EARLY ART OF THE NORTHERN FAR EAST

THE STONE AGE

By
M. A. Kiriyak

Translated by
Richard L. Bland

FEDERAL PUBLICATION

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Shared Beringian Heritage Program

Twelve to fifteen thousand years ago, Asia and North America were once joined by a massive "land bridge" in a region now popularly called "Beringia." In order to promote the conservation of the unique natural history and cultural heritage of this region, the presidents of the United States and the Soviet Union (now Russia) endorsed in 1990 a proposal to establish of an international park in the Bering Strait area. The Shared Beringian Heritage Program of the National Park Service, established in 1991, thus recognizes and celebrates the contemporary and historic exchange of biological resources and cultural heritage in this region. The program seeks local resident and international participation in the preservation and understanding of natural resources and protected lands, and works to sustain the cultural vitality of Native peoples in the region. To these ends, the Beringia Program promotes the free communication and active cooperation between the people and governments of the United States and Russia with regard to Central Beringia.

ПРОГРАММА «ОБЪЕДИНЕННОЕ НАСЛЕДИЕ БЕРИНГИИ»

12 – 15 тысяч лет назад Азия и Северная Америка были связаны «сухопутным мостом» в районе, который теперь называют Берингия. В 1990 г. Президенты Советского Союза (ныне Россия) и Соединенных Штатов подписали соглашение о намерении создать международный парк в районе Берингова пролива с целью сохранения уникальной истории, природы и культурного наследия этого района. Программа «Объединенное наследие Берингии» Службы национальных парков США, организованная в 1991 г. отмечает и признает современный обмен биологическими ресурсами и культурным наследием этого региона. Цель программы – вовлечь местных жителей и международных участников в дело сохранения природных ресурсов и охраняемых территорий, а также в работу по поддержанию жизнеспособности культуры коренных народов этого района. Помимо этого, названная программа содействует свободному общению и активному сотрудничеству между народами и правительствами России и США по вопросам, касающимся Берингии.

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Translator's Introduction

This book was originally published as *Drevnee iskusstvo Severa Dal'nego Vostoka kak istoricheskii istochnik (Kamennyi vek)* in Magadan by the Northeastern Interdisciplinary Scientific Research Institute of the Siberian Division of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Very few books devoted to the prehistoric art of Northeast Asia have been published (perhaps none) in any language. While this book contains some ideas that may not be universally accepted I feel it is nevertheless an important ground-breaking work and have therefore tried to abstain from editorial comment, allowing the author to venture where she may and draw her own conclusions.

The format of this translation retains that of the original publication for ease of reference. The illustrations identified as "insets" are in color in the original. Although color is not an option available here the insets are nevertheless included in the hope that certain details can be seen that are not visible in the sketches.

I would like to thank the following: Karen Workman for graciously and diligently going through the manuscript and commenting on various aspects regarding the art, Anna Gokhman who found and corrected my lapses in Russian, Marcia Veach for a fine job of editing, Sue Roberts for putting the work together in its excellent final form, and Julia Knowles for proofreading the final product. I am most indebted, of course, to the people of the Shared Beringian Heritage Program of the National Park Service in Anchorage, Alaska, who make this publication possible: Katerina Wessels for her tireless efforts in keeping me up to date and in line with the program, Peter Richter who manages the program, and Robert Greenwood, the director. Finally, we all owe our deepest gratitude to Dr. Margarita Aleksandrovna (Dikova) Kiriyak for making this work possible and allowing it to be published in translation.

Richard L. Bland

Museum of Natural and Cultural History
University of Oregon, Eugene

Preface

The earliest objects of fine art reliably documented by archaeology confirm that beginning in the Upper Paleolithic people created a two- and three-dimensional world of images, those from existing reality and those born of their creative imagination. Disengaging themselves from their surrounding reality, they knew how to model physical nature in the form of symbols and to encode everyday information, as well as world and religious views, in simple or complex signs. This multifaceted stratum of spiritual culture in early society has always attracted the attention of scholars of various disciplines.

The object of this research is the representational activity of the primitive inhabitants of the Arctic and Subarctic latitudes of the Northern Far East. This is the first summary work of a regional scale that includes all presently known primary sources of early art (from the Paleolithic to the Paleo-Metal period).[1] In the three parts of this work published but little known materials are examined alongside completely new data.

In the first part, small stone sculpture is presented. The second part sets out all presently known miniature graffiti on stone, with a separate chapter dedicated to deciphering it. The third part includes analysis of the petroglyphs of Pegtymel', a unique feature of early Northeast Asian cultures. New approaches are proposed for dating and interpretation of the Pegtymel' cliff drawings.

The regional boundaries for this investigation embrace the Magadan and Kamchatka Districts and the Chukotka and Koryak Autonomous Regions, where small Russian ethnic groups live—the Chukchi, Koryak, Even, Itel'men, Yukagir, and Yakut—who continue to preserve some archaic features of their traditional culture up to present times. However, many features have faded with time, are lost and gone forever from their cultural heritage. The study of early art objects created by distant ancestors provides the possibility of getting in touch with the secret world of their spiritual culture, of opening a little the window on the remote realm of ideas and concepts, with their roots extending back into the Stone Age. From this standpoint this work will be of value not only to archaeologists but also to historians, ethnographers, artists, psychologists, and researchers who are occupied with the study of early forms of social awareness.

The basis for this monograph is informational resources acquired predominantly by the author throughout many years of archaeological surveys and excavations in Chukotka. This is especially true for Part II. The materials of other researchers who have studied the early cultures of Northeast Asia are also drawn in, as are individual objects donated by various people.

I consider it my duty to express my gratitude to archaeologists A. I. Lebedintsev and A. A. Orekhov for providing me the opportunity to become acquainted with their collections.

This summary of representative informational sources is the result of a great deal of work and the direct participation of many people, to whom I express sincere gratitude.

I am deeply thankful to the director of the Magadan District Regional Museum, S. G. Bekarevich, who secured financial support for my trip to Chukotka, which allowed me to conduct systematic surveys and excavations.

I thank Zh. V. Andreeva, D. L. Brodyanskii, and A. V. Tabarev, without whose moral support I would not have had the resolve to do a summary work on such a specific and controversial subject as (stone) small art forms of the Neolithic.

Sincere acknowledgements also go to V. E. Larichev, Ya. A. Sher, N. I. Drozdov, and Yu. B. Serikov for comments and advice.

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[1] The Paleo-Metal period includes the Bronze and Iron Ages.—*Trans.*

My special thanks for distinguished professionalism goes to the artist L. N. Korshkova, who executed the detailed illustrations, and photographer V. I. Sviridov, whose artistic mastery permitted reproductions of even microscopically small details.

I am thankful with all my heart to M. K. Sviridova, L. N. Khakhovskaya, S. V. Vasil'ev, T. A. Chemshit, and D. V. Inanto for their efficient technical help.

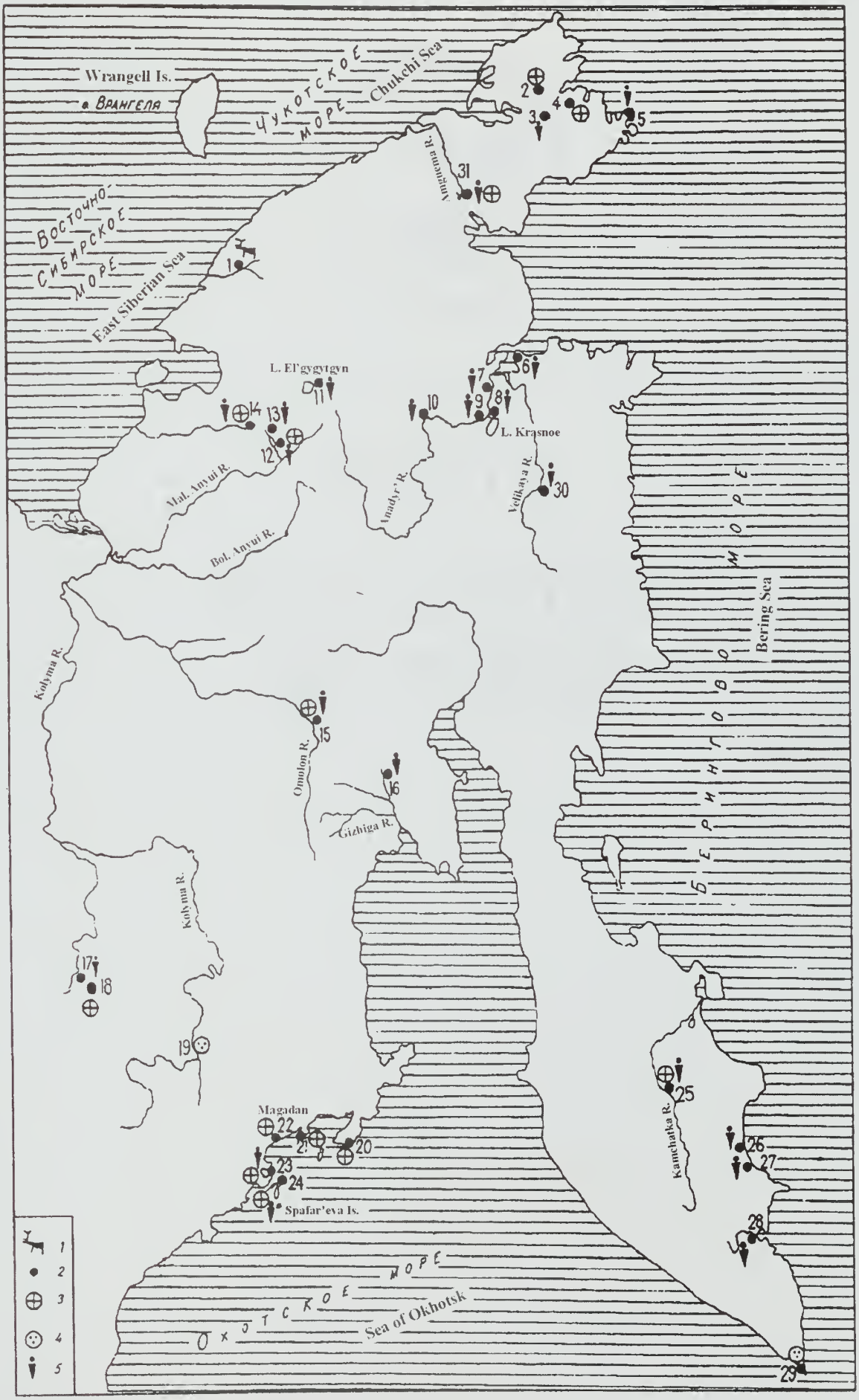
And heartfelt gratitude goes to editor Tat'yana Alekseevna Fokas for her substantial talent, profound sense of tact, patience, and kindness.

Finally, my deep gratitude goes to the head of administration at Omolon village, Kulik Nikolai Ivanovich, for financial support of the present publication.

Figure 1. Map of locations of pieces of early art in the territories of extreme Northeast Asia.

Key:
1—Pegtymel' petroglyphs;
2—locations of pieces of early art;
3—graffiti;
4—sculpture of a "stone head";
5—figurines of stone.

Sites:
1—Pegtymel' petroglyphs;
2—Late Neolithic Igel'khveem VII site;
3—Late Neolithic Chuvaigytkhyn II site;
4—Remnant Neolithic Utaatap I site;
5—Upper Paleolithic Ul'khum I site;
6—Geka I site;
7—Neolithic site on Osinovaya Spit;
8—Ust'-Krasnenskaya site;
9—Neolithic Chikaevskaya site;
10—Ust'-Belaya (Neolithic) cemetery;
11—Neolithic sites on Lake El'gygytgyn;
12—diachronic sites on Lake Tytyl';
13—late Pleistocene-early Holocene(?) Tytyl'vaam site;
14—Late Neolithic Rauchuvagytgyn I site;
15—Upper Paleolithic Bol'shoi El'gakhchan I and Bol'shoi El'gakhchan II sites;
16—late Pleistocene(?)-early Holocene Druchak-Vetrennyi site;
17—early Holocene Ui site;
18—Neolithic Pridorozhnaya site;
19—Paleolithic Siberdik site;
20—Ol'skaya site (transition from the Neolithic to the Paleo-Metal period);
21—Berezovaya site;
22—site on Nedorazumeniya Island;
23—Late Neolithic site in Tokareva Bay;
24—site on Spafar'eva Island (transition from the Neolithic to the Paleo-Metal period);
25—Upper Paleolithic Ushki I and Ushki II sites;
26—multi-component Zhupanovo site;
27—Neolithic Kopyto II site;
28—Neolithic site in the vicinity of Avacha Bay;
29—Neolithic Lopatka III site;
30—Ust'-Uimyveem site (Remnant Neolithic?);
31—Late Neolithic Ilirneigytgyn V site.


Wrangell Is.
Врангела
Чукотское море
Chukchi Sea
Восточно-Сибирское море
East Siberian Sea
Anyuyevo R.
L. El'gygytgyn
L. Krasnoe
Mal. Anyui R.
Bol. Anyui R.
Anadyr' R.
Velikaya R.
Kolyma R.
Omolon R.
Gizhiga R.
Берингово море
Bering Sea
Kamchatka R.
Magadan
Spafar'eva Is.
Охотское море
Sea of Okhotsk
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PART I

SMALL STONE ART FORMS

PART I

Introduction

Attention to cliff and cave art in Western and Eastern Europe, Central and Northern Asia, Africa, and Australia by Russian and foreign archaeologists has for many years pushed small art forms—so-called *l'art mobilier*—of the Neolithic and Paleo-Metal periods (Bronze and Iron Ages) into the background, has overshadowed it. This can be explained both objectively and subjectively: on the one hand is insufficient information and the rather laborious and lengthy process of accumulating the items, and on the other, the low regard of archaeologists toward "primitive art." The position has been very different for Paleolithic studies. Z. A. Abramova (1962; 1966) has published extensively on sculpture (of stone, bone, and clay) with detailed information, classification, and interpretation. In a summary of the archaeological resources of Paleolithic art in Russia, Abramova (1962) relied on the works of P. P. Efimenko, M. M. Gerasimov, S. N. Zamyatnin, A. P. Okladnikov, A. N. Rogachev, and others. Items of portable Paleolithic art are (selectively) reflected in A. D. Stolyar's monumental work *The Origin of Graphic Art* (Stolyar 1985) and in A. A. Formozov's monographs (Formozov 1969; 1980). Extensive and fundamental research has also been dedicated to the later sculpture (nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries) of the peoples of Siberia (Ivanov 1970). Special works on Neolithic and later sculpture are not terribly numerous, consisting of two monographs in which sites of the Ural-Western Siberian region are examined (Eding 1940; Moshinskaya 1976) and isolated articles published in regional bulletins and specialized journals (Loze 1969, 1973; Smotrova 1976; Studzitskaya 1969, 1970, 1981, 1985; Vadetskaya 1967, 1969). These illuminate small sculptures of clay, stone, bone, and antler and contain valuable information not only of a descriptive character, but also from the perspective of the analysis of small art form artifacts and their semantics and assignment.

With regard to the problems of interest to us, several works on archaeology and ancient history, in which objects of figurative art are introduced for the reconstruction of beliefs and cults, can be named (Kosarev 1981, 1984; Okladnikov 1955a). A series of special bulletins published beginning in 1971 by the Institute of History, Philology, and Philosophy (Siberian Division, Russian Academy of Sciences) that deal with problems of early art should be noted.

The appreciable gap in the study of portable art has attracted the attention of archaeologists of different regions in recent years—from European Russia to the Far East. Slowly but surely this gap is being filled by multifaceted investigations of early art (Brodyanskii 1996, 1998a, 1998b; Bronshtein 1991; Kiriyak 1982, 1984, 1985, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1993a, 1993b, 1993c, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1998a, 1998b, 1998c, 1999a, 1999b; Konopatskii 1996; Krupyanko and Tabarev 1996; Larichev 1978, 1980, 1983, 1987, 1989a, 1989b, 1996; Lebedintsev 1981, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1990, 1996, 2000; Oshibkina *et al.* 1992). Nevertheless, a dearth of information remains for small art forms that are found in private collections or preserved in the vaults of museums, or in research institutes and colleges. They await their hour.

The problem of the origin, development, and meaning of small art forms is poorly studied, and in addition, "require a special approach" (Krupyanko and Tabarev 1996). This aspect of the spiritual acts of early people might have filled a significant gap in their world view and religious concepts, especially in the areas of those archaeological cultures where neither burials nor rock art have been discovered, and where such items as small sculpture, graphics, and ornaments are at present the only remaining sources for studying the ideology of these early people.

Before going into the primary part of my research, I would like to share my own point of view concerning the terminology that exists in the archaeological literature regarding these special phenomena.

The first to investigate small stone sculptures, S. N. Zamyatnin, called them "flint sculpture" and "shaped flint." Zamyatnin has a special (rather original) view concerning the "making of flint images." Conferring great significance to the circumstance that in the Late Neolithic and Bronze Age flint was "more and more losing its exclusive role," he concludes that the time of the appearance of flint sculpture was "the time of the appearance and development of the stone cult" (Zamyatnin 1948:113). Zamyatnin's term "flint figurine" or "shaped flint" is still in use up to the present day (Dikova 1983:146).

Rather often in archaeological literature small stone sculpture is called "plastic" art or more popularly "small plastic" art. In this respect, two ideas are contained in the special literature dedicated to plastic art for the designation of three-dimensional productions: sculpture and plastic. The basis for these classifications are the techniques of preparation that specify two different methods by which an object is given its essential form. Sculpture stipulates the removal (through "carving" or "lopping off") of excess parts of the hard material being worked (bone, antler, wood, or stone), while plastic art assumes the modeling of clay or other soft material, that is, building volume through accretion (some researchers also assign bronze casting to this category [Moshinskaya 1976:22, 23]). In turn, volumetric productions, with regard to their form, are divided into round sculpture and relief (sculpture developed in a flat plane).[2] The first kind assumes the possibility of seeing the production from all sides, the second, only from the front (Moshinskaya 1976:22).

Studying representational folk art, S. V. Ivanov introduces a new term—"flat sculpture"—for shaped images carved from birch bark, cardboard, or tin, which due to their insubstantial volume "are entirely independent and can be viewed from both sides" (Ivanov 1970:6).

The term "round sculpture," which ethnographers and archaeologists use—applied in art studies to one of the subdivisions of free sculpture—can, in my view, be used only selectively in archaeology. First, the form of actually round (in form or in plan) sculpture that occurs in archaeological complexes emerges associatively. All kinds of pestles and "pressers" in phallic or anthropo-zoomorphic variations (Kosarev 1981:Fig. 37), sculpted images of heads (Moshinskaya 1976:Tables 5, 6), bears (Kosarev 1984:Fig. 24; Vasil'evskii and Okladnikov 1980:Figs. 1–3), and other things appear in combination. The name "statuette" better suits this type of archaeological sculpture, although, with few exceptions, this is used in relation to Paleolithic female images (Abramova 1962). Second, a large number of Neolithic stone figurines were made from flat flakes by means of the finest unifacial edge retouch. They have one expositional surface. Such figurines are closely correlated with "flat sculpture" (in the terminology of S. V. Ivanov), though the latter stipulates a different working material.

Recently the term "paleoglyptics," proposed by the Novosibirsk archaeologist S. V. Tabarev (Brodyanskii 1996), began to be used. Paleoglyptics embraces all small sculpture made from stone, including figurines made by complete or simple edge retouch, similar to "flint figurines" represented in the above-mentioned research by Zamyatnin. The term "glyptic" comes from Greek, meaning "of engraving" And by this is meant the art of carving on precious or semi-precious stones. This art appeared in the Near East about six thousand years ago: deeply incised images were applied chiefly to cylinder seals. From the fourth century B.C., stones carved in relief—cameos—were widespread in Ancient Greece. They were often made from multi-layered precious stones. In northern Eurasia glyptic pieces were developed in the area north of the Black Sea and in the Caucasus (*Malaya* . . ., 1958). This term should probably be used only for a limited group of items of early art (with consideration of their method of preparation), such as individual sculpted nephrite images of the Neolithic Hunshan culture (Alkin 1995) or carved masks of the Tokareva culture (Lebedintsev 2000:Fig. 32:5). But the sculpted items that Zamyatnin studied, like similar figurines of stone from Siberia, the Far East, Chukotka, and other regions, cannot be put (with regard

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[2] Relief (from the Italian *relievo*—prominence, projection, rise), according to degree of prominence, can be subdivided into *gorel'ef*—high relief and *barel'ef*—low relief. There is yet another kind of relief—*vpalyi* [sunken] or *vrezannyi* [incised], which is achieved by means of removal of the planar surface around the image being planned in it, that is, the image is, as it were, outlined by an indentation (Ivanov 1970:6).

to technique, raw material, artistic mastery, or even functional assignment) into the same category with the gems of exceptional delicacy and beauty of Ancient Greece.

The term "mobile art" is also used by some archaeologists with great reserve. From Abramova's point of view, that name presupposes a self-propelled object and therefore the objects under discussion should be more correctly called "movable" (Abramova 1993:200).

I. Ya. Shewkomud suggests that small shaped objects be called "retouched sculpture" (personal communication), but such a definition expresses the essence of only a certain group of objects and leaves aside others, such as carved or ground (polished) sculptures.

These opinions, of a purely subjective nature, serve only as suggestions in regard to posing the problem of classifying the kinds of early representational art that has been so poorly illuminated and has practically no development in the archaeological literature. The terminology used in modern art studies is not fully applicable to archaeological items, which are characterized primarily by the technical and technological opportunities available to early society in its different stages. S. V. Ivanov, an expert on representational art, has demonstrated the significance of having accurate terms, particularly in relation to ethnographic objects (Ivanov 1970:7–18).

Inasmuch as the object of our research in this monograph is small sculpture, particularly small stone sculpture, it may be of interest to review the history of the discovery of this kind of portable art.

The public became acquainted with distinctive, shaped artifacts of stone (flint) in 1878 after N. K. Zenger published an illustration of a flint image of a seal from the Neolithic complex at Zimnyaya Zolotitsa village on the White Sea (Zamyatnin 1948:85). This find, among other figurines from Neolithic sites near Kazan and Murom (sites of the Volosovo culture), was shown at the Anthropological Exhibition of 1879 in Moscow (Zamyatnin 1948:86). In 1881, a large proportion of the shaped artifacts known of at that time was reprinted in the primary work of A. S. Uvarov (1881:1:323, 324; 2:Tbls. 14, 16). But after unfounded accusations by the greatest authority of that time, G. Mortil'e, regarding forgery of the "published Uvarov items," attention toward them waned (Zamyatnin 1948:86).

In 1948 the most eminent specialist in the realm of early art, S. N. Zamyatnin, took upon himself the work of summarizing and classifying flint sculptures that had been excavated from the Neolithic sites of northeastern Europe. His article, equivalent to a very condensed monograph, remains the only investigation of these "most curious statues" that provides the possibility of "more fully uncovering the beliefs and art of the early population" and "tracing cultural connections and continuity." Publishing flint sculptures from 30 Neolithic localities of the northern part of European Russia, Zamyatnin also draws on numerous published finds from Siberia, Kamchatka, Canada, Alaska, Patagonia, and Egypt. Not everything in Zamyatnin's interpretation of these sources may be considered indisputable, but the work itself is still relevant in light of numerous new finds from the White Sea to the Bering Sea. We should also acknowledge that which is due to the steadfast successors and followers of S. N. Zamyatnin who have not remained indifferent to the fate of these statues, which—though sometimes primitive in form—are priceless, considering their intrinsic value and permanent historical significance in context of culture invested in them by the early masters.

PART I

Historiographic Outline

The first information about miniature wooden or stone figurines among the peoples of extreme Northeast Asia is found in the works of a member of Vitus Bering's Second Kamchatka Expedition—S. P. Krasheninnikov—who made several trips between 1737 and 1741 to coastal and remote regions of Kamchatka. Describing the seasonal festivals of the native population of Kamchatka, Krasheninnikov dwelled in detail on the ceremonies and, what is especially valuable in the context of the theme of the present research, he provides a detailed description of all the ritual objects, a substantial part of which consisted of wooden Statuettes that differed among themselves in form and were made on definite canonical principles, each having its assignment in the ceremonial activities. Comparing and identifying these with Neolithic stone sculptures allow the symbolism of the latter to be revealed and their place in cult-ceremonial practice of primitive groups to be determined.

Krasheninnikov also mentions small stone idols in the part of his work that is dedicated to the Settled Koryak. Facts observed and recorded by this researcher are an excellent source for familiarization with the earliest period of this population, with roots going back into the Stone Age.

Contemporary with Krasheninnikov was Ya. I. Lindenau, also a member of the Second Kamchatka Expedition, and who also conducted research. He was commissioned to make a geographic description of the journey from Yakutsk to Okhotsk and observations "about the general conditions" of the life and affairs of the native peoples of Northeast Asia—the Yakut, Lamut (Even), Tungus (Evenk), Koryak, and Yukagir. In his *Description of the Peoples of Siberia* there is mention of small statuettes of wood and stone and the rituals for which they were made. Lindenau's observations of the Koryak are of indisputable value for a retrospective analysis. He left a detailed description of the winter dwelling (sunk into the ground) of the Koryak—the yurt. From the point of view of the problems that interest us, a description of the stairs leading to the upper exit is fascinating. Various small figures were distributed on the stairs—the ancestral raven, his wife, a whale, an eagle, the moon, the sun, and a mask personifying their god. Also, the order of distribution of the images is described (Lindenau 1983:109). This information is important for the understanding of mythological ideas of the early Koryak.

The investigations of Krasheninnikov and Lindenau are the earliest historical sources on the ethnography of the native peoples of Northeast Asia, their way of life, and beliefs and ceremonies, a large part of which fell into obscurity during the period of intensive Russian colonization. Krasheninnikov's biographers noted that his work is of immeasurable value for the study of the history of primitive society. I will therefore start from Krasheninnikov's testimony and commentaries in deciphering the meaning and classification of the Neolithic stone figurines from Kamchatka.

A description of wooden figurines—protectors and guardians—among the Chukchi was made by a member of the Billings Ethnographic Expedition, C. G. Merck, who traveled through Chukotka in 1791 and 1792. At the end of the nineteenth century multifaceted ethnographic investigations in Chukotka were conducted by W. G. Bogoras. In his work on the religion of the Chukchi is a description of wooden and stone anthropomorphic amulets. W. I. Jochelson wrote about wooden idols of the Yukagir at the end of the nineteenth century, having studied their way of life in the Kolyma River region. Thus, valuable information about small sculpted items in the native population of Northeast Asia is contained in the works of pioneer ethnographers of this severe and virtually inaccessible region.

In the archaeological literature the first mention of a small stone sculpture is by Jochelson, who led the ethnographic division of the Kamchatka Expedition, outfitted by F. P. Ryabushinskii, and who

conducted excavations in the Aleutian Islands and in Kamchatka at Petropavlovsk. Reports of the work of the expedition were published in the journals of the Russian Geographical Society. In a letter from Umnak Island in 1909 describing an archaeological collection, he mentions that "for the first time I discovered very primitive specimens of Aleut sculpture in stone, in the form of oblong batons of sandstone with an image of people and animals," which, in his opinion, served as amulets bearing a special name.

Jochelson's report was published in Washington in 1928, and in 1930 was translated into Russian.

On the Tarya Peninsula in Avacha Bay, where Jochelson dug, a Swedish expedition carried out excavations in 1920, the results of which have been published in part. Among other finds published for the Tar'in complex was an anthropomorphic figurine (Dikov 2004:Fig. 45:43; Schnell 1932).

In 1934, the fishing trawler *Krasnoarmeets* spent a long period in Tarya Bay. The mate of the trawler, N. A. Gurev, collected archaeological surface material at a damaged early pit house located in the area around the mouth of a stream that emptied into the bay. Four shaped objects were among the artifacts, one of which was presented by the finder to the mate of the Japanese steamship *Tali Maru*, while the other three, along with other objects, were presented to the museum at the Institute of Anthropology, Ethnography, and Archaeology, Academy of Sciences, USSR (Lev 1935:217), where they can still be found.

In 1935, Gurev's collection was described by D. N. Lev (1935:217–224). For interpretation of the human-like figurines from a Tar'in pit house, Lev drew ethnographic parallels from the lives of the Itel'men and from the California Indians. He turned his attention to the similarity of obsidian anthropomorphic figurines in Kamchatka with artifacts from the end of the Neolithic in the United States, England, Switzerland, and France, as well as flint sculptures from the Volosovo site near Murom (European Russia), which led him to settle on a Neolithic age for the whole Tar'in complex handed over by Gurev (Lev 1935:224).

In 1948, S. I. Rudenko published a detailed summary article in the journal *Soviet Ethnography* about the culture of the prehistoric population of Kamchatka. The author devoted special attention to miniature stone images of humans and animals. He examined five figurines: three anthropomorphic—one of which he treated as a seal figurine(?)—and two zoomorphic, a fish and a dog or fox (all from the Tar'in Neolithic complex) (Rudenko 1948:178). Showing these to be cult objects and comparing them with similar finds from Eastern and Western Europe and the United States, Rudenko concluded that they were convergent in origin "with one and the same ideological base." He considered any kind of "guardians" or "protectors" that were known among the Chukchi and Eskimos as the closest analogies to such images (Rudenko 1948:178).

In this same year, Zamyatnin published a long article in the journal *Soviet Archaeology* on miniature flint sculpture. The figurines from Kamchatka were also included in the account—a total of seven images, six previously known from the publications of Lev and Rudenko, the seventh more questionable inasmuch as it is most probably a fragment of a labret-like pin on which a head and a hind quarters with a leg were delineated with dotted lines (Zamyatnin 1948:Fig. 9).

The significance of Zamyatnin's research is difficult to overestimate. Today this is the only summary work of such scale in which all the small, shaped images known at that time—not just in Russia but outside it as well—are contained. Small sculpture from Egypt, Canada, Alaska, the United States, Mexico, Honduras, and Patagonia are represented in it. Touching upon the assignment of Russian shaped-stone artifacts and showing parallels in cliff painting, Zamyatnin combines them in groups connected "with one and the same cycle of rites and the practice of tribal cults, which," he assumes, "are reflected in festivals of a calendric character" (Zamyatnin 1948:112). Underlining the ritual character of flint sculptures and connecting them with ceremonies in which "sacrifice occupied the central place," the researcher comes to the rather questionable conclusion that a substantial group of shaped-flint images served as arrow points "for killing the sacrificial animal," but does not exclude the possibility of "subsequent preservation of these figurines" and the "use of them as amulets" (Zamyatnin 1948:122). Zamyatnin's work,

which set as its primary task "attracting attention to the most curious group of objects in our northern Neolithic," has not lost its significance and timeliness even up to the present day.

In 2004, N. N. Dikov's monograph *Early Cultures of Northeast Asia* was published in English. In it he also describes objects of representational work in the Upper Paleolithic complexes of the Ushki I site.

A whole series of Neolithic stone figurines from Kamchatka was published posthumously in a monograph by T. M. Dikova (1983). She was one of the first among Northeast Asian archaeology researchers to turn serious attention to shaped images of stone, trying to decipher their meaning. Unfortunately, many of her ideas (for example, on the left-handedness of a whole group of tools of early man) were not realized because of her premature demise. Dikov assembled Dikova's only monograph (based on sketches, field notes, and diaries) and prepared it for publication. She described a series of anthropo- and zoomorphic stone sculptures she had found in excavations of sites in southern Kamchatka that varied in time and functional orientation.

In 1985 A. K. Ponomarenko published *The Early Culture of the Itel'men of Eastern Kamchatka*, in which he sums up his 1971 surveys and excavations in eastern Kamchatka and publishes materials of more than 70 early sites in detail. A series of anthropo- and zoomorphic small sculpture was also described. Two zoomorphic and one anthropomorphic images that he found during excavations at a Neolithic site in southern Kamchatka—the Bol'shoi Kamen' site—add to this series (Ponomarenko 1989). Within the collection of Bol'shoi Kamen' artifacts, the author turns his attention to a "crescent-shaped obsidian artifact" that, in his opinion, could have served as a "calibrator for working arrow shafts," but recognizing the inconvenience of this object for such operations, he supposed it could have had a ritual assignment (Ponomarenko 1989:127), which seems closer to actuality inasmuch as it is is more reasonable to treat this curious object as a crescent. One other anthropomorphic image is known from the same site and was published by Ponomarenko in 1976. Thus, the collection of small art objects from Kamchatka at present numbers about 50 items including figurines obtained in the Paleolithic levels at the Ushki sites; five of the latter have been published (Dikov 1997; 2004).[3]

In 1979, two divisions were formed in the Northeast Asian Interdisciplinary Archaeological Expedition (led by Dikov). They were called upon to begin archaeological investigations in northwestern Priokhot'e (led by A. I. Lebedintsev) and in western Chukotka (led by M. A. Kiriyak). Systematic study of the largest territories was begun based on problems set before the Laboratories of Archaeology, History, and Ethnography of the Northeastern Interdisciplinary Science Research Institute of the Far East Science Center of the Academy of Sciences, USSR (now Northeastern Interdisciplinary Science Research Institute of the Far East Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences [SVKNII DVO RAN]). One of the foremost of these problems was cultural-economic and ethnic development in Northeast Asia in antiquity. The collection of data continues. From this data come very interesting objects of small art (sculpture and graphic arts on stone and bone) representing the activity of the early residents of the North.

The first evidence of highly artistic anthropomorphic representation found in the region of the Okhotsk coast was published in the journal *Priroda* (Lebedintsev 1981). Lebedintsev, describing a unique piece of portable art, indicates duality in his interpretation. First, he treats the sculpture as the image of "an early coastal resident of the middle of the second millennium B.C." (Lebedintsev 1981:120) in which, in his opinion, "the early artist reflected the ethnic features and appearance of the people surrounding him" (Lebedintsev 1981:120). Then, he suggests that the pendant served as an amulet, being a cult effigy of a patron or guardian (Lebedintsev 1981:120). He repeats this same interpretation of the pendant later with the additional proposal that such artifacts were decorations (Lebedintsev 1990:82). There is no doubt that the Tokareva pendant has historical value as a small sculpture in which the early "sculptor" reflected

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[3] In his last monograph A. K. Ponomarenko describes and interprets six anthropomorphic and four zoomorphic (wolf, fish, and bird) figurines of wood that he found in northern and southern Kamchatka (Ponomarenko 2000:178–180). The finds are dated to the first millennium A. D. (Ponomarenko 2000:181).

the realistic features of one of his contemporaries with great mastery. And the specific details of the image and ethnographic parallels sanction its connection to an ancestral cult.

Another article published by Lebedintsev (1983) in the journal *Priroda* is dedicated to small art from the Sea of Okhotsk region. The subject of the article is a group of zoomorphic pendants. In identifying the images (three sea mammals and waterfowl) the author assigns them duality of functional classification as well, designating the figurines as a category of ornaments and at the same time concluding they had a magical role in the procurement practices of early sea hunters (Lebedintsev 1983:118).

The next stone artifact of artistic form was also published in the journal *Priroda* (Lebedintsev 1984). In this article, "a stone decoration with an image of a spiral" is examined (Lebedintsev 1984:120). The author finds the closest analogies to this image in the Neolithic of the Lower Amur (the petroglyphs of Sakachi-Alyan), where the spiral was connected with the image and cult of the serpent. The Tokareva pendant, in Lebedintsev's opinion, "represents a solar sign—a symbol of the sun." Bringing in the image of a spiral on a ceramic stamp from an early Eskimo site as a parallel (Lebedintsev 1984:Fig. 42), he expresses the view that the image of the spiral, "having emerged in the Neolithic of the Far East," gradually "spread from the Lower Amur to ever more northern territories," having penetrated through northern Priokhot'e to the Eskimos (in the first millennium A.D.) (Lebedintsev 1984:120).

Though supposing that "the image of the spiral appeared among the early population of Priokhot'e as a result of close cultural contacts with the Amur Neolithic tribes" (Lebedintsev 1984:120), Lebedintsev does not see a succession of its cult symbolism. However, he found the image of a serpent in particular embodied in the Tokareva image, which is expressed not only by the prominence of the spiral-like cylinder, but also by the two holes in the presumed head that imitate eyes. Besides the solar interpretation, the spiral could have symbolism connected with cosmogonic or other ideas of the early population. Various interpretations of this subject are characteristic of American Indians (Okladnikov 1979:93). It is also unclear why spiral-like symbolism always had to be borrowed from southern neighbors. The Eskimos, with their unique art of bone carving and as authors of poly-iconic sculpture on walrus tusk, which has no analogies, might also have borrowed the spiral motif from the American Indians. During excavations of the Late Neolithic Rauchuvagytgyn I site (dated by C-14 to 2500 years ago) in the Arctic region of Western Chukotka we found inscribed stones, among which was a slate slab with an image of a truncated pyramid and two spirals (Kiriyak 1998). The ideas connected with the spiral-like design could have come to the Northeast as a result of contacts with eastern Siberian tribes, in whose territory (in cemeteries and cliff painting) representations of serpents are encountered. The small number of such representations in Northeast Asia can be explained only by insufficient archaeological study of the region.

In his next publication of artistic stone artifacts in the Neolithic of northern Priokhot'e, Lebedintsev expands the circle of objects being examined, citing previous specimens as well. This time the interpretation of their symbolism changes. Now, in his opinion, "fetishism and animalistic representations" can be clearly traced in the small sculpture of the Tokareva site (Lebedintsev 1985:107), and the author classifies the "simplest pendants" as fetishes (Lebedintsev 1985:107).

In subsequent publications Lebedintsev turns away from treating the symbolism specificity of the portable art of the Tokareva sites (Lebedintsev 1990; 2000), but in the latest work, describing figurines of animals and birds, he again touches upon their functional classification and supposes that they "might have been not just ornaments, but could have filled the role of protectors against lack of success in hunting" (Lebedintsev 1996:143).

The content of Tokareva art was determined by a cultural-economic system within the framework of which flowed the vital functions of the Late Neolithic population of northern Priokhot'e and a social structure with signs of a patriarchal clan. Diverse in subject, it has multiple semantic meanings as well. In it is a reflection of the natural environment, of economic procurement activity of the early groups and individuals, and of representations of a religious world view and myth creation. In technique, artistic expression, and subject, the portable art in the Tokareva sites (Lebedintsev published all the finds) differ in

significant degree from inland forms of contiguous regions (Chukotka and Yakutia) by being, at first glance, more primitive, but at bottom reflecting a qualitatively different world of images.

The collection of small stone sculpture from Chukotka presently numbers more than 40 items. In 1979, N. N. Dikov published an anthropomorphic figurine from the material complex of the Ust'-Belaya cemetery in central Chukotka (Dikov 2004:Fig. 55, 60:14). Also, three shaped images of stone were found in western Chukotka (Kiriyak 1993b). During this same year the collection of artifacts from Lake El'gygytgyn was analyzed in central Chukotka in the Laboratory of Archaeology, History, and Ethnography SVKNII DVO RAN and was published as a descriptive work. In the collection, besides everyday items, were a group of shaped-stone miniatures (Kiriyak 1993a).

The first investigation of early sculpted images from the inland regions of Chukotka was undertaken in 1993 (Kiriyak 1993c). In it an understanding of their content and meaning is approached by analyzing 12 objects of animalistic art, which refrains from a more complex interpretation of their functional assignment. The first approaches to an appraisal of the morphological features of these items are sketched. Two masks from western Chukotka sites are also examined at the same visual angle (Kiriyak 1997). In the published materials, three sculpted works are from eastern Chukotka: one in the multicomponent inland Chuvaigytkhyn II site (Dikov 1997:Pl. 78:6), the second from the Paleolithic Ul'khum I site (Dikov 1993:Fig. 19:18), and the third from the Bering Sea Geka I site (Orekhov 1995).

The historiography of this research theme is not rich. It reflects the limited degree of archaeological study in virtually inaccessible regions. At the same time, we were convinced of the need to advocate for further surveying and discovery by the several shaped pendants (including ones of anthropomorphic form) in the Upper Paleolithic layers of the Ushki V site in Kamchatka found in 2000.

All the data on Chukotkan small sculpture are limited to these few references. In light of the problems placed before Siberian and Far Eastern archaeologists, the necessity of publishing all the presently available materials on early art was imperative inasmuch as the task "of broad correlation of art objects . . . within the framework of the entire geographic region" is seen as "critical and very fruitful" (Krupyanko and Tabarev 1996).

PART I

Chapter I

Small Stone Art Forms in Archaeological Assemblages

1.

A Brief Cultural-Chronological Description of Archaeological Assemblages

Small sculpted images are present in archaeological assemblages of varied temporal and cultural association. They were obtained during surveys and excavations in the Northern Far East. The most expedient way to examine these items of portable art is within the context of cultural assemblages based on chronology and in consideration of two economic types: one characteristic for the early inland populations and one for coastal populations of the region.

A large part of this discussion is based on the research literature of specialists who carried out extensive investigations in the Northeastern region of Russia and is substantially abbreviated here. However, unpublished materials are introduced here for the first time.

Upper Paleolithic

The earliest small sculpted artifacts are stone pendants found in excavations of Layer VII of the Upper Paleolithic Ushki culture (Dikov 2004). Two pendants symbolize a female form (Fig. 2:1, 2), a third is a reduced representation of a mammoth (Fig. 2:3). The early Ushki culture that is represented in Layer VII of the Ushki I site existed between 14,300 ± 200 (MAG-500) and 13,800 ± 250 (GIN-167). Ten surface dwellings were investigated in this cultural layer. In the center of the site was an isolated burial, possibly of an ancestral member of the village, which was made apparent by red ocher abundantly strewn in the area around the 0.7-meter-deep burial pit, which was filled with lumps of ocher. Due to water erosion only fragmentary traces of the deceased's bones remained, but 881 pyrophyllite beads, which probably decorated the clothing, were excellently preserved. Characteristic for the material assemblage in Layer VII were flat, stemmed projectile points; leaf-shaped, bifacial, stone knives and spear points; pyrophyllite beads and pendants; and chalcedony gravers for making them (Pl. 1). The assemblage from Layer VII of the Ushki sites has no known analogy among Upper Paleolithic cultures in Siberia and the Far East (Dikov 1997; 2004).

The economy of the early Ushki people was based primarily on fishing, which was stimulated by the natural environment—the unfrozen winter lake is a spawning ground for salmonid fish even up to the present time. The tool kit and osteological remains of Layer VII allow us to reason that the hunting of moose and reindeer—and probably horse and bison as well—was the leading occupation (Dikov 1993).

Two shaped artifacts were found during excavations at the Bol'shoi El'gakhchan I site in the Omolon River basin (Northern Even Region, Magadan Province). These were representations of a mammoth (Fig. 16:3) and a bird (Fig. 27a).

In many of its technical and typological indicators the El'gakhchan assemblage is analogous to the Upper Paleolithic assemblage of Layer VII in the Ushki I, V, and VI sites (Pl. 2). Such elements of these two assemblages as stemmed arrow points (the most diagnostic index), blades and artifacts made from them, leaf-shaped and oval bifaces, pointed tools, and unifacial knives are compared (Kiriyak 1989, 1990, 1993b, 1996). At the same time, the presence of artifacts on cobbles—unifacial choppers, bifacial choppers, skreblos (planes) with a high back, and the isolated but very characteristic find of a ski-shaped spall—makes the El'gakhchan assemblage similar to late (in relation to Layer VII) Upper Paleolithic Layer VI of the Ushki sites, and may possibly be a sign of the succession of superseding cultures in the middle Omolon basin during the Upper Paleolithic. The assemblage from the Bol'shoi El'gakhchan I site does not have a firm date: no charcoal was found in the relatively small area occupied by the early seasonal site, and palynological analysis wouldn't be accurate by virtue of the specific stratigraphy of the site. The only method of dating is comparative typology.

The situation is similar in the mixed Upper Paleolithic Ul'khum site in eastern Chukotka as well, where two shaped-stone artifacts are representations of a mammoth (Fig. 14:2) and a fish (Fig. 23:1). Dikov found the site in 1981. On a scattered surface, as well as during excavation, artifacts were found that were "very characteristic for the Beringian Paleolithic tradition": a stemmed point, end cores and common wedge-shaped cores, bifacial knives and projectile points, end scrapers on blades, knife-like blades and microblades, axe-shaped tools made by the Levallois technique, and others (Pl. 3) (Dikov 1993:41; Figs. 18, 19). Dikov, analyzing the assemblage in which stone artifacts characteristic for different Paleolithic cultures of the extreme Northeast (wedge-shaped cores and stemmed points) are combined, supposes "at least two diachronic Paleolithic cultures, similar to the early Ushki and late Ushki cultures of Layers VII and VI at the Ushki I and V sites in Kamchatka" are mixed in the surface material of the site (Dikov 1993:41), which was later corroborated by more detailed excavations (Dikov 1997:87).

