalnii Obryad Tuvintsev, Kak Istoriko-etnograficheskii Istochnik, Leningrad: Nauka, 1975, 60-63. This sudy includes photographs of cairn and box burials, burials surrounded by fences and decorated with flags, and gravehouses, many of which resemble those found in Northern Russia, elsewhere in Siberia, and Alaska. See pages 65, 73, 75, 77, 104, and 117 for photographs of gravehouses, some of which are eleved on four posts like many in Southeast Alaska.

[29]Jochelson, *Yukaghir*, 222; Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, 145.

[30]Waldemar Bogoras, *Tales of Yukaghir, Lamut, and Russianized Natives of Eastern Siberia*, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of natural History, Vo. XX, Part 1, New York: AMNH, 1918, 45-47.

While tree burial was traditional among the common Yukaghir, the bodies of shamans received special treatment. Their bodies were relics, portions being placed within effigy figures which then became objects of worship.[31] There is no evidence here for the traditional use of gravehouses even in the burials of shamans, although among Russianized Yukaghir, a small storehouse on wooden supports would sometimes be built to keep the bag containing the bones of the deceased, which served as a means for divination.[32]

The Yakut and Tungus tribes which came into Yukaghir territory from the south placed their dead on platforms. In ancient times, the Yakut placed their dead in a wooden box or hollow log which was placed up a tree,[33] although some of the Yakuts also buried their rich or important people in the ground, accompanied by their horses or slaves. In a few regions, such as the island of Sagastyr' in the Lena River estuary, bodies were placed in hollowed-out boats, supplied with oars and bailing scoops, or in elevated boxes.[34] The name given for the Yukaghir and Yukaghirzed Yakut elevated tomb was the same as that for the Russian-style storehouse built on high posts in which food was kept safe from predators.[35] This recalls a similar connection between the storehouse and gravehouse in European Russia. The coffin for these elevated tombs consisted of a dug-out tree or wooden box, linking these to tree burials. Even at the time of Jochelson's research, such elevated graves were difficult to find, as Orthodox clergy and officials destroyed these constructions as remnants of pagan practice.[36] As noted in Chapter 2, Yakut graves near Olbut and other areas of the Kolyma district include shed-, pavilion-, and chapel gravehouses, the latter having dome-like cupolas in imitation of those seen on Orthodox churches.[37]

Scaffold burial, a form of open-air burial closely related to tree burials, was the traditional practice of the Even, a people formerly known as Lamut. The Evens, another of the Paleo-Asiatic group, are closely related to the Evenks and are neighbors of the

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[31]M. V. Stepanova, I. S. Gurvich and V. V. Khramova, "The Yukagirs, 796-797; Waldemar Jochelson, *The Yukaghir and the Yukaghirized Tungus*, also describes this custom and notes that the effigy figures were called "wooden people", 152.

[32]Bogoras, *Tales*, 102-103. Such a structure figures in a story collected by Bogoras from a Russianized Yukaghir man in the village of Omolon, in the Kolyma country in the summer of 1900. According to Jochelson, bones were sometimes kept in small boxes kept on poles or trees, recalling another vestige of tree burial (Jochelson, 164).

[33]V. L. Priklonskii, trans. by Sheldon Wise, "Three Years in the Yakut Territory," in *Yakut Ethnographic Sketches*, New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, Inc., 1953, 82-83; Hausler, "Burial customs," 63; M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia: A Study in Social Anthropology*, London: Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1969 reprint of 1914 edition, 160; Lopatin, *Cult of the Dead*, 117.

[34]V. L. Priklonskii, trans. by Sheldon Wise, "Three Years in the Yakut Territory," in *Yakut Ethnographic Sketches*, 84.

[35]Jochelson, *Yukaghir*, 222.

[36]Ibid., 222.

[37]Ibid., 229.

Yukagirs, Koryaks, and Chukchi. They came into contact with the Russians during the first Cossack campaigns of the early seventeenth century. There were certain changes in funerary practices which can be attributed to Russian Christianity, although here, as elsewhere, many pre-Christian traditions were continued:

> Since ancient times the Evens buried their children and adults on raised platforms. A wooden figure of the bird *kor* (raven) was placed in the coffin. in the 19th century, during the spread of Christianity, the Evens began to bury their dead in the ground. Over the grave, they set up a log structure with a cross, but the cross was carved with an image of a bird; around the grave they scattered the property of the man, bits of bedding, reindeer saddles and crockery. All of these objects were broken.[38]

Here, the log structure, combined with a cross, is explicitly associated with the spread of Russian Christianity, rather than as a part of the indigenous tradition.[39] Here, too, there is reference to a bird associated with the cross, just as in the north Russian Old Believer tradition.

The Chukchi practiced two methods of burial. Either the corpse was cremated on a bonfire, or abandoned on the tundra.[40] If left on the tundra, the Reindeer and Coastal Chukchi sacrificed reindeer and dogs, respectively, to assist the dead in making the journey to the other world.[41] Some groups of the Elk-Chukchi in wooded regions placed bodies of infants in holes in trees.[42]

The Koryaks were southern neighbors of the Chukchi, and were in contact with the Russians from the mid-seventeenth century.[43] Generally, the Koryaks burned the bodies of their dead.[44] One division of Koryak, the Kerek, lived in a treeless country near the seashore. Thus, they did not cremate the dead, owing to the shortage of wood, but disposed of them in the ocean.[45]

The most ancient population of Kamchatka were the Itel'men. They, like the Chukchi and Koryaks, belong to the northeastern group of Paleo-Asiatic peoples.[46] Long in contact with Russians, most of the descendants of the Itel'men have completely merged

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[38]M. G. Levin and B. A. Vasil'yev, "The Evens," 681 in *The Peoples of Siberia.*

[39]Sverdrup also mentions that Christianized Lamut bury their dead: "They dig a shallow grave, and over this type built a coffin of wood into which the body is placed in its finest clothing" (Sverdrup, 190-191.)

[40]V. V. Antropova and V. G. Kuznetsova, "The Chukchi," 824; Harald U. Sverdrup, *Among the Tundra People*, trans. by Molly Sverdrup, La Jolla, CA: University of California, 1939, 141; Jochelson, *Yukaghir*, 222; Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, 146; Lopatin, *Cult of the Dead*, 115.

[41]V. V. Antropova and V. G. Kuznetsova, "The Chukchi," 824 in *The Peoples of Siberia.*

[42]Hausler, "Burial Customs of the Ancient Hunters and Fishers of Northern Eurasia," 63.

[43]V. V. Antropova, "The Koryaks," 851-854 in *The Peoples of Siberia.*

[44]V. V. Antropova, "The Koryaks," 868; Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, 150.

[45]Jochelson, *Yukaghir*, 222; Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, 145-146.

[46]V. V. Antropova, "The Itel'mens," *The Peoples of Siberia*, 876-877

with them. There are numerous references to "Kamchadals" in the accounts by explorers and administrators of the Russian-American Company, indicating that they accompanied European and Siberian Russians to North America in significant numbers. The term, "Kamchadal" refers not only to the descendants of the Itel'men, however, but is also applied to the descendants of Russian Cossacks and peasants who settled in Kamchatka in the eighteenth century.[47] Thus, the ethnic makeup of the Kamchadals in these records is ambigious. The early Itel'men gave the bodies of dead adults to dogs, a sign of honour.[48] Children were buried in hollow trees.[49]

The Tungus either sewed the corpse into a reindeer skin and hung it on a tree together with the armour and pierced cooking vessels of the deceased, or placed the body with the possessions into a wooden coffin which was then place on high posts in the forest.[50] Tungus tribes in the Amur Valley sometimes buried their dead in elevated canoes.[51] Children were buried in trees according to old Tungus practice.[52]

The Dolgans, members of groups of Tungusic but now speaking a particular dialact of the Yakut language, buried their dead in the ground, at least after contact. The form of memorial on the grave differed from one place to another:

> The Western (Noril'sk) Dolgans did not ususally erect a log structure over the grave, but only left a mound of earth onto which they felled a tree. The Eastern Dolgans built log structures over the grave, which they often embellished with intricate carving. A reindeer was slaughtered near the grave and the clothing in which the deceased had died was either left on the ground or hung on the tree.[53]

The variations in practice parallel those in the Cook Inlet region of Alaska, where some Tanaina began to use gravehouses while others appear not to have. This suggests that variations in Russian Christianity might have influenced indigenous practices in different ways.

The Nivkh are one of the Eurasian peoples of the Amur River who construct "*rafs*," or memorial huts near the place of cremation in which possessions of the deceased can be placed:

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[47]Ibid.
[48]Ibid., 879-881; Jochelson, *Yukaghir*, 222; Hausler, "Burial Customs," 63; M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, 145; Lopatin, *Cult of the Dead*, 115.
[49]Antropova, "The Itel'mens," 879-881; Jochelson, *Yukaghir*, 222; Hausler, "Burial Customs," 63; Lopatin, *Cult of the Dead*, 80.
[50]Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, 155; Lopatin, *Cult of the Dead*, 73.
[51]Lopatin, *Cult of the Dead*, 119.
[52]Ibid., 80.
[53]A. A. Popov, "The Dolgans," 665 in *The Peoples of Siberia*.

> It is a small toy-like house, with a door and window. An image of the cuckoo is carved on the roof. The *raf* is often covered with carved designs. The anthropomorphic human image, dressed in clothes made of pieces of silk, fur and other costly goods, is placed inside, as is the package with the cranial bone fragment and umbilical cord. Small wooden bowls for food offerings, tobacco and pipes are placed either inside or around it and the four small symbolic poles with their appurtenances surround it. Lineage members observe a period called "caretaking of the tree."[54]

This passage indicates earlier funerary traditions among the Nivkh, which involved the use of effigy figures and, probably, tree burials. Indeed, infants who died in the first week of life were still interred in trees when early anthropologists conducted their research. Coffins were made of two halves of a tree trunk. The body was placed inside and the two halves of the trunk were lashed together, similar to some of the elevated Yakut graves and Siberian Old Believer *domovini*. The coffin was then taken into the forest and placed in the fork of a tree.[55] Children who died within the first six months were buried in the ground, but young fir trees dug up with the roots intact were placed on the grave.[56] Graves of the victims of murder, casualities of war, and suicides were not marked by the miniature houses, but by a tree stump which was uprooted and placed on the grave with the roots up. These roots were carved in the shape of a bird in flight with human limbs.[57] The many references to trees, and to "watching the tree" in the form of periodic memorial feasts suggests that tree burials or memorials pre-date the use of miniature houses. The last big memorial feast was called "To abandon the tree," and marked the point when the dead irrevocably left the world of the living.[58] The memorial feasts themselves are often held after a period of forty days, perhaps borrowed from Russian Orthodox religious practice as well.[59] Here, too, the passage notes the importance of the image of the cuckoo, one of the birds often associated with the soul, as seen in Old Believer cemeteries.

The Nanays, neighbors of the Nivkh in the Lower Amur River basin, at one time buried people in wooden crypts which looked from the outside like houses, but this does not appear to have been the traditional practice. Children who died before one year were wrapped in a cloth or piece of birchbark and placed between the branches of a tree or in a

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[54]Lydia Black, "The Nivkh (Gilyak) of Sakhalin and the Lower Amur," *Arctic Anthropology* X, 1 (1973), 67. See also S. V. Ivanov, M. G. Levin, and A. V. Smolyak, "The Nivkhi," 779-780; Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, 152-153; Lopatin, *Cult of the Dead*, 74-75. For a Nenets folktale on the cuckoo as the soul of the dead, see James Riordan, *The Sun Maiden and the Crescent Moon: Siberian Folk Tales*, New York: Interlink Books, 1991 reprint of 1989 edition published in Edinburgh by Canongate Publ. Ltd., 86-87.

[55]Black, 67-75.

[56]Ibid.

[57]Ibid.

[58]Ibid.

[59]Ibid.

hollow. Adults were buried in the ground, but personal effects were either spread out on top of the grave or burnt during prolonged wakes, suggesting that cremation may have been used at one time. Like the Nivkh, the Nanays also made a wooden effigy figure representing the deceased, and thought to be the receptacle for the soul.[60]

The Ul'chi (Olchi), a Tunguso-Manchurian people, were classed in the seventeenth and eighteenth century Russian sources with the Nivkh as "Gilyak." Unlike the Nivkh, however, they buried their dead in the woods, often on a platform or in canoes.[61] In the nineteenth century, "splendidly ornamented little huts were built for the deceased, as well as ordinary wooden frame houses."[62] Thus, the use of gravehouses here appears to be quite late.

The Udegeys, another of the Tunguso-Manchurian language group, practised several methods of burial, probably indicating various influences from contacts with neighboring peoples including Russians:

> Sometimes they left the corpse in the forest, or buried it in a tree; sometimes they set the coffin with the corpse on the ground and built a burial hut over it; the most prevalent method was burial in the earth. The dead person was laid in a hollowed log or coffin, painted transversely with red and black stripes. Occasionally the log was shaped into the likeness of an animal. Quite frequent also was the characteristic Evenk method of burying children in trees or in a small hollowed log with a lid, laid on two piles.[63]

Coffins were also sometimes made in the shape of canoes which were elevated on posts.[64]

The Orochi are closely related to the Ul'chi and Nanay, and are classified with the Tunguso-Manchurian language group. Like the Udegeys, the Orochi came to use a variety of forms of burial. One included a Tungus practice of burial on platforms set on piles. Others were earth burial, or burial in a coffin placed in a gravehut. The body was wrapped in cloth and birchbark, placed in a strong coffin or log, and further protected by the underground grave or roof of the gravehut. Personal belongings were placed on or near the grave.[65]

The Oroks, members of the Tunguso-Manchurian language group, were buried on the tundra in board coffins, set on a platform on four piles about the height of a man. Children were buried in small logs, suspended from two piles.[66]

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[60]"The Nanays," *The Peoples of Siberia*, 712-714.
[61]Lopatin, *Cult of the Dead*, 73.
[62]S. V. Ivanov, A. V. Smolyak and M. G. Levin, "The Ul'chi," *The Peoples of Siberia*, 730-732; Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, 156.
[63]S. V. Ivanov, A. V. Smolyak and M. G. Levin, "The Udegays," *The Peoples of Siberia*, 744.
[64]Lopatin, *Cult of the Dead*, 119.
[65]S. V. Ivanov, A. V. Smolyak, and M. G. Levin, "The Orochi," *The Peoples of Siberia*, 757-758.
[66]S. V. Ivanov, A. V. Smolyak, and M. G. Levin, "The Oroks," *The Peoples of Siberia*, 765.

The Goldi also placed bodies of their infants in trees.[67] Bodies of adults were placed in coffins which were carried to the burial site suspended from a long pole by two ropes. The coffin was lowered into the grave, which was then covered with planks laid crosswise. Earth was thrown in on top of the planks; personal belongings which had been deliberately broken were left on top of the grave.[68] Small huts were sometimes erected over the graves of shamans, but this appears to be a relatively recent tradition, replacing burials in boxes elevated on high posts, or elevated canoe burials.[69] Lopatin makes this quite clear:

> This mode of disposal of the dead [inhumation] is comparatively new among the natives of the Amur Basin. As has been mentioned it was introduced by Russian Christian missionaries. From the method of placing of the corpse it is evident that the grave is the residence of the departed, this idea being especially pronounced among the Goldi. It is interesting to note that the natives adopted the Russian method of interment but not the Chinese method, the explanation for this being that inhumation came to the natives along with Christianity.[70]

A framework with an architectural appearance is often constructed over the grave. A small stake, the upper end of which is carved into the image of a spirit, is often set inside the house or pavilion. Where Christian influence is strong, this spirit post is replaced by a large Russian cross.[71] This configuration strongly resembles the roadside cross or pavilion of northern Russia and the pavilion gravehouses of the Pacific Northwest.

The Buryats, a Mongolian group, did not always mark the resting places of their dead according to Diószegi.[72] Buryat shamans were either burned, and the remains placed in the trunk of a birch tree, or exposed on a platform.[73] Common people were usually cremated.[74]

The Mongols are close relatives of the Buryats, but they exposed the bodies of their dead on the steppe where they became "living sepulchres" in accordance with Buddhist Lamaism.[75]

That gravehouses were not traditionally used by aboriginal Eurasians prior to contact with Russians is thus attested by ethnographic and anthopological literature. Instead, there are descriptions of tree and scaffold burials, boat or canoe burials, exposure

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[67]Hausler, "Burial Customs," 63; Lopatin, *Cult of the Dead*, 80.
[68]Ivan A. Lopatin, *The Cult of the Dead Among the Natives of the Amur Basin*, The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1960, 70-72.
[69]Ibid., 82, 119.
[70]Ibid., 120-121.
[71]Ibid., 121.
[72]Diószegi, *Tracing Shamans in Siberia: the Story of an Ethnographic research Expedition*. Oosterhout, Netherlands: Anthropological publications, 1968 translation of 960 Hungarian edition, 32.
[73]Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, 156-157; Lopatin, *Cult of the Dead*, 83-85.
[74]Lopatin, *Cult of the Dead*, 75-77.
[75]Ibid., 78-79, 86-87, 115.

of bodies on the tundra, disposal of the dead in the sea, and cremation, with the ashes either left undisturbed, hung in bags on trees, or buried in the ground and marked with a pole or stake. In some cases, a group might use more than one method of disposal of the dead, showing some influence of close neighboring groups. In cases where gravehouses have been noted, there was direct or indirect contact with Russians over an extended period. Even where gravehouses are used, most of the peoples retain archaic linguistic references to earlier traditions, such as the Nivkh references to "watching" or "abandoning the tree."

Tree burials were used by many different Siberian peoples, and were recorded among the Yukaghir, Yakut, Khakasy, Shors, Kets, Nivkh, Nanays, Tungus, Udegeys, Oroks, Goldi, Nentsy, Itel'men, and Buryats, for instance. This, and variations such as the scaffold, appear to be one of the most common methods of disposal of remains, whether bodies or ashes. In addition to tree burials, surface, cairn, and cave burials were common in North America prior to the arrival of the Russians.[76]

Funerary Tradition and Change in North America:

Although in recent years, international boundaries have separated the indigenous peoples of Northern Asia and North America, their common belief systems and similarities in other aspects of life were long ago well established. As in Eurasia, a variety of means were used to dispose of the dead in North America, but the use of gravehouses, either to store remains or to mark graves appears to be quite late.

Exposure on the ground or snow was the form of disposal of the dead among the Unalit, Malemut, and other Eskimo peoples in North America. At Point Barrow, Murdock described a burial where the corpse was wrapped in a piece of sailcloth (which itself replaced deerskin), laid upon a flat sled, and dragged out to the cemetery, where it was laid out upon the ground.[77] As noted in Chapter 2, box burials of the Inupiat were photographed at Sledge Island, for example. E. W. Nelson believed the use of grave boxes came from the south into northern regions of Alaska, as the boxes with the greatest elaboration were at that time found south of Unalakleet, while in the region to the North near Kotzebue, bodies were still abandoned on the tundra.[78]

A. F. Kashevarov came across an Inupiat cemetery near Cape Lisburne while exploring the region in 1838. The graves were shallow holes surrounded by low walls of stones laid without mortar and topped with driftwood. Some burials were accompanied

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[76]Kh. Esbergenov, "On the Struggle Against Survivals of Obsolete Customs and Rites (The Karakalpak "*As*" Memorial Feast)," *Soviet Anthropology and Archeology* III, 1, 9.
[77]Lopatin, *Cult of the Dead*, citing J. Murdock, 115-116.
[78]Ibid., citing Nelson, 115.

with bows and arrows.[79] Vanstone observes in his notes on this account that with the exception of a large traditional burial ground at Point Hope, members of the Point Hope society did not have a special burial place, but were buried wherever they died. He suggests that this large concentration of burials at Cape Lisburne was perhaps the result of a battle there between Point Hope and Utukok societies.[80]

Dall recorded cave burials in the Aleutian Islands,[81] a method also found along the south-western Alaskan coast, Kodiak Island, Prince William Sound and Lower Cook Inlet, and along the coast of Southeast Alaska and British Columbia to Cape Flattery, where cave burials among various groups, including the Coastal Tlingit, the Haida, and the Makah are recorded.[82]

Cairn burials were recorded among the Yup'ik of the Yukon-Kuskokwim region, the Aleuts at Unalaska, and the Alutiiq of Kodiak Island, but also as far south and east as among the Chilcotin.[83] On Nunivak Island, for example, graves were made of stone slabs piled over the bodies.[84] Captain Cook recorded Unalaskan burials as covered with cairns or mounds,[85] while Grigory Shelikhov described mounds placed over canoe burials on Kodiak Island.[86]

Canoe burials, either below ground or elevated on posts as a variation of the scaffold or tree burial, were common in the Northern Pacific. According to the Russians Grigorii Shelikov and Iuri Lisiansky, both canoe and scaffold burials were used by the Alutiiq of Kodiak Island. In some cases, earth burials were covered with mounds, but neither account mentions gravehouse memorials. Shelikhov's description is the earlier and more extensive of the two:

> Funeral rites differ among the various Koniag kin groups...they place their dead into a baidarka with his best possessions and cover this with a mound of earth; others bury the dead in the ground together with a living captive who had been the

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[79]Vanstone, ed., *A. F. Kashevarov's Coastal Exploration in Northwest Alaska, 1838*, Fieldiana Anthropology, Vol. 69, Pulb. 1268, Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1977, 54.
[80]Ibid., 76, fn. 78.
[81]H. C. Yarrow, *Introduction to the Study of Mortuary Customs Among the North American Indians*, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880, 33; Yarrow, *A Further Contribution to the Study of Mortuary Customs Among the North American Indians*, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, c. 1880, 129.
[82]William C. McLeod, "Certain Mortuary Aspects of Northwest Coast Culture," *American Anthropologist* 27, 1 (1925), 143-148; Yarrow, *Introduction*, 40-45; Yarrow, *Further Contribution*, 134-136; George F. MacDonald, "Haida Burial Practices: Three Archaeological Examples" and Jerome S. Cybulski, "The Gust Island Burial Shelter: Physical Anthropology," *Archaeological Survey of Canada Paper No. 9*, Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1973.
[83]For Chilcotin, see Helm, 405.
[84]Lopatin, *Cult of the Dead*, citing A. Hrdlicka, 116.
[85]"Captain Cook in Alaska", *Alaska Magazine*, Vol. 1, No. 2, (Feb. 1927), 102.
[86]Shelikhov, 54.

> man's slave. ...When a rich person dies they place the clothed body in a small baidara together with his weapons. These baidaras are made from driftwood and are hung on posts which have been placed in the shape of a cross, after which the body decomposes in the open air.[87]

According to Lisiansky, the frame of a bidarka would be placed over the grave, which was also strewn with amber beads in the case of the wealthy, or hunting equipment of the deceased. He also states that he "saw instances of high poles being erected over the graves of persons of consequence."[88]

Burial in a canoe was common among the tribes of western Washington and northwestern Oregon, where these canoes were often placed in the forks of trees or elevated on posts.[89] Edward Belcher recorded a number of these burials along the coast of Lower British Columbia to Oregon while serving on the *Sulpher* in 1839:

> It is the custom of these tribes to bury each individual in a canoe; and according to his wealth so are they laden with his worldly goods; care being taken to render the greater part of the utensils, as copper kettles, &c., useless, by driving an iron bar through the bottom. The bodies are wrapped closely in mats, but I could not ascertain whether they make use of any particular preparation....The chiefs, no doubt, are watched, as their canoes are repainted, decorated, and greater care taken by placing them in sequestered spots; they are propped up about six feet above ground, and well covered with mat, to defend them from weather.[90]

Canoe burials are noted among the Chinooks,[91] the Twanas and Clallams,[92] the Makah of Cape Flattery,[93] and other groups in the Puget Sound and lower Vancouver Island.[94]

Tree and scaffold burial was widespread in North America where it was common in Alaska, British Columbia, Washington and northwestern Oregon.[95] It is often, but not always, associated with cremation, as either ashes or bodies could be placed in trees or on

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[87]Ibid., 81-82.

[88]"Lisianski in Alaska," 247 (The Alaskan Adventures of Captain Urey Lisianski, K. G. V., Imperial Russian Navy, From his "Voyage Round the World in the Ship Neva, 1803-1806" (part 2), *Alaska Magazine*, 1927.

[89]Lopatin, *Cult of the Dead*, 119.

[90]Belcher, *H.M.S. Sulphur on the Northwest and California Coasts, 1837 and 1839: The Accounts of Captain Edward Belcher and midshipman Francis Cuillemanrd Simpkinson*, ed. by Richard A. Pierce and John H. Winslow, Kingston: Limestone Press, (Materials for the Study of Alaska History, No. 12), 1979, 58-60. Similar aerial canoe burials on the Columbia are described in Belcher, 72-73.

[91]Yarrow, *A Further Contribution* , 171, citing Swan's work of 1857.

[92]Ibid., 171-173, citing M. Ellis, missionary to the Skokomish Agency, Washington Territory.

[93]Yarrow, *Introduction*, 84.

[94]Yarrow, *A Further Contribution*, 177-180, citing George Gibbs' 1877 account of burials in Oregon and Washington Territories.

[95]See discussion in Yarrow, *Introduction*, 66-76; Yarrow, *A Further Contribution*, 158-168.

scaffolds. Wrangell included a description of tree burials among the Ahtnas of the Copper River:

> The rich own slaves, which they obtain from the Koltschany, but do not sacrifice them to their dead chiefs as the Koltschany and Kolosh do. Like the former, they burn their dead, collect the bones and bury them wrapped in clean, unused, undressed reindeer skin, enclosed in chests, in posts or trees. They hold a festival once a year in memory of their kinsmen separated from them by death.[96]

According to McClellan, among the Inland Tlingit and other Yukon bands, the burnt fragments of bones and ashes were gathered into a bag and cached in a tree which would be marked by lopping off the tops of the surrounding trees.[97] Tree burials were used among the Kaska and Sekani of Interior British Columbia.[98] The Kitimat used to place a box coffin containing the body in the fork of a tree.[99] Archival photographs show similar tree burials all along the Pacific coast from the Columbia River to northern British Columbia.[100] The Haida *xat* appears to have been a form of tree burial as well.[101] These, as well as the mortuary poles used by the Coastal Tlingit, Tsimshian, and other coastal peoples as far south as Vancouver Island, sometimes involved the burial of bodies or ashes within the structure itself, or combined the idea of the tree with a box that contained the remains. Lopatin connects tree burial with "the cult of the sun, the worship of trees, and totemic ideas (origin of man from a tree)."[102] It was an honourable form of burial, raising the deceased towards the sun, the sky, the stars, and the air, and also protected the body from predators.

The accounts of early explorers in Southeast Alaska and Coastal British Columbia confirm that cremation was the primary tradition, although cave burials and elevated box burials of bodies were used for shamans and other important persons.[103] Descriptions

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[96]Wrangell, 51.

[97]McClellan, *My Old People Say*, 397-398; also noted for Southern Tutchone, personal communication, Kwaday Dan Kenji, August 1996. Sometimes ashes were left undisturbed, as is recorded by Osgood on the Yukon and Innoko Rivers for victims of murder, war, or those who were found frozen to death. This supports the theory that even the elevated graveboxes described by Nelson might be more recent forms of burial (Van Stone, E. W. Nelson, 64, fn 15). This is also true of the Tanana, who cremated their dead along with the personal property of the deceased. When, under White influence, they began to bury their dead, they began to mark the grave with a small house (McKennan in Helm).

[98]Helm, 448 and 438.

[99]Lopatin, *Cult of the Dead*, 117-118.

[100]Photographs located during the archival research revealed many tree burials, where bones or ashes were placed directly in a hollowed out tree or post, hung on a tree, or placed in a box which was then secured in the tree or put on a scaffold. The mortuary poles in Southeast Alaska and the Northwest Coast of British Columbia are a form of tree burial, or box-and-tree burial.

[101]MacDonald, 29.

[102]Lopatin, *Cult of the Dead*, 117-118.

[103]See descriptions included in French, 9-17; R. N. DeArmond, ed. *Early Visitors to Southeastern Alaska: Nine Accounts*, Anchorage: Alaska Northwest Publishing Company, 1978, 18-53; Emmons, 280-285 and

include those by La Perouse at Port de Français (Lituya Bay) in 1786, Captain George Dixon in 1787, along with several of his officers along the coast of present-day Alaska and British Columbia, Marchand in 1790-92, Alessandro Malaspina at Yakutat Bay in 1791, Captain George Vancouver in 1793-1794, Archibald Menzies in a 1793-1794 expedition to Cook Inlet and along the coast of Southeast Alaska, Iuri Lisiansky at Sitka in 1805, and Sir George Simpson at Sitka in 1841. The accounts, then, come from English, French, Spanish, and Russian explorers and range from the most active period of exploration to the time when much of this region was under the direct control of either Russia or Britain.

The Development of Gravehouses in the North Pacific:

Literary evidence also supports the notion that gravehouses were an adopted not traditional form of architecture in the Northern Pacific region of North America. The earliest reference found to them in the literature is a description by Captain Joseph Ingraham of Boston. The master of the Brigantine *Hope*, he visited the region of Kiusta, where he recorded his observations of a grave monument in July 1791:

> On the top of this rock, altho' not above 50 feet in diameter are a number of trees and bushes shading the remains of several chiefs or those of their families. At low tide it is inacccessible without a ladder....I found on it 2 houses of oblong square form, the top slanting to shed rain. Each of these Houses were full of boxes containing the remains of the dead. The boxes were made in the neatest manner, carved and decorated with sea otter's teeth. I wish'd much to examine the inside of one of the boxes but did not, as Cow begged me not and I did not wish to hurt his feelings. Before one of the Houses was 4 images resembling the human form and otherwise curiously carved.[104]

MacDonald notes that this was not a true gravehouse, but in all probability a shaman mortuary, which traditionally had four corner posts, two of which were usually carved in human form, representing the shaman.[105] Although this does not apply to the true miniature gravehouse form, even this early description post-dates contact with Russians. MacDonald suggests that once Russian traders established a permanent post at Sitka at about this same time, some Haida appear to have moved into Southern Alaska in order to be closer to this post and the supply of goods available there.[106]

French believes that one of the earliest written references to a true gravehouse in Southeast Alaska dates from 1825, in the account of Kotzebue, "The dead are burned and

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395; Wallace M. Olson, *The Alaska Travel Journal of Archibald Menzies, 1793-1794*, Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1993.

[104]MacDonald, 195 (map 194).

[105]Ibid., 195. This type of mortuary more closely resembled an elevated box than an actual house. The top was usually flat, rather than single- or double-sloped as on a house roof.

[106]Ibid.

their ashes preserved in small wooden boxes in buildings appropriated to that purpose."[107] One of the earliest illustrations is given in Edward Belcher's account of the journey of HMS *Sulphur* of the Northwest and California coasts in 1837 and 1839. In the account of 1837, Belcher illustrated several gravehouses, including an elevated shed with a single-sloping roof and four supporting posts. It shows a traditional formline decoration on one side. A degree of religious and cultural syncretism had already occurred by this time, as evidenced by the orb and cross on the gable shed visible behind the first gravehouse. The third gravehouse is an elevated gable-roofed miniature house with *shelom.* Two of the officers also mention a feast provided after a funeral, consisting of rice and molasses, without doubt a reference to Russian *kutya.*[108]

The earliest photographic evidence French located was a photograph taken in 1869 which showed about a dozen gravehouses beside a church on a ridge behind the Indian village at Sitka. This is likely a similar view to the one shown in an illustration published by I. G. Voznesenskii in 1843 or 1844. It also shows the Indian church under construction and several elevated gravehouses to the left. Those visible appear to be gable-roofed houses, possibly elevated. A roofed cross is also visible between the church and the graves. These gravehouses likely held cremations.[109] When French compared the 1869 photograph with one taken in 1878, she found that the site was considerably overgrown, suggesting it had already fallen into disuse.[110]

Most descriptions of gravehouses in Southeast Alaska date from the second half of the nineteenth century or the early twentieth century, although the earliest are a generation or so after the first documented contact between Russians and Native Americans in this region. This, as already discussed in the previous chapter, was in 1741, when some of A. Chirikov's men disappeared along the coast, probably near present-day Sitka.[111]

French includes a series of descriptions of gravehouses in Southeast Alaska given by travellers in the region from the middle of the nineteenth through the early twentieth centuries. These include William Gouverneur Morris's report on Alaska's resources in 1879;[112] descriptions of tombs in Sitka, Wrangell and other Alaskan communities by

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[107]French, 18, citing Kotzebue, 1830, Vol. 2, 57.
[108]Ibid., citing comments of Nathaniel Portlock, 26 and Simkinson in Belcher, 96. French includes a drawing of the illustration of this group of gravehouses, also found in Belcher.
[109]Dmytryshyn and Crownhart-Vaughn, *Colonial Russian America - Kyrill T. Khlebnikov's Reports 1817-1832*, Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1976, 29.
[110]French, 25-26.
[111]Emmons, *The Tlingit Indians*, 324-325; *A. I. Chirikov.* This incident is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4. For additional descriptions of early gravehouses in Southeast Alaska, see Dall's coments on graves at Sitka in 1865, in Emmons, 285, Krause's illustrations in 1885 in Emmons, 285, Veniaminov's comments on a shaman's grave near Sitka in 1840 in Emmons, 397.
[112]French, 26.

Sheldon Jackson in 1877;[113] Aurel Krause's record of Tlingit burials and gravehouses at Klukwan and Hoonah, made during a geographical expedition to Southeast Alaska in 1881-82;[114] E. Ruhamah Scidmore's observations in 1883-84, describing gravehouses as already hidden in a tangle of vines and covered with moss;[115] Abby Woodman's 1888 description of gravhouses seen in the Inside Passage near Loring, at Wrangell, and in Bella Bella;[116] Niblack's illustrations of, and notes on, Sitka and Wrangell gravehouses in 1890;[117] and descriptions by Badlam (Treasurer of the Californian-Russian Fur Company) of both boxes and gravehouses, including "a substantial hut" built over the tomb which is accompanied by poles with flags or crests. Of particular note is the fact that Badlam adds that "some Christians built crude houses over the grave, and surmounted them with a Greek cross. Others enclosed graves in a neat picket or latticed fence..."[118] Seaton-Karr noted about a dozen gravehouses along the Chilcat (Chilkat) River in 1890 and included drawings or photographs of these and others at Klukwan.[119] French also cites evidence by de Laguna for the use of gravehouses at Yakutat during the 1890's.[120] These were already obsolete by the 1920's, when graves were instead covered by concrete slabs. Livingston Jones included descriptions in 1914 of large gravehouses in use during the early part of the 20th century.[121] French also provides a comparison of illustrations of twentieth-century gravehouses with the sixteen Inland Tlingit structures she examined and analyzed during her field research.[122]

French's field study of Inland Tlingit gravehouses represented structures built over a time span of about seventy years. She analyzed 155 traits of the sixteen gravehouses, which included differences in methods of construction, materials, architectural styles, and means of decoration. Some of the gravehouses were constructed of locally available pine boards, which were adzed on the interior and nailed together with early machine-cut nails. These, according to her Inland Tlingit informants, were "Russian nails."[123] Other gravehouses were built of manufactured lumber, with rounded-headed machine-cut or wire nails, all of which were brought inland from the coast in later periods. Some gravehouses

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[113]Ibid.
[114]Ibid., 26-30.
[115]Ibid., 32.
[116]Ibid.
[117]Ibid., 33-38.
[118]Ibid., 35.
[119]Ibid., 38.
[120]Ibid., 39.
[121]Ibid.
[122]Ibid., 42-86.
[123]Ibid., 51.

used combinations of "early" and "later" materials.[124] French also considered the shape of the roof (whether pyramidal or gable), the degree of elevation of the interior platform or floor, and the presence of single or multi-burials. She observed that most of the gravehouses faced east, and many had associated crosses, indicating the post-contact influences of Christianity.[125] She concluded that the roof shape could not be used as a determining factor in assessing sequence or ages of the gravehouses, since both types appear to have been used concurrently in both early and recent graves.[126] French concluded, however, that, of the gravehouses in this small sample, those with multiple burials appear to be more recent than those with single burials.[127]

French concludes that the use of gravehouses in this region was limited to the wealthy.[128] Like others, she notes that the gravehouses at Sitka and Wrangell in the 1860's appear less "house-like" than later structures, have fewer windows, are sometimes decorated with Chilkat blankets or painted frontal boards, and usually contain traditional carved and painted boxes holding bones or ashes of the deceased.

> During the next 20 years, gravehouse becomes much more ornate in appearance and is more like a miniature house as exemplified by the gravehouses at Juneau. There is little evidence of traditional methods of decoration. Instead, houses are painted or whitewashed, windows are abundant, picket fences appear, and Greek Orthodox or plain crosses are frequently noted. Manufactured lumber is used in construction. It is difficult to determine whether these graves contain inhumed or cremated burials.
>
> The final stage is characterized by a return to a more simple form of the gravehouse, which is built over the grave. Interior platforms disappear, and there are few or no windows, since the casket lies beneath the ground and can no longer be viewed. Doors are also absent, there are few or no decorations, and manufactured lumber is always used.[129]

French notes that there is little evidence in the Inland Tlingit area for the box-like tombs or elevated graves which were found in coastal Alaska, nor were traditional forms of decoration used, with the exception of one small crest painting on the interior of one Inland Tlingit gravehouse.

> Some similarity was noted in the type of ornamentaton on top and along the eaves and side with gravehouses in Juneau and Sitka. In general, the Inland Tlingit gravehouse is most closely related not only in mode of decoration but also in form

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[124]Ibid., 59.
[125]Ibid., 52.
[126]Ibid., 72.
[127]Ibid., 73.
[128]Ibid., 75.
[129]Ibid., 76.

> to the burial houses at Juneau, suggesting that they become established in north-western B.C. at a relatively late time, during the 1880's.[130]

French concludes that the Inland Tlingit gravehouses were introduced from the Coastal Tlingit via the Taku and Nakina Rivers in the 1880's and 1890's.[131] Furthermore, she suggests that the Juneau and Taku River gravehouses were influenced by Russian buildings at Sitka:

> The establishment of Russian posts in South-east Alaska greatly influenced the construction techniques and styles of Indian buildings....The log sepulchres in the southern area of Alaska copied Russian log construction methods, including dove-tailing, exemplified by the fort established by the Russians at Sitka.
>
> The gable roofs and cottage roofs of the first examples of gravehouses...also copied architectural styles of Russian buildings seen in early sketches of their posts. Latticed woodwork and picket fences were additional details borrowed by the Tlingit.[132]

Like others, French concludes that gravehouses were adopted, in part, because they could offer comfort and warmth to the deceased when traditional cremation and burning of grave goods was discouraged.[133] The increased size and elaboration of decoration might, she suggests, have resulted from rivalry among the Tlingit, manifested also in the potlatch, since the appearance of the largest and most decorative forms of gravehouses in Southeast Alaska seems to coincide with the period when the potlatches attained their most lavish form.[134] This would also explain the development of large and richly decorated gravehouses among the Tsimshian and other groups of coastal British Columbia, given the degree of trade between them and the Tlingit:

> It seems reasonable to suggest that the history of the Tlingit gravehouse is of significance to the development of this institution in other areas, for example the Southwest Yukon and central regions of B.C.[135]

Thus, miniature-house type memorials may reflect Russian influences, both direct and indirect, through the interaction between Tlingit and other Native Americans in Alaska and Canada. In addition to their relationships with the Tsimshian, Inland Tlingit, and Athabascans of the Yukon Territory, the Tlingit had contacts with the Haida, who may have adopted some gravehouse traditions from them or directly from the Russians. George MacDonald notes that, among the Haida, family mortuary houses were predominantly of

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[130]Ibid., 79.
[131]Ibid., 80.
[132]Ibid., 82-83.
[133]Ibid., 84.
[134]Ibid., 85.
[135]Ibid., 86.

the shed-roofed type, unlike other Haida structures, but closely related to Tlingit tombs and cache structures.[136] A second type of structure, quite rare among the Haida, was a gable-roofed gravehouse. Unlike those used among the Tlingit or Tsimshian, however, the Haida gable-roofed gravehouse was a miniature version of a type of traditional Haida dwelling and usually had a small frontal pole and overhanging roof beams.[137] Thus, it alone appears to incorporate traditional Native American architectural construction and plan. Yet, its rarity and relatively recent appearance in Haida villages tend to support the notion that here, too, the gravehouse was introduced by either Russians or Tlingits under Russian influence.

MacDonald includes one of J. Swan's journal entries of September 8, 1883, about a Haida gravehouse in the village of Tanu.

> After dinner Johnny Kitkun (Gitkun) showed me the place where his uncle Kitkun's remains lie. They are in a small burial house about 25' distant from the back of the house we occupied. A small opening 3 feet square in front of this small house, which is about 8 x 10 feet in dimensions, was closed by some boards nailed on. These Kitkun removed and I had a clear view of the interior. The remains are in a box elaborately carved and decorated with abalone shell....On a sort of table...were two old guns, ammunition boxes and various paraphernalia of the old chief among which was his Taska, a carved stick which he held up in his hand when distributing presents. Under the table I have mentioned is a trunk containing the remains of some relative. It was the wish of the old Kitkun that his wife and brother should have been buried with him when he died but they both died of smallpox in Victoria after Kitkun's death. The whole contents of this burial house show Kitkun to have been a chief of wealth and importance.[138]

MacDonald's study of monumental Haida art confirms the general lack of gravehouses in Haida villages when compared with the much larger number of mortuary poles.[139] He records gable-type gravehouses in Cumshewa (from about 1878 to 1885),[140] Haina (dating from 1850 at the earliest to about 1880),[141] Tanu (in existence from the mid-eighteenth century until about 1900),[142] Ninstints (first recorded in Dixon's journal for July 1787 and deserted in the 1880's),[143] Yaku,[144] and near Kiusta.[145]

As various scholars cited above have observed, ethnographic and historic accounts support the idea that gravehouses were introduced by Russians or Russianized aboriginal

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[136]MacDonald, 29.
[137]Ibid.
[138]Ibid., 94.
[139]Ibid., 44.
[140]Ibid., 70-71.
[141]Ibid., 61 (map on 60).
[142]Ibid., 89 (map on 88).
[143]Ibid., 104-5.
[144]Ibid., 195.
[145]Ibid., 192.

Eurasians who came with the Russians. The presence of undocumented Russians is further established by folklore and the use of Russian loan-words among groups that were not under the direct control or influence of the Russian-American Company.[146] Thus, the Russian presence was more widespread than is often thought. Additional support for the theory that gravehouses are related to Russian *golubtsi* is found in the analysis of the gravehouses at Eklutna, where photographs taken over a long period of time reveal changes in decoration as well as evolving concepts of their meaning.

Tradition and Change at Eklutna:

Ethnographic information in the form of reports by early explorers and Orthodox priests appears to support the theory that use of spirit houses by the Tanaina began only after contact with Russians during the eighteenth century.[147] Members of the Eklutna community agreed that the Tanaina, before contact, practised cremation and that gravehouses were used only after they began to inter the dead.[148] In the past, the deceased was dressed in new clothing and afterwards removed from the house through the smoke hole in the ceiling, or through a special opening made by removing planks or logs from the rear wall. This special opening, according to Chandonnet, "was intended to confuse any evil spirit responsible for the death, so it could not find its way back to the village again."[149]

In post-contact practice, the body might be temporarily placed on a scaffold away from the dwelling until the time of burial, after which the gravehouse was constructed. Before interment replaced cremation, it may have been customary to place the body on a scaffold during the preparation of the pyre as well. One informant indicated that gravehouses were a relatively recent innovation which had become a Tanaina tradition at Eklutna, but was uncertain how the custom started. In a conversation about the

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[146]See Alix O'Grady, "Russian merica: Its Impact upon the Dominion of Canada," *Bering and Chirikov*, 336 and footnote 30 for discussion of trade among different interior groups and the presence of Russian Christianity in these regions: "Traces of the influence of Russian orthodoxy, although not officially established on Canadian territory, are evident at such places as Atlin and Canoe Landing, B.C. (the latter at the confluence of the Nakina and Soko rivers), where Russian Orthodox crosses adorn the tops of Indian grave houses. The cremated bodies, wrapped in blankets, were stored in Chinese tea chests (*húcay*) evidently obtained from Russian America" (footnote 30 states: "In 1965, the Tahltan word for "whale" in northern B.C. (Wonone) was recorded as the Russian kit' (G. N. O'Grady); at a linguistic workshop held at Dawson City, June 1991, I was addressed in a few Russian words by a Yukon Han speaker") 336. A map by Pierre Lapie dated 1816 shows the borders of Russian America as far east as Burns and Frances Lakes area in central B.C. A map from the 1850's shows the border roughly conforming to today's Alaska, except that it includes the Queen Charlotte Islands as part of the Russian holdings. These indicate that Russian influence was more extensive than the region now comprising Alaska.

[147]Although Captain James Cook claimed to be the first European to enter Cook Inlet, he noted that the Indians had weapons and other trade goods of Russian origin.

[148]Oral communications, Eklutna informants, 1995 and 1996.

[149]Chandonnet, 51. This is parallel to pre-Christian Slavic traditions as well.

possibility that this architecture was introduced by Russians or Siberian aboriginals, she said, "Yes, that is likely. That would answer a question I've always had!"[150] Another informant said he did not know exactly when the Tanaina began to use spirit houses on graves, but understood why the change was made: "It was our way," he said, "of thumbing our noses at the priests. It was a way to be Orthodox, but still keep our autonomy."[151] This struck me as an extraordinary statement. It was only after finding gravehouses in Russian Old Believer cemeteries in Siberia and northern Russia that this remark made sense, for the issue of priests was one of the most sensitive among the Old Believers. Those who were of the Priestless *soglasia* (concords or accords), as noted in the Introduction and Chapter 3, rejected all priests, while the Priestly concords refused to use priests from the official Orthodox Church except under extraordinary conditions.

That cremation was the normal means of disposing of the dead among the Tanaina before contact was also made clear to Nancy Yaw Davis, whose informants told her that only "since the priest came have bodies been buried six feet down."[152] Early ethnographic reports describe both funeral customs and burials among the Tanaina. Ferdinand von Wrangell, one of the governors of the Russian American Company (1830-35), describes a Tanaina funeral and cremation in his *Russian America: Statistical and Ethnographic Information* :[153]

> ...Right after death, they cremate the body of the dead man, and gather the bones and bury them in the ground, not permitting anyone from his clan of his moiety from forestalling the fulfillment of this ceremony. The closest relative of the dead man tries, in the course of a whole year or longer, to assemble as many deer [caribou] skins, sheep skins, and animal hides as possible, and then gives a funeral festival for the deceased. He calls his relatives and those friends who had buried the bones, entertains the friends to satiety, rewards them for former gifts and work connected with the burial.....[154]

June Townsend translated the journals of several Russian Orthodox priests who served in the Cook Inlet region during the Russian-American period,[155] one of whom also described the original custom of cremation among the Tanaina. Hieromonk Nicholai, a

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[150]Oral communication, Eklutna informant (A. Stephan), August 1996.
[151]Oral communication, Eklutna informant, (D. Alex), August 1995.
[152]Davis, 31.
[153]Translated in *Arctic Anthropology*, VI, 2, 5-20 "The Inhabitants of the Northwest Coast of America" and in Mary Sadouski, trans., *Russian America Statistical and Ethnographic Information*, 10 (*A A*), 54).
[154]Sadouski, 10.
[155]The Russian era in North American begins officially with Bering's Second Voyage (1741-42), although there is evidence of prior knowledge of the existence of Alaska gained through the expedition of Semen Dezhnev as early as 1648, (see Boris P. Polevoi, "America in the Plans of Peter the Great" in *Bering and Chirikov*, and Raymond Fisher, *The Voyage of Semen Dezhnev in 1648: Bering's Precursos, with selected documents*, Dmytryshyn, Basil, et. al. *Russia's Conquest of Siberia, 1558-1700.,Vol. 1 - To Siberia and Russian America: Three Centuries of Russian Eastward Expansion*, Portland: Western Imprints, 1985.

priest at the Novo-Arkhangel'sk (Sitka) chapel, arrived in Kenai on April 26, 1845. He was assigned to serve a large territory, but, owing to the great expanse and difficulty of travel, was able to visit some of the villages in his region only once every year or two. His journals are of great importance for their ethnographic and architectural descriptions. In his journal entry for September 1858 to December 1860, he writes:

> Formerly, during paganism, the Kenai Indians, similarly to some of the other savages, burned their dead and collected the bones in a box and set them in a cemetery. At certain times the nearest relatives came to the cemetery and mourned, crying loudly. Compassionate friends consoled them with presents. At the anniversary of the death of a relative a commemorative feast was given and all invited and uninvited guests were fed with dried fish, berries in grease and other foodstuffs....The custom is now seldom practiced: the Indians living near the mission headquarters ask the missionary to say requiem service at the anniversary of the death of their relative...[156]

Both the accounts by Wrangell and Hieromonk Nicholai were written in the mid-nineteenth century, almost a century after the first documented Russian presence in Cook Inlet. Hieromonk Nicholai's remark about setting a box in the cemetery may indicate an intermediate step between the burial of ashes and the construction of gravehouses above interments. Cornelius Osgood's pioneering anthropological research on the Tanaina, written another century later, describes practices for both funeral and cremation similar to those reported earlier:

> Outside, about two or three miles away, the Indians make a crematory by building up a pier of logs. On the top they finally place the body together with the particular implements and necessaries of the deceased. After lighting the fire, they use long sticks of spruce or birch to keep the body from toppling down, and as the flames reach the corpse they puncture it so that the juices may run out and the whole be consumed more quickly....
>
> When the fire burns itself out, the people gather together the human remnants and ashes. The Kachemak Bay Tanaina put the charred pieces of bone in a bag and bury them. Above the grave they erect a pole to mark it. On the pole are tied the record strings showing the number of potlatches given by the deceased. At Iliamna the ashes are sometimes buried and sometimes saved. Kenai people bury the ashes and erect above them a pole about ten feet long and three or four inches in diameter. In the Upper Inlet,

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Mikhail Spiridonovich Gvozdev probably landed on Ratmanov Island (Diomede) in August, 1732, where they made inquires about the "Big Land." On Aug. 21, he landed on the northwest coast of North America and for the next several days explored the coastline, apparently reaching King Island (Ukivok) (see James L. Smith, ed. *Goldenberg's Gvozdev: The Russian Discovery of Alaska in 1732*, Anchorage, AK: White Stone Press, 1990, 56-68). The first priests were sent to Shelikhov's new colony on Kodiak Island in 1794 (see Michael J. Oleksa, *Alaskan Missionary Spirituality*, NY: Paulist Press, 1987 Oleksa, *Orthodox Alaska: A Theology of Mission*, Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1992). The Russian-American Company (RAC) was granted a monopoly by Tsar Paul I in 1799 and continued to function as the controlling force until the sale of Alaska to the United States in 1867.

[156]Townsend, "Journal," 8.

> after the ashes have been put together, the Indians build a little fence around the place of cremation to keep out animals.[157] Then they erect a post about ten inches in diameter and ten feet high on which they hang a bag containing the deceased's essential traveling equipment and some food. It is useless to include more than a man can carry so at later times people throw more food in the fire and thus convey it to him in spirit. The ashes of the dead are never hung on the post, however. At Tyonek one informant claims that in winter when cremators burn a body and there is nothing left but the ashes, they wrap this residue in birch bark and hang it in a tree. The birch bark is secure against rot for years. Also he said that the dead person's essential possessions are burned with the body. Only one informant, a man at Tyonek, had heard of burials on posts, which he said occurred on the Kuskokwim River.....
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> My principal informant at Kachemak Bay once saw a canoe burial at Kamishak Bay (west shore of Lower Inlet.) He said that the kaiak containing the body had been piled over with rocks and that it was the product of the neighboring Eskimo....[158]

Osgood also mentions that an early explorer reported that in the Kachemak Bay area cremated remains were deposited in caves, but then states, "No other method of disposal of the dead except cremation was reported by informants."[159]

Alan S. Boraas and Donita Peter suggest that, for the Tanaina, cremation was a form of fire transformation which, like the burning of discarded animal bones, expressed one's proper attitude toward animals and plants. It "thus [was] a key concept in the pursuit of 'true belief'" in Tanaina concepts of the reincarnation of the human spirit after death.[160]

Hieromonk Nicholai suggested another possibility for the Tanaina preference for cremation over interment. He apparently tried to persuade his parishioners to give up cremation, and an entry in his diary for June 22, 1859, records:

> They burn their dead because, as they say, the relatives are ashamed to leave the bodies as food for worms. I have advised them to discard this custom, but did not insist in order not to disturb them while they are still unestablished in (the Christian) faith....[161]

In any case, Townsend connects the use of gravehouses with European influences: "After the arrival of the missionaries, the funerary practice shifted to simple interment with

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[157]One suspects the fence here may in part represent the boundaries of sacred space as animals would seem to pose less threat to ashes and bone fragments than to interred remains.

[158]Osgood, *Ethnography of the Tanaina*, New Haven: Yale University Press/Human Relations Area Files Press, 1966, 166-167.

[159]Ibid., 167.

[160]Alan S. Boraas and Donita Peter, "The True Believer Among the Kenai Peninsula Dena'ina", in Davis, *Adventures in Time* (181-196), 188.

[161]Chandonnet, 52-53, and Townsend, *Ethnohistory and Culture Change of the Iliamna Tanaina*, PhD dissertation, University of California, 1965, 226.

small houses or at least a fence around the grave."[162] The argument in her dissertation is even stronger:

> The method of disposal of bodies among the Tanaina appears to have undergone considerable change since the pre-contact times. It can be assumed that the pattern of cremation is the oldest, but during the 1880's the practice existed together with house burials....Sheldon (1908:276) believed that cremation was the method of disposal prior to the coming of the Russians. By the first decade of the 19th century another pattern appeared. Lisiasky [sic] (1814:188) in 1805, said the Tanaina buried their dead in wooden boxes and piled stones on the graves. Davydov (1812:147) compared the burial practices of the Tanaina with those of the Tungus of Siberia who buried their dead under a shed set on four posts. The rich, however, were burned with some of their possessions which they would need in the next world. Apparel that remained unburned was given to the relatives.....Petroff, in the late 1800's, described a similar practice of people in remote areas depositing bodies in boxes on posts (1884:163)....In the middle of the 19th century, cremation was still practiced. Richardson (1851: 409) said that after lamentation, the clothing and property of the dead person were divided among the relatives and the body was burned. The bones were then collected and buried by friends who were not related to the deceased. This description follows the general pattern of the practice at the death of rich men described by Davydov almost fifty years earlier....[163]

In this passage, Townsend agrees with Osgood about the prevalence of cremation; however, she also notes certain variations and evidence of changing traditions. She cites Lisiansky's statement that in some burials stones were piled on the grave and Petroff's description of bodies deposited in boxes placed upon posts, also a practice among peoples along the Northwest Coast of Canada. Most significant is Davydov's comparison of sheds supported by four posts erected over the grave to the structures used by the Tungus in Siberia. As already discussed in Chapter 2, this type of pavilion-shed, related to the roadside cross or shrine, was introduced into Siberia by the Russians when they began to explore and settle there.

A closer examination of the gravehouses in the Eklutna cemetery reveals other similarities between them and various forms of Russian religious and domestic architecture. It also demonstrates how the Eklutna monuments themselves, as well as interpretations of their meaning, have changed over the past century.

The Eklutna Gravehouses:

As an active cemetery, Eklutna has increased its total number of gravehouses since

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[162]Townsend, "Journal", 5.
[163]Townsend, *Ethnohistory*, 224-225.

Davis completed her study. There were seventy-four in 1963, of which only forty-two could be identified.[164] Today, there are close to one hundred.[165] Both the addition of new structures and alterations to colour schemes or ornament make it possible to trace changes in the appearance of the cemetery over the past century. Thus, the development of symbolic and iconographic concepts can also be analyzed.

Davis, as an anthropologist, had a special interest in the social aspects of the use of gravehouses and their spatial distribution:

> Little organization is apparent in the arrangement of the graves and the four or five rows of houses create an irregular pattern. The oldest graves are concentrated in the center of the yard except for four old, unkept ones on the far north edge. One large gravehouse on the west belonged to a former chief. Areas of recent expansion are the south side, where eighteen new gravehouses have been built, and the north, where the descendants of one family are buried. The grandmother, father, mother, sister, brothers and wife of the chief have graves in this plot. Other than this concentration, no other division by family, clan, or moiety is evident.[166]

Today, only one of the unkept graves of the north edge remains (fig. 4.1). It is an old and decrepit example of a double-house. Although this house is in ruins, it is probable the framework supporting the roof planks was never enclosed. Early photographs, such as one taken in 1918, show similar frameworks covered with fabric or a blanket, perhaps as a temporary roof (fig. 4.2). A gravehouse shown in another photograph of 1918 has a decorative ridge crest, but it is not known if this house was painted, although it likely was (fig. 4.3). The smaller house enclosed within has walls and a tall crest with zig-zag carving along the upper edge. This type of double-house is said to mark a multiple burial, such as the interment of a mother and child.[167] Today, the monument shown in figure 4.1 covers a smaller house which has a decorative crest. The larger shed-like cover has lost any traces of the paint which may have decorated it.[168] During her research in 1963, Davis

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[164]Davis, 24.

[165]Williams, 5; personal observation, Eklutna, 1995 and 1996.

[166]Davis, 24.

[167]Oral communication, Eklutna informant, 1995; Williams, 18.

[168]The issue of repainting graves at Eklutna is one of some controversy among the residents. According to information received in 1995 and 1996, families are responsible for the upkeep of their deceased relatives' graves. Thus, graves of those who no longer have relatives in the area, or those marking unknown persons, fall into ruin. A different informant in 1996 stated that all graves should be left to return to the earth, as this was part of the natural cycle. The decision to repaint graves, thus, was unwisely made purely for economic interests related to tourism. The idea that a grave should be allowed to fall into ruin is similar to that held by those who believe totem poles should not be preserved. According to Richard Morris, a similar concept, for perhaps different motives, is found among the Old Believers of Oregon, Alaska, and Alberta: "The wooden, decaying, disintegrating crosses with little or no identifying information serve as a powerful reminder that the dead have been consigned to the next world, and that the living must take care of their own. The wooden marker stands, disintegrates, and falls along with the living memory of the deceased in

observed nineteen of these decrepit graves, of which five were double-graves.[169] Collapsed remains of some are still visible along the northern edge of the cemetery.

Recent repainting of some of the graves has made division by "family, clan, or moiety" perhaps more evident than when Davis wrote in 1963. For instance, Williams was given slightly different information in her 1997 research:

> The Alex's family colors are red and white, red being a favorite color of the Tanaina. It is fitting and appropriate that red, the color of highest honor, was used by the chief's family [fig. 4.4]. This also represents the *Chishyi*, or red ochre clan, to which the Alex family belongs. The Theodore family colors are yellow and green, as well as red and white. The red and white colors were from their relation to the Alex clan. The Chiligan family colors are blue and silver [fig. 4.5]. While many original clan-color assocations have been lost, the surviving families endeavor to keep this tradition alive.[170]

Chandonnet also ties colour to family associations:

> ...according to Mildred Alex, president of Iklutat Inc., who has taken on her late father's "job" as caretaker of the cemetery, "The design of the spirit house was decided by the family. Most are decorated the same way for all of the family members. The Alexes' are red and white."[171]

The symbolic use of colour to denote clan associations is likely ancient; yet, some specific references to colour as used on the Eklutna gravehouses may be more recent. As Williams notes,

> In the 1950's, Chief Mike Alex repainted many spirit houses to preserve them from further damage, while some of the graves were in very bad shape. While his intentions were good, the original painted designs of the houses were covered over, and colors changed according to whatever paint was readily available. Over time, other individuals have also repainted some of their family's spirit houses during general upkeep, not always maintaining the original motif.[172]

This fact is made more obvious by comparing photographs taken at different periods. The Alex plot, which today features red and white, includes some of the older monuments of the central core described by Davis. Photographs dating from the time of her research, and prior to it, confirm her observations about the lack of visual evidence for division by family or clan association. For example, in two photographs taken by Neil

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the community. ("Customs in Two Traditional Russian Communities," in *Coping With the Final Tragedy*, 102).

[169]Davis, 24.

[170]Williams, 21. Similar information was provided to me in oral communications at Eklutna in 1995 and 1996.

[171]Chandonnet, 51; oral communication, 1995 and 1996.

[172]Williams, 20-21.

Sutherland before 1985,[173] most of the gravehouses which today are notably red and white were, instead, painted red, yellow, green, white, and blue (figs. 4.6 and 4.7). The walls of most of these were predominantly yellow ochre, with red, green, or blue used for roofs and window trim.

If some of the colour symbolism at Eklutna has been lost or become muddied in recent years, the colours of funerary structures in Russia and Siberia were likely chosen for their specific associations. Crosses and other markers in Old Believer cemeteries in Siberia are usually painted white, red, green, gold or blue. White, also used for most Russian Orthodox crosses in European Russia and Alaska, is associated with purity. Red has long been an important symbolic colour in Russia and was once synonomous with "beautiful." It , like white, indicates purity, although through its association with the purifying qualities of fire. Red also represents blood and therefore life. Green has long represented renewal of life and is thus an appropriate colour for gravemarkers. Gold indicates the life-giving properties of the sun, as well as the realm of heaven, which is similarly indicated in gold on Russian icons. The appropriateness of the colour blue is the least obvious, yet it is possibly the most commonly seen colour on crosses and other markers, both in Siberia and European Russia. The association may derive from other definitions of *Golubets*. In addition to the architectural terms, there are two other categories of definitions: 1) a certain colour of blue, and animals or plants which are blue,[174] and 2) doves, pigeons, or other birds, as well as traits or behaviour related to birds.[175] Blue is the colour of the sky which is the realm of birds, and presumably of Heaven, where the souls of the dead reside according to Christian belief.[176] The souls of the dead are also depicted as doves, pigeons, and other birds. Thus, the blue colour on grave crosses, fences, and gravehouses might

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[173]Published in Sutherland, *Alaska Land of Many Dreams* in 1985, which does not date the photographs.

[174]Definitions which correspond to colour include a copper paint; a type of mushroom (*Agaricus violaceus*); a blue horse (a mythological creature which can be managed only by a courageous, brave youth, also a horse possibly connected to the solar cult); a fur-bearing animal (such as a blue fox - "blue" in summer and white in the fall); a Siberian lily (*Oxytropis*); and a kind of plant (*Aquilegia vulgaris*). Jennifer Lort called to my attention the fact that the latter is also connected to birds as in English, the common name for *Aquilegia* is the columbine, from *columba*, "dove."

[175]Definitions connected to birds include: a type of hawk, also called *Golubyatnik*; a dove (with the various types of pigeons and doves of the species *Columba* also called *golub, golubina, golubka, golubitsa*); a special kind of bird that lives in the forest, such as a game hen; dove meat; millet wrapped in cabbage leaves (shaped like doves); a dovecote; the one who takes care of the doves, or one who hunts them; a tree in the forest where doves like to sit, especially the top part of the tree; a term of endearment (love-birds, *golubchik, golubushka*); a folk dance (where lovers court); play or a folklore circle game (a hawk game); the *Dove-Book* (*Stichera* sung by the poor and blind, a book of importance to some Old Believers and Sectarians); and in Novgorod, the name for earrings (with wire and feathers hanging on it) or in Tver (a silver ring with a cross hanging from it). *Golub* is also defined as one of the southern constellations. This could relate to its location in the blue sky, or to its resemblance to a bird.

[176]As birds and horses have symbolic connections to the solar cult, this may provide another pre-Christian link to preoccupation with sky, birds, and special forms of horses.

have been used, in part, because the definitions themselves contributed an associated funerary context and meaning to the architecture.

It is possible that parallels existed between Old Russian and Native American colour symbolism, or that the meanings of some colours were similar while others were transferred. At Eklutna, photographs show how much the use of colors has transformed the appearance of the structures over this century. The small house with the steep "A-shaped" roof has changed completely. Today, the upper, steeply sloping roof and triangular pediment are painted red (fig. 4.8). The undecorated roof ridge is white, as is the lower, gently-sloping roof. In the earlier photograph (fig. 4.6), the entire structure was yellow ochre. The walls of the "star-shaped" house to the left in figure 4.7 are also yellow, while the roof was blue.[177] Today, the walls are white with red trim around the window opening (fig. 4.9, centre). The upper slope of the roof is white and the lower slopes are red. Variations to the "star" house and the small "A-shaped" house can be seen in an even earlier photograph (fig. 4.10). Here, the "star" house is yellow but the roof and trim around the window are red, rather than blue. The "A-shaped" house is yellow, as in the later photograph, but has red trim around the roof, ridge, and gable edges.

The three-tiered house visible in the lower right corner of figure 4.7 has white walls and two upper roofs of red, while the lowest is blue. Today, the lower roof, like the two upper roofs, is painted red (fig. 4.9, right). A photograph taken about 1928 or 1930 shows this house when it appears to be new and, at that time, both the roof and walls were white or a light colour (fig. 4.11).[178] In the older photograph, there is a window cut in the centre of the wall of the second tier. Small windows are still visible in recent photographs, but these are on the long sides of the house (fig. 4.9). The board with the window in the short side of the house appears to have been replaced during some repair in the past, although windows are visible in both long and short sides of the second tier in figure 4.10.

Even more dramatic are the changes made to the large house with the unique bulbous gable ornaments (fig. 4.4 centre and 4.6 left). Today, this house has white walls, cresting, and sloping scalloped trim along the lower edge of the roof, which is red. Red is also used for the trim around the window (fig. 4.4). This configuration gives this house a slightly squat appearance, and the gable ornament is almost floral in design. In figures 4.6 and 4.7, the walls of this structure are yellow ochre, while the roof, cresting, gable ornaments, and trim are red; the round ends of the gable ornaments are white. This accentuates the onion-dome shape of the ornament and stresses verticality to a greater extent

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[177]I am using Williams' term for the shape of this house.

[178]The blanket beneath the house is still visible in this photograph, indicating a recent burial.

than is possible with today's colour scheme. Figure 4.10 shows even stronger representation of an onion dome typical of Russian churches and chapels, or perhaps a *bochka* arch found in religious and domestic architecture, for here the outer knobs are white (as in figures 4.6 and 4.7), but the "rings" separating these from the "dome" are blue. The "dome" or arch itself is red, as is the trim along the edges of the roof. The roof and walls of the house are of a light yellow or ochre colour, which can be distinguished from the white of the "dome" ornaments. Figure 4.10 is likely a more recent photograph than figure 4.11, for in the former the blanket beneath the three-tiered house has disintegrated and the upper surfaces of the roof are red, having apparently been repainted.

This chapel-like gravehouse, like several of the others, has distinctly Russian features. This is most obvious in a photograph of this gravehouse taken about 1915 (fig. 1.29). In figures 4.11 and 1.29, the entire colour scheme has been used to emphasize the verticality and architectural detail of wooden chapels in Northern Russia and Siberia, which these particular gravehouses seem to emulate in style and decoration. The walls and roof of the house appear to be ochre or light yellow, with red ochre trim, based on the colours shown in colour photographs taken about the same time. The gable ornament is yellow with red trim to outline the dome shape. The fact that the dome, or arch, and roof are of the same colour gives the house an appearance of greater height.

The forms of these structures -- the "star-shaped," the "tiered," the "A-shape," and the "chapel" -- all recall the imaginative wooden architecture of Russia. Steep roofs with variations in the angle of their slopes can be seen in many churches, including the Church of the Saviour of 1628 from the village of Spass-Bezhy, now in the Ipatiev Architectural Museum at Kostroma (fig. 4.12) and a chapel from the Russian North similar in form to the A-shaped gravehouse at Eklutna (fig. 4.13). The Church of the Transfiguration (1756) from the village of Kozliatyevo, now in the wooden architectural museum at Suzdal (fig. 4.14) and the eighteenth-century Chapel of the Archangel Michael from Lelikozero now at Kizhi Island on Lake Onega (fig. 4.15) are among those that incorporate tiers and various shapes in their profiles.

Although the gravehouses we are discussing are found in a Tanaina village in Alaska, and were constructed after the official departure of the Russians from this region, many display Russian forms and decoration. The "dome" or *bochki* gravehouse has scalloped edging along the eaves; and it, like the "star" and "A-shaped" houses, has a lower, gently sloping or overhanging roof, which in Russian architecture is called the *politsa*, which "serves to throw rain or snow clear of the walls below."[179] The diamond-

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[179]Alexander Opolovnikov and Yelena Opolovnikova. *The Wooden Architecture of Russia*, 253.

shaped motif in the gable of the house shown in figures 4.6 and 4.7 (left) similarly recalls the *polotentse*, which was the short, carved board hanging from the apex of a gable, more dramatically displayed on a seventeenth century roadside cross, now at Kizhi (fig. 4.16).[180] The decorative circular elements surrounding the window opening of the same gravehouse is similar in concept to the *nalichnik*, or window frame, which was often elaborately carved with symbolic motifs, the meaning of which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Another structure visible in figure 4.8 has a rounded, gambrel (multi-sloped) roof. Williams suggested this "barn-shaped" design might have been introduced to the Upper Cook Inlet during a colonization project in 1935[181] -- indeed possible, given its appearance in a photograph of about that time. The form, however, might be much older, since similarly shaped gravehouses are found in Russia and may recall the rounded form of the large larch logs which were sometimes used there as coffins, or some types of Russian gravehouses with similar rounded-roofed construction, as discussed in Chapter 1.

Another group of the oldest gravehouses at Eklutna is in the central core of the cemetery, just behind the large cross (fig. 1.2). Close scrutiny of photographs taken earlier this century reveals significant changes to the ornament and colour schemes used for several surviving gravehouses. The Alaskan artist Sydney Laurence took one of the earliest views of the cemetery, probably about 1915 (fig. 4.17). It shows approximately ten gravehouses, four of which will be examined in detail. A similar photograph of the same group was taken by H. G. Kaiser in 1918 (fig. 4.2). Both photographs show similar decoration and arrangement of the graves, but structures in the Laurence photograph have more clearly defined, probably older, painting on the roofs, which would indicate that it was taken slightly earlier than the Kaiser photograph. Figure 4.18 is a photograph taken about 1946, showing the changes made to five of the gravehouses by that date.

The largest and most decorative of these houses (house "A") still exists but in a much changed state (fig. 4.19). Today, it has a red roof and is distinguished from all other houses in the Eklutna cemetery by the holes in its white-painted walls, and its unique carved lace ridge crest, now painted yellow and green. In the earliest photograph (fig. 4.17), this house is surrounded by a fence and is completely painted, although it is impossible to tell which colours were used. The walls are dark with a light zig-zag in the upper part of the pediment and the middle section of the walls. Holes are placed at the points of the zig-zag lines. Beneath, a straight light line connects additional holes along the lower plank of the walls. Any significance this pattern once had is lost beneath today's whitewash.

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[180]Ibid.
[181]Williams, 18-19.

The roof, too, has been altered. Loss of parts of the woodwork on the crest and the alterations in placement of colour have changed the appearance of the gable ornament, decreasing its apparent importance. In the earlier arrangement, white stripes contrast with the coloured roof to emphasize the verticality of the structure and draw the eye towards the elaborately carved and painted ridge crest. The crest is pierced with a decorative pattern of holes, still visible today, and carved lace edging of two colours. The front and rear ends above the apex of the gable are painted, making them more prominent. This feature recalls the *okhlyupen* or *shelom* of Russian houses, which was a hollowed log forming the ridge of the roof.[182] The shape of the tree's curved, upturned, root which was left to extend over the gable recalled the abstract form of a bird, horse, or dragon, and was sometimes carved to further emphasize this connection.[183]

The intermediate colour changes can be seen in fig. 4.18. Now lacking its fence, the house has walls lighter in colour, and the roof lacks decoration. The house still retains a zig-zag decoration, but the colours appear to be reversed from those in the earlier photograph, considerably altering its appearance. In order to provide contrast, dark bands flank the light zig-zag design on the walls. The ridge crest has also been repainted. The centre element and the upper edges of the open-work scrolls have been highlighted by the colour change at the expense of the gable ends. A leafy branch appears to be growing through two of the roof planks; it probably necessitated further repairs to this structure.

Originally, gravehouse "B", to the far left in figure 4.17, also had a carved lace ridge crest painted with contrasting colours to emphasize the central motif, upper carved elements, and the ends above the gable apex. The house appears to be white with coloured squares and Xs or perhaps stylized crosses (like St. Andrew's crosses) along the eaves. In figure 4.18, we can see some alterations to the ridge crest, although they are less dramatic than those made to gravehouse "A". The emphasis is still on the central motif, at the expense of the gable elements. Here, the central motif and two flanking elements are still light coloured, but the scrolls leading the eye towards the gable are dark. The painted motifs on the roof are missing. Today, this house is white with horizontal roof planks, one of which on each side is blue (figs. 4.19 and 4.20, left). The ridgecrest has been completely altered. It now consists of a row of diamonds coloured yellow, blue, red, and brown on a white base.

The two houses to the right of gravehouse "A" have also been changed. To the

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[182]Opolovnikov, *Wooden Architecture*, 253-54.

[183]The bird and horse in particular were considered important and powerful protective symbols, probably related to solar signs. This aspect of the decorative elements of Russian architecture will be discussed in the next chapter.

immediate right is a small, shed-like gravehouse "C" which today has an open framework, reminiscent of a Greek temple, covered by a blue- and white-striped roof (fig. 4.21). All that remains of a crest on this gravehouse are four alternating red and white triangles above the western gable apex. Earlier the structure was much smaller and appears to have enclosed walls with an elaborate carved lace ridgecrest similar to those on houses "A" and "B". It was surrounded by a fence with tall corner posts which might have once supported a roof, perhaps as a larger double-grave. The western part of this has collapsed onto the house in figure 4.18.

Gravehouse "D", to the far right in figure 4.17, is shown from a different angle in figure 4.21. In figure 4.17, the house is clearly an open frame with a roof covering a smaller house with serrated eaves. Today, the smaller house is still visible beneath the open shed. The roof and ridge crest have, however, been altered. In earlier photographs, the crest consists of two lace elements that extend over the apex of each gable, much like a simple *okhlyupen* or *shelom* of Russian houses. It is also apparent that the roof planks extend vertically from the upper ridge down to the eaves. Today, the roof is covered by horizontal planks painted green, white and pink. The ridge crest no longer reaches the gable apex, but is rather formed of two steps, one a plain green which supports the second, painted pink with a scalloped upper edge.

The changes made over the past century to the Eklutna gravehouses demonstrate the vibrant nature of this living tradition in North America; yet the forms and decorative elements of these structures still betray their Russian origins. In particular, the shapes of some of the houses clearly emulate chapels, the profile of which are common in the wooden architecture of the Russian North and Siberia but not in traditional North American Native buildings. Others are simpler in their profile, and take the form of miniature houses of the *brus* type of Russian building. These, too, look to Russian prototypes rather than Native architecture. In addition, the carved ridgecrests emulate carved and sawn wood lace ornament seen on domestic, agricultural, and religious structures throughout Russia. In Russia, the decorative elements originated as protective and folk religious devices. The meanings of these, as well as the significance of the gravehouse itself, were also adapted to some degree by the peoples of the Northern Pacific. These issues are discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 5: Symbol and Meaning

Ornament and Symbol in Eklutna and Russia:

The Tanaina gravehouses in the Eklutna cemetery are similar in their form and function to those found in Russia, where they are called *golubtsi.* The Russian *golubtsi* may themselves owe much of their development and symbolism to pre-Christian mortuary architecture and concepts of the soul, or to a fusion of Christian and pre-Christian beliefs. An analysis and understanding of these symbols and motifs are necessary to understand fully the purpose of the *golubets* or gravehouse, aside from the practical function of protecting the grave. Such understanding, of course, requires much speculation based on the interpretation of folk motifs and their function in the decorative programmes on decorative arts or crafts, as well as on architecture.

Symbols and motifs relating to the *golubets* and similar memorials include the Tree-of-Life and its association with the World Tree and Christian cross; the concept of the soul as a winged creature, especially a bird; and the solar associations of both bird and horse. Various symbols as well as their meanings are often conflated: in Russia, carved bowls, spoons, and even architectural members of houses, such as the *shelom* or *okhlyupen*, may merge into a creature which can have the head of one animal and the tail of another. Thus, stags are sometimes conflated with horses, and both can merge into the Tree-of-Life.[1]

Meanings of these symbols can also be conflated or transformed; the pre-Christian Tree-of-Life was interpreted as a prefiguration or type of the Christian Cross as "Tree of Life," and the dove became the symbol for the Holy Spirit in the Christian era. Yet, the symbols may retain some of their pre-Christian elements, as well, in folk art and architecture. Many of the geometric motifs which decorate folk art and architecture are associated with the solar cult, and solar associations often have meanings related to regeneration or rebirth, just as Christian elements refer to resurrection. Thus, some pre-Christian and Christian meanings merge and render these ancient motifs appropriate for use on funerary objects and structures. Russian funerary practices, like the Russian-influenced traditions at Eklutna, are firmly rooted in the pre-Christian practices combined with beliefs of ancient Greece and Rome. Christian and pre-Christian beliefs were to some degree expressed in similar symbols, although these were given different interpretations. Thus, there are likely dual levels of meaning to the motifs used to decorate both Russian wooden architecture and the Eklutna gravehouses.

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[1]See for instance in Martynov, "The Solar Cult and the Tree of Life," 14, where petroglyphs show stags with trees in place of antlers.

The carved wood-lace ridge crests of the four gravehouses illustrated in figures 4-17 and 4-18 are similar in style and technique to those used to decorate windows, eaves, doorways, and gables in Russian domestic architecture, as illustrated in figures 5.1 and 5.2, of window surrounds on houses near Ulan Ude (Buryatia - Siberia) and in the Old Believer village of Decyatnikovo, south of Ulan Ude, respectively. Similar motifs, with their variable and complex meanings, are ancient and have been used not only in architecture, but for embellishment in Russian decorative arts, including embroidered and woven textiles, carved distaffs, and metalwork.[2] Historians of folk art and architecture concur on the interpretation of many of these symbols, based on ethnographic research as well as art historical and religious history studies.

In Russia and Siberia, ornament on houses, barns, churches, and graves can range from simple triangles and circles to complex geometric, animal, or vegetal motifs, and can be in sawn or carved wood lace, or iron lace decoration. Found throughout Russia and Siberia, some of the most stunning examples of carved lace date from the middle of the nineteenth century through the early twentieth century. The windows shown in figures 5.1 and 5.2 show the rich complexity of pattern and high level of skill required to create these remarkable architectural adornments. These display combinations of ancient symbols such as triangles, solar motifs, geometric and vegetal designs, and versions of elements from Petersburg Baroque translated into folk wood carving.

The window and door surrounds, like gable or eave ornaments, are sometimes much more simple, but still show individuality and creativity. These simplified motifs are like those on the ridge crests or other decoration on Eklutna gravehouses. For instance, one gravehouse at Eklutna has a painting on the eastern end, of a rising sun and rainbow (fig. 5.3). The solar motif is one of the most common devices used on Russian houses. It often fills the gable of the house, as shown in figure 5.4, of an Old Believer house in the Siberian village of Kalinovka.

Sometimes, the symbol of the sun is found in more abstracted form - a circle or a circle with central pierced dot, a rose, a spiral, or a swastika. Examples of these motifs can be seen on the carved *polotentse* and *prichelini* (eave or barge board)[3] of the Oshevnev

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[2]See for instance, *Russian Enamels*; *Russian Enamels* (II); *Embroideries of All the Russias*; *Russian Embroidery and Lace*; *Folk Art in the Soviet Union*; *Russian Folk Art*; *Keepers of Beauty*; *Russian Bobbin Lace*; *Crafts and Craftsmen of the USSR*; *Folk Art of the Soviet Union*; *The Undying Tradition*; *Russian Folk Art* (II); *Russian Houses*; Netting, "Images and Ideas in Russian Peasant Art"; Ambroz, "On the Symbolism of Russian Peasant Embroidery of Archaic Type"; Okhrimenko, "Russian Decorative House-Painting of the Transbaikal"; Martynov, "The Solar Cult and the Tree of Life"; Sher, "On the Sources of the Scythic Animal Style"; Gribova, "Traditional Carving on Rural Buildings of the Perm Komi"; Dmitrieva, "Folk Art of the Russians of the Mezen'"; Green, *The Sun-Gods of Ancient Europe*.

[3]Opolovnikov, *Wooden Architecture*, 253.

house from northern Russia, now at Kizhi Island (fig. 5.5). Greatly simplified motifs of this kind decorate the windows of houses in Kostroma and Taltsy Architectural Museum (figs. 5.6 and 5.7). In figure 5.7, the solar motif is a simple circle directly above the window, combined with floral motifs that form an "eye."

Folk architectural details are often the same as those used in the decorative folk arts. Many motifs -- zoomorphic figures, circles, spirals, stars, squares, triangles, diamonds, hooks, dots, waves, zig-zags, indentations, and stylized flowers -- have symbolic importance or protective qualities; this is why they are used in domestic and religious embroideries, or in enamelware, as well as on architecture.[4] According to a specialist in the interpretation of motifs in the folk arts,

> The pictographs that conventionally denote the sun in decorative arts and that are found in embroidery over most of the world, already appear in palaeolithic art. Concentric circles were originally a lunar symbol and with the addition of a cross became solar; the simple circle with a cross is also solar and conveys the linking of the four corners of the earth. The spiral, as well as expressing creative force, symbolizes the sun and the moon and was especialy important in Bronze-Age Scandinavia and in Celtic and Viking traditions. The circle with a central dot, the whorl with twisted rays and the circle with straight rays all feature in cave paintings.[5]

In some cases, Christian symbols are used side by side with pre-Christian motifs, even on secular garments or buildings. One *polotentse* of the Oshevnev House at Kizhi, for instance, has combinations of solar swirls, rosettes, and a Russian cross (fig. 5.5).

Paine notes the importance of the swastika as a complex solar symbol; like the swirl, it expresses concepts of movement and change. Other symbols, such as the rosette and lotus, have similar solar associations. Four-and eight-pointed stars are solar motifs; the former underlies the Maltese cross. Axes and double-axes have long been used as solar emblems; this may in part derive from the use of iron from meteorites to make them.[6] Paine comments on the exchange of concepts of solar symbolism between the vast regions and cultures of the ancient world:

> In Eastern Europe solar patterns are mostly Central Asian in origin. They are frequently....combined with associated symbols such as hooked spirals and birds. The rosette is the most common form.....the women embroider cloths in black and red with circles and rosettes combined with hooked spirals....[7]

Spirals and swastikas sometimes "evolve into four-hooked patterns incorporating

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[4]Paine, *Embroidered Textiles*, 8; Anne Odom, *Russian Enamels*.
[5]Paine, 80.
[6]Ibid., 80, 105.
[7]Ibid., 107.

associated symbols of horns, stars, triangles, zigzags and S-shapes."[8] These are the same motifs found on Russian and Siberian houses. Some appear in various combinations, such as a solar "eye" created by rosettes or circles with triangular shapes or angles. The rosette and rose, according to Barber, are symbols of protection "traceable back at least three millennia."[9] Rosettes are combined with triangles, zigzags, and other motifs on the windows of an old Irkutsk home (fig. 5.8).

Similar variations of these elements decorate the majority of the ridge crests of the Eklutna gravehouses. The tiered house in the foreground of figure 4.18 has a crest consisting of half-circles painted in alternating light and dark colours. It appears from later photographs that the entire house, not just the crest, has been changed. The house now in this position is a simple gable house with a crest of blue, yellow, and red triangles set into a blue base (figs. 4.20).

Many of the ridge crests today are composed of circles, half-circles, or triangles. Figure 5.9 illustrates a ridgecrest with alternating red and blue circles set within a white framework. It bears a resemblance to a stylized egg-and-dart motif. The ridgecrest of the house with the brown and yellow striped roof in figure 5.10 combines circles and triangles of brown, yellow, pink, blue, and white. Other gravehouses in this photograph have crests based on combinations of geometric forms, including triangles, zig-zags, and lozenges.

Solar symbolism also underlies other motifs. According to Paine, wave and horn patterns had solar significance in Russia and Central Asia. In describing some of the felts and carpets, she says:

> All have solar motifs, which can be circular, as discs and whorls, or a circle within a circle (a pattern used in felts and believed to ward off the evil eye) or versions of the scroll motif known as 'running dog' or 'wave'. This reversible pattern was presumed mystic as it bears the magical significance of the balance between life and death, light and dark, male and female, sun and moon. It is a pattern also found on neolithic pottery of Old Europe.[10]

The "horn" motif is illustrated on a Buryat house near Ulan Ude in figure 5.11. The "scroll" or "wave" pattern can be seen on the window decoration of an Old Believer house in the Siberian village of Tarbagatai (fig. 5.12); this closely resembles the ridge crest of a gravehouse at Eklutna (fig. 5.13), which is painted with black, green, yellow, and

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[8]Ibid., 108.
[9]Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles*, 297. For additional interpretations of various symbols such as the rosette, double-ax, and six-pointed star see Dario Valcarenghi, *Kilim: History and Symbols*, Milan and New York: Electra and Abbeville, 1994, 7-49.
[10]Paine, 108.

white "waves" and features a circle with a pierced dot in the centre. Almost certainly, these motifs derive ultimately from solar symbols.

Their use on gravehouses would be appropriate, thanks to the protective aspects of these signs, and to the symbolic relationship of the sun and moon with renewal of life, revitalization, and rebirth. Yefimova and Belogorskaya, in their discussion of Russian embroideries and laces, state, "Much of the decoration has symbolic meaning. Some motifs were originally amulets, protecting against evil - ram's horns, certain birds - or were regarded as bringing good fortune - the sun, the eight-pointed star."[11] Paine confirms the symbolic signficance of these motifs, both in ancient cultures and among many peoples today:

> The circle and the spiral - potent symbols of the cosmic force of the sun and moon and of the motion and rejuvenation of the wheel - also offer protection from evil spirits, as do their derivations, such as the crescent, eight-pointed star, swastika, cross within a circle and the labyrinth. A circle within a circle often has the appearance of an eye...The circles are reputed to protect from the evil eye....Variations of the circle have protective powers. The spiral - a pattern that was trodden on to ancient ground to sanctify it before a city was built...is a distinct motif of felt carpets and is frequent in embroidery...The square was considered a magical source of protection....[12]

The most common motifs decorating the Eklutna gravehouses today are -- besides circles -- triangles, zig-zags, and diamonds (figs. 5.14 and 5.15). The old three-tiered house belonging to an old chief mentioned above has variations of a triangular motif on the ridgecrest, but is also decorated by paint on the walls with triangles and diamonds filled with floral motifs (fig. 5.16). Similar motifs were long used throughout Russia, where they are still found today. Triangles and rosettes were used in Old Russian architecture to decorate brick as well as wooden buildings. The chamber of the palace of the apanage princes in Uglich gives a good example of the variations of floral, triangular and zig-zag motifs in brickwork (fig. 5.17).[13]

The triangle has multiple meanings; its significance as a fertility symbol would be appropriate for mortuary architecture to recall rebirth and renewal of life. As a symbol of the Trinity, it is appropriate for Christian burials; but it can also evoke pre-Christian beliefs, such as the three-headed deities of ancient Slavic mythology.[14] Williams documented a local tradition of the Ahtna, who probably adopted the use of gravehouses from their Tanaina neighbors. According to an interview she conducted with Ahtna elder Katherine

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[11]Yefimova and Belogorskaya. *Russian Embroidery and Lace*, 16.
[12]Paine, 142.
[13]Bult in the 1480's. Brumfield, *History of Russian Architecture*.
[14]Paine, 141.

(Katie) Wade of Chickaloon, the "sharp angles were designed to keep the evil spirits from landing on the house and causing mischief."[15] This is closely related to Paine's statement that "its [the triangle's] sharp corners have the power to blind the evil eye."[16] Probably, then, at least some of the motifs used on the ridge crests derive from ancient European and Central Asian symbols, or from parallel concepts in North America, although other interpretations have been more recently suggested. For instance, Catherine McClellan suggested the sawtooth ridgecrest, which also appears on gravehouses in the Yukon and British Columbia, might represent a stylized backbone. Informants at Eklutna remarked that the ridgecrests, colours, and design of the house were at the discretion of the family, but that the crest was intended in some way to show the strengths, personality, and accomplishments of the deceased.[17]

The relationship between the protective functions of ornamentation on textiles and buildings is significant. Magical motifs in embroidery served both practical and ritual functions, but their placement was most critical where one was thought to be most vulnerable to evil forces:

> Those evil spirits likely to attack the body are kept out by decorative devices at every edge and opening. From Asia to Western Europe embroidery is commonly placed encircling the neck, along hem and cuff, around pockets and also at buttonholes. Seams are closed with decorative stitchery and certain vulnerable places carry heavy embroidery. These are the front bodice, the shoulders and sleeves and often also the sexual area and the centre back. Even when they cover much of the garment these areas of embroidery never intermingle but are always clearly defined. In each case such embroidery was destined to protect these specific and significant parts of the body. Most heavily embroidered - and the last item of Western European costume to disappear - was the coif: as can be seen in any village of Eastern Europe the headscarf and apron still linger as everyday wear, though they serve no practical purpose.[18]

On Russian and Siberian houses, decorative ornaments are likewise placed along the roof, edges, and openings. Just as ornamentation in embroidery is assigned a protective role, similar motifs and details in vernacular architecture can also be seen as more than simple aesthetic enhancement. The placement of these "protective" decorations can be seen on the Oshevnev House at Kizhi (fig.5.18). The *okhlyupen*, *shelom*, and *polotentse* would serve in architecture a similar function to that of the headcovering in dress, with the ornament surrounding the windows, doors, and eaves, symbolically protecting the openings and edges. Some of the most common motifs used on both churches and houses

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[15]Williams, 20.
[16]Paine, 141.
[17]Oral communication, Eklutna, 1995 and 1996; also Chandonnet, 52; Williams, 20.
[18]Paine, 132-3.

are zig-zags, triangles, circles - some with holes at the centre - and squares. These are frequently found in bands which combine several different motifs, as on the *prichelini* of the Yelizarov House, also at Kizhi (fig. 5.19). Combinations of pre-Christian and Christian symbols are juxtaposed on the same element; consequently, the precise symbolism represents a conflation of ideas or, in some cases, has been altered completely to meet new religious beliefs.[19]

In the Transbaikal region of Siberia, Old Believers have continued to decorate their homes and out-buildings with many of these same motifs. Those who could not afford elaborate carving sometimes used painted ornament, which, like carved decoration, was common on older houses. The painted shutters of an Old Believer house now in the Ethnographic Museum at Ulan Ude are decorated with birds, deer, and plants forming tree-of-life motifs combined with carved ornament over the top of the windows (fig. 5.20).[20] Both their homes and out-buildings often feature sawn or carved decorative elements, especially triangles and circles. Old Believer houses are usually painted on both the interior and exterior surfaces. This flair for colour is a common feature of Russian, but particularly the Old Believer, buildings as well as the Tanaina gravehouses.

Old Believer houses also feature entrance gates which separate public from private spaces. In this sense, the gates are parallel in function to fences and gates around graves or cemeteries, as they serve to mark divisions between one type of space and another. This is of particular significance in setting apart consecrated from unconsecrated ground;[21] thus, roadside crosses or those found on hills, near wells, in groves of sacred trees, and in cemeteries are frequently set apart by a fence or a circle of stones similar to that which surrounds the main cemetery cross at Eklutna. Gates around homes and outlying buildings are functional but also mark the symbolic separation of spaces, each of which requires specific protocols for hosts and visitors.[22] These gates, too, are often decorated with "protective" motifs, such as zigzags, roses, and other geometric or floral motifs handed

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[19]See Alison Hilton, *Russian Folk Art*, Maria Nekrasova, *Russian Folk Art: An Indivisible World.*

[20]The tree of life motif is featured in many cultures and is often associated with several different concepts. These include the shamanic tree which spans the underworld, the middle world, and the upper world; but also rebirth and regeneration. In this latter sense, it bears a funerary association that might be connected to the practice of using logs and canoes as coffins, or that of placing ashes or bones of the deceased in cavities made in living trees.

[21]Thus, many churches, monasteries, and *pogosts* - administrative complex of churches, cemetery, and other buildings - are surrounded by walls which may or may not be of functional importance. One passes from one kind of space to the other through the decorated gate.

[22]For instance, in some Old Believer homes, the importance of the guest is indicated by the location of the host when the greeting is bestowed. Likewise, in northern regions, strangers were welcome to enter a home unannounced to warm themselves, but were only to go beyond a certain point marking the private realm of the room after an invitation by the host (oral communications in Ulan Ude, Tarbagatai, Kugoti, Decyatnikovo, Kalinovka, Bar, Suzdal, and Kizhi).

down for generations. The gate shown in figure 5.21 is in the Siberian Old Believer village of Decyatnikovo. It has been constructed so that the edges of the planks form zig-zag patterns. The outer surface is decorated by yellow, green, red, and blue zig-zags running in the opposite direction of the planks. Another section of the gate is painted in diamond motifs. The walls of the house are yellow, with blue shutters and carved white ornament forming "waves" and rosette "eyes." Sawtooth edging and squares run along the lower edge of the gable.

The gate in figure 5.22 surrounds a house enclosure in the village of Ust-Barguzin, on the eastern shores of Lake Baikal. The green decorative woodwork forms blazing-sun patterns. The sun also crowns the triangular space of a gable of an Old Believer gate made in 1906, now in the Ethnographic Museum at Ulan Ude (fig. 5.23). The decoration on this gate also incorporates many lotus and rosette motifs, diamonds, and lozenges, in a richly carved and painted gate of extraordinary workmanship. In addition, this gate is interesting because, besides traditional European motifs, it includes motifs borrowed from the Buddhist Buryat neighbors of the Old Believers in this area.

A similar borrowing might be responsible for the appearance of the cemetery gate in the First Nations village at Bonaparte, British Columbia (fig. 5.24). This gate uses carved suns and decorative zig-zag woodwork accented by colour, and is similar in concept and form to both the gate from Decyatnikovo and gates from Old Believer villages in the Ural mountains (figs. 5.25 and 5.26). While the possibility remains that the gate in Bonaparte, like others in the region, takes its form from the styles fashionable along the west coast and elsewhere at the turn of the century, Russian influence should not be discounted.[23] Cemetery gates in the Interior Salish villages of the Nicola Valley of British Columbia show similar decorative motifs, featuring rosettes, circles, and birds (figs. 5.27 and 5.28).

Gates as devices to separate types of space are not restricted to cemeteries or domestic arrangements. Figure 5.29 shows the decorative treatment of a barn gate in the Transbaikal village of Kluevka. In contrast to the rough appearance of the building itself, the wooden gates are carefully embellished with carved wooden lace. Carved swirls or horns also decorate the edges of the eaves and the upper opening of the doors to the right. Some gates in this region include images of cocks or hens, also considered symbols of the sun and, presumably, fertility. The cock gains its association by its crowing a welcome to

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[23]I have found no study on the possible connections, if any, between the vernacular architecture of Siberia, the Russian Far East, and the Russian North, and Victorian architecture in North America. As noted in Chapter 3, there were active contacts between Russians, Spanish, French, English, and "Boston Men" during the Russian-American period. Further research in this area might prove fruitful.

the rising sun; the hen's significance as a symbol of regeneration and new life comes from her association with the egg.[24]

The combination of pre-Christian and Christian symbols on houses and gates in Russia indicates both a dual faith -- *dvoeverie* -- and the supplanting forces or overlay of earlier pagan meanings of symbols by Christian interpretations. Thus, the solar symbol can also stand for Christ as the "Sun of Righteousness"; or the triangle, for the protective power of the Holy Trinity in Russian dual faith. There is evidence that, in many cases, both the Christian and pre-Christian meanings are simultaneously invoked by this "double" faith.[25]

Just as the form, ornament, and colour of the Eklutna gravehouses are similar to those used in the wooden architecture of Russia and Siberia, the rituals accompanying the erection of the monuments have been influenced by Russian traditions. Some of these are directly related to Russian Orthodox practices, while others, like the decorative motifs, harbour recollections of more distant pre-Christian traditions which stem from Eurasian and North American roots. To understand the symbolic significance of the *golubets* and related forms of memorials fully, we must recognize the relationship between roofed crosses and the Tree-of-Life, and review concepts of the soul that gave gravehouses and roofed crosses their important status for so many centuries in Russia and elsewhere in Europe.

Roofed Crosses and the Tree-of-Life Motif:

Roofed crosses and roadside shrines were found in Russia and throughout the Slavic lands, as far as the Baltic, in the Balkans, Central Europe, and even as far west as France. The widespread use of these structures in Russian and neighboring lands is attested in a letter of 1960 from Professor V. I. Malysev of Leningrad to Felix Oinas: "I have seen such monuments in the Gorky Oblast, at the Pechora, in Belaja Grinitsa (Moldavia), in Lithuania, in the Baltic area, and in other places."[26] In *Folk Art of Poland*, a number of similar structures, including roofed posts or crosses and the larger house-like shrines, are illustrated and described. Like those in Russia, the Polish crosses and shrines represent an ancient Slavic form of memorial architecture, commonly used in the Middle Ages to mark crossroads, hilltops, sacred trees and springs, graves, and other sites of special significance.[27]

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[24]Barber, 297-8; Hilton, 170; Paine, 70-71, 79-80.

[25]For *dvoeverie* - a "dual" or "double" faith - see Hilton, *Russian Folk Art*; Hubbs, *Mother Russia*; Ivanits, *Russian Folk Belief*; Veletskaia; and Robin Milner-Bulland, *The Russians*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1997. For a discussion on the problems of the term, and the need for it to be cleansed of its pejorative connotation, see Eve Levin, "Dvoeverie and Popular Religion" in *Seeking God*, 1993, 29-52.

[26]Quoted in Oinas, 81 (Nov. 21, 1960).

[27]Frys, Ewa, et. al. *Folk Art in Poland*. Warsaw: Arkady. 1988, 184.

The Polish shrines have been divided into five types - a simple cross; a box made of planks which could be placed on the ground, hung in a tree, or placed on a post; a wooden, brick or stone pole with a gable or four-slope roof housing lanterns, sculptures, or religious paintings; a statue set on top of a column or pole, either unprotected or covered by a roof; and small-scale architecture such as the Kizhi example with roofs supported by corner posts. This latter form could also be made of stone or brick.[28] Some of the crosses are of the Russian eight-cornered type, showing the exchange of cutural influences between the two regions.[29] The placement of the crosses and shrines in cemeteries and other places of importance was similar to that in Russia:

> Crosses and shrines were most often set on the roadside or at crossroads, or in the middle of fields and forests. Such a procedure was interpreted in terms of the sacred space and the magical significance of the boundaries and centre of this space....These were the spots of past cults, and an atttempt to sacralize them was made in keeping with the Christian principles. Nor can we exclude the possibility of a relationship between the custom of setting pole-supported shrines by the roadside and that of siting post graves with urns on top in the same place, and also tree-suspended shrines, with small houses devoted to the ancestor cult....On the roadsides, and particularly at cross-roads, these objects were indispensible protection against evil powers; they also functioned as landmarks for travellers. On the sites of battles, in front of graveyards and within them, and also on the site of crimes, they were expected to contribute to the salvation of the dead and to protect the living from the wandering souls. On the boundaries or in the main square of a village, usually erected by the whole community, they were supposed to ensure divine protection against any evil.[30]

This protective function was often enhanced by the hanging of embroidered ritual towels on roadside crosses and gravemarkers, a practice observed in both Poland and Russia.[31] In Russia, ribbons had the same meaning as towels when hung on archaic tombs.[32] While no instances of using ribbons or towels in this way in the North Pacific came to light during the field research, towels, ribbons, and rags are still used in Siberia.

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[28]Ibid., 183-4.

[29]Ibid., illustrations 279-283. It should be remembered that the borders between Russia, Poland, Lithuania, Ukraine, and Sweden/Finland changed a number of times. These areas also had large populations of Old Believers.

[30]Ibid., 205.

[31]Ibid., 295; Hilton, *Russian Folk Art*; Ivanits, *Russian Folk Belief*; Tul'tseva, "Calendrical Religious Festivals"; Nosova, G. A. "Mapping of Russian Shrovetide Ritual (From Materials of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth centuries). Originally published in *Sovetskaia Ethnografiia*, 1969, No. 5. *Soviet Anthropology and Archeology* XIV, 1-2 (Summer-Fall 1975), 50-70;
Martynov, "The Solar Cult and the Tree of Life"; Ambroz, "On the Symbolism of Russian Peasant Embroidery of Archaic Type."

[32]Tul'tseva, "Calendrical Religious Festivals", 48.

Roofed poles and crosses in the Baltic region, like those in Russia and Poland, display many pre-Christian motifs dating back to the Iron Age:

> A peculiar cosmogonical tree of the Baltic peoples was the wooden, roofed pole topped with symbols of sky deities - suns, moons, stars - and guarded by stallions and snakes. Right up to the present century, roofed poles as well as crosses with a sun symbol around the cross-arms could be encountered in Lithuania in front of homesteads, in fields, beside sacred springs, or in the forests....The Lithuanian roofed poles and crosses managed to escape destruction because the people fixed some of the Christian symbols to them, and gradually they came under the protection of the Catholic Church. They are, nevertheless, monuments stemming from the pre-Christian faith, as well as illustrious examples of Lithuanian folk art, their symbolic and decorative elements manifesting direct ties with the art of the Iron Age.[33]

Similar examples still exist in the former Yugoslavia, Romania, Moldavia, Greece, Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, indicating how wide-spread geographically and culturally is this European tradition.[34]

The use of the cross to mark graves or other important sites is probably related to the earlier tradition, widespread in Europe and the Mediterranean, of planting trees on burials, or choosing groves of trees as the sites for burials. Images of trees and selected symbolic plants were used by the Romans and Greeks to decorate cremation ash urns and chests, funerary altars and grave stelae as symbols of victory over death, and of fertility, and thus, immortality. Because of the undying character of their foliage, evergreens such as olive, myrtle, cypress, laurel, and ivy, were planted on graves as symbols of immortality.[35] In addition, their association with the *axis mundi* linked trees to the magic power of crossroads.[36] Customs intended to protect from the spiritual dangers of crossroads and beliefs about the importance of the axis mundi gained funerary associations, thereby connecting these customs and beliefs to grave markers, whether in the form of crosses or gravehouses. In Old Slavic lore, the world tree is a tree of life, knowledge,

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[33]Marija Gimbutas, *The Balts*. London: Thames and Hudson. 1963, 195.

[34]See for instance the illustrations in Tables 22 and 32 of Franz Hula, *Die Totenleuchten und Bildstöcke Österreichs*. Wien: Verlag Helene Poech. 1948; G. N. Boldanova, et. al. *Derevo i Obraz - Image of Wood*. Kishniev: Timpul. 1986; Bernotien, *Leituvi Liaudies Menas*; *German Folk Art*; Frys, *Folk Art of Poland*; Kiadó, *Folk Art in Hungarian Cemeteries*; Ion Miclea, *Sweet Bucovina*, trans. by Andrei Bantas. Bucharest: Editura sport-turism. 1977; *Folk Art of the Ukraine*; Kurt Hielscher, *Picturesque Yugo-Slavia - Landscape, Architecture, Life of the People*, New York: Brentano's Publishers, 1926, (pls. 4, 25, 123), etc. The custom of erecting memorial crosses at sites other than the grave was practiced in Anglo-Saxon regions as well (*The Anglo-Saxon Cross: The Cross in the Life and Literature of the Anglo-Saxons*, 58-59).See also, France Stele, ed. *Art on the Soil of Yugoslavia From Prehistoric Times to the Present* (Published on occasion of the exhibition held in Paris 1971). Beograd: Jugoslavija. 1971;*Yugoslavia: Republics and Provinces*; *Traditions and Folkore in Yugoslavia.*

[35]Britt Haarløv, *The Half-Open Door: A Common Symbolic Motif Within Roman Sepulchral Sculpture*. Odense: Odense University Press. 1977, 48-9.

[36]Paine, *Embroidered Textiles*, 72.

immortality, and the dwelling place for the gods and the souls of the deceased.[37] Here, there is close connection to shamanic beliefs of Eurasian and North American aboriginal peoples. In both pre-Christian Slavic and shamanistic beliefs, one form of the Tree of Life is the cross:

> The cross is but one aspect of the tree at the center of the universe, the axis mundi, a mythology dating from the fourth or third millennium BC and especially important to Nordic and Central Asiatic races. From the tree as a central pillar the cross radiated to the four corners of the universe. In Yugoslavia the pre-Slav veneration of tree and pillar was still observed in the early years of this century.[38]

Trees and posts have long been associated with death as well as life. According to the *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, the Greek term for cross, *staurós*, "designated a pointed, vertical wooden stake firmly fixed in the ground."[39] These could be positioned side by side in rows to form a defensive palisade. Alternatively, they could be set up singly as instruments of torture and execution, or, if the offender was already dead, as a place where the corpse was publically dishonored. This probably accounts for the Deuteronomic curse upon anyone "hanged on a tree."[40] Because crucifixion was the means of the execution of Jesus, the cross in Christian belief became a symbol not only of death, but of redemption and of the promise of life after death. Here, the Tree of Life, which was placed in the midst of the Garden of Eden in the Genesis account, prefigures the cross, making Adam a type of Christ. This is visually expressed in the skull beneath the cross on Crucifixion icons.[41] Another visual transformation from pre-Christian to Christian interpretation is in the depiction of the "True and Life-Giving Cross," often shown as a form of floral cross, which itself had already appeared in pre-Christian folk motifs.[42]

The Christian cross, then, came to represent reconciliation with God through death and resurrection in historic time, rather than the annual cycle of death and renewal of the

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[37]Veletskaia, *Yezicheskaya*, 9-41. See also, B. A. Rybakov, "The Rusalii and the God Simargl-Pereplut," *Sovetskaia arkheologii*, 1967, 2, pp 91-116, trans. in *Soviet Anthropology and Archeology*, IV, 4 (1964), 34-59; Ambroz, "On the Symbolism of Russian Peasant Embroidery"; Martynov, "The Solar Cult and the Tree of Life."

[38]Paine, 72.

[39]*ISBE*, 825.

[40]Ibid., 828.

[41]The legend is found in both Eastern and Western Christianity, according to which Seth buried Adam on Golgotha, exactly where the cross of Christ was to stand, along with a twig or seed from the Tree of Life given to Seth by the Archangel Michael. The twig or seed grew into a great tree, a beam of which was used for the cross on which Jesus was crucified (*The Anglo Saxon Cross*, 12-13). According to Child and Colles, the Ansated Cross, used by the Copts, is linked with the belief that the Cross is the Tree of Life and derives from the Egyptian ankh as the symbol of life (Heather Child and Dorothy Colles, *Christian Symbols Ancient and Modern: A Handbook for Students*, London: G. Bell and Sons, 1971, 18).

[42]Ambroz, "On the Symbolism of Russian Peasant Embroidery", 25.

agrarian cycle.[43] Posts, trees, and crosses have significant funerary associations, whether associated with pre-Christian representations of regeneration, or Christian beliefs in the resurrection of the dead. This fusion of Christian and pre-Christian attitudes is explicit in the Russian holiday of *Rusal'naia* Week, for instance:

> The most important celebration of spring vegetation occurred the seventh (sometimes eighth week after Easter; in parts of Russia this holiday was still known by its ancient name, 'Rusal'naia Week,' though it was usually called 'Trinity Week' or 'Green Yuletide' (*Zelenye sviatki*). The Thursday of this week, *semik*, was the day on which funeral services were held for those who had not yet received proper burial. Particular attention during this holiday was devoted to the birch tree as the symbol of vegetative power. Peasants decorated their houses inside and out with branches, and they selected one particular tree for garlanding and embellishing with ribbons, beads, etc. Usually this tree was left in the forest; in some areas it was cut and brought into the village. In either case it served as a focal point for the girls' songs, circle dances (*khorovody*), and vows of eternal friendship.[44]

Ugrian ancestors of the Hungarians from the 2nd to 1st millennium B.C. buried their dead in groves of trees, and also planted trees on graves: "The connection between the living trees and the dead in all certainty testifies to a general and most probably archaic belief held by our linguistic relatives, according to which trees and bushes are the dwelling-place of the soul."[45] Kunt describes a Hungarian counterpart to this belief: when a child is born, the father or godfather plants a fruit-tree which is considered the alter ego of the child. When the child dies, the tree is used for the grave-post on its grave.[46] The Hungarians share ancestry with Ugrian peoples of Siberia who, as discussed in Chapter 4, practiced tree burial prior to contact with Russian Christians. A belief about the connection of the tree to a child's life is also found among the Balts: "At the time of one's birth, a specific tree is assigned to one, and it grows imbued with the same life forces as its human counterpart. If the tree is cut down, the person dies."[47]

The motif of a tree on the grave, or the marking of a grave by a living tree, was also used in Russia, as in other Indo-European regions. Archaic Slavic tombs sometimes depict an oak with cut branches, but with new growth from the top on which a bird sits. Several graves in the Lazarus Cemetery of the Alexander Nevsky Lavra in St. Petersburg have the

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[43]*ISBE*, 828. On Russian icons, the skull beneath the cross illustrates the "belief that Christ was crucified on the spot where Adam was buried and that his redeeming blood ran down to the skull" (*Christian Symbols Ancient and Modern*, plate 2).