A group of small sculpted items was found in Layer VI of the Ushki I site. Among them were five representations of mammoths (Figs. 13:1, 2; 14:1, 3; 16:2), one poly-iconic figurine (Fig. 3), and a figurine of a fish (Fig. 23:2) (Dikov 1993:32; Figs. 14:1; 15:6).

The late Ushki Upper Paleolithic culture is represented by Layer VI of the Ushki I and Ushki V sites, for which radiocarbon dates of 10,860 ± 400 (MAG-400), 10,760 ± 110 (MAG-219), and 10,360 ± 350 (MO-345) were obtained. This culture was radically different from the preceding both in house construction and by its technical-typological indicators.[4] More than 40 houses of various types were found at the Ushki I site, among which three types were distinguished: sunken, with an entry corridor (of mushroom shape) and a hearth with a stone ring border; sunken, without a corridor but with similar hearth construction; and surface, with traces of open fires (Dikov 1993). Burials of children and dogs were found in the sunken houses. In two child burials, both deciduous and permanent teeth were preserved, judging by which the deceased were between 2 and 6 years of age. In one of these burials more than 150 teeth were found, though only "isolated yellow traces" of the bones remained (Dikov 1993). Characteristic for the Layer VI assemblage of the Ushki sites is the use of wedge-shaped cores, which are entirely lacking in Layer VII. Also present in the assemblage is a large number of microblades, ski-shaped spalls, dihedral and angle burins on flakes, and skreblos/knives of the "Siberian" type. Specific elements of the artifact

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[4]"Technical-typological" is a commonly used term in Russian archaeology. It refers to both the technique of preparation and they ultimate type of the tool.—*Trans.*

assemblage of Layer VI are stone lip inserts or labrets (or imitations of them) and numerous pendants and beads (Fig. 2:4, 12, 13, 19–23, 25, 27, 28).

Bifacial stone tools are characteristic for this late Ushki Upper Paleolithic culture, but projectile points are narrow, leaf-shaped, and stemless (Pl. 2). A feature of this assemblage is the presence of a distinctive type of macro-tools and skreblos/planes (Dikov 1993). The economy had a stable complex character: hunting bison, reindeer, and mammoths was combined with highly productive fishing and collecting (Dikov 1993).

The spiritual world of the late Paleolithic Ushki people is revealed not only through burials, but also through objects of portable art: sculpted representations of mammoths, a poly-iconic anthropomorphic figurine, a representation of a fish, and sandstone slabs with drawings and cross-shaped illustrations made with dots. On the floor of one house was a geoglyph—a representation of a fish made with red ocher. Certain religious ideas are connected to the multitude of lemming incisors found in the burials, once sewn—based on the investigator's assumption—to a mat, and to the dozens of children's deciduous teeth with holes bored through the roots that evidently composed a necklace (Dikov 1993; 2004).

Relict Paleolithic, Mesolithic

Two figurines were found by me at the Tytyl'vaam II site (Bilibin Region of the Chukotka Autonomous District), which was discovered in 1996. A small sculpture of a bear was found in the surface material (Fig. 17:1), and an image of a "mammoth-bison" was found during profiling (Fig. 16:1).

The complex we are examining reveals the coexistence of three technological complexes—blade, microblade, and bifacial. The blade complex is based on reduction of large prismatic, subprismatic, and orthogonal cores by parallel flaking. The microblade technology is based on microcores flaked from the end. A highly developed bifacial technology is also represented in these complexes.

The material complex (Pl. 7) marks the appearance of a culture previously unknown in Chukotka, which is represented by artifacts from the sites of Tytyl'vaam II–V and Podgornaya (as well as a component in the cultural remains of the Verkhnetytyl'skaya VI site). The sites occupy a huge area and require further investigation. Dates of 9725 ± 45 (CAMS-80788) and 9820 ± 40 (CAMS-80789) were obtained for the Tytyl'vaam complex (site IV, Locus I).

A small pebble sculpture of a human head (Fig. 9a:3), a mask-like pebble (Fig. 9a:1), and a fragment of a polished pendant (Fig. 9a:2) were found during the excavation of the upper area of the Bol'shoi El'gakhchan I site.

A cobble sculpture—a face (Fig. 9)—was found during excavation at the Siberdik site on the upper Kolyma (Tenkin Region, Magadan Province). The earliest stage of the Siberdik culture—dating to 9470 ± 530 (Kril-314)—is defined by the artifacts from the lower layer of the Kongo site.

Two sequential stages of this culture, which Dikov (2004:69) believes are Paleolithic, are represented at the Siberdik site. The earliest stage in this site is in the bottom (third) layer, for which a "combination industry of knife-like blades and cobble tools-unifacial choppers" is characteristic (Dikov 2004:71). In the assemblage a wedge-shaped core, burins on thin knife-like blades, blades with obliquely retouched edges and lateral notches, leaf-shaped arrow points, end scrapers on massive blade flakes, etc., were noted (Pl. 5) (Dikov 2004:74, Figs. 29, 31). This horizon of the Siberdik site is dated to 8480 ± 200 (Kril-249) and 8020 ± 80 (Kril-250) (Dikov 2004:74, Figs. 29, 31).

The concluding stage of the Siberdik culture is represented by artifacts from the second layer of the site, a radiocarbon date for which is 6300 ± 170 (Kril-248).

Analyzing the material remains, Dikov concluded that the inhabitants "occupied themselves predominantly with hunting and most probably not mammoths now, but rather reindeer and horses, the bones of which were encountered repeatedly in the lower layer of the Siberdik site" (Dikov 2004:74). Unfortunately, the provenance of the sculpted image of the face of the early Siberdik person is unclear. However, it may have come from the lower layer (Dikova, personal communication).

The Druchak Vertenyi site (North Even Region, Magadan Province) can probably be considered synchronic with a very early (the first) stage of the Siberdik culture. Its artifact assemblage represents a meaningful fragment of early Holocene culture, at present recorded at only one location "on the southern (Okhotsk) flank of the central part of the Kolyma upland" (Vorobei 1996:24). The site was excavated by I. E. Vorobei, a member of the MOKM. In the Druchak assemblage there is a "slab of diabase with concave-convex edges and separated points" (Vorobei 1996:44). According to the researcher, the slab was found *in situ* in a vertical position (personal communication). The author of the find does not object to its interpretation as a representation of a mammoth (Fig. 15).

In the stone assemblage, the layer of macro-artifacts can be divided into: Levallois cores, macroblades, macroscrapers, adzes, picks, etc. In the collection there is also a series of microforms represented by wedge-shaped cores. In the tool set the different categories of the inventory are burins (dihedral, angle, lateral, and transverse), perforators, notched tools, scrapers, skreblos, projectile points, blades with retouch, etc. (Pl. 6).

Based on the results of analysis of palynological samples, Vorobei determined the date of the site as the Boreal period, 9,500 to 8,000 years ago (Vorobei 1996:49), suggesting that the assemblage from Druchak Vetrenyi characterizes it as a seasonal camp of forest hunters (Vorobei 1996:48).

A figurine of a bear in a sitting position (Fig. 17:4) was found at the Tytyl' IV site, Locus 3, during excavation of the cultural layer. The stone collection from the site represents a "pure" cultural-chronological assemblage. Primary flake removal was carried out on cores of different forms: wedge- and pencil-shaped, conical, and prismatic. The series of cores and blanks suggest a continuation of the tradition of flaking stone from the Paleolithic. Knife-like blades and sections of them served as blanks for tools, as did cobble spalls, blades, blade flakes, amorphous flakes, and spalls from rejuvenated core platforms. One feature of the industry of the site is unifacialness. The inventory is separated into two components: micro- and macroliths. The microliths include burins on knife-like blades, punches, perforators, chisel-like instruments, and notched tools (Pl. 8). In the collection of macroliths, end scrapers predominate and are typologically uniform. Morphologically individual tools in the macro assemblage are a chisel, a polisher, and three pointed tools (Kiriyak 1994, 1996). Two representational artifacts add to the collection: a small sculpture of a sitting bear and a fragment of a small slate slab with incised lines (Figure 46). The presence of forms that belong to the Upper Paleolithic, as well as analogies to Yakutian, eastern Chukotkan, and American assemblages, lead to dating of the assemblage to the earliest period of the Holocene, possibly the end of the ninth and eighth millennia B.C. (Kiriyak 1996).

Among the artifacts found at the Tytyl' VI site is a skull-like visage on a fragment of a knife-like blade (Fig. 8a). The complex of artifacts from this site is similar in technique and technology to the preceding one at the Tytyl' IV site, Locus 3, which leads us to consider it as Mesolithic (Pl. 9).

Neolithic and Paleo-Metal

In the Bol'shoi El'gakhchan IV site (North Even Region, Magadan Province) an anthropo-ornithomorphic figurine was found while removing the cultural layer (Fig. 6:1; Pl. 10). The surface material consisted predominantly of knife-like blades. Two prismatic micro-cores, knife-like blades with and without retouch, a burin/graver, two fragments of points on blades with the tips worked by edge retouch, and a stemmed, bifacially worked point with a leaf-shaped triangular tip were found following the removal of 18 m^2 of the cultural layer. No ceramics were noted. Individual elements of the assemblage (the points) can be correlated with finds from the Upper Paleolithic layer of the Bol'shoi El'gakhchan I site. The cores are characteristic for the Neolithic of Northeast Asia. It can be reasoned that the cultural remains of the site, with an insubstantial sod cover, have a mixed character. The site was completely excavated.

Three small sculptures belong to the assemblage of the Nizhnetytyl'skaya IV site (Bilibin Region, Chukotka Autonomous District): two of them are symbolic representations (according to S. N. Zamyatnin's classification)—a polygon in the form of an asterisk (Fig. 29:4) and the head of a deer with a crescent (Fig. 29:5). The third figurine is a sitting bird (Fig. 28:5).

This site was discovered during a survey of the lower part of Lake Tytyl' in 1987. Brightly colored artifacts of silicified slate, jasper, chalcedony, and obsidian were visible on a broken sod surface situated on a 5- to 6-meter bench of the involved morainal hill. In the surface assemblage were fragments of a prismatic core, ribbed blades, knife-like blades, burins and gravers on blades, rectangular and lanceolate bifacially retouched inset blades, multifaceted burins, microscrapers, and a single micro-arrow point (Pl. 11). Also among the cultural remains were two figurines—a deer and a bird. Later, a small (25 m^2) excavation was carried out here. Under the sod were traces of a fireplace, with a large number of artifacts of stone and fragments of smooth-walled ceramics pointing toward it. Along with the artifacts, which were identical to those taken from the surface (prismatic cores, knife-like blades, multifaceted burins, end scrapers on flakes—Pl. 11:8, 11, 14–17), were forms encountered for the first time in western Chukotka. Flattened, convex cores with a wedge-shaped base (Pl. 11:3–5) and boat-shaped and multifaceted burins (Pl. 11:7, 12, 13), as well as unique (for the site) objects, such as an end scraper on a macroblade (Pl. 11:1), a keel-shaped core with blades removed from the end (Pl. 11:2), and a shaped artifact in the form of an asterisk (Pl. 11:6) all belong to this group.

The character of the materials obtained during the process of excavation attests to a Neolithic dating for the artifacts.

A large number of representational artifacts were found during this investigation and later in excavations at the Tytyl' V site (Bilibin Region). In the surface collection there is a sculpted image of a mammoth (Fig. 16:4). Several more figurines were found during the course of excavations: three small fish (Fig. 24:1–3), an owl (Fig. 28:1), a ground squirrel (Fig. 21:1), a small sculpture that is probably an amphibious triton (Fig. 25:1), and two zoomorphic images of indeterminate characters (Fig. 31:4, 6). In addition, among the cultural remains are graffiti (on a slate slab—see Fig. 93—and on a piece of ceramic).

Artifacts obtained from the excavated area of the site (about 200 m^2) have a mixed character (Pl. 17). Most of the finds belong to the Late Neolithic (North Chukotkan culture), but there are objects characteristic of pre-ceramic assemblages in nearby locations, and there is a mixture of ceramics from the early Iron Age (based on Yakutian chronology). Three planimetrically separate areas are distinguished by the leading types of diachronic complexes.

A general selection of the assemblage is provided in Plate 12. Primary flaking is represented by prismatic cores (Pl. 12:6, 10); knife-like blades retouched along the edges (Pl. 12:9); various types of points (Pl. 12:1–5, 11–14, 16); end scrapers on massive blades (Pl. 12:15); knives with one and with two working edges on blades (Pl. 12:8); platy pieces (Pl. 12:20); bifaces (Pl. 12:21); various kinds of blanks

(Pl. 12:22), among which triangular ones of file-shaped form predominate; and fragments of ceramics, among which a waffle design with square and rectangular cells predominates, although ceramics with a large cell rhomboid stamp are also encountered (Pl. 12:19). Fragments of plates of baleen (Pl. 12:7) and shaped artifacts of stone (Pl. 12:18) and carved bone were also found (Pl. 12:17).

Three-sided, file-shaped points and waffle ceramics are the distinguishing elements of the Late Neolithic North Chukotkan culture, which was widespread in Chukotka during the second half of the second millennium and the first half of the first millennium B.C. These sites were left by hunters of wild deer who left accumulations of split long bones at the site. At the same time, the economy may have had a complex character inasmuch as among the faunal remains are fish bones that include easily identified burbot vertebrae. Fish figurines discovered in the excavations provide evidence that fishing was a subsidiary pursuit among the early Tytyl' people. Lake Tytyl' was visited from the very beginning of the Holocene. This is attested by diachronic cultural materials found on its shores at more than 30 sites.

In the mixed assemblage of surface artifacts collected at the Tytyl' IV site (Bilibin Region) there are seven sculpted images: two bears (Fig. 17:2, 7), a bear's head (Fig. 18:2), a figurine of a bird (goose) (Fig. 28:4), a fantastic character with a serpent-like body (Fig. 31:9), and two that are unidentifiable (Fig. 31:1, 2). Surface materials were collected at Locus 1, where a sunken house with an assemblage of artifacts of Late Neolithic (North Chukotka) culture was found and opened.

Also in the surface collection assemblage from the Tytyl' IV site (Pl. 13) are cores that are predominantly single-platform and prismatic in shape with circumferential blade removal, as well as a large group of conical cores (Pl. 13:1–5), and specimens with a flattened counter-front (Pl. 13:6). The products of initial flaking are blades (Pl. 13:7) and small knife-like blades (Pl. 13:8–10). Dart and arrow points that are leaf-shaped (Pl. 13:20–22, 28) and truncated leaf-shaped (Pl. 13:25), triangular (Pl. 13:22, 26, 27), and three-sided file-shaped (Pl. 13:24) belong to a large category of artifacts. Scrapers are represented by specimens made on sections of blades (Pl. 13:11, 12, 13) and on flakes (Pl. 13:31). Knives are diverse: one and two working edges on slate blades with retouched working edges; bifacial with leaf-shaped forms; and percussion-flaked along the edge. In the collection are multifaceted burins, among which are specimens with a polyhedral working edge (Pl. 13:29). Gravers were formed from flakes (Pl. 13:30). Adzes (Pl. 13:15) and chisels (Pl. 13:16) are rectangular in plan and cross section. Fragments of ceramics are smooth-walled (Pl. 13:19) and have technical decoration applied by a paddle with a waffle stamp (Pl. 13:17, 18); small holes (conical, biconical, and cylindrical) are noted under the rim. The cultural remains of the assemblage attest to its mixed (diachronic) character. A large number of split reindeer bones were found beneath the sod at the site, indicating a hunting orientation in the economy of the early Tytyl' people.

Several zoomorphic figurines in the artifact assemblage from Lake El'gygytgyn in central Chukotka were found and then passed along by geologists. These include small sculptures of a brown bear (Fig. 17:3), a horse (?) (Fig. 31:3), a flying bird (Fig. 28:3), and an owl (Fig. 28:2).[5]

In the surface collection (Pl. 14) are prismatic cores (Pl. 14:1), knife-like blades (Pl. 14:8), and burins on knife-like blades (Pl. 14:7). In the tool set are three-sided file-shaped points (Pl. 14:6); stemmed unifacially convex points—one with a triangular tip (Pl. 14:2), another having a sub-rhomboid form (Pl. 14:5); and leaf-shaped and truncated leaf-shaped points (Pl. 14:3, 4, 13, 14); as well as knives that are leaf-shaped (Pl. 14:9), rectangular bifacially worked (Pl. 14:10), and otherwise modified (Pl. 14:11); and one fragment of a smooth-walled ceramic (Pl. 14:12). The primary types of stone inventory permit the assignment of this assemblage to the North Chukotkan culture (Kiriyak 1993a).

The North Chukotkan culture existed in Chukotka for a rather long time. Dikov dates it to the beginning of the second millennium B.C. (Dikov 2004). However, radiocarbon data place the lower boundary for this culture at the end of the third and beginning of the second millennia B.C. (the date of

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[5] The figurines were provided by V. F. Belyi and O. Yu. Glushkova, members of SVKNII DVO RAN.

the Tytyl' IV site is 4290 ± 100, MAG-1094). Its upper boundary is fixed at the middle of the first millennium B.C. (a western Chukotkan site of this culture—Rauchuvagytgyn I–is dated by charcoal from a hearth to 2500 ± 100, MAG-902). In the assemblage of the Rauchuvagytgyn I site the diagnostic elements are fragments of waffled (Pl. 15:7) and ribbed ceramics; triangular points with lenticular cross section found in large number during the process of excavation (Pl. 15:2); truncated leaf-shaped points (Pl. 15:1); stemmed points with triangular tips (Pl. 15:3); a series of multifaceted burins on flakes and fragments of broken tools; isolated specimens of three-sided points; bifacial knives, among which are those with a haft, as well as shaped specimens otherwise characteristic for the Rauchuvagytgyn assemblage (Pl. 15:5, 6); and a bone foreshaft with a stone point (Pl. 15:2). Primary flaking was conducted using a prismatic core from which knife-like blades were split and, as a rule, used as burins, gravers, and grooved implements (Kiriyak 1993b:Pls. 88-105).[6] In the cultural layer of the Rauchuvagytgyn I site a small poly-iconic sculpture (Fig. 20) and a miniature mask-like image (Fig. 8b) were found. A large number of slate slabs and flat pebbles with graffiti were discovered in blowouts as well as in the excavations (see Part II).

A figurine of a sea mammal (Fig. 22:6) was taken from the surface at the Ilirneigytgyn V site (upper Kymynei River, eastern Chukotka).

Based on its type assemblage, the Ilirneigytgyn complex is close to that described above for the Rauchuvagytgyn I site. Several triangular points were found in it, among which are fragments of leaf-shaped ones and one specimen of a stemmed unifacially convex point; knives on slate slabs, the working edges of which were retouched; and typical Late Neolithic scrapers on flakes. This industry is based on the production of prismatic blades and the making of various implements from them (Pl. 16). The assemblage of artifacts was collected during a survey, so the site remains basically uninvestigated. The data, though limited in quantity, allows assignment of this complex to the terminal stages of the Late Neolithic in Chukotka (Kiriyak n.d.).

A small sculpture of a bear (Fig. 17:5) made on a flake of gray hornfels was found on the surface of a six- to seven-meter terrace located near the mouth of the Uimyveem River, which empties from the right bank into the upper reaches of the Velikaya River. The surface of the site was examined and a small assemblage of stone artifacts collected that were made of hornfels, silicified slate, obsidian, and chalcedony. The collection consisted of the following artifacts: one core blank, four knives, three scrapers, two fragments of points, two blanks, one punch, one blade flake, and nineteen flakes (Pl. 17). A small subcubic pebble was in all probability a blank of a core for flakes. Several conchoidal spalls had been removed from one side. A distinctive trait can be seen in knife manufacturing at this site: one side of the artifact was subjected to complete retouch, while the working edge of the instrument (on one or both sides) was treated to a multifaceted edge retouch. The collection of knives consisted of leaf-shaped instruments: one had a butt with a truncated end (Pl. 17:9), a second was similar to points in form and workmanship (Pl. 17:5), a third was oval/sub-rectangular in form (Pl. 17:4), and a fourth on an amorphous flake had an arc-shaped working edge (Pl. 17:6). Points in this assemblage are represented by base fragments: one is sub-trapezoidal in form and the second is sub-rectangular (Pl. 17:2, 3). A blade flake with sharpening retouch along the edges might have served as a knife.

Three tools are scrapers (based on morphology): two of them are on large flakes with a cortex and a high, arc-shaped working edge (Pl. 17:7, 10). The third implement is on a flake with a slightly notched working edge and is possibly a spokeshave. A punch on an obsidian flake has edges coming together at an acute angle and a tip formed by the finest retouch (Pl. 17:8). Seventeen flakes of homogeneous hornfels and two of light silicified slate represent the debitage.

The Uimyveem assemblage does not have distinct diagnostic elements. The leaf-shaped form of a knife and a fragment of a flat sub-rectangular point base with spreading diagonal retouch indicate a Late

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[6] The assemblage at the Rauchuvagytgyn I site denotes the concluding stage of the North Chukotkan culture. It is very close in its characteristics to the late assemblage at the Ust'-Belaia cemetery (Dikov 2004).

Neolithic age. This assemblage is similar to Kanchalan in its technical and technological indices (Dikova 1964:41–53). The site requires more investigation.

Two sculpted items were discovered—an anthropomorphic figurine (Fig. 4:11) and a profile image of a bear cub's head (Fig. 18:2)—during a survey of a 10- to 12-meter morainal hill in the upper area of Lake Tytyl' (the Verkhnetytyl'skaya IV site). The surface collections are represented by artifacts typical for the North Chukotkan culture. Among them are three-sided file-shaped points and a large number of flattened points with rectangular stems and triangular tips (a cache of more than 60 was found at the foot of a large boulder).

In all probability the assemblage of artifacts collected by Dikov on Osinovaya Spit (Anadyr River basin), which includes an image of a seal, can be assigned to the Late Neolithic (Fig. 22:4) (Dikov 2003:Pl. 84). The author of the find did not identify the figurine. The site on Osinovaya Spit was of the inland type, but during excavations bone objects were found along with stone artifacts: a leister prong, a piece of walrus tusk, a bear's canine, and the foreshaft of a toggling harpoon (Dikov 2003:118). Among the faunal remains were seal bones (Dikov 2003:118).

Dikov noted an anthropomorphic flint figurine (Fig. 5:3) among artifacts of the later complex of the Ust'-Belaya cemetery (Dikov 2003:Figs. 55:2; 60:14), where the stone inventory had no distinct forms (Pl. 18). The triangular points have analogies in the North Chukotkan culture, as do the multifaceted burins, while the adzes are crude and on pieces of slab, although there are ground specimens (Dikov 2003:132–134, Fig. 56). Bronze burins and a toggling harpoon head provide a distinctiveness to the Ust'-Belaya assemblage (Dikov 2003:132–134, Fig. 56), which, like the figurine of the seal in the assemblage of the inland-type site described above, have an explanation. These archaeological sites are on the middle course of the Anadyr River. During work at the Vakareva site, located significantly farther up the river, I had occasion to observe several different seals ascending the stream.

Judging by the assemblage, the Late Neolithic (Ust'-Belaya) population of Chukotka was occupied by hunting reindeer. They possibly also knew how to procure small pinnipeds.

In the Anadyr River basin, at the Chikaevo site—part of the complex belonging to the Ust'-Belaya culture (Dikov 2003:130)—a shaped object was found (Fig. 29:1) that was interpreted as a scraper (Dikov 2004:Tbl. 6:VI-5). The artifact, exceptional in form and careful workmanship, is a sculpture best designated as having a lunar subject.

The image of a polar bear (Fig. 17:6) found in 1980 during a survey of the lower area of Lake Tytyl' on a denuded surface of a hill has not been attached to a definite cultural complex. Later, during excavation of this area, four knife-like blades of obsidian were found that were made of the same material as the bear figurine.

An anthropomorphic image (Fig. 4:9) was acquired by Orekhov, an instructor at the International University (in Magadan), through hydrologist A. V. Yanshina, from a private collection. The small sculpture was found on a spit in the stream 85 km up the Anadyr River.

All the Neolithic assemblages presented above originate in the inland regions of the Kolyma and Chukotka. But important artistic artifacts in the form of small sculptures have also been found in coastal Neolithic sites.

A large and diverse collection of miniature stone sculptures was obtained during excavations of Neolithic sites in southern Kamchatka in the area of the Tar'in culture[7] (the multi-component Avacha site, diachronic sites on Cape Lopatka, at Yavino, and others), with Avacha representing the typical site. An image of a polar bear (Fig. 17:8), an anthropo-ornithomorphic figurine, and fragments that could not be identified (Fig. 31:7, 8, 11) were found in the earliest Avacha layer (Layer III) (Dikova 1983:Pl. 38:1–5). The assemblage from Layer III of this site denotes the earliest stage of the Tar'in culture, for which

[7] The Tar'in culture represents several stages of the Old Itel'men culture (Dikova 1983; Ponomarenko 1985).

various leaf-shaped points and ground axes and adzes with pointed butts and sub-triangular cross section are characteristic (Pl. 19). The leading type of economy during this stage was the hunting of land animals and birds and fishing (Dikova 1983:166). Dating for the site at this period is 5200 ± 100 (MAG-306) and 4210 ± 135 (MAG-317).

Layer II of the Avacha site contained several anthropomorphic images (Fig. 4:1–4) (Dikova 1983:Pl. 45:2–5) and figurines of sea mammals (Figs. 22:5; 31:11) (Dikova 1983:Pl. 45:1, 6). The cultural complex of this period is characterized by a combination of small and large forms, by a variety of leaf-shaped points, ground axes and adzes with pointed butts and a sub-triangular cross section, "bent" knives, and the presence of labrets (Pl. 19) (Dikova 1983:166, 167). The sites of this period date from 3450 ± 100 (MAG-310) to 1050 ± 100 (MAG-722) (Dikova 1983:166, 167).

Hunting land animals and birds and fishing are presumed to have still been the leading forms of economic activity here (Dikova 1983:166, 167). And, if one can judge by the sculpted images, maritime procurement was also known to some degree (the taking seals and the use of whales cast up on the shore).

The late stage of the Tar'in culture is characterized by similar types of stone assemblage, while the appearance of Neidzi-type ceramics, artifacts of copper and iron, and toggling harpoon heads are noted as innovations. Sea mammal hunting is added to the economy. The last stage dates from 950 ± 70 (MAG-305) to 380 ± 50 (MAG-315) (Dikova 1983:167). Besides Layer I of the Avacha site, sites such as Lopatka I, Yavino II, and others belong to this late period. The culture, stable over the course of a thousand years, was basically Old Itel'men in all its stages (Dikova 1983:167). The basic types of the inventory are represented in Plate 19.

Archaeological investigations undertaken by Ponomarenko in this large territory of eastern Kamchatka were dedicated to the study of the Old Itel'men (Ponomarenko 1985). The tradition of making small stone sculpture was characteristic for this region. In the repertoire of this tradition, in addition to anthropo- and zoomorphic figurines (Figs. 5:1, 2, 4; 19:2; 22:3), there are images of a symbolic character (Fig. 29:2). Most shaped items come from sites of the Developed Neolithic: Bol'shoi Kamen' (Pl. 20) and Kopyto II (Pl. 21). However, a similar category of artifacts is also encountered in later complexes, in particular, in Layer II of the Zhupanovo site (Pl. 22) (Ponomarenko 1985:Pls. 14:15; 18:13; 19:13; 1989). Full representation of the stone industry of this period is provided by the assemblages from the Bol'shoi Kamen' and Kopyto II sites (Pls. 20, 21), which include arrow and dart points of various modifications (truncated leaf-shaped, triangular stemmed, stemmed with projecting "ears," and triangular stemless); scrapers with pointed and rounded working edges, pear-shaped, trapezoidal, etc.; knives that are leaf-shaped with and without a stem, "bent" knives, etc.; adzes with pointed butts; and labret-like tacks (Ponomarenko 1985:Pls. 18, 19, 21).

At this stage of development of the Old Itel'men culture the economy was a complex one in which fishing predominated (Ponomarenko 1985:176) while sea mammal procurement played an auxiliary role (Ponomarenko 1985:174).

In 1935, D. N. Lev described a collection of artifacts given to the Museum of Anthropology, Ethnography, and Archaeology (AN SSSR) by the captain of the fishing trawler *Krasnoarmeets*, N. A. Gur'ev. The collection was made in Tarya Bay (in greater Avacha Bay). The stone inventory (43 specimens), described by Lev (1935:218), is typical for the Tar'in culture. Among the artifacts are anthropomorphic figurines (Lev 1935:Figs. 1–3) that were introduced in 1948, along with other Kamchatkan finds (for a total of seven shaped images), in S. N. Zamyatnin's (1948:116, Fig. 9:3–9) summarizing work on small flint sculpture forms. In the collection were four anthropomorphic images (Fig. 4:5, 7, 8, 10), a zoomorphic image (Fig. 21:2) (Zamyatnin's interpretation), and a figurine of a fish (Fig. 24:6). A fragment treated by Zamyatnin (1948:Fig. 9:7) as the image of a dog appears to be a piece of a labret-like tack (Dikova 1983).

In technique, style, and iconography the small sculptures published by Lev and Zamyatnin fall completely within the group of representational materials obtained by Dikova and Ponomarenko.

Several items sculpted of stone (eight specimens) are known of from the Neolithic Tokareva culture (northern Priokhot'e). A characteristic feature of this culture is the absence of a developed blade technique and the wide use of flakes. Points, knives, and scrapers dominate the tool set. In the first two categories, represented by several types, there are specific, very pronounced forms: shaped points and stemmed knives with a set-off base or handle. Axes and adzes are sub-triangular, rectangular, and almond-shaped, lenticular in cross section, with ground working edges. Inset implements are characteristic. Numerous artifacts in sites of the Tokareva culture were made of bone and therefore evidence of sea mammal hunting. These are harpoon heads; points of spears, arrows, and leisters; and fish hooks. There are also punches, awls, needles, needle cases, picks, and combs made of bone. Fragments of decorated ceramics in the sites represent pointed- and flat-bottomed vessels. The diversity of forms and large size of the stone and bone assemblage are impossible to embody in a single plate (for the illustrated material, see Lebedintsev 2000). The early population of northern Priokhot'e specialized in maritime hunting, and along with this they were occupied by fishing, hunting land animals and birds, and gathering. The Tokareva culture existed from the middle of the second through the first millennia B.C. (Lebedintsev 2000). A striking feature of the Tokareva people is artistic creation, which is represented in their production of small stone sculptures, shaped pendants, and engraving on stone and bone (Fig. 26).

Two shaped artifacts of obsidian were found by Orekhov during excavations in Geka Land (the Geka 1 site), which is a surf-washed spit at the entrance to the Anadyr Estuary (eastern Chukotka) (Orekhov 1999:120–135). Both images, in the author's opinion, are poly-semantic. He sees in one of them the combined form of a human-fish (Fig. 7) (Orekhov 1995), while the second (Fig. 31:12) belongs to an anthropo-zoomorphic being (personal communication). The Geka I site is a complex consisting of 15 houses and a shrine (Orekhov 1999). The artifacts include a stone and bone assemblage, as well as fragments of various types of ceramics. The most numerous categories of stone artifacts are knives and scrapers, while adze-like artifacts and axes stand out as narrowly specialized tools. The assortment of bone objects is diverse, the most numerous group being dart and arrow points. Knife handles, needle cases, and art objects were also found, which are clearly shown in Pl. 23 (Orekhov 1995:Fig. 2). Unfortunately, there has been no absolute dating of the complex (Orekhov 1999:137).

The topography of the site, composition of the assemblage, faunal remains, and specific character of the cultural remains of the shrine attest to a complex economy for the occupants of the Geka I site, in which the leading segment was the procurement of pinnipeds, while fishing, bird hunting, and land hunting were auxiliary (Orekhov 1999:188–189).

In this chapter, sites of two cultural-economic types were presented: villages, camps, and isolated archaeological complexes of primitive inland hunters, and groups with a maritime adaptation.

The cited complexes represent archaeological cultures of the Northeast Asian region of Russia that have been well studied in both time and place (Ushki, Siberdik, North Chukotka, Ust' Belaya, Old Itel'men, and Tokareva), along with fragments of cultures just discovered (the Druchak Vetrennyi site and a group of sites in the Tytyl'vaam River valley), and isolated material complexes obtained from surface collections.

Items representing cultural activity are present in practically all stages of development of Stone Age cultures (from the Upper Paleolithic to the Paleo-Metal period) in a chronological range of 14,000 to 2,200 years ago, but their presence in complexes is too irregular to use them as a semantic-functional key to interpretation: in some cases, depictive material is well represented (in the Ushki layers, at sites of the Old Itel'men, or the Tokareva culture), in others, there are only isolated finds. In sites with a clear stratigraphic context it is possible to trace their connection to hearth or other (living, burial) complexes. Surface collections do not have a similar connection, thus the problem of archaeological context remains unresolved for them.

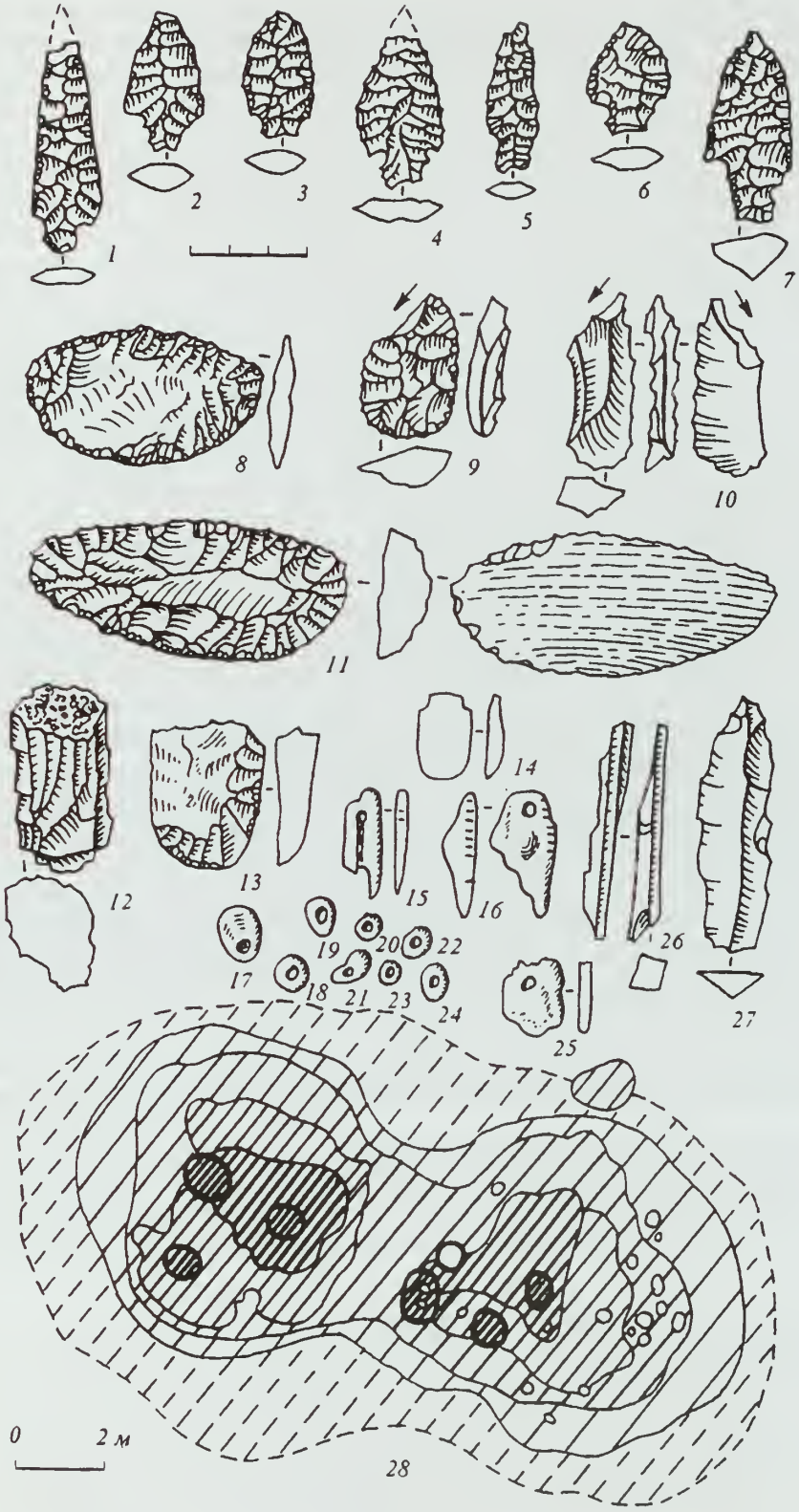

Plate 1. Ushki I site. Material complex and plan of house in Layer VII: 1–7—stemmed arrow points; 8—biface; 9, 10—burins; 11—uniface tool; 12—core; 13, 14—scrapers; 15–25—pendants; 26—burin-like tool; 27—blade; 28—plan of carbonaceous area of double house (after N. N. Dikov).

Plate 2. Ushki I site. Material complex and plan of house in Layer VI: 1–3—biface arrow points; 4, 5—burins; 6, 7—biface knives; 8–11—wedge-shaped cores; 12, 13—ski-shaped spalls; 14—skreblo-like biface; 15—slate knife; 16—slate skreblo/polisher; 17, 18—scrapers; 19, 21—stone labrets; 20, 22—pendants; 23—image of tent-like houses on a sandstone slab; 24—house plan; 25—skeleton of a dog buried in it (after N. N. Dikov).

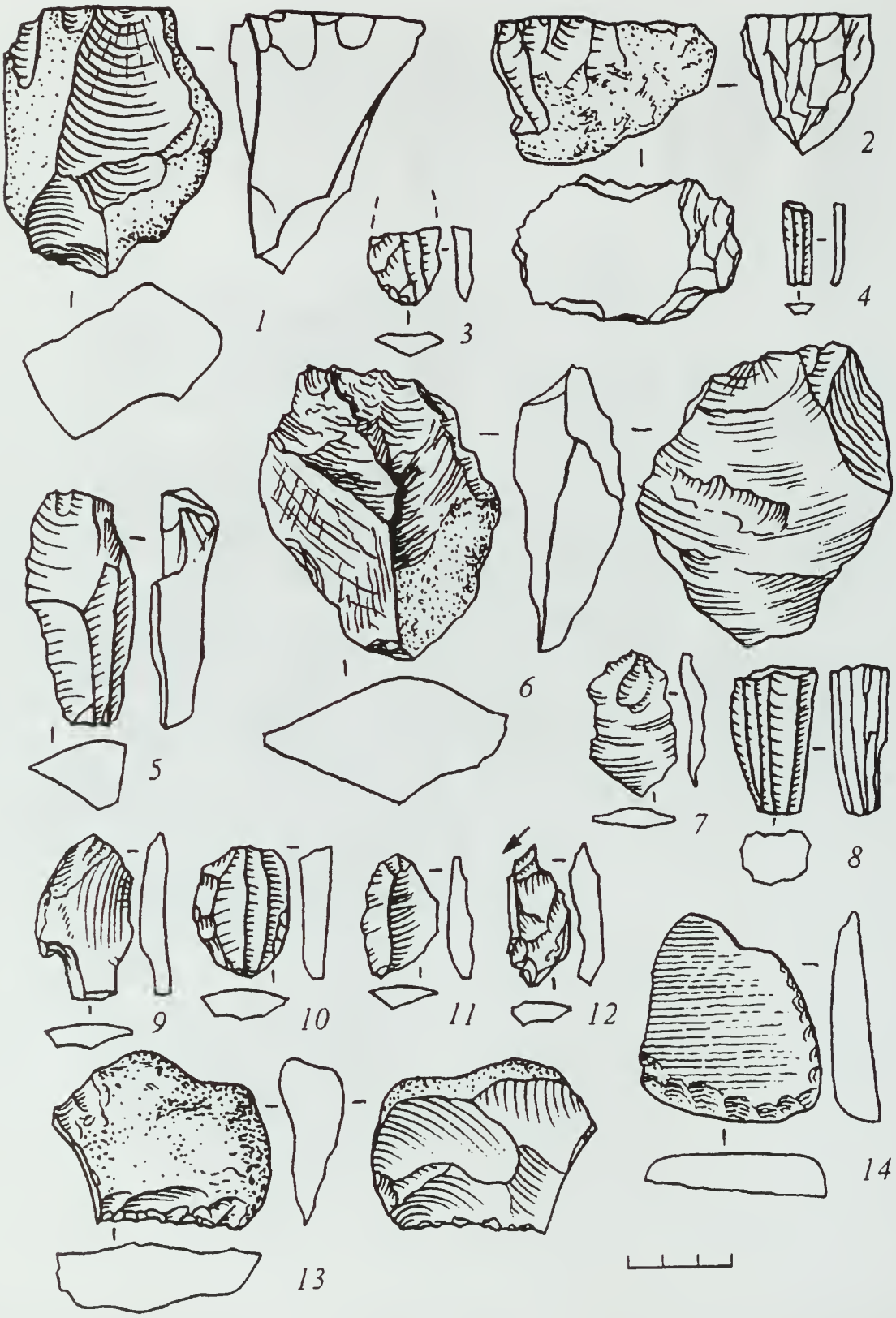

Plate 3. Material complex from the Ul'khum I site: 1, 2, 8—cores; 3, 4—fragments of knife-like blades; 5—spall from a core; 6, 7, 9, 11, 13—flakes; 10—scraper; 12—burin; 14—image of a mammoth (after N. N. Dikov).

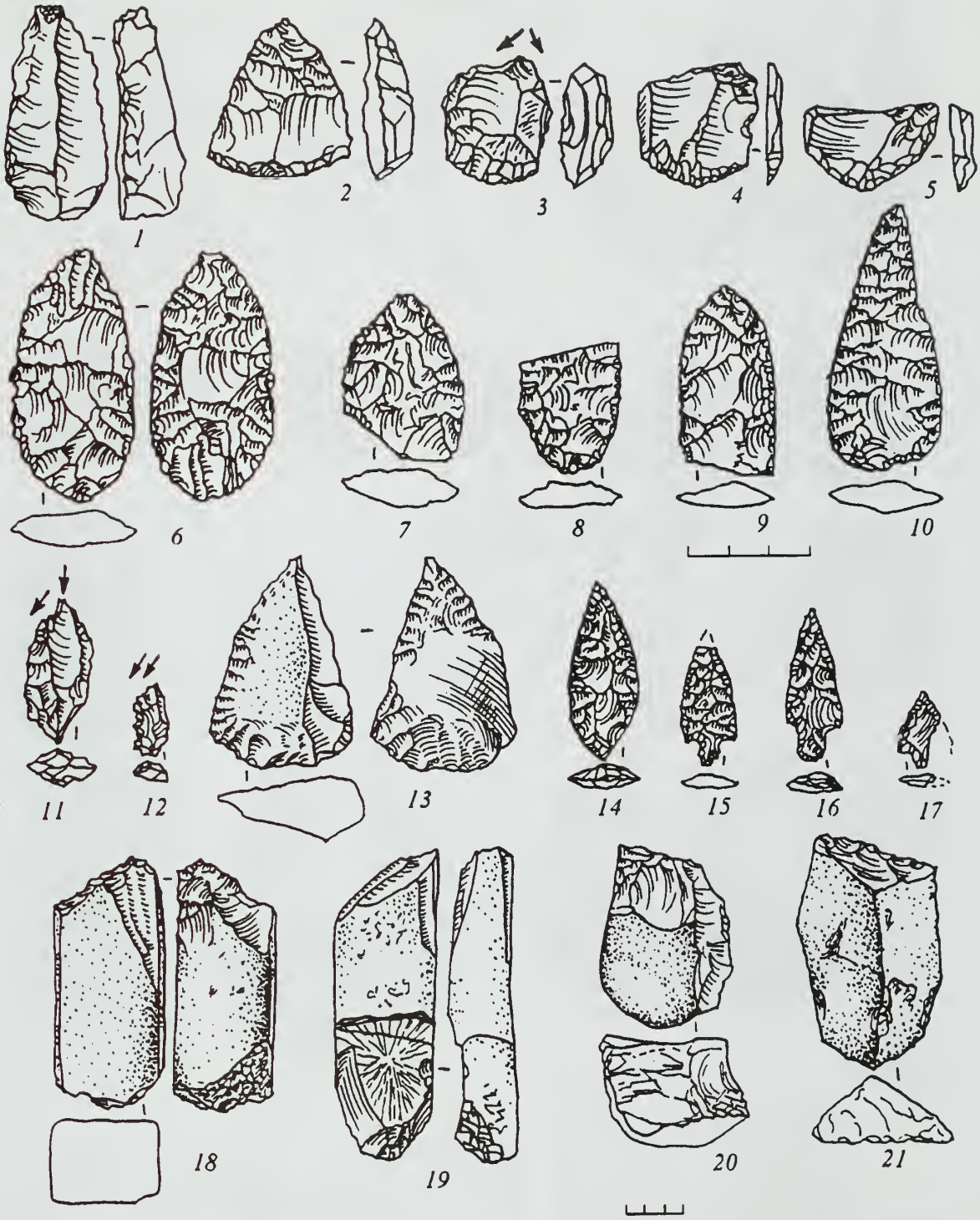

Plate 4. Material complex from the Bol'shoi El'gakhchan I site: 1–5—scrapers; 6–10—bifaces; 11, 12—burins; 13—pointed tool; 14–17—points; 18–20—cores; 21—plane (from excavations of the author).