[44]Ivanits, 9-10. Ribbons were also used by the Romans as a sign of victory or solemn ceremony, and found on wreaths to keep flowers and stalks together. These wreaths and garlands crowned sepulchral monuments (*The Half-Open Door*, 49).

[45]Kiadó and Kunt, 10.

[46]Ibid., 10.

[47]*The Balts*, 191.

tree-on-grave motif.[48] Stylized trees are often shown within crosses, features also found on some Greek and Russian icons.

Crosses and posts, therefore, are likely synonymous with trees, and especially associated with the Tree of Life and world tree, the axis mundi, and the Christian symbol of eternal life. The roofs, however, probably give another level of meaning to these markers, bringing them closer to the meaning of a house or shelter, explaining why they are included among the *golubets* forms of Russian funerary architecture. At Eklutna, informants said they did not know its significance or why the roof was used on the cemetery cross, but that it did provide room to inscribe the prayer for the dead.[49] The most prevalent explanation in Russia is that the roof provides protection of the cross from the elements. This coincides closely with the belief that it gives similar protection to spirits of the dead. Although roofed crosses are found throughout Russia and Eastern Europe, some informants stated that they were used primarily by inhabitants of the Russian north, or by their descendants who continued to perpetuate northern traditions elsewhere.[50] Others connect the roofed crosses specifically to Old Belief.[51] Indeed, many roofed crosses and posts are still found in Old Believer settlements in Siberia as well as in Northern Russia. Standing alone as cross or post, or combined with the *golubets* or *domovina*, it may mark a grave or some other place of significance, such as a crossroad or hilltop.

Veletskaia also notes that tall crosses, as well as tomb chapels, are typical of tomb memorials of Old Believers of the Volga region. Here, too, the monuments are described as having a pre-Christian connection to sacred trees and mark holy sites of many kinds:

> Along with small graveyards in forests on the other side of the Volga, there were also isolated graves, located beneath a huge pine tree or next to an isolated forest spring [*kliuchik*]. Such graves with Old Believer tombmarkers, in the form of massive tall crosses or chapels [*chasovenki*] were also found in the woods around the Holy Lake (Svetloiar), famed in the legend of the sunken city Kitezh, and in the dense forests of the former Kostromsk Province and those of the Russian North, as well as other places of Old Believer settlement. This form is a transformation of the previous custom of abandoning old people in the forest beneath a tree.[52]

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[48]This is not, of course, unique to Russia or Eastern Europe. Grave markers in the form of broken trees were common in Victorian England, and often found in cemeteries in North America, for instance. This is likely the result of common Christian traditions and a shared Indo-European inheritance.

[49]Oral communication, Eklutna informant, 1996. In Seldovia and Port Graham, I was told the roofed cross marked the burial of a woman.

[50]This explanation was given to me by informants near Kizhi, in Moscow, and in towns of the mid-Volga, summer
1997.

[51]Oral Communication. Larissa Salmina-Haskell, 1996, recognized the Eklutna cross as the type used in Old Believer *skity*, or hermitages, especially in the north. Several Old Believer informants in the Ulan Ude region also said they were used by some accords of Old Belief, summer, 1996.

[52]Veletskaia, "Pagan...", 52-53.

The "chapel" tombmarkers and tall crosses are here closely associated with the trees of the forests, but are also linked closely and specifically to Old Believers:

> The shoreline ("mountains") is pitted with "holes" dug by hermits who have withdrawn from the world, and are rimmed with "chapels," or tombmarkers of the Old Believers interred here. On the summit of the tallest hill stood an Old Believer chapel where services were held. On the summit of another hill are three very old and large pines, growing close together as though springing from the same root and believed to be sacred. They were festooned with icons and pieces of cloth by pilgrims, who would perform a ritual procession around them with prayerful singing. The bark of one of them, believed to be curative, was scraped off near the root and taken away by one individual.[53]

Thus, both linguistically and functionally, roofed crosses and posts are synonomous with other forms of gravehouses or *golubtsi*. Pavilion-like memorials, elevated on posts or taking the form of open roofed sheds having gable- or pyramidal roofs, were common in Russia, as they were elsewhere in parts of Europe during the Middle Ages.

Golubets and Concepts of the Soul:

The *golubets* clearly had many important meanings in Medieval Russia. As discussed in Chapter 1, various definitions of the term might have been combined in various ways to render profound, while subtle, associations with funerary beliefs and customs. The connections between the colour blue, for example, and the definitions related to birds or bird-like behaviour can be readily understood when one considers blue as the colour of the sky, and thus the realm of the birds.[54] How either of these might be related to death and funerary customs is less readily apparent than some of the architectural definitions. For instance, as an entrance into an underground cellar or foundation pit, the *golubets* parallels the grave pit, or an underground home for the dead.[55] A report on the archeological excavation of the Komandorskii Camp of the Bering Expedition (1741-42) describes the construction of the dwellings of the shipwrecked crew, using the term *golubets*:

> It is characteristic that the dwellings of the Komandorskii camp correspond to the house-building tradition known among the Slavic peoples of the 8th

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[53]Veletskaia, "Pagan....", 54.

[54]As birds and horses have symbolic connections to the solar cult, this may provide another pre-Christian link to preoccupation with sky, birds, and special forms of horses.

[55]A parallel concept is that of the tomb as an antechamber of the true dwelling of spirits, as in Ancient Greek literature where the door of the tomb is the door of Hades (*The Half-Open Door*, 87).

> through 10th centuries and have a foundation pit dug into the ground (*golbets*) covered with roofing in such a way that beyond the limits of the pit there remains free space (*polati*) used for various needs....Summarizing our observations on the dwellings of the Komandorskii camp, we will note that on the whole they fully correspond to the descriptions left by these participants in the wintering, but in distinction from some parts of these descriptions...are not at all reminiscent of "graves" or "pits," but on the contrary are distinguished by the thought-out nature and high quality of their construction.[56]

A more subtle association between an architectural definition and death or funerary practice can be found in the term for the stove. The addition to the stove or the bench used for sleeping could be easily compared to the laying out of a body in preparation for burial; in fact, it was sometimes used for that purpose. It could also call to mind the close connection between sleep and death, speculation about which is ancient. Considered a twin or brother of Death in Greek literature,[57]

> Sleep is small, winged and shimmering, as he hides in the form of a *chalkis-kymindis* bird, perhaps a blue roller, in the branches of the tallest pine on Mount Ida. The tree's branches stick through the skin of air into heavèn, joining the worlds.[58]

Here we see all three definitions of the *golubets* -- a bench for sleep, the soul as a bird which ascends to the realm of the blue sky on the branches of the world tree. In Russia, too, death and sleep were closely linked. Hecker states of the soul as it was transformed in the original Slavic cult of the dead to its Christian form,

> It [the soul] was thought to be like a bee or a tiny mouse, or a butterfly, or a small bird, which lived in the little nest formed between the neck and the chest. When man slept or died, this little soul-animal went from him. Death differed from sleep only in so far as in sleep the departure of the soul was temporary and in death permanent.[59]

The relationship of the term to birds provides the richest evidence we have for interpreting the meaning of the *golubets*. The definition most often found in today's dictionaries is for cabbage leaves filled with rice or millet. Their form recalls the image of birds, but this dish may be directly associated with funerary customs:

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[56]Len'kov, et. al. *The Komandorskii Camp of the Bering Expedition*, 69 and 68.
[57]Emily Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press. 1981 reprint of 1979 edition, 145.
[58]Ibid., 147. See also *Funeral Customs*, 262. This also calls to mind the shamanistic world tree with branches in the upper realm.
[59]Hecker, Julius F., *Religion and Communism: A Study of Religion and Atheism in Soviet Russia*, Westport, CN: Hyperion Press, Inc., 1973 reprint of 1933 edition, 16.

> Vasmer derives the Russ. *golubcy* from *golub'* "pigeon" for the reason that these cabbage rolls remind one of dead pigeons....It is, however, hardly necessary to connect the name of this food with the shape of dead pigeons. It is much more appropriate to identify the name of the food *golubcy*, "little doves", with the doves as the incarnation of the soul of the departed, which is reflected in the term for the grave marker. Evidently *golubcy* was a meal for the memory of the dead.[60]

Just as the Old Russian association of cross or post with the Tree of Life is common in other Indo-European and Mediterranean cultures, the Old Russian concepts of the soul-bird, practices such as the funerary feasts and laments, and traditions of erecting house-shaped tombs or funery urns on graves are rooted in a past shared with other Eurasians. The name for the grave monument, *golubets*, may be a parallel development to *columbarium*, which originally meant "pigeon house" and later the burial vault with rows of niches for urns.[61] As such, both refer to the concept of the tomb as as house for the soul which continues to live in the form of a bird.[62]

With the coming of Christianity, the notion of the soul as a dove was not lost, although the specific meaning may have been transformed to conform to Christian beliefs. Here, the Holy Spirit is represented by a dove in scenes of the Annunciation to Mary, the Baptism of Jesus, Pentecost, and the Trinity. Doves, however, could still be used as symbols of souls of mortals as well. According to *The Dictionary of Christian Art*, "The imagery of the dove departing the body of Mary or the lips of any of the saints suggested the departure of the soul at death."[63] In Hebrew, too, there was an association with death, for the term "dove" meant literally "moaner", from which came the Old Testatment expression, to "moan like a dove."[64]

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[60]Oinas, "*Golubec* and some notions...," 83

[61]Ibid., 82.

[62]Ibid., 78-79. Discussion of the soul as bird in both Christian and pre-Christian Greece and Rome, as well as the Egyptian sources of these concepts, are found in Henriette s'Jacob, *Idealism and Realism: A Study of Sepulchral Symbolism*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954, 163, 269-70; Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World*, 38-39; Vermeule, *Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry*, 8-10, 17-18, 57, 65-82, 212-213; Ellis H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks: A Survey of Ancient History and Archaeology on the North Coast of the Euxine From the Danube to the Caucasus, Parts 1 and 2*, New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1965, 315-320; Lionel Gilbert, *A Grave Look at History: Glimpses of a Vanishing Form of Folk Art*. Sydney: John Ferguson, 1980, 34; Edward A. Armstrong, *The Folklore of Birds*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1958, 167-185 and 211-224; *The Half-Open Door*, 49, 51, 53, 55. The concept is also expanded: "The primitive idea that the soul escaped like a bird develops into the idea of the soul being borne to the heavens by a bird" (55). The fifth-century sarcophagus of Bishop Theodorus in S. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna shows the Dove of the Holy Spirit descending above a cross, flanked by two doves symbolising souls perched on scrolls (illustrated in *Christian Symbols Ancient and Modern*, 113, 192, 211-213). Birds symbolizing souls were also depicted on Coptic funerary monuments (Ibid., 113-4, 192). The warning of impending death by birds is discussed in *Funeral Customs*, 17.

[63]Diane Apostolos-Cappadona, *Dictionary of Christian Art*, 112.

[64]*ISBE*, 988.

The departure of the soul from the grave is made evident visually by the many grave posts or roofed crosses in Russia which have small bird figures attached to them (fig. 5-30). This feature is directly related to the representation of the soul of the deceased as a bird:

> The custom of erecting monuments with birds in Karelia is definitely of Russian origin. The Karelian Orthodox spiritual and material culture, including the cemeteries with their grave markers and monuments, has become strongly Russianized. The custom of decorating the grave marker with bird figures may have been preserved in Karelia especially by the Old Believers, who could display a much more vigorous activity in this Godforsaken corner of Russia than anywhere else....The figure of a little dove (*golubec*) fixed on a post above the grave was thus the symbol of the soul-bird; at the same time it also symbolized the resting place for the soul roaming around the place of burial. Later on the term *golubec* was extended to other types of grave markers, such as the cross or pole without the figure of the bird and the house-shaped grave monument, and even to the chapel in the cemetery.[65]

The same symbolism is evident in the custom of hanging figures of birds before icons, especially when combined with the belief that the soul remains near or behind the icon for forty days after death,[66] and is further strengthened by funerary lamentations which refer to the souls of the deceased as birds.[67] Veletskaia, in a discussion of the idea of transformation, notes that the bird is a symbol of incarnation of the deceased spirit, which is called in the lamentations to return to the one left behind on Earth as a brilliant hawk, as a white dove, as a white swan, as a grey cuckoo, or as a little bird.[68] A poignant Old Believer lament of this nature from the region of Smolensk, "Song of the Separation of the Soul and the Body," was recorded as recently as 1992:

> Ye, doves with grey wings, whither have you flown, whither have you flown, and what have you seen? There, whither we flew, we have seen a separation, a separation with farewells. It was a soul that separated itself from the body, and left it with tears: 'You, white body, you shall lie for ever within the earth, and I, the soul, shall fly to heaven, there to answer for my heavy sins and to be doomed to eternal suffering...'[69]

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[65]Oinas, 82.

[66]Ibid., 85, note 39.

[67]"Such, for instance, are those in which the lightning is represented as rending graves open, and the spirits of the dead as manifesting themselves to the mortal eyes in the form of birds" (Ralston, 334).

[68]Veletskaia, *Symbolika*, Chap. 1. A Nekrasov Cossack Old Believer funeral lament recorded by Margarita Mazo in 1989 or 1990 goes: "Oh, my dear grandmother, my beloved little sun! Where did the fire carry you off to? Your soul is flying so far and so high. You were our precious beloved guest. We will look for you everywhere and find you nowhere...(Mazo, Margarita, *Old Believers: Songs of the Nekrasov Cossacks*, annotations to Smithsonian Folkways Recording, Washington, D.C.: Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural Studies, 1995, 17. Veletskaia recounts, as well, folk tales in which the bones of the dead are transformed into a dove (Chapter 1).

[69]Lischke, André, *Spiritual Chants of the Russian People*, Moscow: Conservatory of Moscow, 1993, 19, recorded by the Sirin Choir, which specializes in the study of the chant tradition among Old Believers.

The flight of the soul to the heavens is a belief common to peoples of Europe and Asia. Here, the Milky Way is the pathway of the dead, and the fact that another name for it is "The bird's path" or the "path of the souls" indicates the pre-Christian belief that the soul is transformed at death into a bird.[70] There are some remarkable affinities between Old Believer folklore and that of the Inland Tlingit concerning the appearance at death of the spirit as a dove. For instance,

> The Old Believers affirm that when the Deacon Fedor and his three fellow schismatics were burned on a pyre in 1681, the souls of the martyrs appeared in the air as pigeons. Here is reflected the notion (which is widespread, for instance, also in Germany) that the soul of an innocent executed person wings to heaven in the shape of a pigeon or a white dove.[71]

Almost the exact imagery is used among the peoples of the Yukon:

> People sometimes saw birds fly up from the funeral pyres or, when they were near death, heard them twittering in the trees. Evidently these birds were the waiting spirits of persons who had already died.[72]

These spirit-birds were often specifically identified as doves, even among the Tagish and Inland Tlingit. McClellan admits that part of the concept, at least, must be inspired by missionaries:

> One Inland Tlingit equated the [spirit] with the "ghost" of a dead person which stays around a corpse for three days and then travels the long path to meet the morning sun, but also said that [it] flies away at death with a person's "dove."[73]

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[70]Gimbutas, The Baltic (veles) , or etherealizations of the dead, "may ride on horses through the sky, they may rise with the smoke of the fire, or fly like birds through the Milky Way, which in Lithuanian means "the Birds' Way"; they may also go by boat as does the Sun at night through the waters...to the west" (*The Balts*, 190). Toynbee notes that in Cicero's Somnium Scipionis, "the starry being Africanus is described as dwelling among the blessed dead in the Milky Way." (*Death and Burial in the Roman World*, 35). The Neo-Platonist Macrobius (c. A. D. 400) supplemented Cicero's passage with the claim that the Milky Way "intersects the Zodiac at two opposite points, the Cancer and the Capricorn, and here are found the two ends of the path, called the gates of the sun. Through these gates the souls make their passage down to earth and at their return to their eternal abode among the fixed stars (*The Half-Open Door*, 97-8). The ancient Egytians, too, placed the dead among the stars in portions of their mythology, but also had complex beliefs about the journey of the sun in a solar barque and various gates through which the dead must pass. In more recent times, the Old Believer poet, Nikolai Kliuev declares in an autobiographic note in speaking of the pre-Nikonian worldview, "my life follows the path of the Milky Way. It stretches from the Solovets Island to the blue mountains of China, a path marked by many tears and mysteries." (Vroon, "Old Belief and Sectarianism", 186).

[71]Oinas, *Golubec*, 79.

[72]McClellan, *My Old People Say*, 335.

[73]Ibid.

While the two traditions may have conceivably developed independently of one another, the similarities strongly suggest a direct correlation. The concept of the soul as a dove is an ancient one in Russia, most persistently guarded by Old Believers and Russian Sectarians. They are known to have continued the tradition of marking graves and other sites of importance with miniature houses, chapels, and roofed posts or crosses. On the other hand, there is little evidence to support the notion that such structures were used in the Northern Pacific prior to the arrival of Russians in the area. Documentary sources confirm that issues related to religious and social disputes were of similar importance in Russian-America, and suggest the presence of religious and social dissidents in North America during this period as hunters, metal-workers, and agriculturalists. It is perhaps of great importance that gravehouses appeared and continued to be used in areas most likely inhabited by such exiles -- agricultural regions in the Matanuska Valley and Sitka, for example -- or in the outlying regions least affected by missionary activity. This would be expected if Old Believers and Russian Sectarians were among the *promyshlenniki* working together in small *artels*, and would explain why gravehouses were adopted by some villages within a region but not in others.

Russian dissenters and Russianized Siberians may have had more in common than other European Russians with the Tanaina, the Tlingit, and other Native American peoples who were within the sphere of Russian influence, but were never actually dominated by them. Evidence suggests that each of these had similar ecstatic practices and beliefs, as well as similar lifestyles. Furthermore, previous research indicates that the gravehouse tradition spread from one group to another, especially during the period when cremation was being replaced by interment. Thus, it is likely the Ahtna borrowed the form from the Tanaina, and the Tsimshian from the Tlingit, for example. In this way, Russian influence became indirect and perhaps undocumented, but still important. Yet, evidence remains in the form of the *golubets* and gravehouse.

Conclusion:

This study has examined the evidence that the gravehouses in the Pacific Northwest are directly connected to the Russian *golubets*. Like the *golubets*, gravehouses in North America are similar in form and construction to the structures in Russia while they bear little resemblance to traditional Native American architectural forms. The earliest appear to be the log-cache or storage shack type of structure. Caches of log construction are a common northern European architecture adopted by many Native American peoples from Russian *promyshlenniki*. Log-caches and storage shacks were used in Russia as one form

of gravehouse, specifically for storing the bodies of strangers and the unfortunate. Since some Native Americans, such as the Tlingit and other coastal peoples, appear to have used elevated boxes to store bodies or ashes of their dead, they likely adopted the log-cache gravehouse at about the same time they began to use this type of construction for other purposes as well. It is significant, perhaps, that the log-cache form was most prevalent in Southeast Alaska and in interior regions involved in coastal trade.

The wooden tent was another early form of the gravehouse, found in both Russia and North America. A simpler and less ornamented structure, the wooden tent appears to represent the *brus* form of Russian *izba* rather than traditional North American architecture. House-like gravehouses, on the other hand, are often decorated and frequently painted. In most of these, the ornament derives from Europe rather than from indigenous designs and representations. Chapel gravehouses appear to imitate Russian chapels in their profiles, as well as in the decoration. Colours, too, appear to be used in ways that reflect Russian symbolic uses and have, to some degree, retained their original significance. This is apparent in the remarks made by Native Americans and peoples of the First Nations indicating that many of the ridgecrest ornaments serve to protect the spirits of the dead.

The gravehouses in North America present a paradox. While it is claimed they are an indigenous architecture, and specifically an Athabascan form, there is no evidence to support the notion they originated among the Athabascans, or other First Nations. To the contrary, pre-contact funerary customs do not include gravehouses. This is attested in explorers' reports as well as in Native American oral tradition. On the other hand, the Russian Orthodox church does not recognize the gravehouse tradition as its own. Yet, the gravehouses exist.

The paradox can be solved, however. Russian Old Believers and Sectarians provide the link between gravehouses on each side of the Bering Strait. Gravehouses, known in Russia as *golubtsi*, among other terms, were forbidden by religious and secular authorities. Old Believers, however, continued to use this form of folk architecture, as ethographic literature and Russian folklore attests. Although most scholars have assumed that Old Believers did not arrive in North America until this century, there is circumstantial evidence aside from the gravehouses. Old Believers and Russian Sectarians differed with the official church and the Russian state authorities on issues relating to loyalty to the Tsar, the authority of the Russian Orthodox Church, and the importance of the sacraments. Disputes over these issues appear in both Russian-America Company reports and accounts by missionary-priests serving the Company. Exiles and persons using false passports are also documented in the Company records. Since this period coincides with the mass exile of Old Believers and Russian Sectarians to Siberia, it is likely they were among those

mentioned in these reports. Many of the merchants of this time were Old Believers, and some of these were probably involved in the exploitation of Alaska, just as they had been in Siberia. They would have likely involved other Old Believers among their crews of *promyshlenniki*. Other Old Believers may have fled from persecution, and groups of these may have inspired the folk-tales and rumours which resulted in several expeditions sent to find "Lost Russians." Thus, Old Believers may have been a much more significant force in Russian America than has been previously recognized. Rather than a few insignificant individuals hiding in the forest, they may have included documented Russians working under false passports, agricultural workers, metal workers, and hunters who may have worked closely with their Native American neighbors. They may have had, then, adequate opportunities to introduced their own form of Russian Christianity, folk-traditions, and architectural heritage, including *golubtsi*. Thus, Old Believers and Sectarians provide the almost forgotten link between the *golubets*, gravehouse, and gate.

Appendix 1

This is a partial list of photographs of gravehouses and related mortuary structures used during research. Basic information, including collection, photograph number, site, and group is given first. Descriptions follow in parentheses. Information in italics quotes information on the face or reverse of the photograph.

- ACS ACC
- AHL (Alaska Historical Library), Juneau, Alaska
- AMNH (American Museum of Natural History?)
- BBC (Beautiful British Columbia), Vancouver, B.C.
- BCPA (British Columbia Provincial Archives), Victoria, B.C.
- BLC (Bancroft Library California)
- C.R.D.
- C. R. M.
- Edmonton Art Gallery
- Ethnology Collection: Photos from the Ethnographic Division, Royal British Columbia Museum, Victoria
- FAI (Rasmusson Library), Fairbanks, Alaska
- FM (Field Museum of Natural History), Chicago
- Glenbow Museum, Calgary, Alberta
- JUN PCA, Juneau
- JUN AEC
- M.A.I. (Museum of the American Indian), American Indian Heye Foundation
- M.P.M. (Milwaukee Public Museum?)
- National Archives RG
- NMC (National Museum of Canada)
- Nat. Museum of Man (National Museum of Man)
- PCA (Public Archives of Canada)
- Suzzallo Library, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington
- UBC Museum (University of British Columbia)
- UBC MOA (University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology)
- U. of Penn (University of Pennsylvania)
- USNM (United States N Museum?), Smithsonian
- U.S. Forest Service
- UW (University of Washington), Seattle, Washington
- Vancouver Centennial Museum
- V.P.L. (Vancouver Public Library)
- White and Veillette Collection (Private)
- Wrangell Historical Society Museum
- YUK (Yukon Territorial Archives), Whitehorse, Yukon Territory

Athabascan:

- **Tahltan:**

(Five bands centred on Stikine, with territories north to Nahlin and south to Upper Nass. Tribes and bands in 1850: Tichaanoteen, Tahlagoteen; Thlegtodeen (Tlepanoten); Nahlodeen; Nassgodeen. Name Given by Reserve Commission, 1916: Tahltan Tribe or Band (includes, since 1952, the Bear Lakers, now at Iskut Lake). Present Band Name: Tahltan (at Telegraph creek, Cassiar, Lower Post, and elsewhere)[1]

Ethnology Coll. 3345, Telegraph Creek
(Row of graves including log shed with wolf head)
T. W. Carlyon, photographer. See also AMNH 13930 for same view.
"Charlie claimed that the grave houses were erected over the graves (buried in the ground) of the deceased. He remembered that there were alarm clocks in the grave houses which they as kids would wind and set the

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[1]Wilson Duff, *The Indian History of British Columbia, Volume 1: the Impact of the White Man* (Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoir No. 5) Victoria: Provincial Museum of British Columbia, 1964. From Table 2, "British Columbia Indian Tribes and Bands, 1850-1963, 36.

alarms on. It was then that the old people would tell them ghost stories to keep them away from the grave houses." from ALH (A. L. Hoover) field notes of interview with Charles and Julia Callbreath, 1 Sept. 1983, Prince Rupert.

Ethnology Coll. 14866, Near Telegraph Creek
(Square shed-house with window; wolf head attached to front)
Notes: J. A. Teit?, 1912-1915?
Original print in photo album loaned by Mrs.Vickers of Kelowna to Ethnology Division in Jan 1981. See photo catalogue page PN 14857. Other photos in album were National Museum of Man photos. ...."Grave house with wolf totem near Telegraph Creek" from page in photo album on which the photo was mounted. D.S. (Dan Savard) Mar 81.

Ethnology Coll. 78588, Telegraph Creek
(Square shed-house with window (now missing); wolf head (appears to be same as above, but of later date), turned poles on gravefence to right.)
Notes: an old Chieftain's resting place, copied from album lent by Georginna Ball. (Per Request for Reproduction)

NMC 102891, Tahltan, Telegraph Creek
(same grave as above, now collapsing. The head is placed on top of the house (same turned wood gravefence to right)
(C.M. Barbeau, 1947); (PRFP)

Ethnology Coll. 3547, Tahltan, Athabaskan, Telegraph Creek
(Triangular grave cover with one side missing.)
Archives, 42950, 1956. Indian grave tent/Telegraph Creek. "Tent over grave, Charlie Callbreath's mother's grave had a tent over it. Charlie remembers putting flowers on the grave. It was considered bad or improper to step on or over a grave. You can't step over an Indian doctor's leg, it is ahee, really bad." From field notes: Interview with Charlie and Julia Callbreath, 1 Sept. 1983. Prince Rupert - A. L. Hoover.

Ethnology Coll. 75356, Tahltan (no location given, but appears to be Telegraph Creek).
(Three gravehouses: one is of squared logs with structure on top; small house with square on top; and stepped logs with square structure on top)
Notes: Andrew Jackson Stone, phot. "Tahltan Indian graves" copied from A. J. Stone album, per Archives. "A place called Ka tah'. The new air field flats. The trunks hold the ashes of people who were cremated because when they died they smelled very bad. Charlie speculated that they had died of cancer. They had broken out in sores all over their bodies." --- from A.L. Hoover's field notes of an interview with Charlie and Julia Callbreath, 1 Sept. 1983, Prince Rupert." PRFR

Ethnology Coll. 3383, Tahltan, Tahltan (Telegraph Creek)
(Stepped Log gravehouse with box on top.)
*G. T. Emmons, c. 1904-6, See Emmons, **The Tahltan Indians**, p. 35, fig. 4.*

Ethnology Coll. 3546, Telegraph Creek
Ruins of trunk; 1956, trunk partly buried in the ground, Indian burial

Ethnology Coll 3344, Tahltan (Telegraph Creek?)
(Small, rectangular box with upper portion having window; topped by decorated square roof with St. Andrew's crosses against logs.)
Notes: TWSP (T. W. S. Parsons), c. 1935-45; Indian grave near Stikine River, Note: see the reverse of photograph for further information, there is some uncertainty as to what the correct information is.

Ethnology Coll. 3553, Telegraph Creek
(Small house with square top (looks almost like boat, surrounded by iron fence.)
1956.

AMNH 13970, Telegraph Creek

Shows four gravehouses; gable house with window; flat-roofed square shed with window and wolf head from front; pole with box; wood rectangle with box on top.)
No. 670 Indian Grave Yard Telegraph Creek, F. W. Carlyon. PRFR

Ethnology Coll. 3560, Telegraph Creek
(Small triangular cover with what appears to be tent or blanket over top, cross at one end.)
Indian grave 1956.

Ethnology Coll. 3558, Telegraph Creek
Indian collapsed mortuary house, showing chest that held cremated bones, 1956
(also has box to side)

Ethnology Coll. 3550, Telegraph Creek
(shows box in addition to gravehouse which appears to have flat plank as ridge crest, but can't be certain; fences behind have turned wood.)
Collapsed mortuary house, 1956.

Ethnology Coll. 3486, Tahltan, no location, but probably Telegraph Creek
(Log house with door and windows, looks more like trappers cabin)
T. W. S. Parsons, 1935
"Indian Tahltan burial house near Tahltan Village, T.W.S.P. 1935" "Tahltan Indian Burial house between Telegraph Creek and Tahltan (?) 1935" from reverse of two prints in file envelope. Note: There is some doubt as to whether or not this is indeed a burial house or a trapper's house, same photograph in the archives with conflicting information D. S. Feb. 20, 1984. Also: Archives (PABC) #22818 has this listed as: Telegraph Creek, old prospector's log hut. Telegraph Creek area (addition written comment, Glenora built 1898)

JUN PCA 66-768 Tahltan? Telegraph Creek?
(triangular, rectangular, round top graves on bluff. Appears to be similar to Telegraph Creek except looking down towards river. One fenced grave on right. Post card original).
[Cemetery on high bluff overlooking river.] Clyda Schott Greely Coll.

Ethnology Coll. 3548, Sheslay Telegraph Station
(Appears to be tall rectangular house with multi-paned window on sled-like base; flat roof)
Aug. 1956, A mortuary house in Indian graveyard on top of hill just back of Sheslay Telegraph station.

Ethnology Coll. 3562, Sheslay
(appears to be same house as above but from opposite side)
Mortuary house in Indian graveyard - top of hill just back of Sheslay, Aug. 1956, from reverse of print

Ethnology Coll. 3549, Sheslay, (42955)
(same as house above, looking through windows)
Inside mortuary house; trunk used to hold cremated remains of Indians. The charred bones wrapped in blankets or clothing then placed in trunk or chest. Telegraph Creek area, 1956.

- **Beaver**

(Two bands along Peace River within B.C. Tribes and bands in 1850: Fort St. John Beaver, Hudson Hope Beaver; Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Fort St. John Beaver; Hudson Hope Beaver; Salteaux (a Cree band which settled at East Moberly Lake is now mixed with Beaver); Present Band Name: Beaver (at Doig River and Blueberry); Hudson Hope (at Halfway River and West Moberly Lake); Salteau (at East Moberly Lake)[2]

Ethnology Coll. 77971, Beaver Indians
Aerial child burial, Fort St. Johns, B.C.Police Papers, Aug. 1916

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[2]Ibid., 36.

BC Prov. Archives 60436, D-958 #7, Peace River District. (Beaver?)
(Two triangular wood tents with crosses at one end, surrounded by wood fence.)

BC Prov. Archives 5407, C-6783, #19, 1912, Indian Cemetery, Hudson's Hope. (Beaver?)
(Shows three or four triangular wooden tents with crosses at one end; one is fenced.)

Ethnology coll. 54107, Hudson's Hope (Beaver?)
(identical to above)
PRFR

White and Veillette, #14-16 (RBCM #54107), Hudson's Hope gravehouse (Beaver?), #60436 (Second Series) Contact Sheets

White and Veillette, 73013 (Second Series) Contact Sheets (Beaver?)
24 June 1973
Indian graves at Peace River District

Canadian Geographic, September/October (1998), page 51, Paddle Prarie Metis Settlement, Alta. (Beaver?)
Randy Adams, "Lasting Rites" c. 1998
(small gable gravehouse with enclosed overhanging eaves. Painted white; broken cross at end)
A native spirit house in northern Alberta sheltering an otherwise unmarked grave....

- **Carrier**
  - **Lower Carrier**
    - **Algatcho**

(Tribe and Band (1850): Algatcho; Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Ulkatcho Tribe or Band; Present Band Name: Ulkatcho (Anahim Lake)[3]

Ethnology Coll. Paul Donahue Collection, Algatcho (Carrier)
(shows location and overall view of graveyard.)
Priest's cache, Priest's house, historic graveyard, church foundation, Ulkatcho Johnny's: Note: see the photo cat. for a diagram of locations. Paul Donahue Collection, Summer 1971 PRFR

Ethnology Coll. 10281-11, Algatcho (Carrier)
(View of village and cemetery)
See 13511 for view of church, also PN 13509, 3299, 11920 for information.

Ethnology Coll. 3299, Algatcho (Carrier) Anaheim Lake (Anahim Lake)
Algatcho tribe at Ulkatcho Indian Reserve; Anaheim Lake, Alexander Mackenzie Trail, T. W. S. Parsons

Ethnology Coll. 10281-14, Algatcho (Carrier)
See PN 3299 for similar view of cemetery

White and Veillette F-16: Anahim Lake (1st series), 74027
Chevron design enclosure with fret wood cross; Grave house behind

White and Veillette F-26: Anahim Lake (1st series), 74028
End of commercial twisted and woven fencing wire; group of gravehouses

White and Veillette G-16: Anahim Lake (1st series), 74027
Gravehouse made with wire nails; Decorated with sawn wood ornament

White and Veillette, 74027: #42 - #12: Anahim Lake, 23 Oct (Second Series) Contact Sheets

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[3]Ibid., 33.

Nothing very old but among oldest were the gravehouses. More gravehouses than enclosures. Some very bright, made of plywood. Two very new. Several of the platform type (sketch). Nothing very large or very small
#7 is aluminum covered
#8-9 rather small
#5-6 has ridge crest (like Eklutna, sawtooth)

- **Lower Carrier**
  - **Nazkoten**

(Tribe and Band (1850): Nazkoten; Name Given By Reserve Commission (1916); Kluskus Tribe: Naxco Band, Euchinico Band, Blackwater Tribe, Quesnel Tribe or Band; Present Band Name: Nazko, Quesnel)[4]

BC Prov. Archives H-07260, Cariboo, Blackwater Indian Reserve
(Large gable type house with ridge poles, planks on side, possibly shingles; square wood fence to right side.)
Grave on the Blackwater Indian Reserve, June 27, 1914 (Cariboo)

Ethnology Coll. 16582, Nazko
(grave with house inside)
J. Veillette, Fall 1974

White and Veillette, B-24: Nazko (1st series), 74081
Star monument with picket enclosure and gravehouse. Traces of red and green paint; 61 x 1.87

White and Veillette, F-4: Nazko (1st series), 74017
Enclosure and cross. Traces of red and green paint; No date. Wire nails. Each measure 1.22 x 1.66 m

White ad Veillette, G-17: Nazko (1st series), 74019
Large gravehouse and monument. Traces of white and green paint. Wire nails, 1.72 x 2.95 m at base

White and Veillette, G-18: Nazko (1st series), 74019 ?
Small gravehouse with architectural enclosure. Traces of white paint. Enclosure measures 1.69 x 2.30 m. Marble Stone, "Young Moses 1925"

White and Veillette, No code: Nazko Cemetery (Second Series)
Fall 1974 (JV); Grave with cross, picket fence with turned ends, gravehouse

White and Veillette, 74019: Nazko: 17 Oct 1974 (Second Series) Contact Sheets
Enclosure with blue white and red paint. Wire nails, no date
#37-44: Enclosure with gravehouse. Traces of white and green paint. White marble stone with granite base, 1944

White and Veillette, #123, see 74017, #16-18, Star enclosure, (like Siberian woodwork) (Second Series) Contact Sheets (Nazko?)

White and Veillette, 74019 (or 8): 17 Oct. 1974: Nazko Cemetery (Second Series) Contact Sheets
#29-30: enclosure with traces of white paint, wire nails
#31-33: enclosure with gravehouse
#34-36, Young Moses, 1925: traces of white paint, wire nails
#37-38: enclosure with two gravehouses; wire nails, no dates
#1-4: elaborate gravehouse with large monument. traces of white and green paint, wire nails, house platform (fallen)
#8-10: Star monument with enclosure and grave house. traces of red and green paint; gravehouse has hipped roof
#11-12: plain gravehouse, no paint, wire nails

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[4]Ibid., 33.

#13,15: trefoil monument with fallen enclosure; green and white with some red
#16-18: two enclosures; small house of plywood
#38-43 gravehouse with diamond ridge (serrated like Eklutna)

White and Veillette, 74017: 17 Oct 1974: Nazko Cemetery (Second Series) Contact Sheets
#5-6: plywood gravehouse: pint and white paint, quite new
#43-44: enclosures, red and white paint
#1-2, enclosure with pink, white, red and blue
#3-4: enclosure with pink, red and blue
#7-8, enclosure with red and white
#9-10, enclosure with red and green
#11-12, unpainted enclosure
#14-15: enclosure painted pink and orange
#16-18, enclosure painted yellow and blue, 1952 on stone
#22-23, enclosure painted blue

White and Veillette, 74024: Nazko Cemetery (Second Series) Contact Sheets
Up to 12, St. Peter's Quesnel; (One of grave marker)

- **Lower Carrier**
  - **Tautne (Talkotin)**

(Tribe and Band (1850): Tauten (Talkotin); Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Alexandria Tribe or Band; Present Band Name: Alexandria)[5]

White and Veillette, 74020: Alexandria (Second Series) Contact Sheets
Enclosure with cut nails; No date; White marble or sandstone, 1899

White and Veillette, Alexandria Indian Reserve: 29 July 1973 (Second Series) Contact Sheets
Enclosure, blue paint, 1892; gray paint; blue paint

White and Veillette, Red Bluff, Alexandria Indian Reserve (Second Series) Contact Sheets
Woodwork interesting, no gravehouse. 1st Church built near cemetery in 1867. Current church from 1915, by Willy Shepherd according to Joseph Bobby

- **Upper Carrier**
  - **Tanoten**

(Tribe and Band (1850): Tanoten; Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Fort George Tribe or Band; Present Band Name: Fort George)[6]

BC Prov. Archives G-03098, Fraser-Ft. George
(About six low gable gravehouses visible; these have horizontal plank roofs with wide plank as ridge crest; posts and crosses at ends of some; gravestone at end of main one in view.)
ca. 1908.

Ethnology Coll. 3483, Prince George
(has flat board at ridge as in those above)
Mr. Des Brisay, 1933, Covered grave in an Indian graveyard at Prince George. Made of hand split cedar boards of about 10" elevation at highest point with a board extension all around the lower edge. Taken by Mr. Des Brisay 1933, per Mrs. Des Brisay, 1935.

BCPA, D-08106, Fraser - Fort George
Two larger gable gravehouses of planks.
Prince George Indian Grave, [191?]

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[5]Ibid.
[6]Ibid.

Ethnology Coll. 3488, Prince George
(shows small gravehouse behind stone, has horizontal roof planks with ridge crest.)
Grave stone in Indian cemetery at Prince George. Characters represent form of syllabics taught Indians by Rev. Father Maurice in early times. Taken from reverse of original print taken by Des Brisay in 1933.

Vancouver Centennial Museum, 517, Prince George (Carrier)
(same photo as above)
Des Brisay, 1933, gravestone of Indian in cemetery at Prince George, See PN 3488

- **Upper Carrier**
  - **Tachickwoten, Nulkiwoten**

(Tribe and Band (1850): Tachickwoten, Nulkiwoten; Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Stony Creek Tribe or Band; Present Band Name: Stony Creek)[7]

BC Prov. Archives H-07328, Bulkley-Nechako, Stony Creek Indian Reserve
(Cemetery with several small grave boxes, gable and tiered houses. Cross in center of cemetery.)
June 10, 1915

- **Upper Carrier**
  - **(Small scattered groups)**

(Tribe and Band (1850): Small scattered groups; Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Francois Lake Tribe: Francois Lake Band, Decker Lake band, Maxim Lake Band, Skin Tyee Band, Francois Lake Tribe: Uncha Lake Band, Francois Lake Tribe: Burns Lake Band; Stuart Lake Tribe: Necoslie Band Present Band Name: Omineca, Unchan Lake joined Cheslatta, Burns Lake)[8]

BC Archives, 88768, E-8462, Totem pole, Inlet of Frances Lake
(Pole with deer head or effigy on top)
Copy from Department of Mines, 1905

White and Veillette, G-13: Necoslie (1st series), 73055
Gravehouse for "Pius Benoit Ahuille Born March 16, 1905, Died Feb. 28, 1973"; Plywood, glass, and plastic. One of 4 in cemetery. Similar to examples at Stony Creek, Stallaco, and Nautley

Ethnology Coll. 3490, Fort St. James
(stepped front with pointed top, door plaque above)
Tomb of Chief Kwah

Ethnology Coll. 3349, Fort St. James
(same as above, but from front, characters clear on plaque and front (door) plaque)
Tomb of Chief Kwah, See the Native Voice, Aug. 1949, p. 2. 28/02/96, Chief Kwah (1755-1840) grave site in Nak'azdli, per YOLI notes.

BCPA, #41, Fort St. James
(Same, cut off number, Shows two men standing beside grave.)
Copy neg in 1980, Original in Prov. Arc. #97909-46, From Bruce McKelvie Album in BCPA, "Crystal Finish Photo Service, Aug. 13, 1937" PRFR.

Ethnology Coll. 17200, Fort St. James
(Same but roof line has changed, straight gable coming down to level of lower plaque, no more elaborate false front).
*Tomb of Chief Kwah, July 1960, Kay Cronin? Kay Cronin was communication officer for the Oblate (?) and he wrote the book, **Cross in the Wilderness**"*

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[7]Ibid.
[8]Ibid., 33-34.

White and Veillette, Shelley: 3 Aug 1973 (Second Series) Contact Sheets
1 of 4 of this type (Necoslie-Ft. St. James); Recent, also seen at Stoney and Stallaco, Nautley, appears to be made by same hand. Revival
#3, aluminum covered wood for grave cover, recent; Red and blue cross
#5, green and white cross
#7-8, fret cross, 1934, Vincent Price; appears to cover an earlier inscription

- **Upper Carrier**
  - **Stellawoten**

(Tribe and Band (1850): Stellawoten; Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Stellaquo; Present Band Name: Stellaquo)[9]

10 slides, Stellaqo Lake cemetery, general views and details of gravehouses
Sylvia Rylander
Summer 1995

36 slides, Stellaqo Lake cemetery, general views and details of gravehouses
J. Currier
August 1996

White and Veillette, G-14: Stellaco (1st series), 73062
Small wooden gravehouse. Traces of bright blue paint; Cut nails, 61 x 95 cm

White and Veillette, G-15: Stellaco (1st series), 73062
Group of gravehouses; Largest with curved roof, 1.33 x 2.13 m; Both made with wire nails

White and Veillette, 73062: 11 Aug 1973: Nautley-Stellaco (Second Series) Contact Sheets
#28, galvanized iron roof on grave house, stone: Veronica Duncan d. Jan 1 1944
#34, wire nails, traces of white;
#6, blue and white, gravehouse is recent, Sutherland revival
#35, enclosure with white with blue finials
Stellaco: #44, bright blue
#2-3: 2 gravehouses with wire nails
#6-7: cover, galvanized iron on wood

White and Veillette, St. Peter's Nautley, (Roman Catholic) (Second Series) Contact Sheets
Old Cemetery had little houses and fences from late 1930's and 1940's. New house built there. The present cemetery is not the oldest (Alfred George). Church built 1914, Fr. Coccola there then.

White and Veillette, G-19: Nautley (1st series), 73062
Shingled gravehouse with cross marker; No date, wire nails; 98 cm by 1.64 m

- **Babines**
  - **Nataotin (Babine Lake Carrier)**

(Tribe and Band (1850): Nataotin (Babine Lake Carrier); Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Hagwilget Tribe: Fort Babine Band, Old Fort Babine Band; Present Band Name: Lake Babine [mostly at Fort Babine and Burns Lake)][10]

White and Veillette (Second Series) Contact Sheets
Cemetery at Fort Babine: no photos
Few old covers of gable type without walls. Few heavy unornamented enclosures; Plain picket enclosures; No old stones of interest; Old Fort: had few covers and some modern stones

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[9]Ibid., 34.
[10]Ibid.

- **Babines**
  - **Witsiwoten (Bulkley River Carrier)**

(Tribe and Band (1850): Witsiwoten (Bulkley River Carrier); Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Hagwilget Tribe: Moricetown Band; Present Band Name: Moricetown, Tsitsk [Hagwilget)][11]

White and Veillette, F-12: Moricetown (1st series), 73064
Detail of fallen picket enclosure; traces of white and green paint; wire nails, 1.68 x 2.58 m

White and Veillette, 73064: Moricetown (Second Series) Contact Sheets
enclosure, no houses on contact sheet. Colours: blue and white; white and green; white and blue; green; yellow and white; white and green

White and Veillette, 73063: Moricetown (Second Series) Contact Sheets
colours of enclosures: white and green (3 times mentioned)

White and Veillette, F-8: Hagwilget (1st series), 73065
Cornerpost of grave enclosure. White paint. wire nails, 1.34 m high

White and Veillette, 73084: Hagwilget (Second Series) Contact Sheets
Fallen gravehouse (sheet also has carved window of peasant cottage from Natl Geo mag. n.d. (Russia))

White and Veillette, 73068: Hagwilget (Second Series) Contact Sheets
#5-7, gravehouse at Hagwilget
#7-8, above, fallen grave house at Hazelton

White and Veillette, 73066: Hagwilget-Hazelton, 21 Aug. 1973 (Second Series) Contact Sheets
#28, gravehouse

White and Veillette, 73065: 21 August, 1973, (Second Series) Contact Sheets (Hagwilget-Hazelton?)
Grave-cover, traces of green paint, wire nails
#42-43, small enclosure dated 1934.
#41, traces of white and green, wire nails, larger gravehouse aluminum sheathed, very plain, wire nails
#8-9, enclosure with traces of white and green (also has bird)
#12, James Atwine, d. Aug 20, 1918, aged 73 years
#26, small enclosure with wire nails, traces of blue on grave cover (sketch)

White and Veillette, 72006: notes, 22 Oct. 1972 (Second Series) Contact Sheets (Hagwilget?)
The cemetery looks very Christian - many crosses, etc. No really Indian monuments as in Hazelton. One late gravehouse. A little naive carving on rather stock monuments.
#6, gravehouse, simple, late, wire nails, scalloped shingles, Hagwilget (Second Series) Contact Sheets

White and Veillette, 72020: Hagwilgit Cemetery, Nov. 7, 1972 (Second Series) Contact Sheets
#38, view of standing and fallen gravehouses
#39-42, fallen gravehouse, detail of mortised joint, cut nails, no roof, turned posts
#43-7, standing gravehouse, wire nails
#12, recent, 1971, steel posts, metal gate, wire weave fencing

- **Chilcotin**

(Several semi-nomadic bands occupying the Chilcotin drainage above Hanceville, Dean River beyond Anahim Lake, and upper Homathko and Klinaklini rivers. Shifted eastward after 1850. Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Anaham Tribe or Band, Alexis Creek Tribe or Band, Nemaiah Valley Tribe or

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[11]Ibid.

Band, Stone Tribe or Band, Toosey (Riske Creek) Tribe or Band; Present Band Name: Anaham, Alexis Creek, Nemiah Valley, Stone, Toosey)[12]

White and Veillette, A-15: Anaham (1st series), 74023
Cemetery gate at Anaham; Painted white and made with wire nails

White and Veillette, F-20: Anaham (1st series), 74023
Chevron design wooden enclosure, made with wire nails; no date, 1.32 x 1.98

White and Veillette, 74023: 22 Oct 1974: Anaham (Second Series) Contact Sheets
Cast iron monument in cemetery (cut stone); Anaham: plain gate, related to one at Sugarcane. Wire nails. Enclosures with wire nails; painted black and white. Pole enclosure with iron cross dated 1859. Marble monuments. Catholic Church, Sacred Heart?

White and Veillette, 74025: Red Stone cemetery (Second Series) Contact Sheets
Unimpressive; Modern enclosures; Simple; no gravehouses

White and Veillette, 74022: 22 Oct 1974 (Red?) Stone (Second Series) Contact Sheets
Cemetery, nothing of special interest. Wood enclosures, monuments, later concrete

Helm, Subarctic, 405, Chilcotan, Redstone Flats
Robert B. Lane, 1951.
Fenced gravehouses with crosses. Fences are ornate with turned or carved corner poles.
Graveyard at Redstone Flats with grave houses, carved fences, and crosses, typical of the postcontact period and showing some Northwest Coast influence.

CRM 3983, Chilcotin
(round-topped small house, several gable houses and ornate fences)
Chilcotin Indian graveyard (PRFR)

- **Koyukon**

(Three sub-divisions: Yunnaka-khotana included inhabitants of the Lower Koyukuk River below the mouth of the Kateel and those on the Yukon from Nulato up to about Fish Island; the Yuka-khotana lived on tributaries of the Yukon from above Fish Island (Big Creek and the Nowitna); the Inkilik occupied the banks off the Yukon from just below Nulato down to Blackburn Creek (including the Ulukagmyut on the Unalakleet River and the Takayaksa of the Kaiyuk Slough)[13]

FAI 73-75-804. Machentantz Collection. Koyukon, Galena
Includes gable and pyramidal-roofed houses. Some with picket fences, most with roman crosses. Several are elevated on long platforms.
Russian Orthodox Cemetery.

Helm, *Subarctic*, 592. Koyukon, Koyukuk
A. J. Eardley, 1935
Shows a number of both gable and pyramidal-roofed gravehouses on hillside. Many have flag poles; most have crosses at one end and some are surrounded by fences.
Overall view of graves in cemetery at Koyukuk

Helm, *Subarctic*, 592, Koyukon, Koyukuk
A. J. Eardley, 1935

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[12]Ibid., 33.
[13]James W. Vanstone and Ives Goddard, "Territorial Groups of West-Central Alaska Before 1898", in June Helm, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 6: Subarctic*, Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1981, 559, 582-585.

Detail of fenced gravehouse with pyramidal roof and two multi-paned windows. Cross surmounts top of roof. Small fenced gable gravehouse in foreground. Has cross at end. Just outside fence is pole with trap attached
Grave houses built about 1918 with poles, one at left with carved bird on top and cage like structure that appears to be blackfish trap belonging to the woman buried there.

Helm, *Subarctic*, 592, Koyukon, Koyukuk
A. J. Eardley, 1935
Detail of two unfenced gravehouses with pyramidal roofs (appear to be very small and have no windows. Both have crosses surmounting decorative cap at top point of roof.
Older graves with pyramidal roofs probably related to those on old semi-subterranean houses.

FAI 79 (or 74) - 26-686), Ben Mozee Collection. Koyukon, Nulato (027-09, F-5). (Closeup of pyramidal-roofed houses with 6 paned-window open to show curtains drawn back. Table with plate and cup with saucer. Appears to have 2 chimneys. One is possibly the base of a cross)

Nancy DAVIS. National Archives RG75.E823, Box 3. Koyukon, Nulato
(Ten or 12 pyramidal-roofed houses with roman crosses on one side, multi-paned windows on front. Some are painted, a couple have fences. Several have poles and flags. Cemetery overlooking river)
"Native burial ground at Nulato" In file "Medical Relief" c. 1910 [Dr. Barbour?].

FAI 79-26-29, Ben Mozee Collection, Koyukon, Nulato
(As above, with signpost at right.)
Nulato cemetery

FAI 79-26-28, Ben Mozee Collection, Koyukon, Nulato
(As above, except looking in opposite direction - away from the river. Shows a gable house at upper end beyond sign.)

FAI, Eva Alvey Richard Collection (038-05, I-1), Koyukon, Ruby
(Shows cemetery on top of hill from below - has both pyramidal and gable-roofed houses, some with fences. Roman crosses. Many with poles or flags.)

FAI 85-071-49 Garrett Busch Collection, Koyukon (?) (Nulato?)
(Elsewhere marked as Andreafski, Gable and triangular houses on crest of hill. Roman crosses, poles and tall tree. Small house to right - small squares as windows, more like openings in Siberian and Eklutna houses.)

JUN, B. B. Dobbs, coll. (photog). Koyukon (?) Andreafski
(As above except without small house on right - house in centre is not fenced and paint in above is more recent and decorative.)
Native graves. [Showing deadhouses and crosses]

JUN PCA 28-118, Lomen Brothers, Koyukon (?)
(As above.)
Andreafsky - Indian Graves. (#168?)

FAI 85-611-50 (?) Garrett Busch Collection) Koyukon (?) Andreafski? or Nulato?
(As above but from down the hill - figure in front)
"Indian graves at Nulato, Alaska"

JUN PCA 61-12(299) Koyukon, Nulato
(2 people standing beside fenced grave and before pyramidal-roofed gravehouse. Other gravehouses in photo. Roman crosses - multi-paned window in one house in full view.)
Indian cemetery at Nulato. U.S. AK Road Commission (no neg)

- **Tanaina**

(Name used by 20th century anthropologists to designate the Athapaskan Indian population of southwestern Alaska in the vicinity of cook Inlet and the region immediately north and west. The Tanaina speak closely related dialects of a distinct Athapaskan language and recognize their shared ethnic identity, at least in the 20th century, but they have never formed a separate socio-political unit and they exhibit a broad range of aboriginal ecological adaptations.)[14]

Grave of Theodore Nmi Vassily (Wasilla Theodore, d. 1952) at Cottonwood Creek, illustrated on page 50 of Chandonnet, *On the Trail of Eklutna*

JUN PCA 108-69, Tanaina, Eklutna
Indian Graves, Old Knik, Oct. 12, 1918. [Man standing among grave houses (no. AEC-G935) H. G. Kaiser, photographer, credit AK Railroad Collection
(also shown in Helm, 634 and Chandonnet, frontispiece)

JUN AEC-G936, Tanaina, Eklutna
(double-house)
Indian Graves, Old Knik Village, Oct. 12, 1918. H. G. Kaiser, photog. Ak Railroad Coll.