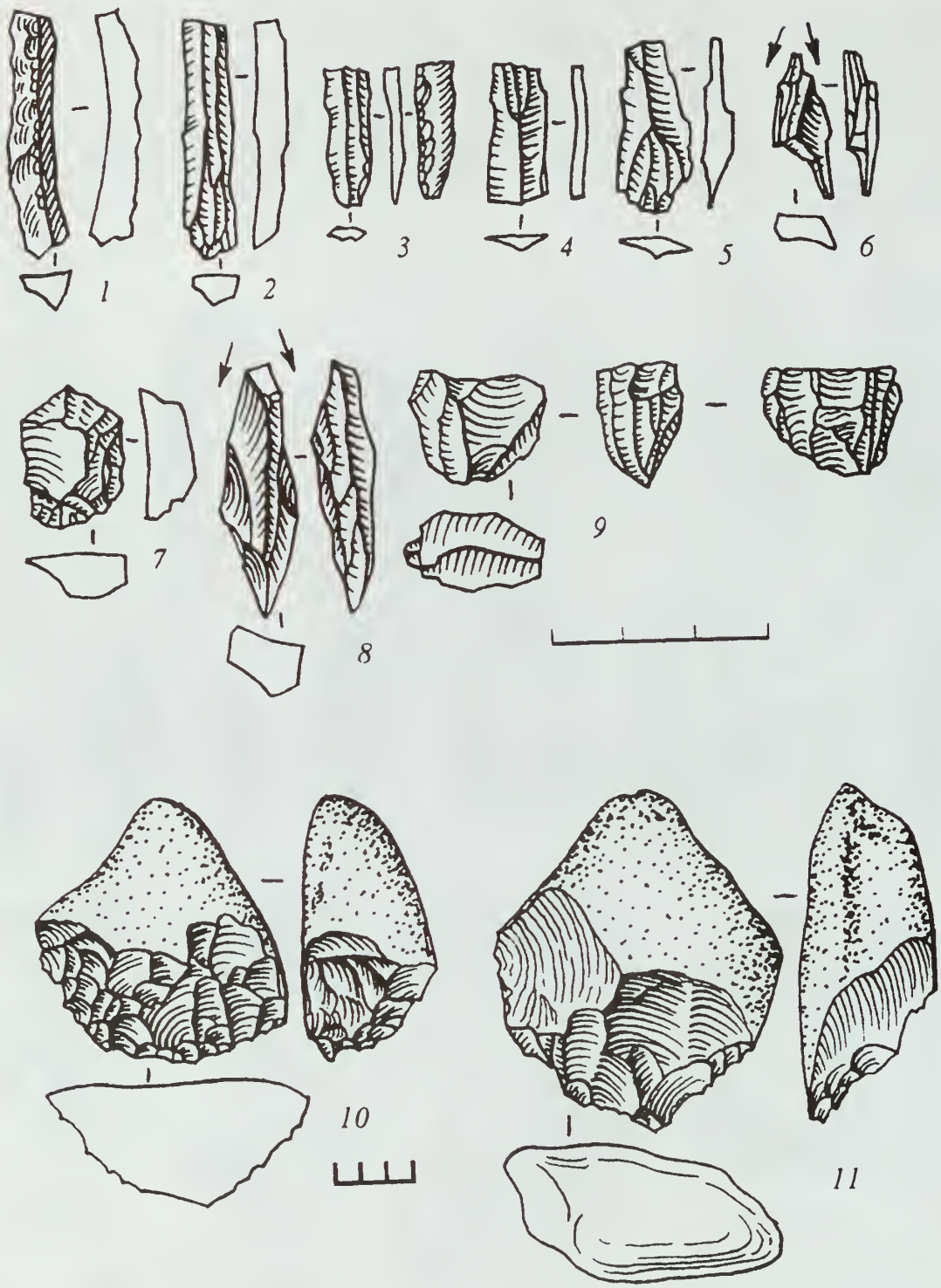

Plate 5. Material complex from the Siberdik site: 1–5—knife-like blades; 6, 8—burins; 7—scraper; 9—wedge-shaped core; 10, 11—uniface choppers (after N. N. Dikov).

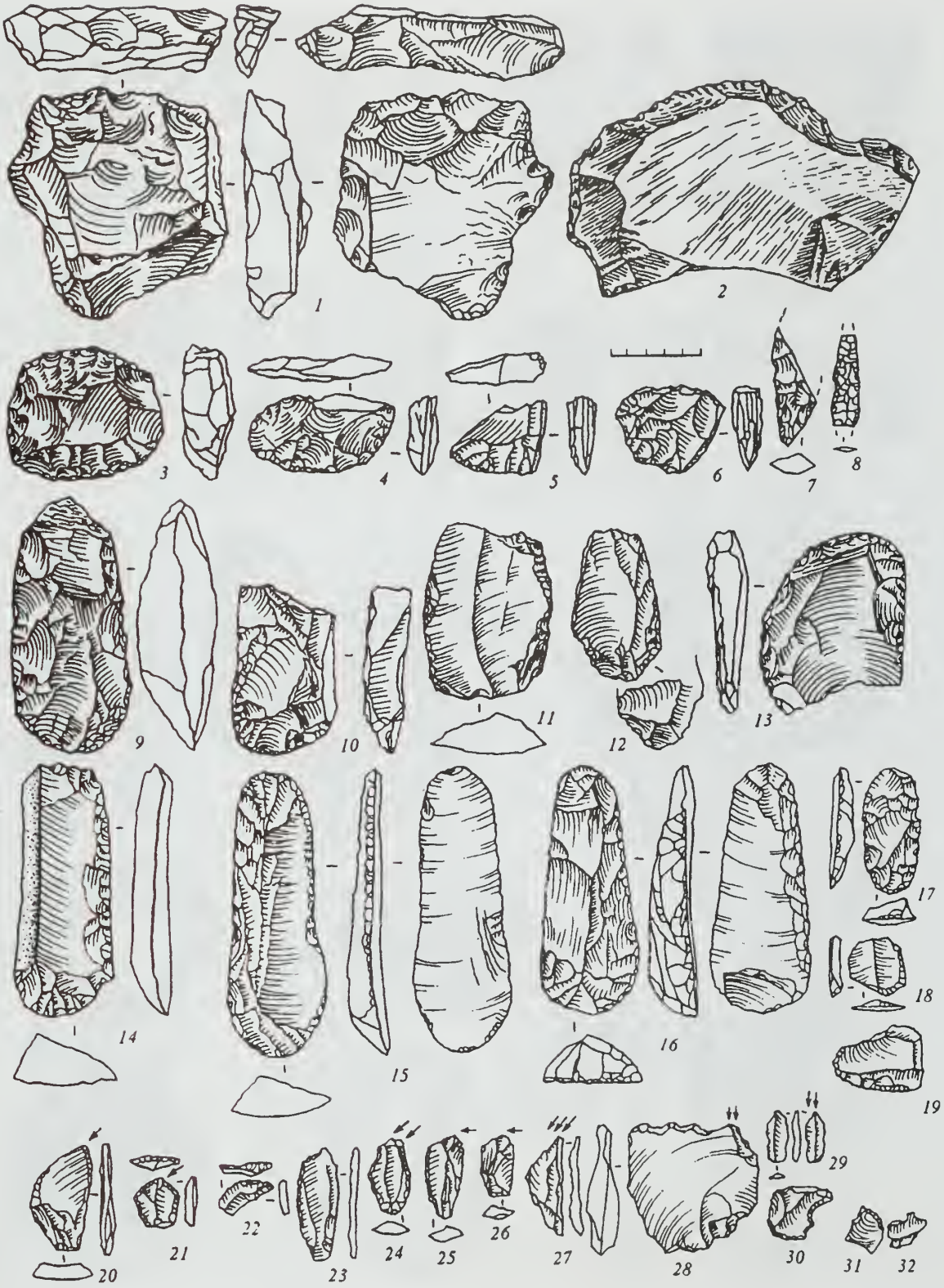

Plate 6. Material complex from the Druchak-Vetrennyi site: 1—Levallois core; 2—image of a mammoth; 3—preform; 4–6—micro-cores; 7, 8—points; 9—adze; 10—axe; 11–13—skreblos; 14–16—macro-scraper; 17–19—scrapers; 20–23—scrapers with burin spalls removed; 24–29—burins; 30–32—notched instruments (after I. E. Vorobei).

Plate 7. Material complex from the Tytyl'vaam I (2) and Tytyl'vaam II (1, 3–10) sites: 1–3—cores with different orientations of flake removal; 4—macro-flake with retouch; 5—spokeshave(?); 6—macroblade; 7—chopping knife; 8—macro-scraper; 9—skreblo(?); 10—discoid tool (from excavations of the author).

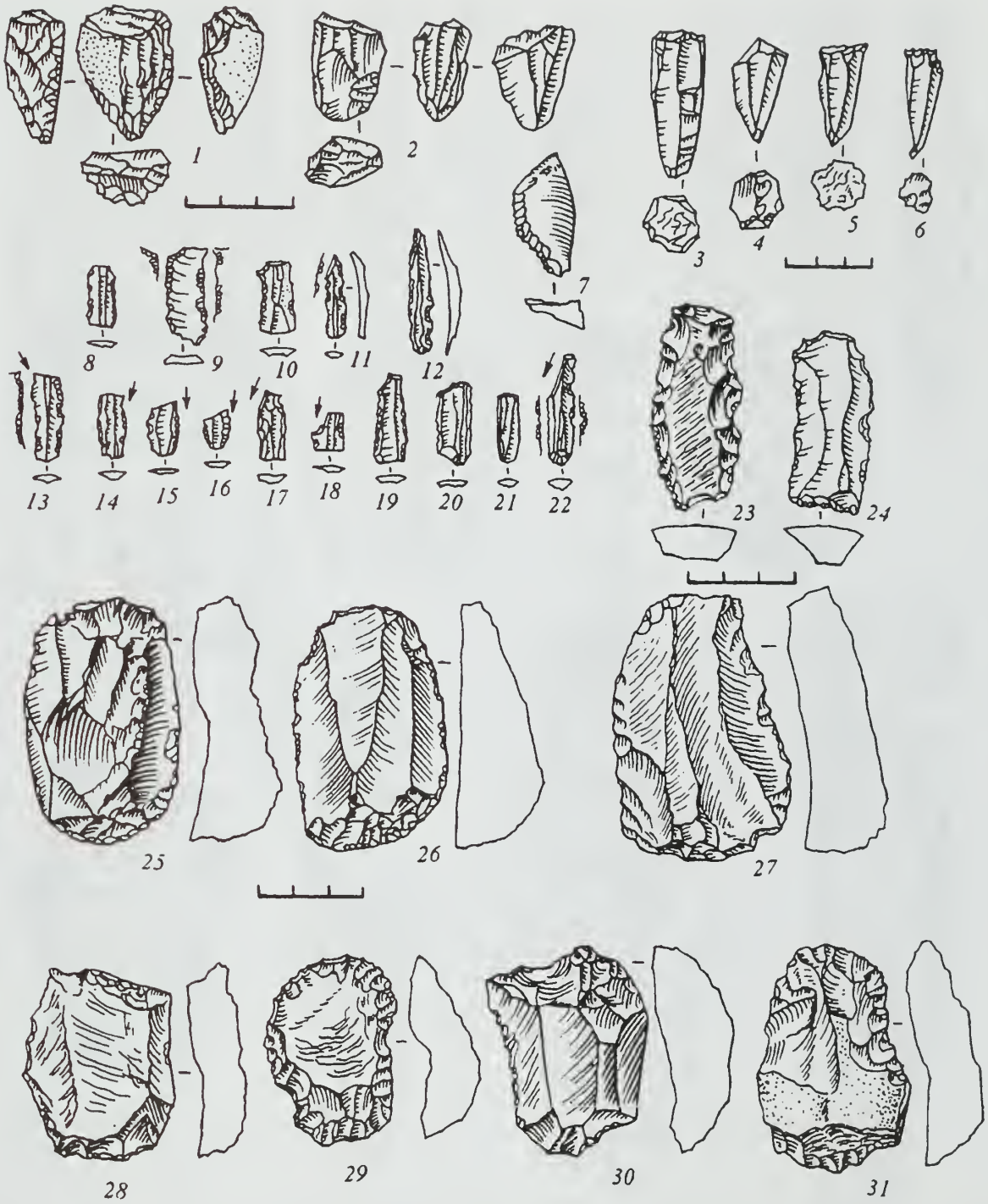

Plate 8. Material complex from the Tytyl' IV site, Locus 3: 1–6—cores; 7–11—knife-like blades with retouch; 12—scraper; 13–18—burins; 19, 20—knife-like blades with obliquely retouched edge; 21—knife-like blade with straight retouched edge; 22—combination instrument; 23, 24—blades; 25–31—end macro-scrapers (from excavations of the author).

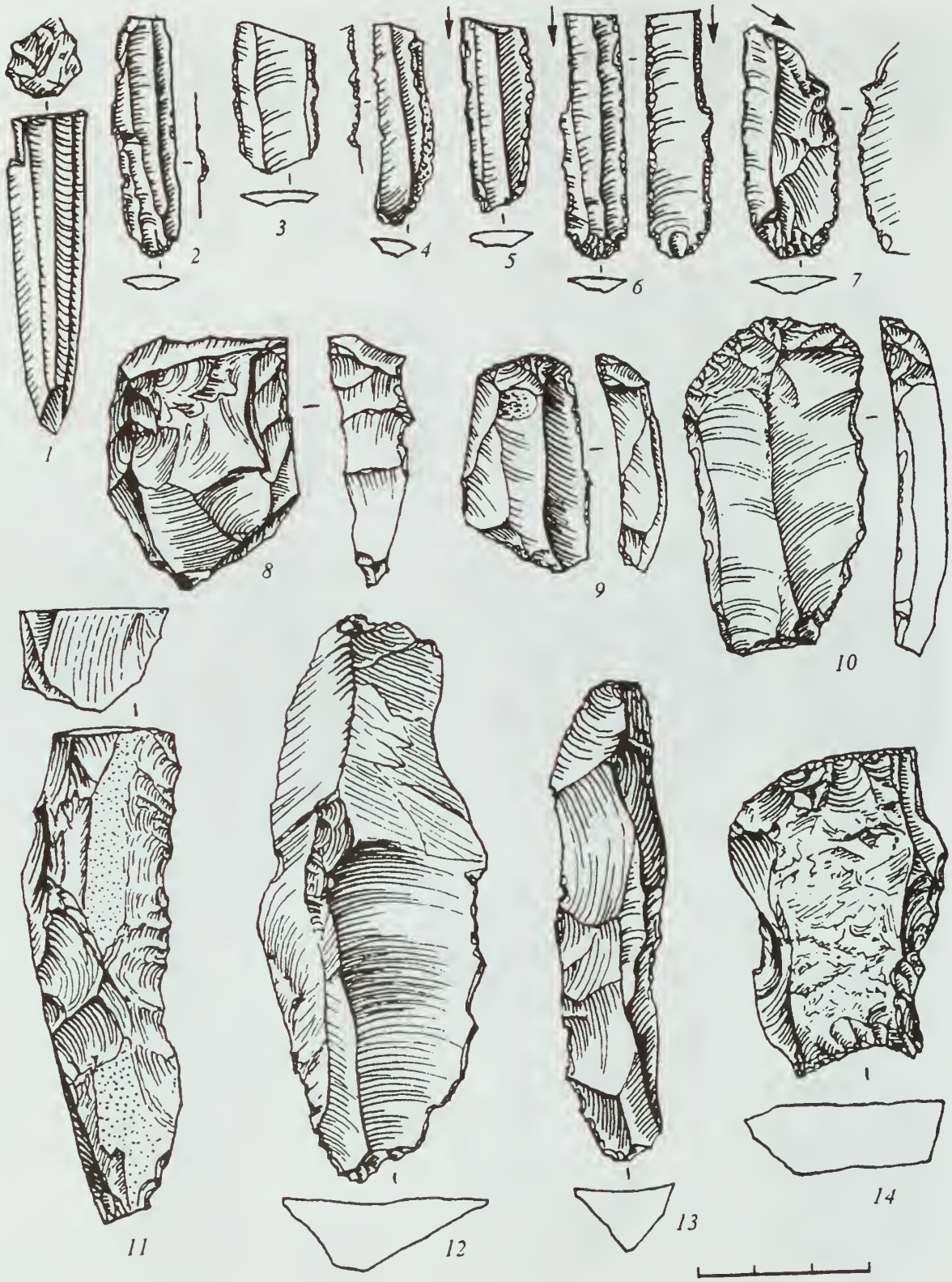

Plate 9. Material complex from the Tytyl' VI site: 1—core; 2–4—knife-like blades with retouch; 5–7—burins; 8—rejuvenation spall from a core platform; 9, 10—end scrapers; 11—core blank; 12, 13—blade spalls with retouch; 14—combination instrument (from excavation of the author).

Plate 10. Material complex from the Bol'shoi El'gakhchan IV site: 1—lamellar point; 2—stemmed point; 3—angle burin on a blade; 4—knife-like blade; 5—angle burin; 6, 7—prismatic micro-cores; 8—anthropo-ornithomorphic image (from excavations of the author).

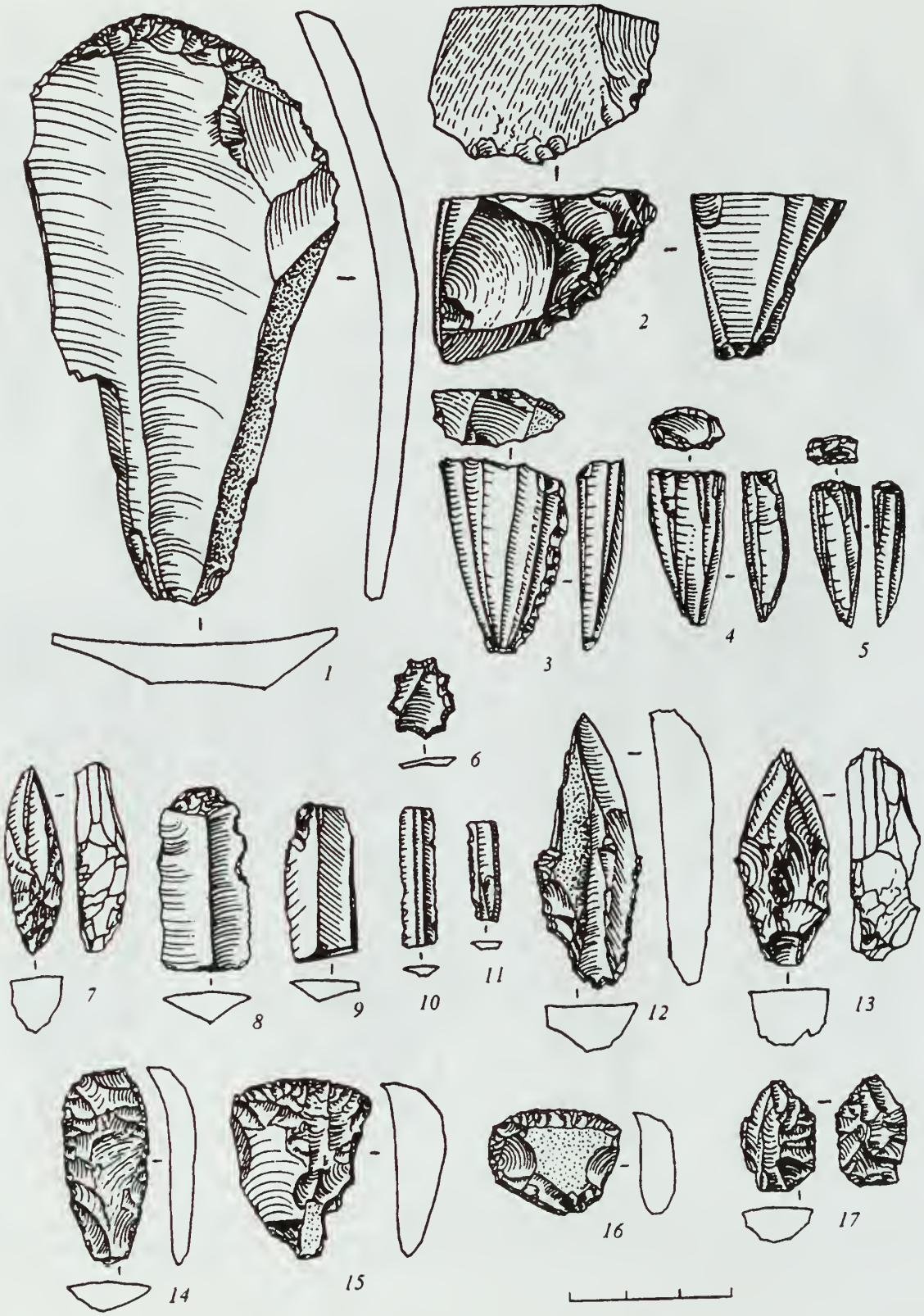

Plate 11. Material complex of the Nizhnetytyl'skaya IV site: 1—macro-scraper on a flake; 2–5—cores; 6—sculpted image of a star (?); 7, 12, 13, 17—multi-faceted burins; 8–11—knife-like blades; 14–16—scrapers (from the excavations of the author).

Plate 12. Material complex from the Tytyl' V site: 1–5, 11–14, 16—arrow points; 6, 10—cores; 7—fragment of a plate of baleen; 8, 9—inset blades; 15—double scraper; 17—decorated bone; 18—fragment of a small sculpted fish; 19—fragment of ceramics; 20–22—knives (from excavations of the author).

Plate 13. Material complex from the Tytyl' IV site: 1–6—cores; 7—blade; 8–10—knife-like blades; 11, 12, 31—scrapers; 13—spokeshave-scraper; 14—adze-like scraper; 15—adze; 16—chisel blank; 17–19—ceramics; 20–28—dart and arrow points; 29—multi-faceted burin; 30—gravers (from excavations of the author).

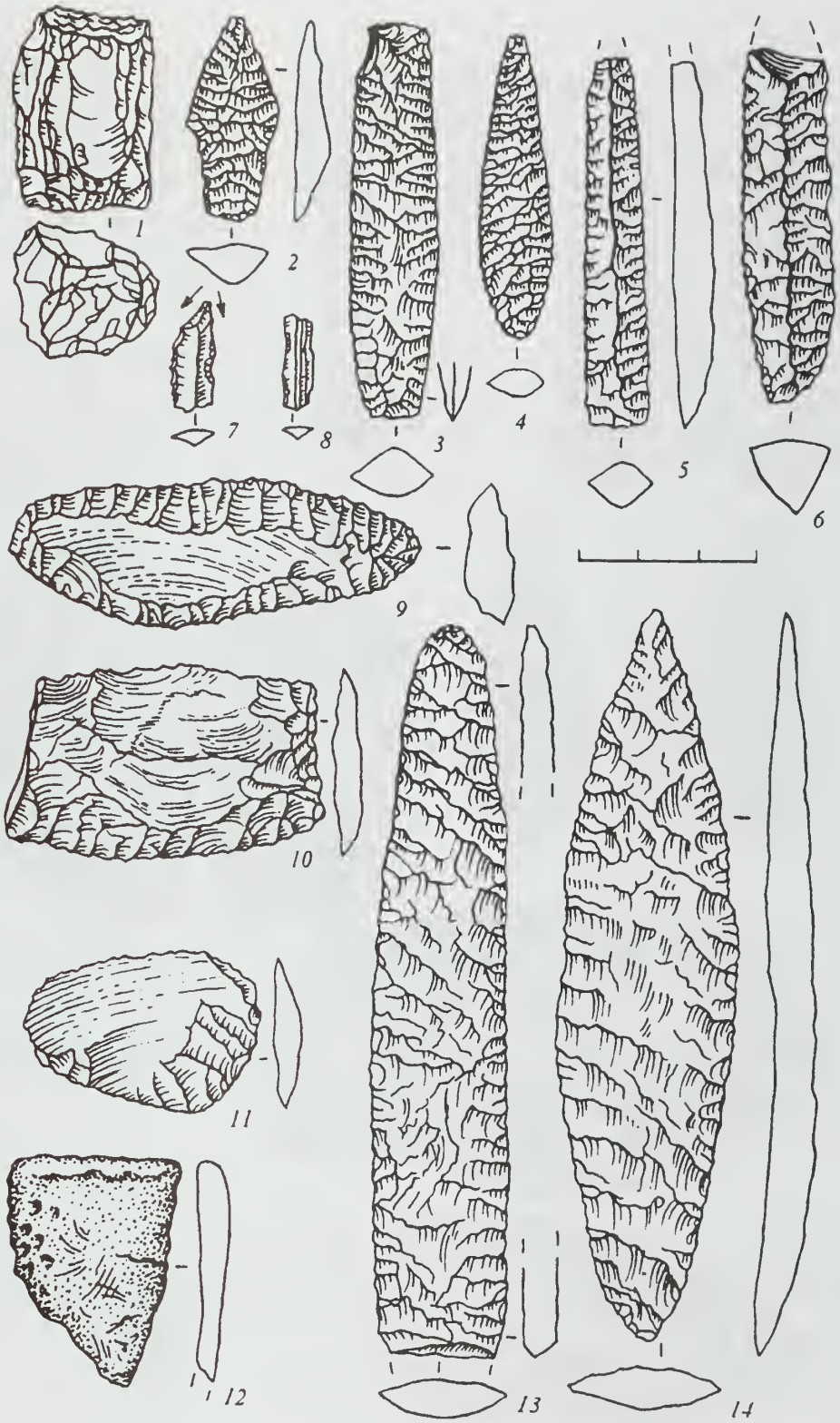

Plate 14. Material complex from the coastal sites of Lake El'gygytgyn: 1—core; 2–6—arrow points; 7—burin; 8—knife-like blade; 9–11—knives; 12—fragment of ceramics; 13, 14—dart points (collections of M. B. Skopets, V. F. Belyi, and O Yu. Glushkova).

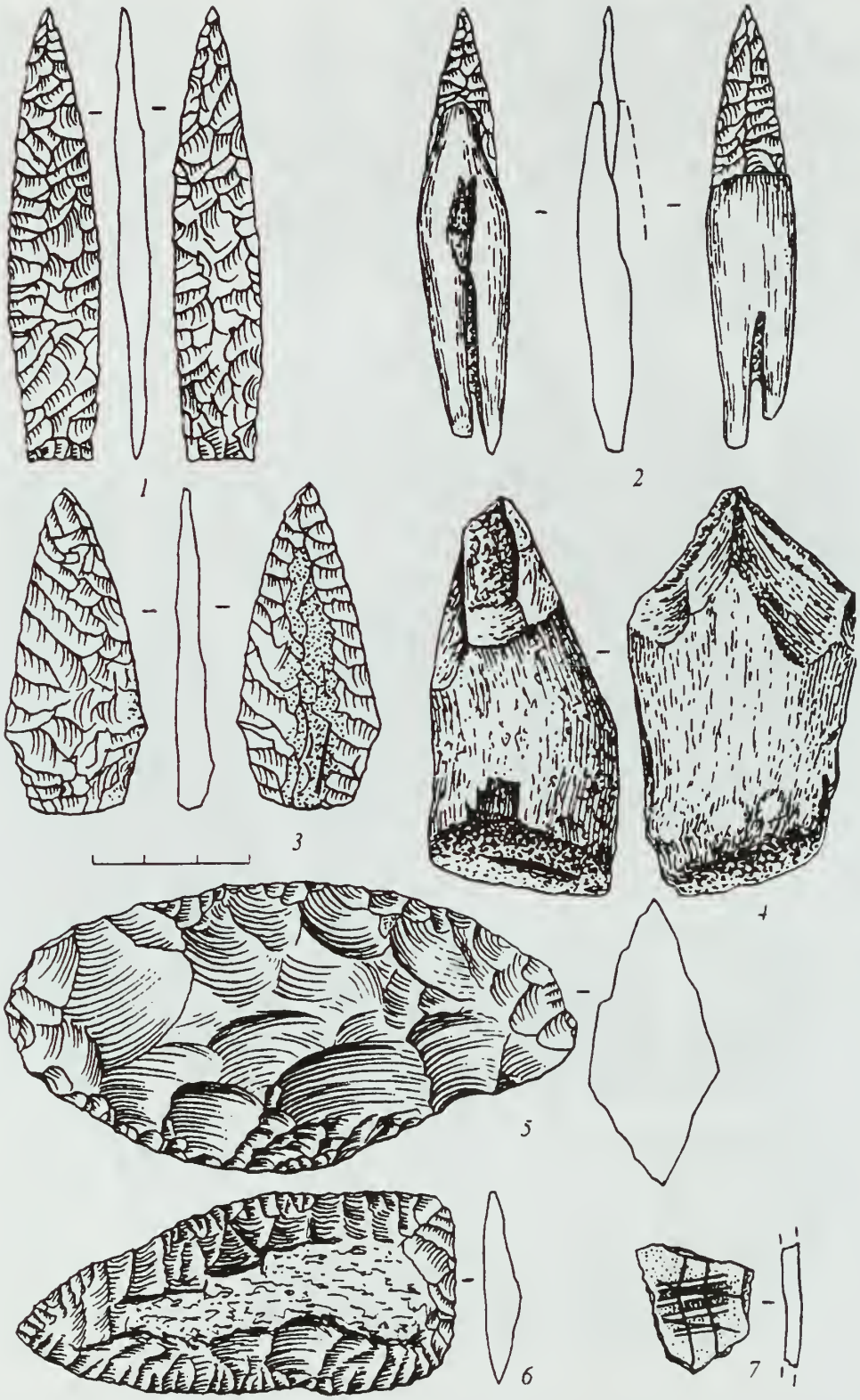

Plate 15. Material complex from the Rauchuvagytgyn I site: 1, 3—points; 2—compound point (bone foreshaft with stone inset end blade); 4—pointed tool of antler; 5, 6—knives; 7—fragment of ceramics (from excavations of the author)

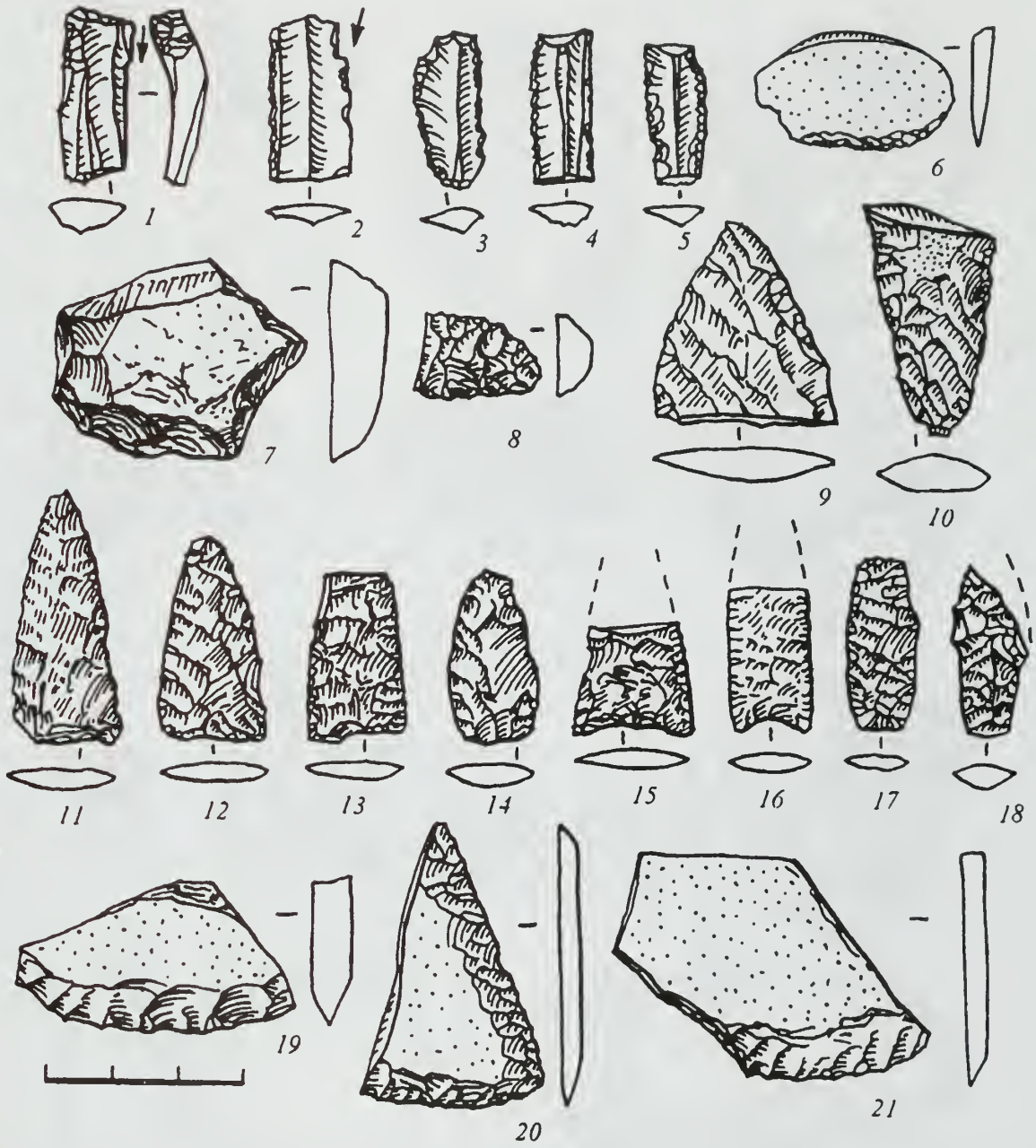

Plate 16. Material complex from the Ilirneigytgyn V site: 1, 2—burins; 3–5—knife-like blades; 6—graver; 7, 8—scrapers; 9–18—points and fragments of them; 19–21—retouched slate knives (from excavations of the author).

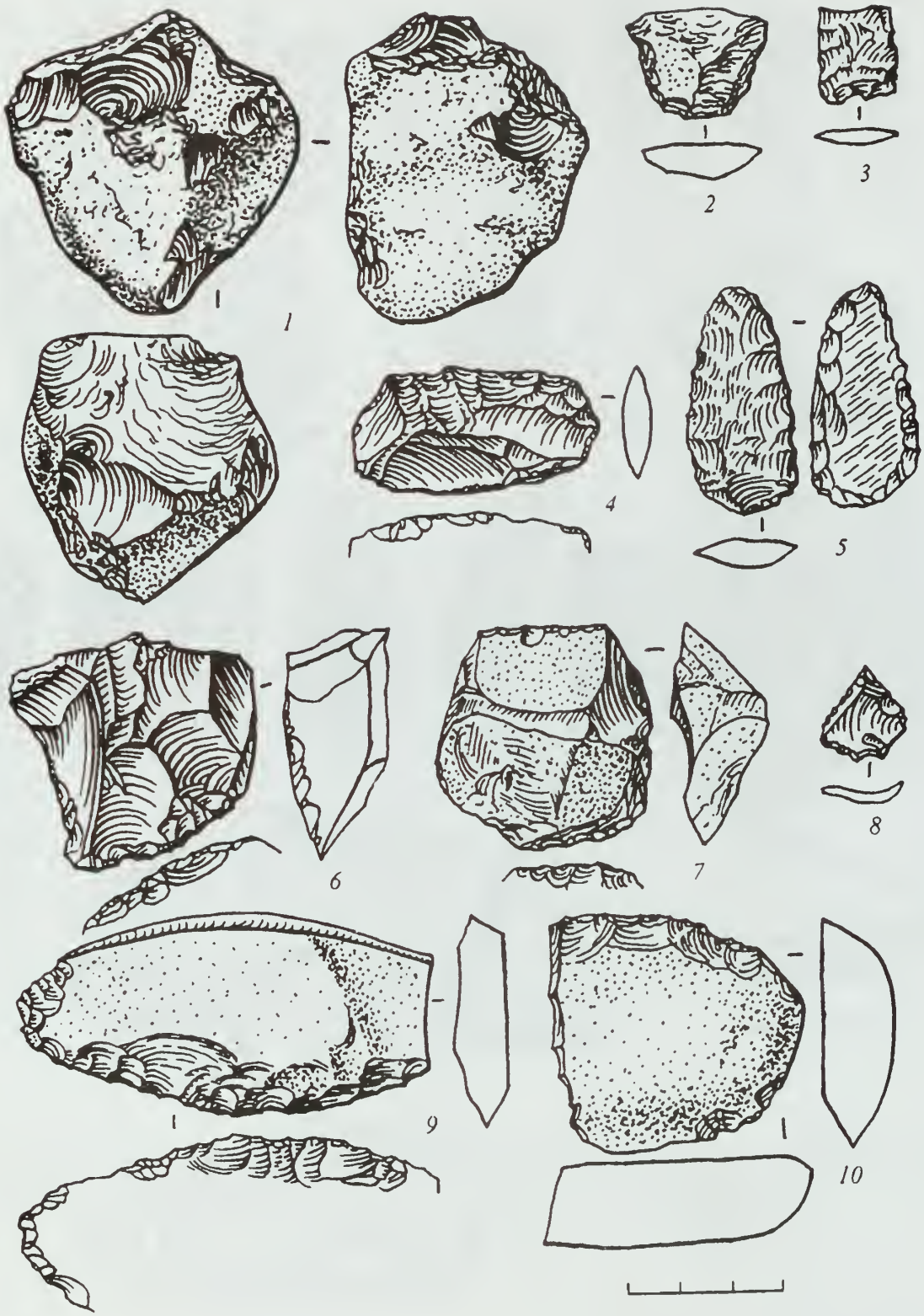

Plate 17. Material complex from the Ust'-Uimyveem site: 1—core blank; 2, 3—fragments of points; 4, 5, 9—knives; 6, 7, 10—skreblos; 8—retouched flake (from excavations of the author).

Plate 18. Material (late) complex of the Ust'-Belaya culture: 1, 2, 34—cores; 3–6, 8, 41–47—points; 7—punch; 9, 10—burins on knife-like blades; 11—multifaceted burin; 13–18, 39, 40, 48, 49—knives; 12, 50—adzes; 19–33—scrapers; 35–38—knife-like blades (after N. N. Dikov).

Plate 19. Material complex from the southern zone of the Tar'in culture: 1–10—points; 11–18—knives; 19—beak-like tool; 20—leister point (bone); 21–26—axes and adzes; 27–39, 42—scrapers; 40—blank; 41—combination tool; 43, 44—small sculpted forms (1–43—after N. N. Dikov; 44—after T. M. Dikova).

Plate 20. Material complex from the Bol'shoi Kamen' site: 1–3, 5—adze-like tools; 4—blade; 6—core; 7, 17—labrets; 8—zoomorphic figurine; 9, 10—scrapers; 11, 16—knives; 12–14—points; 15—scraper (after A. K. Ponomarenko).

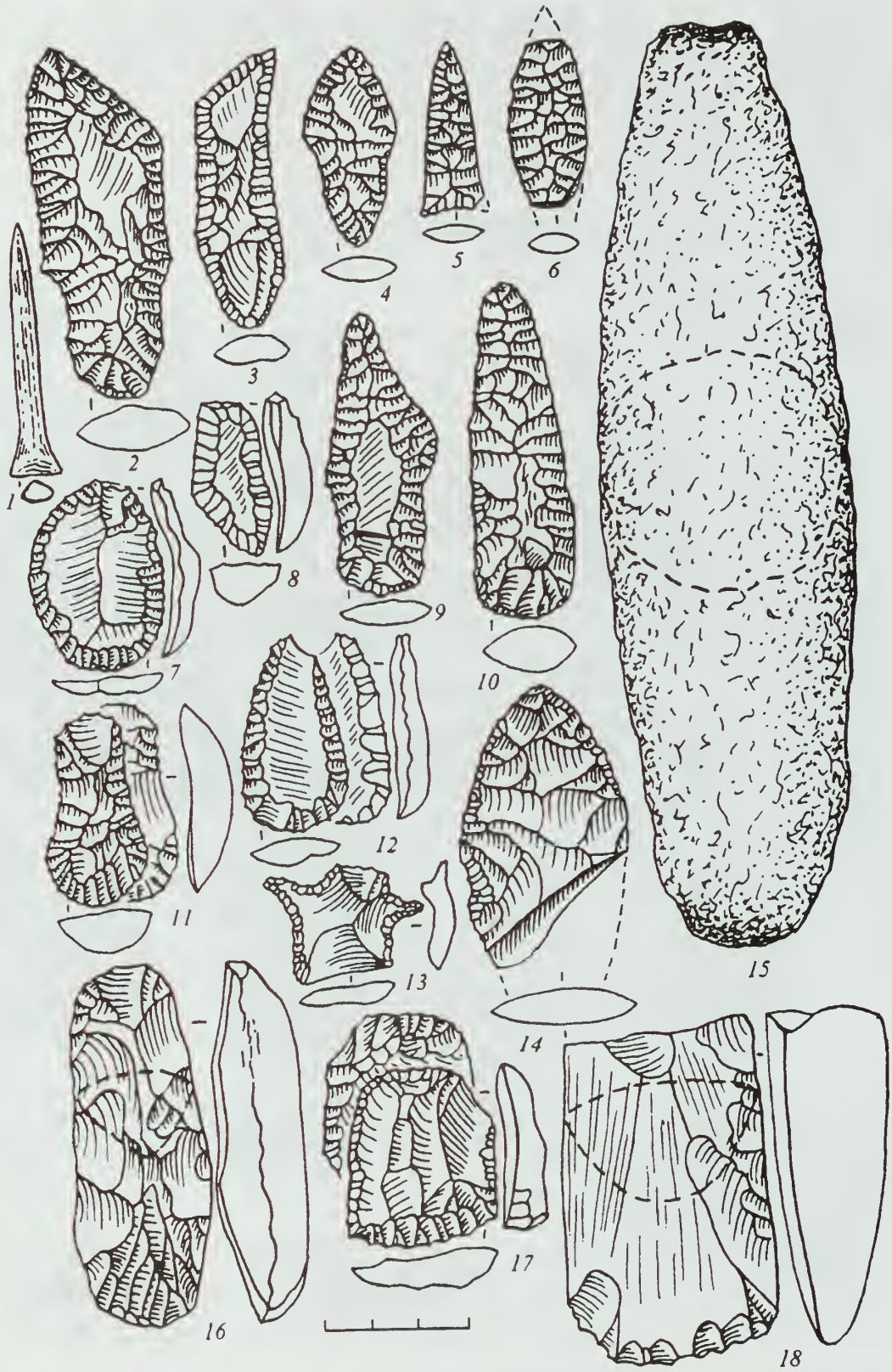

Plate 21. Material complex from the Kopyto II site: 1—labret; 2, 3, 10, 14—knives; 4–6—arrow points; 7, 8, 11, 12, 17—scrapers; 9—punch; 13—anthropomorphic figurine; 15—pestle; 16, 18—adzes (after A. K. Ponomarenko).

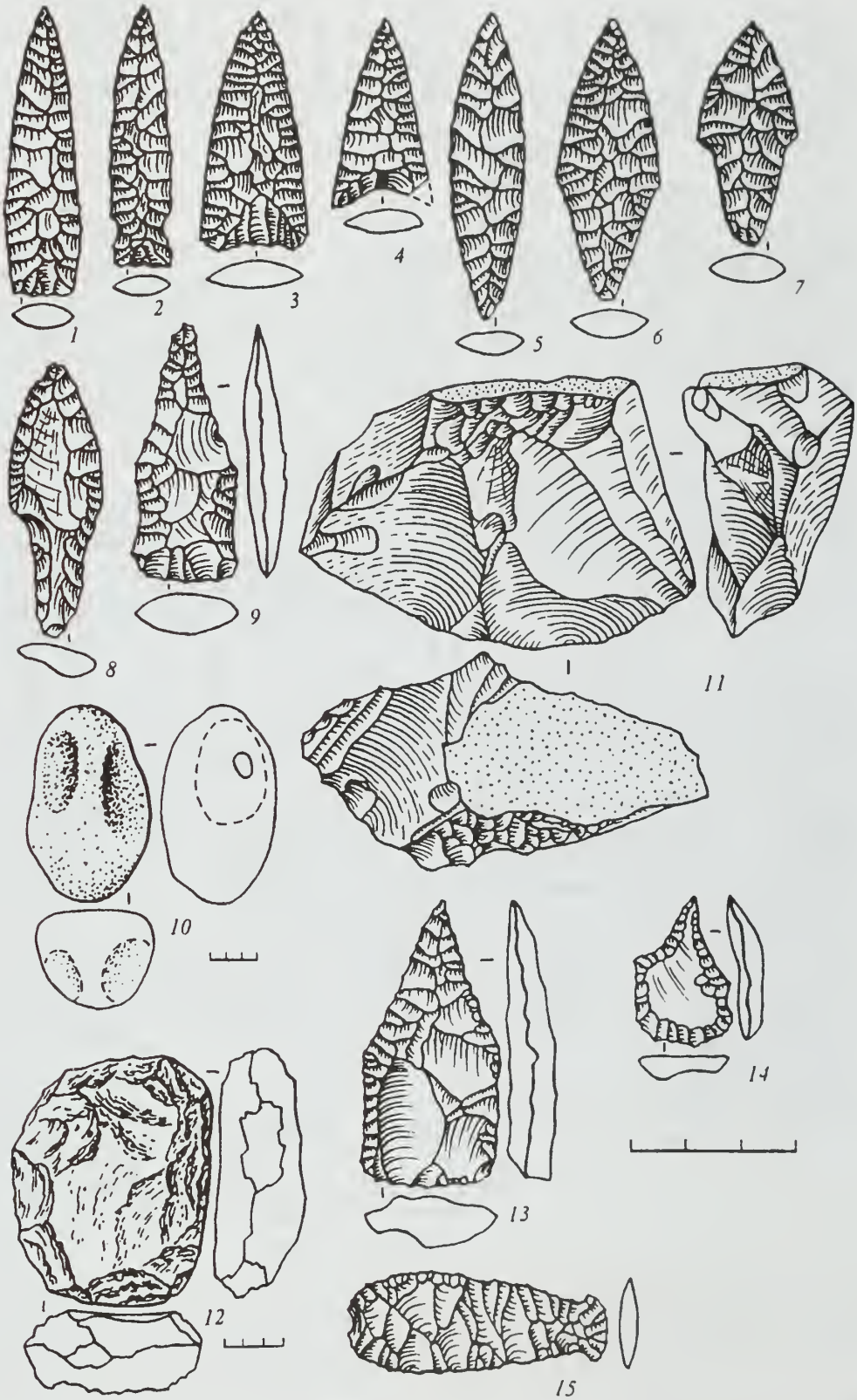

Plate 22. Material complex from the second layer of the Zhupanovo site: 1–8—arrow points; 9, 13, 14—punches; 10—weight; 11—core; 12—quartz biface; 15—fish figurine (after A. K. Ponomarenko).

Plate 23. Material complex from the Geka I site: 1–4—scrapers; 5–11, 32—knives; 12–15—adzes; 16—adze-like tool; 17—burin; 18—flaker; 19—hammer; 20—mattock; 21—grindstone; 22–24—harpoon heads; 25–28—arrow and dart points; 29—bola; 30, 31—knife handles; 33, 34—needles; 35—punch; 36—scraper; 37–39—mattocks; 40—shovel; 41—drum handle; 42—amulet; 43—pendant; 44—bird-seal figurine; 45—ritual spoon; 46—birch-bark vessel; 47—anthropomorphic figurine; 48—float; 49–52—ceramics; 53—retoucher; 54, 65—lamps; 55—drill; 56—fish-human sculpture; 57–60—arrow points; 61—sled sole; 62—arrow point (a variety of bunt or blunted arrow); 63—skreblo; 64—stopper; 66—harpoon socket piece (after A. A. Orekhov).

2.

Classification and Description of Representational Resources

In archaeological practice there are two sequentially connected methods of "recognizing" shaped representational objects made by the typical methods of producing a stone assemblage: visual outline and "trace analysis." The resolving role is usually played by the latter—some researchers believe the presence of traces of usage mean an object with a complex outline should not be categorized as an image.

Meanwhile, using trace analysis to provide the final "verdict" in associating an artifact with an art category can often be erroneous.

For example, numerous "irons" in the Botai Eneolithic culture (Ural-Irtish interfluvial region) were determined by trace analysts to be instruments for smoothing arrow shafts (so-called straighteners).[8] Their study of archaeological and historical contexts showed that these objects did not have a utilitarian function, but rather played a certain role in cult ceremonies as a female symbol (Zaibert 1993:226–227). During ceremonies connected with the fertility cult, the arrow took the part of the male symbol. The essence of the ceremony consisted in their magical joining—this produced the traces of rubbing on the "iron" noted by trace analysts.

In several cases one and the same object combines in itself a utilitarian and symbolic function, that is, the "mundane" and the "arcane" simultaneously (Zaibert 1993:226–227). In this regard, numerous examples can be cited: sculptures of fish, hammers and pestles with phallic and bear tops in Neolithic and Eneolithic cultures of Pribaikal'e (Okladnikov 1950), Trans-Ural, and western Siberia (Kosarev 1984). This includes Ural, Trans-Ural, and western Siberian ceramics, the edges of which are sometimes finished with sculpted images of animals, though not connected with the general decoration of the vessels (Burov 1992; Eding 1940). It is also embodied in a wooden sculpture from the Urals that has been assigned a utilitarian function (Eding 1940). The unique early Eskimo artifacts made of walrus tusk (small snaps, hooks, ulu handles, etc.), and modeled as sculpted items representing sea and land animals and birds, may serve as outstanding examples of the combination of the "mundane" and "arcane" in archaeological objects (Leskov and Müller-Beck 1993). Such dual function was probably also present in small stone sculpture made by retouch and other technical methods in the Stone Age and assigned by many archaeologists to the "primitive savage."

There is clearly no theoretical base currently permitting a representational artifact "with complex form" to be taken from this general non-definite category and returned to its original status as an object of representational work—as an art object in our understanding—by primitive man.

I will try to make specific my view of small stone sculpture presented in this work and designate criteria for assigning certain artifacts to this kind of primitive art.

1. First are generalized natural (human, animal,[9] trees), cosmological, or allegorical objects modeled on those existing in nature, the cosmos of prototypes or fantasies produced by humans but having some elements in common with basic features and three-dimensional form. In an archaeological sculpture, just as in a modern one, the observance of the laws of harmony has great significance for the creators: proportionality, rhythm, balance.[10]

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[8] The Eneolithic is the transitional period between the Late Neolithic and the Bronze Age.—*Trans.*
[9] Meaning representatives of different species (classes).—*Trans.*
[10] For a review of these general principles, see *Sovetskii entsiklopedicheskii* . . ., 1989.

2. Methods characteristic of working Stone Age tools were also used in making a sculpture. Such methods as smoothing the surface by abrading and grinding, engraving, drilling, and notching were employed in the Upper Paleolithic, in addition to retouch and trimming (shearing off). In the Neolithic, retouch (edge and complete) took preference. The edges were evened by chipping and the removal of burin spalls, and boring was used for introducing small pits and holes. Intensive grinding, thinning of the material, notching of the edge, and carving distinguish the representational objects of the Tokareva culture (Paleo-Metal) from "retouched sculptures."

3. Decorative possibilities of the raw material played a large role. This is manifested particularly in the sculpture of the Neolithic and early Metal Age, and probably attests to a rise in esthetic tastes.

4. The following must all be considered as methods of artistic expression for primitive sculptors: the use of raw material (for emphasizing certain details), special kinds of retouch or the roughness of the natural surface of a blank (for providing a woolly coat, fur, feathers, scales, and the like), designation of ears and eyes (later this is characteristic for zoomorphic beings and in some cases even for anthropomorphic sculpture), claws, and so on.

5. Sculpture should be examined as a part of a unified whole with the material complex of the archaeological unit, proceeding from the technological possibilities of the group and taking into account the presence and peculiarity of cult structures, sanctuaries, and burials.

These criteria reflect the object (in the sense of subject, topic, or theme) of investigation. If we speak of small stone sculpture as an object (in the sense a physical item) of investigation, then I share completely the conceptual approach of the leading specialists (Frolov 1975:16, 27; Sher 1980:181; 1981; Toporov 1972:78) in the sphere that interests us, proceeding from the fact that "it is not a matter of art in the modern understanding, but rather about a special kind of descriptive perception, thought, and modeling of the external world by representational means" (Sher 1980:181).

Art in the primitive community was subordinated to its ideology, called upon to secure the normal vital functions of the society. It brought into focus objective reality, cult-ceremonial practice, mythology, and the initial seeds of future scientific knowledge. Art did not yet fully satisfy the esthetic requirements of the primitive group, but reflected its esthetic possibilities and promoted an awakening of a sense of the excellent, which found clear embodiment in the pendants of the Tokareva culture of the Okhotsk coast and isolated forms of Neolithic sculpture in Kamchatka and Chukotka.

All the small sculpture portrayed in present research can be classified by theme (first level) and subject (second level). Thematically, figurines are distributed in the following groups: 1) anthropomorphic sculpture (four subgroups can be distinguished on the basis of subject: images of a person in full stature, images of heads, masks, and mythological characters); 2) zoomorphic sculpture (subgroups: land and sea mammals, amphibians, fish, and birds); 3) symbolic images (subgroups: of lunar-solar and cosmological character, female and male symbols); 4) indeterminate (unidentified) images.

Figure 2. Shaped pendants from Upper Paleolithic layers VII (1–3) and VI (4–18) of the Ushki I site (N. N. Dikov) and the Ushki V site (19–28—M. A. Kiriyak's collections).

Figure 3. Poly-iconic image (figurine of a sitting person and head of an animal) from Layer VI (Upper Paleolithic) of the Ushki I site (after N. N. Dikov).

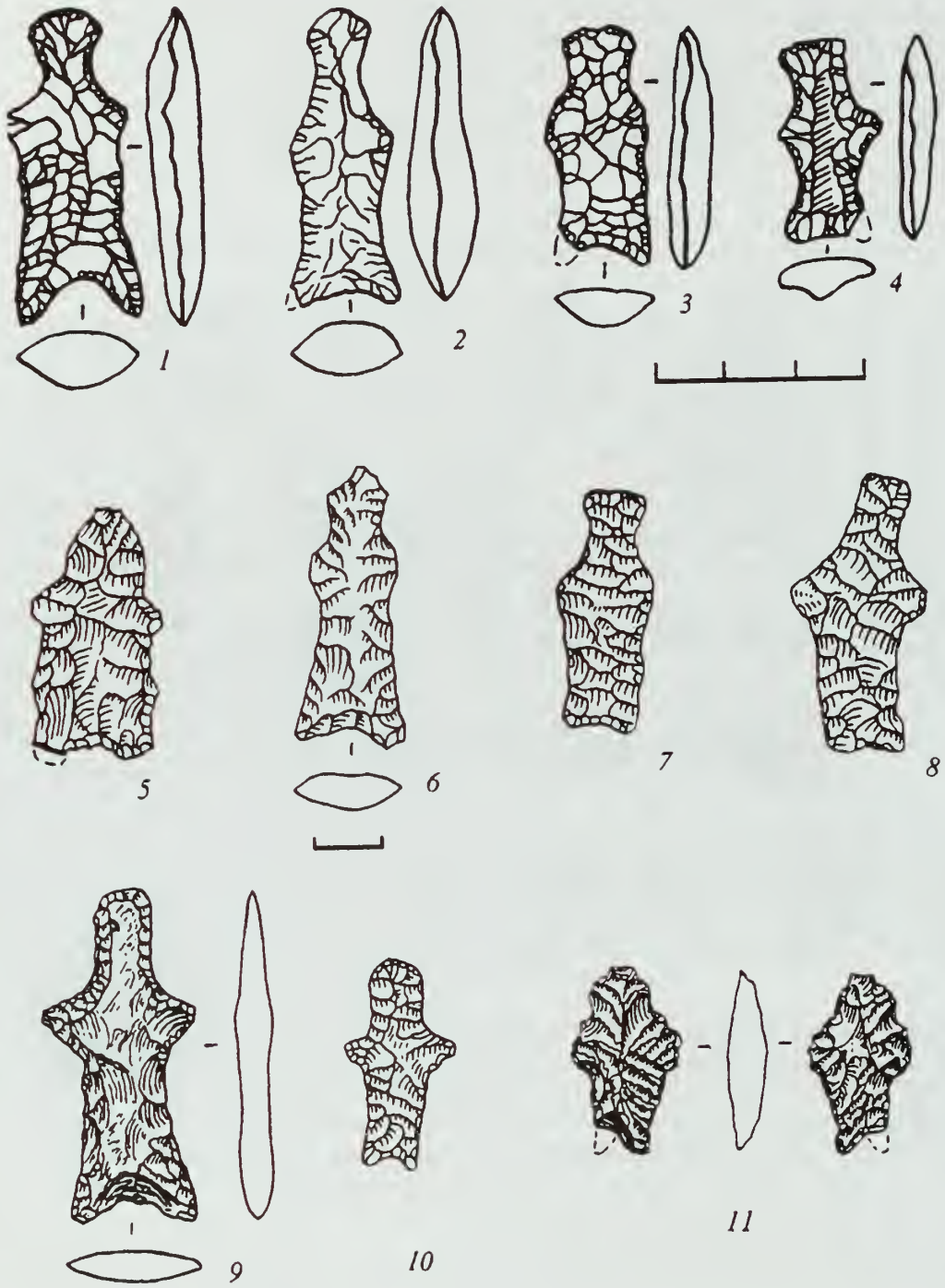


Figure 4. Anthropomorphic images of a person "fully erect": 1–4—after T. M. Dikova; 5, 7, 8—after D. N. Lev; 6—after A. I. Lebedintsev; 9—after A. A. Orekhov; 10—after I. Shnell; 11—collections of the author.

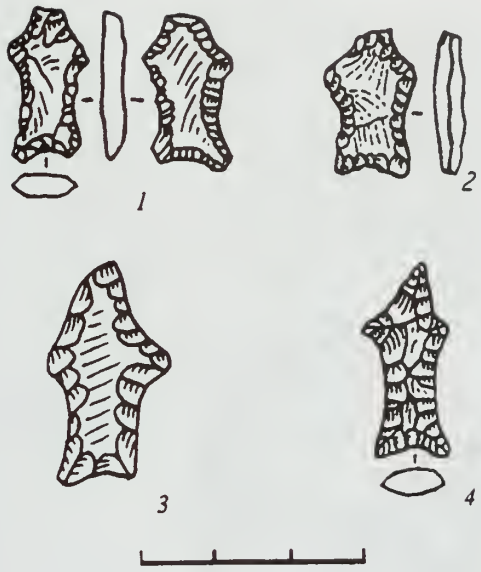
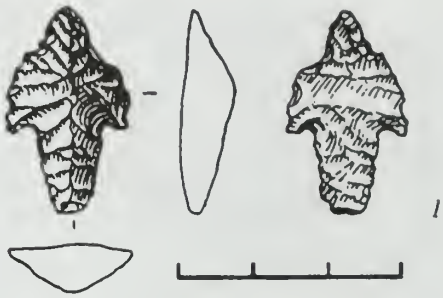


Figure 5. Stylized anthropomorphic images: 1, 2, 4—after A. K. Ponomarenko; 3—after N. N. Dikov.

Figure 7. Figurine of a fish-man (after A. A. Orekhov).

Photo 1. Anthropomorphic mask from the Tytyl' VI site.



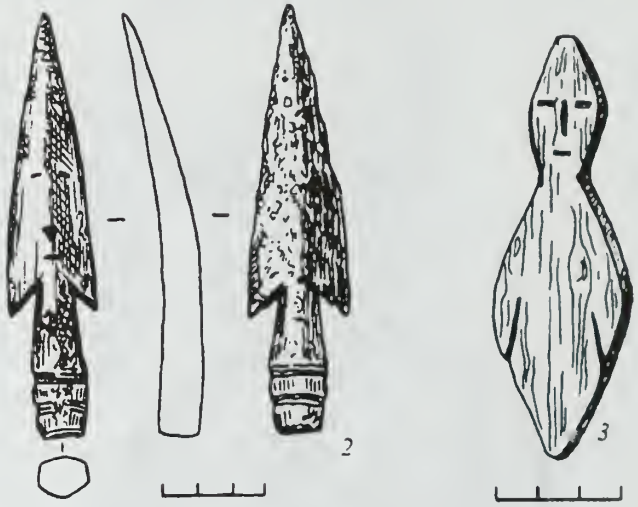


Figure 6. Anthropo-ornithomorphic figurines: 1—stone; 2—bone; 3—wood (1—author's excavations; 2—after V. V. Leont'ev; 3—after I. S. Vdovin)

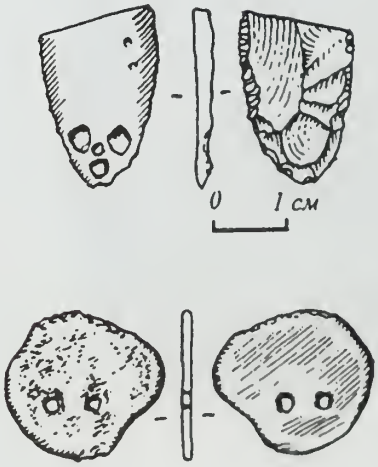


Figure 8. Anthropomorphic masks of stone: a—Tytyl' VI site; b—Rauchuvagytgyn I site (author's finds)

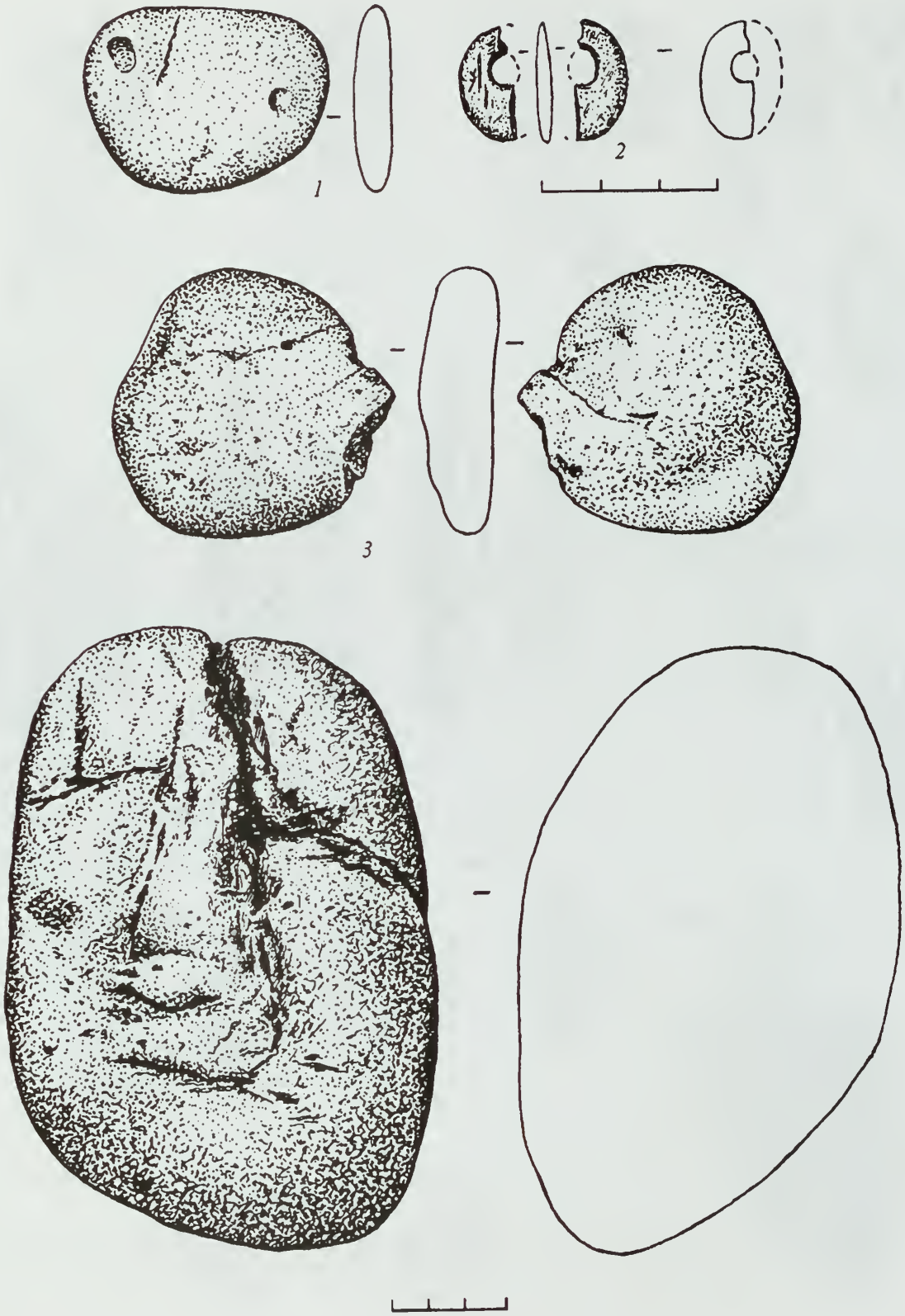
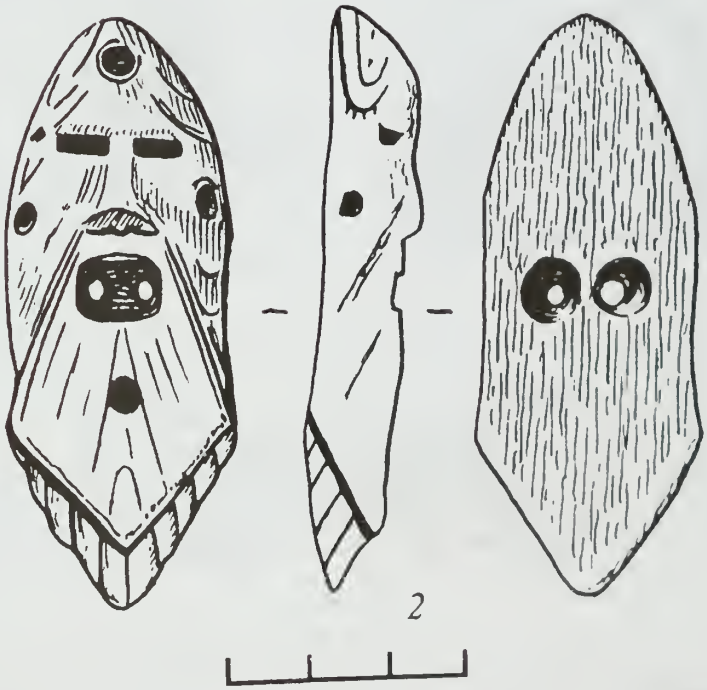


Figure 9. Finds from the cultural layer in the Bol'shoi El'gakhchan I site (upper area): Top: 1—mask-like cobble; 2—fragment of a polished pendant; 3—image of a human head on a cobble (excavations of M. A. Kiriyak). Bottom: "Stone head" from the Siberdik site (excavations of N. N. Dikov).

Figure 10. Petroglyphic sculpture ("stone head") from the Lopatka III site (after T. M. Dikova).

Figure 11. "Stone head" from Alaska (region of Nunivak Island)—after K. Pratt and R. Shaw.

1



2

Figure 12. Images of heads: 1—from the Late Neolithic Tokareva site (after A. I. Lebedintsev); 2—mask from the early Eskimo (Punuk) complex at Nunyamo (after N. N. Dikov). 1—stone; 2—bone.

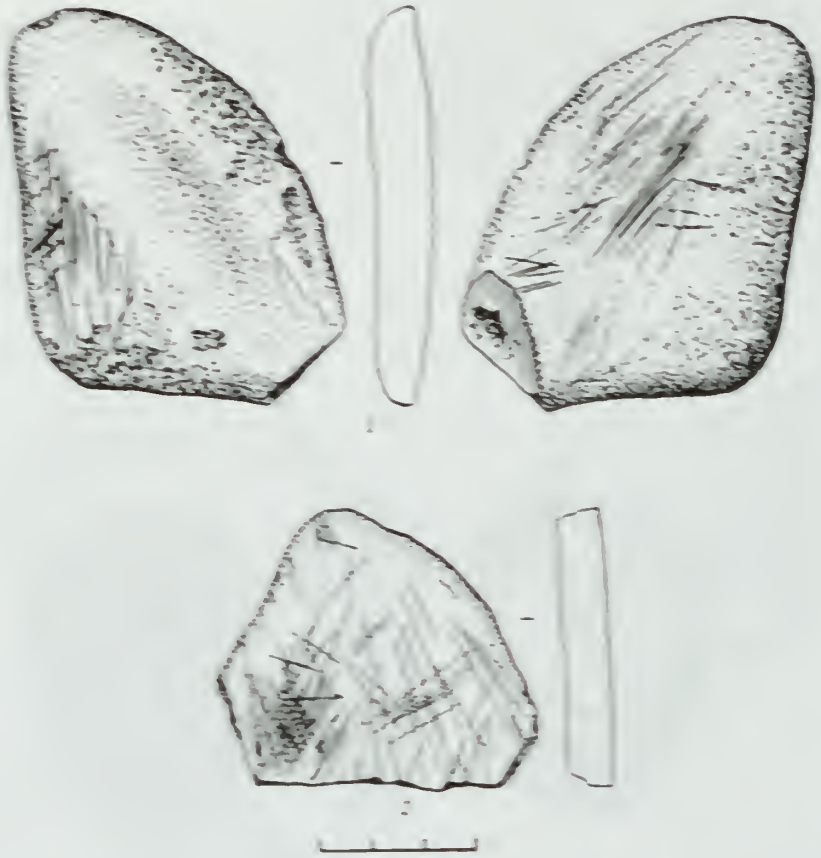


Figure 13. Images of mammoths: 1, 2 — from Layer IV at the Ushki I site (after N. N. Dikov)

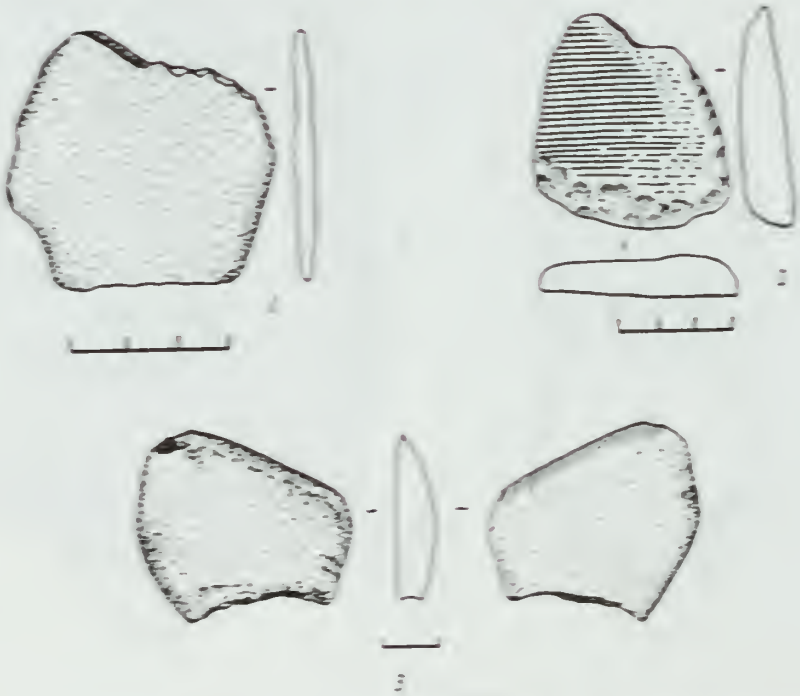


Figure 14. Images of mammoths: 1, 3—Layer IV of the Ushki I site; 2—IV Horizon I site (after N. N. Dikov)

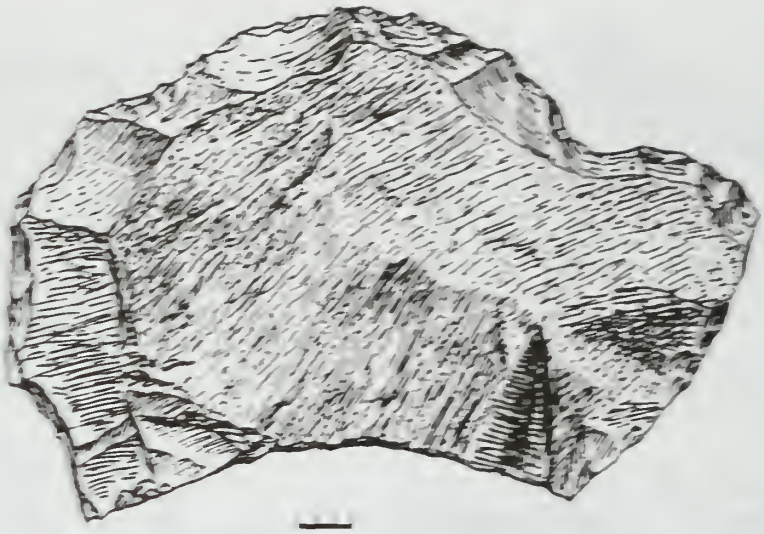


Figure 15. Micro-sculpture of a mammoth from the Dmachick-Terrenoire site (after L. E. Tsvetkov)

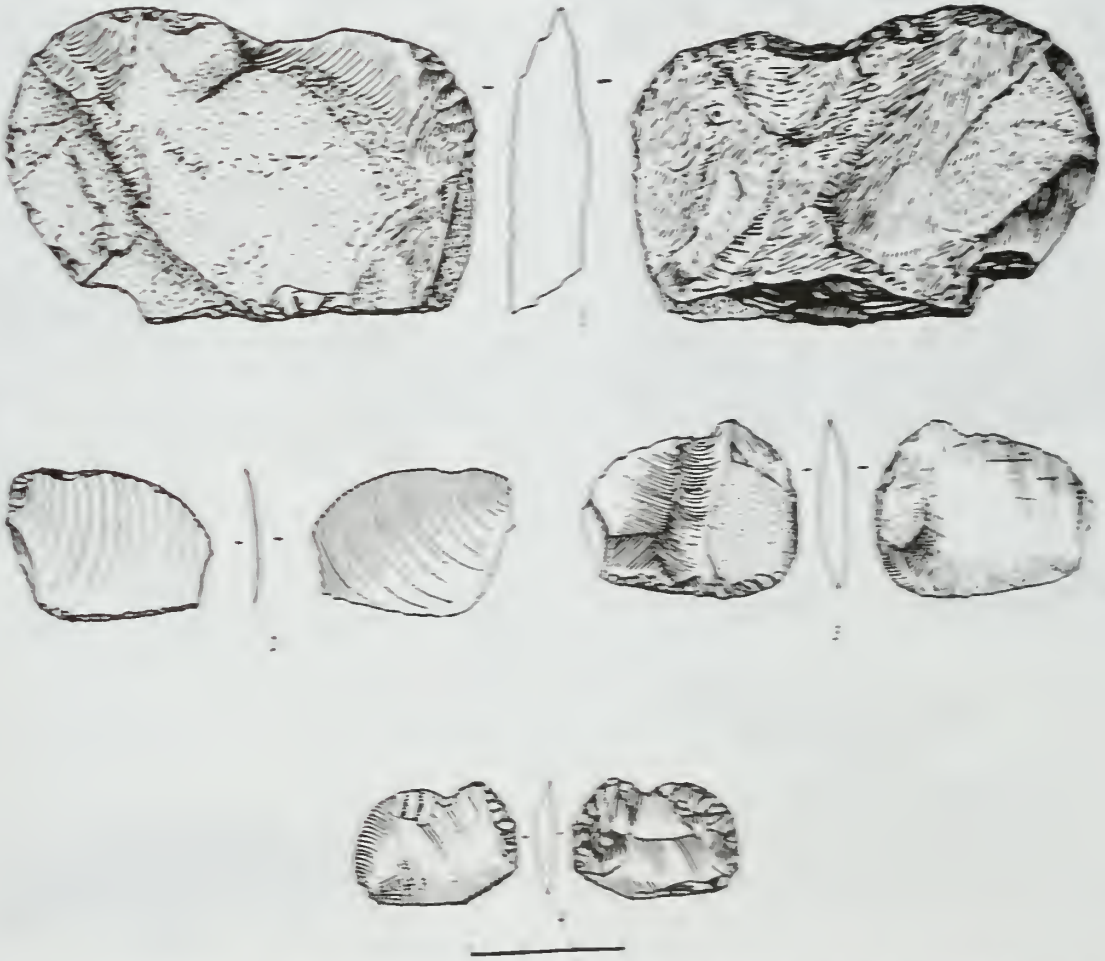


Figure 16. Reduced images of mammoth-bone (?) from sites. 1—Type (figure II (author's classification)), 2—Dolni I (after M. M. Dokuchaev), 3—Bel'ska El'gakhchan 1, 4—Type V (author's classification)

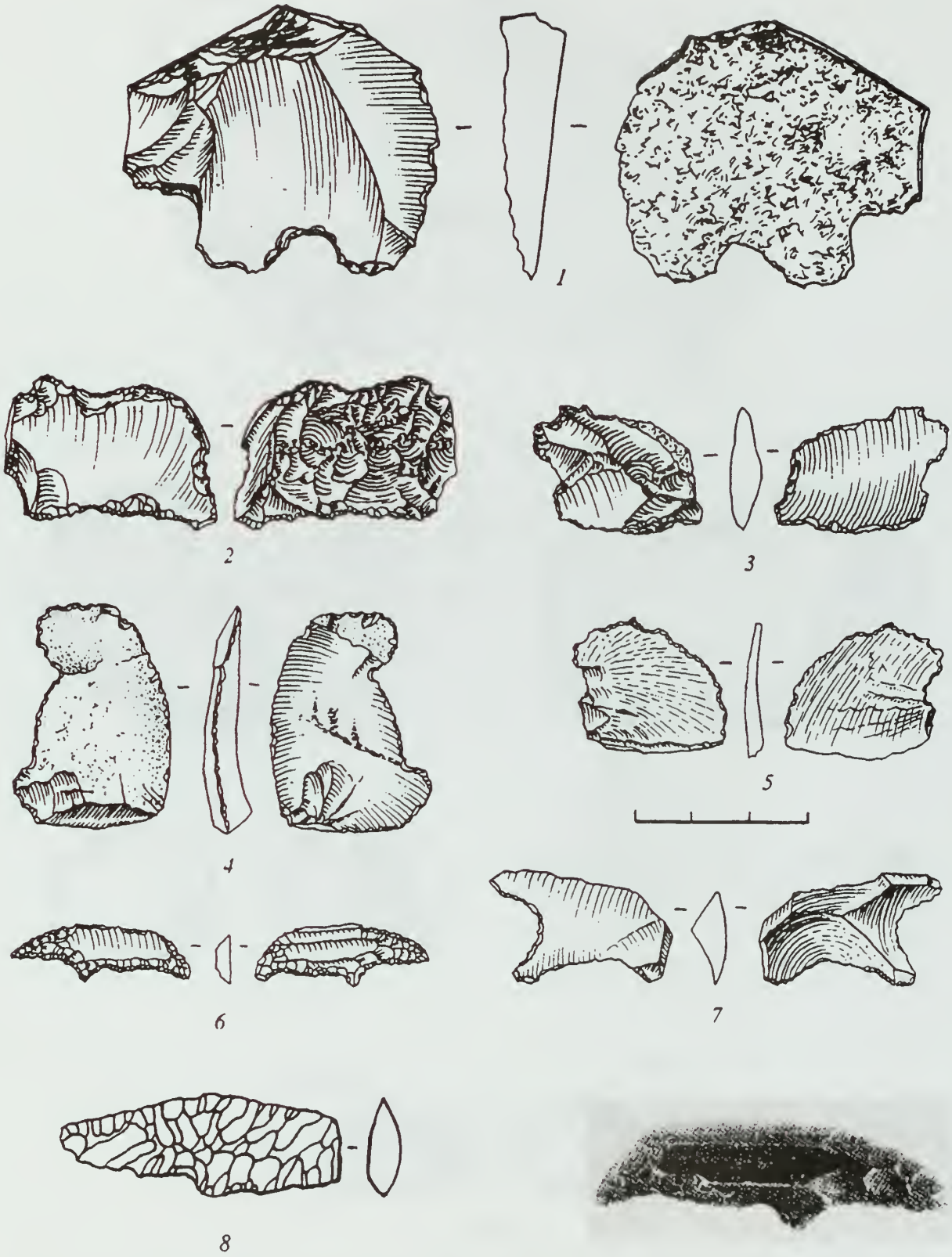


Figure 17. Bear figurines from sites: 1—Tytyl'vaam II; 2, 7—Tytyl' IV; 3—El'gygytgyn; 4—Tytyl' IV, Locus 3; 5—Ust'-Uimyveem; 6—Tytyl' III; 8—Avacha (1–7—author's excavations; 8—after T. M. Dikova).

Photo 2. Image of a polar bear from the Tytyl' III site.

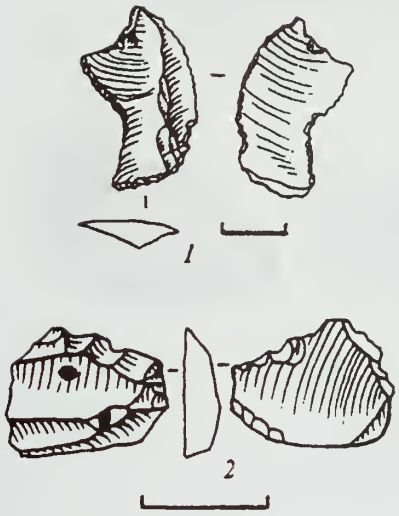


Figure 18. Images of a bear's head from sites: 1—Verkhnetytyl'skaya IV (author's material); 2—Tytyl' IV.

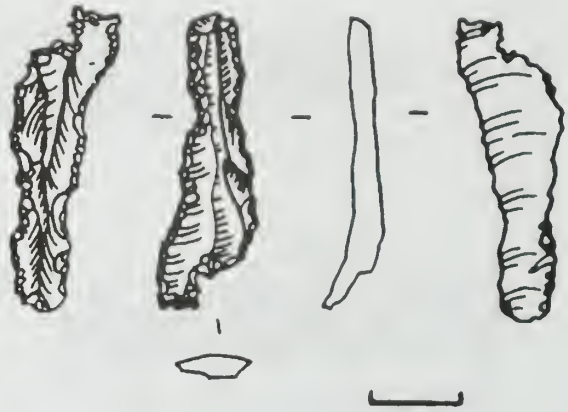


Figure 20. Small poly-iconic sculpture from the Ranchuvagytgyn I site (author's excavations).

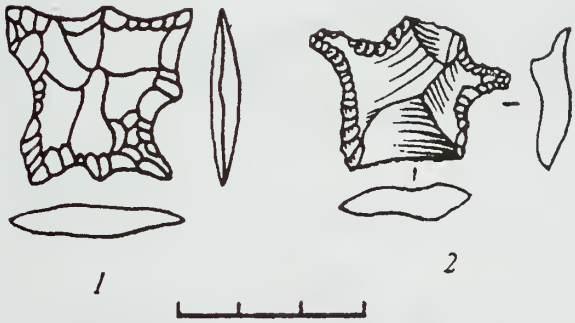


Figure 19. Images of bear (?) skins from sites: 1—Chuvaigytkhyn I (after N. N. Dikov); 2—Kopyto II (after A. K. Ponomarenko).

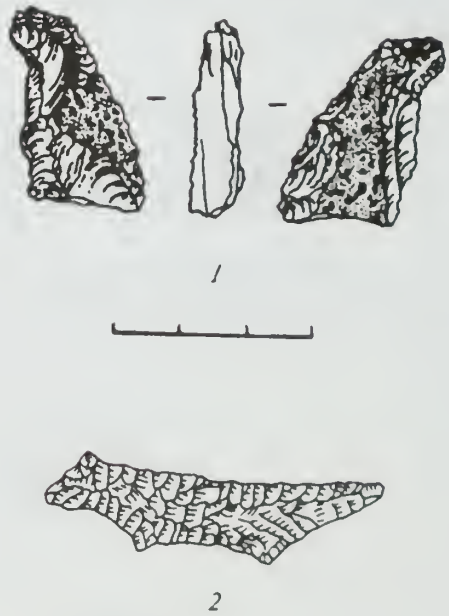


Figure 21. Small sculptures: 1—ground squirrel (Tytyl' V site, author's excavations); 2—dog or Arctic fox (after S. N. Zamyatnin).

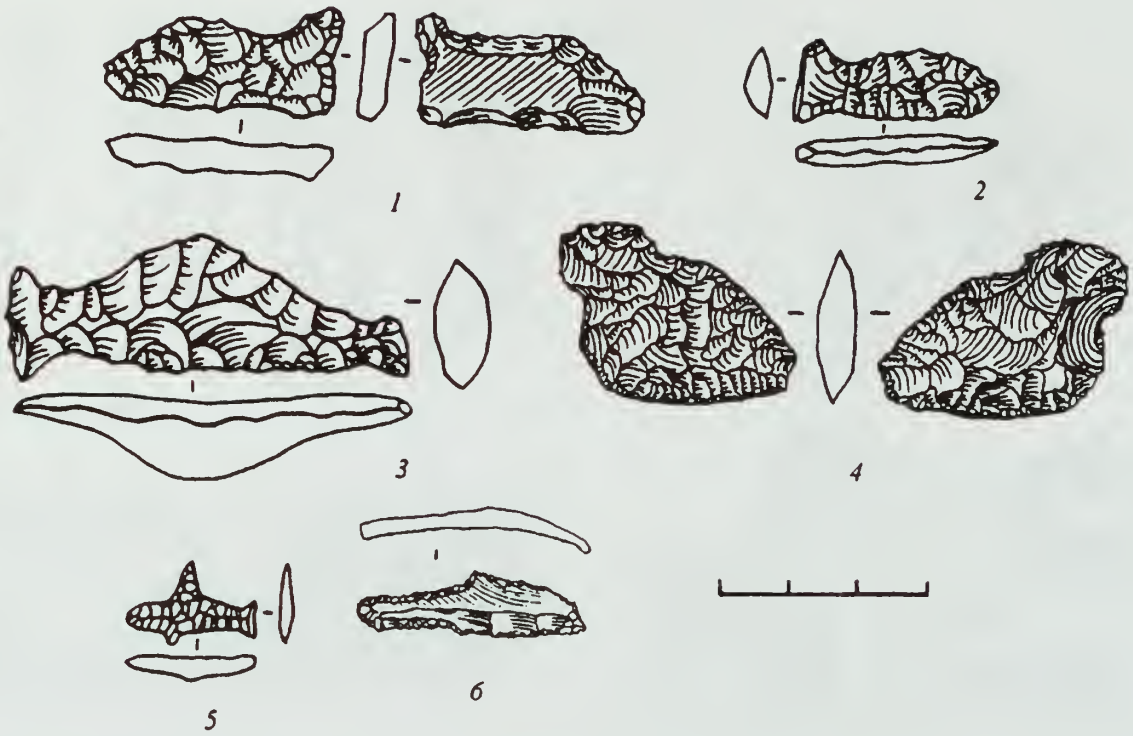


Figure 22. Sculpted images of sea mammals: 1—whale from the Lopatka I site; 2—whale; 3—seal from the Bol'shoi Kamen' site (after A. K. Ponomarenko); 4—young seal from the Osinovaya Spit site (N. N. Dikov's collections); 5—orca from Layer II of the Avacha site (after T. M. Dikova); 6—young "harbor porpoise" from the Ilirneigytgyn V site (author's collections).