AMHA, B67.23.52, Tanaina, Eklutna
Robinson, c. 1920
(Black and white photo of nine or ten graves in northern section of cemetery. Includes chapel-like house with Russian dome, "star-house", "A-house", and others. Appear to have various colours on both houses and crosses. Lower left inscription on face reads, R-803 Alaskan Indian Graves. Lower Right has copyright symbol and "Robinson,"
R803 Alaskan Indian Graves, Robinson: "It would be a shame to tear these old graves up as it's one of the attractions of Alaska. It's about 28 miles from Anchorage." Graveyard at Eklutna.

AMHA, B83.5.3, Tanaina, Eklutna
Sydney Laurence Co., 1915-1940
(Black and white photo of seven or eight gravehouses, all of gable-roofed type. Some have solid walls, while other are small sheds. Several have smaller houses inside. Several are fenced. One on left has blanket or canvas over roof. Four in foreground have carved wood lace ridge crests.)
Indian Graves. Old Knik, Cook Inlet, Alaska (Eklutna) Sydney Laurence Co.

AMHA, B89.20.154, Tanaina, Eklutna
c. 1946
(Shows about 7 gravehouses. Most prominent one has zig-zag decoration painted on front and side walls. Four have carved lace ridge crests. One in foreground has ridge crest of alternating dark and light circles and has cross in front.)
Eklutna, Alaska, Eklutna Graveyard, c. 1946

AMHA B92.2.499, Tanaina, Eklutna
Molly Fiveash, 1976
(Colour slide of cemetery featuring new grave covered by yellow blanket. Edges held with stones. Flowers on top of blanket. Several grave houses in view.)
Graves, Russian Orthodox 1.15

AMHA, 1.15E, Tanaina, Eklutna, Mike Alex
(Colour slide showing Mike Alex standing in midst of Eklutna gravehouses)
Graves, Russian Orthodox

AMHA B93.20.1079 (1.15), Tanaina, Eklutna
Doris Rhodes, 1957

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[14]Helm, (Joan B. Townsend), "Tanaina", 623.

(Colour slide featuring tiered gravehouse painted red and white. White cross in front. In background is small gravehouse painted red and blue with a yellow cross in front.)
Graves, Russian Orthodox

AMHA B92.2.499 (1.15), Tanaina, Eklutna
September 1990
(Colour slide: Old double-grave with gable roof. Outer house has open walls.)
Cemetery: Old Spirit House

AMHA B75.159.100 (1.15), Tanaina, Eklutna
(Colour slide: view of three graves. One is tiered grave painted red and white (as above). To right is gable house painted blue with red and yellow crest, fronted by blue cross. On left is tiered house painted white with red details, red and white cross in front.)
(Indian burial) Graves, Russian Orthodox

24 slides of Eklutna cemetery
Sheryl Williams
Summer 1997

180 slides of Eklutna cemetery and details of gravehouses
J. Currier
Fall 1989, Spring 1990, Summer 1991, August 1995, February 1996, August 1996

JUN PCA 16-21, Tanaina (Kenai)
(roofed cross in fenced grave)
"Cemetery (Russian) at Kenai" donated by Ruth G. Wilson. Kate R. Gompertz Coll.

FAI 866-33, neg. 75-744, Wetherbee Album, Tanaina (Kenai)
(Poor photo. Several crosses at ends of box-like monuments.)
"Cemetery (sic) - a relic of Old Russian Times."

36 slides of Kenai cemetery
J. Currier
August 1996

3 prints of Kenai cemetery and graves
Peggy Currier
June 1995

FAI 866-26, neg. 75-743. H. M. Wetherbee Coll. Tanaina, Kasilof
(Seven people in front of boat rack and log house. Women and children in scarves and long dresses - men in hats and appear to have beards.)
Humpys family, Cape Kasiloff.

36 slides of Kasilof cemetery and details of graves
J. Currier
August 1996

FAI 866-29, neg. 75-743, Wetherbee album.
(Group of five people in front of log house) bearded man in hat and coat - wife and daughters in scarves and dresses. Son with hair in Russian cut.)
Evan Jackaloff, one of the old time Russians.

Gravehouse in cemetery at Tyonek
Orville Herning, c. 1898
reproduced in Chandonnet, *On the Trail of Eklutna*, page 53.

Collapsed gravehouse at Tubughneaq (at Old Tyonek, abandoned c. 1933-1935)
AFC photo, 1982
reproduced in Chandonnet, *On the Trail of Eklutna*, page 55.

- **Ahtna**

(The Russians recognized two groups along the Copper River, Lower Ahtna and upper Ahtna. Although there were not distinguished by the Russians, it was known about the end of the nineteenth century that there were also the Middle and Western Ahtna, ranging through the Tazlina-Medeltna, Gakona, and Gulkana drainages, into the upper Susitna country as far as the Talkeetna Mountains (and beyond?) and the Alaska Range.)[15]

PC (SW), Ahtna, Chickaloon, (Sutton)
Sheryl Williams, 1997
(Grave at Sutton Historical Society. Gable gravehouse painted ochre red with white zig-zag ridge crest. White cross in front.)

PC (SW), Ahtna, Chickaloon Cemetery (Site #1)
Sheryl Williams, 1997
(Colour slide of gravehouse from old Chickaloon cemetery. Date of house is about 1930's. House is gable form with serrated ridge. House is white with gray roof.)

PC (SW), Ahtna, Chickaloon Cemetery (Site #1)
Sheryl Williams, 1997
(Colour slide of gravehouse from old Chickloon cemetery. Date of house is about 1930's. House is red with gray roof and frontal cross)

PC (SW), Ahtna, Chickaloon Cemetery (Site #1)
Sheryl Williams, 1997
(Colour slide of gravehouse from old Chickloon cemetery. Date of house is about 1930's. House is white with flat red board at ridge.)

Photo of four houses at Mile 61, Glenn Highway near Sutton
Ann Chandonnet ?, c. 1985
reproduced in Chandonnet, *On the Trail of Eklutna*, page 55.

- **Tutchone (Southern and Northern)**

(In 1980 the Department of Northern Affairs and the Council for Yukon Indians recognized 12 formal bands of Yukon Indians - Old Crow, Dawson, Mayo, Carmacks, Fort Selkirk-Pelly Crossing, Ross River, Whitehorse, Kluane, Champagne-Aishihik, Carcross, Teslin, and Watson Lake-Liard....seven groups based on languages: Athapascan Family: Loucheux, Han, Northern Tutchone, Southern Tutchone, Kaska, Tagish; Tlingit Family: Tlingit)[16]

YUK 1526, , Champagne
R. A. Cartter, photog., 1942
(Spirit houses and grave sites surrounded by picket fences,)

YUK 1527, Champagne.
R. A. Cartter, photog., 1942?
(Spirit houses and grave sites - as above, different view)

YUK 1528, Champagne

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[15]Helm (Frederica de Laguna and Catharine McClellan), "Ahtna", 641.
[16]Catharine McClellan, *Part of the Land, Part of the Water: A History of the Yukon Indians*, Vancouver and Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1987, 42.

R. A. Cartter, photog., 1942?
(Spirit houses and grave sites - close-up of houses)

YUK 1529, Champagne
R. A. Cartter, photog), 1942
(Closeup of house with two sets of multi-paned windows and log fence.)
Spirit house with granite grave marker: "In memory of Jennie Hoochie, wife of W. G. Mackintosh, died Dec. 14, 1927, aged 30 years; erected by Hoochie Jackson." 1942.

YUK 1808, Champagne
A. Annes-Taylor, photog.
(One gravehouse has carved triangular pediment decorations - serrated or scalloped). (no copy neg.)
A number of spirit houses and gravesites surrounded by wooden picket fences. 1964-9.

Helm, *Subarctic*, 501, Champagne
Frederica de Laguna, May-June, 1968
(Modern gravehouses of corrugated metal; appears to be three plots in foreground covered by canvas. Carved stone in front of house on right which also has several multi-paned windows.)
Grave houses. At Champagne, made of corrugated metal. A grave is covered with canvas (foreground) until the memorial potlatch is held, when the grave house is constructed by the moiety opposite that of the deceased.

5 slides of gravehouses and grave tent cover at Haines Junction, Yukon Territory
J. Currier
August 1996

12 slides of gravehouses at Champagne
J. Currier
July 1991, August 1996

8 slides of gravehouses at Canyon Creek, Yukon Territory
J. Currier
August 1996

Helm, *Subarctic*, 501, Aishihik
Douglas Leechman, 1945
(Three gravehouses (appear to have open sides (shed-like), all three of which are surrounding by common wooden fence.)
Gravehouses at Aishihik, older style, of planks with surrounding wooden fence.

YUK 8571, Ft. Selkirk
Cecil Swanson, photog and coll (temp no. 20),
(good overall view of cemetery and gravehouses, some with carved ridges it appears.)
Indian Cemetery. Indian grave houses, some sunken into ground, at Ft. Selkirk.

YUK 8725, Ft. Selkirk
Marcel Bobillier, photog and coll., c. 194-? (temp. no. 4)
(Detail of grave houses)

YUK 2144, VPL Coll, n.d.) Ft. Selkirk
(good of houses with logs and extended ridge crests - like one of Yakutsk)

YUK 1691, Lake Laberge (Upper)
A. Innes-Taylor, photog (no copy neg)
(gravehouses like Little Salmon River houses)
Indian Cemetery. Exteriors of four spirit houses with windows (1964-9)

YUK 1933), Little Salmon

C. W. Ward, photog and coll.
(Shows fences, no houses.)
(New graves (1933) Note about result of influenza epidemic)

5 prints of gravehouses at Little Salmon River
David Barlow
Summer 1997

YUK 4331, Whitehorse
V. Janes, photog.
(House like Little Salmon.)
Whitehorse Indian Cemetery. View of a spirit house and a few graves surrounded by picket fences. 1915.

3 slides of gravehouses at Whitehorse, Yukon Territory
Martin Segger
Summer 1998

JUN PCA 108-298, Athabaskan (Nenana or Tanana?)
(Picket fence with gable shed roof. Pole support in center of each face to support gable. Eaves appear to be carved at ends of planks. Man to the left.)
[A man by a gravehouse]. Alaska Railroad Collection.

JUN PCA 109-283. Athapaskan (?) Unknown location.
(Ornate wood fences (like Nazko, etc.) Roman crosses. Some unfenced graves. All in cemetery along river.)
[Indian grave which had to be removed from Railroad location] Ak Railroad Coll. AEC-G2029. H. G. Kaiser, photog.

(Graves at Tagish, Ross River, and Carcross - no houses (YUK))

- **Aleut:**

FAI 73-75-811, Machentanz Collection. Aleut, Shemya Island
(back of soldier in hooded jacket standing before cemetery with Russian crosses coming of centre of boxes on graves. Some fenced and cemetery also appears to be fenced.)

FAI 73-75-812, Machentanz Collection. Shemya Island.
(Close-up of unfenced Russian cross with second grave behind. Latter is fenced with box monument and cross rising from it. (Front cross appears to have inscription (I (?) I C Y C (?))

JUN PCA 175-66, Amchitka.
(Russian cross - appears to be on box or log. Ones on left are fenced with post topped by small cross. Grasses hide graves.)
Soldier on guard duty, framed between crosses of an old Aleutian graveyard. 1943 (SC1712310) U. S. Army Signal Corps Coll.)

FAI 72-116-48. R. Willoughby Collection. Unknown loc.
(Chapel and graves, Russian crosses - no apparent gravehouses.)

FAI 72-116-742, R. Willoughby Collection. Aleut? Eagle Harbor.
(Box memorial; Russian cross on the flat roof; one end is raised like a headboard)

FAI 72-116-739, R. Willoughby Collection, Folder 7. Aleut? Eagle Harbor.
(Detail of image of saint (female - Mary?) with Christ on upper left) (oval (enamel?) Embedded in wood of a cemetery cross upright post.)

JUN (check no.) (Aleut?) (Belkovsky ?).

(Graves with boxes and Roman crosses. May be Aleutians instead. Check on voyage of Thetis (maybe Belkovsky? from look of church.)
[Graveyard in foreground with Russian church and village in background]. Voyage of the Thetis, 1888.

JUN (check no). Aleut? (Belkovsky?) (check on info)
(Church with Russian crosses. At least a couple with boxes or small houses.)

JUN check no., Aleut? or Yup'ik? Yukon-Kuskokwim?
(Check for info on Voyage. Roofed and unroofed crosses, at least a couple with boxes and tiered boxes.)
[A cemetery]. Voyage of the Thetis, 1888.

JUN PCA 151-18, James Stephen Collection, photog, Aleut or Eskimo? Unalaska? or St. Michael's?
(View of cemetery with Russian crosses, some boxes with and without crosses, tablets, some fenced graves with ornate iron or pickets. No location given.)
[Cemetery]

- **Alutiiq, Yup'ik, Inupiaq:**

JUN PCA 243-2 (205), Spruce Island
M. V. Vinokouroff Coll.
(Tall platform with gable house with square opening and Russian cross. I was told it was first shrine on Spruce Island in memory of Monk Herman.)

JUN PCA 243-2 (17), Alutiq, Wood Island
M. Z. Vinokouroff Coll.
(Pyramidal monument of wood with cross on top. May be main cross. Rest appear to be fenced and unfenced crosses although growth obscures graves. Church is like house with cross.)
Russian Church.

JUN PCA 12-183. Yup'ik, St. Michael's.
B. B. Dobbs Coll., photographer (no 654)
(View of cemetery includes several gravehouses; gable house, almost triangular tent in center of photograph, others appear to have sleds and wood on top of graves.)
Native Graves.

JUN PCA 277, Album 9. St. Michaels, from Wickersham Site Collection
(same photo as above; probably the same Dobbs photo.)

JUN (check no.), St. Michael's
B. B. Dobbs Coll., photog.
(Octagonal blockhouse with tent roof (like gravehouse form)
Russian fort, established 1844 [Blockhouse with cannon on waterfront, no. 637.]

FAI 79-26-744, St. Michael's
Ben Mozee Collection
(Same as above.)

Alaska Gold: Life on the Frontier, 1898-1906, Letters and Photographs of the McDaniel Brothers, Ed. by Jeff Kunkel, Scottwall Asso. Pub. with the Calif. Historical Soc.: San Francisco, 1997, 26: *"St. Michael's, Wed. June 28, 1899. Dear Folks, The city here is composed of three separate towns, three different companies, and they each have their land barbed wired off. I went through the native village and found queer looking houses made of mud.*

They bury their dead right back of their houses on top of the ground. They put the dead in an old box on top of the ground, then they drive four stakes around the box and pile some driftwood on top. Next they hang his best bow and arrow on one of the stakes, and on the three other stakes hang his best dog whip and paddles. They also pile his canoe and dog sled on top of the wood. Some of the boxes have fallen to pieces and parts of the skeleton are lying around the heap. I saw one grave where some of the small bones

were lying scattered around, and the skull on the outside, with particles of hair on it, grinning at you..."
Your son, E. J. McDaniel.

p. 51 - photo of cemetery at Nome, no houses
p. 113 Eskimo graves at Quartz Creek, 18 miles west of Nome (boxes on ground)
p. 123. Yup'ik grave made from whale ribs, wooden posts, carved fish, leather strips, near Chukchee, 1904 (whale ribs with leather strips for p(?) with posts also - set into rocks (Probably Inupiaq rather than Yup'ik)

FAI 72-116-51, Eskimo, no location given
Barrett Willoughby Coll.
(Conical structure with pole outside. Covers a platform grave on tundra.)
"Eskimo cemetery".

FAI 72-116-67, Eskimo, no loc. given.
Barrett Willoughby Collection.
(Box coffin on ground with carved mask attached to top.)
"Eskimo cemetery"

JUN PCA 181-37, Eskimo no loc. given, but probably Point Hope based on PCA 181-39 where loc. is given for similar view. Eskimo Grave
S. J. Call Coll., photog.
(Elevated box with whale bone on each side, driftwood beneath each end as supports - Collapsed box on right and probably on left.)
[Whalebone and driftwood platform on flat land. Several other decaying platforms or vertical supports]

JUN PCA 48-20. Indian or Eskimo, Teller
F. H. Nowell Coll., photog (Nowell 94), c. 1894.
(Grave on left is box on solid timber scaffolds - rifles and other equipment attached. One on left is open platform constructed of thin poles.)
"Indian graves. Teller Reindeer Station, Port Clarence, AK [Two Eskimo graves raised on timbers] l(no. 94).

JUN PCA 12-32, Eskimo, Inupiaq, Sledge Island.
B. B. Dobbs Coll., photog.
(boxes with sled and cross)
"Eskimo graves on Sledge Island"

JUN PCA 181-39, Eskimo, Inupiaq, Point Hope.
S. J. Call Coll., photog.
(same as grave in PCA 181-37)
"Eskimo Graves, Point Hope, Alaska." [driftwood and whalebone platforms hold skeleton; vertical supports from other decayed platforms; five skulls on the flat ground (no. 50)]

JUN PCA 181-38, Eskimo, Inupiaq (?), Hotham Inlet.
S. J. Call Coll, photog.
(Short platform with body and grave goods in cloth. Driftwood piled against it on three sides.)
["Eskimo grave, Hotham Inlet" driftwood platform on the flat tundra holds cloth-wrapped object.]

JUN PCA 45-20, Eskimo, Inupiaq, Barrow
C. L. Andrews Coll., photog.
(Boxes on tundra with bones wrapped in cloths.)
[Graves at Barrow, 1924]

FAI 79-26-896, Eskimo, Inupiaq, Point Hope,
Ben Mozee Collection
(Fenced graves with crosses, grave house (gable) to far left - appears to have cross at end; right centre has tall post or driftwood - whalebone verticals on right I think.)
"Eskimo Cemetery"

Print of Gravehouses in Kotzebue
Gladys Fox, Winter 1995

- **Tsimshian**
  - **Niska**
    - **Gitkateen**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850: Gitkateen (at Gitiks, Kwunwoq, Angida, Gitlakaus); Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Nass River (Nishga) Tribe: Kincolith Band, Lachkaltsap Band (at Greenville); Present Band Name: Kincolith, Lakalzap)[17]

Ethnology Coll. 662, Angida
Newcombe Coll. E 592 - VIII/62, 16/V/1913.
,(At least one pyramidal-roofed shed, possibly two large gable houses, several poles and turned wood fences.)
Angida, Nass River, - pole 5th from N.W. end looking S. east, the Shaking-pole of Kwarhsuh - see PN 1250, Dept. of Mines, Geological Survey, #70692 - Mar 16, 1928, Photographic Division.

U of W, #1-9 (Second Series) Contact Sheets
Photo, Tsimshian, Angiidah, Totem with Box
G. T. Emmons, 1905
The 1st pole of Kwaihsuh at Angidah; 31-5607, PN 4117

- **Gitlakdamiks**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850: Gitlakdamiks; Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Kitladamax Band, Aiyansh Band; Present Band Name: Gitlakdamix)[18]

Ethnology Coll. 4913, Gitlakdamix
(Pole with one figure holding box)
Copied from album provided by Mrs. Tom Kirpatrick, c. 1969.

U.W. #2-12, Gitlakdamix
G. T. Emmons
(Elevated gravehouse with decorative shingle-work sides, elaborate ridge crest, and corner ornament; open window shows box with effigy figure on it.)
Grave, frog crest, belongs to William Leason, 1905, NMC 71-5639, PN 4081, Suzallo Library U -

Ethnology Coll. 4081, Kitlakdamix
G. T. Emmons 1905
(same photo as above)
"Belongs to William Leason" Leeson acct in Nelson Leeson

Gravehouse, UW #2-12, Tsimshian, Gitlakdamix (Second Series) Contact Sheets
Ridge decoration, finials, shingles on 4 short posts
box and totem inside, Emmons, NMC 71

- **Gitksan**
  - **Kitwanga**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850: Kitwanga; Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Kitwangar Tribe, Andimaul Tribe; Present Band Name: Kitwanga)[19]

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[17]Duff, 20.
[18]Ibid.
[19]Ibid., 19.

U of Penn. 14945, Kitwanga
(turned wood shed (like Cedarvale)
See NM of Canada #71-8562, Shotridge 9/29/1918; Skeena River Graves, Git'wen-gex

Ethnology Coll. 14365, Kitwanga
G. T. Emmons, 1910
(Has pyramidal house in centre, beginning to fall apart, shed with frontal board to left of it, and gable house with lattice walls on right.)
Graveyard at Kitwanga.

UW 125, Kitwanga
G. T. Emmons, 1909-10, NMC 71-5691, PN 14365 or 4352. PRFR
(Same as above.)
Graves at Kitwanga.

UW 132, Kitwanga
G. T. Emmons, 1910, NMC 71-5663, PN 14366, PRFR.
(Same as above, but also shows a triangular gable house on left.)
Graves at Kitwanga

Ethnology Coll. 14355, Kitwanga
G. T. Emmons, 1910
(as above)
Graveyard at Kitwanga

Ethnology Coll. 13877, Kitwanga
Travel Bureau
(Ruins of two houses looking in opposite direction (toward mountains)
"Graveyard, Kitwanga"

Ethnology Coll. 8747, Kitwanga
Wilson Duff, May 1949, see PN 8377
(Gable gravehouse behind)
Bear's Den pole

Ethnology Coll. 12973, Kitwanga,
(No info, but is same pole and gravehouse as above. Also small structure to left that appears to be flat-roofed with three openings in front, not sure if gravehouse or not, looks like a kiosk.)

NMC 68068, Kitwanga
H. I. Smith, 1926,
(Has gable house with lattice-work sides at left centre.)
View looking southwards at pole No. 3 and pole #1 from left to right respectively, after repainting and re-erection at Kitwanga.

Ethnology Coll. 13479, Kitwanga
Walter Cotton, c. 1910
Box with three figures on top.
Carved figures at Kitwanga. Original negative loaned for printing Nov. 1977 by Michael Cotton of Coquitlam, taken by his father, Walter Cotton.

U of Pennsylvania 14944, Kitwanga
NMC #71-8550, Shotridge, Sept. 27, 1918
Box with figure on top
Git-wen-gex

Ethnology Coll. 22239, Kitwanga
(same box as above with animal effigy on top)

Found at collectibles show by John Veillette and donated to the Museum by him in 1992.

U.W. #108, Kitwanga
G. T. Emmons, 1910, NMC 71-5640
(Same figure and box as above. Box is on platform in all three. Here man sits on platform next to box.)
Carved memorial, Kitwanga

White and Veillette, B-29: Kitwanga (1st series), 73091
Carved and painted figure, 2.50 m high; inscription on skirt: John Leaknitz dead Aug 5, 1926. Stands in front of large entrance gate to an enclosed plot

White and Veillette, G-24: Kitwanga (1st series), 73091
Gravehouse with lattice panels. Traces of red, white and blue paint. Cut and wire nails. 1.96 x 2.31 m

White and Veillette, 73092: Kitwanga, Gitlakdamie, 15 Oct. (Second Series) Contact Sheets
#22-23, gravehouse
#24-25, lattice with herringbone gable
#26, open with scalloped shingles
#30-31, gravehouse with wire nails, brown paint. 1st Bartholomew's Church, 20th Oct., built 1940's

White and Veillette, 73091: 15 Oct. 1973. Cedarvale Cemetery, Kitwanga Cemetery (Second Series) Contact Sheets
Gravehouse, #42
#16, two gravehouses, cut and wire nails, red, white and blue paint, (Kitwanga)

White and Veillette, 73077: Kitwanga, 13 Sept 1973 (Second Series) Contact Sheets
two recent gravehouses, stones 1946 and (small) 1962
#10-11, turned enclosure with stone, 1918, traces of white paint
#12: plain gravehouse, cut nails, traces of red paint
#13-14, turned ends, traces of white paint
#15-16, gravehouse with traces of red and mustard gold, wire nails, some split and hewn boards
#20, gravehouse with wire nails
#22, gravehouse with wire nails
#25, enclosure with wire nails, traces of red and green paint
#26-30, gravehouse with dormer on both sides, wire nails, faces west

White and Veillette, 73076: Kitwanga, 13 Sept 1973 (Second Series) Contact Sheets
#27-9, corner post of gravehouse
#32-6, gravehouse with traces of white paint, cut nails, stone, 1878, Charles Ridley, last words: Walk in the Ways of Jesus", White marble
#41, gravehouse with paneled sides, cut nails
#1-2, enclosure with wire nails, traces of red

5 slides of gravehouse at St. Peter's cemetery
J. Currier, August 1996

- **Meanskinisht (Kitwanga?)**

Ethnology Coll. 16591, Cedarvale
John Veillette, Fall 1974

White and Veillette, G-22: Meanskinisht (1st series), 73089
Gravehouse with turned posts and balustrade sides. Traces of yellow or pale green paint, One gable is herring bone, one is not. Cut and wire nails. 1.78 x 2.28 m

White and Veillette, 73090: 14 Oct. 1973: Cedarvale (Second Series)
Elaborate gravehouse, traces of black and white paint (Meanskinisht)

White and Veillette, 73089: 14 Oct. 1973 Meanshinisht, est. 1888 (Second Series) Contact Sheets
gravehouse with cut and wire nails, traces of yellow or pale green paint. One gable herringbone, one not. One other with white and dark green paint

- **Kitwancool**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850: Kitwancool; Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Kitwancool Tribe; Present Band Name: Kitwancool[20]

Ethnology Coll. 8300 c, Kitwancool
J.B. Scott, n.d.
(Quonset-type, flowers applied to front)

Ethnology Coll. 8284, Kitwancool
(Pole with house behind. House has hipped roof, walls with multi-paned window, pole on top.)
*"Drifted aside (Gisgyawtu) pole", see Barbeau, **Totem Poles of the Gitksan**, p. 31*

Ethnology Coll. 4201, Kitwancool,
John Smyly, July 1967
(appears to be same house as above, but in more ruined state.)
Grave-house on flats

Ethnology Coll. 4208, Kitwancool
John Smyly, July 1967
(Hipped roof with two crosses on points.)
Grave house on the terrace bank. See neg. 30-15 for location.

Ethnology Coll. 4206, Kitwancool
John Smyly, July 1967
(Three graves (one gable on left, hipped with floral posts in centre, and ruined one (as mentioned above, on left.)
Grave houses on flats.

Ethnology Coll 13553-20, Kitwancool
Michael Kew/W. Duff, 1957-8
(Gravehouse on flats with hipped-roof and floral projections above corners; shows fence around house.)

UBC Museum 1N7 #34 (?), Kitwancool. Charles Borden, photog.
(Shows ruins of a rosette from the slats of gravehouse to one side of grizzly bear monument.)
c. 1950's. Grizzly bear memorial, originally housed within grave house of which remnants can be seen. See PN 4540

UW 178, Kitwancool,
G. T. Emmons, prob. 1910, NMC 71-5682
(Has two gravehouses in front, one gable house, one pyramidal shed with open slatwork walls.)
Poles at Kitwancool

UW 191, Kitwancool,
G.T. Emmons, prob. 1910, NMC 71-5685
(Gable gravehouse (same as in one above but from end of house))
Poles at Kitwancool

Ethnology Coll. 4045, Kitwancool
G. T. Emmons 1910
(pole with box on top surmounted by raven)
Raven pole - box containing ashes of the deceased - Raven clan

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[20]Ibid.

UW #170, Kitwancool
G. T. Emmons, 1910, NMC 71-5705
(same pole as above)
Grave box, raven clan

UW #175, Kitwancool
G. T. Emmons, prob. 1910, NMC 72-5618
(house with poles; small pyramidal shed in front. Has turned knob ornament at point, fence of turned wood.)

UW #176, Kitwancool
G. T. Emmons, prob. 1910, NMC 72-5616
(same as above, but from side; appears to have smaller structure inside. Quonset-type shed in distance)

Ethnology Coll. 4054, Kitwancool
G. T. Emmons, 1910
(village with poles; two gravehouses in front; both have pyramidal roofs; right has latticework walls; left has star insets in walls.)

U.W. #158, Kitwancool
G. T. Emmons, prob. 1910, NMC 71-5581,
(View of village with poles; two gravehouses in front, one has lattice work on upper wall portion and other has star insets, both have pyramidal roofs, as above.)
Poles at Kitwancool, PRFR

Ethnology Coll. 4035, Kitwancool
G. T. Emmons 1910
(Gravehouse has pyramidal roof, solid plank walls on lower portion, lattice-work for upper third.)

Ethnology Coll. 12,082, Kitwancool
B.C. Proctor Coll. See PN 11952;
(Gravehouse has pyramidal roof, solid walls with window or door; fence surrounding it.)
Totem poles and grave, Kitwancool

U.W. #169, Kitwancool
G. T. Emmons, prob. 1910, NMC 71-5703
(Totem pole with box part way up on which sits effigy figure.)
Pole at Kitwancool. Note similarity between this figure and that seen in gravehouse at Gitsekukla, NMC photo #68553.

Ethnology Coll. 4202, Kitwancool
John Smyly, July 1967
(Two gravehouses on flats; gable house and in background, pyramidal-roofed house or shed with turned knob at point, both in ruined state.)

Ethnology Coll. 4203, Kitwancool
John Smyly July 1967
(Gable house (appears to be same one as above), and rectangular hipped-roofed house with floral projections from each corner)
Grave houses on flat, north end of village

Ethnology Coll. 10,471, Kitwancool
Don Abbott, 1967-8,
(Two visible; both have pyramidal roofs, one is shed, and other has walls. Both have projections from point, one almost looks like a small onion dome.)
Gravehouses in winter.

Ethnology Coll. 8597, Kitwancool
(View of the village, no other info; has two gravehouses in sight, one is pyramidal roofed one with star insets (I think) and to left is cubical structure with steep tent roof set on top)

Ethnology Coll. 10,473, Kitwancool
Don Abbott, 1967-8,
(Rectangular gravehouse with hipped roof, door in long side, window in short side, crosses at each apex; grave fence to left of it; winter.)

Ethnology Coll. 4543, Kitwancool,
Wilson Duff, 1952?
(also shows gable graveshed with turned wood wall; rectangular hipped-roofed house (as above) with crosses; gable house and pyramidal shed.)
Pole at Kitwancool

Ethnology Coll. 3876, Kitwancool
Wilson Duff, 1962
(same house as above, rectangular with hipped-roof, crosses at each apex, shingled roof; pole in front.)

Ethnology Coll. 12,109, Kitwancool
Procter Collection (see PN 11952)
(Gravehouses on flat in snow, mostly gable.)

Ethnology Coll. 4204, Kitwancool
John Smyly, July 1967
(Close-up of part of rectangular hipped-roofed house with shingle and floral projections from corners)
Gravehouses on flats, north end of village.

Ethnology Coll. 4027, Kitwancool
G. T. Emmons, 1910
(Gravehouses on hill and flats.)
Kitwancool, looking to southern end of village 1910

U.W. #160, Kitwancool
G. T. Emmons, prob. 1910, NMC 71-5536
(Same view as above, most houses appear to be gable gravehouses or sheds, with some pyramidal houses and sheds.)
Pole at Kitwancool

U. of Pennsylvania 14955, Kitwancool,
N.M.C. #71-8431, Shotridge, Oct. 1, 1918
(Appears to be flats at north end of village, gravehouses in front of houses.)
Kitwancool near Skeena River.

U.W. #164, Kitwancool,
G. T. Emmons, prob. 1910, NMC 72-5617
(Has two gravehouses; pyramidal shed with slat-walls, log gable gravehouse
Poles at Kitwancool. PRFR

Ethnology Coll. 4349, Kitwancool
John Smyly, July 1967
(Graveyard on terrace, south end of village; (square house with odd-shaped roof partially opened, painting like eyes - same one as painted by Nell Bradshaw)

Ethnology Coll. 4506, Kitwancool
Phil Ward 1969, See PN 4502 for information.
(Small gable house surrounded by fence; has horizontal planks for roof)

BC Archives, E-6577, 85756, Kitwancool
(two houses include pyramidal roof with lattice work and mansard roof with star insets)
Poles and houses from Gitwinlkul (copied from ***Canadian Geographic Journal****, vol. 1 May - Dec. c. 1930, 139)*

White and Veillette, G-23: Kitwancool (1st series), 74003
Gravehouse with hip roof and crosses

White and Veillette, 74004: Sept. 1974: Kitwancool (Second Series) Contact Sheets
Gravehouses, plain
#9-12 applied leaf decorations

White and Veillette, 74003: Set. 1974, Kitwancool (Second Series) Contact Sheets

8 slides of gravehouse remains
J. Currier
August 1996

- **Kitsegukla**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850: Kitsegukla Tribe; Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): KitseguklaTribe; Present Band Name: Kitsegukla)[21]

U.W. #76, Kitsegukla
G. T. Emmons, 1910, (see PN 4071, NMC 71-5658, PN 8582, PN 4071)
(Several grave houses visible on hill at rear - appears to have at least 4, one with gable with semi-circular opening above shed, square with box on top, and pavilion type shed, can't tell on 4th.)
Poles at Kitsegukla; house with pole in front. PRFR

UW #9-73, Kitsegukla
G.T. Emmons, 1910
(Same as above, with same three or four houses on hillside behind pole.)
Totem poles of the Gitsksan, NMC 71-4537, PN 4122, PRFR

U.W. 9-71, Kitsegukla
G.T. Emmons, 1910, NMC 72-5623, PN 4146
(Village with poles; to far left is log pyramidal roofed gravehouse; appears to have door in side.)
PRFR

Ethnology Coll. 4145, Kitzegukla
G. T. Emmons, 1910
(Appears to be log crib shed with sloping roof.)
Kitishan people. Upper Skeena River, Kitzegukla totem poles, gravehouse in foreground. Northern end of village.

White and Veillette, D-31: Kitseguecla (1st series), 72012
White marble monument on granite base. Birds appear to be grouse, clan symbols. "Charles Wesley Scau-Gum-Lagha. A leading Chief of Kitsegugle Tribe. Died Jan. 1915 Aged 70 Years"

White and Veillette, G-21: Kitseguecla (1st series), 72013
Tower and lattice gravehouse. Cut and wire nails. 1.91 (or 7.91?) x 2.49 m

White and Veillette, 73075: Kitseguecla, Voles, Kitwanga Cemetery (Second Series) Contact Sheets
#22-23, enclosure with traces of white
#25-26, gravehouse with fine finial, cut nails, traces of red and white, similar cornice on church

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[21]Ibid.

White and Veillette, 73071: Kitseguecla Cemetery, 7 Sept 1973, Hazelton, St. Peters (Second Series) Contact Sheets
#2, gravehouse, see 73070 and 72013

White and Veillette, 72013: Kitseguecla Cemetery, Oct. 1972 (Second Series) Contact Sheets
Facing away from Skeena River. No sign of grass fires here but many had occurred at Hazelton. Adzed logs. Roof of adzed poles with shingles. Split boards on small roof. No sign of opening (sketches - tower or church type)

White and Veillette, 72012: Kitseguecla, Oct. 1972 (Second Series) Contact Sheets
#13, close-up of gravehouse with wire nails. In pencil. Mrs. Alfred M. Dawes, Oct. 15, 1928, Skeena Crossing B.C. ??
#18, Monument with three birds
#19-20 rotted out finial
#20a, standing gravehouse in disrepair

- **Kitanmaks/Hazelton**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850: Kitanmaks; Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Hazelton Tribe: Getanmax Band; Present Band Name: Hazelton)[22]

BC Archives, B-01345, Hazelton
Wrathell 1911
(6 graves at Hazelton, left has open gable-shed with turned wood insets; octagonal chapel, open pavilion hipped roof open shed with roof in two stages; gable house with window in each face; quonset-type open shed, and appears to be gable-shed.)

F.M. 823, Hazelton,
Field Museum of Natural History, E. P. Allen, photo. Neg. no. 823, 1897.
(6 sheds on left, 5 on right. Most are gable roofs except two (one quonset and one pyramidal, with turned or picket fences beneath shed roof))
Notes: "Tsimshian cemetery, Hazelton B.C., from indexes: Field Museum binder: date and photographer: I think this photograph was taken by E. P. Allen when he accompanied Dorsey on a trip to the Northwest to visit the Haida and Tsimshians. Although no mention is made in his article - A Cruise among Haida and Tlingit villages about Dixon's entrance - of visiting Hazelton, he concludes his work with "bound for Port Essington" - perhaps he went to Hazelton afterwards. D.S. No. 1/77. "Hazelton's 'City of the Dead' stands on a high bluff overlooking the town and valley, and commands a view off over the broken forest-clad country which is as beautiful as well could be...The sight is strangely odd and picturesque. Over each grave has been erected a neat little frame house, often of considerable dimensions. All are painted with bright colors, and the effect is decidedly 'mixed.' In one of the houses, which was substantially built and neatly carpeted, I saw through a glass window, two chairs, a washstand with full assortment of toilet articles, and an umbrella, while at the rear of the house stood a table on which was spread a neat cloth, and on the table was a lamp. On the floor was a new pair of shoes. Over the table hung a large crayon portrait of the departed occupant of the grave beneath.

In another house I saw chests of clothing, and suspended from a cord were garments of various kinds, including a complete costume of the fraternity of the Dog eaters. These five-feet-deep graves covered by little houses are not the usual manner of burial with the Tsimshians, for until within a very few years the dead were cremated.

Even today in the neighboring village of Kispiyeoux the dead are buried in shallow graves just in front of the house." p. 191 of G. A. Dorsey - Up the Skeena River to the Home of the Tsimshians. This photograph appears on page 189 of this publication, it is entitled "A street in the Tsimshian cemetery at Hazelton." PRFR.

BC Archives, A-05034, Hazelton, HP 0013400, 193501-001
(Chapel-type gravehouse, round with tent roof (part of gable shed behind it. Fenced. (This is like one which is reconstructed at Ksan)

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[22]Ibid.

Gravehouses. 1905

BC Archives 88721, B-8415, Hazelton
(Quonset-type roof with turned fence beneath shed. Flowers and zig-zag decorations on front of semi-circular area beneath roof.)
Copy from Dept. of Mines, 1905.

Ethnology Coll. 16621, Hazelton
John Veillette Coll.
(Quonset-type shed in ruins. Can't tell if it is same as above or not, but appears to be.)
Hazelton Cemetery. Copied from an old brochure, 1974.

BC Archives 193501-001, HP 001109, Hazelton
W.W.W. (Wrathell)
(Shows 4 houses, pavilion-type, chapel (one rebuilt) and 2 gable houses)
Indian Graves - Hazelton, B.C. Photo.

Ethnology Coll. 4359, Hazelton
(Chapel house, listing to side and missing doors, and pavilion one to right. same as above)
Location of Hazelton was arrived at from the fact this was part of a series so marked. D.S. See PN 4356

BC Archives E-8410, 88716, Hazelton
(7 graves; one is gable house with lattice-work around windows, the quonset-type with flowers (see above), two or three gable sheds, and possibly one or two hipped sheds)
Graves, Hazelton, Copy from Depart. of Mines, 1905.

Ethnology Coll. 3497, Hazelton
(Street of graves, fuzzy, but shows graves on each side, no info.)

BBC 4492, Hazelton
(Street of graves. On right side has gable house and pyramidal-roofed shed visible, to left is small triangular low cover; no date.)

BC Archives 88719, E-8413, Hazelton
(Chapel-house (like reconstruction with gable shed with turned wood opening to left)
Copy from Dept. of Mines, 1905.

Ethnology Coll. 4356, Hazelton
(Street of graves, mostly pavilion with some gable houses and gable-sheds. No. info.)

Ethnology Coll. 6597, Hazelton
(5 graves, one gable grave shed, quonset shed with floral appliqué, three gable houses, no info.)

BC Archives 8317-8, Hazelton
(Gable house and pavilion shed to left of a road, gable house on right, no info.)

Ethnology Coll. 10,409 Hazelton?
Raley, postcard
(Has several gable houses including one with shingle roof, color along edges and fence which is seen in another photo, and several pavilion sheds visible.)
Probably Hazelton, D. S. Ap. 17/79

Ethnology Coll. 11973, Hazelton
Proctor Collection
(Pavilion and gable sheds, chapel and 4-shed gable house visible)
See PN 11952, Post Card, Indian cemetery, Hazelton, B.C.

Ethnology Coll. 12019, Hazelton

Proctor Collection
(right side of road shows pavilion shed and several gable sheds, grave fences.)
See PN 11952, photo by W. W. Wrathall

Ethnology Coll. 14243, Hazelton
Newcombe Coll. VII/1920
(two men on horseback in front of chapel grave, gable house and two pavilion houses, one of which has railing at top of hipped roof instead of point or pole.)
From L. S. Gun-a-noot on horseback in Indian cemetery - Hazelton, VII/1920, R. S. B.

Ethnology Coll. 8973, Hazelton
(chapel house and pavilion shed, no info.)

Ethnology Coll 11972, Hazelton
Procter Collection
(Quonset-type with "spirit catchers" on four corners.)
See PN 11952, Appears to be post card, Indian Cemetery, Hazelton, B.C. 107,522

Ethnology Coll. 16945, Hazelton
(Same grave as above from side, no. info.)

Ethnology Coll. 4458, Hazelton
T. W. S. Parsons, 1918.
(Same grave as above, from other side, man standing to left.)

Ethnology Coll. 4354, Hazelton
(Same grave as above, from front,)
1913

BC Archives, A-06055, Hazelton
(Same grave as above, from side)
1905

BC Archives, B-10346, Hazelton
(Shows gravefence with stone totem marker, two gable houses behind, and one chapel with double triangular doorway to left.)
Indian Grave, No. 2864; c. 191-.

Ethnology Coll. 12015, Hazelton
Proctor Collection
(Various houses, including chapel with double triangular pediment, gable house to its right, pavilion-shed to far right; quonset-type shed to far left; gable shed with square-open square checkerboard wall; rounded pediment, and gravestones in front.)
See PN 11952

Ethnology Coll. 13302, Hazelton
(3 houses; gable-shed with turned elements in walls; circular chapel; and pavilion-shed with stone in front; donkey or horse grazing among graves.)
Indian graves at Hazelton

Ethnology Coll. 4347, Hazelton
John Smyly, July 1967
(Quonset type shed with most of roof missing. Lattice work at base, gable board has round decorative holes.)
Height, 7'6", width 9'6", length 9'6"

BC Archives, 88720, E-8414, Hazelton ?
(Pavilion-type shed with slat fence-walls, diamond edges along roof; pole with cross or ball on top)

Copy from dept of Mines, 1905

Ethnology Coll. 3801, Hazelton
Photo from K. E. Leach collection (also photog.)
(Street of graves, to left is quonset-type with applied flowers, then two gable houses; on right side of street, four men near grave fence; gable shed and several others in view)

Ethnology Coll. 4351, Hazelton,
John Smyly, replica, June 14, 1967
(chapel house)
Skeena Treasure house, original in ruins at Hazelton graveyard

Ethnology Coll. 11988, Hazelton
Proctor Collection,
(Same as above, original. chapel-house)
See PN 11952, "Indian grave, Hazelton B.C."

Ethnology Coll. 13476, Hazelton
Walter Cotton, c. 1910
(Same as above, chapel grave. Pavilion shed to its right with lattice-work fence.)
Original negative loaned for printing Nov. 1972 by Michael Cotton of Coquitlam, taken by his father, Walter Cotton.

Ethnology Coll. 4360, Hazelton
(Shows pavilion type shed with decorative plank and square lower section, diagonal lattice-work section on upper third, turned corners with decorative elements that extend above each corner.)
Location of Hazelton was arrived at from fact this was part of a series so marked, D.S. See PN 4356

BC Archives, 88722, E-8416, Hazelton?
(Gable-roofed gravehouse with colour around edges of windows, edges of walls and roof. Window in front has six panes and triangular top; wood fence around front enclosing gravestone. Square window in side of house.)
Copy from Dept. of Mines, 1905.

Ethnology Coll. 4357, Hazelton
(Pyramidal-roofed gravehouse with four dormer windows; window in lower walls as well. Gravestone in front. Man standing beside house.)
Location of Hazelton was arrived at from the fact that the photo was from a series marked Hazelton, D.S. See PN 4356.

BC Archives, 8317-7, Hazelton
(No info. Graveshed with gable roof; lower portion made of double row of wood planks placed diagonally to form chevron pattern.)

Ethnology Coll. 13477, Hazelton
Walter Cotton, c. 1910.
(Circular chapel house with two doors (doors missing); log and plank fence around house.)
Original negative loaned for printing Nov. 1977 by Michael Cotton of Coquitlam, taken by his father, Walter Cotton;

Ethnology Coll. 6596, Hazelton
(No info. Street of houses, one on left is quonset-type with floral appliqué, next to it are gable house and gable shed, only main ones in view.)

Ethnology Coll. 5260, Hazelton,
P.J. Ryan, (coll. of Mrs. Tom Kirpatrick - copied from album, c. 1969).
(Street of houses, chapel with two openings to right, gable shed with checkerboard wall and half-moon gable, quonset-type shed with turned-wood wall, two gable houses and one pyramidal house or shed.)

Ethnology Coll. 4358, Hazelton
W. W. Wrathall, postcard, probably reprinted in 1967 but photo taken earlier...
(street of houses; gable-shed with turned-wood upper walls, chapel-house (reconstructed one), pavilion shed, gable house with windows, quonset type (with flower?) and one more.)
Indian cemetery, compare this photo with previous and subsequent photos of these grave houses in the late stages of ruin.

BC Archives, B-01345, Hazelton
W. R. Wrathell, 1911
(6 graves; gable shed with turned posts, chapel house (one which was later reconstructed) pavilion-type, gable house, quonset-house with flowers, and gable shed (it appears)).
Indian Cemetery Hazelton B.C.

Ethnology Coll. 4345, Hazelton
John Smyly, July 1967
(Two gravehouses in ruins; on right is gable house with logs; on left is the pyramidal roofed house with dormer windows.)

BC Archives, 88717, E-8411, Hazelton,
(Three gravesheds, on left: gable shed with half-moon cutaway from gable and decorative turned pendant from centre, turned wood fence for lower third; centre: gable shed with picket fence wall for lower half; on right; gable shed with picket fence.)
Copy from Dept. of Mines 1905;

Ethnology Coll. 4348, Hazelton
John Smyly, June 1967
(gable house with shingles on roof and ridge beam behind this grave.)
Marble gravestone of Chief Charles Wilson, Akdeezaak of Hazelton who died at age 37 years, June 15, 1917, See PN 4353.

Ethnology Coll. 88717, Hazelton
(Three gable gravesheds, see above)

Ethnology Coll. 88719, Hazelton
(Gable graveshed and chapel gravehouse, see above)

BC Archives, B-00703, Hazelton
(shows group of graves, two chapels, one gable-house, one pavilion-shed and part of one quonset-shed)

BC Archives, D-03267, Hazelton
(Street of graves, quonset-type with floral appliqué on left, gable gravehouse, two gable gravesheds, at end of street on right can see pavilion shed and several gable graves.)
1915

BC Archives, B-00704, Hazelton
(Gable gravehouse with window, fence in front; pavilion grave with decorative lattice work (as detail of same above))
[191-]

White and Veillette, 72036: includes grave at Hazelton cemetery (from promotional brochure) (Second Series) Contact Sheets

White and Veillette, 72022: Copywork, Miss O'Neill Collection, Bob Phillips Collection (Second Series) Contact Sheets
Grave houses at Hazelton. Photo taken by Bob Phillips' uncle, R. C. Emery in 1929

White and Veillette, 72021: Hazelton Cemetery: (sketch) (Second Series) Contact Sheets

#13-14, fallen gravehouse, wire nails
#15-16, fallen gravehouse, stone: "In loving memory of Eve, beloved wife of Walter Karl. Died Sept 16, 1909, Age 56 Years"
#19-21 fallen gravehouse, cut nails, traces of blue and white
#22, group of three gravehouses at side of cemetery. Right on ridge overlooking Hazelton
#43-44, fallen gravehouse, cut nails, no roof left
#1-3, fallen gravehouse with turned posts. Cut nails, gable ends remain.
#4-10, standing gravehouse, badly fire-damaged. Wierd windows at rear, overlooking rivers. Fire burned corners. post burnt right out. Front window oblong. Cut nails. Traces of white and pink paint

White and Veillette, 72019: Copy work; Miss O'Neill Collection (Second Series) Contact Sheets
Note finial does not appear on reproduction at 'Ksan

White and Veillette, 72016: Copy work, Nov 1972 (Second Series) Contact Sheets
#7, Indian cemetery at Hazelton. Mounted on P.C. Bob Phillips Collection. R. C. Emery photographer, 1929. "I think this is a pro shot in 1914"
#8, Hazelton at present site, 1929, July? R.C. Emory

White and Veillette, 72015 (Second Series) Contact Sheets
#9, P. C. No date. Gravehouse at 2nd to left reproduced at 'Ksan. Original had finial and false front.

White and Veillette, 72008: painting of gravehouse at Hazelton, Sandy Heybrock, 1967, oil (Second Series) Contact Sheets

White and Veillette, 72002: Old Hazelton (Second Series) Contact Sheets
#11-13, collapsed gravehouse. Note roundels on gables. "Mrs. Hawthorn recalls hearing about people on the coast sending mortuary carvings as guides to Victoria in the 19th century to be copied in stone and sent back for graves."

White and Veillette, Miss K. O'Neil. Smithers, B.C.
Indian graves at Hazelton, BC Archives #67006 (Second Series) Contact Sheets

White and Veillette, Old Hazelton, Sept, 1972, (Sept 24) (Second Series) Contact Sheets

White and Veillette, *Gravehouse at Hazelton, RBCM Archives #15454* (Second Series)Contact Sheets

White and Veillette, 73005: Hazelton (Second Series) Contact Sheets
#11-15, sketches of gravehouses, June 1973
#25-26, gravehouse at Hazelton, photo, Mrs. Ky Harris

2 slides of reconstructed gravehouse, Ksan
Martin Segger, Summer 1998

15 slides, Hazelton cemetery and details of gravehouse remains
J. Currier
August 1996

5 prints, Hazelton cemetery and details of gravehouse remains
Peggy Currier
August 1996

- **Kispiox**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850: Kispiox; Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Kispaiox Tribe: Glen Vowell Band; Present Band Name: Kispiox, Glen Vowell)[23]

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[23]Ibid.

Ethnology Coll. 3800, Kispiox
R. E. Benedict, B. C. Forest Service Lib. #652, 1913
(Row of graves which include many pavilion-style sheds, some gravehouses and sheds with gable roofs.)

Nat. Museum of Man 34622, Kispiox
H. I. Smith, photog. 34522, 1915.
(Three houses with poles; in front centre is ruin of pyramidal-roof shed and small triangular gable cover.)
"Tsimshian Indian villages of Kispiox, B.C. looking westward about eight miles up Skeena River from Hazelton. Photo by H.I. Smith, Geol. Survey, 1915. VII C. 208: written in ink on reverse original print. Also - Department of Mines Geological Survey, Sept. 1916 Photographic Division 34622. "Tsimshian Indian Village of Kispyox, B.C....The three houses show at left in 34621. The three poles and fenced tombstone show in centre of 34521. The grave house in centre shows at right in 34521. 34519 joins this on the right. 6 1/2 x 8 1/2 negative by Harlan I. Smith, on Archaeological Expedition of Geological Survey, Canada. Aug. 30, 1915" from NMM cat.

UW #51, Kispiox
G.T. Emmons, 1912, NMC 71-5596, PN 4351, same view in UW 48, NMC 71-5592, PN 4351 (also from 1912).
(At least 4 grave sheds. One seems to be gable, two pavilion, and one pyramidal. Also has one turned wood fence. Possibly more houses in background.)
Graveyard at Kispiox. PRFR.

UW 5-23, Kispiox
G. T. Emmons, 1909, NMC 71-5582, PN 4175
(Village houses, grave monument with fence and grave-shed with gable roof visible in front of houses.)
Poles at Kispiox, PRFR

U.W. 5-39, Kispiox
G. T. Emmons, 1909, NMC 71-5655
(Graveshed with slat walls for lower portion, open for upper, gable roof. Appears to have lattice-work structure to left.)

U.W. 34, Kispiox,
G. T. Emmons, 1909, NMC 71-05677, PN 3947, 38396
(Effigies on top of platform-scaffolds; can't tell but may be frame for gravehouse beyond; appears to have gable gravehouse just behind the pole and effigies.)
Poles at Kispiox, Blackfish and Grizzly Bear of the Water. PRFR

White and Veillette, G-20: Kispiox (1st series), 72033
Lattice paneled gravehouse; Traces of yellow paint. 2.13 x 2.29 m

White and Veillette, G-26: Kispiox (1st series) (no number)
Octagonal gravehouse never entirely completed; Each side meant to have louvered window. 1.17 x 1.57 m. Made with cut nails. Unused windows stacked inside

White and Veillette, (no code): Kispiox (1st series), 72033
At least 4 gravehouses, 1 like Hazelton, two rectangular shed, 1 square shed. Traces of blue and pink paint. Note: gravehouse has stone: Mr. E. Skults Father of Isaac Skults Died Aug. 10, 1907 Aged 90 years"
Small house: wire nails, traces of bright green with blue trim
Gravehouse with stone: Noah Wesley, Died 1911. Traces of pea green paint
Lattice gravehouse. Traces of yellow paint

White and Veillette (no code): (location? Kispiox?) (1st series), 72032
Octagonal gravehouse. Each side has window. Two stones nearby - one signed A Stewart, other is concrete: "In memory of Elza Johnson of Kispiox. D. Nov 27, 1906, Age 73 years. Possibly never completed
Ruined house type

Large simple grave house. Traces of white paint on exterior; inside with narrow tongue & groove paneling painted yellow
Open type with diagonal panels
House type with fallen gable. Cut nails. Traces of green paint on door. Brass keyhole, c. 1900 design of leaves. Interior has roughly made table of milled lumber

White and Veillette, 73087: Kispiox (Second Series) Contact Sheets
#16: gravehouse
#17: dark and bright blue

White and Veillette, 73086: Kispiox, 26 Sept (Second Series) Contact Sheets
#30-33: elaborate gable gravehouse, traces of white paint
#34-37: turned gravehouses
#38, gravehouse, see 72033
#39, group of gravehouses
#40, gravehouse, see 72032, cut nails, top of one shows beaded panels, one has traces of green paint, one is brown with wire nails

White and Veillette, 73085: Kispiox, (Second Series) Contact Sheets
plain gravehouse with wire and cut nails, plain gable (fallen down)

White and Veillette, 72034: 27 Nov. 1972: Kispiox cemetery (Second Series) Contact Sheets
#13-16, Gravehouse with suit of clothes hung inside (trousers, vest, jacket) traces of white, pink and yellow paint
#17, fallen picket type gravehouse with traces of green paint
#21, gravehouse with traces of red and green paint, cut and wire nails
#36-37, grave covering with traces of yellow-brown paint

White and Veillette, 72033: 27 Nov. 1972, Kispiox (Second Series) Contact Sheets
#28-9, door appears paneled but is made of 2 layers of 1/2" boards so only looks paneled
#32, small house type, plain with bright green paint and blue trim
#35, simple gravehouse with stone: Noah Wesley, d. 1911, traces of pea-green paint
#42, gravehouse with stone: Mr. E. Skults, father of Isaac Skults, died Aug. 10, 1907, aged 90 years; traces of blue and pink paint
#17, lattice gravehouse with traces of yellow paint

White and Veillette, 72032: Kispiox, 27 Nov, 1972 (Second Series) Contact Sheets
#22-6, octagonal gravehouse. each side has windows; two stones nearby: Eliza Johnson of Kispiox, died Nov. 27, 1906, aged 73 years (possibly never completed)
#27-28, ruined house-type gravehouse, wire nails
#29-31, spindle and lattice, with wire and cut nails
#32, ruined spindle type grave house
#20, large simple gravehouse with wire nails; inside is finished with narrow tongue and groove paneling and is painted yellow. traces of white paint on the exterior.
#25, fallen gravehouse with wire nails, traces of yellow paint, open type
#26, coarse open-type gravehouse with diagonal panels
#27, house type gravehouse, fallen gable, cut nails, traces of green on door brass keyhole of c. 1900 design on leaves. table inside of milled lumber, two windows and one over the door

White and Veillette, Kispiox, 5 Sept. 1973, *overgrown cemetery, hard to search* (Second Series) Contact Sheets

White and Veillette, D-35: Glen Vowell (1st series), 72028
Detail of white marble tablet . Type signed J. E. Phillips Vic. Erected "in memory of Wm Woods". undated. Overall measurements: 46 x 98 cm. Gray stone used for bird which may be meant to represent an eagle

White and Veillette, G-25: Glen Vowell (1st series), 72029

Rectangular gravehouse with curved roof. Traces of white and black paint. 1.63 x 2.31 m

White and Veillette, (no code): Glen Vowell (1st series). 72029
Gravehouse
One has fallen roof. Wire nails. Traces of white and green paint
Gravehouse with wire nails
Gravehouse with cut and wire nails. Traces of black and white paint. Horizontal siding of wide boards milled to appear as narrow clapboard siding. Interior finished

White and Veillette, 73098: Glen Vowell, Kitwanga: 9 Nov. 1973 (Second Series) Contact Sheets
#24-26, gravehouse, Hazelton
#3, Phillips monument, Glen Vowell
#4-5, gravehouse at Kitwanga
#22-24, cemetery near Whitehorse, Yukon

White and Veillette, 72029: Glen Vowell Cemetery, 25 Nov. 1972 (Second Series) Contact Sheets
#22, gravehouse, part of grave plot enclosure stacked up under roof
#25, gravehouse with fallen roof, wire nails, traces of green paint
#26-7, gravehouse with wire nails
#30-40, gravehouse with cut and wire nails, traces of black and white paint. horizontal siding is wide board milled to appear as narrow clap side boarding. Interior details (#39-40)
#41, 12-15, gravehouse
#41, detail of rafter construction, traces of white and blue paint. has full wooden floor. Spiked finial (sketch)

White and Veillette, 72028: Glen Vowell, 25 Nov, 1972 (Second Series) Contact Sheets
#26, gravehouse
#35-8, gravehouse, two stones (marble) in front, 1901 and 1904
#9-14, gravehouse, salmon pink and white, cut and wire nails
#15-21, gravehouse, traces of white and blue, wire nails
#23-4, Eagle? in granite on white marble stone: In memory of Wm Woods Signed J. E. Phillips, VIC
#20, overall view with Skeena in background
#25, stone: Annie, Wife of Paul Green, died May 10, 1908 Aged 25 years / Jesus died for you and me. He that believeth in me shall rise again."

- **Kisgegas**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850: Kisgegas; Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Kisgegas Tribe: Present Band Name: (amalgamated with Hazelton) [24]

Ethnology Coll. 9309, Kisgegas
1962 B.C. Forest Service
(house on right is gable-shed type with rounded open gable; to left is flattened hip with conical central portion. Plain gable appears to be to the left.)
Gravehouses, note one on left built to represent a church - roof of flattened kerosene cans. See PN 9298 ?

Ethnology Coll. 9310, Kisgegas
B.C. Forest Service, 1962,
(Shows gable gravehouse with solid vertical planks for lower wall, then lattice-work panels for upper open section, round section in centre of gable pediment; part of gable gravehouse to right.)
Notice lattice-work typical of most houses, see. env. PN 9298

- **Lower Skeena Tsimshian: (Port Simpson)**
  - **Gitzaklalth/Metlakatla**

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[24]Ibid.

(Tribes and Bands in 1850: Kitkatla, Gitwilgyots, Gitzaklalth, Gitsees, Ginakangeek, Ginadoiks, Gitandau, Gispakloats, Gilutsau, Gitlan (In 1887 about 899 of this group founded New Metlakatla, Alaska); Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Kitkatla Tribe or Band; Tsimpsean Tribe: Port Simpson Band, Metlakatla Band; Present Band Name: Kitkatla, Port Simpson, Metlakatla)[25]

BC Archives, 20353, G-237, Kitslock
J. Howard Chapmen photo
(Two pavilion sheds and two gable sheds, one gable house. One gable shed has half circle cutouts and circular cut-out in gable)
Skeena River district, Indian graves

Ethnology Coll. 10173, Near Metlakatla
R. Maynard
(Two gable houses with decorated roofs and flagpoles at each end.)
Indian burial ground near Metlakatla

Ethnology Coll. 8708, (Tsimshian?) Near Metlakatla?
R. Maynard
(three gable gravehouses with flagpoles, one with whale effigy and copper on pole, may be Kwakiutl?)
Near Metlakatla? Ft. Rupert? Near Metlakatla (Barbeau - Port Simpson Museum) See photo cat. for letter from Bill Holm. Note box in canoe, camera equipment on beach.

Ethnology Coll. 4184, Near Metlakatla
R. Maynard
(gable gravehouse overlooking water, flagpole at one end)
Near Metlakatla, Barbeau, Museum notes, Port Simpson, (from reverse of original)

Ethnology Coll. 4799, (Tsimshian?) Near Metlakatla?
Maynard? 1882? or 1884?
(Gable gravehouse with blankets, decorated roof. Flagpole at each end.)
Near Metlakatla? Ft. Rupert? (Kwakiutl?)

Ethnology Coll. 4797, (Tsimshian?) near Metlakatla (Ft. Rupert?, Port Simpson?)(Kwakiutl?)
Maynard, 1882?
(shows gable house with vertical planks for roof, whale effigy on top; man's figure to right; flagpole at left.)
Grave near Metlakatla (Barbeau) Ft. Rupert? (Wan) "Graveyard Pt. Simpson" from lantern slide collection (Shell Is. (Barbeau) Metlakatla)

National Museum of Man 68897, (Tsimshian?) Near Metlakatla
Maynard?, 1880's?
(identical to above)
Same as PN 4797, Near Metlakatla, Tsimshian? PRFR

- **Coastal Tlingit:**
  - **Northern Panhandle**

(Chilkat River/Klukwan)

Ethnology Coll. 1566, Chilkat River
G. T. Emmons, 1885
(log single-slope shed with blanket on front)
This photo appears on the cover and p. 72 of the ***American Museum Journal,*** *vol VIII May 1908, no. 5. "The illustration on p. 72 shows the final use of the blanket in the ancient Chilkat culture. The most precious article in the wardrobe of the chief, it was placed on the front of his gravehouse after his death. As*

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[25]Ibid.

is represented in this 1883 view upon the banks of the Chilkat River" p. 70. Also AMNH 335778 (where it is printed in reverse)

AMNH #335778, Chilkat River
G. T. Emmons 1885
(as above, but printed in reverse)
"A doctor's grave on the banks of the Chilkat River. The front of the house which holds the remains of the doctor is decorated with a ceremonial blanket, 'nah kum'" PH 1566 (printed in reverse) PRFR

Ethnology Coll. 9172, Kluckwan
G. T. Emmons?, 1889
(Triangular planks elevated on four posts. (compare with one from Tuva))
Old grave.

Smithsonian 80-9664, Klukwan?
(Square shed house with sloping roof, but having face painted on front with ears at top corners and nose with teeth projecting from front of house.)
"Eaton - from field notes taken by D. Savard at National Anthropological Archives, USNM, June 1984

FAI 73-23-39, neg. 73-115, Klukwan
Roger D. Pinneo Coll.
(Shed house with wolf ears and nose extensions, teeth on snout (from side - American flag on right - inscription)
Copyrighted 1900 (?). H. G. Barley, Skagway.

BLC 2128, Klukwan
Nowell Coll.
same grave as above
Indian grave at Klukwan, Alaska JMB (Nowell #177)

BLC 2128, Klukwan
larger copy, Photo by F.H. Nowell, 2128, F. W. Nowell, c. 1898-1901, Order #17109 (2128 (JMB) PRFR

Smithsonian 80-9665, Klukwan
(flat house with painting next to one above.)
"Eaton, the Orca or Killer Whale from an Indian Charnel house" From field notes taken by D Savard at National Anthropological Archives, US National Museum June 1984.

AMNH #46169, Klikwan (Klukwan)
Harlan, I. Smith
(round topped house of vertical planks with frog crest on front)
Klukwan, frog crest grave, 1909

JUN PCA 87-26, Klukwan
Winter and Pond
(7 or so graves, mostly gable, one elevated, 2w with decorated shelom, one with frog crest)

FAI 73-23-23, Neg. 73-111, Klukwan
Rober D. Pinneo album, H. G (?) Barley, Skagway, photog.
(Klukwan, close-up of frog crest with decorative fences around other graves, one of which has stone.)

Ethnology Coll. 124894, Auk Village
(plank walls for lower portion, upper portion has tall pyramidal roof surrounded by picket fence; Chilkat blanket hung beneath fence and against one side wall.)
Sinta-ka-hurice, 1889

(Chichagof Island)

Glenbow Museum NA-860-16, Hoonah
Kennedy Galleries, H. H. Brodeck for the Northwest Trading Co., (copy of PA 227-10)
(has two gable houses, one with zig-zag gable ornamentation, another with pendants at lower edge of gable; several crib-style grave sheds with sloping roof, one small gable house on top of pole with fence around it (like roadside crosses in Eastern Europe)
Tlingit graves at Hoonyah or Henya Village on Prince of Wales Is. PRFR

Ethnology Coll. 1645, Thluhuggu, Grouse Point
G. T. Emmons, 1888
(Square-shaped log shed with sloping roof and vertical planks attached to front from which emerges wolf head.)
Gravehouse, wolf totem, Thluhuggu, Icy Straits, AK 1888 (Grouse Point, Grouse Fort)

Ethnology Coll. 9117, Thluhuggu, Grouse Point
G. T. Emmons, 1888
(same as above but from father away and with pole to right.)
Icy Straits (Grouse Point, Grouse Fort)

Ethnology Coll. 1505, Thluhuggu, Grouse Point
G. T. Emmons, 1888
(two gable gravehouses, one of which has flag-pole at one end, other has the wolf effigy along ridge of roof)
"Grave house. Shaman's grave, wolf figure. Thluhuggu, AK, 1888. A shaman's grave house of logs at the deserted Hoonah village of Thlu-hug-gu. The figure above is that of a wolf, the phratral and clan crest of the shaman. Northern shore of Icy Strait" (from rev. of print). Grouse point or Grouse Fort opposite Sisters Is. per Douglas Glessing, Hoonah, May 23, 1984.

Ethnology Coll. 1687, Tlingit, Killisnoo. (Chichagof Island?)
G. T. Emmons XX/26, 1888.
(Box with shed roof above from which hangs a Chilkat blanket. Flat at right. Carved fence to left.)
Chilkat grave.

JUN PCA 277, Album 13, Wickersham site) Killisnoo.
Case and Draper
(fenced tombstone (Louies?)
"Native Grave, Killisnoo, Case and Draper"

JUN PCA 1-70, Killisnoo.
V. Sobleff (sic) Coll., photog.
(Boy with rifle - has gable shed house to left with dormer window above. Several fenced graves with Russian, roman and roofed crosses.)
[Cemetery (sic) at Killsnoo] (no. 44)

(Sand Island (Near Chichagof Island?)

JUN PCA 1-53, Tlingit ?, Sand Island
V. Soboleff Coll, photog.
"Old time graveyard (no. 321)" [Digging up old Indian graveyard on Sand Island, scattered bones and boxes.]

(Juneau-Douglas Island/Taku River)

PCA 39-421, Juneau. W. H. Case
(Gable house of planks with Chilkat blanket on front)
Tlingit grave house, Juneau. PRFR; W.H. Case 55?

PCA 114-12, Juneau (Taku?)
Winter and Brown
(Graves in front of hill with trees chopped down. Two of three in front have picket fences around them All are pyramidal or octagonal, one in front appears to have Orthodox cross, decorated with windows and

sawtooth edging at edge of roof and around edges. Those on hillside in back appear to be gable houses with windows or blankets on front. Close-up of grave houses - in front are pyramidal and octagonal, some with surrounding fences - colour and carved patterns - one with bulb and cross. Those in back are gable roofs including one with blanket as below.)
"Indian graves" (Eugene City, Ore) (No. 53, Winter and Brown Coll, photogs) PRFR

PCA 117-102, Juneau, (Taku?)
Landerkin and Winter
(Pyramidal houses to left each with cross on top; one on right appears to be same as tent-roofed house with picket fence around upper edge of square part of roof and blanket on front, as above at Hana Bay. Octagonal and pyramidal structures to left, including one with fence at top near pyramid as above. Others are gable houses.)
"Indian Graves near Juneau Ak" [showing grave houses, totem, and logged-off land.] Landerkin and Winter, photogs, Winter and Pond Coll. (Waterfront, Juneau, AK), PRFR

JUN PCA 39-421, Juneau (Taku?)
W. H. Case and H. H. Draper Coll.
"Thlinget Grave Houses, Juneau, Alaska" [small steep-roofed building with Chilkat blanket in front; flag above blanket (no 55-N).]

JUN PCA 39-790 Juneau (Taku?)
W. H. Case, photog, W. H. Case and H. H. Draper Coll (no. 222)
(as above but from slightly further back, no neg. mentioned.)

15 slides of gravehouses and Tlingit cemetery on Douglas Island
J. Currier
August 1998

5 prints of gravehouses on Douglas Island
Peggy Currier
August 1998

3 prints of gravehouses on Douglas Island
Sylvia Rylander
Summer 1995

BLC 2219, Taku
F. H. Nowell, c. 1898-1901, Neg. #2219, order no. Neg 17109 (2219)
(Mansard-roofed house with shingles, two dormer windows with decorative crests; decorative cresting along top of mansard; two windows in front, on side; gravestone in front.)
D. S. Oct '77, Indian Grave, Taku village, AK

JUN PCA 4-58, Taku River
(2 gable houses and one pyramidal with cross on top. sail visible at left corner. left house has three windows in front, second gable house has one on each face; pyramidal roof is surmounted by cross. Listed in Ethnology Collection as *Inklin River, PRFR, Inland Tlingit*)*"Indian tombs, mouth of Inklin River [Taken from canoe, shows grave houses on shore]*

JUN PCA 4-56, Taku River
(As above. Man on right - two gable houses as above from side of smaller structure.)
Indian tomb [Man standing by native graves]

JUN PCA 4-57 (check no.) Taku River
(As above) From side of larger gravehouse - man on left.)
"Indian tomb" [Man standing]

(Baranof Island)

Ethnology Coll. 9451, Sitka
(Graveyard, five fenced enclosures, one pyramidal-roofed shed house to right; two others barely in view to right.)

Smithsonian 84-17966, Sitka
(shows 5 grave houses, two are gable roofs, one of which has decorative shingle siding; two are pyramidal roofs with decorative edging at lower edges of roof; one has mansard roof with decorative cresting.)
Indian graveyard, 1883. From xerox provided by USNM, now filed in 5 x 7 file envelope

JUN PCA 91-32, Sitka
Edward DeGroff Coll., photog. (no. 83).
(Six graves visible - includes houses with pyramidal, gable, and hipped roofs - one grave with fence and cross. house on right like fortress tower - colored in alternating pattern at log ends.)
Sitka. Indian graves.

AHL Coll. #87, 0110, Sitka
Winter and Pond
(log shed from side.)
"Indian doctor's grave, Sitka, Alaska (log crypt [sic] amidst trees, no. 15)" PRFR

- **Central Panhandle**

(Kupreanof Island)

AHL #87 Coll. 0085, Kake
(Cemetery with 3 totems, 1 eagle totem figure, 1 pole with cross (has slanted footrest like Orthodox cross), 2 fenced graves)
c. 1900. No. 287. (Winter and Pond). PRFR

PCA 169-10, Tlingit ? Kake ?
The Alaska Photo Co.
(shows a flat-roofed open shed or box on top of four poles. Appears to have large gable house in the background.)
"Receiving vault for ashes of their dead, until a totem is erected, when the ashes are placed in an opening at the back. Kaak Village." "Is this the Village of Kake?" PRFR.

AHL Coll #67 or 87 (cut off), 0084, Kake
Winter and Pond, c. 1900
(One pole has cross bar like Orthodox cross. Gable gravehouse to right of the poles. Vertical planks for walls. Bearded white man on pole next to Cross pole.)
"Totems, Kake, AK (cemetery showing fenced grave, 6 totem poles, 1 figure of eagle, another pole, c. 1900) no. 418 PRFR

Alaska Historical Lib. #134, Kake
Case and Draper
(Same pole with bearded white man from side; gable shed with vertical slats for gable and roof just behind. Printed in reverse according to the lettering on bottom.)

- **Southern Panhandle**

(Duke Island - near Metlakatla (Annette Is.)/Revillagigedo Is.)

F.M. 860, Duke Island
(shows log shed with sloping roof, man on right.)

F.M. 857, Duke Island
E.P. Allen, 1897
(Interior of shed with grave box and body)
Notes for both of the above: see Dorsey article on his trip, "Tlingit burial in grave" From: xeroxes field museum binder. This is part of a series of photographs, neg. no. 857,-860, all show the same burial, this

can be proved by comparing photos, D.S. Oct. 26/77. ***"A Cruise Among Haida and Tlingit Villages"****: (p. 14) ...At ten o'clock we started toward the east again. We had been disappointed in not finding the grave of Shaman or medicine man. It is no easy matter to secure osteological material from the Tlingits, for until within a very few years the dead were cremated. This rule, however, did not apply to the Shamans, for it was believed that their bodies would not burn, and consequently they were placed in little house graves usually erected upon some lonely rock or picturesque promontory. We had been slowly working away at the oars, for the wind had completely died away, and were rounding a point on Duke Island, when we espied one of these little houses perched far up on a rocky point which was piled high with innumerable drift. We were soon ashore with the camera and found ourselves well repaid for our pains. The house was about thirty years old, and its roof was covered with a thick growth of moss. It was about five feet high and nearly six feet square. Removing a portion of one of the walls, we could see the body, which had been carefully wrapped in several cedar-bark mats, and tied into a neat bundle with stout cedar-bark rope. Over the bundle were branches of bog myrtle, and under the head was a box. Removing the wrapping still further, we disclosed the desiccated body of a woman doctor. In one had she clasped a long knife, its steel blade entirely wasted away, leaving only the handle. In the other hand was a beautifully carved wooden pipe inlaid with finely polished abalone shells; but her real title to distinction lay in the immense wooden plug or labret which still remained in her lower lip. Throughout the entire Northwest coast the labret was a mark of honor...." PRFR*

(Revillagigedo Island)

USNM 3869, Hana Bay, Revillagigedo Is., SE, Alaska
Smithsonian, A. P. Niblack, 1885
(appears to have both gable house or shed and square house with steep tent roof topped by cross, picket fence around roof; decorative shingle work on tent roof. Flags and picket fences nearby)
View of modern graves, near site of ancient village. By Ensign A.P. Niblack on cruise of the US Coast Guard Survey steamer "Carlile Patterson" in SE Alaska 1885. PRFR

Ethnology Coll. 13940, Ketchikan, AMNH- 13940
(Gable shed in background with figure on top of grave shed with sloping roof in foreground.)

Suzzallo Library, Sarvant #75, Ketchikan,
(Tlingit-style house with decorated front, grave fence in front, pyramidal roof in left behind.)
Nov. 14, 1901, Grave (see PN 1637)

FAI RBD0201-102, Ketchikan ?
Harriman Collection
(check notes for location) (Pyramidal-roofed shed with turned wood fence. Bear? inside beneath roof.)

FAI RBD 020-check no., Ketchikan? (check as above)
Harriman Collection
(Pyramidal shed with open slat fence walls. Ornate knobs (flame-shaped) at each corner and on pinnacle of roof. Animal totems inside and to right.)

JUN PCA 45-7500, , Ketchikan
C. L. Andrews Coll., photog.
(3 gable houses - 2 are sheds and one has solid walls.)
"Elegy in a country Graveyard" [Gravehouses along beach].

JUN PCA 45-702. Ketchikan
C. L. Andrews Coll., photog.
(wolf effigy on shed, gable and pyramidal sheds with decorative rails behind)
[Grave totem in Ketchikan]

FAI John Brooks Coll. Folder L31, Ketchikan (?)
(Includes large house with decorated (Native) front, pyramidal shed with lattice wall behind (stone inside. Appears to be gable shed with lattice wall to right - as above for details of these houses)
"Cemetery, SE Alaska"

AHL Collection #87, 0148, Ketchikan? or Saxman?
Winter and Pond
(house is pyramidal shed roof with "basket-weave" lower wall.)
"Totem pole with winged raven, two grave monuments, covered grave. One monument states "Chief's son David Andrew, born Dec? 189? - drowned in Tongass Narrows Mar. 15, 1903?" Grave probably at Ketchikan or Saxman

(Pennock Island)

Glenbow Museum, NC-1-447a, Pennock Island
Alfred J. Lomen, Nome, AK.
(shows what appear to be three gable grave tents of planks.)
Tongass George totem, left. Pennock Is. AK, Ketchikan graveyard, across channel on Pennock Is. See PN 1639, Now located in Saxman totem park near Ketchikan: Source : Shorey's Book Store, Seattle

U.S. Forest Service 384898, Pennock Island
C. M. Archbald, 1939
(Shows gable roof supported on one end by two points, not sure if the rear to have collapsed or if this is meant to be gable shed of some type.)
Tongass National Forest, AK, "Black Fish pole" as found on Pennock Is. Shown in #38490b (or 6?) as restored at Saxman, by C. M. Archbald, 1939.

(Prince of Wales Island)

Ethnology Coll. 1716, Klawak Passage.
John N. Cobb
(Gable house with fence in front; windows and doors, shingle roof)
An Indian grave in Alaska, about 1909, John N. Cobb, 1421 Columbia Road, Washington, D.C.

Ethnology Coll. 1562, Klawak
Newcombe Collection 1909. J.N. Cobb
("Horn-like gable ornamentation, some of which is broken. 9-paned window in front.)
Indian grave. "Charlie Edward" on front

PCA 39-687, Tuxican
W. H. Case
(board or house with two guardian figures, one on each side; DR -Skah-OWA on board or front.)
Grave of Skah-owa, the fire-eating medicine man, Tuxekan. PRFR

Ethnology Coll. 1563c, Tuxican
G. T. Emmons, c. 1888-90
(shows several totem poles, one gable grave house and two pyramidal-roofed sheds with open slat walls.)
Graves at south end of Tuxican, West coast of Prince of Wales Is.

Ethnology Coll. 1563-b, Tuxican
G. T. Emmons, c. 1888-90, Newcombe Collection
(two houses visible; both have pyramidal roofs with pole on top, slat-fence walls.)
Graves at south end of Tuxican, west coast of Prince of Wales Is.

PCA 39-793, Old Tuxican
W. H. Case
(two grave houses; both have pyramidal roofs, left has slat-fence walls; one on right has eagle on top with solid walls.)
Totems at Old Tuxekan

PCA 39-782, Old Tuxican

W. H. Case
Two pyramidal gravehouses; one on left is shed with slat walls, one on right is of planks or squared logs and has eagle on top. From side.)
Totems at Old Tuxekan. PRFR.

Ethnology Coll. 1563-a, Tuxican
G. T. Emmons, c. 1888-90
(Two views, each has pyramidal roofed gravehouse with pole at peak and slat-fence walls.)
Graves at south end of Tuxican, West coast of Prince of Wales Island.

Alaska Historical Library #69, Tuxekan
E. W. Merrill
(Gravehouse has logs at base, slat-fence walls, pyramidal roof with pole and figure at top.) *PRFR*

JUN PCA 39-792 Haida? or Tlingit?, Tuxekan
W. H. Case, photog. W. H. Case and H. H. Draper Coll.
(Shows pyramidal house with squared log walls from side. Vertical slat shed with pyramidal roof is behind to left.)
"Totems at Old Tuxekan, AK (no. 169 (or 4) - NK)"

Smithsonian 4109, Fort Wrangell
A. P. Niblack, c. 1886
(log shed with sloping roof topped by wolf figure.)
Wolf totem on grave of chief. Fort Wrangell, AK, date not recorded.

Glenbow Museum, NA-1807-12, Wrangell
W. B. Styles #3552, c. 1880's, copy of PA 943-3
(two burial shacks, one log with window or door surmounted by wolf figure; second is lower plank shed topped by killer whale.)
Tlingit burial houses and totem; Source: G. Terasaki, 300 E 33 St. NY 10016, PRFR

AMNH #45140, Wrangell
H. I. Smith, 1909
(shows gable end of large house with side of eagle-moon totem)
Graveyard 2 miles south of Wrangell (see 46141) PRFR

Ethnology Coll. 1560, Wrangell
F. D. Cheney, #126 (?)
(shows same large house with eagle pole from side and further away)
Graveyard, Point Wrangell

AMNH 46141, Wrangell
H. I. Smith, 1909
(front view of pole, long side of gravehouse with two windows, turned post fence at side of house.)
Gravepost 2 miles south of Wrangell, see 45140. PRFR

AMNH #46143, Wrangell
Harlan I. Smith (see 46142), 1909
(Long graveshed with log walls, gable roof. Pole in front.)

AMNH #46142, Wrangell
H. I. Smith, 1909
(same graveshed and pole; Long rectangular gravehouse with vertical planks on gable roof)
Grave house and pole, (see 46143)

Wrangell Historical Society Museum #369, PX 80.39.10, neg #369, Wrangell?
(Graveshed with decorative cresting at roof and along "fence" at bottom of roof; support frames; lower part has decorative cutouts and cresting of interior structure.)

Indian grave site. Possibly Shustack Point across from harbour at Wrangell. Around the harbour/bay on west side of Wrangell Island.

AHL Collection #87; 0147, Wrangell?
Winter & Pond, c. 1900
(House is a pyramidal shed with box-like inset whose walls have cut-out patterns.)
Gravehouse with totem pole in foreground (Wrangell?) PRFR

(Between Prince of Wales Island and Kosciusko Island, Near Tuxican)

JUN PCA 39-636, Dry Pass
W. H. Case, photog, W. H. Case and H. H. Draper Coll. (no. 21)
Dry Passage "Native graves, Dry Passage, AK [shows houses on either side of passage]

JUN PCA 339-281 Dry Pass
W. H. Case, photog., W. H. Case and H. H. Draper Coll, (No. 172-N)
(as above, slightly closer view)
"Native graves, entrance to the Dry Pass, AK [grave houses on the beach at right and left; mountains beyond]

(Unknown)

Ethnology Coll. 8638, Tlingit, no loc.,
(log shed with sloping roof)
Tlingit gravehouse with Chilkat blanket nailed to outside

JUN PCA 39-281, Klawan (Haida? or Tlingit?)
W. H. Case and H. H. Draper Coll.
(log shed, shaman?)
"Old Native Grave, Klawan, AK) [close-up of a small log structure.] (no. 71-N)

Inland Tlingit (Taku-Atlin-Teslin Lake):

Ethnology Coll. PA 53268, (Inland Tlingit?)
(On hillside, two houses at least, one gable and one pyramidal-roofed. Gable houses has three multi-paned windows in front, appears to be log or plank; pyramidal seems to have one window in front.)
Indian burial houses from information sheet, Public archives of Canada. PRFR

Haida:

AMNH 45326, Haida
American Museum of Natural History.
(model of grave box of shaman, cutaway to show body inside).
*"Fig. 15 shows a model of a Haida grave-house. Here the shaman lies on his back, his hair tied in a topknot, and his head resting on a wooden pillow. The sticks in his hands are probably his batons, and the carved figures on the posts are perhaps his protecting spirits. The Haida graves I myself have seen had similar carvings on the front posts, although differing in details. The bodies appear, however, to have been set up higher, with the knees down close to the body. At any rate, the distance between the carved posts was very much less, so that the measurement from the front to rear was greater proportionately." Swanton, **The Haida**, 134." PRFR.*

- **Kaigani Haida (Prince of Wales Island)**

USNM 3877, Chasina
Smithsonian - A P. Niblack, 1885.
(Man standing on right of the two poles.)
Two mortuary columns at Chasina, an abandoned Kaigani village, Chomondeley Sound, Prince of Wales Is. Closeup showing hollowed out post with shelf to receive mortuary boxes. By Ensign A. P. Niblack on cruise of the US Coast Guard Survey Steamer "Carlile Patterson" in SE Alaska, 1885, PRFR.

Ethnology Coll. 5412, Prince of Wales Is.
G. T. Emmons
(same poles as above)
(Chasina at the entrance of Chomondeley Sound)

BLC 2223, Howkan
Bancroft Library California, Neg #2223 (see below) F. H. Nowell: Photo (see below) ca. 1898-1901
(Two shed graves with turned wood and pendants at gable; one has hipped roof, other has gable, number of totems around, to left is small gable roof of either tiny gravehouse or grave cover.)
*Notes: Totem poles, graveyard, Ketchikan; John B Tompkins says photographer, Hegg, ca. 1898-1901, from original glass plate. Taken from xerox of list obtained from George MacDonald. See as well Neg #2222 for side view of graveyard. *This is not Ketchikan but Howkan (See Newcombe photo PN 209. Note: Rifle or Musket on Pole centre of photograph. Note: When ordering prints use this Neg Number (17109 (2223) D. S. Oct'77.*

Ethnology Coll. 975, Howkan
Newcombe Col. E180-XI/15, III/1902;
(Side view of above group. graveyard, killer whale crests.)

Ethnology Coll. 209, Howkan
Newcombe Coll. E 172-III/52, III/1902
(same as above, gable shed to left, pavilion shed to right)
Note: rifle attached to pole. See PN 216, same figure as appears on top of pole can be seen on corner posts of house.

BLC 2222, Howkan
Bancroft Library, ca. 1898-1901, F. H. Nowell.
(Same as above; see from gable ends of rectangular gable shed with turned wood pendants; also see smaller gable roofed house, part of the rectangular hipped-roofed shed in the back.)
Totem poles, graveyard, Ketchikan, John B. Tompkins says photographer Hegg. ca. 1898-1901 - from original glass plate. taken from xerox of list obtained from George MacDonald. See as well neg #2223 for front view of graveyard. This is not Ketchikan, but Howkan (see Newcombe photo, PN 209); note: when ordering prints use this neg #17109 (2222) D.S. Oct. 77.

Ethnology Coll. 212, Howkan
Newcombe collection E 175 - III/55, III/1902
(graveyard left side; poles and whale with two gravehouses; one is the smaller gable house with plank roof, from side; from end into larger gable-shed with pendent decoration around opening at base of roof.)

AHL Collection #87/ 0059, Howkan
(hipped-roofed rectangular shed-house with turned wood on walls; (seems to be similar to above but printed in reverse))
"Printed reverse to image on file (Indian totem poles and graves, Howkan. Closeup showing one grave house, 6 totem poles, 2 totem figures. Similar to 0057 but shows additional totem"

Ethnology Coll. 0060, AHL Collection #87, Howkan
Winter and Pond, 1897
(Gable houses (large and small just on right edge of photo; pyramidal-roofed shed with serrated decorations at peak; turned wood railings with lattice work at top of fence or open wall.)

Totem poles, Howkan, AK, (Cemetery with several grave houses and 4 totem poles, no. 383)

Ethnology Coll. 214, Howkan
Newcombe Col. E177-III/59, L. III/1902
(ruins of elevated box grave)
Dr.'s grave across channel

Ethnology Coll. 35, Kasaan
Newcombe Coll. E 211-III/19; VI/1902
(elevated box grave with a figure on each side)
Doctor's grave post, north end.

Alaska Historical Lib. #80, Kasaan
E. W. Merrill
(Several poles with three houses or sheds; one long gable house, two smaller gable sheds with low fence-sides, figures visible in interior.)

Smithsonian 43549-A, Kasaan
(shows four poles and four gravehouse structures. All seem to be gable sheds of various sizes, some with plank roofs and some with large shingles; at least two have figures inside; turned post fence walls; one has support frame, another appears to have pendant decorations at eaves.)
Graves and grave totems at Kasaan, AK. Copy from A. K. Fisher album of Harriman Expedition, 1899. Note: the fact that this photograph was copied from the A. K. Fisher album does not necessarily mean that the photograph was taken on the Harriman Expedition of 1899. S. I. Neg #43549-b also copied from the A. K. Fisher album, is the same as S. I. neg #4320, taken in 1885.

Ethnology Coll. 5395, Old Kasaan
from publication, no information,
(same two gravesheds as included in above - two smaller ones, one with frame supports and figure inside.)

Ethnology Coll. 973, Kasaan
Newcombe Collection E152 - XI/13, 11/02
(note gravehouses on hill behind - seem to be at least one pyramidal and one or more gable houses)
Kasaan village looking north, schooner

PCA 39-281, PCA 39-283, Klawan
W. H. Case and H. H. Draper
(log shed with sloping roof)
This photograph was taken in 1902 by C. F. Newcombe at Kwa-an-loo. Old Native grave, Klawan, see PN 484.

Ethnology Coll. 484, Klawan? "Qui lan las" (Kwa-an-las - Near Hydaburg)
March 1902, Newcombe Coll.
(appears to be same as above)
Dr's grave, (see PN 481), from writing beneath photo in album E.

(Queen Charlotte Islands: Graham Is., Moresby Is., Louise Is. Lyell Is., Kunghit Is.)

- **Northern Haida**
  - **Masset Dialect (Masset Inlet)**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850): Etawas, Kayang, Yan; Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Massett Tribe; Present Band Name: Masset)[26]

Ethnology Coll. 1056, Kayang
Newcomb 394-X/45 IX/1900

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[26]Ibid., 18.

Xats. View of three double mortuaries with vegetation growing from tops. The following year Newcombe made an entry in his diary (1901) dated June 30: "Walked to Kayang. At s. end of village, found 2 rows of xat, very old (Photo'd 1900). Some with trees growing from top of pole. Many tumbled down, numerous boxes lying on ground. Several mounds - remains of the crumbling xat. In ground found pieces of abalone - one is a nose ornament, one an ear ornament and ___?___ from front of a labret. (I can't make out whether Newcombe means that the labret was made of abalone or wood. D.S. Nov. 14, 1975).

Ethnology Coll. 31, Yan
Newcombe Coll. E 104-11/72 VIII/1901, Tues. 24 July
(double mortuary with part of box above collapsing.)
Yan-Xat-Eagle legs. "Eagle leg, see Tlingit ___?___ near Wrangell" from reverse of print in file envelope.

Ethnology Coll. 5211, Yan
Archives 34020, Curtis photo, 1915
(multiple mortuary with tree growing from grave box, some carving remains.)
Haida Chief's tomb

Edmonton Art Gallery, 78-12-95, Yan
Edward Curtis, c. 1910-1914, copyright 1915, Vol XI, Portfolio 397
(same as above)
Haida Chief's tomb at Yan, PRFR

Ethnology Coll. 967, Yan
Newcombe Coll. E99 - XI/I, IX/1900
(Multi-mortuary with beak extending from front panel, vegetation growing from right pole.)
Yan - Xat (Thunderbird front), see PN 5210 - later view (also PN 521 for back), See PN 5401, 02 for back and front in 1930.

Ethnology Coll. 33517, Yan
Edward Curtis, copyright 1915
"Sculpture in a post at Yan" see the ***North American Indian vol XI****, opposite p. 128*

- **Masset Dialect (North Coast)**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850): Kiusta and Kung, Dadens, Yaku; Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Massett Tribe; Present Band Name: Masset)[27]

Ethnology Coll. 10965, Kiusta
Probably C. F. Newcombe, c. 1909
"Haida child's coffin, double box, collected at Kiusta. Carved killer whale on side shown in this photo. This photo appears as fig. 4, pl. VI, Guide to the Anthropological Collection. This guide was prepared in 1909 by C. F. Newcombe. I presume this coffin is in BCPM collection #1321".

Ethnology Coll. 7625d, Kiusta-Yaku
(ruins)
Triple mortuary pole, rear view, western end of Kiusta near Yaku, 19/6/1972

Ethnology Coll. 7625e, Kiusta-Yaku
Triple mortuary pole, view taken from west side showing rear pole with notch for coffin. Note that the latter pole is solid as are the forward side poles while the front central pole is a shell. Also note notch on e. side pole, the side pole notches are higher than the rear pole notches.

Ethnology Coll. 184, Kung
Newcomb coll. E107 - XI/5, VIII/1901, Thurs. July 5
(elevated box with two poles decorated with carved figures on each side.)

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[27]Ibid.

Belongs to Annie Jap, living at Howkan. "Dr. Tsamit" taken from the reverse of original print. SN 109, Kung, Dr's. grave.

Field Museum, Chicago 2633, Kung
E. P. Allen, 1897
(same as above but earlier photo)
Photo used in ***Haida Monumental Art****, G. MacDonald, pl. 249, 183. Double mortuary pole at Kung, Photographed by E. P. Allen, who accompanied Dorsey in 1897. PRFR*

Ethnology Coll. 127, Kung
Newcombe, E106-XI/4, VIII/1901 Thurs, July 5, not Aug. see diary 1901
(same as above I think)
Kung - Dr's graves, nearer views, also photo of pole standing near point, from diary 1901

Field Museum 106494, Kung
Box and contents from Shaman's grave. Bone and wood carving, rolls of human hair, fragments of stone? Fish skin used as case. Collected by Dorsey in 1897. PRFR

Ethnology Coll. 295B, Massett
Newcomb Coll. E 2266 - II/5, VIII/1902, photo probably catalogued in 1902, probably taken 1899
(grave box with two figures)
Masset, doctor's grave post. "on point near Masset, photo by C.F.N.? 1899, Front picture, small Tauney album" From photos in brown file envelope; "Masset by C.F.N. 1899, Shaman singing (?) Shaman grave on point near village" from print in album B.

Ethnology Coll. 5537, Masset
archives Harlan I. Smith #1242
(Eagle-leg double mortuary)
Most probably D. C. Hastings 1879) Spencer per D. S. and E. V. "Masset by S. A. Spencer" from lantern slide

BC Archives, G-4992, cat. 16247
QCI, c. 1884?
(Three double mortuaries)
Graves at Masset

BC Archives, G-5069, cat 21802
(stereo view of two double mortuaries)
Totems at Masset, QCI

AMNH 46184, Masset
H. I. Smith, 1909
(low double mortuary with box open)
Shaman's grave, Masset, Graham Is. 1909. PRFR

Ethnology Coll. 17467, Massett
See ***Haida Monumental Art****, NMM photo 100454, plate 203. Single mortuary post supporting cap of wood. No original print found with copy neg. May 1988, see PN 486.*

Field Museum 2631, Masset ? or Yan?
E.P. Allen, 1897
Note on loc: location of Masset comes from Newcombe cat, however, I placed ? after this because of a print in the file env. labeled, "Kiusta, Dorsey, 1897", Also this grave was identified as Yan on the xerox of a lantern slide of Field Museum. Newcomb: "Masset, grave 4 post tomb, Dorsey, 1897" Multiple mortuary, PRFR

Ethnology Coll. 1400, Tian
Newcombe Coll. E442b L 1910

(carved front)
Tian, double mortuary pole

Ethnology Coll. 271, Yaku
Newcombe Coll. E 626-XV/II, 1913
(scene of totems, xats, and beach)
Yaku Mortuary poles

- **Central Haida**
  - **Skidegate Dialect**
    - **Skidegate Inlet and West Coast**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850; Cathlingskun, Skidegate, Chaatl & Kaisun (Haina 1870-98); Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Skidegate Tribe; Present Band Name: Skidegate)[28]

NMC 102796, Kaisun
C. M. Barbeau, 1947
(single pole with ruins of box on top)
Mortuary pole

Ethnology Coll. 5163, Skidegate
Maynard, photo, M/143, cat. 34337 and 16228 x69; 1884
(single mortuary blanket over upper hole, fallen crest)
Notes: please pull original prints, album 1, album b, and in file envelope. Indian Chief's grave at top of totem. "Grave pole, chief's, hollow front" from Maynard Ethnological negatives (see field museum photo #8076 and 8055) "Chief Skidegate's grave" Skidegate, B.C." from beneath good print which appears in album number 1, also "Nestaqana's grave" from beneath print in Album B. "Only for one body, other holes to make lighter. The carved pole lying in ground formerly stood in front of coffin pole. One of his names was Gunwhat." from reverse of oversize. See catalogue page.

Ethnology Coll. A294, Skidegate
(double mortuary with carved frontal board)
Queen Charlottes 668

Ethnology Coll. 11874, Haida ?, Skidegate, (or Kwakiutl, Bella Bella, see 11856)
See Notes: Museum photo of carved box: C. F. Newcombe? photo, circa 1909: BCPM #220 -- coffin, sides carved and painted with animal design. The collection catalogue states that this is Kwakiutl, however the locality where it was collected and its appearance seem to indicate that it is Haida. This photo appears in the Guide to the Anthropological Collection of the Provincial Museum published in 1909, as figure #39, plate XVIII. C.F. Newcombe prepared the Guide and therefore it is probable that he took the photo.

Ethnology Coll. 98, Skidegate
Newcombe Coll. E19-II/78, IX/1895
(ruins of elevated box grave.)
Skidegate, Reef Is. Doctor's grave.

Ethnology Coll. 5583, Skidegate
Archives 16226, Ryan (photog), post card, From Kirpatrick Album received c. 1969? (vertical plank gravehouse in front with gable roof having large shingles.)

- **Skidegate Dialect**
  - **Moresby Island**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850; Cumshewa, Skedans, Tanoo (New Clew, 1885-97); Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Skidegate Tribe; Present Band Name: Skidegate)[29]

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[28]Ibid.
[29]Ibid.

Ethnology Coll. 10,770, Skedans
Dave Hancock, 1968
(double mortuary with fallen plaque)
Fallen mortuary plaque, see PN 10,77 (also has list of earlier versions on card 1, Hilary Stewart on right.)

Ethnology Coll. 89, Skedans
Newcombe Coll, EC 48 - I/36, 1901
(carved box appears to be on top of pole.)
Haida, coffin, carved, Skedans, back view (H. Moody) see EC415 at F. M. See Swanton, ***Ethnology of the Haida****, p. 132.*

Ethnology Coll. 7847-4, Skedans
Macnair, 1968
(detail of fluting on pole)
Fallen mortuary pole, see PN377, 7616

Ethnology Coll. 49, Skedans
Newcombe Coll. E 420 - IV/70, Carmichael, photog. X/1907 (recorded? taken 1901?)
(shows 3 mortuary poles with frontals, two without; gravehouse with shingle gable roof to left.)
Skedans, west end poles 5, 7, 8, 9, and 11, from Carmichael, 1901

- **Southern Haida**
  - **Skidegate Dialect**
    - **Kunghit Haida**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850; Ninstints)[30]

Ethnology Coll. 837, Ninstints
Newcombe collection (also photog), E83 11/55, 19/VI/1901
(Mortuary totems, some with front panels missing (5 visible)
For exact date see note in Precis of Newcombe diary for 1901, dated June 8.

Ethnology Coll. 843, Ninstints
Newcombe E 82 - II/54, 9/VI/01
(two mortuary poles with crest boards coming off)
Ninstints - Xat (sqana), "Middle house pole was chief go'yums, house named nailden' "on left, eagle on top, Tom Price" taken from reverse of two "originals" in brown file envelope, for further information see page 97 Newcombe diary for year 1901; for exact date see note June 8 precis of Newcombe 1901 diary, see photo cat. for further information.

(Unidentified)

Nat Mus. of Canada 103048, No location
(shows hole in back)
Haida burial column. PRFR

Ethnology Coll. 14760, Prince Rupert
J. B. Scott, #35
(gravehouse on hill behind; has pyramidal roof, solid lower wall, upper wall has half-moon opening on each side.)
Poles at Prince Rupert

AMNH 43019, Haida? listed as Kwakiutl, Cheslakees, beneath is Harlan I. Smith, 1898, Nimpkish Village
(double mortuary pole)

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[30]Ibid.

- **Kwakiutl**
  - **Northern Kwakiutl (Heiltsuk Dialect)**
    - **Bella Bella**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850; Istitoch, Oyalitoch, Owitlitoch; Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Bella Bella Tribe; Present Band Name: Bella Bella)[31]

Ethnology Coll. 16469, Bella Bella, Old Grave Point, Old Bella Bella
(shows about five gable houses and one or two hipped roof houses most with stones in front of them; from river below.)
*Copied from a booklet titled "**Souvenir of Bella Bella, B.C.**" Filed with PN 16450.*

Ethnology Coll. 16459, Bella Bella
(Two gravehouses, both with pyramidal roofs. One is of squared logs or planks, scalloped edging along edge of roof, ornament at peak. Number of tombstones in front.)
*"Island grave Houses, Across from Bella Bella" copied from a booklet titled "**Souvenir of Bella Bella, B.C.**" filed with PN 16450*

Ethnology Coll. 11856, Bella Bella? (see 11874, where identified as Haida, Skidegate) (Has same notes as being BCPM #220 except part about being collected at Skidegate crossed out and note says site was Bella Bella. The design is different from #220, but might be end instead of side of coffin)
Note at end: Kwakiutl, coffin sides carved and painted with animal designs, collected by F. Jacobsen, 1893, Bella Bella.

- **Owikeno/Rivers Inlet**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850; Owikeno; Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Owekano Tribe (at Katit); Present Band Name: Oweekano [at Rivers Inlet)][32]

Ethnology Coll. 2202, River's Inlet
(Hatted figure holding decorated box.)
***Tah ga leem** pole holding a **ckow wa tze** taken at Oukees - bottom end of Owikeno Lake, graveyard, box contains all personal dancing and potlatch regalia, **none-na wae ta kwa mus (nowa la qua)**, info: Danny Walkins ? Rivers Inlet, Feb. 1970.*

Ethnology Coll. 2521, Kwakwaka'wakw, Rivers Inlet
H.I. Smith?
(two figures, one male and one appears to be female; male is hatted and holding decorated box. same as above?)
Katit, grave 4-5 miles up river at River's Inlet. This is same image as AMNH #13933.

AMNH 13933, Rivers Inlet
(same as above)

Milwaukee 3432, Rivers Inlet
Samuel Barrett, 1915-16
Triangular grave cover; gable roof of planks with ridge pole at top, horizontal planks at gable end.)
Ourkeno, Rivers Inlet Graveyard.

M.P.M (Milwaukee?) 3435, Rivers Inlet
Samuel Barrett, 1915-16
Ourkeno, Rivers Inlet graveyard, 1915-16
(totems with triangular shed, vertical planks set into ridge crest and flat-roofed rectangular shed.)
PRFR

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[31]Ibid., 20.
[32]Ibid.

- **Southern Kwakiutl**
  - **Gwasilla/Takush Harbour**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850; Gwasilla (at Wyclese, Smith Inlet); Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Quawshelah Tribe (at Takush Harbour); Present Band Name: Quawshelah)[33]

Ethnology Coll. 2234, Takush Harbour, Smith Inlet, Kwakiutl
Wilson Duff, photo, 1955
(Triangular wooden tent with pole or cross at one end and boards against other.)
"Went to Goasila graveyard on Talush Harbour..." Graveyard, such small structures stood over graves, grave goods, sometimes coffins on ground. (I saw nothing that looked like this on side Ehavo, Drumrock Island, Sept. 19/70 - DNA); "the graveyard...it is on two little islets...One has 4 graves with little gable roofs built over them and a 4'x 4' board facing the water had previously had a painting on it." (from Wilson Duff field notes, Kwa-w-007.

Ethnology Coll. 2231, Takush Harbour, Smith Inlet
Wilson Duff, phot., 1955
(large gravehouse; multi-framed slats for windows attached to wall of house; no windows, though)
Notes: House containing coffins, graveyard - note windows tacked on walls. A similar house, which was open, contained several coffins wrapped in cloth and bound with ropes (EhSvo-visited by DNA and RCMP Sgt. Muselow Sept. 19/70 -- badly disturbed as a result of building's collapse (Drumrock Island) "...went to Goasila graveyard on Takush Harbour...Other point had at least 5 little houses on it containing coffins." (From W. Duff field notes, Kwa-w-007).

Ethnology Coll. 2230, Takush Harbour, Smith Inlet
Wilson Duff, 1955
(board on elevated structure)
Graveyard - board monument apparently marking whole graveyard not just one grave - on the island were six grave houses containing coffins. (looks very similar - but not quite identical to fallen plaques on Drumrock Island - site ehsvo seen by DNA Sept. 19/70). Goasila graveyard on Takush Harbour. Two whales facing each other and a square board over top with eagle painted on (From W. Duff Field Notes -Kwa-W-007), Grave of Louisa Walkus (per Harry George Walkus, Feb. 82).

  - **Nakwoktak/Blunden Harbour**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850; Nakwoktak (At Kequesta, Nugent Sound); Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Nahkwockto Tribe or Band (at Blunden Harbour); Present Band Name: Nakwakto)[34]

Milwaukee 3674, Blunden Harbour
Samuel Barrett, 1915-16
(shows triangular wooden tent or gable house on end of spit from water)
Grave near Blunden Harbour

  - **Kwiksootainuk/Gilford Island**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850; Kwiksootainuk (at Gwayasdums); Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): (in error) Village Island Tribe: Kwicksitaneau Band (At Village Island); Present Band Name: Gilford Island (at Gwayasdums)[35]

Ethnology Coll. 2170, Gwayasdums, Gilford Island
Wilson Duff, 1955
(has four low open grave covers with roofs of shingle work. Pole behind in background.)
Graveyard

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[33]Ibid.
[34]Ibid., 21.
[35]Ibid.

Ethnology Coll. 2155, Gwayasdums, Gilford Island
Wilson Duff, 1955, May
(Two low grave-sheds, open framework supporting shingle-covered gable roofs.)
Graveyard

- **Tsawataineuk/Kingcome**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850; Tsawataineuk (on Kingcome River); Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Gilford Island Tribe: Tsahwawtineuch Band (at Gwayasdums): Present Band Name: Tsawataineuk [Kingcome River)][36]

Ethnology Coll. 18133, Kingcome Inlet
Ann Karhn and Chris Russell, 1977
(Pole with one figure holding box)
Series PN 18124-18150, taken when they went to Kingcome Inlet and Alert Bay.

Ethnology Coll. 286, Kingcome
Newcombe Coll. E 1051-XV/35b, W. Pike, photog. received 9/V/17
(gable house with various boards and flags.)
Kingcome village - graves, from the water (tree burial on island) W. Pike, back of oversize says Pike died in 1915, therefore Newcombe received photo after Pike's death, date of when photo received found in front of Neg. Book XV. J.C. May '75.

Ethnology Coll. 14187, Kingcome Inlet
Georgette A. Keen collection
(gable box, elevated with two whale effigies at each side and eagle above.)
See PN 14185. Kingcome School teacher, photographer. See below, mid 1930's. Taken at village at King Geo. V pole dedication. Taken prior to June 1937, per Mrs. Keen. Same grave shown in 2635 where listed as Okwanales as location.

Ethnology Coll. 14101, Kingcome Inlet
(shows 4 elevated gable houses or sheds with a variety of coppers and poles surrounding them. Most have decorated walls.)
"I believe this postcard was brought to the Ethnology Division by Shatey Cuthbertson in 1978. There is a xerox of the reverse of the original print in file envelope. This has a fair amount of information. D.S. May 3, 1979. The original was returned in late 1978."

Ethnology Coll. 272, Kingcome
Newcombe Coll. E 1053- XV/36b, W. Pike, photographer.
(graveboards but with small gable house with shingles in background.)
Newcombe received in 1915, graveboards, whales, view a. Back of oversize says Pike died in 1915, therefore Newcombe received photo after Pike Neg. book XV..J.C. May '75.

Ethnology Coll. 2635, Okwanales (listed as Kingcome Inlet in 14187)
(same as above)
This was attributed as being Kwakiutl by D. S. June 16, 1977. "Stump burial Okwanalis, B.C. B. A. McKelvie" from reverse of print in file envelope. 9 - 1-7a

Ethnology Coll. 7733-11, Tsawadi (Kingcome ?)
P.L.M. 1968
(Painted box fragment from Tsawadi, (Mounted #11))
Note series runs 7733/10-21

Ethnology Coll. 7733-20, Tsawadi
P.L.M. 1968
(burial house on no. side of river, (mounted #20))

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[36]Ibid.