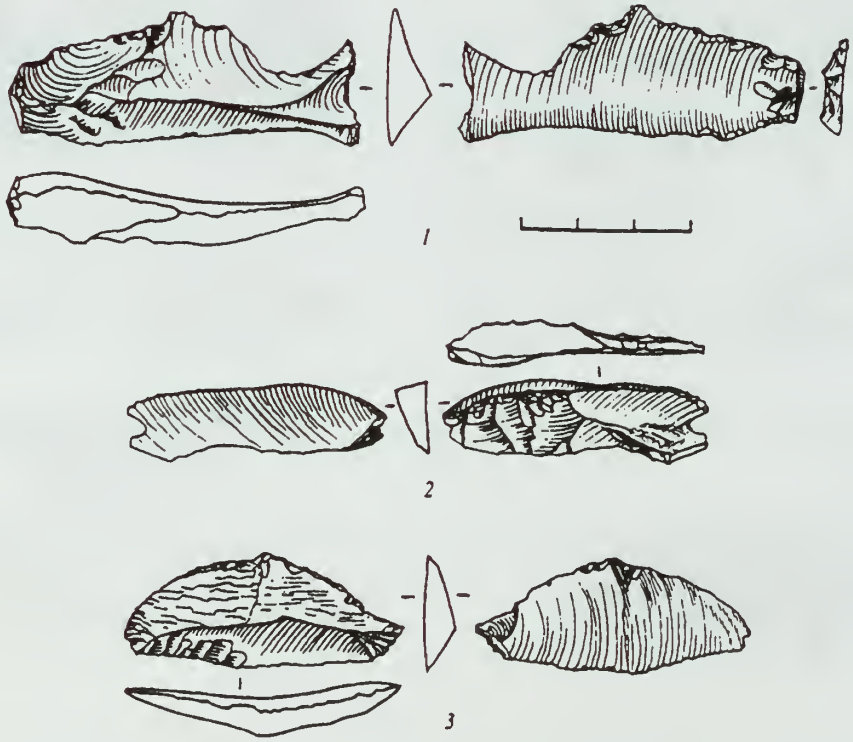


Figure 23. Reduced images of fish from sites: 1—Ul'khum I (N. N. Dikov's collections); 2—Ushki I, Layer VI (N. N. Dikov's excavations); 3—Tytyl' IV (author's collections).

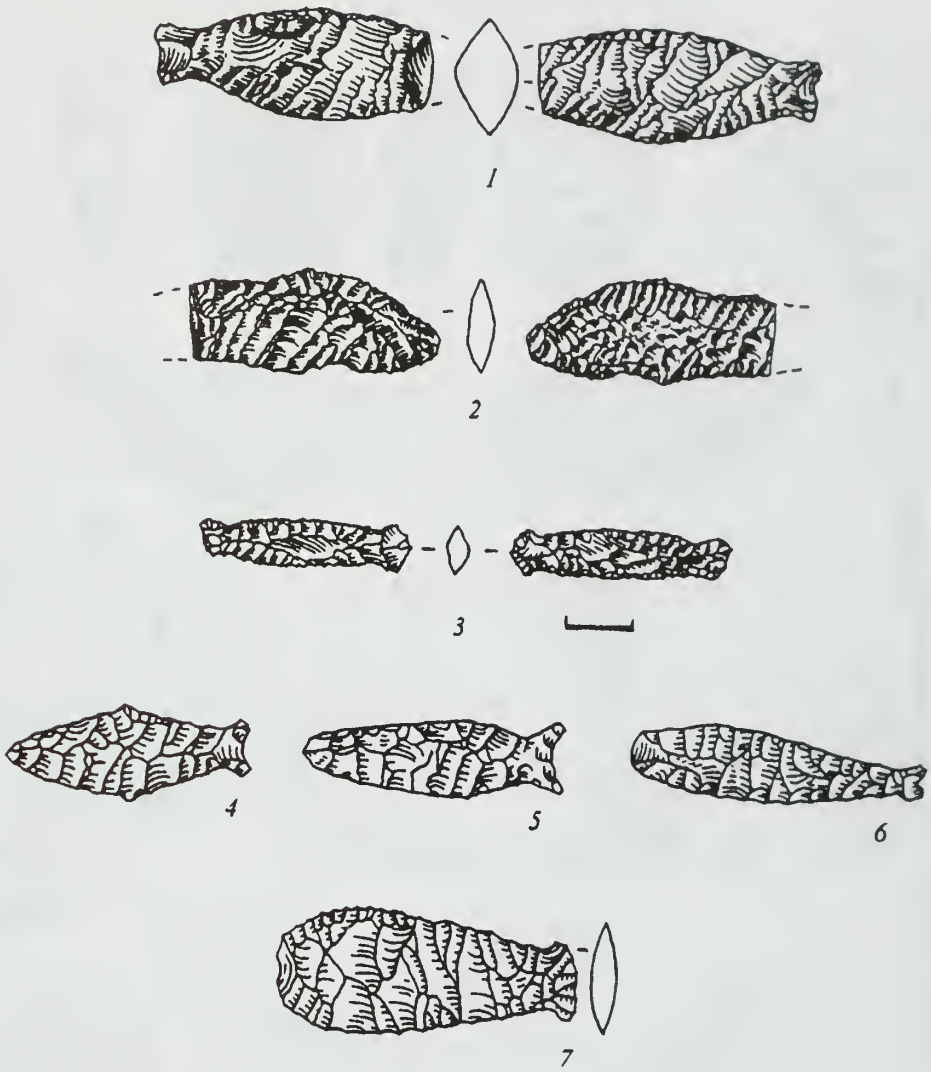


Figure 24. Figurines of fish: 1–3—Tytyl' V site (author's excavations); 4, 5—Uelen cemetery (after S. A. Arutiunov and D. A. Sergeev); 6—Kamchatka (after S. N. Zamyatnin); 7—Zhupanovo site (after A. K. Ponomarenko).

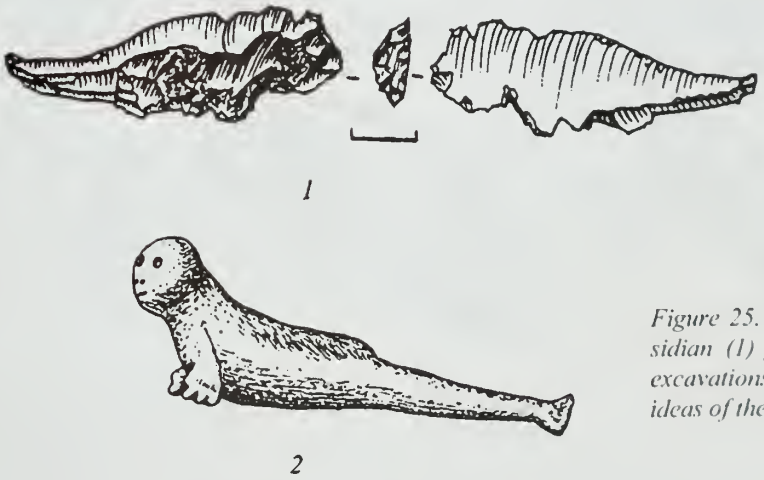


Figure 25. Sculpted image of a triton of obsidian (1) from the Tytyl' V site (author's excavations) and a newt (2) according to the ideas of the Chukchi (after W. G. Bogoras).

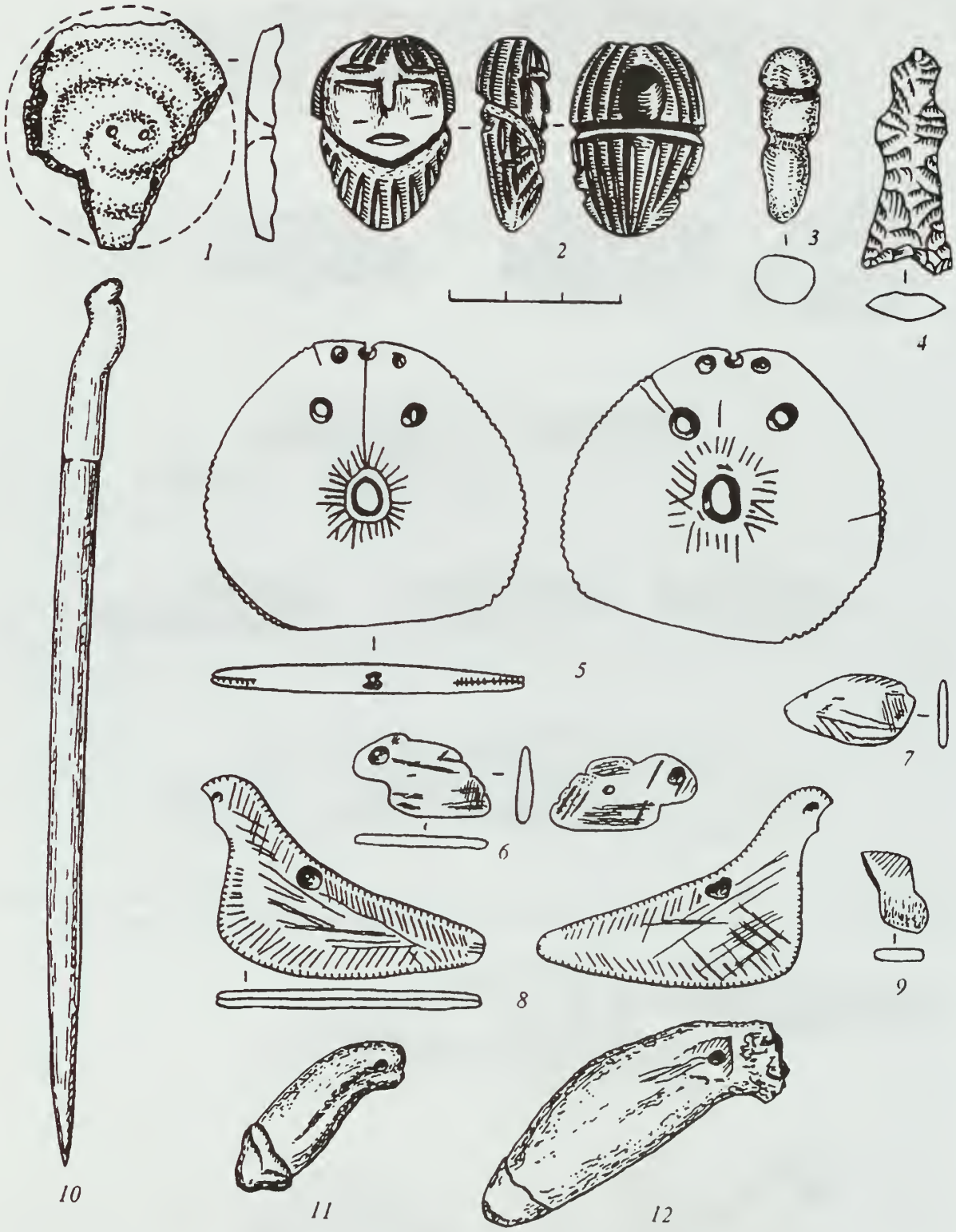


Figure 26. Shaped artifacts of the Tokareva culture (1–9—stone; 10–12—bone): 1—bas-relief image of a serpent (Tokareva site); 2—head of a person (Tokareva site); 3—phallus (Spafar'eva Island); 4—anthropomorphic figurine (Spafar'eva Island); 5—walrus (Spafar'eva Island); 6—sea mammal (Tokareva site); 7—head of a fur seal or sea lion (Tokareva site); 8—bird-seal (?) (Tokareva site); 9—bird; 10—bone punch with shaped handle (Spafar'eva Island); 11, 12—walruses made from a bear's tooth (Spafar'eva Island). Materials excavated by A. I. Lebedintsev (copies from his illustrations).

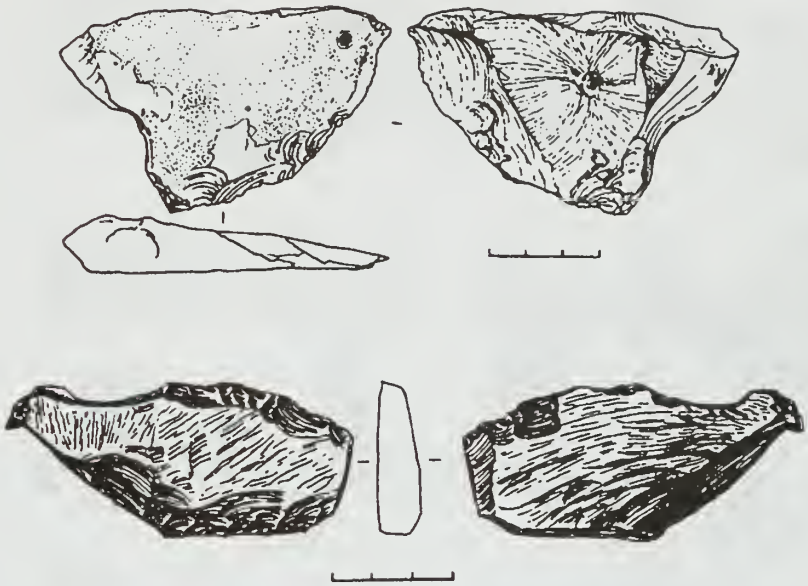


Figure 27. Sculpted image of birds. Top: from the Upper Paleolithic Bol'shoi El'gakhchan I site. Bottom: from the Neolithic Tytyl' V site (author's excavations).

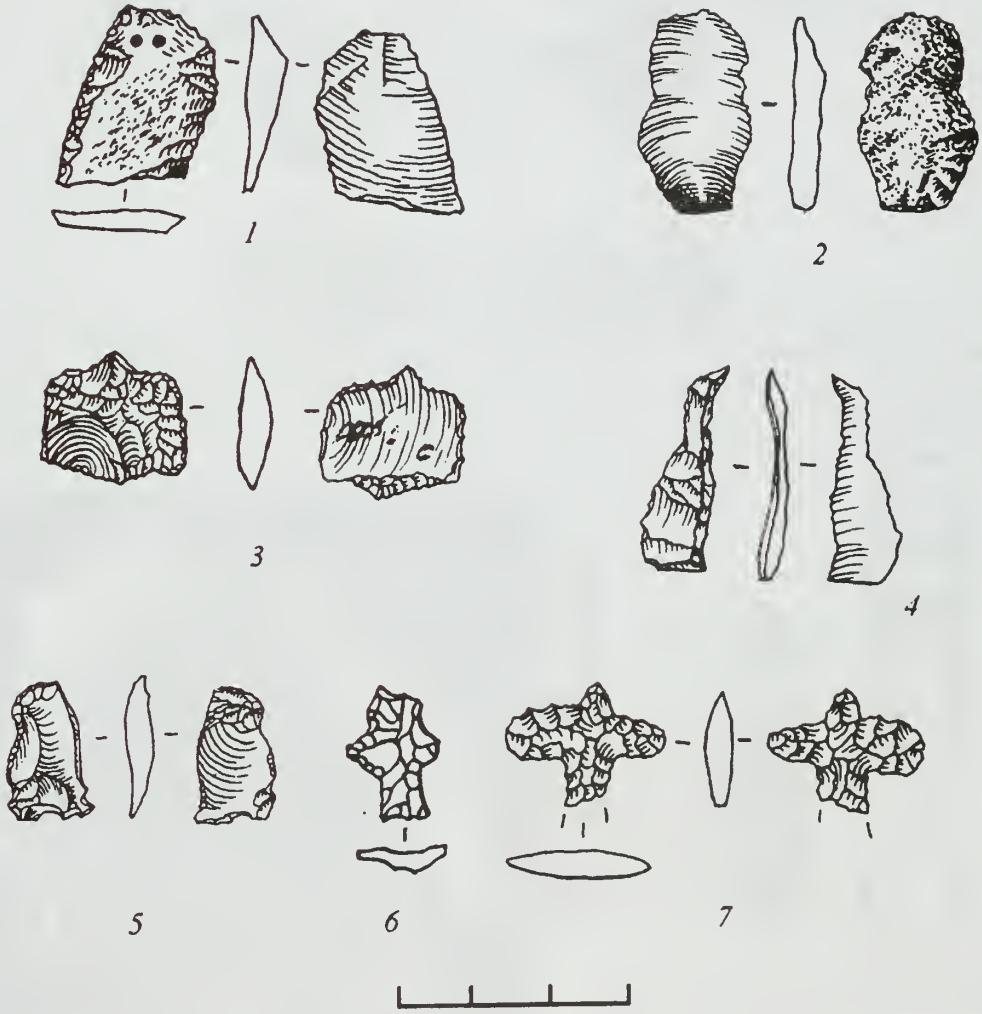


Figure 28. Images of birds from sites: 1—Tytyl' V; 2, 3—El'gygytgyn; 4—Tytyl' IV; 5—Nizhnetytyl'skaya IV; 6—Avacha; 7—Ui (1, 4, 5—materials of the author; 2, 3—collections of V. F. Belyi and O. Yu. Glushkova; 6—after T. M. Dikova; 7—after S. B. Slobodin).

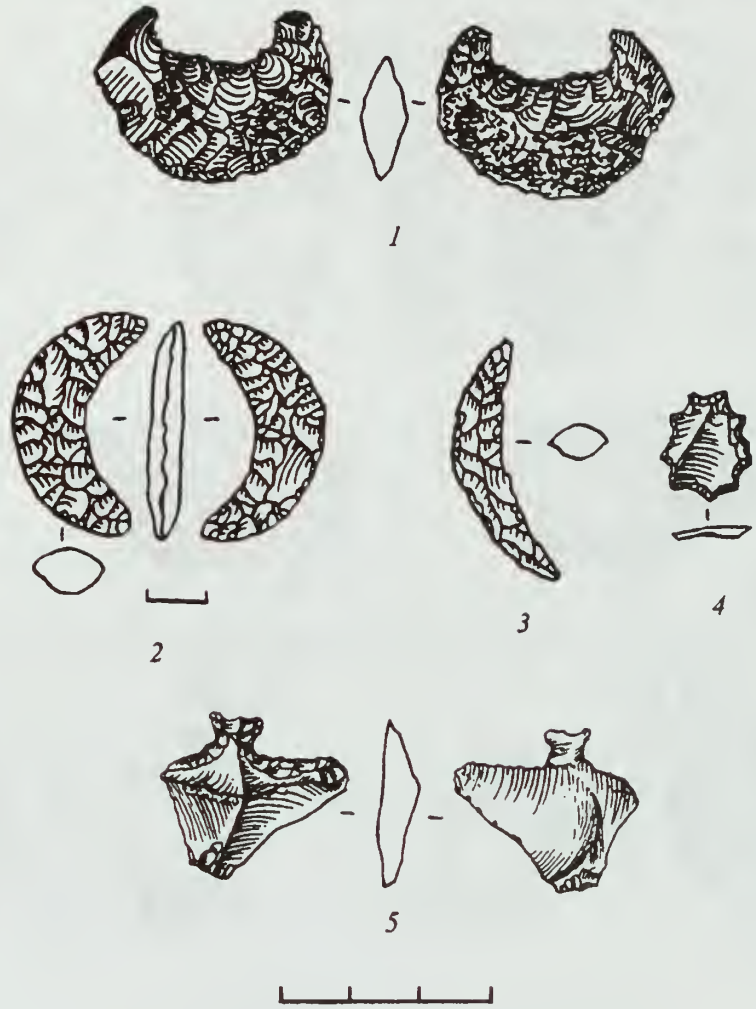


Figure 29. Symbolic images: 1—crescent (Chikaevo site, materials of N. N. Dikov); 2—crescent (Bol'shoi Kamen' site, materials of A. K. Ponomarenko); 3—crescent (Avacha site, materials of T. M. Dikova); 4—"asterisk" or little star (Nizhnetytyl'skaya IV site, author's materials); 5—head of a deer with a crescent (Nizhnetytyl'skaya IV site, author's collections).

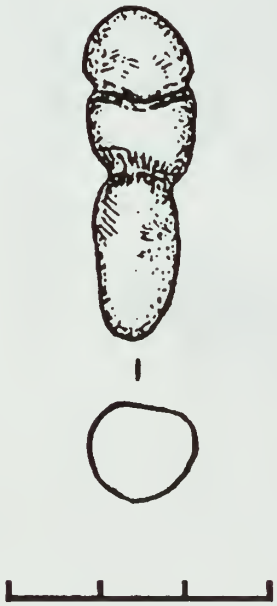


Figure 30. Phallic image from Spafar'eva Island (after A. I. Lebedintsev).

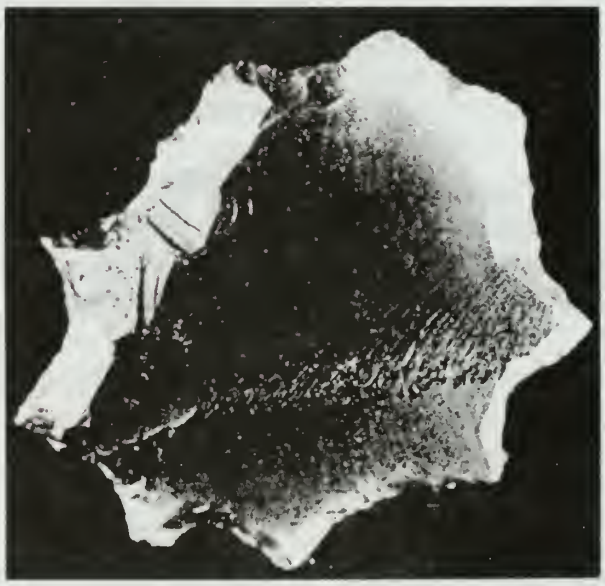


Photo 3. Image of a star (?) from the Nizhnetytyl'skaya IV site.

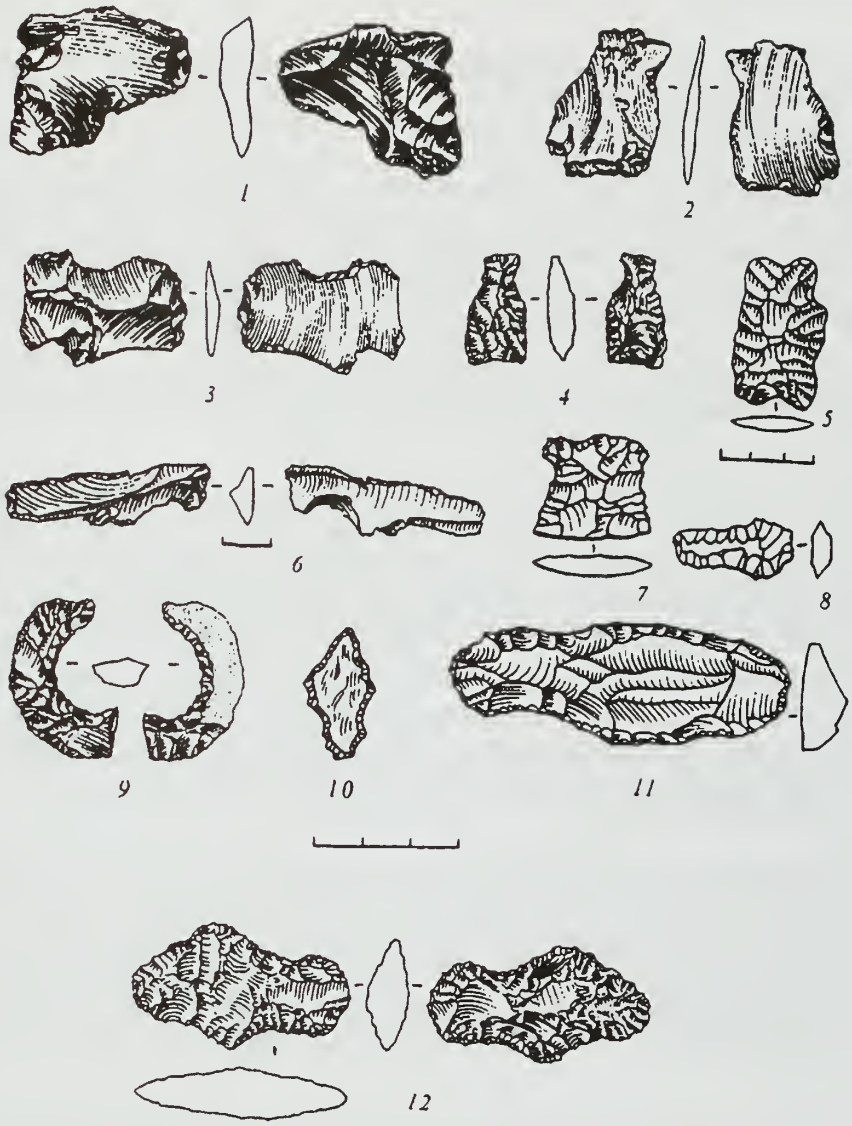


Figure 31. Unidentified figurines from sites: 1, 2, 9—Tytyl' IV (author's materials); 3—El'gygytgyn (collections of V. F. Belyi and O. Yu. Glushkova); 4, 6—Tytyl' V (author's excavations); 5, 10—Chini cemetery (after N. N. Dikov); 7, 8, 11—Avacha (after T. M. Dikova); 12—Geka I (after A. A. Orekhov).

Figure 32. Natural forms in cultural complexes: 1—"mammoth" (Bol'shoi El'gakhchan I site, author's excavations); 2—"head of a goose" (El'gygytgyn site, materials of V. F. Belyi and O. Yu. Glushkova); 3—"burbot" (Tytyl' IV site, Locus 2, author's excavations).

Anthropomorphic Sculpture

Standing human images. The most representative of the standing human images are several figurines from Kamchatka. Eight anthropomorphic sculptures come from the north coast of Avacha Bay near Petropavlovsk-Kamchatski, four of which are preserved in the collection at the museum of the Institute of Anthropology, Ethnography, and Archaeology (AN) in St. Petersburg. All have been published at different times (Dikova 1983; Lev 1935; Rudenko 1948; Zamyatnin 1948).

These figurines were made of obsidian and bifacially retouched. They are frontal and stylized. Unfortunately, none of the authors provide a detailed description (Dikova 1983:126–129, Pl. 45:2–5; Lev 1935:217–224, Figs. 1–3; Zamyatnin 1948:115, 116, Fig. 9:3–6).

One figurine has a round, somewhat asymmetrical head (Fig. 4:10). It has elongated triangular projections set at right angles to the sides that imitate arms, a straight trunk, and a straight neck without indentations at the point of connection with the head. The legs are sub-triangular in form and made by an arc-shaped indentation. This figurine is 3 cm high and 1.6 cm wide. The image here is copied from the article by Zamyatnin, who in turn borrowed it from Shnell (Zamyatnin 1948:Fig. 9:1).

Another figurine has a flattened trapezoidal head (the trapezoid is turned with the base up). Smooth indentations at the head mark slightly prominent arm projections (with greater relief on the left). The body, straight on one side, has a small projection on the other. It is short, and the leg projections, as if cut off, are barely perceptible through a shallow indentation. This figurine is 3.5 cm high and 1.5 cm wide (Lev 1935:218; Zamyatnin 1948:Fig. 4).

One small sculpture with a bent body is quite distinctive (Fig. 4:8). A rectangular projection, which marks the neck and head(?), changes through smooth indentations into symmetrical, triangular-oval arm projections. The body is sub-rectangular, terminating in lightly marked branches denoting lower extremities and, as if bent to the right, continues this bend along the line of the neck-head. The unusual form of the image provided an occasion for Lev to treat it as a "stylized image of a seal with very pronounced head and flippers" (Lev 1935:218; Zamyatnin 1948:Fig. 9:5). This sculpture is 4.2 cm high and 2.1 cm wide.

A figurine with a broad sub-triangular-oval head set off by shallow indentations from rounded arm projections directed straight out from the sides has symmetrical indentations on both sides that display, as it were, the edge of clothing, from which project short, broad, rectangular legs. By comparison with all the preceding sculptures, this image seems excessively wide, which can probably be explained by the desire of the early artisan to show a person in winter dress with hood and boots (Fig. 4:5). It is 3.5 cm high and 1.9 cm wide (Lev 1935; Zamyatnin 1948:9:6).

Four small sculptures were obtained by Dikova during excavations at the Avacha site.

One is a figurine with a round symmetrical head with the outline somewhat expanded in the region of the ears (Fig. 4:1). The lines of the neck, shown by deep indentations on two sides, smoothly change into shoulder projections that simultaneously imitate arms. The body is straight. The sub-triangular/oval legs were modeled by a steep groove, as if they were somewhat spread apart. This figurine is 4 cm high and 1.9 cm wide (Dikova 1983:Pl. 45:4).

Another, similar figurine has a rounded asymmetrical head (Fig. 4:2), the contour of which is a smooth arc-shaped line changing into short triangular arm projections. The contour creates the impression of an elongated neck. The shortened body is marked only by a shallow indentation, which changes into the line of the legs, modeled from below by a gentle arc. This figurine is 4 cm high and 1.5 cm wide (Dikova 1983:45:5).

A third figurine has a flattened, slightly rounded head that narrows toward the shoulders as if drawn into them (Fig. 4:3). The arm projections are of different sizes and scarcely noticeable (the one on the left is more accented). The body is straight, terminating in short projecting legs (the edge of one of them is broken off at the beginning of the groove). This figurine is 3.1 cm high and 1.5 cm wide (Dikova 1983:Pl. 45:3).

Yet another figurine (Fig. 4:4) has a displaced (as if on an incline) sub-trapezoidal head (expanding upward), which changes into triangular arm projections of different sizes as it progresses downwards. Below this, the body is denoted by symmetrical indentations. The legs are barely perceptible and one is missing. This figurine is 3 cm high and 1.7 cm wide (Dikova 1983:Pl. 45:2).

Two figurines from Chukotka belong to the same type of primitive realistic sculpted images (both are of obsidian).

The first, given to Orekhov as a gift, has a round head, straight neck, and symmetrical elongated projections imitating arms (Fig. 4:9). This image is 4.7 cm high and 2.2 cm wide.

The second was found at the Verkhnetytyl'skaya IV site (Fig. 4:11) and has a broad sub-rectangular/oval head changing into rounded arm projections. The body narrows as it progresses downward and terminates in small budding legs modeled at an angle to the line of the body (one extremity is broken). The bulkiness of the image possibly indicates a person in clothing. This figurine is 2.5 cm high and 1.5 cm wide.

Visually, one of the Kamchatka sculptures is similar to a figurine (Fig. 4:6) found by Lebedintsev during excavations at an early site on Spafar'eva Island (northern Priokhot'e) (Dikova 1983:Pl. 45:5). It is 4 cm high and 1.5 cm wide (Lebedintsev 1990:59, Fig. 8).

Anthropomorphic images in Ponomarenko's surface collections from the Bol'shoi Kamen' site (at the mouth of the Tikhaya River, western part of Avacha Bay) were executed in a different manner (Fig. 5:1, 2). Both figurines were made from obsidian flakes by edge retouch. They are schematically simplified, which distinguishes them from those examined above: the upper and lower extremities are marked by small projections, the neck can hardly be distinguished, and the head is absent (Ponomarenko 1976:Pl. 1:16; 1989:Fig. 25:43). A similar figurine was found in the Ust'-Belaya cemetery (Chukotka) (Dikov 2004:Fig. 60:14). That figurine is also schematic in form (Fig. 5:3).

Several artistic canons can be distinguished in the group of sculptures representing standing humans. The first is figurines with stretched heads rounded on top and joined to a trunk without a transition to a neck. The arms in the form of elongated sub-triangular projections are "set" at the sides at a right angle to the vertical axis. The legs, as if set widely apart, are denoted by a shallow indentation. The first image (Fig. 4:10) comes from a complex of the Old Itel'men culture (Kamchatka), the second (Fig. 4:9) is from the inland regions of Chukotka (the cultural association is not known). The second canon is small sculptures with a roundish-angular head, joined to the trunk by a neck formed through gently concave indentations. The arms are hardly noticeable sub-triangular/oval projections. The body narrows at the waist, and the legs are designated by short stumps. One figurine (Fig. 4:2) belongs to the Old Itel'men culture, the second (Fig. 4:6) to the Tokareva culture (northern Priokhot'e). The third canon is images with a flattened head. The neck is denoted by very short indentations. The body is straight, completed by straight-set legs separated in the lower part by a steep groove. Both figurines (Figs. 4:3, 7) are from Tar'in sites (Old Itel'men culture). The fourth canon is images with a bent profile, flattened head, and short triangular arm projections. The legs, deviating to the sides, are lightly marked by a faint indentation. Both figurines (Figs. 4:4, 8) belong to the Old Itel'men culture. The fifth canon is the indefinite treatment of a figurine form. The neck is hardly noticeable, there is no head, and the legs are designated by short spreading projections (Figs. 5:1, 2). Such images were found in the Ust'-Belaya and Old Itel'men cultures.

Some small sculptures have unique features. One figurine executed in careful detail is provisionally designated to be realistic (Fig. 4:1). Based on its association with the Tar'in culture (one of the stages of Old Itel'men), the author of the find confers upon it the name "Tar'ina" (Dikova 1983). Two images are described as wearing clothing: the first, in a parka (Fig. 4:5), the second, in coveralls(?), called *kerker* in Chukchi (Fig. 4:11).

Figurines with an anthropo-zoomorphic appearance form a special group.

A small sculpture of obsidian found at the Bol'shoi Kamen' site (Kamchatka) is similar in treatment to stylized fully upright anthropomorphic images (Fig. 5:4). It is worked on both sides by retouch and the upper and lower extremities were made in the form of small sub-triangular projections. However, an acute-angled, elongated appendage is modeled in place of a neck and head, which gives the image a peculiar character. The figurine is 3 cm high and 1.4 cm wide (Ponomarenko 198:Pl. 19:13).

An obsidian figurine found at the Bering Sea site of Geka I (Fig. 7) combines the features of a human and a fish. The similarities to these forms are seen in such details as a clearly pronounced tail fin (instead of legs) and a pointed head (Orekhov 1995:Fig. 2:56). This figuine is 3.3 cm high and 1.6 cm wide and is visually similar to an Ust' Belaya artifact (Fig. 5:3).

Two small anthropo-ornithomorphic sculptures probably have mythological significance.

An obsidian image was found by Dikova during excavations at the Avacha site and interpreted as a "figurine of a bear standing on its hind paws, or a human figurine" (Dikova 1983:150). Based on morphological features, the artifact more closely resembles a bird (Fig. 28:6). The tail indicates this by expanding slightly as it progresses downward, unlike the legs of a bear or human, which would have been treated differently if it had come from an anthropomorphic series of Kamchatka. The figurine is 1.8 cm high and 1.4 cm wide (Dikova 1983:Pl. 38:2).

A shaped artifact from the Bol'shoi El'gakhchan IV site is very distinctive. The gray silicified slate artifact is morphologically reminiscent of a unilaterally convex stemmed arrow point (Fig. 6:1). In form the figurine might be designated an ornithomorphic image, but the modeling of the head (with lateral "neck" indentations) and hands (projections spread slightly to the sides) emphasizes its anthropomorphic quality. Features of a fantastic creature project from the sculpted being—a birdman. The figurine is 2.8 cm high and 1.7 cm wide.

There are images in the repertoire of small sculpture being examined here whose interpretation needs to be made more specific.

Lebedintsev considers the phalliform an anthropomorphic sculpture (Fig. 30) (Lebedintsev 1996:141), which I prefer to categorize as symbolic images. Ponomarenko treats an image that is more reminiscent of a spread animal skin as anthropomorphic (Fig. 19:2) (Ponomarenko 1985:86). Orekhov sees traits of an anthropomorphic character in an obsidian figure (Fig. 31:12). He considers it poly-iconic (personal communication), though its identification is impossible. I interpreted a figurine (Fig. 20), in which zoomorphic traits were later revealed, as an image of a squatting person (Kiriyak 1993b).

A figurine found in Upper Paleolithic Layer IV of the Ushki I site (Kamchatka) stands apart. The early Ushki people were attracted by the natural form of the stone, which is characteristic for Paleolithic Ushki art. The entire design of the small sculpture is composed of multi-directional hatching, possibly imitating clothing (Fig. 3) or animal fur. The investigator sees in the image a "sitting person face on, or the head of an animal" (Dikov 2004). In all probability it is poly-iconic, that is, it transmits multiple images. Poly-iconism is the representational norm for Paleolithic art.

We now take up the following two sub-groups of anthropomorphic sculpture: images of heads and masks.

Stone heads. The sculpted image of a head from the Siberdik site on the upper Kolyma is chronologically the earliest in the collection of the items being examined. The Siberdik cobble did not attract the attention of early man by accident—its very form is reminiscent of a head: oval in plan, it has a prominent section on top, a facial surface in the center, and a flattening as it progresses downward, which correspond to a forehead, cheeks, and chin, respectively. The natural fissures in the cobble and focused crushing were used in finishing the facial details. "Fresher" areas, obtained by the removal of cobble cortex, are seen in the region of the nose (nostrils) and lips, which are represented by depressions. The face appears to be blind (with closed eyes). There is a dark oval depression (of natural origin)—a quick glance at the left side of the head (the right part of the face) shows a stain that can pass for an eye, which creates the impression of a gazing person (T. M. Dikova, personal communication). The sculpted portrait looks impressive: broad short nose, prominent cheeks, and a deep crease in the forehead. The image is 16 cm high and 11.5 cm wide (Fig. 9). Due to substantial rolling (smoothing) of the surface, it's not possible to determine the origin of the furrowed relief lines nor the technique used in applying them. The nostrils were made by pecking dots.

A similar (cobble) sculpture (Fig. 10) was found by Dikova a long distance from the upper Kolyma during archaeological work at Cape Lopatka on the southern tip of the Kamchatka Peninsula (the Lopatka III site). During excavation of a shell midden—poor in artifacts—an anthropomorphic image on a large-grained pebble was found in the complex. Again the form was prompted by the natural shape of the material: a rounded cobble with flat sides. Two transverse grooved lines imitating eyes and mouth were created on the end by pecking. The nose is formed by the natural relief of the cobble surface between small upper and lower hollows (eyes and mouth, respectively). Ear depressions were made on the lateral surfaces of the cobble by rigorous pecking (Dikova 1983:Fig. 12). The age of the shell midden in which the sculpture was found is 4380 ± 70 years (MAG-312) (Dikova 1983:31). Unfortunately, the author reported no additional data about the "petroglyphic head" (Dikova 1983:31).

In contrast to these two sculpted "portraits," a unique pendant in the form of a person's head was found by Lebedintsev at the Tokareva site (northern Priokhot'e).

The image (Fig. 12:1) was executed on a brown flattened-oval pebble. All the details of the head and upper part of the attire are shown in deep relief. The face is broad and round, the nose straight and short, and the narrow eyes are formed by short, straight slits, but have no arches above them depicting brows. The hair was modeled as being evenly cropped on the forehead and nape of the neck and covering the ears (in the form of the modern "square" cut). The mouth is an incised lenticular depression, as if it were open. An encircling groove separates the head from the attire, which covers the neck (the fur, like the hair, is indicated by vertically carved lines). This image transmits the features of an early Tokareva person in a remarkably realistic manner. A biconical hole was drilled upward from the occiput to the top of the head. The length of the pendant is 3.4 cm, the width is 2.5 cm, and the thickness is 1.1 cm (Lebedintsev 2000:52, Fig. 32:5). The Tokareva site has a date of 2300 ± 100 (MAG-762).

The small Tokareva sculpture is the rarest item among all known portable art in the archaeology of Northeast Asia. The refinement and mastery in the transmission of all the portrait-like details make it unique. Because of this execution, it can be assigned to an early kind of small art—northern glyptics.

An artifact discovered during excavation of the Upper Paleolithic Bol'shoi El'gakhchan I site belongs to the group of shaped objects representing human heads (Fig. 9:a:3). This profile image was manufactured on a flat pebble with only minimal modification, which outlined a nose and mouth. A natural inclusion creates the illusion of an eye.

Masks. Two miniature mask-like items from western Chukotka are included in this collection of anthropomorphic images.

A skull-like mask was found when profiling a 2- to 3-meter-high cutbank from a terrace on the western shore at the narrow outlet of Tytyl' Lake (Fig. 8a). It was made on the distal segment of a blade of brown hornfels. To illustrate the facial details of the skull the early artisan used the ventral surface on the curve at the end of the blade, which is reminiscent in form of the oval lower part of a face. Eye sockets formed by sub-square depressions were placed at an angle to each other as if they were outlining the bridge of a nose expanding toward the forehead. Directly below these are two round depressions: one in the place of the nose, the second (of larger dimensions) imitating an open mouth. The lower part of the chin contour was bifurcated by means of pressing out a microflake. The upper roundness of the skull is implied by the conchoidal curve of the blade. Above it on the right are two tiny depressions.

Without trace analysis (studying microscopic marks) it is difficult to determine what technical methods were used for executing the individual details of this mask. It can only be clearly stated that the image was made in low relief. On the reverse side of the blade are the scars of tiny flake removal with two short, narrow vestiges of surface scraping that coincide with the eye sockets of the mask. Both lateral edges of the blade, with the exception of a small area on the narrow end, are covered on the dorsal side with fine, steep, regular retouch. The assemblage of artifacts (Pl. 9) obtained during the profiling of the terrace cutbank is Early Neolithic in appearance, but for a determination of the mask's cultural association and date, further investigations at the site are necessary.

A second mask (Fig. 8b) was found during excavations at the Rauchuvagytgyn I site. It was made on a piece of a slate slab and has a curvilinear asymmetrically elongated outline on one side. The image belongs to the group referred to as partial artifacts inasmuch as it is incomplete—such details as a mouth and nose are absent. Two small sub-square holes, probably imitating eyes, were made by sawing through from opposite sides. A small bulge was preserved in one of them. Both surfaces and the entire perimeter are polished. No abrasions or traces of working details can be seen. The composition looks finished and probably corresponds to whatever spiritual idea that the early master invested in it.

The Rauchuvagytgyn I site is dated by C^{14} to 2500 ± 100 (MAG-902). It occupies a special place among the Late Neolithic sites of western Chukotka owing to the impressive collection of graffiti obtained during excavations. These graffiti reflect the whole stratum of spiritual culture of the early population of Chukotka.

A mask-like item that was acquired along with a small assemblage of artifacts during the excavation of the Upper Paleolithic Bol'shoi El'gakhchan I site must also be noted. It is the profile image of a human head (described above) found together with microblades, a fragment of a pendant (Fig. 9a:2), and a flat pebble (Fig. 9a:1) with two depressions ("eyes"). One of the "eyes" is of natural origin, the second seems to have been artificially applied (artifacts from this site were traceologically indeterminate by reason of their roundness, according to N. A. Kononenko, who did the trace analysis).

At present, known anthropomorphic finds in the northern Far East are limited to these.

Inset 1. Representational artifacts from Layer VI of the Ushki I site (after N. N. Dikov). Top—slab with the image of conical dwellings. Bottom left—a polyiconic figurine. Bottom right—an image of a mammoth.

Zoomorphic Sculpture

The information about this category of flaked stone art is not of equal value: some finds are only mentioned by the authors of the publications without a description of their provenience or morphological features; and there is very limited information for others. Plus, not all objects have a simple interpretation or are even acknowledged as early animalistic art.

In this section, all the materials on early animalistic small stone sculpture known of in the Russian Northeast are summed up. One convenient way to examine these images is through consideration of the chronology of the archaeological sites in which they were found.

Mammoth. As is well known, mammoths are one of the most popular subjects of world animalistic art of the Paleolithic period, and Northeast Asia is no exception to this rule. There is a stylized image of a mammoth in the collection of pendants from Upper Paleolithic Layer VII of the Ushki I site in Kamchatka, though the creature was not acknowledged as such by the finder (Dikov 2004:Fig. 6:8) (Fig. 2:3). The small sculpture was made in the form of a pendant from a thin, carefully polished steatite flake. The figure of the mammoth is shown in profile, with a restrained outline emphasizing all details, and three small projections below that separate the trunk and legs. It is 1.8 cm high and 1 cm wide. Stone figurines of mammoths were also found in excavations of Upper Paleolithic Layer VI of the Ushki I site by Dikov during different years. All the images are in profile, extremely parsimonious in detail, and made, as a rule, from coarse raw material (Figs. 13, 14:1, 3).

A mammoth can be seen in the natural shape of a small flat sandstone pebble (Fig. 13:1; Inset 1:3). An early Ushki person reinforced this similarity in appearance by making vertical scratches that imitate the long fur of the gigantic beast. The figurine is bifacial, that is, it has vertical strokes applied to both sides. On both sides the image is reminiscent of a sitting mammoth. A broad, shallow groove made by grinding can be clearly seen on one side. In the groove, which emphasizes in relief the animal's trunk, were preserved traces of ocher, which are also noted in various places on the back side of the artifact. The whole image was probably covered with paint in antiquity. This figurine is 8.5 cm high and 6 cm wide (Dikov 1978:63, color inset).

A second mammoth figurine from this same level of the Ushki I site is similar in form and design (Fig. 13:2). It is 5.2 cm high and 6 cm wide.

An image of a mammoth on a fine-grained gray slate slab (Fig. 14:1) was made by crude flaking along the edge and a groove that marked the transition between the line of the trunk and the lower extremities. The figurine was found in a burial pit located in a pit house in Layer VI of the Ushki I site (Dikov 1993:25, Fig. 14:1). It is 5.1 cm high and 5.2 cm wide.