Series: 7733/10-21

- **Mamalilikulla (at Village Island)**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850; Mamalilikulla (at Village Island); Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Village Island Tribe: Mahmalillikullah Band; Present Band Name: Mamalillikulla (Village Island)[37]

MPM (Milwaukee?) 3677, Village Island, Mamalelekala cemetery on village Island
from Curtis, **The Kwakiutl**, opp. p. 56, 1915-16, Samuel Barrett
(three or four grave houses, seem to all be gable structures with flagpoles, etc. on island from the water)
PRFR

Milwaukee 3675, Village Island
Samuel Barrett, 1915-16
(one house on island from water; three or four flapoles, gravefence around decorated gable gravehouse.)
*"A Mamalelekaka Chief's mortuary house", from Curtis, **The Kwakiutl**, opp. p. 52, see also Halliday photo of same (PN 12212)*

Ethnology Coll. 7323, Village Island, 'Mi'Mkwamlis (Mimquimlees)
Wilson Duff #11, May 1955
(Pole with part of gable house with platform to left.)
Totem at Village Island. "White Man Pole, slim 25' pole. Top: white man with hat, then a copper with a face on it, then a man - owner Dick Mountain, nephew of man who raised it. See PN 7325 for typed information. See Helen Codere note. According to J. Sewid no one owned this pole. It was moved from one end of the village to the other. Per J. Sewid, Aug. 31, 1984.

Edmonton Art Gallery 78.12.6, Village Island
Edward Curtis, c. 1910-14
(Gable gravehouse with coppers painted on roof, may have platform, surrounded by fences with coppers, poles with coppers and eagle totems.)
Kwakiutl, Mamlilijulla Mortuary House, "Extensive notes on back of photo (must refer to original in E.A.G.files)"

Ethnology Coll. 12212, 'Mi'MKwamus (Mamalelekala (crossed out) (appears to be same house as above)
Halliday, photog. From original glass plate, c. 1910-1914
"Alert Bay Indian graves, Halliday, p. 117" from Archives notes. According to the Curtis volume on the Kwakiutl this is identified as "A Mamalelekala Chief's Mortuary House" plate facing page 52 of Curtis volume ten. Date: This photo was taken very close to the date that Edward Curtis' photo as seen in volume X, plate facing page 52. In Curtis' introduction he states that "An unusual amount of time has been devoted to the collection of material for this volume, a portion of each field season from 1910 to 1914 having been spent among the Kwakiutl tribes." "Burial house of Gu'la'lus, Uncle Henry Bell and James Sewid (father of present James Sewid) - per Sewid family, Aug. 31, 1984.

- **Tlawitsis (Turnour Island)**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850; Tlawitsis (at Kalokwis on Turnour Island); Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Turnour Island Tribe or Band; Present Band Name: Trunour Island)[38]

Ethnology Coll. 2281, Turnour Island
PIL. Machair, 1968
Fragments of burial house near Karlokwis Village

Ethnology Coll. 2282, Turnour Island
Painted board from gravehouse or board.

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[37]Ibid.
[38]Ibid.

Ethnology Coll. 2283, Turnour Island
(same as above)

- **Nimpkish**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850; Nimpkish (at Cheslakees, Nimpkish River); Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Nimkeesh Tribe (at Alert Bay); Present Band Name: Nimpkish)[39]

Ethnology Coll. 345, Alert Bay,
Newcombe, E 291 - IV/34 L. 1903
(tree burial)
"The graves of the Kwakiutl are of two principal kinds, little scaffolds to which the coffin-box is lashed, high upon the branches of fir trees, and known as tuh-pe-eh; and tombs built of slabs of wood on the ground...Graves of trees are generally festooned with blankets or streamers of cloth and similar appendages are affixed to the poles in the vicinity of graves on the ground." pp. 348-9, From G. M. Dawson, Archives NW 970.62.D272, from observations made by Dawson in 1885. "Church" from reverse of print in file envelope.

AMNH 45054, Alert Bay
H. I. Smith
(graveyard, gravefence with copper monument to left; triangular grave cover of six planks and ridge supported by central pole and frame to right)

C.R.M. 5955, Alert Bay
Photo by Ronnie Shuklan, Shaughnesy, Mr. W. Collection, postcard 1939 or 40
Grave boxes (in tree), Alert Bay. PRFR

Ethnology Coll. 2575, Alert Bay
Tree burial at Alert Bay

UBC MOA, UBC 1991.05.01, Alert Bay
(tree burial)

Ethnology Coll. 1895, Alert Bay
A. M. Wastell, c. 1912
(tree burial)
Indian burial in tree. This method of burial was discontinued about 1912-14. Such graves were mostly those of prominent Indians (taken from negative) Archives Coll. #40404

AMNH 46048, Alert Bay
H. I. Smith, 7/12/1909
Plate by Harlan I. Smith looking from the forest out towards the water at 2 graves in spruce trees west of the industrial school at Alert Bay. From xerox provided by AMNH.

ACS ACC #102/UBC MOA, Alert Bay
(tree burial)
See 1991.05.01 UBC, PRFR

CRM 287 (see 8397, 287, or PN 1893 for same view) Alert Bay ? Clayoquot ?
(Said here to be Alert Bay, Kwakiutl, same view as boxes on ground and tree burial for Nootka (12491, Clayoquot))
PRFR

CRM 8361, Alert Bay
(No info. Glass? gravehouse with sawtooth ridge crest and turned wood on surrounding fence)
PRFR

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[39]Ibid.

Ethnology Coll. 14097, Alert Bay
(Same as above; glass gravehouse with wooden frame and decorative ridge crest; surrounded by turned wood fence.)
Indian grave at Alert Bay, from reverse of print that was brought to Ethnology Division to be copied in 1978. I believe the person who brought the print in was Shirley Cuthbertson. I xeroxed the print before I returned to her. (D. S. May 3, 1979.)

Ethnology Coll. 11901-B, Alert Bay
1929
(same as above but from further back)
#102 we have original negative. Tlah-go-glass grave. See PN 2772 for view of house.

V.P.L. 54795, Alert Bay
(same as above but house is to far right)
See 4407, Indian Cemetery at Alert Bay, B.C. at bottom. PRFR

Ethnology Coll. 9367, Alert Bay
Donald New Collection (and photog). 1926.
(appears to be the same grave but without fence and with blanket over the house).
Original photo loaned to Ethnology Division in 1980 to be copied by Mrs. Donald New of Galiano Island. Photo was taken in 1926 when Mr. New was an engineer in the Forest Service stationed at Alert Bay.

PCA 31-115, Alert Bay
C. R. Scothorn, as per D. S. Jan. 10/83
(same gravehouse as above with sea serpent behind; two figures standing beside gravehouse.)
PRFR

Ethnology Coll. 11716, Alert Bay
Trio-Crocker, from information which held glass plates.
(Board or steep gable roof tent (it appears) with horizontal planks for roofing to right; two grave fences in front and centre)

Ethnology Coll. 2579, Alert Bay
Photog. Church, 1903.
Decorated graveboard (it appears, rather than roof)

Ethnology Coll. 2667, Alert Bay?
(no info, may be graveboard rather than house, "Joseph Alex" and wolves on front.)

Ethnology Coll. 60819, Alert Bay
Robert Redford, c. 1890
(gravehouse with two figures and coppers at end, small wooden tents in front (two at least))
Indian graves, see also PN 10581, Note: mask on right canoe is in BCPM Collection #30

Ethnology Coll. 11445, Alert Bay
Newcombe Coll. Edgar Flemming, 1896, M/112 - C XX/3 X95
(Killer whale behind three or four tent-like structures, one of which is clearly planks.)

AMNH 46060, Alert Bay
Harlan I. Smith, 7/13/1909
(gravehouse is triangular wooden tent of planks with design painted on front roof)
"A painted figure of a whale on top of a burial house in the cemetery south of the hospital at Alert Bay," from xerox provided by AMNH.

CRM 4374, Alert Bay
c. 1926-7
(several graves with gable shed in background; walls of picket fence, mostly open.)

PRFR

Ethnology Coll. 824A, Alert Bay
Newcombe Collection; E 705 - XV/60, 15/V/21
(seems to be same gable shed as above)
Alert Bay, monument to Ilawson's son (Dawson's?), C.F.N. See PN 10738, "Erected in 1920 in honour of Chief Dawson's son - from Mamalikulla" taken from reverse of "original print" in brown file envelope, see PN 888, 1852, 1947.

Ethnology Coll. 14875, Alert Bay
Elaine N. Corbet Collection, 1928
Totem with two large gable sheds in background.
See letter in the photo catalogue.

CRM 8353, Alert Bay
Herbert Joyce, part of set of 3 photos, 8350, 8352, and 8353.
(Same view as above except part of third gable graveshed is visible in foreground on right.)

Milwaukee 200 229, Alert Bay
Photo in Barrett Collection, but probably not taken by him.
(probably graveshed is one of those shown as above, to left.)
"View of cemetery with large gable graveshed."

Ethnology Coll. 1173, Alert Bay
Trio-Crocker, "graveyard" from box in which glass plate held.
(View of cemetery, two large gable sheds (possibly same as those above) and one to right (may the third as above, but from end of open gable))

M.P.M (Milwaukee?), Alert Bay
Samuel Barrett, 1915-16
(graveshed (possibly the third one mentioned above) to left and large gable house to far left.)
View of cemetery from the water.

ACS ACC#104, UBC MOA, Alert Bay
(has two of the large gable shed to left, one with large shingles, other appears to have vertical planking.)
Totem Poles Alert Bay B.C. See 1991.05.01

Ethnology Coll. 17722, Alert Bay (called Westcoast instead of Kwakiutl on this print)
Art Thompson Collection c. 1926-27, Series PN 17717-17726
(Man standing beside pole behind which can be seen gable shed with supports and picket fence wall.)
Info. from photo album, Elwood Modeste, c. 1926-27, Alert Bay.

ACS.ACC #05, UBC MOA, Alert Bay
(Mostly crosses and stones, but one small gable gravehouse to right-centre.)
Anglican Cemetery. PRFR

Smithsonian 73-9778, Alert Bay?
1895 or before (similar to True photo of graveyard) - from field notes taken by Dan Savard at National Anthropological Archives, US National Museum June 1984.
(Shows picket fence around log gravehouse with steep gable roof, small opening in gable, flags and boards around grave.)
PRFR

Ethnology Coll. 5093, Kwakiutl, Alert Bay?
Mrs. Tom Kirpatrirck Album, grave, copied from album, c.1969.
(No location but looks like it might be Alert Bay. Graveboard with flags at each end, or possibly triangular wooden tent; gable gravehouse or shed in background.)

- **Fort Rupert Tribes**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850; Kwakiutl, Kweeha, Walas kwakiutl, Komkiutis; Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Kwawkewlth Tribe: Kwawkewlth Band, Kwiahkah Band, Walaskwawkewlth Band; Present Band Name: Kwawkewlth (at Fort Rupert)[40]

Ethnology Coll. 10654, Fort Rupert
Raley Coll.
(shows small gable house with fence and stone in front, totem pole behind.)
Graveyard at Ft. Rupert.

BC Archives, H-05537, Ft. Rupert, Mt. Waddington
(shows tiered grave with whales on roof and coppers on side of upper tier. Gable roof.)
Indian grave at Ft. Rupert, Mt. Waddington, July 1894.

AMNH Acc. No. 157, Fort Rupert ?
F. Boas, Oct 1930-Jan 1931
(appears to be painted side wall of gravehouse which may have had gable roof, but not certain.)
PRFR

AMNH 42983, Point Thomas or Fort Rupert
H. I. Smith
(gable gravehouse with what appears to be shingle siding on hillside surrounded by four coppers and pole.)
"Point Thomas graves" (from reverse of print) "modern graves - Ft. Rupert" (from xerox of photograph listing compiled by Geo. McDonald)

Ethnology Coll. 831, Fort Rupert
Newcombe Coll. E712-XV/67, 1922
(also shows gable gravehouse which appears to have shingle siding and may be one as above; to right, second structure which appears to be covered shed rather than house, with only one slope, also has pole nearby.)
Fort Rupert - Old site showing shell mounds at Tadsu, C.F.N.

AMNH 43004, Ft. Rupert
(has fenced gable gravehouse with two coppers and two flagpoles at ends, two other sloping roofs in view, appear to be shingled roof on left, and planks on right.)
Graveyard

Ethnology Coll. 43004, Fort Rupert
(same as above)

- **Nahwitti Tribes**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850; Tlatlasikwala, Nakumgilisala, Yutlinuk (at Nahwitti); Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Nahwitti Tribe or Band (on Hope Island); Present Band Name: Nuwitti [at Quatsino and Fort Rupert)][41]

Ethnology Coll. 2415, Hopetown
Dale Nordlund, Sidney, May 1952
(moon mask on tree)
Hopetown burial ground, donated by photographer c. 1968.

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[40]Ibid., 22.
[41]Ibid.

- **Quatsino Sound Tribes**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850; Koskimo (at Quattishe); Quatsino (on Forward Inlet); Giopino (on Koprino Harbour), Klaskino (Klaskino Inlet); Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Quatsino Tribe: koskemo Band (at Quattishe), Quatsino Band (at Winter Harbour), Klaskino Tribe (one man, at Quattishe); Present Band Name: Quatsino [at Quattishe)][42]

Ethnology Coll. 2004, Quattishe
Wilson Duff, May 1955
(appears to have small plank structure, (triangular house?) in front of picket fence)
See PN 2004, 2003, and 2005. Quatsino graveyard. Info. per Charlie Clair, Quatsino 4 June 1974. Erected as a memorial to Charlie Clair's first wife, the daughter of Chief Johnny (Francis Johnny) Carved ca. 1935 by Billy George. C.C. Thinks large bird is an eagle. It is surmounted by a rainbow, one of the deceased's crests. CC claims the eight human figures represent 8 slaves killed at the burial of one of Chief Johnny's ancestors. The two boats on the pole represent boats destroyed by Chief Johnny when his daughter died. "Thunderbird, rainbow" from Duff field notes, 1955, Kwakiutl Totem survey 1955; location see: explanation PN 2008; see also: PN 336 for views of graveyard, is this the same?" PRFR

Ethnology Coll. 2005, "Quatsino Sound Village", Quattishe
Wilson Duff, 1955
(same as above with slight difference in angle - shows pole with birds, etc.)
Quatsino Graveyard, has to be Quattishe, other photo listed by Duff as having been taken at this "Quatsino Sound Village" were taken there, Duff Field Note Book for 1955, were identified as Quattishe eg. PN 1989. See also: PN 336 for view of graveyard, is this the same?" PRFR

Ethnology Coll. 2008, Quattishe
Newcombe, E298 - IV/77, 1904, Friday, April 8th
(small gravehouse enclosed by decorative fence with mask on top of fence. Figure beside fence outside.)
*Koskimo Grave yard. This is not the same graveyard as the one photographed by Wilson Duff - Per J. S. Cybulski. See catalogue sheet for further information apparently "coppers on left - (graveyard) coppers sold, and blankets received in payment give (next day) by one man. Canoes represent canoes given away (each model = 100 canoes given at once)." Newcombe material. Misc. Ethn. File envelope #7. See Photo catalogue for note on informants. "LA.M. photos of ...graveyard" from entry in Newcombe's 1904 diary dated April 8th, 30 July 1996, see catalogue for note by J. S. Cybulski. Graveyard West at Quattishe, see: Page 33, **Fieldwork at Quattishe** by Jerome Cybulski, Jan. 1997'; **Report to Quatsino First Nations Band Council of the CMC***

Ethnology Coll. 336, S. Kwakiutl, Quattishe
(see notes as above; Shows several gable houses with shingle roofs surrounded by fences, flagpoles and poles with coppers and canoes. From water.)

- **Euclataw Tribes (Cape Mudge/Campbell River)**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850; Weewiakay (Cape Mudge after 1860), Weewiakum (Campbell River after 1860); Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Laichkwiltach Tribe: Wewayakay Band, Wewayakum Band; Present Band Name: Cape Mudge, Campbell River)[43]

Ethnology Coll. 17475, Kwakiutl, Campbell River
(Has crosses and eagle with blankets hung over fences and over a structure that might be gable gravehouse)
No original print found with copy neg. May 1988, See PN 2414 for identification.

Ethnology Coll. 2414, Kwakiutl, Campbell River
(Same scene from opposite side; blanket is no longer over house-structure, which appears to be wooden tent with vertical slats and ridge board surmounted by eagle figure.) *Campbell River graves.*

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[42]Ibid.
[43]Ibid.

(Unidentified)

Edmonton Art Gallery, 78.12.122, no location
ca. 1910-14
Tree burial

Milwaukee 3469, Kwakiutl
Samuel Barratt 1915-16
(Gravehouse or decorated board with copper on each end, flagpole at one end, from water. no identification or location.)
PMRF

Milwaukee 3470, Kwakiutl
Samuel Barrett, 1915-16
(elevated gravehouse, gable roof with decorated wall, two figure at each end, flagpoles to right, from water. No location.)
PRFR

- **Interior Salish**
  - **Thompson**
    - **Lower Thompson**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850; Many semi-permanent villages along Fraser from Spuzzum to 11 miles below Lytton; Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Spuzzum Tribe or Band, Boston Bar Tribe or Band, Boothroyd Tribe: Chomok Band; Present Band Name: Spuzzum, Boston Bar Boothroyd)[44]

While no photographs were located of gravesheds in this area, the literature review suggested they may have once been used here.

- **Thompson/Upper Thompson**
  - **Upper Fraser/Lytton**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850; Upper Fraser band: Several villages, 22 to 43 miles up the Fraser from Lytton, Lytton band: Many villages along Fraser and part of Thompson; Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): (Upper Fraser part of Lytton Tribe), Kanaka Bar Tribe or Band, Siska flat Tribe or Band, Skuppah Tribe or Band, Lytton Tribe or Band, Nicomen Tribe or Band; Present Band Name: Kanaka bar, Siska, Skuppah, Lytton, Nicomen)[45]

Ethnology Coll. 6573, Interior Salish, Fraser River
Raley Collection (Archives, 1227, 67599, F. Dally, photo., 1867-70
Indian grave on Cariboo Road below Lytton, Yadoskis grave, with family monuments representing deceased members and relatives of the same - see reverse of over-size. Dally Album #5-p. 29. See PN 6671 for similar grave. American Indian Sculpture, Paul S. Wingert, plate 30. See photo cat. for further info.. Much better print available for copying in album #I. #57: Zadoski's grave by the side of the Fraser R. is one of the handsomest of the Indian Mausoleums in that country. he is represented carved in wood with the base stuck upright in the ground, having a piece of folded printed calico bound as a band round his head and his legs encased in or ornamented with another piece of printed calico of a lighter colour. Various deceased members of his family are represented in carved figures near to his own effigy, his family totem or crest which was a bear is also artistically carved about the grave of which the family was very proud. There was also suspended from one of the poles his gun but having the lock previously removed to prevent robbery, and also for his convenience and comfort on his arrival in the happy hunting grounds are also several brass and copper kettles disposed about the front part of the grave, but with holes purposely knocked in them so as to render them unfit for any worldly use...From Dally notes in Archives.

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[44]Ibid., 29.
[45]Ibid.

PCA 82446, Fraser River
Maybe C. Gentile? From Lt. Arthur Nonus Birch Collection, see PN 6573
(Same as above.)
Native graveyard enroute. Fraser River. PRFR

BC Archives 57599, C-9270, Chapmans' Bar
photog. Columbia
(same as above)
Indian Chief's grave at Chapman's Bar

Ethnology Coll. 78280, Chapman's Bar, before Lytton
engraving, S. Haberer?
(same as above,)
Indian grave on Cariboo Road

Ethnology Coll. 6580, Lytton
Maynard?? could be Dally. X131 M# L. 1885? or 1868 from Newcombe catalogue of Maynard's slides
(sterographic view of grave with shed roof to left centre, figure and poles to far left, second shed to right.)
Burial ground at Lytton, also AMNH #328737. In the town of Lytton at the corner of 2nd and Cliff. It is considered the more modern cemetery. The older cemetery was several hundred metres north, extending towards the Indian hospital, per Randy Bouchard, Oct. 3, 1985.

AMNH #328737, Interior Salish, Lytton
R. Maynard.
(see above, except not stereo view)
Burial ground at Lytton, Interior Salish (same as PN 6580)

- **Thompson/Upper Thompson**
  - **Nicola**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850; Nicola band: Several villages from 10 miles up Nicola to foot of Nicola Lake. Most of this area was formerly Nicola Athapaskan territory; Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Lower Nicola Tribe; Present Band Name: Lower Nicola, Nooaitch, Shackan)[46]

Ethnology Coll. 6689, Interior Salish, Nicola Valley
Fred Auger, 1964
(has bird-like forms on three sides of circle; lattice-work gate and fence; circles above gate but below bird-floral motif)
Indian cemetery a few miles up the valley of the Nicola River from Spence's Bridge

Ethnology Coll. 13572, Shackan (?) SN 2630
Aug. 1962, from 35 mm slide cat. (1 slide copied in 1977 and coy neg filed in envelope.
(gate with circles beneath main motif, lattice fence.)
Shackan graveyard (Nicola) from 35mm slide

Ethnology Coll. 6692, Interior Salish, Nicola River
Fred Auger 1964
(shows circle and bird on upper wood edge of fence, rest of fence is chicken wire.)
Indian cemetery a few miles up the valley of the Nicola River from Spence's Bridge. See letter enclosed in envelope for PN 6687.

Ethnology Coll. 6690, Interior Salish, Shackan, Nicola Valley
Fred Auger 1964
(Very similar to ones above, but with picket-slat fence instead of lattice; star in centre of main motif, two bird figures below centre motif instead of circles.)
Indian cemetery...Shackan (?) (per John Veillette, Sept 29/78)

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[46]Ibid., 30.

Ethnology Coll. 6688, Shackan (?) Nicola Valley
Fred Auger, 1964,
(this one has star and bird motifs instead of circles, no latticework)
Indian cemetery a few miles up the valley, etc. (per John Veillette, Shackan Sept. 29/78)

White and Veillette, A-1: Skookum graveyard gate, Nicola (1st series), SN 2630 BC Provincial Museum
photo of gate at Shackan as originally built

White and Veillette, 73028: Shulus Indian Reserve, Lower Nicola, Shackan Indian Reserve (Second Series) Contact Sheets
#20: 1922,
#21-2, flower and leaf carving. Cut nails, upper side of roof. Skackan, old gate
(traces of yellow paint, enclosure #44)
Note dish (?) or disk? on either side and birds on post to right of gate. Said to be related to an Indian religious belief

White and Veillette, 73027: Shulus Indian Reserve (Second Series) Contact Sheets
Smaller cemetery, traces of red, white and green.
Larger cemetery enclosure has traces of red and yellow

White and Veillette, 73026: Nicola Cemetery, 1 July 1973 (Second Series) Contact Sheets
Crosses, stones, no gravehouses

Ethnology Coll. 6724, Interior Salish, Upper Thompson
Archives 15596, J. Teit, #15, Upper Thompson
(part of modern graveyard showing carved bird on fence)
(identified as Teit photo by Marnee Davis from Teit's handwriting on reverse of original print in file envelope (Aug. 81))

- **Lillooet**
  - **Lower Lillooet**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850; Lillooet River band: Several villages along Lillooet River between Harrison and Lower Lillooet Lakes; Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Douglas Tribe: Douglas Band, Skookumchuck Band, Samahquam Band; Present Band Name: Douglas, Skookumchuck, Samahquam)[47]

White and Veillette, A-7: Gate of cemetery near Skookumchuck.(1st series), 74045
Date, 1901; Set in concrete and painted gray in 1961

White and Veillette, C-1: Skookumchuk (1st series), 74050
Two wooden monuments. On left: "Andrew", 1.36m x 36 cm. On right: "Paulina", 1.37 m x 35 cm. No dates on either

White and Veillette, C-17: Skookumchuk (1st series), 74049
Gothic style wooden monument. Traces of white paint. No date. "Henrietta". Cut wire and nails, 1.26 m x 32 cm.

White and Veillette, C-21: Skookumchuk (1st series), 74050
Wooden monument. Traces of blue and white paint. Some applied decoration is of sort commercially available for furniture making. Wire nails. "Elizabeth Michael". No date

White and Veillette, C-22: Group of two monuments (Skookumchuk?)(1st series), 74050 ?
Traces of white paint. "Cecilea" and "Crpeelian?". Each is 95 x 26 cm. Wire nails

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[47]Ibid.

- **Lillooet**
  - **Upper Lillooet**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850; Lake band: Several villages on Anderson and Seton Lakes; Fraser River band: Several villages along Fraser River; Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Anderson Lake Tribe or Band, Seton Lake Tribe or Band, Bridge River Tribe or Band, Fountain Tribe or Band, Cayoosh Creek Tribe or Band, Lillooet Tribe or Band; Present Band Name: Anderson Lake, Seton Lake, Bridge River, Fountain, Cayuse Creek, Lillooet)[48]

White and Veillette, B-2: Anderson Lake (1st series), 73044
Wooden monument with traces of white, green, yellow paint. Made with wire nails, "Lucy" Oct. 20, 1904

White and Veillette, B-12: Wooden monument made with cut nails (Anderson Lake?) (1st series), 73036
Traces of white paint; Date illegible; "Jimmyu sone of Ekueken"

White and Veillette, 73044: Seton Portage, Anderson Lake; 23 July 1973 (Second Series) Contact Sheets
1909 or 1902
#4, crosses in pile, shot of pile - "This 'rubbish' is heaped for burning"
Several: traces of white, green, and yellow

White and Veillette, 73043: Seton Portage (Second Series) Contact Sheets
#30-32: "in memorie of Cleamash Johny Died Feb 5 1914" traces of white and green; Sketch with church-type house

BC Archives, 83245, E-4581, PN 6671, Lillooet, Graveyard
from negative lent by Mrs. Nancy Skene, Victoria, B.C.
(Large gable house with cross in front; various effigies and pans, fences, etc.)

White and Veillette, 73037: Lillooet Indian Cemetery (Second Series) Contact Sheets
Wood monuments and crosses, 1870's-1900's. Traces of white and green; traces of white and blue; white, green & yellow; red and white; yellow and white

White and Veillette, 73036: St. Augustines, Nyshikup, Lillooet Cemetery, 5 July 1973 (Second Series) Contact Sheets
Wood, traces of with and yellow, 1891;
traces of red and white, cut and wire nails, 1912
1887, traces of green paint;
1883, cut nails, traces of white and lime green paint
#13-15; obelisk and cut nails, traces of white paint

Pub. Archives of Canada, PA 12011, Interior Salish, Skuzzy River
(same grave as above but from just in front of cross and gable shed.)
Note on photo: 802 Indian Cemetery, near Skuzzy River, 5 miles below North Bend

Ethnology Coll. PN 6671, Lillouet, North Bend
from Neg. lent by Mrs. Nancy Skene, Victoria
(same view as 83245 above)
*"Native Indian cemetery near North Bend, taken in the late 1860's" (**BC Cemeteries** book) also 83245, E-4581, Lillouet*

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[48]Ibid.

- **Shuswap**
  - **Fraser River Shuswap**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850; Soda Creek band, Williams Lake band (Sugar Cane), Clinton band; Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Soda Creek Tribe or Band, Williams Lake Tribe or Band, Clinton Tribe or Band; Present Band Name: Soda Creek, Williams Lake, Clinton)[49]

White and Veillette, A-16: Sugar Cane (1st series), 73046
Cemetery gate at Sugar Cane. Removed in 1942. Photo from south Caribou Historical Society, Clinton

White and Veillette, Williams Lake, St. Joseph Mission (Second Series) Contact Sheets
Marble Monuments, 1880's; Old Quesnel

White and Veillette, 73021: Clinton (Second Series) Contact Sheets

  - **Bonaparte Shuswap**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850; Bonaparte River Band; Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Bonaparte Tribe; Present Band Name: Bonaparte)[50]

Ethnology Coll. 16588, Interior Salish, Bonaparte
John Veillette, Fall, 1974
(detail of sun motif on cemetery gate)

White and Veillette, 73023, June 30, 1973. Bonaparte (St. Louis) (Second Series) Contact Sheets

White and Veillette, 72038: Bonaparte cemetery gate (Second Series) Contact Sheets
Cut and wire nails, traces of light blue and black paint. Radius of sunburst is 18", panel is 30" wide, 53" high. 15" for top piece. Total width is 305", height, 84 + 15 not including cross

White and Veillette, 72037: details of gate (Second Series) Contact Sheets (Bonaparte)

15 slides of general views and details of cemetery gate
Janice Currier
June 1992, August 1996, August 1998

3 prints of cemetery gate and details
August 1996

  - **Kamloops Shuswap**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850; Kamloops band; Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Kamloops Tribe; Present Band Name: Kamloops)[51]

White and Veillette, E-5: Kamloops (1st series), 73030
White marble; granite base; unsigned. 36 x 52. "In loving memory of Irene Winnifred Isabel Beckwith born Sept 27, 1904 Aged 8 years 2 month 17 days" (bird and tree)

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[49]Ibid.
[50]Ibid., 31.
[51]Ibid.

- **Coast Salish:**
  - **Comox**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850; Several tribes which before 1850 lived in Quadra Island area; remnants driven south to Comox by Euclataw; Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Comox Tribe; Present Band Name: Comox)[52]

AMNH 43024, Comox
H. I. Smith, 1898 (from reverse side of print) Lantern slide #105, #1165a
(Gable and triangular gravehouses, some with windows.)
"Comox graveyard, high poles with single figures" From Newcombe 2nd catalogue, Harlan I Smith slides.

AMNH 43023, Comox
(Graveyard with several poles and fences; about five small gable houses of planks or shaped logs.)

Ethnology Coll. 6527, Comox
Archives, 15953 L M21, Maynard ?, E. C. Brooks, see below, 1873?, 1879?, 1896?
(Graveyard, several triangular wood tents, one gable house, poles.)
See below: Comox burial ground. Both Newcombe catalogues credit Maynard as having taken this photo: Catalogue #2-M-21 "Comox-graveposts (4) Thunderbirds" etc.", Catalogue #1-X-8, "Comox poles and shacks, Salish, Maynard". The E. C. Brooks and the date 1896 was obtained from the back of picture in brown file envelope however the back of another print also makes mention of "Fleming Bros." while the reverse of the over-size credits G. H. Larrigan as taking the original glass slide. This photo seems likely to be Maynard not only because of the catalogue information but because PN8800 is also a Maynard photo taken in Comox. The Maynard diaries show he was at Comox in both 1873 and 1879. J.C.

Ethnology Coll. 344, Comox
Newcombe Coll. E 290-IV/31, 1903
(Triangular cover of wooden planks forming steep gable roof.)
Comox graves.

Ethnology Coll. 8794, Comox
Archives 42628
(several houses in view: two are triangular covers with planks forming steep gable roofs, third appears to be small gable-roofed gravehouse.)
Indian totems at Comox

Ethnology Coll. 6037, Comox
Prob. 1903
(Photo has three gravehouses; one is triangular wood tent (planks forming steep gable roof), two gable roofed grave houses.)
Totem poles at Comox, for sketch of grave fig. see PN 13165; this sketch was made in 1888.

Ethnology Coll. 8888b, Comox
Archives, 16429, Jones Collection, Esquimalt,
(shows at least two of the triangular wood tents with vertical planks for roofing)
Totem poles, Comox

Ethnology Coll. 13165, Comox
C. Guernsey Collection, copy negative made in 1962; sketch made on April 19, 1888
Indian Graves, Comox, V.I. Drawing of two totem figures and part of gable house with shingle roofing; "scene at Comox in the spring of 1888, from a sketch book of H. A. Bulwer, now owned by his nephew by marriage, C. Guernsey, 929 Byng St. EV5-5496." from the 8 x 10 file envelope; sketch shows Indian graves at Comox. Note: the grave on the viewer's left appears in PN 6037, on right appears in PN 8800; for colour slide see, ESN 14288.

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[52]Ibid., 25.

Ethnology Coll. 11915, Comox
Archives 15798 or 15950, unidentified 183; Lantern slide #114; (Jones photo) (from neg. in file envelope)
(shows one of the figures as above (left); also four wood grave tents with the vertical roof planks.)
Old totems, Comox, B.C. - Graveyard at Comox, note that the #183 was on the negative, in the lower left-hand corner, I think this is an early copy negative, could be wrong, but I don't think that it is an original. There is a lantern slide of this #114 but I don't know which catalogue collection this refers to. D.D. May 22/75.

Ethnology Coll. 8800, Comox
Archives 8800, cat. 15827, R. Maynard. 1873? or 1879?
(several gable gravehouses and several wooden tents, one with shingles and rest with planks for roof)
Graveyard. Maynard diaries show Maynard was in Comox in both 1873 and 1879. For face-on sketch of grave figure of pole with man on top, see PN 3165, sketch was made in 1888.

Ethnology Coll. 17466, Coast Salish, Comox
(shows two poles and a variety of gravehouses; most on left are triangular wooden tents with vertical slats, centre has gable house with two multi-paned windows. One behind has shingle roof, as does gable house with windows in right background; right foreground has plank or squared-log walls with vertical plank gable roof.)
See PN6527, carved figure on pole can be seen in left foreground, D> 1988, see also PN 4454

- **Sechelt**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850; Sechelt; Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Seshelt Tribe or Band; Present Band Name: Sechelt)[53]

Ethnology Coll. 554, Sechelt
Newcombe Coll. E275 - V/46, 1904, Sat. May 7th
(Village front with what might be small pavilion type gravehouse in front. Not certain.)
Sechelt village, "Photo of Indians and of village" from an entry in 1904 diary dated May 7.

- **Halkomelem/Chemainus**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850; Chemainus (Kulleet Bay); Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Chemainus Tribe: Chemainus Band; Present Band Name: Chemainus)[54]

Ethnology Coll. 5958, Coast Salish, Chemainus River
Mrs Cryer, photographer, 1937
(Hipped roof house of squared logs or planks, shingles on roof; large 6-paned window in wall.)
Gravehouse on Grave Island at mouth of Chemainus River.

- **Stalo (along Fraser River from mouth to 5 miles above Yale)**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850; Musqueam; Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Musqueam Tribe or Band; Present Band Name: Musqueam)[55]

Ethnology Coll. 938, Musqueam
Newcombe Coll. E737 - XVII/736, XI/1928
(box with decorated board at top)
Musqueam grave, ?Sisiutl & 2 Salmon. See NMC series neg #72783-72786, relocated grave.

Ethnology Coll. 491, Musqueam
Newcombe Coll. E737 - XVII/73a, 1928
(same as above)

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[53]Ibid.
[54]Ibid., 26.
[55]Ibid., 27.

Sisutl and 2 salmon

Ethnology Coll. In P 62 a, Musqueam
(Large house with two 6-paned windows in side wall through which fabric can be seen; shingled gable roof partially covered over by vertical planks.)
Musqueam grave, Alex Peter standing by grave.

Ethnology Coll. In P62 a, Coast Salish, Musqueam
(View of house above, shows two six-paned windows, shingles on roof, partially covered by vertical planks.)

Ethnology Coll. In P 62 c, Musqueam
(same house as above from end, shows same but can see planks or squared logs making up walls.)

Ethnology Coll. 8476, Salish, Musqueam
H.I. Smith, photog. July 10, 1928. See PN 936, 937, 8945, 8477
(Box with four mink-like animals; on sledge-like form with animal features.)
Tomb, the four animals on the cover are all carved from one piece. Contains two bodies. The upper at least wrapped in a Hudson Bay blanket. The box was tied together, not nailed or pegged. Grave boxes fallen apart at the left. Photo was taken from the south. 6-1/2 by 8 1/2. Note: position of the skull.

Ethnology Coll. 8945, Salish, Musqueam
Harlan I. Smith, 1928
(Same box from angle)
Tomb, Musqueam near Vancouver....grave boxes fallen apart at the legs.

Ethnology Coll. 936, Coast Salish, Musqueam
Newcombe Coll. E 736-XVII/729 XI/1928
(Same box with skull on the lower sledge "animal")
See PN's 8476, 8945, 937, 8477. Musqueam grave. 4 ?mink on box on carved base. See 428-433, 666-668, 724 See inside resp. env. file room for more info. concerning box. Note position of the skull.

Ethnology Coll. 937, Musqueam
Newcombe Coll. E 736 - XVII/726, XI 1928
(same grave as above)
See notes on 936.

Vancouver Centennial Museum, 522, Musqueam
(same box as above, but without lower sledge showing.)
*See Barbeau **N.M.C. Bulletin** 119, vol. 2, p. 754*

Ethnology Cll. In P 62 c, Coast Salish, Musqueam
(Side of gable house with windows)
1942, Ancient grave, Musqueam Reserve. "Made of ancient cedar shakes patched and repaired by boards and the window are modern. Since generations are buried in this grave. The bodies are on top of the ground, not buried - 1942"

- **Stalo (Many villages, not clearly grouped into tribes)**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850; Many groups; Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Hope Tribe or band, Yale Tribe: Union Bar Band (Others); Present Band Name: Hope, Yale, Union Bar [Others)][56]

BC Archives, 57605, C-9276, Salish, Fraser River
Dally photo. Near Yale, Dally Album 5:24
(Two gravehouses, both with gable roofs, one with carvings on side, other with door. Poles around both; same view as one with text about drowning)

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[56]Ibid., 28.

"Indian chief's mausoleum at Yale." "A great fisherman who was drowned trying to land an enormous salmon."

Ethnology Coll. 14713, (listed as Coast Salish), Yale
William Notman and Son, photo, copyright, postcard
(several long low gable roofs with planks or large shingles; no. 600124 on lower right of card; shows mountains)
Indian Burying Ground near Yale, B.C., Canadian Rockies

Ethnology Collection 75003, (listed as Coast Salish), Yale
copied from A. Onderbark (?) on correct spelling; album (three or four)
(long low triangular grave houses with planks on roof, possibly coverered by shingles. Fence around cemetery which also has crosses.)
Indian cemetery at Yale

Ethnology Coll. 1411, Opposite, Salish, Opposite New Westminster
Archives 57603, Newcombe Coll. XXI/45 E938, copy of slide XXI/45, 1867-70
(Grave shed with effigy in front (oval image))
"Indian chief's tomb and effigy, Fraser River, opposite New Westminster"; Dally Album #5, p. 20. for further info. see facing photograph. (Beneath photo:) *Indian Chief's tomb and effigy, Fraser River, opposite New Westminster. His wife dying of hunger and starvation at the back of the shed.*

Ethnology Coll. 6019, Departure Bay
R. Maynard, photographer, Archives 34402
(Stereo view of structure that appears to be hut-like, but not certain.)
Grave at Departure Bay or New Westminster

- **Straits Salish/Saanich**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850; Tsartlip; Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Saanich Tribe; Present Band Name: Tsartlip (Brentwood Bay), Pauquachin (Cole Bay), Tseycum (Patricia Bay), Tsawout [East Saanich)][57]

Ethnology Coll. 11776, Tsartlip
Trio Crocker, glass plate,
(house with carved figure in front, animals on side)
Grave

Ethnology Coll. 8464, Tsartlip, W. Saanich Reserve, Brentwood
H. I. Smith, photo, 1929
(same as Crocker - shows animal figures on board, back side without figure)
Two graves. Sent to Ottawa in 1929. See photos PN 9805, 1153, Coast Salish, Brentwood.

Ethnology Coll. 1153-A, Tsartlip, Brentwood Bay
Newcombe Coll. E 778 - XVIII/8 (1929 (VI/29)
(as above, with both boards with animals and figure)
Tchatlips - Brentwood - graves. Thomas Paul owner of mink boards. References: see ***American Indian Sculpture*** *by P. D. Wingert, pl. sce - 1a, 1b, 2; see PN photos C. Salish - Brentwood 4565-7; 10,519, 8464; Boards with Animal figures at right in Museum at Ottawa, Salish Boards with quadrupeds; collected by Harlan I. Smith in 1929. Boards - Cedar, 5'6" x ca. 4'; faint traces of white and red paint. For further information see photo catalogue.*

Ethnology Coll. 11777, Tsartlip
Trio Crocker, glass plate, info. from box in which glass plate stored.
(same as other Crocker, but from side, wider angle)

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[57]Ibid.

Ethnology Coll. 6081B, Tchatlips
Newcombe, E. (Collection), E869b- XIX/33, 14/3/1931
(same as above, from side)
Brentwood, Tchatlips, Graves

Ethnology Coll. 6081E, Tchatlips, same as above, Newcombe, E. (collection), E869-F XIX/33, 14/03/31, Brentwood, Tchatlips, graves.

Ethnology Coll. 6081C, Tchatlips
Newcombe Coll E869-E, XIX/33, 14/03/31
(same as above)
Brentwood, Tchatlips, graves, north side

Ethnology Coll. 1153-B, Tsartlip, Brentwood
Newcombe coll. E/778, XVII/8, VI/29
(same as above, shown at back of house)
Tchatlips, graves, Thomas Paul (owner of mink boards)

M.A.I. 18/7911, Tsartlip, Brentwood Bay
American Indian Heye Foundation
(museum print of grave similar to above with figure, from front.)
West Saanich Reserve. Grave house, four feet eight in height, Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation, New York City #18/7911 - collected by G. G. Heye. Reference: see ***American Indian Sculpture*** *by P. S. Wingert, pl. 50 and p. 138. see also PN 1153 Coast Salish - Brentwood, Cedar, no traces of color remaining. From catalogue: Grave House of Two chiefs,* ***Sq-a-tichten*** *and* ***Nisjeem,*** *Buried about 1853. Carved Firgure in Front called* ***Moq-moquiten*** *& the mythical minks called* ***squa-mit-chen.*** *Obtained from Jimmy Jim, great grandson of Nisjeem.*

M.A.I. 18/7911, Tsartlip, Brentwood Bay
American Indian Heye Foundation, NYC, #18/7911
(museum print of grave box as above, but from side)
See photos PN 9805, 1153, Coast Salish, Brentwood. "Grave house, four feet eight in height, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation." PRFR.

MAI 18/7911, Tsartlip, Brentwood Bay
(museum print of grave box as above, from opposite side)

Ethnology Coll. 3751, Brentwood/Tsartlip
(Interior of box burial)
Burials in boxes at Brentwood. Negatives loaned by Richard Parsons, from old file envelope now in file envelope.

Ethnology Coll. 6535, Saanich ?
Newcombe Coll. E889-XX/18; Archives 16809
(appears to be grave with animals similar to that with the mink boards)
Note on the date: Newcombe received the print in 1931; however, the photo was probably taken in the late 19th century, perhaps as early as the 1860's or 1870's (see the carte de visite in the file envelope) per D.S. March 1981. "Salish grave, ? Saanich Peninsula, ex. old print in Archives, ex. Mackenzie Estate" from the reverse of a print in the file envelope. "?Saanich grave, ex. old print in Archives, ex. Mackenzie Estate papers" from the Newcombe catalogue.

Ethnology Coll. 6269, Saanich
Archives 16124, 1939
(Box with flat top and planks along side)
Indian burial boxes in Saanich.

Ethnology Coll. 6485, West Saanich Indian Reserve
T. W. S. Parson, photo, 1930-35,

(same as above)
From negative

Ethnology Coll. 6268, Saanich
Archives 16123, 1939, T.W.S. Parsons, photographer
(Boxes with lids off)
Indian burial boxes in Saanich.

Ethnology Coll. 14132, Cadboro Bay
(cairn burials)
Indian graves Cadboro Bay, from original print in brown photograph album

Ethnology Coll. 691, Cadboro Bay
Newcombe Collection, E 253-IX/11a, 1895 or 1896
(cairns)
Cadboro Bay - Cairns near (Prof. Ahnfeldt C. Lowenberg, J. Deans - F.N.) "A Cadboro Bay cairn, J. Deans (in Scotch cap)" from the reverse of an original print donated by Jean Low in Feb. 1979. The photograph was originally owned by Frederica de Laguna, Bryn Mawr, PA (see letter from Jean Low in 1979 correspondence). See reverse of Arch. Photo card DCrt 20, PN 691. One of the two prints found in Arch indicates "95 or 96", the other "1896". 1896 accords with the date on the Arch. print of PN 692 (A. P. Mackie 30.7.91)

Ethnology Coll. 692, Cadboro Bay
Prof. Ahnfeldt, C. Lowenberg, J. Deans
(cairnes)
*"A Cadboro Bay cairn, J. Deans on the right with a German scientific party, Prof Karl von der Steinen and wife and Carl Lowenberg (behind Deans)." See H.I. Smith - **Cairns of B.C.** page 56. From reverse of print donated by Jean Low, Feb. 1979 (see above for rest)*

- **Bella Coola:**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850; Bella Coola (several villages along Bella Coola River), kimsquit (several villages on Dean and kimsquit Rivers), Talio (several villages on South Bentinck Arm); Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Bella Coola Tribe, Kemsquit Tribe, Talio Joined Bella Coola); Present Band Name: Bella Coola, Kemsquit Tribe joined Bella Coola)[58]

BC Archives 95362, Bella Coola, G-965, Bella Coola
Fougner Collection of Lantern slides, 97904-1
(Eagle (? has curved beak) with burial box on head)
Indian burial box, Hudson's Bay Co. fort in background.

Ethnology Coll. 4583, Bella Coola, Kimsquit, Dean Channel
(Shows two houses, one of which has multiple paned windows in front and tub suspended in gable; dishes visible in windows. Gravestone in front of house.)
"Kimsquit Indian Dead Houses, Dean Channel."

Ethnology Coll. 4582, Bella Coola, Kimsquit, Dean Channel
(Large house with two double-paned windows and door; eagle in gable, gravestone in front.)
Indian Dead Houses, Dean Channel.

Ethnology Coll. 46094, Bella Coola
H. I. Smith
(no info., shows pole with painted wooden coppers topped with ball and bird. Set in front of picket fence which surrounds low gable house with window in front. Possibly triangular or just low walls. Several other gable houses in area but not sure if they are graves or houses as they are larger.)

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[58]Ibid., 24.

Ethnology Coll. 4588, Bella Coola
Raley collection, Iver Fougner, photo. Kopas file, 1895.
(eagle figure with box on head)
From Raley "Eagle with child's coffin now in some museum." From reverse of photograph, "A burial totem, bearing the coffin of a child; the buildings in the background are part of Hudson Bay Trading Post." according to Kopas, photo taken by I Fougner, 1895, "Mortuary totem, Bella Coola, buildings in background, Trader John Clayton." (Jan. 4/78), Grave of Indian wife of John Clayton - info per Felicity Walkus of Bella Colla, June 19/78, at Ethnology Division.

Ethnology Coll., Cliff Kopas #4, Bella Coola
Ivan Founer, photographer, 1895
(same figure, one plank off of side of grave box)
Mortuary totem, Bella Colla, Buildings at back Trader John Clayton (Per Cliff Kopas) Grave of Indian wife of John Clayton (per Felicity Walkins of Bella Colla, June 1978)

NMC 62129, Bella Coola
H. I. Smith, 1924
(where table and tea was in earlier photo, below. Shows tombstone)
Grave of Willie Mack. "In memory of Willie Mack, died July 8, 1923 Aged 48 Years. One of the Chiefs of the Bella Coola Tribe, [ ], honest and just with all who knew him. Also his daughter, Cecelia."

NMC 58547, Bella Coola?
H.I. Smith, 1923
(table with teapot, cloth and clock)
Grave of Willie Mack, "Two rifles with breech block removed and other articles near newly made grave of Willie Mack by his wife on day of funeral." PRFR

Ethnology Coll. 17553, Bella Coola
(pole with coppers, ball and bird on top, in front of gable graveshed with shingles, surrounded by picket fence.)
Attributed as Bella Coola by D. Savard 1988. Similar type of pole can be seen in PN 14620, No information with original print from which copy negative made. 11 Oct 1988. See AMNH 46094 for photograph of this pole - "Graveyard, Bella Coola, by H. I. Smith." Photo is printed in reverse, 11-89, P. M. Hobler.

White and Veillette, B-21: Bella Coola (1st series), 74029
Killer Whale carving. Traces of red and black paint. No indication of date, earliest dated monuments from 1940's. Carving is hollow

White and Veillette, B-23: Bella Coola (1st series), 74028 (or 74029?)
Carved and painted sea monster monument. Undated

White and Veillette, 74029: Bella Coola, 3-7 (Second Series) Contact Sheets
Several glass and wood grave houses, all fairly recent. Wire nails. Largest is 1.00 m x 1.70 m. Several had remains of floors inside. Two were on graves with stones dating from 1940's
#6-7 full of flowers. Stone dated 1968
Cemetery recently cleared. No very old monuments. Most 1940's or later. Few enclosures and all plain
Remains of a very rusty sewing machine near one of the glass houses (10-14)

White and Veillette, 15-77: Augsburg United Church (Lutheran Norwegian), Organized June 9, 1895 (Second Series) Contact Sheets
"half log" near Tweedsmuir Part at end of Bella Coola Valley. Contact sheet has cemetery with grave houses, shed-like and half open; A-type

White and Veillette, 74028: Bella Coola (23 -24 October) (Second Series) Contact Sheets
#12 is one of the few log gravehouses we have found. Very poor condition
other gravehouses with crosses. Near Bella Coola, Old United Methodist. Bella Coola on 24 Oct - Cemetery in village

Westcoast/Nootka:

- **Northern Nootka**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850; Chickliset, Kyuquot, Ehatisat, Nuchatlet, Muchalat, Moachat; Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Chekleset Tribe (at Acous), Kyuquot Tribe (at Village Island), Esperanza Tribe: Ehatisaht Band 9at Oke), Esperanza Tribe: Nuchatlitz Band (at Nuchatl), Nootka Tribe: Matchilacht Band (at Yuquot), Nootka Tribe (at Yuquot, Friendly Cove); Present Band Name: Checkleset joined Kyuquot, Kyuquot, Ehattesaht (at Queens Cove), Nuchatlaht, Nootka)[59]

Ethnology Coll. 5085c, Westcoast, Yuquot (Friendly Cove)
Phil Ward, Series runs a-g
(Small shingle covered gravehouse with planks on roof.)
Child's grave house (P.W. photo), Oct. 1968, written on rev. of original print.

Ethnology Coll. 4765, Nootka, Friendly Cove
John Smyly, 1968
(grave fence with cross and to left, small gable gravehouse with shingles on walls and planks for roof. Appears to be same as above)

Ethnology Coll. 4773, Nootka, Friendly Cove
John Smyly, 1968
(shows one small house with shingle siding; gable with planks for roof. Appears to be same as above)
Graveyard

Ethnology Coll. 15356, Nootka, Friendly Cove
Tom Hodgins Collection, see PN 15319, c. 1920-26
(shows gravehouse surrounded by decorative picket fence; roof appears to be of vertical slats with painting decorating the pattern and the ridge crest.)
Graveyard at Friendly Cove

C.R.D. 8208, Nootka, Friendly Cove
Helen Mitchell Coll., Earl Pollock, photog.
(two gable houses with crosses at one end, surrounded by picket fences. Have shingles on roof, but also with ridge pole)
"Earl Pollock, Cemetery at Friendly Cove, 1928. Notice boxes of oranges and apples were placed there for the dead to eat. Helen Mitchell Coll."

Ethnology Coll. 16626, Westcoast, Friendly Cove
Mrs. Pollack, 1923-1928, Photographs PN 16626-16634 from Mrs. Pollock album "Self Adhesive Magnetic Photo Album "Flowered cover."
(two gable gravehouses with cross at one end, shingles on roof with ridge crest. Orange crates (appears to be same as above))
Friendly Cove, 1923-1928, cemetery towards Jewitt Lake, per John Dewhirst, Jan 11/88

Ethnology Coll. 7227, Nootka, Friendly Cove
R. H. Flaherty, photo. 1905 c.
(shows triangular structure (it appears) with effigy figure on top of ridge crest.)
Graveyard, for another view of grave taken in 1914 when the Land Commission visited the West Coast see PN 12517

White and Veillette, 8208: Cemetery at Friendly Cove (Second Series)
Notice boxes of oranges and apples were placed there for the dead to eat (1928). Photograph by Earl Pollock. Helen Mitchell Collection. Campbell River District Museum, 1235 Island Highway, Campbell River, B.C. V9W 2C7

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[59]Ibid., 23.

White and Veillette, 8209: Friendly Cove, Roman Catholic Church (Second Series)
(shows graves with picket fences and crosses)
1828, Photograph by Earl Pollock. Later burned down and rebuilt

Ethnology Coll. 12517, Nootka, Nootka
(same as above- think it is a gable house with horizontal planks for roof and one for ridgecrest with figure on or behind the house)
Land Commission collection, Archives 16004, between 6 and 23 May 1914, "In memory of Native Sealers lost at Sea" from the McKenna Land Commission album lent to the Ethnology Division in the Fall of 1974 for photo copying, Permission from Mrs. Morgan is not required for use in publication; a print was found with Archives 16004 number written on neg and print. D. S. March 18/76.

AMNH 24476, Nootka, Nootka
(appears to be same as above, but from side.)
Grave monument near Nootka PRFR

Ethnology Coll. 15621, Nootka, Friendly Cove
Mrs. Aline Bell Collection, see PN 15618, Leila and Harry Brene, photographers, 1916-20
(shows several grave fences with crosses; gable gravehouse with horizontal planks on roof, man with pipe seated in front of it; to right is what is either a square grave shack with sloping roof, or graveboard; painted with design, and with transformation mask on top.)
Graveyard at Friendly Cove, see PNs 4884, 4955, 5122

Ethnology Coll. 7228, Nootka, Friendly Cove
Archives 15959, 16002, about 1905, R. H. Flaherty, photographer.
(square house with flat roof; window, openwork around top with one large St. Andrew's cross; canoe in front)
W.A.N. graveyard. see rev. of old print to be found in brown file env. Note deceased's canoe and spear, etc. behind grave.

Ethnology Coll. 18507, Nuu-chah-nulth, Yuqot
Olive Collington (photo and collec.) 1932
(shows large house with roof losing shingles; can't tell if this is a large grave house or whether it is a derelict house near the cemetery.)
"West Coast 1932 - The Indian graveyard at Friendly Cove" written in ink on rev. of original print.

Ethnology Coll. 4919, Nootka, Kyuquot
View from aktiis to Mission Island's Indian graveyard.

Ethnology Coll. 479, Nootka, Kuyquot
Indian burial ground, Kuyquot, archives

Ethnology Coll. 34094, Nootka? no location
(chest appears to be decorated)
Indian grave up in the tree in the chest. Mrs. H. Chapman in foreground - from original in brown file envelope.

Ethnology Coll. 4897, Nootka, Kyuquot
Alfred Greenway Coll. 1118
(burial boxes with flat tops on ground, gable roofed house in background.)
Indian burial ground, Kyuquot. From front of original photo copied from a postcard by J. Howard A. Chapman, Victoria, B.C. 1118

AMNH 24477, Nootka, Nootka
W. S. Taylor
(gable tent with what appears to be blankets over roof. Larger copy shows multipaned windows and what appears to be decorative use of planks at opening, blanket over entire structure.)
Grave near Quadra Monument, Nootka. PRFR.

Ethnology Coll. 7253, Nootka, Friendly Cove
R. H. Flaherty, c. 1905.
(same as above)
W. A. N. "Graveyard, Nootka"

AMNH 24478, Nootka, Nootka
Grave near Quadra Monument
W. S. Taylor
(grave, as above; side view. Blanket appears to make point above house, not certain about size or whether it is gable or not.)

Ethnology Coll. 15584, Westcoast
Hardy Collection, Mr. or Mrs. Hardy, c. 1936-40
(shows a triangular gravehouse or tent with shingle-roof to left in trees; two picket fences which enclose gable gravehouses.)
See: PN 15571 for information on photographer and date. "Part of the Indian cemetery. The upright sticks in the foreground mark graves, the fenced ones are of more important people. Notice the bedstead leaning against the one under the tree." from reverse of original print returned to Mr. and Mrs. Hardy.

Ethnology Coll. 15997, West Coast, Mission Island
Frank Chidley Jr. Collection
(Three picket fences, two of which enclose small gable houses with crosses at one end)
See PN 15990 for information. Graves on Mission Island, per K. Neary.

Ethnology Coll. 15998, Westcoast, Mission Island
Frank Chidley Jr. Coll.
(Two triangular graves with crosses in front; appears to be a third triangular gravehouse on left.)
See PN 15990 for info. Graves on Mission Is. per K. Neary.

- **Central Nootka**

(Tribes and Bands in 1850; Ahousat, Clayoquot, Ucluelet, Ohiat, (others); Name Given by Reserve Commission (1916): Clayoquot Tribe: Ahousat Band (at Marktosis), Clayoquot Tribe: Clayoquot Band (at Opitsat), Ucluelet Tribe, Ohiet Tribe, (others); Present Band Name: Ahousaht, Clayoquot, Ucluelet, Ohiet (at Bamfield and Sarita), [others])[60]

Ethnology Coll. 15595, Westcoast, Ahousat
Hardy Collection, Mr. or Mrs. Hardy photographer, c. 1936-40
(large triangular wooden tent covered with shingles on both roof and ends; has a pole sticking out of top of gable much like a *prichlina*, Sewing machine set in front of the house)
See PN 15571 for information on location, date and photographer, Grave (Mr. and Mrs Bill Hardy, series 15571-15617) 3881 Synod Road, Victoria, loaned for copying in 1982.

Ethnology Coll. 12491, Nootka, Clayoquot
Land Commission Coll. Between 6-23 May 1914
(boxes on ground and in tree) (see also Kwakiutl, Alert Bay CRM 287 for same view)
"Grave in tree; curious graves at Clayoquot" from the McKenna Land Commission album lent to the Ethnology Division in fall 1974 for photocopying.

BC Archives, H-07165, Alberni-Clayoquot
May 14, 1914
(same view as above and under Kwakiutl, Alert Bay CRM 287)

Ethnology Coll. 4756, Nootka, Clayoquot
Maynard photog. M 67.

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[60]Ibid., 23-24.

Grave at Clayoquot, modern sewing machine, etc. ?Father Moser (from Newcombe cat #2) (Could be Dead Man's Islets" per Al Mackie, Arch, Div. 4 June 1985.)

Ethnology Coll. 4898, Nootka, Clayoquot Sound
postcard 1910
(shows what appear to be several gable gravehouses and possibly one with steep tent roof, several crosses.)
Indian graves, Deadman's Island, Clayoquot Sound, "Dead Man's Islets," per Al Mackie, Arch. Division, June 4, 1985

Ethnology Coll. 15000, Westcoast, Dead Man Islets
(from water)
Nanaimo Museum, Dead Man's Islets, (From ledger) Indian burial ground? photo originally mounted in a ledger, donated by Naniamo Museum, July 1980, for further info. see PN 14997.

Ethnology Coll. 128, Nootka, Clayoquot
Newcombe Coll,. E 247 - I/11 L VIII/1892
(one or two long low roofed structures with multi-paned windows, boards and flags)
Clayoquot, Burial ground, taken by Bowker, "May be "Dead Man's Islets" per Al Mackie, Arch Div. June 4, 1985

Ethnology Coll. 493, Nootka, Ohiet-Sarita (Bamfield
Newcombe Coll. E 453-VII/42 L. V/1911
(painted board of gravehouse or board against grave)
Sarita - painted board - thunderbird and whale, etc. (at Provincial Museum). (This painted board is now in basement storage)

Ethnology Coll. 4899, Nootka, Ucluelet
F. E. Leach, photographer
Tree burial at Ucluelet, note button blanket: from the reverse of print in file envelope.

Ethnology Coll. 16992, Westcoast, Ucluelet
Alfred Greenway Coll.
(box in tree)
Ucluelet B.C. Indian burial; from rev. of original photo, postcard, see photo cat PN 16991

Ethnology Coll. 4940, Nootka, Ucluelet
Dr. McLean
(box in tree)
Tree burial

- **Washington:**

Ethnology Coll. 946, Columbia River, Memaloose Is.
Newcombe Coll. E770-XVII/22 VI 1891 or 1892
(shows large shed with poles holding up walls, skulls on top and inside)
Memaloose Is. - Columbia River - Skulls, C.F.N.

- **Unidentified:**

JUN PCA 4-65, Tlingit?: Na-Ka-ha-(cemetery)
Aug. 20 1898 (PRFR)
(five houses on hillside, most appear to by pyramidal roofs surmounted by crosses, but one on left may be gable. Appears to have other graves without houses on flat below hill.)

BC Archives 88769, E-8463, Aerial burial
(pole with box on top)
c. 1905, Indian child's grave coffin on top of pole, copied from Dept of Mines Album 1907

Ethnology Coll. 11982, grave cover?
Proctor collection
(steep gable roof of vertical planks on short log structure, almost triangular. Ridge at top but not decorated.)
Grave? (see PN 11952)

Ethnology Coll. 15023, Nanaimo Museum, abandoned shack? gravehouse?
(Shows ruins of log hut with one steeply sloping roof, board panels coming off top portion of shack, man beside hut.)
Photo originally mounted in a ledger, donated by Nanaimo Museum. July 80.

B.B.C. 516, tree burial; Thunderbird Park, Victoria
Collection piece #200 "on exhibit"

Ethnology Coll. 4823, Gravehouse
(Large gravehouse of planks, six-paned window through which items can be seen on window ledge.)
Photo original mounted in a ledger, donated by Nanaimo Museum, July 1980.

Ethnology Coll., PA 53270, no info. Indian graves.
(small gable house of planks with flag at one end, fences nearby, overlooking water)
Info sheet PAC, PRFR.

Ethnology Coll. 17564, no info, gravehouses
(two gable graves, one as platform, crosses at end)

White and Veillette: Other:
Collapsed gravehouse, negative from Seaton Portage (1st series)
Bonaparte Gate: traces of blue and black paint (JV mentioned others noted Russian influence)
Photo of collapsing gravehouse in Hazelton
Kispiox: large gravehouse with lattice work; like size of one at Hazelton

White and Veillette, 74016 (Second Series) Contact Sheets:
Barkerville. Includes T. W. Norberg, Russia 1884 (1881), Gray paint
McLeod's Lake Reserve; Old Church torn down in 1970-71. Cemetery was of no interest
Parsnips River Reserve: No cemetery

White and Veillette, 73010: Skeechstu, Deadman Indian Reserve, 18 June 1973 (Second Series) Contact Sheets
gravehouse at Rivers Inlet, Wannuck River, Owikeno, Taken 1952 (UBC Anthropological Museum) (Second Series) Contact Sheets
#36, Indian Chief's grave at Chapman's Bar (BC Archives #57599) (Second Series)Contact Sheets
#41, Chief's grave at Yale, BC Archives #57605 (Second Series) Contact Sheets

White and Veillette, 73001, Oweekino Menaloose House (Second Series) Contact Sheets
#24, "Deceased placed here with food, belongings and other necessities of life: Miss C. Mackay, 1952, UBC Museum of Anthropology

White and Veillette, 73041: Blue Ridge River Indian Reserve, 23 July 1973 (Second Series) Contact Sheets
Wood crosses and monuments, 1880's, 1870's, 1909, traces of blue and white (5 times); traces of white (once)

White and Veillette, 73035: Fountain Indian Reserve, 15 July 1973 (Second Series) Contact Sheets
Cast iron cross, enclosure with cut nails; 1896 slab, traces of white paint

White and Veillette, Notebook: (Second Series)
Bonaparte and gate; Our Lady of Good Hope; Anderson Lake; Canoe Creek; Alkali Lake; Skookemnchuk; Carisbrook; St. Paul, Kiga; St. Paul, Alexandria; Pruchi Lake ?; Scoulize ?; Sugarcane; Nicola; St. Joseph, Kamloops ?

Dog Creek: simple concrete monument (Second Series)
Alkalai Lake: pole and wire fence around cemetery, Large cross in centre, no monuments of any kind (Second Series)

Ethnology Coll. 15209, Blood Indians
(scaffold burial in trees with platform built among the trees)
Macleod Alberta, Mrs. R. W. Young Collection, 1902, "Blood Indian Graves" for further info see PN 152-6

- **Dukhobor:**

BC Archives, 47534, #38, Monument of Peter Lukovitch Kalmakoff (1864) and Lukinin Wasilovna Kamikova (1886), Inms - Caucasia, Russia
See nos 294 and 354.

BC Archives, C-06151, Passmore, Dukhobor Cemetery
March 1961
(view of cemetery with several small gravehouses with offerings)

Grand Forks
David Chamberlin
PH2484, 1996.05.13, May 1996
(Gravehouse with food offerings)

White and Veillette, G-12: Castlegar (1st series), 74061
Small wooden gravehouse with a cross inscribed, "Harry T. Chernoff"

- **Siberia and Northern Russia:**

JUN PCA 243-2 (45), Yakutsk? Chapel or gravehouse?
M. V. Vinokouroff Collection
(This shows a small octagonal chapel or grave house - appears to have fence to right. Multi-paned windows in each face. Russian cross on pinnacle of roof)

JUN PCA 243-6 Folder 2, elevated grave, Yakutsk?
M. V. Vinokouroff
(unknown loc. Yakutsk?, Yakut? Elevated tree grave - log coffin supported by two uprights)

3 slides, Barguzin cemetery and details of gravehouses
Michael Tripp, Summer 1991

1 slide, Barguzin gravehouse
Jennifer Lort, Summer 1991

10 slides, gravehouse at Kugoti
J. Currier, Summer 1996

36 slides, cemetery at Ulan Ude
J. Currier, Summer 1996

36 slides, cemeteries at Novi Zagon, Kalinovka, and neighboring villages
J. Currier, Summer 1996

10 slides, gravehouses and roofed crosses at Taltsy
J. Currier, Summer 1996

5 prints, gravehouses at Taltsy
Milton English,, Summer 1996.

36 slides, Lazarus Cemetery, Alexander Nevsky cemetery, St. Petersburg
J. Currier, Summer 1997

36 prints, Tikhvin Cemetery, St. Petersburg
J. Currier, Summer 1997

5 slides, roofed crosses, Kizhi Pogost
J. Currier, Summer 1997

10 slides, roadside shrine, Kizhi Pogost
J. Currier, Summer 1997

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Fig. 1.2: Cemetery Cross and gravehouses, Eklutna, looking west.

Fig. 1.1: Chapels and gravehouses at Eklutna, Alaska, looking east.

Fig. 1.3: Ruined grave, Kenai Cemetery.

Fig. 1.4: Grave crosses, Kenai Cemetery.

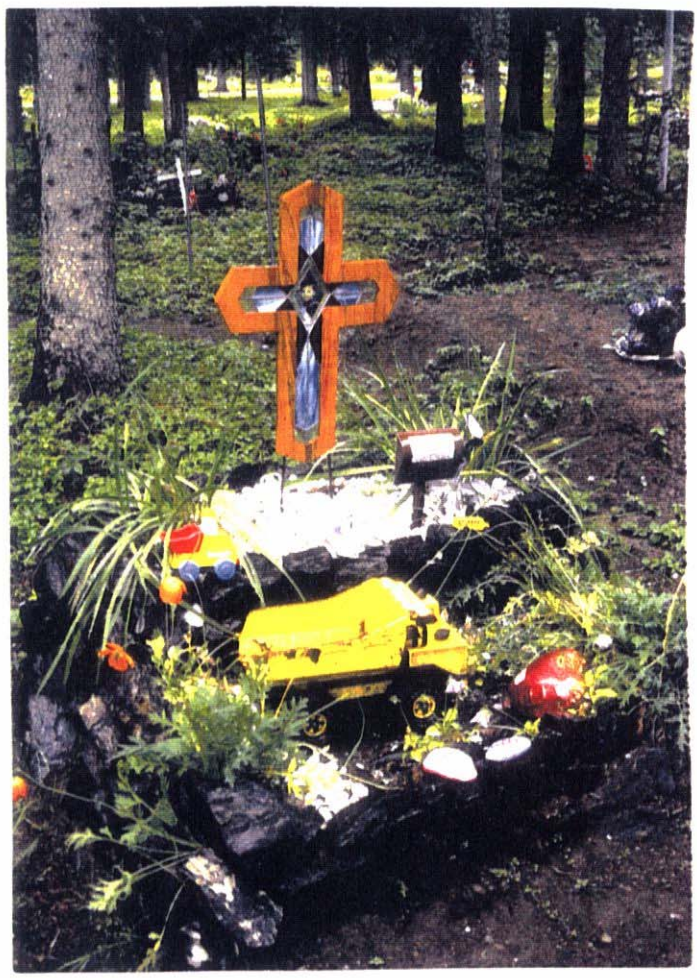


Fig. 1.5: Decorated grave, Kasilof Cemetery.

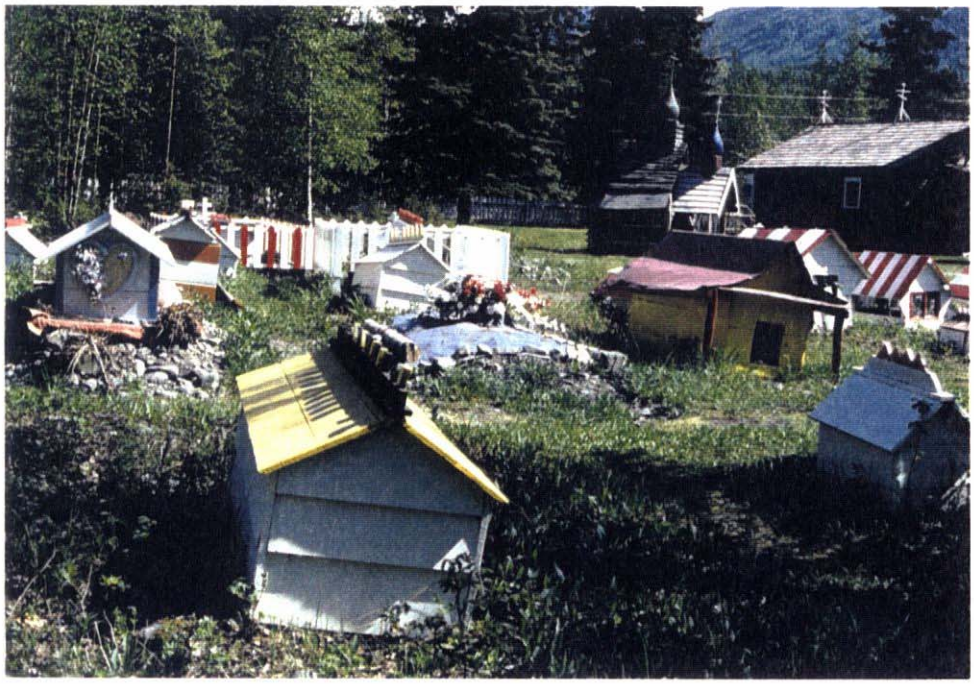


Fig. 1.6: New grave covered by blanket, Eklutna Cemetery.

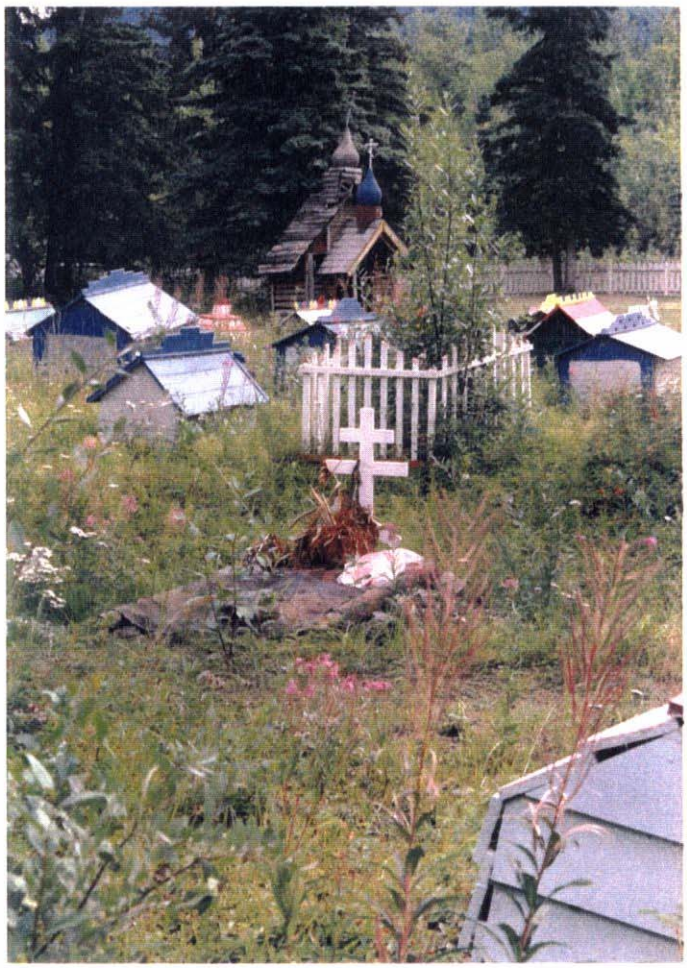


Fig. 1.7: New grave covered by blanket, Eklutna Cemetery.

Fig. 1.8: Brass or bronze cross affixed to grave cross, Cemetery in Kalinovka village, Buryatia, Siberia.

Fig. 1.9: Same grave as shown in Fig. 1.7, now having miniature church-type gravehouse erected over the burial.

Fig. 1.10: Gravehouses in Eklutna Cemetery, showing varying sizes of structures.

Fig. 1.11: Gravehouse at Eklutna with dish.

Fig. 1.12: Table at gravesite in cemetery at Ulan Ude, Buryatia, Siberia.

Fig. 1.13: Table and bench at gravesite in cemetery at Novi Zagon village, Buryatia, Siberia.

Fig. 1.14: Table with cloth, teapot, and cloth on new grave of Willie Mack in Bella Coola. Photo was taken in 1923 by Harlan I. Smith, who later photographed the grave again after a memorial stone was erected. Courtesy of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, MCC/CMC No. 58547.

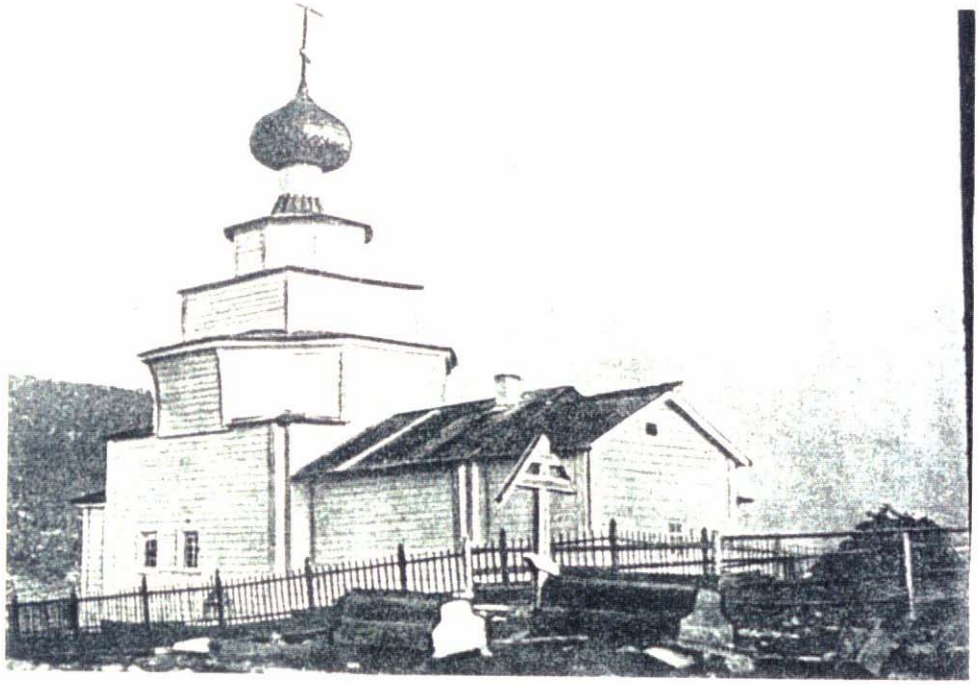


Fig. 1.15: Gravehouses with roofed crosses in cemetery of the Church of St. John the Forerunner (1786) in Kandalaksha village, Arkhangelsk' district on the Kola Peninsula. Photograph by B. A. Plotnikov, reproduced in Igor Grabar, *Istoriia Russkovo Iskusstva: Architektura*, Moskva: Izdanie I Knebel, 1909, 431.

Fig. 1.16: Tiered gravehouses of similar form to those shown in Fig. 1.15, in Eklutna cemetery.

Fig. 1.17: Gravehouses in cemetery of the Church of the Bogoyavleniya (1644), Egolmskaya Pustinya, Olonets district, near Kargopol. Photo by D. B. Mil'eva, reproduced in Grabar, 347.

Fig. 1.18: Carved wooden icon of Calvary Cross, dated 1593, from Kem region near Arkhangesk. Reproduced in *Carved Icon-Stands and Wooden Sculpture of the Russian North*, Catalogue of exhibition held in Moscow in 1995, Moscow: Novosti, 1995, 91 and 164.

Fig. 1.19: Three gravehouses with roofed crosses in cemetery at Taltsy, between Irkutsk and Lake Baikal in the Cisbaikal.

Fig. 1.20: Detail of far gravehouse shown in Fig. 1.19.

Fig. 1.21: Detail of central gravehouse shown in Fig. 1.19.

Fig. 1.22: Gravehouse in cemetery in Barguzin village, Buryatia, Siberia, 1991. Courtesy of Jennifer Lort of Victoria, B.C.

Fig. 1.23: Detail of gravehouse shown in Fig. 1.22 in Barguzin village, Buryatia, Siberia, 1991. Courtesy of Dr. Michael Tripp of Victoria, B.C.

Fig. 1.24: Ruined gravehouse in Kugoti village cemetery, Buryatia, Siberia. From the south.

Fig. 1.25: View of the same gravehouse shown in Fig. 1.24, from northwest.

Fig. 1.26: View of the same gravehouse shown in Figs. 1.24 and 1.25, from east.

Fig. 1.25: View of the same gravehouse shown in Fig. 1.24, from northwest.

Fig. 1.26: View of the same gravehouse shown in Figs. 1.24 and 1.25, from east.

Fig. 1.25: View of the same gravehouse shown in Fig. 1.24, from northwest.

Fig. 1.26: View of the same gravehouse shown in Figs. 1.24 and 1.25, from east.

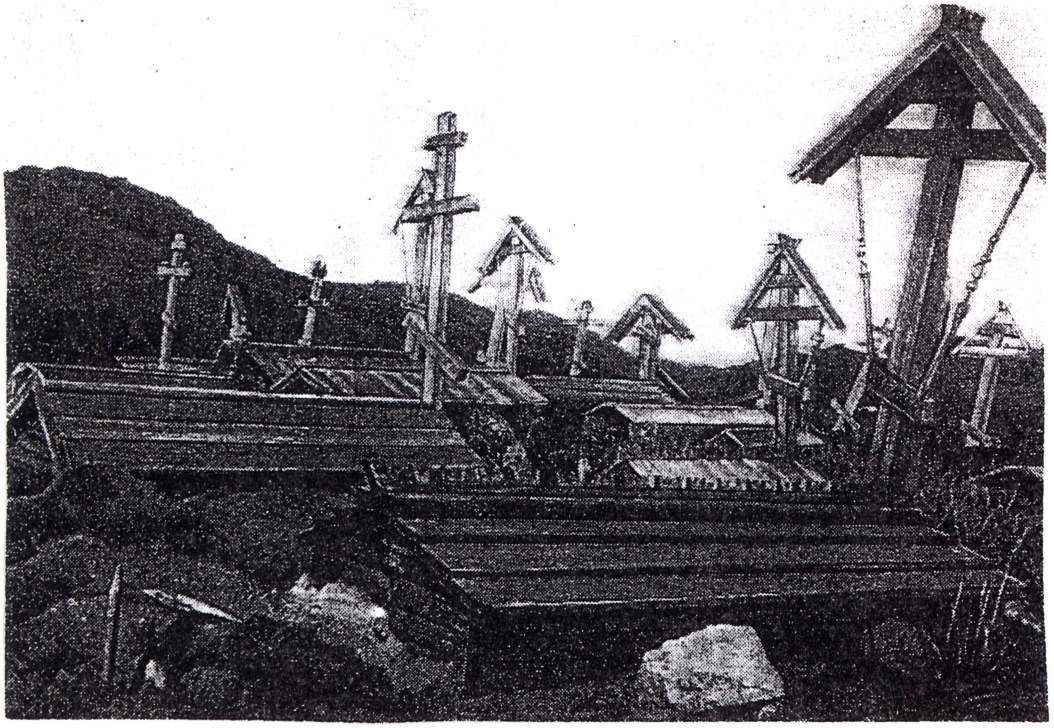


Fig. 1.31: Gravehouses with roofed crosses in Lapp cemetery, village of Iokanga, in Murmansk region. Photograph reproduced in S. P. Tolstova, *Narodi Mira - Etnograficheskie Ocherki: Narodi Evropeiskoyi Chasti SSSR, II.*

Fig. 1.32: Gravehouses with roofed posts in Old Believer cemetery in the Murmansk region. Photograph reproduced in A. Opolovnikov, *Russkii Sever*, Moskva: Stroiizdat. 1977.

Fig. 1.33: Gravehouses with roofed posts in Old Believer cemetery in the Murmansk region. Photograph reproduced in A. Opolovnikov, *Russkii Sever*, Moskva: Stroiizdat. 1977.

Fig. 2.1: Gravehouses with roofed crosses in a Yakut cemetery, Yakutia, Siberia. Photograph reproduced in Waldemar Jochelson, *The Yukaghir and the Yukaghirized Tungus*, (Vol. IX of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, edited by Franz Boas), Leiden and New York: E. J. Brill, Ltd., and G. E. Stechert, 1926, 229, Plate XV, fig. 2.

Fig. 2.2: Tlingit log-cache type gravehouse on Chilkat River, photographed by G. T. Emmons between 1883 and 1885. Photograph courtesy of the Photograph Collections, Province of British Columbia, Royal British Columbia Museum, PN 1566.

Fig. 2.3: Gravehouses and totem in cemetery at Hoonah, Alaska. Photograph courtesy of the Glenbow Archives, NA-860-16.

Fig. 2.4: Tahltan gravehouses above Stikine River at Telegraph Creek, British Columbia. Photograph taken by T. W. Carlyon. Courtesy of the Photographic Collections, Province of British Columbia, RBCM, PN 3345.

Fig. 2.5: Tlingit gravehouse in cemetery at Klukwan, Alaska, taken c. 1900 by H. G. Barley of Skagway. Courtesy of University of Alaska Fairbanks, Alaska Polar Region, Roger D. Pinneo Collection, 73-23-39.

Fig. 2.6: Koyukon gravehouses with crosses and poles at Andreaski, Alaska, on the Lower Yukon River. Photograph was taken near the turn of the century by B. B. Dobbs. Courtesy of Alaska State Library, Alaska Historical Collections, PCA 12-184.

Fig. 2.7: Ruins of Tsimshian double-tent gravehouse in old cemetery at Hazelton, B.C.

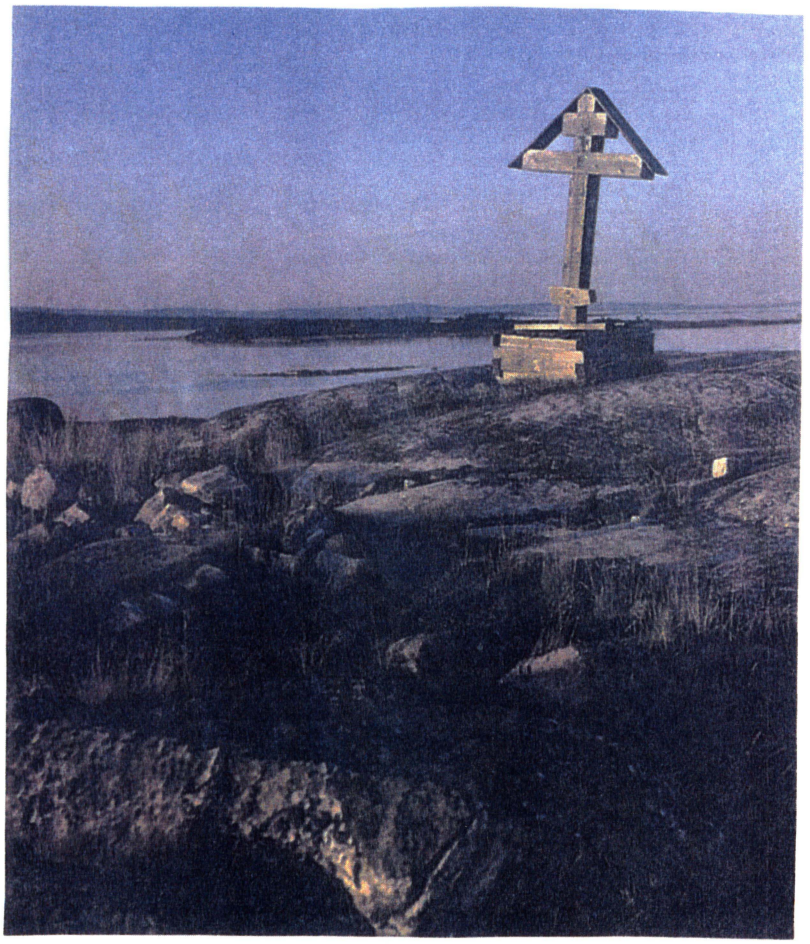


Fig. 2.8: Box-like memorial with roofed cross near Kovda village in Murmansk region. Photograph reproduced in A. V. Opolovnikov, *Cokrovishcha Russkogo Severa*, Moskva: Stroiizdat, 1989, 120.

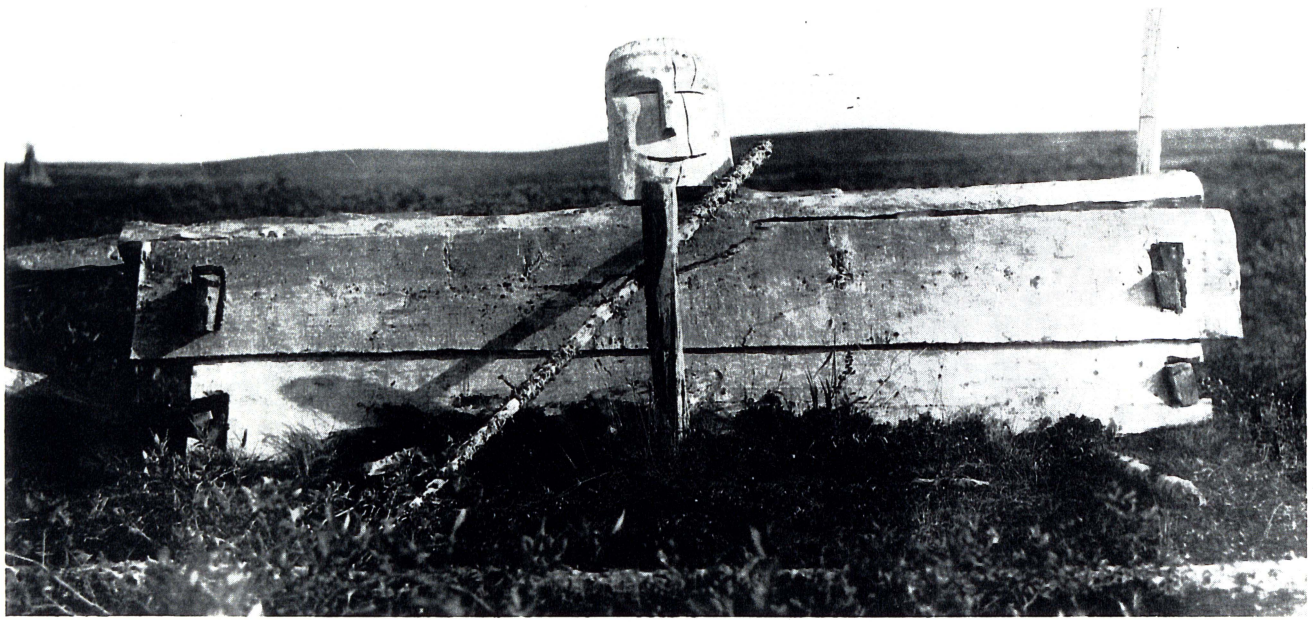


Fig. 2.9: "Eskimo Cemetery." Gravebox with effigy. Courtesy of University of Alaska Fairbanks, Alaska Polar Region, Barrett Willoughby Collection, 72-116-67.

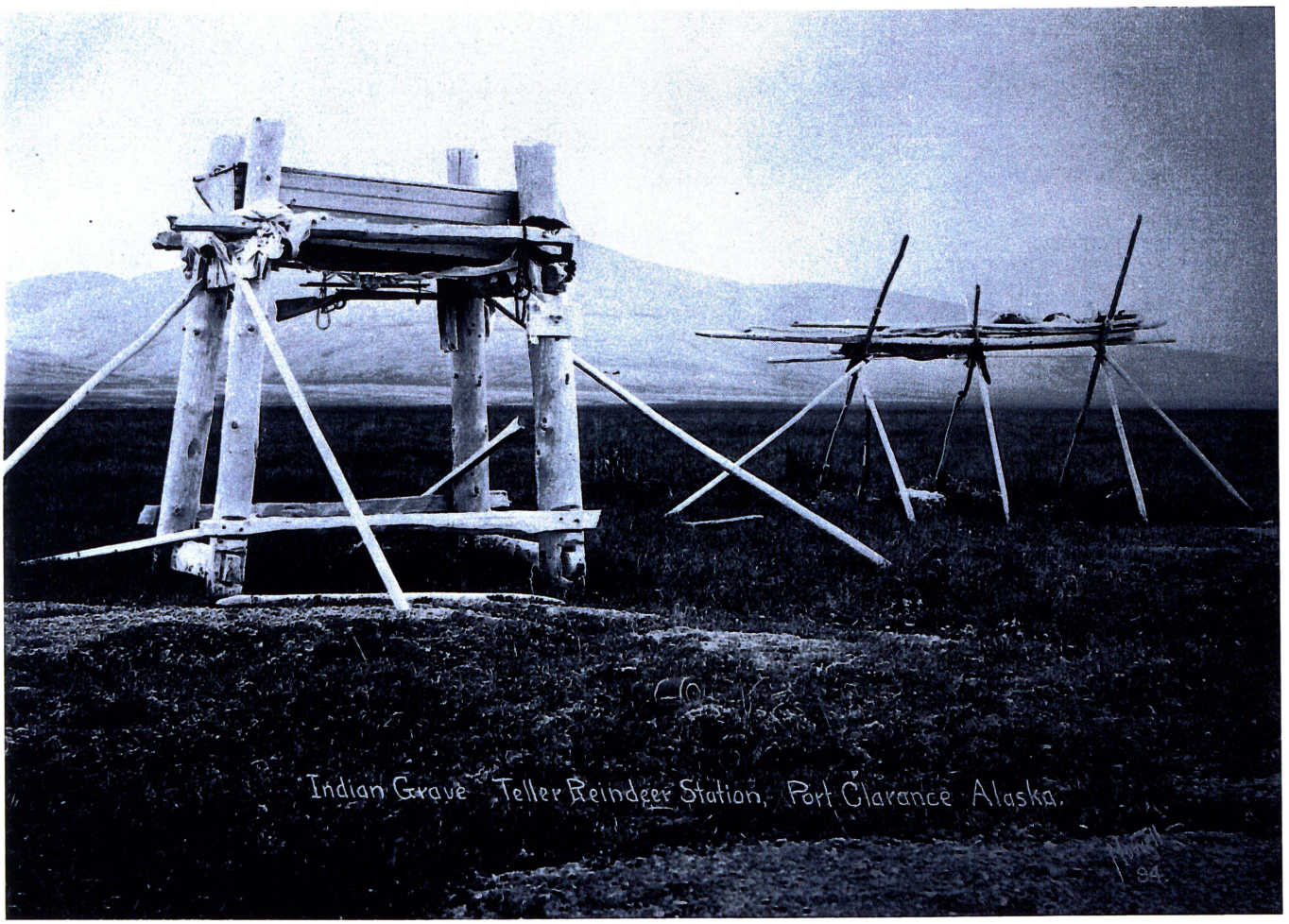


Fig. 2.10: "Indian graves, Teller Reindeer Station, Port Clarence, Alaska." Courtesy of Alaska State Library, Alaska Historical Collections, F. H. Nowell Collection, PCA 48-20.

Fig. 2.11: "Eskimo graves. Sledge Island." Courtesy of Alaska State Library, Alaska Historical Collections, B. B. Dobbs Collection, PCA 12-32.

Fig. 2.12: Kazeem box-burial with cross in Siberia. Photograph reproduced in Andrei V. Golovnev, "From One to Seven: Numerical Symbolism in Khanty Culture," *Arctic Anthropology*, 31, 1 (1994), fig.3.

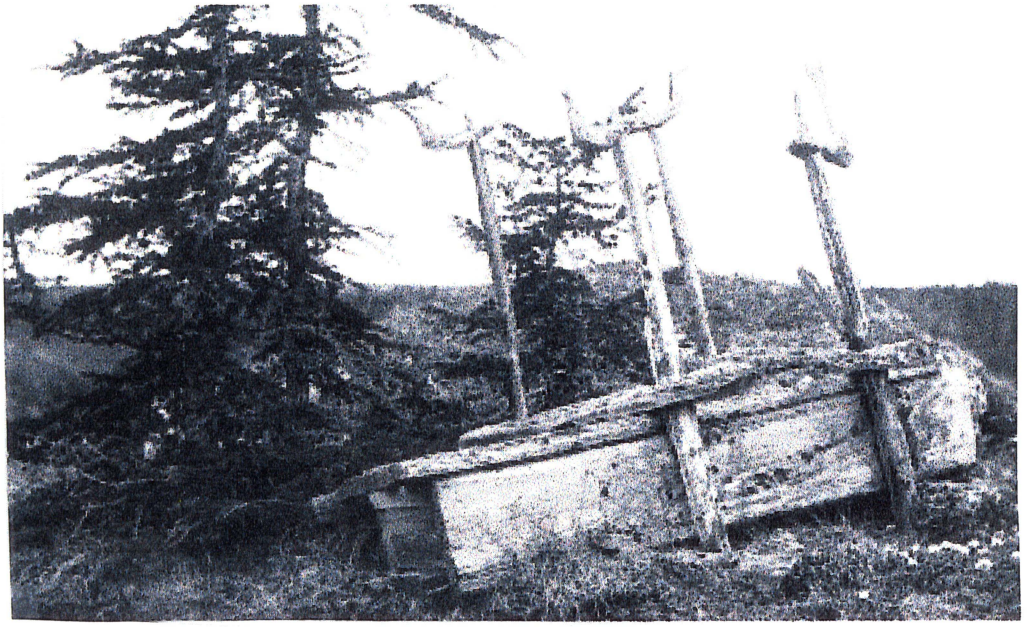


Fig. 2.13: Box-burial of Tungus (Evenk) shaman in Siberia. Photograph reproduced in Jochelson, 227.

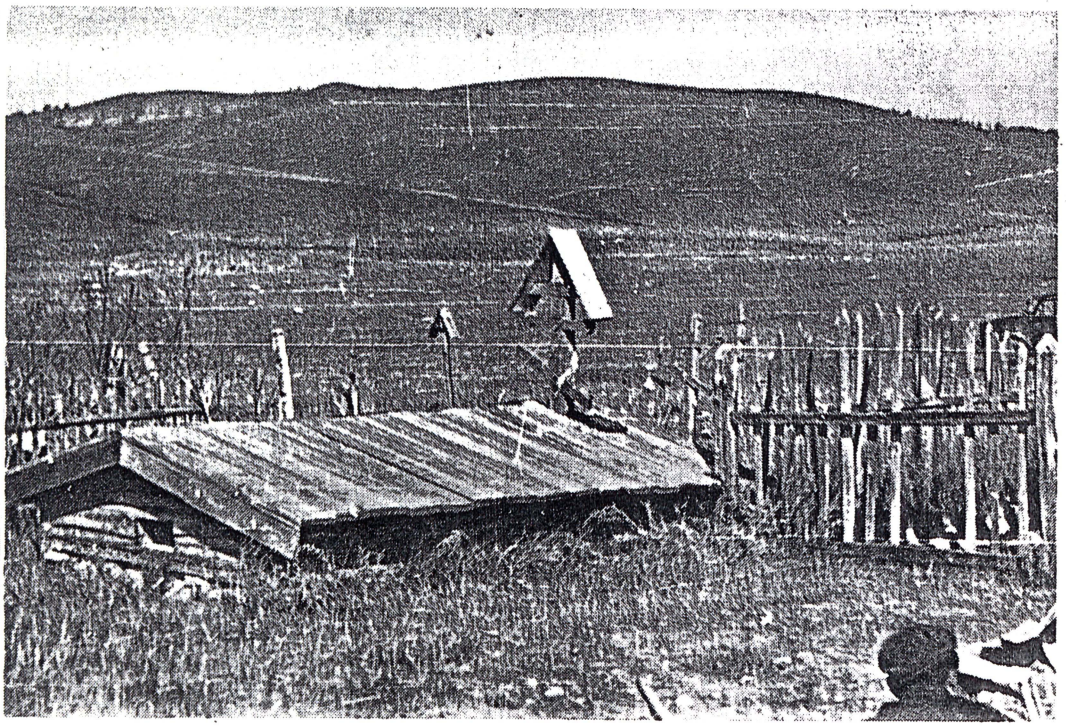


Fig. 2.14: Tuvan miniature house-type gravehouse in Siberia Reproduced in Vilmos Dioszegi, *Tracing Shamans in Siberia: the Story of an Ethnographical Research Expedition*, Oosterhout, The Netherlands: Anthropological Publications, 1968, fig. 11a.

Fig. 2.15: Miniature-house memorials on graves of Peter Lukovitch Kalmikoff (1864) and Lukinin Waliovna Kamikova (1886) in Inms, in the Caucasus. Photograph courtesy of British Columbia Archives and Records Service, Tarasoff Collection, 47534.

Fig. 2.16: Gravehouses in Dukhobor cemetery in Passmore, British Columbia. Photograph courtesy of British Columbia Archives and Records Service, C-06151.

Fig. 2.17: Gravehouse in Dukhobor cemetery in Grand Forks, B. C. Photograph courtesy of David Chamberlin, PH2484, 1996.05.13, 1996.

Fig. 2.18: Gravehouse in Nazko, B.C. cemetery taken by Gary White and John Veillette in Oct. 1974. Photograph courtesy of the Photographic Collections, Province of British Columbia, RBCM, PN 16582.

Fig. 2.19: Gravehouses in cemetery at Ulgatcho, B.C. Photograph courtesy of the Photographic Collections, Province of British Columbia, RBCM, PN 3299.

Fig. 2.20: Gravehouses, unknown location in B.C. Photograph courtesy of the Photographic Collections, Province of British Columbia, RBCM, PN 17564.

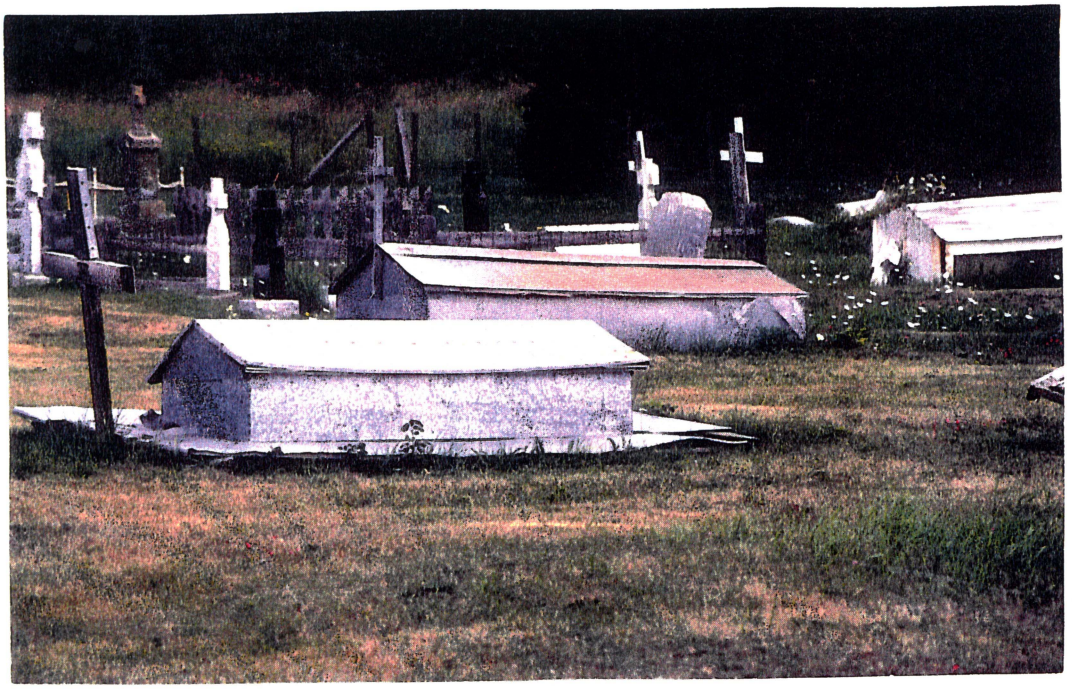


Fig. 2.21: Gravehouses at Stellaqo Lake cemetery, B.C.

Fig. 2.22: Old gravehouses, Stellaqo Lake cemetery.

Fig. 2.23: Gravehouse in cemetery of St. Peter's Church, Kitwanga, B.C.

Fig. 2.24: Elevated gravehouse of William Leason at Gitlakdamix, photographed in 1905 by G. T. Emmons. Photograph courtesy of the Photographic Collections, Province of British Columbia, RBCM, PN 4081.

Fig. 2.25: Gravehouse in cemetery at Little Salmon River. Photograph courtesy of David Barlow.

Fig. 2.26: Gravehouses above Whitehorse. Photograph courtesy of Martin Segger.

Fig. 2.27: Ruined gravehouses in cemetery at Canyon Creek, Yukon Territory.

Fig. 2.28: "Indian tombs, mouth of Inklin River." Courtesy of Alaska State Library, Alaska Historical Collections, PCA 4-58.

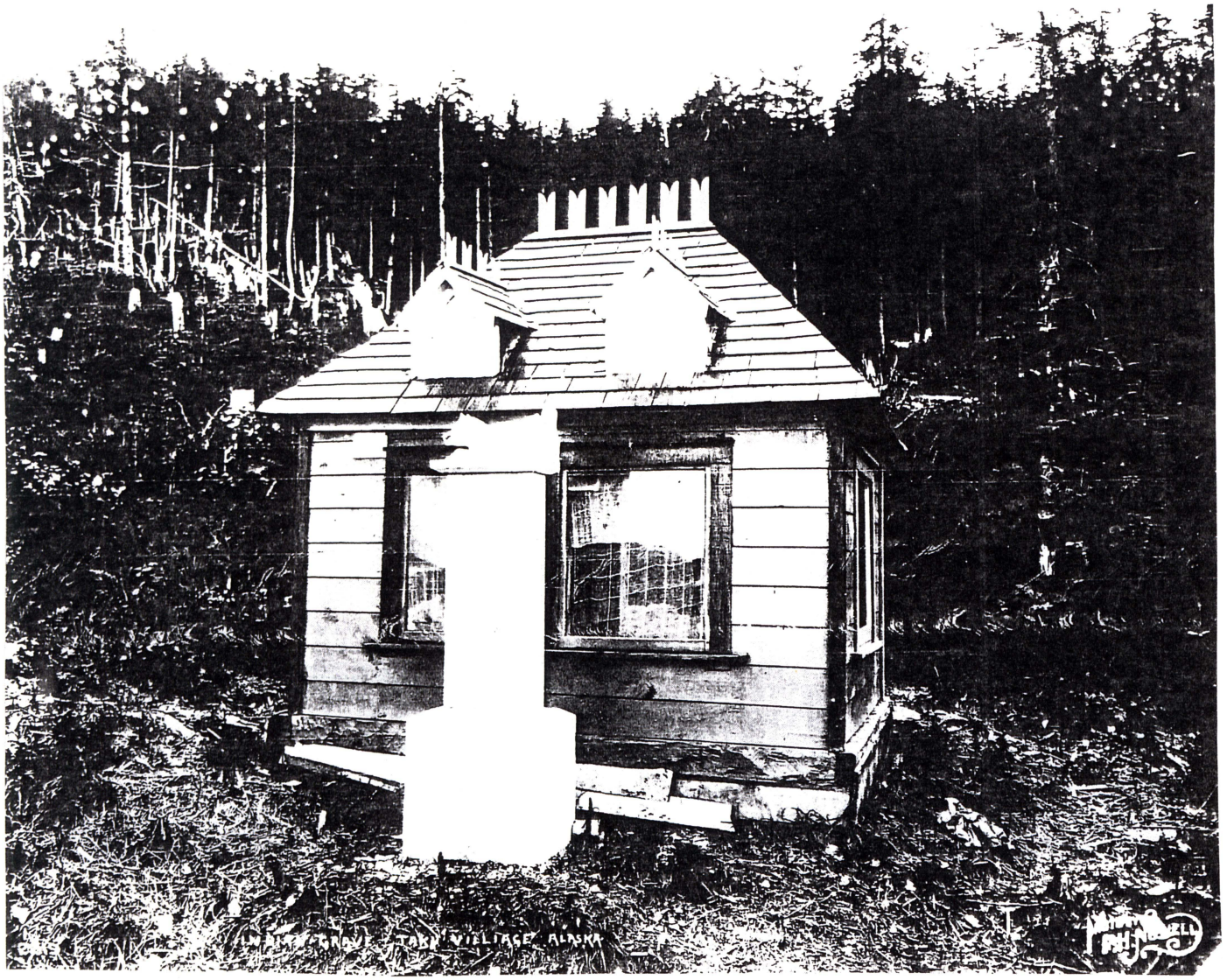


Fig. 2.29: "Indian grave, Taku Village, Alaska." Courtesy of Bancroft Library Collection, F. H. Nowell, c. 1898-1901.

Fig. 2.30: Gravehouses at Nulato. Courtesy of University of Alaska Fairbanks, Alaska Polar Region, Ben Mozee Collection, 79-26-29.

Fig. 2.31: Detail of gravehouse at Nulato showing window curtains and table within. Courtesy of University of Alaska Fairbanks, Alaska Polar Region, Ben Mozee Collection, 79-26-686.

Fig. 2.32: Nu-chan-luth gravehouse at Clayoquot, B.C., with cross and sewing machine. Photograph courtesy of the Photographic Collections, Province of British Columbia, RBCM, PN 4756.

Fig. 2.33: Tsimshian gravehouses at Hazelton, B.C. Courtesy of B.C. Archives and Records Service, D-03267.

Fig. 2.34: Tsimshian gravehouse at Kitwancool in photograph taken by John Smyly in 1967. Photograph courtesy of the Photographic Collections, Province of British Columbia, RBCM, PN 4201.

Fig. 2.35: Ruins of Tsimshian gravehouse at Kitwancool in photograph taken in 1996.

Fig. 2.36: Ruins of Tsimshian gravehouse at Hazelton in photograph taken in 1996.

Fig. 2.37: Gravehouses at Kispiox, B.C. in photograph taken by R. E. Benedict. Photograph courtesy of the Photographic Collections, Province of British Columbia, RBCM, PN 3800.

Fig. 2.38: Pavilion-type gravehouse at Hazelton, B.C. Photograph courtesy of the Photographic Collections, Province of British Columbia, RBCM, PN 4360.

Fig. 2.39: Ruins of gravehouse at Kitwancool, B.C.

Fig. 2.40: Gravehouses in Yakut village of Olbut, Siberia. Photograph reproduced in Jochelson, plate XV, fig. 1.

Fig. 2.41: Tsimshian gravehouse at Meanskinisht (Cedarvale) in photograph taken in 1973 by Gary White and John Veillette. Photograph courtesy of the Photographic Collections, Province of British Columbia, RBCM, PN 16591.

Fig. 2.42: Seventeenth century roadside cross at Kizhi Island Architectural Preserve, from side.

Fig. 2.43: Roadside cross at Kizhi, from front.