There is also a mammoth figure on a porous flat gray pebble (Fig. 14:3) from Layer VI of the Ushki I site. An object of specific form was selected as the basis for this sculpture as well. Grinding on one side created the line of the back. A flaked groove forming triangular projections separates the two legs. A short groove was scratched where the tusks emerge from the alveolus, and two small scale-like flakes were removed from the other side at the top of the head and in the region of the rear extremities. This small sculpture (in front) is 3.2 cm high and 3.6 cm wide.

In characterizing the artifact assemblage found in the burial pit of Layer VI, Dikov describes one of the shaped objects (Fig. 16:2) as an image of a bison (Dikov 1993:25, Fig. 15:6). In a foreshortening of an illustration Dikov rendered, the simplified image of a mammoth can be recognized on a flake of greenish brown flint (?), one feature of which is the natural design (Photo 4) made by the long white inclusions. The flake is variously worked along the edge. The line of the back and the lower line (the lower extremities are not depicted) were formed by the finest retouch. A groove in the neck region, as well as the rear extremities and the trunk, are denoted by the removal of tiny elongated arc-shaped flakes. The promi

nence of the head was modeled by pressure retouch and by a short break of the edge, which marks the projection where the tusk emerges from the alveolus (here the tusk is "sketched" by a downward-pointing white band in the raw material itself). In reverse view the image is actually reminiscent of a steeply humped bison. A purely utilitarian assignment could be designated for this artifact if it were not for the added workmanship combined with the natural "design" of the raw material. The artifact is 2.7 cm high and 3.9 cm wide (long?).

Another image demonstrating the Ushki technical method and manner of execution is a small sculpture (Fig. 16:3) found during excavations at the Upper Paleolithic Bol'shoi El'gakhchan I site (Northern Even Region, Magadan District) that was executed on an oval gray flake of silicified stone that narrows slightly at one end. The dorsal side preserves the untouched surface of the blank. On the ventral side, which partially preserves its cobble cortex, the negatives of flakes and a small amount of edge retouch are used to display the image. A groove was formed along the upper line that separates the projecting part of the top of the head from the back of the animal. Several microflakes were removed from the end. These mark the downcast trunk and an angular projection where the tusks emerge. The rear sloping part of the figure, with a short tail, is modeled by edge retouch and a longitudinal flake scar. The lower edge is faceted, probably for the purpose of utilization. This simplified sculpture is 4.2 cm long and 2.9 to 3.4 cm wide (high). In spite of the sparse detail and schematic nature, the profile of a mammoth can be divined in it: the contour of the upper line of its shape is precisely transmitted, the proportions of the different parts are evident, and the transition from back to head is apparent. Also shown are the top of the head (characteristic for a mammoth), the bend toward the base of the trunk, and the second transition marking the mobile part of the trunk. Similar in technique of preparation to the Ushki small sculpture described above is the El'gakhchan figurine, which is also reversible, showing a second image—a bison.

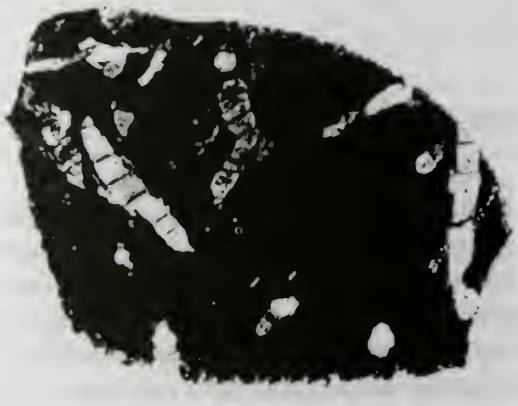


Photo 4. Figurine of a "mammoth-bison" (reversible) from the Ushki I site, Level VI.

The simplified image of a mammoth on a cortical cobble flake was pointed out by Dikov in the Ul'khum I assemblage (Fig. 14:2) (Dikov 1993; 1997).

A macro-artifact, conveying the form of a mammoth by its shape (Fig. 15), was found by Vorobei during excavations at the Druchak Vetrenyi site (Northern Even Region, Magadan District). The author of the find categorizes the artifact as a "large tool" and mentions it as a slab of diabase "with a flaked concave-convex edge and prominent projections" (Vorobei 1996:44). The object was found *in situ* in a vertical position (the "mammoth" was standing "on its legs"). The image was made by coarse flaking and secondary edge modification—the form of a mammoth materializing in the stone. All the characteristic details are stressed: the "large forehead," downcast as if pressed toward the front extremities, but separated from the body by two grooves (an upper and a lower), and the transition to the mobile part of the trunk is marked. A steep ascent from the neck to the back can be seen, and a shallow groove marks the transition to the rear, which is terminated by a short tail. The rear extremity is set off in rather full relief, even to the high foot that expands into short toes. The lower part of the figure is monolithic—the legs not separated. The rough surface of the slab was left without modification. Its micro-relief adds scope to the figure of the animal, imitating its woolly coat.[11] Chronologically, the whole Druchak assemblage is assigned to the beginning of the Holocene (Vorobei 1996:49). This particular sculpture is 41.5 cm long and 27.5 cm wide (high).

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[11] The author of the find was not inclined to reject a zoomorphic interpretation for this macro-artifact (personal communication).

In contrast to the Druchak sculpture in dimensions, but close to it in shape, is a figurine (Fig. 16:4) found among the diachronic cultural remains on the sodless surface of an 8 to 10 m high morainal hill in the southeastern part of the Lake Tytyl' shore zone (Bilibin Region, Chukotka Autonomous District). Later, an excavation was made here, which revealed the Tytyl' V site. The small sculpture is a mammoth—in reverse form reminiscent of a bison—made on a brown flint flake. It is 3.3 cm long and 2 to 2.3 cm high. This static profile image lacks a workup of the legs. The outline of the animal was formed by edge retouch. The convex bulb of percussion on the ventral side of the flake and the prominent arris on its dorsal side give this small sculpture the quality of substance. The early artist concentrated his attention on modeling the forward and upper part of the figure of the mammoth. The sub-triangular form of the crown of the animal's head was emphasized by bilateral edge retouch. Two of the curves in the line of the head-trunk are indicated by the same method—the upper one marks the transition from the forehead to the trunk, the second denotes the trunk as if it is pressed to the front legs of the animal. At the beginning of the second curve the early sculptor formed a projection—a barb imitating tusks at their point of emergence from the alveolus. The massive head is separated from the trunk by a depression formed by small retouch facets on the ventral side. Beginning from the withers, the line of the back rises steeply, and then smoothly drops down in an arc. In this section of the image, where the rear legs of the animal are supposed to be, the end of the tail, which is pressed to the body, is marked by an opposite flake scar. The belly and legs are not elaborated: the edge of the flake in this region was retouched and is reminiscent of the working edge of a scraper. A part of the flake was removed by a burin spall from the edge of the trunk to the edge of the front legs. On the opposite side of the small sculpture two parallel rectangular flakes were removed from the line of the back downward.

The question of the date of the image remains unresolved inasmuch as it was found on the surface. On the basis of artifacts collected in the same place, the find can be assigned to the Neolithic, a period when even the relict variety of mammoths had already vanished. Of course, a settlement, a workshop, and a camp were 200 to 250 m from the Tytyl' V site, in which early Holocene cultural remains were preserved. Consequently, the figurine of the mammoth might be related to this time (the secondary use of artifacts from preceding periods is characteristic for Tytyl' sites). It might also be inferred that the model for the early artist was a mammoth thawing from the permafrost (such finds are not rare in the polar region even at present). This could explain the static nature and "tucked in" character of the extremities of the sculpted image. But if the age of the Tytyl' find remains problematic, its stylistic features, peculiar to animalistic art of the terminal stages of the Paleolithic, the favorite entity of which is the mammoth, seem more certain.

Bison. A sculpture (Fig. 16:1) found in the cultural layer at the Tytyl'vaam II site is closest in morphological features to the image of a bison (Bilibin Region, Chukotka Autonomous District). The figurine was executed on a flake of silicified slate. The thick part of the flake in the region of the lower extremities was left without modification. A deep groove separates the lower part from the slightly convex forehead. The line of the latter abruptly changes into rounded withers and is broken by a saddle depression, changing into the line of the back and the slightly rounded hind part. The upper part of the figurine was additionally shaped by percussion and pressure retouch, which thinned the rounded features. Long tiny flakes (as at Ushki) were removed to form the deep groove. The negative of an oval spall marks the eye of the animal. The image is given bulk by the arrises and fractures that were left after crude bifacial flaking and the removal of various preparatory flakes. The bison is illustrated with a

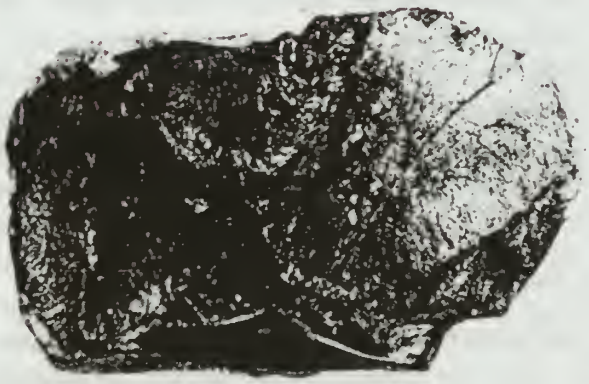


Photo 5. Figurine of a "mammoth-bison" from the Tytyl'vaam II site.

lowered head in a tense pose. Poly-iconism is captured in the small sculpture: the rear part of the bison (Photo 5) can be perceived as the front part of a mammoth (a head with trunk), which is strengthened by the micro-relief of the surface, by small indentations in the place where the trunk joins the head, and by two small concentric circles (of natural origin?) in the place of the eye. The figurine is 5.8 cm high and 9 cm long.

Bear. The bear image is the most numerous among sculpted artifacts.

A simplified figurine of a bear was found at the Tytyl'vaam II site (Fig. 17:1). An oval flake of silicified slate from a slab was used for the image. On one side conchoidal scars and arrises from previous flake removals were preserved. The opposite side has rough micro-relief. The surface was rolled and covered with a smoky patina. A peculiarity of the figurine is secondary working that uncovered the black substrate. The image is perceived through details characteristic of a bear: massive figure with projecting hump, two powerful extremities formed by a deep concavity (traces of secondary retouch are seen here), and flake scars that denote the neck. Tiny irregular retouch can be traced along the whole edge beginning from the back down. This was probably done to show a short tail and woolly coat. The front part (muzzle) was lost long ago—a patina uniformly covers the surface of the break. The upper surface of the back (from the hump to the muzzle) has a reddish-brown ferrous coating. Traces of the initial flaking that formed the hump can be detected here. The sculpture is 5 cm high and 5.5 cm wide.

A small sculpture of a brown bear (Fig. 17:2) was found on the scattered sod surface of the Tytyl' IV site (Lake Tytyl', Bilibin Region) among some gravel. A large ribbed plate of obsidian served as a blank. The profile was formed by edge retouch: the front and rear legs and the slightly pendulous stomach are depicted with small facets. A large spall, which removed part of the ribbed surface of the initial blank, marked the rear part of the figure with a short tail. The rounded line of the back with a concavity at the withers and the short neck were formed by the removal of tiny flakes and fine retouch. The bulky part of the figurine was treated with conchoidal flaking, creating the waviness or luxuriance of the furry coat of the animal. The modeling of the neck suggests a slightly drooped head, which is characteristic for a moving bear. This sculpture is 3.5 cm long and 2 to 2.5 cm high.

A second sculpture of a brown bear (Fig. 17:3) was found by V. F. Belyi and O. Yu. Glushkova on the surface of a shore terrace at Lake El'gygytgyn (Anadyr Region) during geological work conducted by the SVKNII DVO RAN. Together with other artifacts, this was given to the Laboratory of Archaeology, History, and Ethnography at the institute. The figurine is a profile image of the master of the Northeast forest-tundra zone. It was executed on an obsidian flake by edge retouch and the removal of tiny oblong flakes and a burin spall. The animal is depicted sitting on its hind legs with a slightly elevated head. The early sculptor executed the details of the head and back with great mastery. The image is quite natural: the muzzle is depicted by an oblong flake scar, the heavy lower jaw is marked by retouch, the forward-projecting tip of the nose is emphasized, a triangular flake scar outlines the eye, and the steep forehead, broad crown of the head, and short projecting ear are modeled by small facets. The head is separated by a concavity from the body, which begins with the hump. The cobble cortex was preserved farther along the edge of the flake—it had been removed in the line of the back by the early master, and a burin spall had been removed at the tail. In the lower part of the figure, retouch trimming depicts a rear paw of the animal, while a front one is denoted by another small projection. Bulk is given to the rear of the bear's body by the bulb of percussion of the initial flake.

A small sculpture of a polar bear found on the scattered sod surface of the Tytyl' III site is unique (Figs. 17:6; 33). The figurine was made on a narrow knife-like blade of obsidian. In spite of the relatively schematic manner of execution the early artist produced in his work the natural features of this inhabitant of Arctic latitudes. The rear and lower part of the profile of the image were formed by bifacial edge retouch. The front legs are depicted by a triangular projection, the rear ones by a sloping projection, and the stomach of the bear is slightly emphasized (probably to indicate a female). The muzzle, extending forward, was formed by continuous bifacial retouch, and an eye was depicted. The neck flows smoothly into the line of the back. Bulk is given to the small sculpture by the projecting arrises of the initial blank. The

position of the head and rear extremities reflect dynamics—the animal is shown in movement. This small sculpture is only 3.1 cm long and 0.8 to 1 cm high.

An image of a bear, again possibly a polar bear, found in the surface collection of Locus 1 at the Tytyl' IV site was made on a flake of reddish-brown hornfels. The form of the flake likely inspired the early master to chose this particular shape for the animal. Unifacial edge modification was required to depict the massive legs, short neck, and lower jaw of the animal, which raises its head as if standing still for a moment (Figs. 17:7; 34). The removal of a tiny oval and triangular flake mark the eye and ear, respectively. The upper edge, left unmodified, exactly marks the contour of the head, withers, and rounded rear part of a polar bear. The projecting "ribs" from the negatives of initial flake removal provide bulk to the sculpture. This figurine is 3.5 cm long and 2 cm high.

An image of a bear sitting motionless on its rear paws (Fig. 17:5), made on a flake of dark-gray hornfels, was given to the Laboratory of Archaeology, History, and Ethnography of the SVKNII DVO RAN in 1985, along with a small collection of artifacts gathered on the shore terrace on the upper reaches of the Velikaya River (Anadyr Region). As in the previous case, a flake served as the blank. The line of the back and withers were produced by the smallest flakes of alternating edge retouch and were separated from the head by a flaked concavity that marks a small ear. A forehead, projecting nose, and lower jaw are depicted. A second flaked indentation separates the massive head from the front extremities of the animal which can be seen in the micro-relief of the flake surface and appear fused with the rear ones. Transverse retouch was applied in such a way as to produce the idea of a woolly coat. The width and height of this figurine is 2.4 cm.

An image of a sitting bear found during excavations in Locus 3 at the Tytyl' IV site was made on a cortical flake of gray tuff (Fig. 17:4). The figure is in a vertical position—in distinction from the previous figure, which is sloping. The method of preparing these small sculptures is similar: small alternating (transverse) retouch applied along almost the whole edge of the artifact, with the exception of a small area under the lower jaw. A short neck is denoted by a deep groove, an eye is depicted by a small sub-triangular facet, and lips are shown by the removal of tiny flakes. The forward-projecting nose and rear legs were modeled by equally small faceted retouch and have a rounded outline. A prominent bulb of percussion provides bulk to the lower part of the sitting bear. On the opposite side, in the micro-relief of the cobble cortex, the front extremities appear to be pressed into the stomach. This figurine is 3.9 cm high and 2.9 cm wide.

Another figurine of a polar bear was found by Dikova during excavations at the Avacha site (Fig. 17:8) (Dikova 1983:Table 38:1).

An anthropo-zoomorphic image from the Rauchuvagytgyn I site (Chaunskii Region) occupies a special place in the collection. It was made on an obsidian blade. It was initially interpreted as the figure of a squatting person (Fig. 20). With increased magnification it became clear that the small sculpture was a "doppelgänger" and can be considered a poly-iconic creation. On the end are two images with horn-like projections. On the right is a small fur-bearing animal sitting with its muzzle elevated, probably a fox or Arctic fox.

All the details of a bear were worked out: a short, slightly rounded ear, an eye, and a small elongated, pointed nose; the mouth is marked by a small oblong facet; a groove runs from the lower jaw to the throat; and farther along, the curve of the neck shows the finest retouch. Both the front and rear extremities can be seen—they appear to merge with the whole figure (the pose of a sitting bear). The line of the back has a sharp bend smoothly changing into a luxuriant tail, carefully retouched along the edge. To the left, another animal appears—a bear. Now the nose of the fox can be seen as a bear's ear, while the ear of the fox was turned into the nose of the bear with its mouth slightly open, and a drooping lower lip can be seen. An eye common to both images is found in the appropriate place. The bear is raised into a sitting or standing pose with its front paws placed on its stomach. In reversed view, the small sculpture can be perceived as the profile image of a squatting person: a sub-rectangular oval form for the head—as if in a fur

hood—a neck, a small projection in the place of an arm lowered and pressed to the body, and a short leg bent at the knee. The figurine is 3.4 cm high and 0.4 cm wide.

A profile image of the head of a bear cub made on a blade flake of transparent smoky-black obsidian was found on a surface of scattered sod at the Verkhnetytyl'skaya IV site (Fig. 18:1). The finest transverse retouch was applied along the contour of the neck and head (with the exception of the forehead), reproducing the woolly coat of the animal. The "facial" part was made by the removal of flakes which produced a projecting, triangular nose and rounded ear. The eye was marked by pressing out tiny flakes, leaving two of the smallest flake scars. The position of the neck fixed the standing or sitting pose of the animal with the vertical position of the head (Photo 6). A projecting arris on the blank gives the small sculpture bulk. Rotating the figurine 45° to the right changes the perception. Now we see on the obverse and reverse sides a sitting animal (two sub-triangular ears and a slightly curved neck are easily noted). This figurine is 2.9 cm high and (at the muzzle) 2 cm wide.

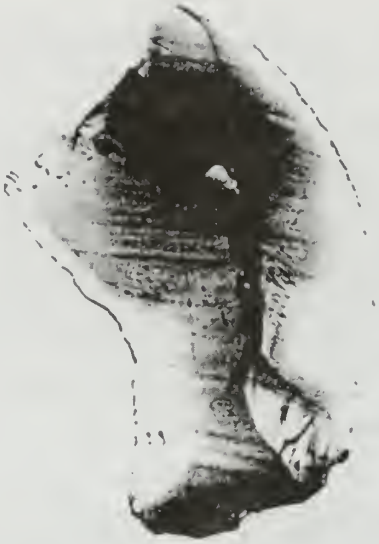


Photo 6. Small sculpture of a bear cub's head from the Verkhnetytyl'skaya IV site.

In the assemblage of surface artifacts from the Tytyl' IV site is a tiny fragment from a small obsidian sculpture of a bear (the head) (Fig. 18:2). In spite of the miniature nature of the object, its character is recognizable at first glance. The head of the bear was formed on the edge of a small but bulky knife-like blade. The forehead and front part of the muzzle were formed by pressure retouch and the chin by a burin spall. Ribs preserved on the ventral side give the image bulk. On the ventral surface a very small, round, dot-like hollow reproduces the eye of the animal. An oval microflake scar on an arris and a hollow made by striking with a pointed object depict a mouth. The nostrils are shown on the end of the snout by short oblong flake scars. On the opposite side, the details that mark the brow, eye, nose, and mouth of the animal are elaborated very symmetrically by the removal of the finest flakes. At a break on the uneven end, faceting (upon first impression, this was premeditated) can also be observed, which suggests the idea of an image including solely the bear's head. This fragment is just 1.3 cm high and 1 cm wide.

An obsidian figurine, reminiscent of a spread bear skin without a head (Fig. 19:1), was found by Dikov (1997:Fig. 78:6) during surface collecting in the scattered and mixed Chuvaigytkhyn IIA site (Provideniya Region). The blank for this artifact was a subsquare flake. After complete flaking of the convex surface, the projecting parts depicting a bear's hide with the extremities, neck, and tail was modeled by means of fine-faceted, edge retouch. The small sculpture is 1.9 cm wide and 1.6 cm high.

An early master possibly invested similar meaning in an image from the Kopyto II site (Fig. 19:2) (Ponomarenko 1985).

Ground Squirrel. A smaller animal that has been embodied in small sculpture is the spotted ground squirrel, known in the north by the name *evrazhka*, possibly by analogy with the devastator of the southern grain fields, the *ovrazhek* or gray ground squirrel (Brem 1992:1:344). This beautiful little animal—reddish-gray with small spots and "elongated head, ears hidden in fur, and short tail" (Brem 1992:1:344)—is widespread in the tundra zone (Fig. 21:1; Photo 7). The figurine was found during excavations at the

Photo 7. Figurine of a ground-squirrel from the Tytyl' V site.

Tytyl' V site. A flat, rounded pebble of dull orange color (in a natural "coat") with porous surface (the pores in the form of gray specks) served as a blank. The color and structure of the raw material naturally led to the form of the common little animal. The line of the back and head of the animal was carefully worked, and a few of the longitudinal flake scars gave it a watchful pose, as when the ground squirrel rises on its hind paws, placing the front ones on its stomach. A large part of the small sculpture retains the spotted natural surface, which imitates the skin of the animal, and a round (also natural) pit near the "muzzle" can be perceived as an eye. Once again one has to be amazed at the delicacy and precision in the perception of form by early man, who knew how to use the texture of the raw material and micro-relief of the surface of the blank as an auxiliary (and sometimes even fundamental) artistic resource, providing the form with an esthetic quality. This small statuette is 2.8 cm high and 1.9 cm wide.

Wolf or Fox. An image of a wolf or Arctic fox was found in Kamchatka (Fig. 21:2) (Zamyatnin 1948:Fig. 9:8).

Sea mammals are also embodied in stone small sculpture.

Whale. A small sculpture of a whale made of flint was found by Dikova at the Lopatka I site (southern Kamchatka) (Fig. 22:1). The figurine was carefully retouched on one side and modified by edge retouch on the other. Unfortunately, the author does not give any information about it, publishing only the illustration (Dikova 1983:Pl. 19:5). In spite of its simplified schematic appearance the image of a whale can be seen in the small sculpture by the disproportionately large dimensions of the tail and massive body. The artifact is 2.9 cm long and 1 cm wide.

A similar image made of obsidian was found by Ponomarenko (1989) at the Bol'shoi Kamen' site (Fig. 22.2). Although he designates it an image of a fish, the massive tail fin speaks in favor of a whale. However, even the experts on this animal state that whales "in most regards . . . are similar to fish" (Brem 1992:1:490). It is 3.3 cm long and 1.3 cm wide.

Orca. The family of toothed whales is represented by a tiny obsidian sculpture of an orca or killer whale executed in a realistic manner (Fig. 22:5). It was bifacially retouched with great care: the form and proportion were maintained and the dorsal fin was reproduced with realistic precision (Brem 1992:1:497). It is 1.8 cm long and (from the top of the fin) 1 cm wide (Dikova 1983:Pl. 45:1).

Porpoise. A small sculpture of obsidian found on the upper reaches of the Kymynei River (eastern Chukotka, Arctic Ocean basin) represents a subfamily of porpoises (Figs. 22:6; 35). The figurine is almost complete—only the very fragile edge of the tail is lost where the fin must have been. The image was made by careful retouch of the edge along the perimeter of the artifact creating a realistic image that conveys all the details of the real animal with striking precision. The harbor porpoises that occupy the seas of Northeast Asia apparently served as the model (*Priroda* . . ., 1997:207). According to the description, this animal has a short tapered body, a triangular fin in the middle of the back, and a small head with a broad snout. In the pursuit of food (fish), it swims not just near the shore but even enters rivers, tearing up nets and eating all the fish in them (Brem 1992:1:498). The early master successfully used the form, texture, and color of a slightly curved blade, the longitudinal arris of which appears to separate the smooth and brilliant black back with its greenish cast from the whitish stomach of the animal. The convex bulb on the head apparently denotes the location of the blowhole. All the features of the image are emphasized by being enlarged (Fig. 35). This small sculpture is 3.4 cm long and 0.5 to 1 cm wide.

Seals. Pinnipeds are also represented in small sculpture. Among the artifacts from the Neolithic Bol'shoi Kamen' site (southern Kamchatka) there is a magnificent, realistically executed image of a seal made from tuff (Fig. 22:3) (Ponomarenko 1989:127; Fig. 18:8). The author of the find believes it is a *tyulen'* [earless seal], not a *nerpa* [eared seal], represented in this sculpture. "*Tyulen'* are distinguished by short, so to speak, extremities—flippers—inseparable from the trunk" (Brem 1992:1:321). They are not able to "travel" on their rear extremities. The early sculptor distinctly conveyed this in the horizontally elongated, static figurine which looks much like a small, seemingly pendant, head of a hatchet. Another

figurine of wood, representing a child's toy of the North Baikal Evenk, is identical to this (Ivanov 1970:129). The Kamchatka find is 5.8 cm long and 2 cm wide.

If the previous small sculpture conveys the form of an earless seal, then a shaped image of obsidian from Chukotka, found by Dikov on the Osinovaya Spit (Anadyr River basin), can also be presumed to be a seal, or more precisely a young seal. It belongs to the family of eared seals, which, in distinction from common or earless seals, has a cochlea, and rear extremities favorable for walking (Brem 1992:1:321). The figurine from Osinovaya Spit was carefully retouched on both sides and concisely denotes a form that can be divined as the smallest of the species of seals inhabiting the Northeast—the ringed seal. Supporting this is the shape of the figure (the back curved in an arc, steep breast, and form of the head). The early master did not forget to show the ear opening as well, which is very clearly seen in an enlarged figure (from one side of the head a tiny transverse, sub-rectangular flake was removed, in the center of which a sub-triangular depression depicting the cochlea (?) was made—Figs. 22:4; 36). This figurine is 3.9 cm long and 2.4 cm wide.

Sea mammals were often personified in stone pendants in the Late Neolithic Tokareva culture of northern Priokhot'e. Made of ground stone blades or flat pebbles, they are substantially different from the miniature sculptures widespread in the Neolithic. Many of them have characteristics similar to that of flat sculpture (Fig. 26).

Walrus. Another find is a zoomorphic pendant (Fig. 26:5), consisting of a reddish-yellow polished blade with six biconical holes of different diameters. Three of the holes served for suspension, and the other three, according to the author of the find, represent the eyes and mouth of a walrus. A variety of lines representing whiskers diverge radially from the mouth hole. Notches were made along the border of the disk and probably imitate creases in the skin. The pendant is 5.1 cm long and 5.6 cm wide. In spite of the extreme stylization and flatness of the image face on, a walrus with a small round head can be seen in it, "with a short, broad, and blunt muzzle," small eyes set wide apart, and "bristling whiskers, sometimes several hundred in number" (Brem 1992:1:326, 327). It can be imagined that some mythological being is embodied in the pendant, possibly the mother walrus.

A walrus cult among the Tokareva people is corroborated by the production of walrus images (the head) on bear canines, which in turn are surrounded by an aura of respect and reverence (Fig. 26:11, 12). The stylized form of a walrus in such material is produced in simplified form: narrowing by trimming both sides of the bone tissue of the tusk near the root area to mark the location of the eyes, then small round depressions depicting the actual eyes drilled to make the animal appear "alive." The multitude of short root fibers can be perceived as its luxuriant whiskers (Lebedintsev 1996:Fig. 1:12).

A second small sculpture pendant was made from a thin, reddish disk (Fig. 26:6). In the finder's view, it represents a walrus or a bearded seal, on which "folds in the skin are emphasized by notches carved in the back" (Lebedintsev 1983:118). This sculpture is 2.7 cm long and 1.4 cm wide.

A small, teardrop-shaped figurine made from a thin reddish blade is "reminiscent of a sea lion or fur seal head sticking out of the water" (Fig. 26:7). On one side of the artifact "an eye and whiskers of this sea mammal were applied by drawing lines" (Lebedintsev 1983:118). The figurine is 2.3 cm long and 1.3 cm wide.

The last two images are impossible to positively identify because of the extremely tentative treatment of the forms (Fig. 26:8, 9).

Fish. The images of fish found at different sites in Northeast Asia indicate a relationship to water.

The earliest of the fish images comes from the eastern Chukotka site of Ul'khum I (Fig. 23:1). The Ul'khum assemblage was assigned by its investigator to the Upper Paleolithic (Dikov 1993:20–24) and is of silicified slate. Some early person was inspired to follow the fish theme because of the form of the flake, which was reminiscent of a fish. A large part of the figurine was left unworked, retouched only on the upper part (the back), probably to form a projecting fin. The groove of the tail fin and the narrowing

toward the head were worked by fine retouch. A part of the latter appears to have been cut off at the nose, represented on the end by a broad retouched area. A natural depression on the edge can be perceived as an eye—shallow trimming was done next to it by the removal of a tiny rectangular flake. The artifact is 6 cm long and 2.8 cm wide.

A simplified image of a fish is among the artifacts from Layer VI of the Ushki I site (Fig. 23:2). A flake of gray silicified slate that partially preserves an arris from the removal of previous flakes served as the foundation. Minimal elaboration was required in order to obtain the form that had been visualized (again inspired by the shape of the flake). On one side an eye is marked by a tiny flake scar. Several flakes were removed, sharpening the front part of the head, and a tiny flake was removed from the tail in order to show a bifurcated fin. The object is 4.5 cm long and 1.8 cm wide.

An image of a fish was very concisely executed on a chalcedony flake from the Tytyl' IV site (Fig. 23:3). The mouth and fins were depicted by faceting parts of the flake. The figurine is 3 cm long and 1.8 cm wide.

Images of three fish were found in the cultural layer at the Tytyl' V site. A small sculpture of reddish silicified slate has a characteristic "fish" profile. The smoothly bending line of the back and stomach forms a narrowed waist at the point of articulation with the tail fin, which is marked by diverging fan-like facets. The head is missing (Fig. 24:1). Both sides of the artifact are covered with spreading diagonal retouch. The image is extremely simplified with no fins or other details depicted. This small sculpture is 4.4 cm long and 1.7 cm wide.

A second figurine of a fish was made from obsidian. The object was carefully modified bifacially by means of narrow, spreading retouch. The flat upper part of the head was modeled by steep retouch similar to the working edge of a high-backed scraper. Further, the line of the head changes into a projection, or fin. The lower part of the head around the gills was worked by narrow facets spreading in various directions, which trace a second projection, or fin. The surface of one side was additionally modified by round, fine conchoidal retouch, probably imitating fish scales. The other side was left without additional modification. The tail part of the figurine was lost, probably during the production process. This fragmentary small sculpture is 3.8 cm long and 1.5 cm wide (Fig. 24:2).

A third miniature sculpture of chalcedony was carefully worked bifacially (Fig. 24:3). In form, body proportions, geometry of the head and of the tail fin, and by ethnographic parallels, the image can be seen to be a burbot. It is 3.4 cm long and 0.7 cm wide. A large number of burbot bones, including whole vertebrae, were collected at the site during excavation. At Locus 2 in the neighboring Tytyl' IV site, located 200 m from Tytyl' V, another image of natural origin was found in the cultural layer (Fig. 32:3). This flat, elongated pebble is outwardly similar to a burbot: on the higher end, which has a bump-like projection, are two natural, oblong depressions reminiscent of the eyes of this distinctive fish. The trunk is also similar: flat and snake-like in form. The pebble was picked up by an early person and used in operations now obscure to us. This is attested by long flake scars on the "tail" end and by grinding on an edge of the small sculpture in the same area.

Two images of fish are known from Kamchatkan archaeological materials. The first figurine (Fig. 24:6), in a collection from Tarya Bay, is cited by Zamyatnin. The image is of elongated-teardrop form, narrowing toward the tail. The tail fin is expanded and bifurcated in the middle. A triangular facet occurs in the region of the mouth. The body is completely retouched and without additional features. The dimensions are not indicated (Zamyatnin 1948:Fig. 9:9). The second figurine (Fig. 24:7), made of chalcedony, was found in Layer II at the Zhupanovskaya site (eastern Kamchatka). Its indicated length is 4.8 cm (Ponomarenko 1985:Pl. 14:15). A description is lacking in both cases. Judging by the illustrations, both images were made by complete retouch and are identical in quality and dimensions. The Zhupanovskaya image differs in having a groove implying an open mouth, and the tail fin is not bifurcated but rather spreads out fan-like.

Fish or whales (?) were possibly also represented among artifacts from the Uelen cemetery (Arutiunov and Sergeev 2006:Fig. 65:1, 2). Interpreting the finds as "stone end insets for arrow points," the authors emphasize the outward similarity of such points with the shape of a fish. That these objects are sculpted images is reinforced by the researchers' observation that "these two stone points are an exception in the materials of the Uelen cemetery" (Arutiunov and Sergeev 2006:145).

Serpent. The image of a serpent is also found among the small sculpture of the Northern Far East. One was executed in the form of a round pendant in soft stone (Fig. 26:1), on the obverse side of which, by carving a groove and grinding in low relief, a convex spiral-like figure was formed. In its center (at the location of the head) two holes were bored that depict eyes. The pendant was found by Lebedintsev (1996:Fig. 2:1) at the Tokareva site. A second find by Lebedintsev on Spafar'eva Island made it even more convincing that the serpent (with symbolism hidden from our understanding) was not foreign to Late Neolithic Tokareva people. Among the artifacts of the Tokareva culture is a serpent made of bone (Lebedintsev 2000:Fig. 103:9), which, according to the finder, "served for applying decoration to ceramic vessels" (Lebedintsev 2000:115). The form of the artifact, the rhythmic decoration on the "back," and the characteristic (broad) zigzagging line on the "stomach" (the sign of a climbing serpent) are viewed in the aggregate as an encoded image of a serpent. It should be noted that a spiral-like decoration applied to a ceramic stamp (Fig. 42) by the Old Bering Sea people (see below) may be evidence of association of these images with a common circle of ideas.

Newt. Among the collection of small stone sculptures described here is a unique find from the Tytyl' V site that was acquired during excavation (Fig. 25:1). Embodied in this odd figurine is a rare and unique amphibian that inhabits northern latitudes—the newt—giving rise here to a multitude of conjectures and arguments. In making it, the early master used such methods as the burin spall, the lateral blow, and local edge retouch. Two lateral surfaces and one upper surface—the back—can be distinguished on the figurine. Its broad triangular head is separated from the body by grooves above and below, and the edge of the sub-triangular snout was worked by the finest retouch. The mouth is indicated by triangular facets made symmetrically along both sides of the head. Two dot-like depressions above the nose on the broad "facial" surface represent the eyes. The back, also broad, changes into a long, slightly upwardly curved tail formed by four oblong burin spalls. The extremities are distinguishable as projections: the front one is rounded and worked along the edges by the finest retouch, the back one is triangular with no retouch (between them is a small projection possibly imitating the second front leg). One side partially preserves the cobble cortex; the other side shows the wavy surface of the flake. The edge along the spine is covered with the tiniest facets. This small sculpture is 4.9 cm long, 1.6 cm high, and 0.9 cm wide.

Birds. Bird images make up a small group of shaped objects of stone. The earliest is a figurine found in the Upper Paleolithic layer of the Bol'shoi El'gakhchan I site (Fig. 27a, Photo 8). It was made on a cortical flake of gray silicified argillaceous slate, and is 9.1 cm long and from 4.0 to 5.5 cm wide (high). The form of the bird was inspired by the shape of the flake itself. The beak and roundness of the head were modeled by removing several spalls. The line of the crop was left without modification. Bifacial percussion flaking was done on the lower edge, along the line of the breast and in the area of the bird's feet. The contour of the tail coincided with the relief of the cobble cortex and was without additional touch-up. Almost the whole surface on the side with the cobble cortex was covered by a thin layer of argillaceous cemented sinter, and the eye of the bird was set by the removal of a small rounded area of argillaceous crust. The opposite side of the artifact preserves the surface of the cleavage face. In the center is a regular, round depression of unknown (artificial or natural?) origin. The form of a noble bird was embodied in the small El'gakhchan sculpture, most probably belonging to the swallows, possibly to the family of bank swallows or mud swifts that nest on the steep banks. A multitude of nests of these small white-breasted birds are built above the river on platy projections, under overhangs, and in niches on the rocky cape at the Bol'shoi El'gakhchan I site.

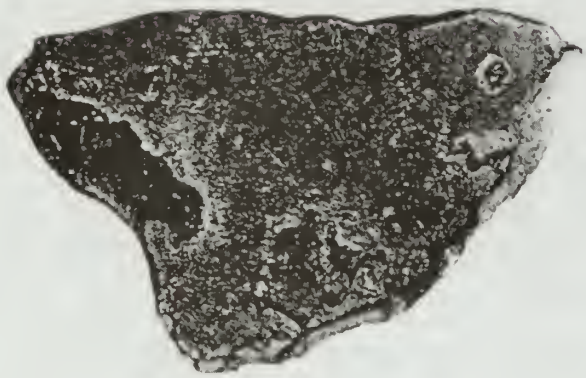


Photo 8. Figurine of a bird from the Bol'shoi El'gakhchan I site.

Among the surface collections from the Tytyl' IV site is a miniature figurine of a feathered creature whose form suggests a goose (Figs. 28:4; 37). The bird is shown sitting. A photo enlargement shows all the details of the work on the flake of transparent smoky obsidian. The artifact was completely retouched unifacially and the edge of the figurine was also retouched bifacially, with the exception of the base. The eye is depicted by an oval microfacet. It is 3.1 cm high and 0.9 cm wide.

During a survey at the Early Neolithic Nizhnetytyl'skaya IV site, an elegant miniature sculpture of a bird was among the artifacts collected from the scattered-sod surface (Fig. 28:5). A flake with a bulb of percussion that gave it bulk was selected for modeling the head. Various technical methods were used in the preparation of the figurine. The upper part of the head, the grooved neck, and the slightly convex back were formed by edge retouch. The beak and convexly curved breast were made by the removal of a burin spall. The feet and tail were marked out by individual, acutely angled tiny flakes taken off by pressure. The eyes are marked by the removal of tiny round flakes on both sides. Judging by external appearance, a feathered creature of the chickadee family is embodied in this small sculpture, which is 1.9 cm high and 1.1 cm wide.

A profile image of an owl was found on the shore terrace of Lake El'gygytgyn (Fig. 28:2). The figurine was made on a yellowish-gray flake, the back of the flake retaining the rough cobble cortex that gives the small sculpture its very natural character. To depict the folded wings the early master removed three tiny oblong flakes, uncovering the good quality raw material used for many objects of the El'gygytgyn complex. The original similarity of the flake shape with that of a bird induced the artist to slightly elaborate the roundedness of the head by the removal of narrow bands of cobble cortex along the contour from the crown of the head to the beak, leaving a projection or tuft, and to retouch the rear edge of the head and body. In all probability, the front edge along the line of the beak (the neck) was also partially worked by fine retouch. The relief of the original flake surface on the opposite side emphasizes the similarity of this image with the real bird. The figurine is 2.6 cm high and 1.2 to 1.5 cm wide.

A second small sculpture of a nocturnal representative of Northeastern ornitho-fauna was found in the cultural layer during excavations in 1992 at the Tytyl' V site, along with an assemblage of ceramics and lithics of Neolithic appearance (see above). The figurine was made on a blade flake (or scraper) of dull orange chalcedony. The bird is sculpted in a characteristic pose: the body is given in profile, the head face on (Fig. 28:1). The texture of the raw material—a double layer of color and an inner globular dark-brown porosity—was skillfully used by the early master. The upper plane of the blank has a rough orange cobble cortex, while the opposite side is the dull-white surface of the flake. The outline of the back and front part of the bird was modeled by steep unifacial retouch. The line of the back changes smoothly into a tuft on the head. The line of the breast, convexly rounded at the crop (owls, unlike other birds, do not have a crop) is terminated below, at the feet, by a groove. On the upper part of the figurine, around the head, the blank had a high edge (as among end scrapers on blades), part of which was taken off by the transverse removal of cobble cortex that bared two spherical depressions on the dull-white background of the second layer of the blank, "drawing" the eyes of the bird, as if trimmed with eyelashes. The removal of cobble cortex on the "facial" part was produced in such a way that a narrow orange stripe was preserved on the top of the head along with a barely noticeable tuft. The blank was broken on the diagonal in order to emphasize the lowered tail and folded wings along the bottom edge of the figurine, while a small facet of retouch in the region of the feet, under the lower groove, bared two brown specks

that can be perceived as claws. This image only very roughly exhibits the form intended by the early author inasmuch as it reflects the technique of having just the individual details sketched by way of stiff lines with no additional sense of color, or other changes in which cannot be depicted in outline form. In this miniature work the early artist's keen observation, precise knowledge of the animal in nature, and fine artistic style are all clearly reflected. The dimensions of this small sculpture are 1.8 to 2.5 cm high by 1.8 cm wide.

An image of a ptarmigan, executed on a reddish slate slab by means of bifacial edge retouch, with marking of the eyes, was found at the Tytyl' V site (Fig. 27b). The figurine is 3.8 cm high and 8.5 cm long.

A shaped artifact (Fig. 28:3) of dense black obsidian (?), reminiscent of a stylized image of a flying bird, was made on a sub-rectangular flake. The "head" is a triangular projection formed by the removal of burin spalls and grooving retouch. By breaking the edge and by transverse retouch an opposite-facing projection formed the "tail." The left "wing" is partially faceted along the edge and the right "wing" is completely flaked. The surface of the back was formed by a variety of faceting retouch, while the opposite side preserved the relief of the flake. A bird of prey can be seen in the modeling of the head and sweep of the wings. This find belongs to the artifact assemblage from Lake El'gygytgyn.

Two more figurines are tentatively assigned to images of birds: the first is from the Avacha site (Fig. 28:6) (Dikova 1983) and the second from the material complex of the Ui site (Fig. 28:7) (Slobodin 1996).

Symbolic Images

Symbolic images (in S. N. Zamyatnin's terminology) are made up of a small group of stone figurines. In particular, these are shaped objects connected with people.

The earliest of these images are pendants (Fig. 2:1, 2) found by Dikov in Upper Paleolithic Layer VII of the Ushki I site. One (Fig. 2:2), made of pyrophyllite, is interpreted (with reference to A. D. Stolyar) as a female symbol (sign) (Dikov 2004:25, Fig. 6:1). It measures 2.3 cm high and 0.9 cm wide. The second figurine (of soapstone?) tentatively imparts a female form (Fig. 2:1a) (Dikov 2004:Fig. 6:9). For this the pendant must be viewed in profile (Fig. 2:1b). Along the edge on the near side transverse notches were made, which marked the flat torso (without projecting breasts) and the transition into thighs and shins was described by the descent into a cone. Projecting buttocks are emphasized on the small sculpture. Several similar figurines (without heads and with different degrees of stylization) are known of from the Western and Eastern European Paleolithic (Abramova 1966:20, Pl. 14). The tiny Ushki pendant is 3 cm high and 1.5 cm wide. When placed in a horizontal position (Fig. 2:1c) this small sculpture is reminiscent of a zoomorphic being (mythical fish-whale?).

Several pendants from the Upper Paleolithic layers of the Ushki I and V sites can also probably be treated as female symbols (Fig. 2:9, 10, 24, 26). One of them (Fig. 2:24) presents in miniature the lower part of a female torso—the transition from the pelvis to the legs is marked by lateral notches.

A figurine in the form of a phallus (Figs. 26:3; 30) was found by Lebedintsev in the cultural layer of an early site on Spafar'eva Island and treated by him as a "small human sculpture" (Lebedintsev 1996:141, Fig. 1:3).

Images connected with cosmic objects, crescents in particular, also belong in the symbolic grouping.

A shaped (embryo-like) artifact of obsidian, found by Dikov during excavations at the Neolithic Chikaevo site (central Chukotka), was designated as a notched scraper (Dikov 2004:Tbl. 6:VI-5). The figurine was made from a cortical flake with complete retouch on both sides, with only a small area of cobble cortex preserved. The small projecting horns of a new moon were made by grooving retouch. The edge of one is broken. Judging by the sharp edge of the groove, the artifact was not used as a scraper (spokeshave) (Fig. 29:1). It is 3.3 cm long and 2.8 cm wide.

A similar object was noted in the assemblage from the South Kamchatkan Bol'shoi Kamen' site (Fig. 29:2). The author of the find, proposing that one of the various hypothetical "uses of such a tool could have been the working of dart and spear shafts," finally considers it "inadequate" for such an operation and states that it probably had a ritual use (Ponomarenko 1989:127, Fig. 25:38). A sickle-shaped artifact (Fig. 29:3) found by Dikova in Layer II of the Avacha site can also probably be considered a crescent (Dikova 1983:Pl. 47:7).