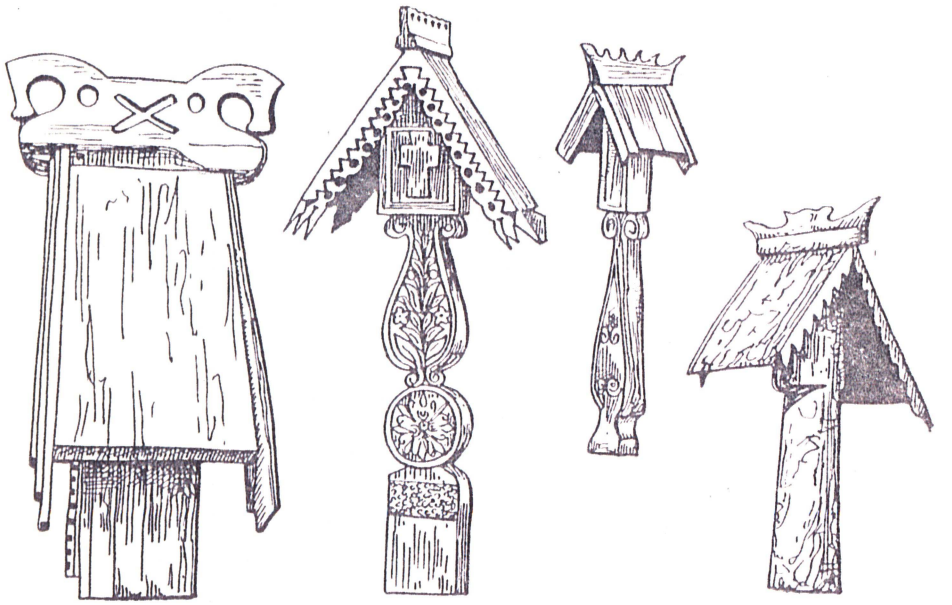


Fig. 2.44: Drawings of roofed posts illustrated in N. N. Veletskaia, *Yazicheskaya Simbolika Slavyanskikh Arkhaicheskikh Ritualov*, Moskva: "Nauka", 1978, 185.

Fig. 2.45: Roofed post marking the grave of Russian painter, Boris Kustodiev, in the Tikhvin Cemetery of the Alexander Nevsky Lavra in St. Petersburg.

Fig. 2.46: Roofed cross with suspended lantern in Tikhvin Cemetery, St. Petersburg.

Fig. 2.47: Roofed cross in cemetery at Ninilchik, Alaska.

Fig. 2.48: Roofed cross in yard of St. Nicholas Church, Juneau, Alaska.

Fig. 2.49: Roofed cemetery cross at Eklutna.

Fig. 2.50: Cemetery chapel in Lazarus Cemetery, St. Petersburg.

Fig. 2.51: Cemetery chapel in Lazarus Cemetery, St. Petersburg.

Fig. 2.52: St. Nicholas Chapel, Kenai, Alaska.

Fig. 2.53: Octagonal chapel near Solvychigodsk in Vologda region of Russia. Reproduced in Grabar, 339.

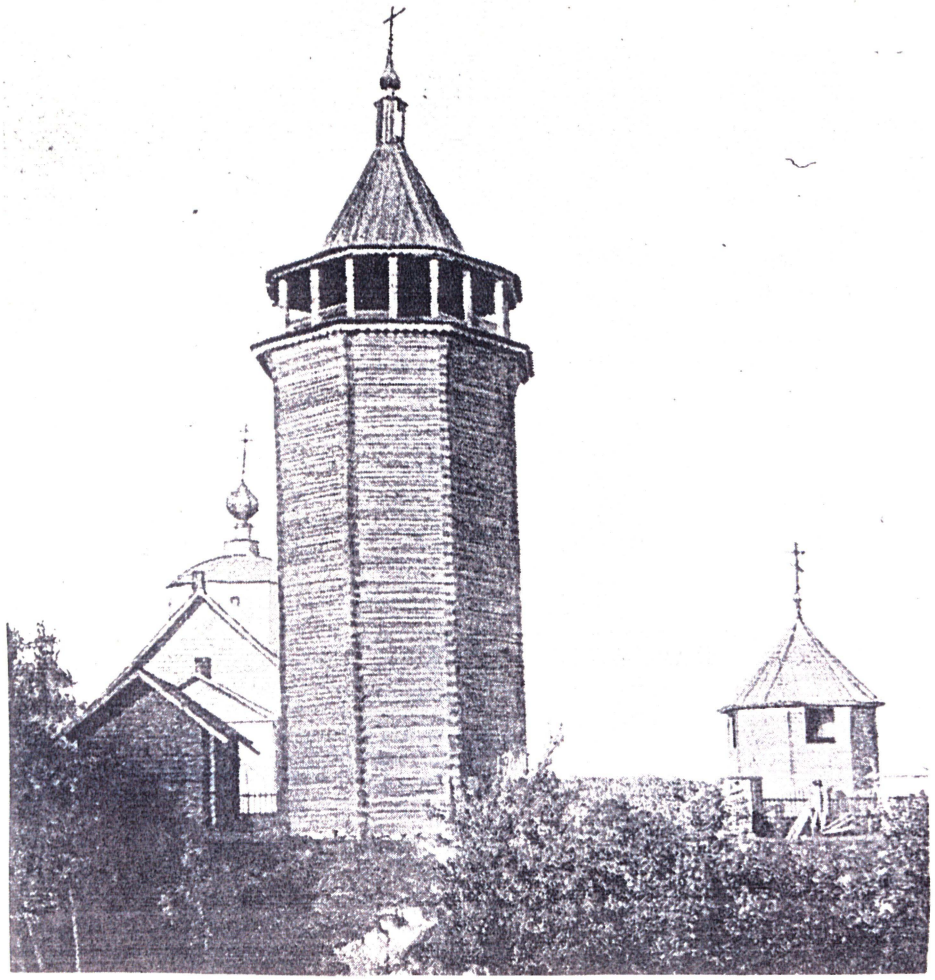


Fig. 2.54: Octagonal chapel alongside church and bell tower in Tver region, reproduced in Grabar.

Fig. 2.55: Octagonal chapel in the Old Believer complex of the Ethnographic Museum, Ulan Ude, Buryatia, Siberia.

Fig. 2.56: Chapel-type graves at Juneau. Courtesy of the Alaska State Library, Alaska Historical Collections, Winter & Brown Collection, PCA 114-12.

Fig. 2.57: Octagonal gravehouse on Douglas Island, near Juneau, Alaska, in 1995. Photograph courtesy of Sylvia Rylander.

Fig. 2.58: Same gravehouse shown in fig.2.57 in 1998.

Fig. 2.59: Octagonal gravehouse on Douglas Island marking the grave of Mrs. Gilbert Jackson who died in 1901.

Fig. 2.60: "Indian graves -- Hazelton, B.C." Photograph courtesy of B.C. Archives and Records Service, B-00703.

Fig. 3.1: "Attributes of the Divine Service and Symbols Used by Old-Believers. Late 18th - early 19th century. Anonymous artist, cat. 5." in *Loubok -- Russian Popular Prints From the Late 18th - Early 20th Centuries*, Moscow: Russkaya Kniga, 1992, 58.

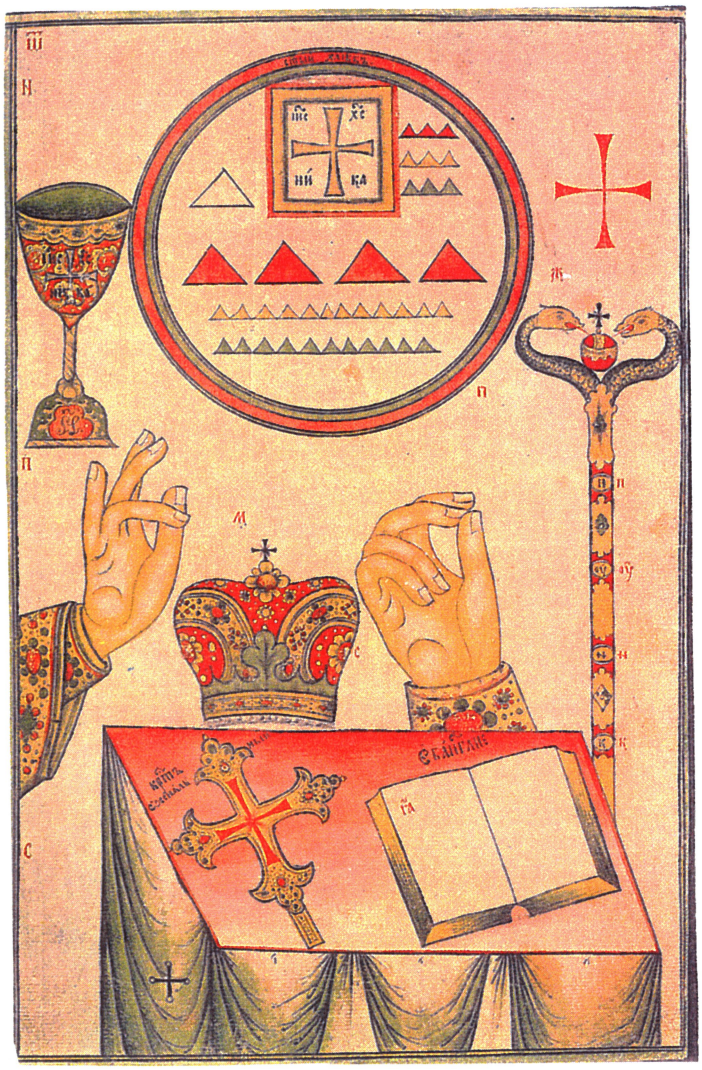


Fig. 3.2: "Attributes of the Divine Service and Symbols Used by Old-Believers and the Official Orthodox Church. Late 18th - early 19th century. Anonymous artist, cat. 6." in *Loubok -- Russian Popular Prints From the Late 18th - Early 20th Centuries*, 59.

Fig. 3.3: "Attributes of the Divine Service and Symbols Used by Old-Believers and the Official Orthodox Church. The 1880s. Anonymous artist, cat. 103." in *Loubok -- Russian Popular Prints From the Late 18th - Early 20th Centuries*, 60.

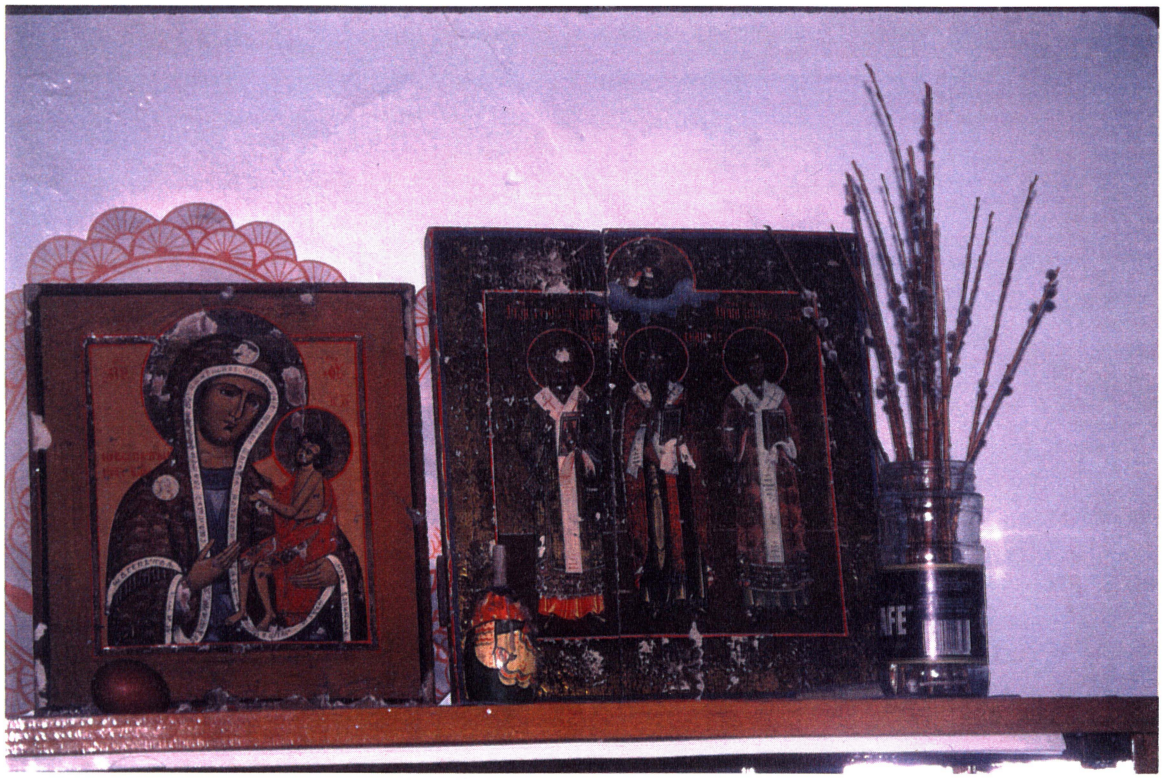


Fig. 3.4: Icon shelf in Old Believer home in the village of Saratovka, Buryatia, Siberia.

Fig. 3.5: Copper-alloy cross with the "Image Made Without Hands" at top.

Private collection.

Fig. 3.6: Copper-alloy cross with image of the Lord Sabaoth at top.

Private collection.

Fig. 3.7: Copper-alloy triptych similar to ones known to have been produced at the Vyg Monastery. Private collection.

Fig. 3.8: Two copper-alloy triptychs inset into "written" icon. Private collection.

Fig. 3.9: Copper-alloy cross with paper flowers behind, in an Old Believer house in Saratovka, Buryatia, Siberia.

Fig. 3.10: Old Believer woman wearing traditional sarafan and headdress, Ulan Ude, Buryatia, Siberia.

Fig. 3.11: As above, side view.

Fig. 4.1: Ruined double-gravehouse at Eklutna.

Fig. 4.2: "Indian Graves, Old Knick. Oct. 12, 1918." Photograph taken by H. G. Kaiser. Courtesy of Alaska State Library, Alaska Historical Collections, PCA 108-69.

Fig. 4.3: Double-gravehouse. Photograph taken by H. G. Kaiser. Courtesy of Alaska State Library, Alaska Historical Collections, AEC-G936.

Fig. 4.4: Alex family graves, Eklutna cemetery.

Fig. 4.5: Chiligan family graves, Eklutna cemetery.

Fig. 4.6: Eklutna cemetery prior to 1985. Photographs taken by Neil Sutherland, reproduced in Dana Stevens, *Alaska: Land of Many Dreams*, N.Y.: Crescent Books, 1985, 141.

Fig. 4.7: Eklutna cemetery prior to 1985. Photographs taken by Neil Sutherland, reproduced in *Alaska: Land of Many Dreams*, 136.

Fig. 4.8: Area of Eklutna cemetery seen in Figs. 4.6 and 4.7 showing colour changes.

Fig. 4.9: As above, with detail of "star-shaped" gravehouse.

Fig. 4.10: "Eklutna Graves" showing earlier colour scheme, perhaps c. 1950's. Photograph courtesy Anchorage Museum of History and Art, B75.159.101.

Fig. 4.11: Tiered-gravehouse and chapel-gravehouse as above, showing earlier colour and decorative schemes. Photograph taken by Carl Rylander, c. 1932, courtesy of Marian Rylander.

Fig. 4.12: Church of the Saviour from Spass-Bezhy (1628), now in the Ipatiev Architectural Museum at Kostroma.

Fig. 4.13: Chapel from the Perm region, reproduced in Grabar, *Istoriya Arkhitekturi, Do-Petrovskaya Epokha, I*, Moskva: Isdanie I. Knebel, c. 1909, 357.

Fig. 4.14: Church of the Transfiguration from the village of Kozliatyevo (1756), now in the wooden architectural museum at Suzdal.

Fig. 4.15: Chapel of the Archangel Michael (eighteenth century) from the village of Lelikozero, now at Kizhi Island, Lake Onega.

Fig. 4.16: Roadside cross, Kizhi Island.

Fig. 4.17: "Indian Graves at Old Knik, Cook Inlet, Alaska (Eklutna), Sydney Laurence Co." c. 1915. Photograph courtesy of *The Anchorage Museum of History and Art, B83.5.3.*

Fig. 4.18: Eklutna cemetery, c. 1946, showing same gravehouses as in Fig. 4.17. Photograph courtesy of The Anchorage Museum of History and Art, B89.20.154.

Fig. 4.19: Eklutna cemetery, 1996, showing same gravehouses as in Figs. 4.17 and 4.18.

Fig. 4.20: Eklutna cemetery, detail of houses in same area as above.

Eklutna cemetery, detail of houses in same area as above.

Fig. 5.1: Window surrounds on house in Old Russian complex, Ethnographic Museum, Ulan Ude, Buryatia, Siberia.

Fig. 5.2: Window surrounds on house in Old Believer village of Decyatnikovo, Buratia, Siberia.

Fig. 5.3: Gravehouses in Eklutna cemetery, one with solar/rainbow decoration.

Fig. 5.4: House in Old Believer village of Kalinovka, Buryatia, Siberia, with solar motif in gable.

Fig. 5.5: Oshevnev house from northern Russia, now at Kizhi Island, showing carved *polotentse* and *prichelini*.

Fig. 5.6: Carved window surround on house in Kostroma.

Fig. 5.7: Carved window surround on house in Taltsy architectural preserve.

Fig. 5.8: Window surround on house in Irkutsk, Siberia.

Fig. 5.9: Gravehouses in Eklutna cemetery.

Fig. 5.10: Gravehouses in Eklutna cemetery.

Fig. 5.11: Buryat house with "horn" motif on window surrounds. Buryat complex, Ethnographic Museum, Ulan Ude, Buryatia, Siberia.

Fig. 5.12: "Scroll" or "Wave" pattern on window surrounds of Old Believer house in village of Tarbagatai, Buryatia,

Fig. 5.13: "Scroll" or "Wave" pattern on ridgecrest of gravehouse in Eklutna cemetery.

Fig. 5.14: Eklutna gravehouse with serrated ridgecrest.

Fig. 5.15: Eklutna gravehouses with serrated and half-circular ridgecrests.

Fig. 5.16: Tiered gravehouse with triangular and floral motifs, Eklutna cemetery.

Fig. 5.17: Chamber of the Palace of the appanage princes, Uglich. Detail of brickwork incorporating floral, triangular and zig-zag motifs.

Fig. 5.18: Oshevnev House at Kizhi showing window surrounds, *polotentse*, and *prichelini*.

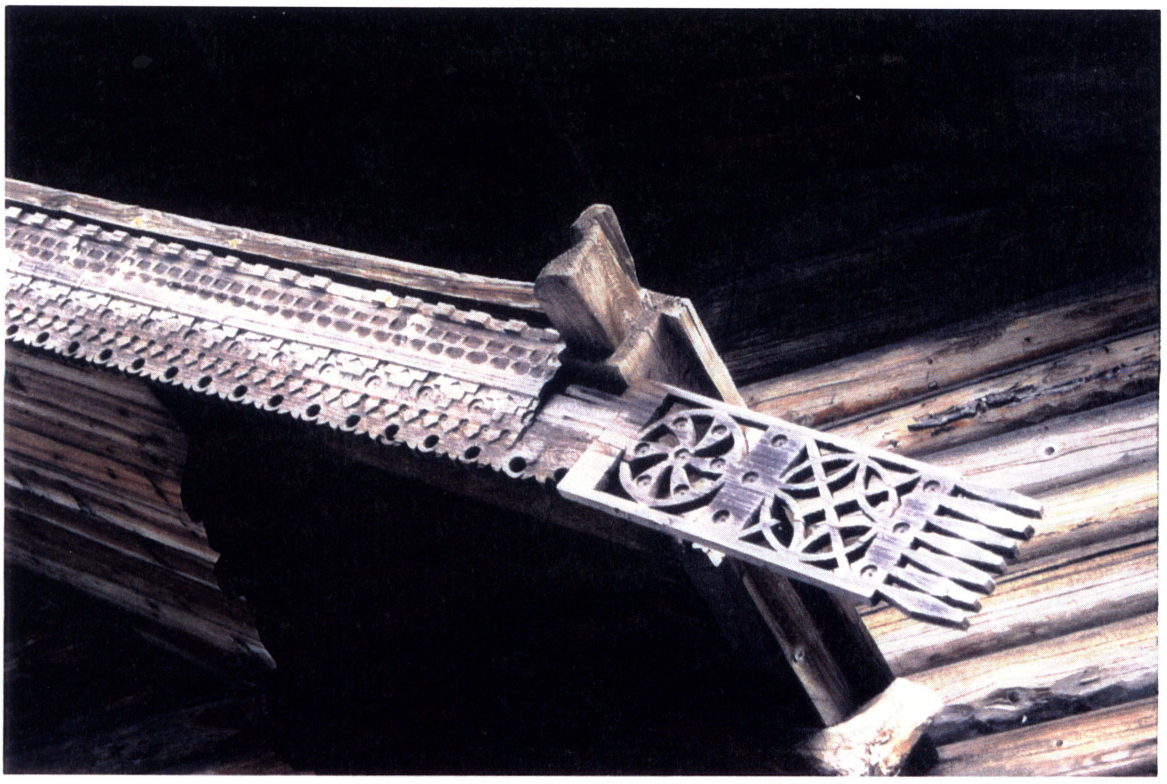


Fig. 5.19: Detail of a *prichelina* on the Yelizarov House, now at Kizhi.

Fig. 5.20: Carved window surrounds and painted shutters featuring Tree-of-Life motif on house in Old Believer complex, Ethnographic Museum, Ulan Ude, Buryatia, Siberia.

Fig. 5.21: Painted gate and house in Old Believer village of Decyatnikova, Buryatia, Siberia.

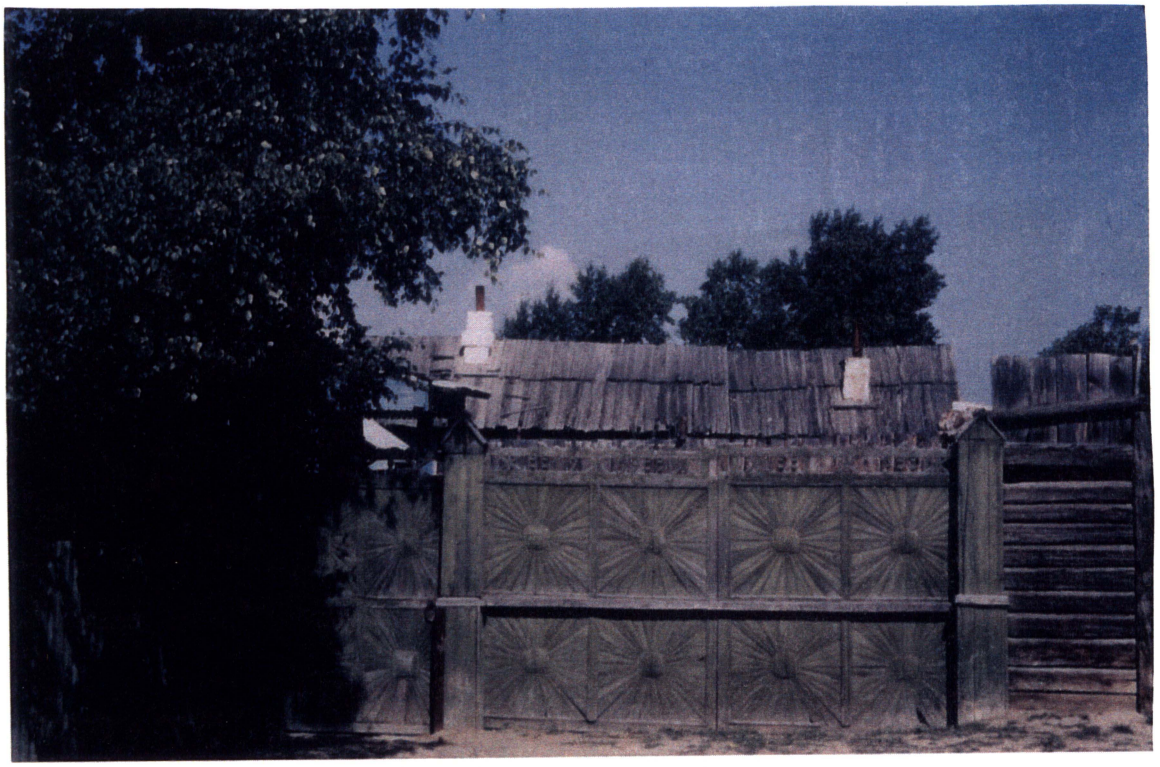


Fig. 5.22: Painted and decorated gate in village of Ust-Barguzin, Buryatia, Siberia. Photograph courtesy of Jennifer Lort.

Fig. 5.23: Gate dated 1906, in Old Believer Complex, Ethnographic Museum, Ulan Ude, Buryatia, Siberia.

Fig. 5.24: Painted cemetery gate decorated with blazing sun motifs in village of Bonaparte, B.C.

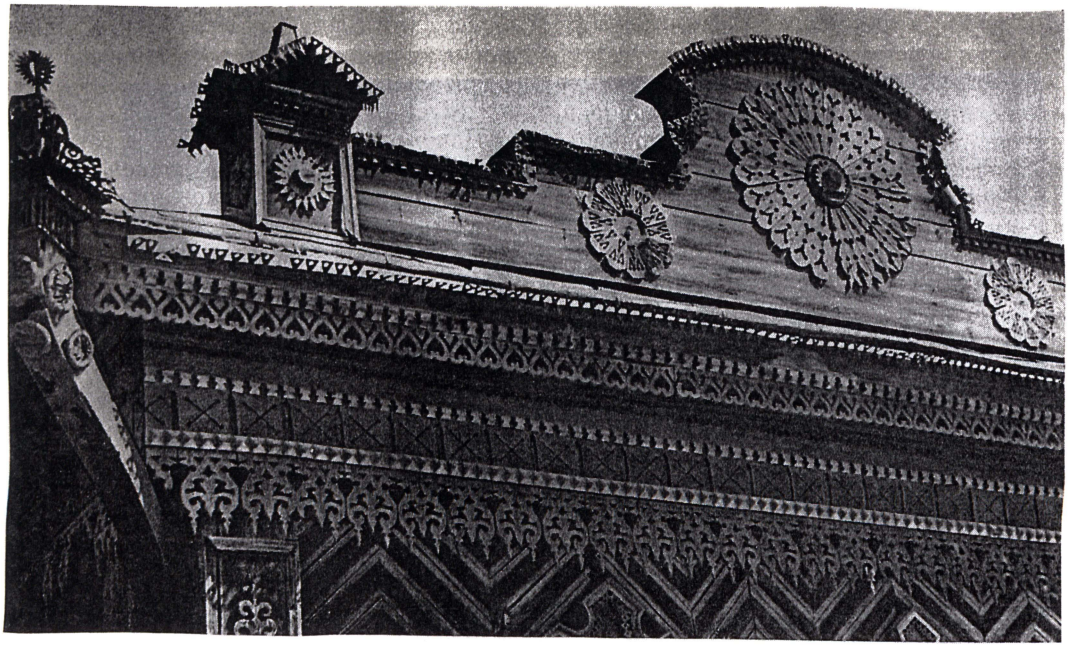


Fig. 5.25: Gate decorated with zig-zags and blazing suns from Old Believer village in the Ural Mountains. Reproduced in E. N. Bubnov, *Russkoe Derevyannoe Zodchestvo Urala*, Moskva: Stroiizdat, 1988, 85.

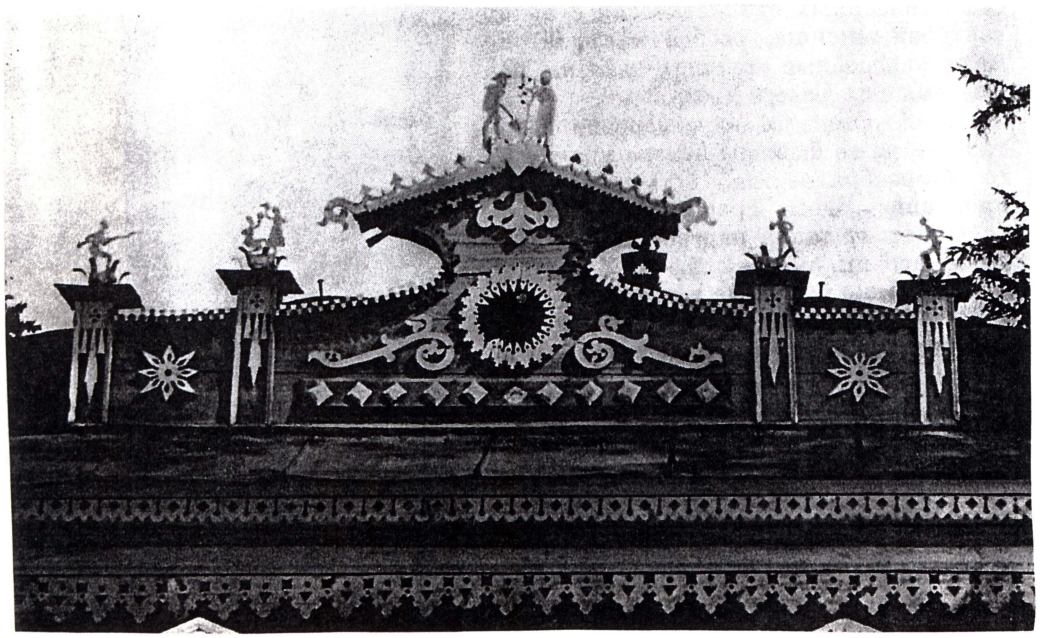


Fig. 5.26: Gate decorated with zig-zags and blazing suns from Old Believer village in the Ural Mountains. Reproduced in Bubnov, 86.

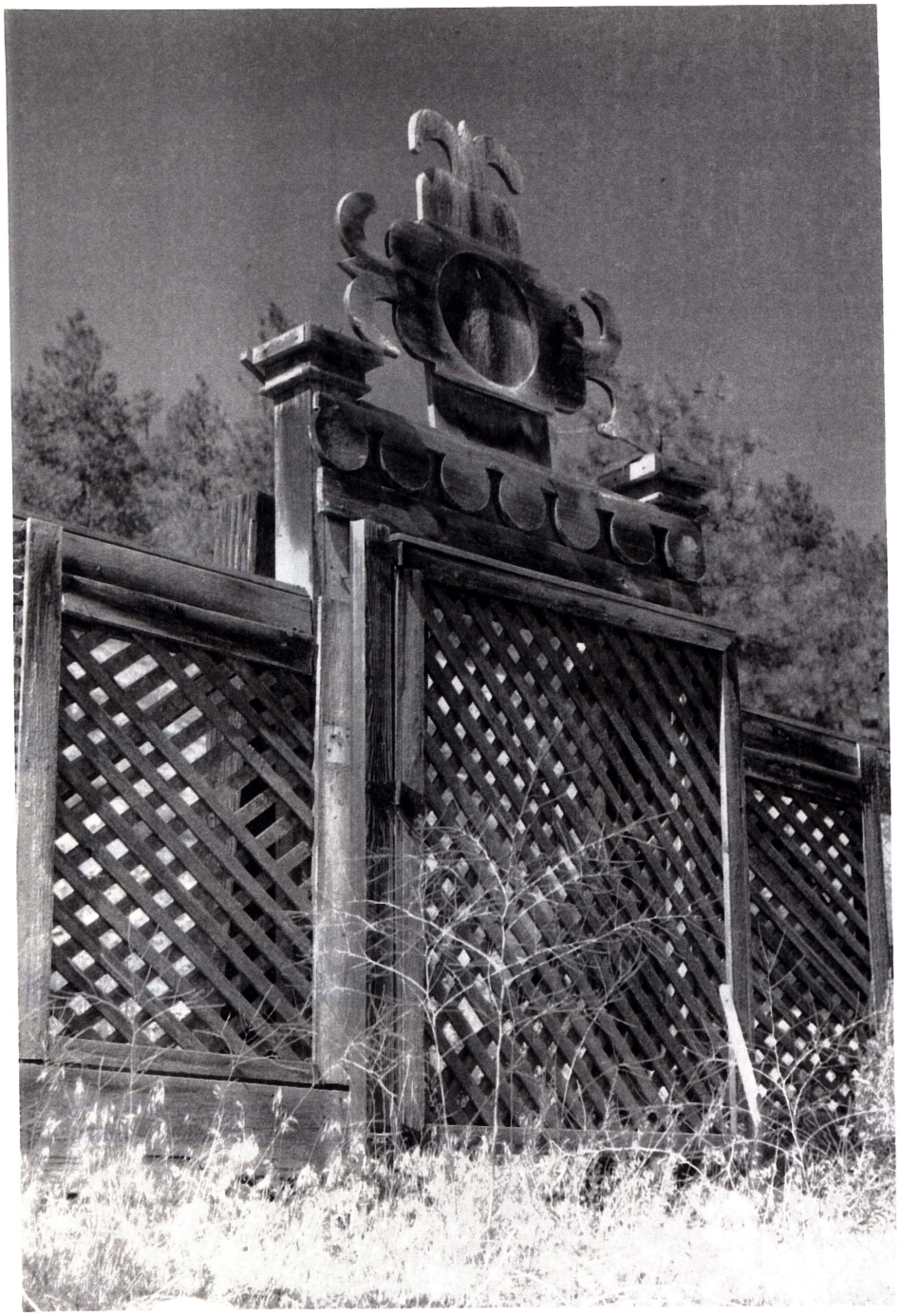


Fig. 5.27: Cemetery gate in Interior Salish village in the Nicola Valley, B.C. Photograph taken by Fred Auger in 1964. Courtesy of the Photographic Collections of the Province of British Columbia, RBCM, PN 6688.

Fig. 5.28: Cemetery gate in Interior Salish village of Shackan in the Nicola Valley, B.C. Photograph taken by Fred Auger in 1964. Courtesy of the Photographic Collections of the Province of British Columbia, RBCM, PN 13572.

Fig. 5.29: Decorated barn gate in village of Kluevka, Buryatia, Siberia.

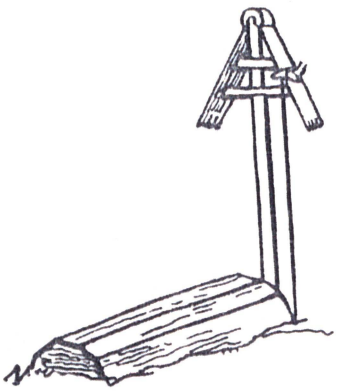
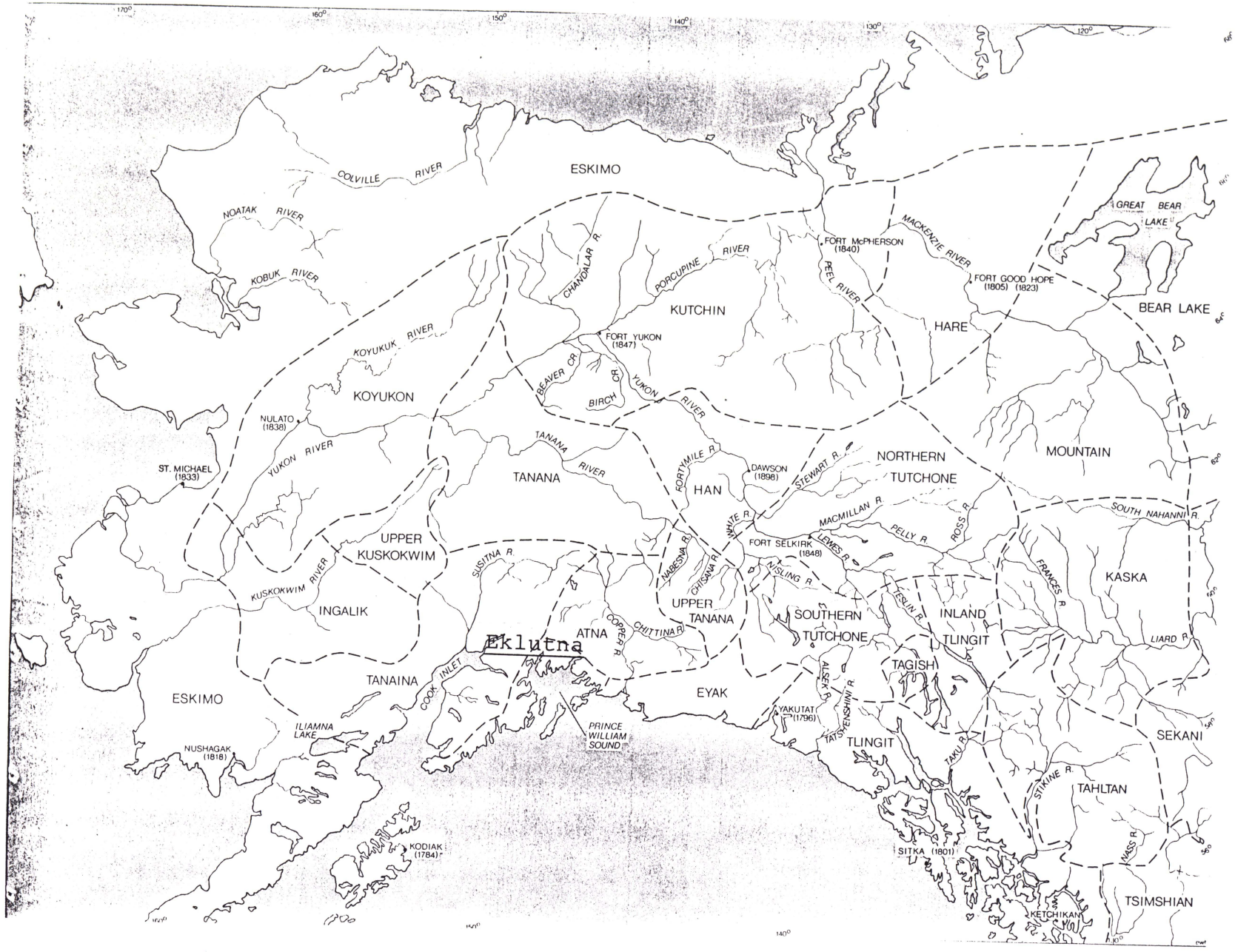
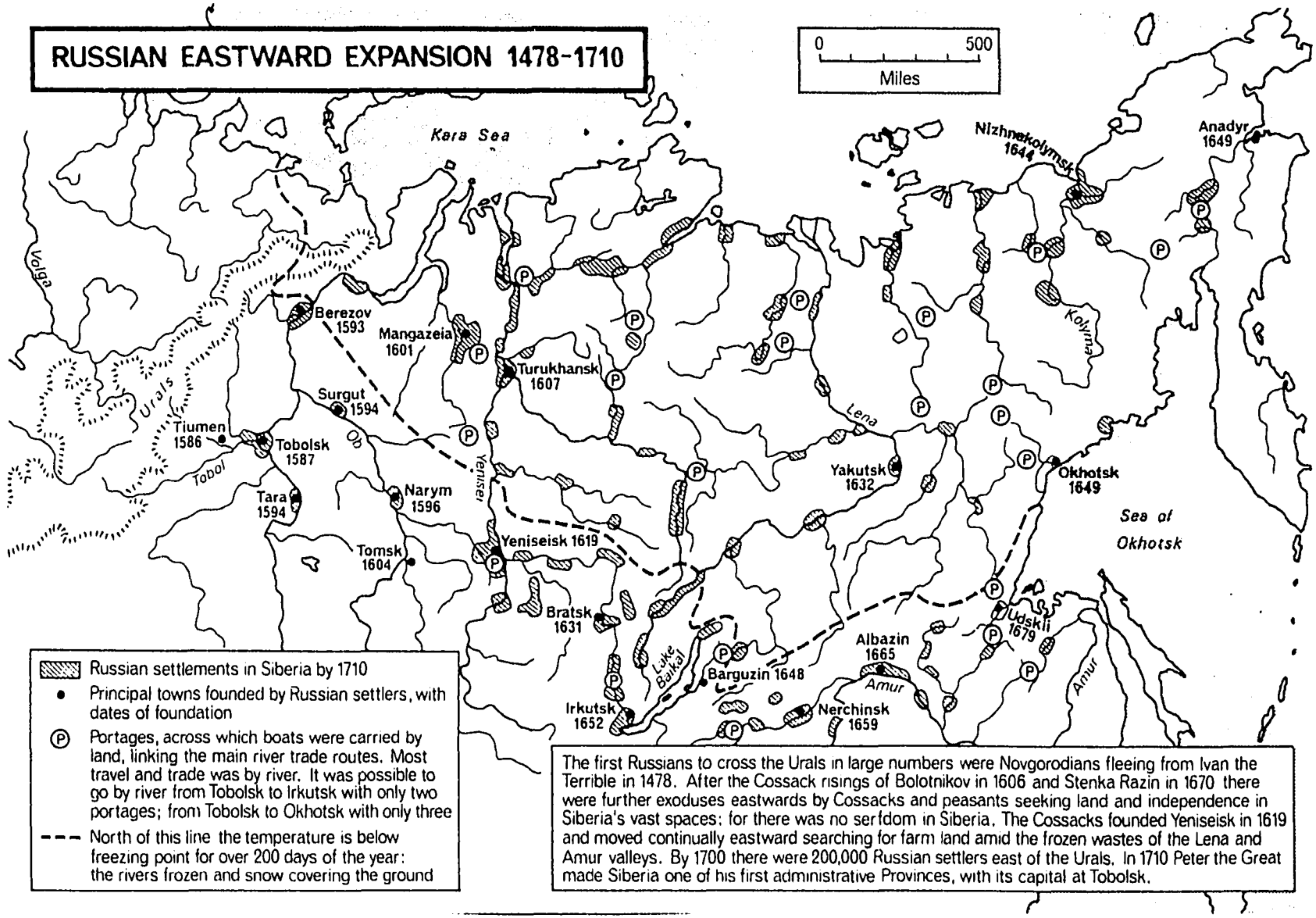


Fig. 5.30: Drawing of Old Believer round-roofed gravehouse with roofed cross on which is affixed small bird. Reproduced in Veletskaia, 185.

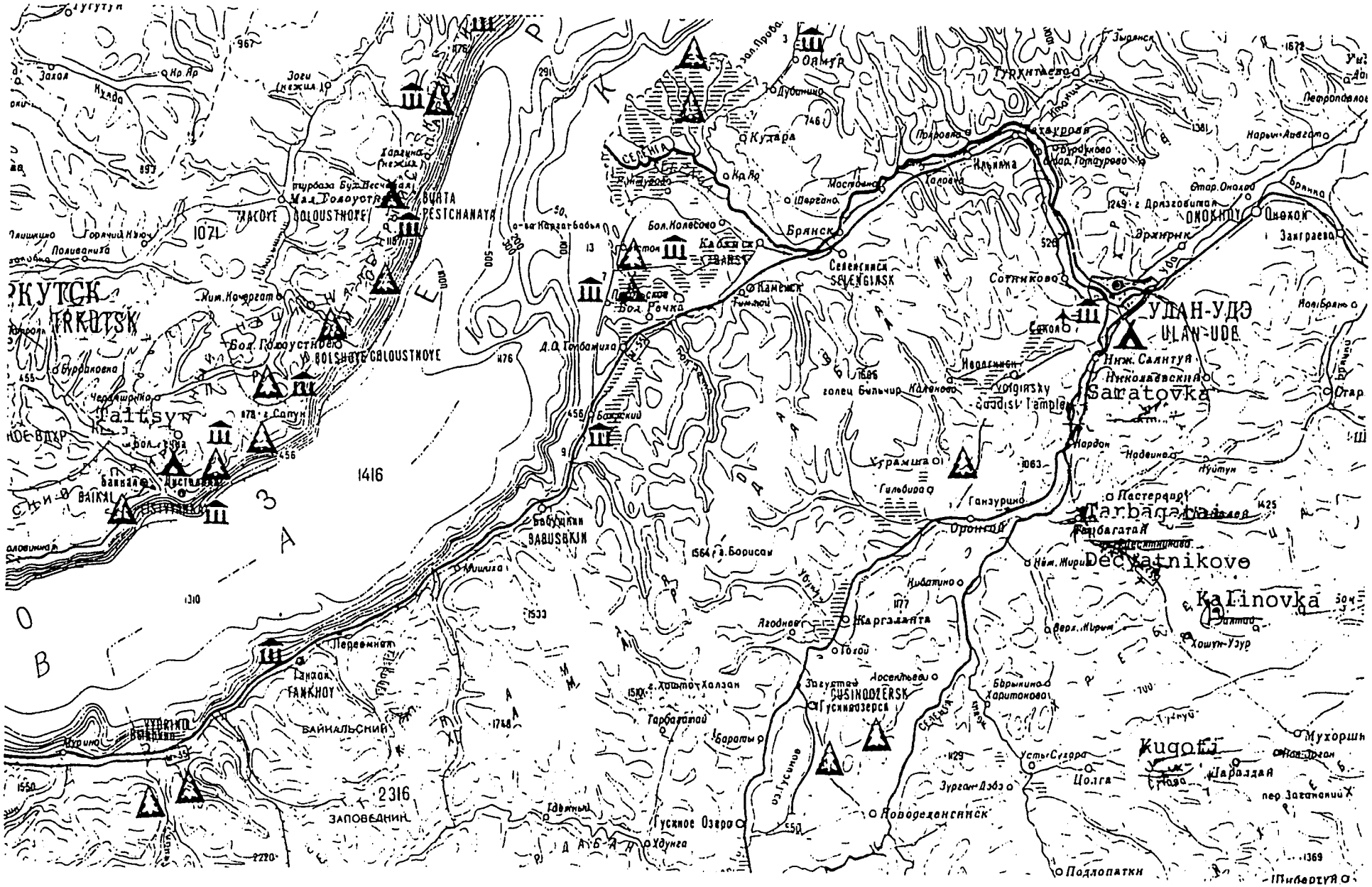


Map 1: Native groups of northwestern North America, from McClellan, *Part of Land and Part of Water*.

Map 2: European Russia, from Opolovnikov and Opolovnikova, *Wooden Architecture of Russia*, frontispiece.

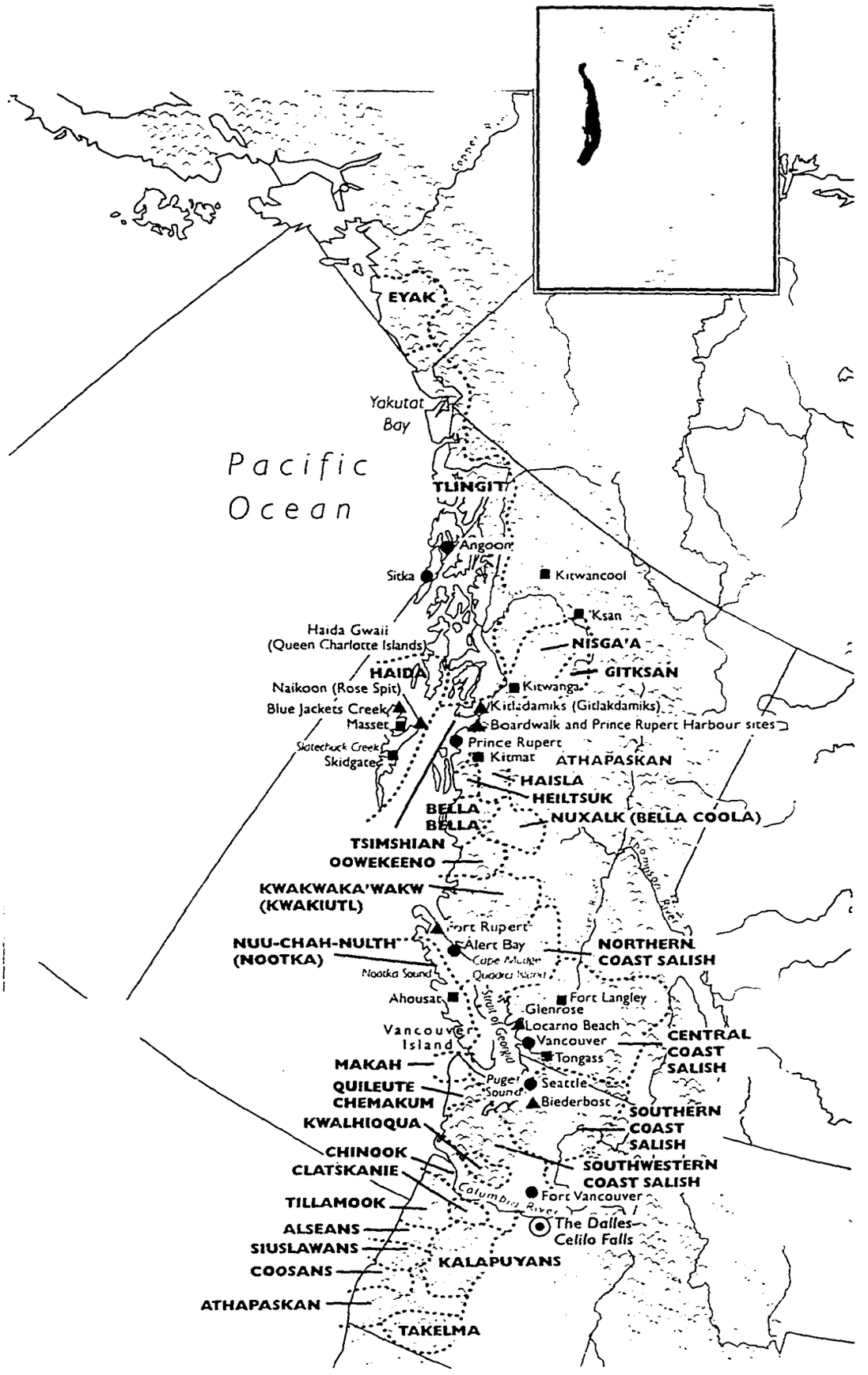


Map 3: Siberia, showing settlements and forts from 1478-1710. From Martin Gilbert, *Atlas of Russian History*, London: J. M. Dent, 1993, 33.

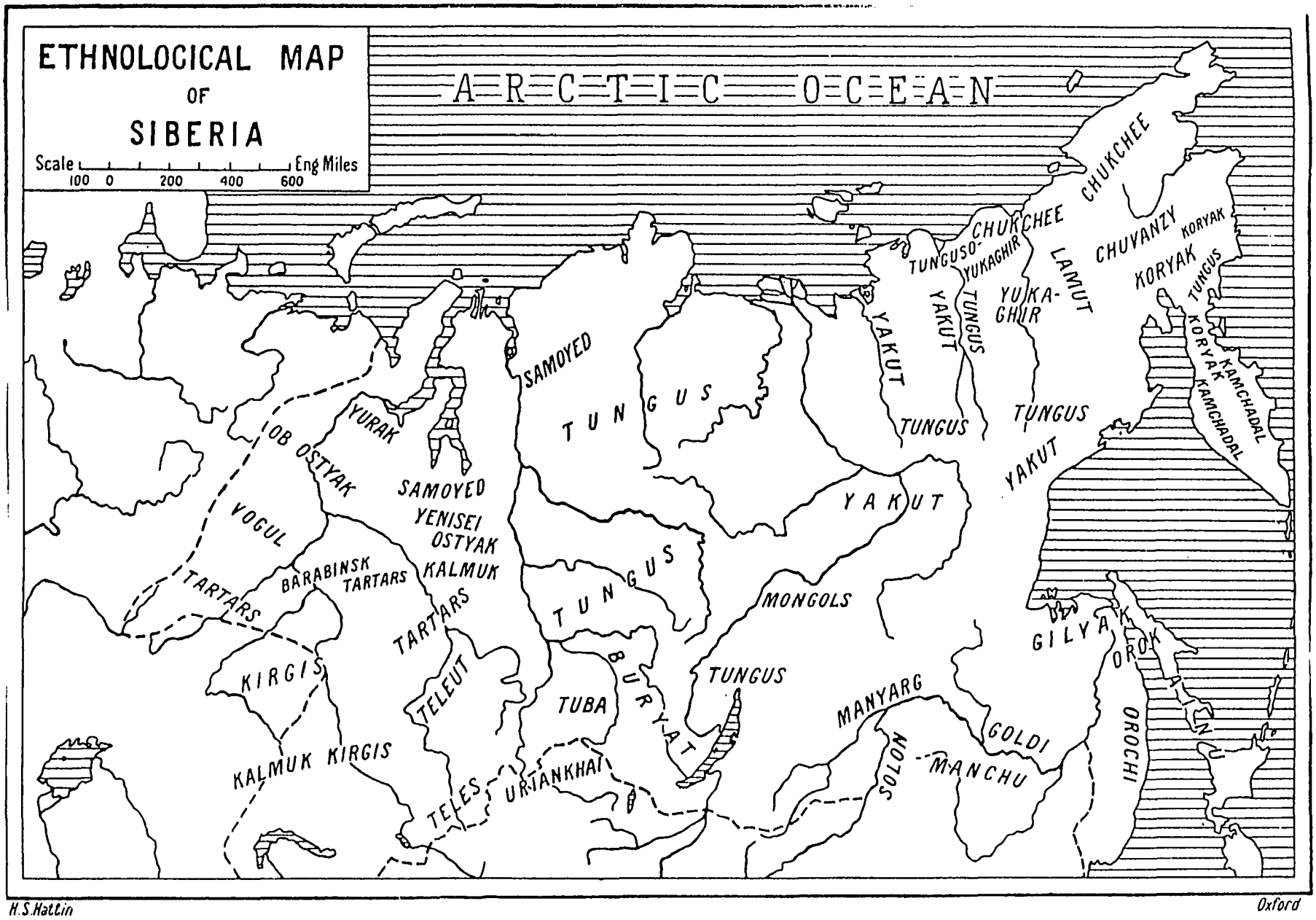


Map 4: Detail of Lake Baikal area and location of Irkutsk and various Old Believer villages near Ulan Ude, Buryatia, Siberia.

Map 5: Cultural Areas of North American Indian Groups, c. 1500-1850, Lois Sherr Dubin, *North American Indian Jewelry and Adornment, From Prehistory to the Present*, New York: AHarry N. Abrams, Inc., 1999, 30.



Map 6: Cutural groups of the Northwest Coast, Dubin, 382.



Map 7: Ethnological Map of Siberia, showing locations of various ethnic groups.