A figurine reminiscent of a deer's head, on which there is a tiny crescent in place of antlers, can be assigned to a similar class of symbolic images (Fig. 29:5). Green flint was used as the raw material. The upper part of the head, the antlers-crescent, and the muzzle of the animal were worked by complete unifacial retouch and secondarily modified along the upper edge by steep retouch. The lower part and the opposite side of the artifact preserved the original surface of the flake. It is 2.6 cm long and 2.2 cm wide. A very similar crescent, but on the back of a flint figurine that Zamyatnin thinks is the image of a bear, is illustrated in his research (Zamyatnin 1948:Fig. 6:21).

During excavations at the Nizhnetytyl'skaya IV site a unique object made from a yellowish-beige flint flake was found. Triangular projections made by steep unifacial retouch along the perimeter probably imitate rays (Fig. 29:4). This multi-rayed little star "gleams" brightly against a background of light (Photo 3). It is 1.5 cm long and 1.3 cm wide.

Unidentified Figurines

In the collection of objects with a clearly illustrative character are some figurines that cannot be identified. Two of them were found in the cultural layer at the Tytyl' V site.

One object of chalcedony (Fig. 31:4) was probably intended as an image of a fish similar to the one found in this same site, but in the process of preparation was broken in the middle and reworked into something different. Bifacial retouch at the break supports this idea. The figurine is perceived to be in the vertical, "sitting" position and is remotely reminiscent of a ground squirrel. The short fish tail was reworked into a head, which has small grooves worked on both sides to depict eyes. The piece is 2.3 cm long and 1.3 cm wide.

A second unidentifiable image (Fig. 31:6) was made from a knife-like obsidian blade. All the anatomical parts can be traced in this small zoomorphic sculpture: the head with a lowered rounded muzzle, projecting ears, and eyes marked by two notches; the long neck, the upper concave-convex line of which was formed by the removal of a burin spall and the lower, by a deep groove; two extremities (in the form of small projections); and the elongated body together with a tail. Traces of the development of the individual features can be clearly followed: a lateral blow was made to obtain the groove under the neck, a trace of which was preserved in the form of a dot-sized depression in the central part of the grooved edge. The neck was defined by a deep, sawed notch between it and the main body. The lower extremities were separated by a triangular groove. A burin spall was removed from the back side to form the tail, after which the outer arris was retouched. The upper line of the back and tail was formed by small facets of blunting retouch and separated from each other by a small projection. The entire figurine is 4.3 cm long and 1.6 cm wide.

A small sickle-shaped sculpture of gray silicified slate was found on the scattered-sod surface of the Tytyl' IV site (Fig. 31:9). One side of the figurine was completely retouched, while the other preserves in large part the cleavage surface of the slab from which the flake was obtained. One edge of the artifact is broken; the other has a finished form and represents the zoomorphic image by way of a small, extended, rounded muzzle and a groove in the place of the eye which transitions into a rounded head, then to a short constriction of the neck, and finally into the neck or back of the unknown animal. The upper edge has secondary working by fine retouch from the forehead to the thickened part (trunk?), possibly imitating the furry (?) coat. The serpent-like form in all probability symbolizes a mythological being. Its dimensions are more than 4 cm long and 1.1 cm in cross section.

Another, also fantastic (?) animal (bird?) is a sculpted object of transparent obsidian (Fig. 31:2) (from the surface collections at the Tytyl' IV site). This artifact is almost completely retouched along the edge, with the exception of isolated projections that were separated by the removal of short spalls. In form, the figurine is reminiscent of a sitting bird (a raven, judging by the "bill"), but the purpose of the two semicircles marked out by retouch on the head is incomprehensible. This sculpture is 3.3 cm high and 2.1 cm wide.

The image of the head of an animal found at the Tytyl' IV site does not offer adequate clues to its identification. All the details—ears, eyes, mouth, and neck—are set off by the removal of spalls and with retouch (Fig. 31:1). It is 1.9 to 3.6 cm long and 3 cm wide.

Also unidentified are figurines found by geologists at Lake El'gygytgyn (Fig. 31:3): by Dikova in the cultural layer of the Avacha site in Kamchatka (Fig. 31:7, 8, 11) (Dikova 1983:Pl. 38:3, 4), and by Orekhov in eastern Chukotka (Fig. 31:12). Shaped Old Bering Sea artifacts found in the assemblage from the Chini cemetery (Fig. 31:5, 10) should also be included in this category. It can only be assumed that the first figurine is a stylized image of a bear and the second, a tree. Judging by the location of the images in the summary table, the author of the finds gave them a special meaning (Dikov 2004:Pl. 7). Describing sculpted objects of stone is very complex, especially if they are examined without an enlarged picture. It is even more difficult to comprehend them illustratively, when only a photocopy is available, which only crudely reproduces the being intended by the early master and only shows the technique and individual features reproduced in a flat plane. When viewed this way there is no sense of volume or color, even less of items that are multicolored—all things that are impossible to reflect in photocopying.

3.

Technical Characteristics of Small Stone Sculpture

The data base available for the Northern Far East provides information on the raw material and technical methods used in making shaped images during the Stone Age. In the research being proposed, data is presented on all presently known objects of portable art dating between 14,000 years ago (the materials in Layer VII of the Ushki sites in Kamchatka) and the second half of the first millennium B.C. (complexes of the Tokareva culture in northern Priokhot'e).

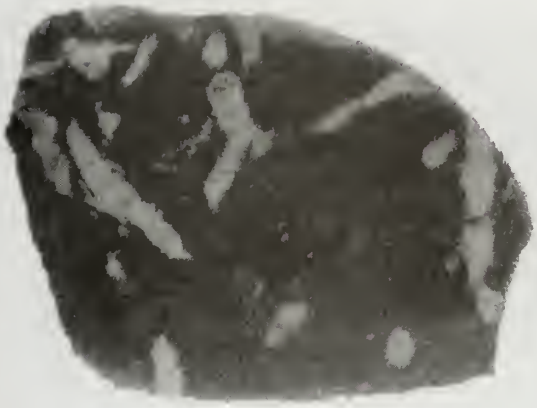
Analysis of the raw material used by the early masters shows certain approaches to the selection of this material during the different periods of the Stone Age. Sculpture from Upper Paleolithic and Mesolithic sites was made predominantly of coarse, soft types of stone (sandstone, slate slabs, spalls from andesite-basalt cobbles), the exception being a few objects of higher quality raw material. Researchers in other regions have also noted a similar relationship of early people to raw material in the preparation of portable sculpture. This is particularly true in the Urals where semiprecious stones were plentiful. These latter were extremely limited as a raw material in the Paleolithic and Mesolithic, but rather widely used in the Neolithic and later periods (Serikov 2001:44).

The selection of blanks was probably controlled by form—i.e., outlines reminiscent of the entity being illustrated. The mammoth occupies the leading place among Upper Paleolithic and Mesolithic sculptures, though sometimes this is a hybrid mythological being—e.g., a mammoth-bison. Besides those forms that dominate art in Eurasia (cave drawings and sculpture), a small number of images of fish and birds are also characteristic for the art theme and fit into the general channel of development of Upper Paleolithic representational art. At Eastern European and Siberian sites, mammoth tusk was widely used for making sculptures and various other objects, but easily worked soft stone (marl, serpentine, and psammitic slate) was also used. A few objects were made of steatite and nephrite (Abramova 1962).

Researchers note the considerable laxity, small size, and schematic nature of sculpting marl in comparison with the carefully made statuettes of mammoth tusk, especially with regard to the addition of features (Abramova 1962). These same features are also characteristic of small sculptures in the Northeast Asian region: extreme sketchiness, crude working of the blank, and the use of natural forms or shaped flakes with little or no revision.

The methods of working stone for making Upper Paleolithic sculpture include percussion along the border of the blank (Fig. 14:1, 2), grinding for smoothing the surface, the application of thick multidirectional strokes—possibly crude abrading (Fig. 13:1, 2), the removal of small parts of the blank by means of cutting off or breaking in order to form particular features, e.g. the bill and lower extremities (Figs. 27; 16:1), and taking off very small narrow flakes and edge retouch for accentuating the neck groove separating the head from the trunk (Figs. 15; 16:2, 3). These images are of a simplified character.

No images of bone have yet been found in the stock of Upper Paleolithic sculpture. One reason is the poor study of the vast territory of the Northeast Asian region, where at present a very insignificant number of late Pleistocene and early Holocene sites have been found. Also, the natural factors that influence the preservation of bone cannot be disregarded. Bone was not preserved among the cultural remains of the Upper Paleolithic layers at the Ushki sites because of periodic inundation by advancing waters of the lake; in the burial pits of Layer VI only teeth were found and only yellowish traces of a skeleton in the excavation of the dog burial. In eastern Chukotkan sites bone could not survive long on the surface under the severe climatic conditions of the tundra zone.



Ushki I site. Layer VI. Figurine of a mammoth-bison.

Tytyl' V site. Figurine of a mammoth-bison.

Ust'-Uimyveem site. Figurine of a bear.

Tytyl' III site. Figurine of a polar bear.

Tytyl' IV site. Figurine of a polar bear.

Verkhnetytyl'skaya IV site.
Image of the head of a bear cub

Inset 2. Small stone sculptures.

The instability of such materials as bone and wood and the specific nature of the environment in Northeast Asia are partial explanations of the lack of small sculpture made of these materials in Neolithic sites. This lack, however, largely concerns the polar regions of the tundra and forest-tundra where multi-component sites have not yet been discovered, and diachronic archaeological material is mixed together on hills and terraces that have only limited sod cover. In the Neolithic of the coastal regions, in particular in northern Priokhot'e, the available archaeological resources provide evidence that stone was the preferred raw material for sculpted artifacts and a variety of pendants, whereas for items of everyday use bone was rather more often used. This is confirmed by materials from the Tokareva culture, among which the widespread use of bone for making harpoons, combs, spoons, and all kinds of handles is noted; the tops of bone punches were also shaped; and sculpture and artistic pendants were made of stone (Lebedintsev 2000).

Viewing the bulk of material, researchers note the similarity of decorative motifs between the Tokareva people and Old Bering Sea (the culture of the early Eskimos) (Lebedintsev 1996:145). They explain the appearance of the harpoon complex among the Tokareva people as an influence from Paleo-Eskimo cultures (Lebedintsev 1996:145). But, in spite of the close and deep connections between these cultures, which is also reflected in the spiritual sphere, the phenomenon of ivory-carving art is noted only in the realm of the Eskimo (the Chukchi took it up from the Eskimos, their coastal neighbors).[12] Small sculpture of fossilized walrus ivory in the Old Bering Sea culture has no analogies in the portable art of northern Eurasia. One cannot help but note, however, that the upper boundary of the Tokareva (Neolithic) culture falls during the second half (most probably near the end) of the first millennium B.C., whereas the Old Bering Sea culture (Remnant Neolithic?) is bounded within the first half of the first millennium A.D. It is also probably important that the sources of the Tokareva culture have inland roots, while the cradle of the Old Bering Sea people is the coastal region of Northeast Asia and Northwestern America.

Different criteria are adhered to in the selection of raw material and manufacture of small stone art forms in the Neolithic, polychrome being especially striking. The most varied kinds of stone were used in making figurines: obsidian, chalcedony, jasper, flint, and hornfels. Flakes with bulky projecting arrises, the prominent surfaces left by the previous removal of flakes, and bulbs of percussion were used as blanks, and in some cases even knife-like blades were used. The necessary form was given to the blank by edge retouch and the occasional removal of burin spalls. Frequently, only parts of the edge of the artifact were worked. In rare cases, complete retouch of both surfaces or of parts of them occurred. A characteristic trait of this mode of Neolithic art is the "animation" of the animals being represented by depicting eyes. This feature, frequently undetectable by visual examination, is evident with substantial photo enlargement (Figs. 33–37). More detail of the whole figure is noted as well: the early artist tries to show ears (Fig. 34) or ear holes (Fig. 36), to provide extremities in the form of projections, and to show the dynamics of movement (Fig. 17:6). The arrises of flake negatives, the rough surface of the cobble cortex, and projecting bulbs of percussion give the sculpture a bulkiness imitating a woolly coat or scales.

The majority of figurines were executed in a relatively stylized manner, but there are realistically made images with an approximation to nature that are ever surprising in the fine esthetic flair peculiar to their early creators—the images of a goose (Fig. 37) and a porpoise (Fig. 35) are fully assignable as such truly artistic productions. Their elegance and perfection are striking. They are given in profile, with the porpoise gracefully narrowing toward the tail region, demonstrating the ideal proportions of the body of the sea mammal, its projecting triangular fin, the characteristic projection of the forehead, and the pointed snout.

Figurines of bears (Figs. 17:3, 6; 33; 34), the head of a cub (Fig. 18:1; Photo 3), and a great horned owl (Fig. 28:1)—true objects of representational creation—correspond fully to the criteria of aboriginal art and esthetic representation of their time.

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[12] Sites of Remnant Neolithic—Old Eskimo and Old Koryak, which belong to the first and second millennia A.D.—are not examined in this research.

Use of color in the images undoubtedly played a certain role, and likely fulfilled a variety of functions.

Above all, the raw material that was selected helped reproduce the live model. This is particularly true of the images of the owl and the ground squirrel (from the Tytyl' V site). In these cases, the rough orange-brown surface of the cobble cortex of the chalcedony raw material vividly imitated feathers in the first case, and in the second, the fur of the object being illustrated (Inset 2, 3).

Black obsidian and the lustrous surface of the long flake scars give a rather realistically smooth surface—like polished marble—and color to the back of the porpoise.

The little star on a flat, thin flake of flint of delicate yellowish-beige color, as if illuminated on one side, produces a halo of luminescence through all the subtle retouch on the short rays (Photo 3).

One would think that the choice of black raw material might in some cases be excluded. The polar bear from the Tytyl' III site (Chukotka) was made of black obsidian (Photo 2) and anthropomorphic figurines at Tarya (Kamchatka) were made from similar raw material. In all these cases a different raw material could have been used, in particular chalcedony, which was much in vogue in making arrow points, scrapers, and other tools. It can probably be acknowledged that the color black was used in small art forms in opposition to white or other colors to produce images of the other world where darkness ruled and worldly essences were represented by their shadows. In this case, the color was the bearer or amplifier of the sacred function of the object.

Researchers are aware of attempts by Upper Paleolithic people to put meaning into the opposition of red and black color in wall art (caves) (Toporov 1972:89). A relationship to black and white is known among modern peoples, for which in most cases black is associated with the other world. From earliest times, magical significance has been ascribed to red and white. Among the Even, for example, threads of red beads and red and white bands on the head and bracelets on arms and legs served as a "medicinal" remedy right up to recent times (Popova 1981:175, 176). It must be assumed that the form of some objects that imitate a circle also had a sacred meaning (the thread of beads, bracelets, and so on), which was endowed with the role of magical protector even in the Neolithic. The tradition of making bracelets and other early "protective" jewelry probably had its continuation in the custom of applying circular decoration on the sleeve at the wrist, on the collar around the neck, and on the edge of shoes around the top edges, the meaning of which was later lost, and so the protective function degenerated into a decorative one.

Yu. B. Serikov, who studied Ural antiquity, has turned his attention to the uses of precious minerals, in particular to rock crystal. Tracing the locations of artifacts of this mineral, he concludes they were sacred and were used in cult practices (Serikov 2001:45). Serikov observed the deliberate use of bicolored raw material and the "arrangement" of color in certain parts of ancient tools, in particular, red-brown, orange and bright red were located at the tip of points of red-brown chalcedony (simulating the color of blood emphasizes the function of an object assigned to killing). By contrast, the head of a cow elk was made from variegated, layered chalcedony, its mouth depicted by a dark-brown stripe (Serikov 2001:46). The use of bi-layered or multicolored chalcedony, similar to Ural finds, is also noted in Chukotkan sculpted objects (see the owl and ground squirrel figurines above; Inset 3).

Richard Jordan (following McGhee) turned his attention to the significance of the raw materials used in the making of amulets. Studying a series of "whale" amulets, he noted differentiation in the material used: for realistic images flint and jasper were enlisted, whereas for symbolic, schematic figurines obsidian and rock crystal were used. Jordan suggests that the color of the raw material played a certain symbolic role. Transparent and translucent obsidian and crystal could symbolize the spirit of a whale, and opaque materials were associated with concrete, real animals (Jordan 1980). The material itself in these cases acquired a certain "sacred essence" (Nikulina 1985:131).

Of course, it can be conceded that early masters worked with any raw material that was at hand. Unfortunately, this aspect is poorly illuminated in the archaeological literature, whereas ethnographers

give great significance to the use of color in the preparation of various objects inasmuch as it has a symbolic meaning in the transfer of ideas about the world and all existence.

Within the context of the objects of portable art that we are studying, a special place is occupied by the artistic resources of the Tokareva culture, among which only one figurine was executed in the style of Northeast Asian Neolithic sculpture and falls outside the North Okhotsk collection in technique, manner of execution, and selection of raw material. Among the known technical methods, the Tokareva people used sawing, carving, and boring. The elements of design are represented by engraving the surface and by notching the edges. Shaped objects were made in the form of pendants. Small pebbles were used as blanks. The material, as a rule, was ground on both sides by an abrader, the surface was smoothed, and the blank was refined. The characters were embodied in low relief (the image of the spiral-serpent), engraving (the mask engraved in great detail), or carving. Color played a rather important role. The form of some Tokareva pendants, the refinement of the blanks (by means of intensive abrading work), and the color of the material under the cortex (in the majority of cases, "reddish," but also "yellowish-pink") appear to be imitating copper and bronze forms, especially considering that metal (copper, bronze, and iron) existed in adjoining territories (Yakutia and Primor'e) during this period and is also sporadically found in northern Priokhot'e (Lebedintsev 2000).

The artistic merit and technical features, as well as the subject of Tokareva art, were brought about by economic stimuli—the development of a more progressive, highly specialized type of economy. This, of course, was sea mammal hunting, which under the conditions of the extreme north served as a substitution for agriculture (Dikov 1969) and which promoted long-term settlements, advancing development, and a higher level of production force, as well as the realization of spiritual requirements in representational works in accordance with the qualitatively new social conditions, in comparison with wandering hunting groups.

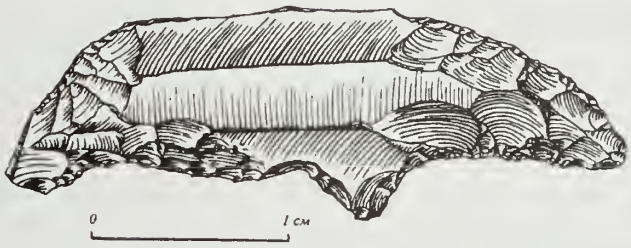

Figure 33. Figurine of a polar bear from the Tytyl' III site.

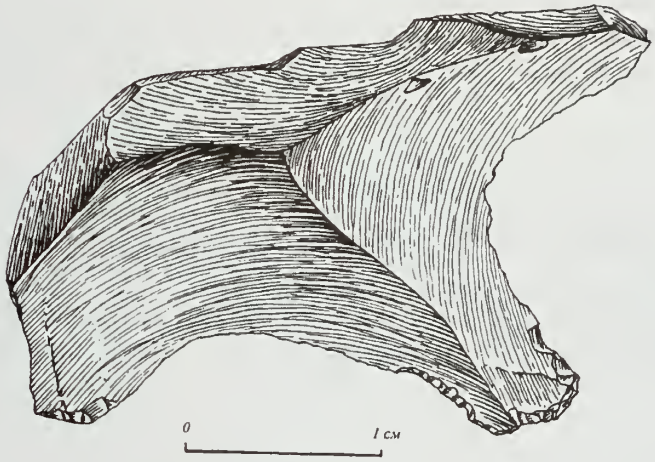

Figure 34. Figurine of a polar (?) bear from the Tytyl' IV site.

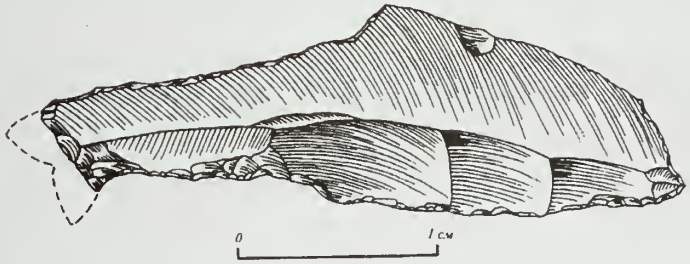

Figure 35. Figure of a "harbor porpoise" from the Ilirneigytgyn V site.

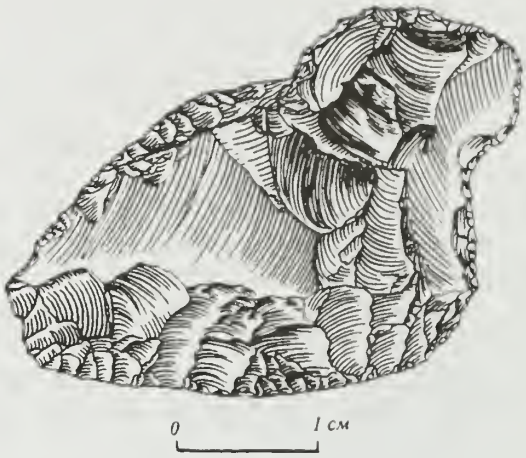

Figure 36. Figurine of a seal (pup?) from the Osinovaya Spit site.

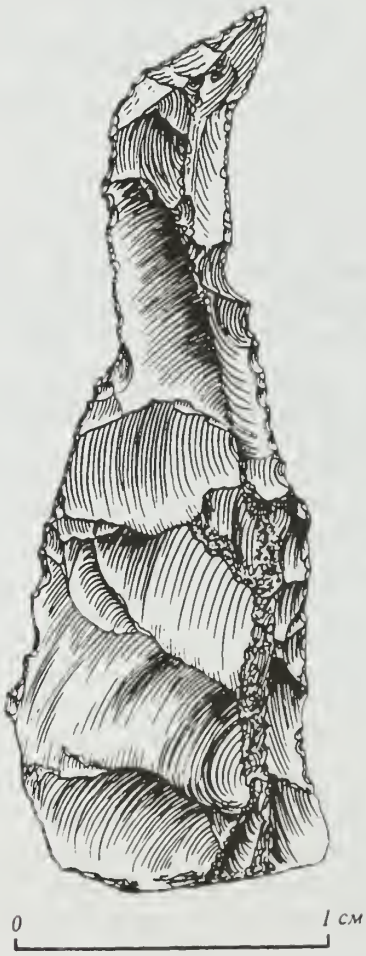

Figure 37. Figurine of a goose from the Tytyl' IV site.

PART I

Chapter II

The Interpretation of Sculpted Images

1.

The Place of Small Sculpture of the Northern Far East in the Portable Art of Northern Eurasia (Archaeological Resources)

In the realm of miniature representational art, the best studied at this time is Paleolithic sculpture, which is included in Z. A. Abramova's well-illustrated summary. In addition to classifying and interpreting the material, the author cites an enormous amount of literature touching upon problems of Paleolithic art worldwide (Abramova 1962, 1966).

Unfortunately, there are no summary works dedicated to objects of portable art from more recent times (after the Upper Paleolithic). Information about them has to be gathered from a few summarizing works of a regional character, special articles, and non-scientific publications.

Having defined our classification scheme, we will now turn to the known resources of European and Asiatic Russia.

Anthropomorphic Images

As investigators note, finds of flaked stone figurines are concentrated in the Volosovo sites in the region between the Volga and Oka Rivers and in Central Povolzh'e, that is, "within the Volosovo occupation area and here and there on its periphery" (*Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987:471). Several small sculptures were brought together by various collectors in Volosovo itself (the Gor'kovskaya District) (Zamyatnin 1948). In spite of having one and the same geographic origin, they differ in manner of execution. Of seven images, only two are typologically uniform (Zamyatnin 1948:Fig. 2:1, 2). In the Volosovo collection, three subgroups can be distinguished: the first is those with all details well worked out (the head and both pairs of extremities), second is those without upper extremities, and third is those with two pairs of lateral projections (arms-breasts—in Zamyatnin's interpretation). Within these few subgroups are a number of variants (Zamyatnin 1948:Fig. 2). Flaked anthropomorphic images were also found at other sites in the European regions of Russia: Arkhangelsk (Shevelov 1990:249), Novgorod

(Zimina 1972:13, 14), Kalinin (Urban 1969:30, 31), Moscow (Sidorov 1972:66–68), and Ivanov (Krainov 1981:58, 59). All the images differ from each other, particularly in their degree of stylization. Some of them have nearly realistic forms (Krainov 1981:59), others are more schematic (Urban 1969:31; Zimina 1972:14). Despite essential differences in form, they have much in common with the sculpture of the Northeast Asian region in technique and manner of execution. Certainly, some quite unexpected conclusions are also encountered with the Volosovo objects. A small female sculpture found in the Volosovo cultural layer at the Shagara II site (Meshcherskaya lowland) is very different from all the others, being more reminiscent of clay female images in agricultural societies. Short triangular-oval projections/arms can be distinguished on the figurine, along with a slender waist from which broad hips narrow sharply downward, legs shown as monoliths instead of being separated, and a neck marked by a triangular projection with no head. The artifact is completely retouched (Frolov et al. 1976:94, 95). But most anthropo- and zoomorphic Volosovo sculpture can be used as a standard (from the point of view of selection of raw material, methods of preparation, and morphology of artifacts) for comparison with similar small sculpture from other regions of northern Eurasia.

Flaked human images have broad geographic distribution. They are known of not only in European Russia but in Siberia and the Far East as well. Analysis of the anthropomorphic sculpture of the Neolithic and Eneolithic-Bronze Age found in Russian territory reveals regional differences that were brought about by different ethnocultural traditions. A. P. Okladnikov distinguished two ethnocultural regions in northern Asia: the Far East (below Khabarovsk along the Amur) and Siberia (Pribaikal'e, the middle Yenisei, and western Siberia). In the latter region he determined two sub-areas—the west Siberian (from the Urals to the Yenisei) and Pribaikal'e proper (northern Yakutia, Zabaikal'e, and part of Priamur'e) (*Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987:318). The earliest examples of anthropomorphic sculpture in the Ural region are thought to be the wooden idols from the Gorbunovskii peat bog in the eastern Urals (*Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987:318). Researchers assign the anthropomorphic figures from the Shigirskii peat bog to this same group of images (*Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987:318). In stylistic features, technique, and material the Gorbunovskii and Shigirskii idols are direct analogs of the sculpture of the east Ural peoples, the specifics being predetermined by its functional assignment as a cult object. Anthropomorphic stone sculpture is not characteristic for the Ural region. The single stone (talc) figurine known was executed in the manner traditional for Ural images (*Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987:318). Stone pestles in the form of human heads are noted in western Siberian art of the Bronze Age (investigators connect them with Minusinsk statues). They were found together with stone polishers, which have handles that are phallic in form. Such images attest to the presence of a phallic cult in the western Siberian population during the developed Bronze Age. Anthropomorphic stone sculpture of western Siberia, varying in its specific appearance, existed up to the ethnographic present (*Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987:318). However, one cannot completely eliminate the presence in western Siberia of small stone sculpture similar to that at Volosovo, either during the Neolithic or the early Bronze Age. A similar anthropomorphic image (of stone) found in the Sverdlovsk District corroborates this (Serikov 1978:245–248), as does a bronze figurine at Priirtysh'e. These two objects duplicate exactly the style of some specimens of stone sculpture (Kosarev 1975:100). Pestle-like figurines of steatite were rather widespread in southern Siberia, and were mostly found in women's or children's burials. The stylistic peculiarity of these images is in the great detail of the face (the Mongoloid type). Investigators of the Minusinsk pestle-like type of small sculpture have determined that they are associated with the Okunevskaya culture (Moshinskaya 1976:59).

A different treatment of the human form is characteristic for objects of Pribaikal'e portable art. This sculpture, coming predominantly from burials, was made as a rule from bone and antler, while bronze "shamanic" images are encountered from as far back as the early Bronze Age. Bone figurines from the Glazovskie cemeteries were executed in a strictly controlled, stable canon and are accompanied in most cases by objects of sacred significance. As researchers note, these images are stylistically similar to the "evil spirits" of the Evenk (*Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987:345).

Stone sculpture in Pribaikal'e is not numerous. It is represented by anthropomorphic pestles or pestle-like figurines with faces worked out in detail, which look much like decorated rod-shaped bone images

(Studzitskaya 1970:19–33). A tiny figurine of steatite, which one researcher has treated as a figurine of a sitting person, stands out (Studzitskaya 1970:29). In our view, the image is poly-iconic, as the features of a bird can also be perceived in it (the lower part of the torso—with the legs—of the small anthropomorphic sculpture is reminiscent, when turned in a certain way, of the head of a bird with a bill—the head of the anthropomorphic image being the bird's tail). S. V. Studzitskaya cites (as if following the analogy) a second image—this one made of antler—of a "man/bird in the same sitting pose" found in a burial (in the Bor lowland) and notes the stylistic connection of these images with objects of Neolithic art from the eastern Urals, the northern European part of the RSFSR, and Finland, which is reflected by "a certain tradition in the treatment of the human form" (Studzitskaya 1970:30).

Anthropomorphic stone sculpture in the style of Volosovo images has not been identified in eastern Siberia, including Yakutia. However, two zoomorphic figurines that were made in the tradition of Volosovo "flint sculpture" have been found in Neolithic Yakutian sites (Fedoseeva 1968:Fig. 14:2; Mazin 1976:Fig. 2). It can be inferred, based on Zamyatnin's conclusions, that the objects of monumental art left by Neolithic and later populations of eastern Siberia were a replacement for "flint sculpture." It must not be forgotten that there has been a paucity of quality studies, particularly in northern regions of Yakutia, where investigation might introduce much new in the archaeology of this huge region of Russia.

In Neolithic small art of the southern Far East, only one anthropomorphic image of stone has been identified that was executed in the manner of Volosovo sculpture. This figurine was found during excavations at the Rudnaya Pristan' site in a layer determined to be that of the Kondon culture (Brodianskii 1996:113). The small sculpture, retouched on both sides, was made in the form of a column: the upper part, depicting a head, is rounded and transforms directly into the trunk without a neck constriction; the arms are indicated by small projections; and the lower part of the rectangular form is monolithic (i.e., the legs are not separated) (Brodianskii 1996:Fig. 1:11). This image is among a specific group of small objects of the Kondon culture that is fundamentally different from the remaining specimens (of bone, clay, and stone) by the primitive workmanship and the extreme schematic nature of the predominantly animalistic beings characterizing seven of the eight representational objects in this collection.

The tradition of making stone small sculpture can also be traced in the early cultures of northwestern America (Alaska). Among the specimens collected by researchers and preserved in the museum at Pennsylvania State University are two anthropomorphic images. The first is a figurine made of gray-red flint depicting a human with loosely hanging arms (bent at the elbows?) and crooked legs. The upper part of the body is slightly bent in such a way that both the back and stomach can be distinguished. The feet are accentuated, though the hands cannot be traced (Jordan 1980:36). The second specimen of less precise workmanship was made of black flint. The state of this figurine is similar to the preceding one, but it shows neither feet nor hands, and it also lacks a clear outline of the dorsal and ventral areas (Jordan 1980:36). The researcher found parallels to specimens described for Middle Dorset culture sites (0–500 A.D.) of Labrador and Newfoundland (Jordan 1980:36).

In the context of the anthropomorphic images described for northern Eurasia, the sculpture of the Northeast Asian region is the most comparable to the Volosovo figurines. These objects are similar in several ways. The human form is always produced frontally, though the head is shown with different degrees of stylization and the extremities are poorly reflected, in a tentative schematic fashion. The raw material (predominantly silicified stone and obsidian) and technique (complete and edge retouch) are similar. The sizes are also similar—in most cases from 3 to 5 cm.

Of course, we do not see a genetic relationship or ethnocultural interaction in this—the geographical expanse between these sites is too great. However, one cannot help but note the morphological similarity of the small sculptures (also assigned to anthropo-zoomorphic and to symbolic images) of the Eastern European and Northeast Asian regions of Russia. One characteristic distinction is that most pieces of portable art belong to single cultures (in the west, the Volosovo and in the east, the Old Itel'men). In these distant territories the formation and development of the same kind of flaked stone small sculpture, different from the Ural-Siberian specimens, occur convergently. This

creates the impression that the embodiment and canonization of the human form in the small art of these culture areas occurred along a single course in the Neolithic and early Bronze Age, at the basis of which lay common patterns resulting from similar socioeconomic factors.

Upon examining southern Siberian objects (stelae of the Minusinsk Basin, small pestle-like steatite sculptures, and sculpted heads as parts of composite figures in Priirtysh'e), A. A. Formozov proposed the presence of an early Siberian component that served as a source for certain motifs. In spite of V. I. Moshinskaya's disagreement (Moshinskaya 1976:56), Formozov's concept merits attention. The Altai and Minusinsk stelae, pestles crowned by bear and human heads and having handles of phallic form,[13] and small pestle-like sculptures all reflect similar ideas and notions of their "sculptors," who transformed them into distinctive, materialized embodiments in the phenomenal world. A fundamental unity can also be traced in the plastic resolution of forms created out of the semantic and functional idiosyncrasies of the designated sculpted objects. This can be explained in all probability by the transition to a production type economy in aboriginal society, which also brought new ideological institutions.

Ethnographic data, as is known, corroborates the notion that the spiritual sphere is more conservative in retaining early elements of culture. Among the objects of religious/ceremonial practice of the peoples of Siberia and the Far East, a large number of anthropomorphic images can be found that are stylistically close to the figurines of stone being studied, but are made of other materials. These are household spirits of wood (more rarely of metal) among the Khanti (Ivanov 1970:Figs. 26–33; Kulemzin 1979:211–221), images of protectors of women among the Nentsi (Ivanov 1970:73b), the spirit of fire ("fire idol") of the Nganasani (Gracheva 1983:40), all manner of spirits (of wood and iron) among the Evenk (Ivanov 1970:Fig. 174:1, 6), and others. In the Russian northeast, the tradition of making anthropomorphic images similar to Neolithic figurines existed among the early Eskimos, who were noted ivory carvers. Anthropomorphic figurines made of wood (Fig. 39) have been identified in early Eskimo Punuk complexes (ninth to fifteenth centuries A.D.) (Dikov 2004:Fig. 90:1). Of course, in an earlier Eskimo culture—Old Bering Sea—another representational canon existed: female figurines of bone (Figs. 40, 41) similar to Paleolithic statuettes found in Europe. In Dikov's opinion, the simplification and geometrization of the Punuk representational style were connected with strong influence from the inland Paleo-Asiatic culture of the Chukchi-Koryak group (Dikov 2004:178). Koryak bone figurines, stylized in a manner similar to that of Neolithic stone small sculpture, were identified from the Atargan stage of Old Koryak culture (tenth to twelfth centuries A.D.) (Dikov 2004:Fig. 1:17). In the ethnographic material of the Chukchi, family and ancestral relics represented by various anthropomorphic images of wood come first (see below). In the recent past, wooden idols of anthropomorphic appearance existed among the Yukagir (Kiriyak 1993b:Fig. 110).

In addition to the sculptures presented above, which depict figures of standing humans, there are images of heads and masks in our collection that are especially individualized. Isolated images of sculpted human heads have been found in Siberia among materials from Neolithic and Bronze Age sites. A sculpture of a human head was found in a burial (at the head of the grave) at Rasputino village (Pribaikal'e). Its features were worked in relief and included a low roundish forehead slightly projecting over deepened eye sockets, a large aquiline nose, small almond-shaped mouth with projecting lips and a narrow triangular chin. On the back of the head was a broken projection with traces of a hole (Studzitskaya 1970:27, Fig. 7). The image was assigned to the Kitoiskii stage of the Pribaikal'e Neolithic (Okladnikov 1955:330, Fig. 122). In its stylistic features this small sculpture is similar to an image of a mask made of bone found in Burial 12 at Serovo village. In both cases, common anthropological features probably reflecting the early population type can be traced (Okladnikov 1976:Pl. 65).

Three sculpted images of human heads were found at Priirtysh'e. Based on the location of the finds, they were given the names Nurinskaia, Tuiskaia, and Irskaya (Moshinskaya 1976:55–57). Two of them are described in detail. The Nurinskaya head was executed in three-dimensional sculpture, its fea-

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[13] A similar pestle/crusher(?) was found at a Neolithic site in western Chukotka—Tytyl' IV (Fig. 38).

tures depicted in relief. The image is comparable to sculpted heads crowning the upper part of pestle-like objects that were found in the Bronze Age cultural layer at the Samus' IV site in the Tomsk area of Priob'e (Moshinskaya 1976:55).

The Tuiskaya image was carved from dark-green serpentine and polished. It was precisely rendered with realistic European male type facial features, emphasizing its portrait quality. Judging by drilled pits and holes, the eyes were inlaid, and some kind of decoration was set in the ears. This sculpture is equipped with a small rod with an attached ferrule and, in the researcher's opinion, was one element of a compound figure. Both of these sculptures are small—I I cm and 14 cm high, respectively—and were—the top parts of compound objects. The date of the Tuiskaya image has not been established. Anthropomorphic sculptures with portrait characters are assigned by researchers to a rather late time and dated to the first millennium A.D. (Moshinskaya 1976:58). The portrait quality of the Tuiskaya head led V. I. Moshinskaya "to compare it with sculpted heads found in Alaska in the materials from the Uyak site on Kodiak Island" (Moshinskaya 1976:58).

A spherical stone sculpture representing the head of a person who is—in the researchers' opinion—sleeping, is also significant. It was found on a small island 700 m from Nunivak Island (Bering Sea region of Alaska). It is 32 cm in diameter, 21 cm thick, and weighs 30 kg (Fig. 11), making it the largest sculpture in the Bering Sea region. The naturalistic image of a human face was pecked on a basalt boulder: the details of the face were worked in deep relief—narrow eyes; straight, short nose, expanding slightly downward; and large mouth with projecting lips. Under the "stone head" were a cluster of 12 whale vertebrae and two fragments of wood. Radiocarbon analysis dated the sculpture to 1650 A.D. The find was made in Yupik Eskimo territory (Pratt and Shaw 1987). It is completely different from the sculpted images of human heads from Priirtysh'e described above.

The closest parallel—in terms of scale, technique and subject—to the Nunivak face is the petroglyphic image of a face pecked into the surface of a boulder in the northern part of Bristol Bay (Pratt and Shaw 1987). At the same time, both of these objects are comparable to the unusual Kolyma and Kamchatka objects described above.

The researchers note stone sculptures that have artistic parallels all along the Pacific coast of Alaska (Pratt and Shaw 1987). They consider the best candidates for predecessors of the stone head from Nunivak Island to be isolated sculpted forms located on the northwestern coast of Alaska. Comparable objects occur to the west in the Aleutian Islands. A similarly sculpted stone image is illustrated by L. Black (Pratt and Shaw 1988).

Stone heads have also been identified in other regions of the Pacific basin that are distant geographically. For example, in Mesoamerica these are Olmec heads (Pratt and Shaw 1988). Owing to investigations by T. Heyerdahl and his followers, the colossal heads on Easter Island became familiar to the whole world. It is practically impossible to trace cultural influence over such great distances, separated by a huge ocean basin, so it is logical to propose convergently emerging art in the sculpture of stone heads, though it is not impossible that it was similar religious motivations that stimulated the creation of these unique representational objects.

The bearers of the Kachemak culture (Alaska), dating to the first centuries A.D., were splendid stone carvers. Realistically carved sculpture of an applied nature is characteristic for this culture: the anthropomorphic images correspond to relief figurines in the depressions of stone lamps. The Kachemak culture's stone carving is closely tied to modern tradition in Eskimo art (Pratt and Shaw 1988). The image of the human face is considered one of the most common traditional motifs in Alaskan Eskimo culture and is most clearly represented by masks of five different styles, which are characteristic for different regions (northern Alaska, Bering Strait, Bering Sea, the Aleutian Islands, and the Pacific region). Investigators of Eskimo masks distinguish two subcategories among them: masks with naturalistic features, that is, masks representing real beings, and abstract masks representing supernatural or frightening spirits (Pratt and Shaw 1988).

Along the other side of the Bering Strait masks, miniature masks, and mask-like objects are characteristic for the Asiatic Eskimos and Koryak, which also reveals a tradition peculiar to the North Pacific circle of peoples.

Traditional Eskimo art, corroborated by archaeological finds, includes images of heads in petroglyphic and sculpted form, as well as masks that researchers view in close connection with religious and ceremonial practices, in turn intertwined with mythological elements. Mythological and religious parallels connected with the worship of anthropomorphic stone images are known of in all regions occupied by the Eskimos: Alaska, Canada, and Greenland. Offerings were made by the Eskimos of eastern Canada to stone images. Birket-Smith describes a large boulder on Sentry Island (Hudson Bay) to which the Caribou Eskimos made offerings of tobacco and knives in order to secure success in hunting seals and land animals (Pratt and Shaw 1988). On Nunivak Island there is a large boulder crowned by a roundish stone (unworked sculpturally) that from afar is reminiscent of a seated Eskimo wrapped in a parka. In order to ensure hunting success, deer fat and tobacco is brought to it (Pratt and Shaw 1988).

Different interpretations are possible with regard to the Nunivak stone head (Fig. 11):

1. The presence of whale vertebrae directly under the stone head from Nunivak Island leads to the supposition of a special relationship between the native population and whales (the use of their carcasses) cast up onto the shore (Pratt and Shaw 1988);

2. The stone head may be connected with a legendary hero—the great Mellarpag—who, according to the stories of the local inhabitants, made four stone balls that were rolled to different places during a competition. In the legend, geographic locations on and near the island were identified where the stone balls stopped. The traditions of the Nunivak inhabitants indicate the existence of objects of a similar nature at other points on the island (Pratt and Shaw 1988);

3. The Nunivak stone head may have a relationship to a mythological being of the Inupiat Eskimos of northern Alaska. This being is called Only-a-Head, a good hunter on whom wings grew at night and who was treated with respect by the residents of the village (Pratt and Shaw 1988);

4. Proceeding from the fact that the residents of Nunivak Island formerly made a practice of arranging human skulls on high places, usually facing east, those who examined the find propose that the stone head was created in accordance with the traditional practice of burial. The idea of using the above-described sculpture as a grave-side monument is reinforced by its iconography, which reflects the facial expression of a sleeping person (Pratt and Shaw 1988). However, excavations found no trace of a human burial. Connected with this is the interesting Bering Strait Eskimo custom of erecting a monument "for all people who died in such a manner that their bodies are not recovered" (quoted by Pratt and Shaw 1988:8).

The few data that we have available for analysis of the petroglyphic sculptures from the sites of Siberdik (upper Kolyma) and Lopatka III (southern Kamchatka), combined with the Alaskan Eskimo materials cited above, allow us to speak of a tradition of making stone heads, which existed in antiquity in adjoining territories (Northeast Asia and northwestern America), and may be based on cultural borrowing. The origin of ideas connected with this distinctive kind of object is probably due to an ancestor cult, which is immediately apparent in the tiny image of a head (Fig. 12:1) from the assemblage of the Tokareva site (northwestern Priokhot'e) made in the form of a pendant. The material used was a small pebble. The pendant is dated to the second half of the second millennium B.C.

Over the course of time, the technical methods applied by craftsmen in making sculpted heads were perfected. On the Siberdik sculpture (Fig. 9), the natural fractures were combined with engraved lines and pecking. On the sculpture from Lopatka III (Fig. 10) pecking was used to apply the details. The small Tokareva sculpture (Fig. 12:1) was made by carving (a detailed head and upper part of the clothing). This sculpture is similar to a bone object from an early Eskimo (Punuk) complex (Fig. 12:2). Both anthropomorphic visages have such realistically bestowed "portrait" features that the definite Eskimo ethnic type can be seen in the images. In this regard, they are comparable to the Nunivak sculpture. In the Siberdik

image, Mongoloid features are imparted. Characteristically, the "face" also appears to be asleep. In spite of the opinion that art objects are not documents for the determination of ethnic signs, archaeologists have reason to turn their attention to the human features embodied in anthropomorphic sculpture. Analyzing Paleolithic statuettes from Siberian sites, Abramova notes certain ethnic signs in primitive plastic art and stresses that the features of female statuettes in Paleolithic Siberia, even if they are purely stylistic, are a reflection of historical reality (Abramova 1987:35). Moshinskaya (1976:55–59) noted the Mongoloid nature of the Minusinsk pestle-like figurines and the European nature of the Priirtysh'e finds. S. V. Ivanov, in a summarizing work on the sculpture of the peoples of northern Siberia, wrote that in some cases figurines are given a few features of the anthropological type of the population (Ivanov 1970:283, Fig. 267).

After analyzing anthropomorphic images represented by statuettes, two faces stand out among these portable art objects. One of them is a skull-like image (Fig. 8a), the second bears partial facial characteristics (Fig. 8b) and by its morphological features is more comparable to flat sculpture.

As well as can be judged from the published sources, there are no analogies among archaeological objects of portable art to the western Chukotka oddities either in Siberia and the Far East or in the European part of Russia. Recently a whole series of visages was discovered in a Neolithic culture in southern Primor'e (at the Boismana II site). They were made on grindstones and pieces of sandstone through the placement of two or three drilled conical depressions, and sometimes with other features formed in relief—a nose or an oval face (Brodianskii 1993:134–144, Fig. 4:1–4). Images similar to the coastal ones are also encountered in Priamur'e (Brodianskii 1993:Fig. 4:6–10). But the Far Eastern finds differ from the Chukotkan in technique, style, and probably meaning. In the small art of Japan and Korea there are faces made of mollusk shell (Brodianskii 1987:62, Fig. 2:3) and treated by researchers as masks. They have three holes—two being sub-square (eyes) and one rounded and wide (mouth).

In small sculpture, beings combining human and animal features are encountered, as in this collection, where two figurines are examined. One of the form of a bird-man in its outline(Fig. 6:1), while the other synthesizes the features of a fish and a person (Fig. 7).

A flint statuette similar to the first one mentioned above has also been identified among materials of the Eneolithic Age Yur'ino IV site (eastern Ural region) (Serikov 1978:248, Fig. 1:5). The image is frontal and stylized. The rounded head is indistinct and includes projections reminiscent of wings. The lower (tail) part of the figurine was made in the form of a rectangular projection. Zamyatnin cites a similar small sculpture, treating it as a mythological being (Zamyatnin 1948:Fig. 3:13). Images combining the features of a man and a bird were also discovered in Pribaikal'e (Studzitskaya 1970:30).

The vast spread of the bird-man cult, as well as bird women, can be found in the literature from various parts of the world. This cult had an especially wide traditional following on the American continent, where the bird-man dance was used by the local population practically up to the present day. Thor Heyerdahl discovered a whole series of sculpted images of these mythological beings, including bird women, during excavations of caves on Easter Island (Novgorodova 1984:51).

A flint figurine of a fish-man is described in the collection of Volosovo antiquities (Tret'iakov 1979:5–21). Its morphological difference from the Chukotkan variant is a clearly marked, round head, but the remaining features (small arm projections and bifurcated fish tail) are similar to the Chukotkan variant. Such beings were connected with certain ideas of early people and have been preserved up to the present time, as is borne out by ethnographic materials.

Analysis of the portable art representing human form that is being compared here leads us to trace back the regional features of small stone sculpture and to draw some general conclusions.

In the southern Far East, in a region contiguous to ours, a large quantity of materials related to small art forms, which chronologically embrace quite a long stretch of time—from the Early Neolithic to the Middle Ages—has been discovered and studied in recent years. Sculpture in the manner of the Volosovo specimens is represented by several examples, among which zoomorphic images (land and sea mammals and fish) predominate.

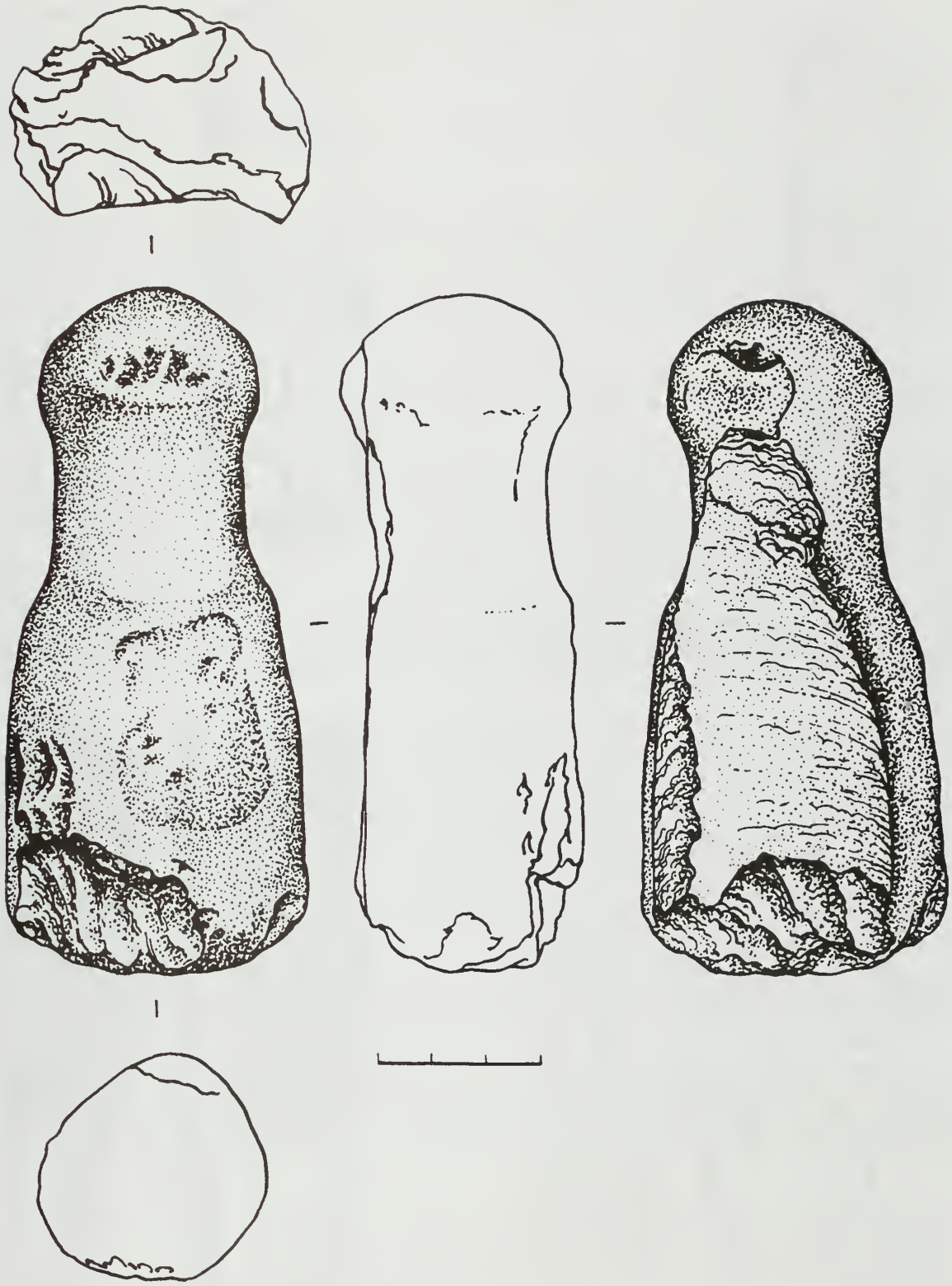


Figure 38. Pestle (?) of phallic form from the Tytyl' IV site, Locus 2. Stone. (Author's excavations).

Figure 39. Anthropomorphic figurine from the early Eskimo (Punuk) complex at Nunyamo. Wood. (After N. N. Dikov).

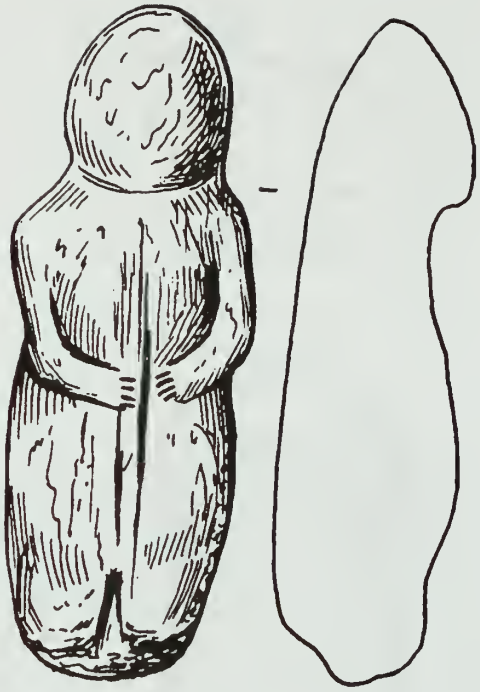


Figure 40. Old Bering Sea statuette of walrus tusk (Chini cemetery). Bone. (After N. N. Dikov).

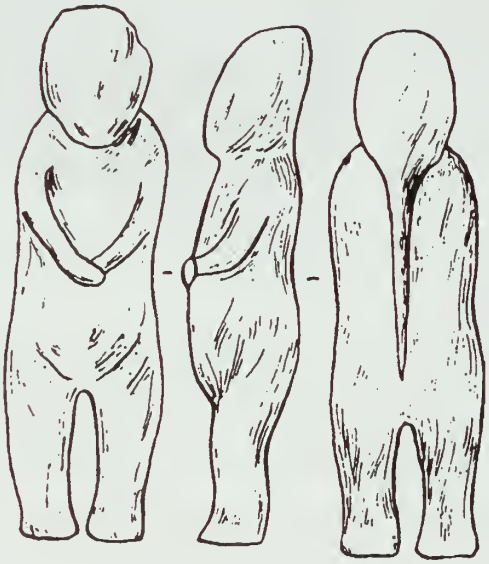


Figure 41. Statuette from the early Eskimo Chini cemetery. Bone. (After N. N. Dikov).

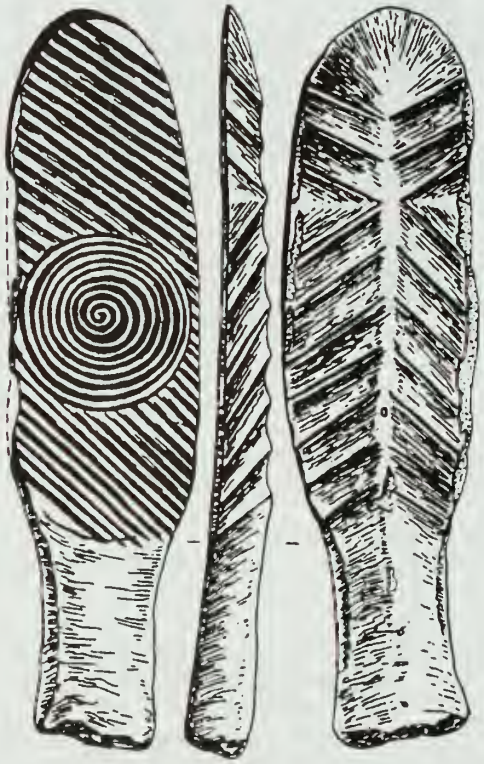


Figure 42. Early Eskimo ceramic stamp paddle (after N. N. Dikov).

The human form appears in a very unexpected way, namely masks or visages that are widely embodied in monumental (petroglyphic) and portable rock art. It is in this genre that the specifics of Far Eastern representational art most prominently show through. A feature of many of the objects is "sculptedness," reflected in the modeling of the face with consideration and use of the relief of the raw material as a form-building element (the face is often accommodated on two planes situated at an angle to one another) (*Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987:359). In addition to objects of rock art, faces of clay have been found in Primor'e (*Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987:359).

A characteristic feature of Amur-Ussuri rock art is the absence of complete anthropomorphic figures. Such treatment of the human form in Far Eastern representational works is explained by researchers as arising from cultural traditions of more southern Pacific areas where "men's secret societies, masks, and the mythology and art connected with them were most well developed" (*Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987:360). These specifics of religious/cult ceremonies of Far Eastern tribes may have excluded anthropomorphic small stone sculpture or placed it in a secondary role.

The stone heads and faces found on the Kolyma, in Kamchatka, and in northern Priokhot'e probably reflect some early cultural impulses that came from the Pacific area.

The next best studied region, occupying the largest territory from the Yenisei in the west to the Kolyma in the east, is south-central and southeastern Siberia. The small art there is represented by flaked stone figurines of fish—rather numerous in the Neolithic era (Serovskaya culture), less numerous in the Bronze Age (Glazkovskaya culture). The anthropomorphic images in the Serovskaya culture are few (Okladnikov 1976:Pls. 65, 116), and only a single image (a human head) of stone has been found. Several anthropomorphic sculptures (of antler and mammoth ivory) come from the Glazkovskaya cemeteries. Researchers note the preference of the Glaskov people for such raw material as mammoth tusk, which may have been due to a special significance of mammoth ivory in the eyes of the early hunters-fishermen. It is possible that the purpose of the sculpture was another reason for this (*Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987:345).

Two groups of anthropomorphic sculpture can be distinguished on the basis of subject: figurines of adults (of mammoth tusk) and small bone and antler rods with schematically treated faces. The manner of making the bone sculpture was later copied by metal workers carrying out the orders of shamans. Similarities can also be seen in the wooden sculpture of Siberian peoples (*Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987:346). An anthropomorphic bone mask-like artifact was also found in the Shumilikha cemetery in Priangar'e (Studzitskaya 1981). Anthropomorphic faces can be seen in the art of Siberia and the Far East as early as the beginning of the second millennium B.C., with masks/faces, masks/head attire, and mask-like objects holding a significant place in the cult art of Siberian peoples from the end of the seventeenth to the beginning of the twentieth century. They are especially characteristic for the Tungus groups (*Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987:346). Although anthropomorphic stone statuettes are absent in the eastern Siberian region, the human form is widely represented in cliff drawings (*Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987:346), which fulfilled, Zamyatnin suggested, a functional role analogous to portable art objects.

Eastern Siberian sculpture obtained from burials reflects a very special stratum of ideas and religious ceremonies that is not comparable to either anthropomorphic statuettes from Volosovo or those obtained from the Neolithic sites of northeastern Russia. Anthropomorphic images in cliff drawings of eastern Siberia reflect a new stage in the development of primitive ideology connected with the onset of metal production (*Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987:346).

In the western Siberian region (and the eastern Urals as well) the human form is treated in a completely different conceptual way. In distinction from eastern Siberia, portable anthropomorphic art comes from villages and shrines and only in rare cases from burials (*Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987:318). Stone sculpture appeared in western Siberia about the middle of the second millennium B.C. (the wooden idols of the Gorbunovskii peat bog are considered the earliest examples) (*Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987:318). There are no images depicting the human figure among the sculpted stone materials, though stone pestles were sometimes crowned by an image of a human head or phallus, giving them an anthropomorphic appearance. The second representational canon (among small sculpted objects) is pestle-like figurines with elaborate

facial details. Both kinds of objects belong to the Samus'k-Seisminsk period (*Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987:318). In M. F. Kosarev's opinion, the western Siberian anthropomorphic style was formed during the Bronze Age (*Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987:320). Researchers emphasize some similarity of Samus'k small sculpture to Okunevsk stone effigies (*Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987:320). A feature of western Siberian art is the manufacture of figurines of clay (often of bean-like or "embryo-like" form), as well as the embodiment of the human form in ceramics (*Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987:320). Western Siberian stone sculpture reflects a semantically different world of ideas, absorbing the ideology of new socioeconomic realities connected with the establishment of a production form of economy.

In searching for Siberian parallels it must not be forgotten that there are still large, poorly examined areas within the circumpolar zone, whereas a substantial amount of small art has been obtained from sites outside it. The isolation of extreme Northeast Asia from the more highly developed cultures of the Old World due to severe natural conditions and unevenness of historical development from the second millennium B.C. has been noted (Dikov 2004:225). As a consequence of these processes, remnant forms of the Neolithic, which belong entirely to inland cultures of the Northeast, were preserved up to the nineteenth century. At the same time, isolation contributed to the preservation of many elements in the material and spiritual culture of the peoples of the Northeast Asian region.

With the absence of Siberian analogies, it would be surprising to find close parallels in small art (in particular in the sculpted human form) characteristic for objects of the Volosovo cultural-historical region. The Volosovo culture lasted from the beginning of the third millennium B.C. (or even the end of the fourth millennium B.C.) through the first quarter of the second millennium B.C. (*Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987:14). As the bearers of the Volosovo culture passed out of the Neolithic, they became acquainted with early metal working and gave up their preference for the stone and bone industries. Even with the appearance of domestic animals and the rudiments of agriculture, hunting and fishing still remained the dominant forms of economy for them (*Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987:14, 15). Excellent bone carvers, the Volosovo people created small art in a rich and varied world of flaked flint sculpture (a phenomenon also distinctive for the Tokareva culture of northern Priokhot'e) in which the human form was also represented. Anthropomorphic images were schematically made from flint flakes of different colors and dimensions (*Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987:20, 21), but the few Volosovo figurines made from bone emphasize female traits (breasts and stomach) that are not on the flint images. There is no unified opinion regarding the purpose of the flint and bone sculptures of the Volosovo culture. Most researchers consider them ritual objects that served as amulets or had other sacred attributes necessary for the execution of cult ceremonies (*Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987:22).

Once more we stress the similarity of stone small sculpture from Northeast Asia with the Volosovo specimens on such representational grounds as technical resolution, style, and subject diversity.

Zoomorphic Sculpture

We will now turn to zoomorphic beings that are embodied in objects of portable art of the northern Far East.

Sculpted images of mammoths have been found primarily in Eastern Europe. They are made of bone, sandstone, and soft marl. A substantial number of the figurines come from sites of the Kostenki region. They were executed schematically, were small, the features were not elaborated, and the base was leveled and smoothed for standing them in a vertical position (Abramova 1962). Several sculptures of mammoths have been found in central European sites, too (Abramova 1962). It is surprising, then, that in Siberia, where preserved mammoths continue to be occasionally exposed and found, that images of this giant—a representative of late Pleistocene fauna—are quite rare. Only two engravings are known of: from the Berelekh site (northern Yakutia) and Mal'ta (the Angara basin), while a single bone sculpture of

a mammoth comes from Ust'-Kova (Vasil'evskii and Drozdov 1983). Three images of a mammoth sculpted in bas-relief and made from a pebble of corresponding configuration (by means of chipping and trimming) were found (at the Malaya Syya site) and described by V. E. Larichev. A feature of these objects is the image of other animals combined with the figure of the mammoth (Larichev 1980). Siberian finds are limited to these materials.

Ten images shaped like mammoths come from sites in the northern Far East. For five of them, like those from Malaya Syia, they were made from pebbles and formed by engraving, flaking and breaking the edges, grinding, or local percussion chipping. Three figurines were made of flint and hornfels by edge retouch, abrading, and the removal of tiny broad blade flakes. The surface of one sculpture was the cleavage plane of a break, which had a ferruginous reddish-brown coating. A macro-sculpture of a mammoth was formed by percussion flaking of a diabase slab. And a stylized figurine of this giant in the form of a tiny pendant from Upper Paleolithic Level VII of the Ushki I site is unique. The combination of two beings—a mammoth and a bison—can be seen in some of the cited figurines, which is characteristic not only for the Malaya Syya bas-relief images, but also for European rock drawings of the Paleolithic (Larichev 1980).

By comparing Northeast Asian images, it is possible to distinguish small groups that have common stylistic features. Three mammoth figurines from Layer VI of the Ushki I site have much in common. Small flat sandstone pebbles were used to make them, and they have very sparse details: thin lines were scratched onto two of them (imitating long hanging fur) (Fig. 13), while on the third are two or three short transverse checks marking the edge of the head and the mobile part of the trunk (Fig. 14:3). In this group, accent is placed on the high oval crown of the head, which was not separated by a groove from the steeply falling line of the back. The extremities are indicated by small projections or not marked at all. Grinding is either partially done or is done only along the whole upper contour of the figure.

In manner of execution, the Ul'khum (Fig. 14:2) and Ushki (Fig. 14:1) images are similar (the first is from a whole small pebble, the second from a flaked one). In both cases, the edge of the pebble, which followed the contour of the figure of the mammoth with a projecting triangular-oval head, was subjected to very little modification.

Images from the sites of Tytyl'vaam II (Fig. 16:1) and Tytyl' V (Fig. 16:4) are amazingly similar in spite of the difference in raw material and dimensions. They are united by common detail in the manner of working and the methods used (bifacial edge retouch in forming the head and back, breaking the edges in order to separate the lower part of the figure from the trunk or head, and the regular line of the monolithic—i.e., not separated—lower extremities). Three small sculptures (Fig. 16:2–4) were executed on thin flakes, which, judging by their edges, could also have functioned as tools (scrapers and knives). Based on morphological characteristics, these figurines are nearly two-dimensional.

The similarity within the group of Northeast Asian images of mammoths under examination here can probably be ascribed to common cultural traditions. At the same time, they have no analogies in adjoining regions, not to mention farther away. It is possible to draw only remote parallels between western Chukotkan and Eastern European sculptures based on specific specimens (without regard to completely different raw material and different technical methods). The three figurines have one more outstanding feature: examination of the opposite side turned upside down reveals the form of a bison in simplified execution. In the Tytyl' sculpture (Fig. 16:4) the back legs of the animal were likely formed through the removal of two rectangular facets, while a sloping spall originating in the primary preparation of the figurine defines the contour of its withers. The features of a bison show up especially prominently on the El'gakhchan find (Fig. 16:3): the downcast head, steep withers and high hump, the sloping line of the back and narrowed rear part of the animal's figure. Such details as the legs, tail, and horns are absent, but the stylization of the image still gives the impression of an animal's tensed pose. A figurine from Layer VI of the Ushki I site is a similar "doppelgänger" (Fig. 16:2) in which the impression of the form is strengthened owing to the natural "design" of the raw material itself (impregnations of white dashes and dots). Two beings—a mammoth and a bison—can also be seen in the Tytyl'vaam find. The images are

united by the common contour of the figure. The accent is placed on forming the heads, which are pointed in opposite directions (Fig. 16:1).

It is well known that the mammoth and the bison are typical of creatures in Upper Paleolithic art, and so it is no accident that they are combined. The union in one sculpted composition of two individuals—a mammoth and a female bison—is noted by V. E. Larichev (1980:170, 171, Fig. 6:7), who studied the Malaya Syya site. A non-traditional method of analyzing objects of Paleolithic art led Larichev to make a discovery that marked an entirely new approach to their appreciation, content, and semantics. Comparing the Syya finds, which have a mammoth-like appearance, with images of mammoths in the Upper Paleolithic cave art of Western Europe, Larichev uncovered a canonical regularity in the interconnected composition of figures of the mammoth and the female bison (Larichev 1980:190). In some examples of cave art, an odd union of the features of a mammoth and a bison can be seen in the same illustration. Such combinations were rooted, according to Larichev, in a particular idea connected specifically with the fertility cult (Larichev 1980:190).

At the base of the syncretism of such paired forms as mammoth and bison, mammoth and tortoise, and eagle and tortoise in Syya art lies binary symbolism, or binary opposition distributed in a sphere of cults and primitive art (Alekseev 1976:41). In the opinion of researchers, binary symbolism as an innate element of the human psyche had "determined the motifs of art activity, the organization of these motifs in a plane, their connections with each other, and the character of their opposition" by the earliest stages of development of primitive societies (Alekseev 1976:45).

The combination of two or more forms in one Paleolithic small art object was the beginning of the creation of poly-iconic sculpture, a tradition that was reflected as well in the following stages of the Stone Age in northern Asia. The striking specimens of early Eskimo ivory carving are evidence of this. The reason for poly-iconism in the Upper Paleolithic is seen by the initial discoverer of this phenomenon, E. E. Fradkin, as the necessity of the primitive hunter to transmit knowledge and experience or to illustrate myths (Fradkin 1969:141). Following him, Larichev, studying Syya portable art, also expressed the idea that these images were created as illustrations for orally transmitted myths that accompanied a change of "cadres"—i.e., demonstrations of subjects illustrated on stones accompanied by verbal commentary (Larichev 1980:195) or, we might add, by "theatrical" representations in which the primitive hunter carried out the lead role of mimic.

In all probability, the basis for a binary nature in the perception of mammoth images might also be found at the sites of Ushki I, Tytyl' V, Tytyl'vaam II, and Bol'shoi El'gakhchan.

In the group of sculpted images of mammoth and mammoth/bison, commonalities are reflected that are characteristic for portable Upper Paleolithic art. This can be traced from all aspects. In the huge Eurasian expanse the same requirements for raw material were present: material was used that was easily worked, and its selection was obviously dictated by local possibilities and established traditions. The Kostenki figurines of mammoths and women were carved from marl, in other regions mammoth tusk was used for making them, while serpentine and steatite was used for ornaments. Small pebbles (with corresponding elaboration) went into making the Syya images. The Ushki pendants from Layer VII (the female symbol and stylized figurine of a mammoth) were carved from steatite, while the sculpted images from Layer VI were of sandstone (small sculptures of mammoths) and steatite (an anthropomorphic figurine). A fine-grained sandstone pebble was used for making the eastern Chukotkan image of a mammoth, while the Druchak and western Chukotkan sculptures were made from slabs that yielded easily to percussion flaking. Flint and hornfels, widely used in the stone industry of the Upper Paleolithic and Neolithic, were rarely called for in representational works: in our collection there are only three figurines of this raw material.

These groups also had much in common in their technical methods of working stone. Abrading, smoothing the surface, and polishing were employed in making images of a mammoth from marl (Abramova 1962:54). Pebbles were worked in similar ways to form both the Kamchatkan and Chukotkan figurines, which are small, like those from Kostenki. And, finally, the manner of production is similar.

All images are imprecise, without showing details. Lateral flattening is characteristic (due to percussion or other flaking of the pebble or selection of the blank).

At the same time, there are differences both within the group of cited objects from the Northeast Asian region and in comparison to equivalent European and Siberian specimens.

Characteristic for the small sculptures from Ushki, for example, is complete fusion of the mammoth figure: lack of a neck groove (steep transition from head to back) and lack of separation of the legs (with the exception of the pendant from Layer VII). Also, the arrangement of its shape along the vertical axis is notable. The Chukotkan and the Druchak images are aligned along the horizontal axis (like the Kostenki objects). Together with compactness (fusion) of the mammoth figure, they display a steep neck groove and emphasis is placed on the design of the lower extremities, though they are not separated.

Attention must be drawn to the fact that the mammoth dominates the Paleolithic art of Northeast Asia, moving the human form into second place, emphasizing the role of this animal in the socioeconomic structure of early groups. The combining of two beings into a single sculpted object (in comparison with the Syya finds) leads to a cautious supposition that all the southern Siberian traditions of Paleolithic art may have been formed on a common ideological base.

The largest group of images in the collection of small stone sculpture of the Northeast Asian region is represented by figurines of bears. They all belong to Neolithic complexes, with the exception of a single earlier one from the Tytyl'vaam site. New resources of small stone sculpture that have appeared in publications have led to the realization of more precise parallels and discovering, or at least recognizing, traditions in Neolithic small art (for example, the materials being examined in this research). The closest analogy to the small sculptures cited here can be found in objects of primitive-realistic art of the Far East. Three figurines of brown bears (Brodianskii 1996:Fig. 1:3, 16, 17) in the Kondon layer at Rudnaya Pristan' (Primor'e) are by all criteria (raw material, blank, technique, representational canon) similar to the images of brown bears from the Chukotkan sites of El'gygytgyn and Tytyl' IV (Fig. 17:2, 3).

The figurine of a polar bear from the Tytyl' III site (Fig. 17:6) has a distant analogy in the Tar'in culture of Kamchatka (Dikova 1983:Pl. 38:1), but it is set in a somewhat different iconographic manner—without a separation of the lower extremities (Fig. 17:8). The Tytyl' polar bear is substantially more similar to the small bone sculptures from the Uelen cemetery—the profile resolution of the specimen, the somewhat elongated proportions of the body, the construction of the head, the pointed muzzle set horizontally, the sloping rear part, and the two extremities (Arutiunov and Sergeev 2006:Fig. 87:2, 6).

The second Tytyl' small sculpture of a (polar?) bear (Fig. 17:7) is very similar to the image of a bear from Point Barrow, Alaska (the form of the forward-stretching head and the form and arrangement of the extremities are analogous). The Alaskan find differs by the presence of a short jutting tail and the application of complete retouch on both (?) surfaces of the artifact (Zamyatnin 1948:Fig. 10:3).

Stone figurines of bears in the sitting position are encountered more rarely. In technique and style the bear figurine from the Tytyl' IV site, Locus 3 (Fig. 17:4), can be compared with a Neolithic object from Karelia (Pankrushev 1978:Fig. 12:3). The depiction of the forward-stretched extremities and muzzle of the animal are similar, but the Karelian figurine is completely retouched, while edge retouch was used only to set off the features on the Chukotkan specimen. A sculpture (on deer antler) of a sitting bear with extended paws is another specimen, which was found in Priangar'e in a Neolithic site at Berczovskaya village (Vasil'evskii and Okladnikov 1980:231). During excavations of sites on the lower Amur small sculptures of sitting bears of fired clay were encountered (Vasil'evskii and Okladnikov 1980:233), but these objects, like a lot of figurines of bears (cubs) from the Neolithic site on Suchu Island (Vasil'evskii and Okladnikov 1980:234), are more reminiscent of children's toys and reflect a different area in the spiritual culture of Neolithic tribes.

A second figurine of a sitting bear, found at the Chukotkan site of Uimyveem (Fig. 17:5), is comparable to the preceding one in the technique used to create it, though the iconography of the head repeats in detail the find from Lake El'gygytgyn (Fig. 17:3).

The Verkhnetytyl'skaya image of a bear cub is stylistically similar to a Paleolithic engraving on a deer antler from the Gurdan Grotto, on which several heads of mountain goats looking to one side are illustrated. The stylistic features are similar: only the head and neck are illustrated (in profile), the fur coats of the animals are portrayed by thick short hatching in the engravings and by tiny regular retouch on the sculpture, and the ears and almond-shaped eyes are also shown (Abramova 1978:Fig. 4). Among portable objects, the closest analogy is a zoomorphic image (head of an animal) from the Yurtikovskaya (Bronze Age) culture (Viatka basin) (*Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987:Fig. 10:7).

A stylized image of the skin of a brown bear from the Chukotkan site of Chuvaigytkhyn I (Fig. 19:1) is comparable to one from the Imchin XII site (Sakhalin), but the Sakhalin find differs by having a forward-projecting neck (or head?) (Kononenko and Shubina 1991:Fig. 1). The sculpted image of a bear skin with a head, found at the White Sea site of Ust'-Yarenga (Zamyatnin 1948:Fig. 4:7), was executed based on a different iconography. It is very reminiscent of a flattened bear with stretched rear extremities and front extremities spread to the side, in distinction from Chukotkan and Sakhalin objects featuring the outline of the skin stretched and held with pegs (?), which is especially marked in the Chukotkan find.

The Chukotkan oddities cited, as well as their Siberian, Far Eastern, and North American analogies, fit—by technique of artifact manufacture, raw material, dimensions, and probably functional assignment—in that stratum of Neolithic art that was separated by Zamyatnin into the category "miniature flint sculpture," which existed "in the fourth millennium B.C. in pre-dynastic Egypt, in the second millennium B.C. in the forests and tundra of Eastern Europe, in the third century A.D. among the Maya, and among modern Eskimos" (Zamyatnin 1948:122).

It is interesting to trace the process of manufacturing images of bears and their body parts in time and space. The bear form is reflected in representational activity and art as early as the Paleolithic period. These include engravings on pebbles (from l'Abri du Colombier) and the walls of Les Trois-Freres Cave in France (Stoliar 1985:Fig. 150, 151a, 151b), and figurines found at the European sites of Dolní Věstonice, Isturitz, and Vogelherd (Abramova 1962:62). Natural zoomorphic features created in relief in caves, which the Neanderthal used for mystical ceremonies, were sources for the origin of the sculpted bear form (Stoliar 1978:93). Researchers suggest that the shaped stalagmite in Basura Cave (northern Italy) was initially such a "natural" model, which during ceremonies was covered by "a piece of bear skin, including the head of the animal, being set up on pillar-like projection" (Stoliar 1978:93). The next stage in the appearance of three-dimensional bear sculpture was the creation by Upper Paleolithic man of a clay mass on which to exhibit the "natural symbol of an animal," that is, its head. In Pech Merle Cave (France) bears' skulls were arranged on artistically created "clay mounds" (Stoliar 1978:94, 95). A large and massive model, "roughly conveying the form of a bear's body," also "sculpted" by a person, was found in Montespan Cave (France). The clay mold was covered with a skin, and "a bear's head was fastened to the neck part." Removing the Montespan clay model from "actual art objects," A. D. Stoliar instead assigns it to a special category of representational activity, which was primarily defined by the "obligatory use of the animal head with the attached piece of skin as a key semantic symbol" (Stoliar 1978:99).

Small sculptures with the image of a bear—both whole figurines of the animal and parts of it—were not abundant in the Paleolithic. Fired clay was used to make them, sometimes tempered with crushed bear's bone, though in rarer cases marl. The figure of a bear in Upper Paleolithic small art is typically shown in profile, and usually also in motion (e.g., the small sculpture from Dolní Věstonice) (Stoliar 1985:Fig. 192). In addition to the full image of a bear, there are also images of its parts, in particular heads (Kostenki I, Dolní Věstonice, Isturitz Cave) and paws (the Kostenki IV site). From the perspective of iconography (the shape of the bear, and its plastic resolution), the engravings from the Paleolithic and the sculpted images of bears in the Neolithic are very close. In Paleolithic graphic arts, the modeling of the head, line of the back, short tail, and extremities are produced in a realistic manner, while the sculpted images of bears were significantly simplified. The bear's head from Isturitz is considered the most expressive and most similar to Neolithic bear images (Abramova 1962:61). The bear image, embodied in small sculpture, was widespread throughout northern Eurasia in the Neolithic Age.

Frontal images of this animal are only rarely encountered in the standing position. They were either executed in a substantially stylized way (Zamyatnin 1948:Fig. 3:7), in a realistic manner (with all the features), or even with artistic decoration in the spirit of pop art (Kosarev 1981:Fig. 80:5). In the majority of cases, a bear is shown in profile in small sculpture (Zamyatnin 1948:Fig. 4:2–4). There is one unusual specimen in this category of figurines (Repman 1957:Fig. 57:1) which gives the impression of the animal jumping or running up a slope. The specimen is constructed realistically through elaboration of all features: the ears, eyes, open mouth, flat foot, and a rear leg bent at the knee. This was obtained by means of skillfully applied retouch and flake removal. A perfect analogy of this image is a small bone sculpture of a bear (Dikov 2004:Fig. 104:13) from the Old Koryak culture (in an assemblage of the tenth to twelfth centuries A.D. on the northwest coast of Kamchatka). The agreement in the details of the iconographic resolution is surprising for sites so distant in space and time.

I must include an observation made in comparing images of bears in Neolithic graphic arts with modern round sculpture of the Chukchi and Koryak, the realism of which "is extremely close to Magdalenian: the same accuracy of general proportions, the same methods of representation of movement, the absence of indistinct schematic features, and the same understanding of the character of the animal" (Miller 1929:27). These characteristics are also assigned to the image of a bear carved in birch bark by a modern Evenk-Orochi artist (Mazin 1984:Fig. 26).

Beginning in the Paleolithic, clay, bone, and wood (and later, metal) were used in addition to stone for making shaped objects. Besides the aforementioned images of bear cubs from Suchu Island, clay (along with stone) figurines of standing, moving, and sitting bears, as well as small-sculpture fragments of this animal, were found in excavations at the Kondon site (Vasil'evskii and Okladnikov 1980:Fig. 2:1) and the Malaya Gavan' site (Konopatskii 1996:74, 75). In excavations at the Kabukai site (Okhotsk culture) on the Japanese island of Rebun, 46 bear figurines of clay and bone were found (Vasil'evskii 1981:123). Besides independent sculpted images of bears in the huge expanse of northern Eurasia, a large number of plastic small art "bears" are represented as pendants. Thirty-one pendants with bear images were found during excavations at archaeological sites of Prikam'ya (Golubeva 1979). Among them are images that are realistic looking (Golubeva 1979:Fig. 10:10), as well as some that have stylized decoration or solar signs on various parts of the figure (Golubeva 1979:Fig. 10:1, 2, 5, 11).

A stone pendant with the stylized figure of a bear was discovered during excavations at a site on Cape Elov in Isetskoe Lake and is designated as a specimen representing small sculpture of the Urals (Eding 1940:Fig. 86). Four images of running bears made of bone were found during excavations of the Priangar'e Shumilikha cemetery (Goryunova and Smotrova 1981:Fig. 29). These small sculptures have a hole in the back or stomach and were intended to be sewn on or suspended. Shaped pendants with a bear's image, similar in varying degree to those of Shumilikha, were found in a grave at the Muslim cemetery near Tomsk (Studzitska1981:Fig. 2), in a burial of the Okunevskaya culture in the Karasuk II cemetery (Studzitskaya 1981:Fig. 1:8), and in a sitting burial in the vicinity of Norovlin in eastern Mongolia (Volkov 1975:Fig. 2).

All through the huge expanse of northern Eurasia, the image of a bear's head was also rendered in independent sculpture both as an element of decoration of daily items and of cult objects. Among the finds in Prikam'ya are pendants shaped like a bear's head (Golubeva 1979:Fig. 10:3, 4). Another sculpted image of a bear's head was discovered at Sakachi-Alian village (Vasil'evskii and Okladnikov 1980:Fig. 2:2), and a wooden sculpture of the head of a bear is in the collection from the Shigirskii peat bog (Moshinskaya 1979:Fig. 13:1). At the Ural site of Zori V an image of a bear's head on a flint flake was found (Serikov 2000:211, Fig. 159:1), which, like the Chukotkan one, was made by partial retouch (Fig. 18:2).

Axes-hammers from the Neolithic sites of the Valdaiskaia culture were decorated with the sculpted image of a bear's head (Studzitskaya 1981:131–135), as were stone pestles from Angara (Okladnikov 1950a:7, Fig. 1). Boat paddle handles made with an image of a bear's head can be seen in wooden plastic

art, (Moshinskaya 1976:77, Fig. 138), as they can on the projecting beams of the upper rim of a bear cage and on ritual vessels of the Nivkhi (Taksami 1975:174).

Ceramic artifacts were decorated in a similar way. The profile image of a bear's head is seen on a fragment of ceramics from the Gorbunovskii peat bog (Eding 1940:Fig. 89). During the Samus'k-Seisminsk period, individual specimens of ceramics were decorated with "relief images of bears' muzzles" (Kosarev 1981:252). A design made up of three small pits—two above and one below—is noted on the rims of western Siberian vessels of the Neolithic and early Bronze Age, imitating the way a bear was illustrated in the late Ugorskii owners' marks (Kosarev 1981:252).

Shaped objects imitating bears' canines and claws have also been encountered in early Siberian sites. They have been found in the Shigirskii peat bog, the sites of Samus'k II and Samus'k IV, and the Stepanovskii sanctuary (Kosarev 1981:Fig. 80:2–4).

It is possible to take some steps toward understanding the semantics of the role of the bear in plastic art within the context of Neolithic small art on the basis of analysis of the bear in the ideas that were formed in early society and were then developed as a result of millennia of daily activity of the people.

A special relationship to the bear and to some parts of its body can be traced in archaeological material over a rather long chronological interval. During excavations of the so-called bears' caves in the Swiss Alps, researchers noted "osteological collections" formed by humans. Archaeologists recognized "a definite selection of the same kinds of cave-bear bones and their regulated arrangement in groups" (Stoliar 1985:144). Pyramids of skulls (with lower jaws missing) along with some long bones were found in box-like stone structures oriented toward the entrance. Emphasis on such parts of the animal as the paws, the burned bones of which were discovered in a hearth, is also noted (Stoliar 1985:144–146).

These features led the first researchers of distinctive Neanderthal era sites to see "reflection of symbolic significance in certain parts of the bear's carcass (Stoliar 1985:150)." Traces of people's visits to the "bear caves," deliberate detachment of the lower jaws from the skulls, the ordered burial of the latter, and the isolated distribution of the skulls attest to ceremonial activities having a ritual hunting character (Stoliar 1985:93–100).

Similar finds have also been noted in Russia. V. A. Gorodtsov (1926:19–21), during excavations at the Paleolithic Gontsovskaya site, focused on the definite order in the arrangement of bear bones and skulls. The extraordinary treatment of the bear, as one of the chief beings of north Eurasian fauna, is reflected in the ritual burial of a cub found at the Ust'-Chirkuo site (upper Vilyui, Yakutia). The bear cub, wrapped in birch bark, was buried in the sitting position and accompanied by grave goods (a clay vessel, a bronze spiral-like pendant, and glass beads) and two pups curled into balls, their eye sockets directed toward the feet of the bear skeleton (Fedoseeva 1972:260, 261).

Beginning with the Paleolithic, the early hunters bored holes through bears' canines and other teeth and used them as pendants (Mortil'e 1903:173). Amulets of bears' canines are encountered in Neolithic cemeteries (Kistenev 1980) and camps (Dikov 1999:Fig. 34:1). Bear teeth were sometimes used for items of representational character. In the Neolithic Spafar'eva site (Tokareva culture of northwestern Priokhot'e) two bear teeth transformed into figures of walruses were found in the cultural layer (Lebedintsev 1996:Fig. 1:11, 12). The composition, done as a bear-walrus combination, may have a deeper ideological meaning. Such a combination is also encountered in Chukotka. A shrine was found near the Eskimo site of Uelen, where the skulls of walruses and polar bears were laid out in a definite order, with their eye sockets directed toward the walrus haul-out.

Investigators of the earliest materials, in uncovering the special relationship of man to the bear and its attributes, were inclined to acknowledge the cult/mystic character of the activities of humans with the osteological remains of the bear, reflecting the earliest stratum of ideas about the bear and going back to the "pre-totemic period" (Stoliar 1985:146, 152). The echoes of this and later cults can be traced in the huge territory of the Old and New Worlds in the ceremonies of the "bear festival" (Siberia and the Far

East) and the "bear dance" (North America), a description of which is contained in the extensive ethnographic literature (see below).

In the collection of small stone sculpture from Northeast Asian sites we are examining, bird figurines comprise a small group. Among the ornithomorphic beings, two are images of an owl or great horned owl (Fig. 28:1, 2) and two are works representing a small songbird, one of which is reminiscent of a barn swallow or swift (Fig. 27), the other, a chickadee (Fig. 28:5). Another of the figurines appears to be a sitting goose (Figs. 28:4; 37). It's not possible to identify the species of any of the remaining small ornithomorphic sculptures in our collection (Fig. 28:3, 6, 7).

Small sculptures of birds made from mammoth tusk or antler are familiar items in the portable art of the Paleolithic. These are the well-known little birds with small head, round body, and long flat tail from the Mezinskaya site. They all are covered by complex, carved designs (Abramova 1962). A waterfowl in flight is among the sculpted ornithomorphic images from the Siberian sites of Mal'ta and Buret' (Abramova 1962).

Bird heads made of marl were found during excavations in the Eastern European site of Kostenki I. And tiny images (in profile) of eagles, made on plates of siliceous slate, were obtained at the Malaya Syya site (the area between the Ob and Yenisei Rivers) (Larichev 1978:Fig. 8).

It is possible to cite only one image of a bird among Paleolithic specimens, and it is comparable to the stone figurine found at the Bol'shoi El'gakhchan I site. This is a small sculpture from the Ust'-Kova site (Vasil'evskii and Drozdov 1983:Fig. 4). The similarity is striking, though the raw material was different in plasticity: the Ust'-Kova figurine was carved from mammoth tusk. With the comparison of the two images one can see absolute correspondence of the aspect and pose of the birds and the modeling of the head, beak, breast, back, and tail. Despite its schematic nature, the image is fairly realistic and it's reasonable to imagine that the early master invested in it his vision of the actual animal, meaning it might possibly lack a sacred meaning.

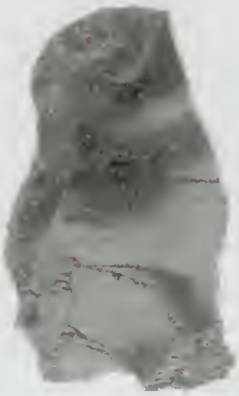
Birds are a widespread subject of rock drawings in the Neolithic art of north Eurasian tribes. Both waterfowl and birds of prey are encountered among the images. In stone sculpture of the Volosovo type, a large part of the figurines are images of waterfowl (Zamyatnin 1948:Fig. 5) but only rarely other species. A figurine of a bird that was made by edge retouch from a thin flake was found at the Yur'ino IV site (Central Urals). Its features are reminiscent of a ptarmigan (Serikov and Khaliaev 1977:608). A tiny figurine of a flying bird with a round head and long tail, made by complete retouch, was found in Primor'e (Evstafiya Bay). It is dated to the third millennium B.C. (Garkovik 1998:51, 52, Fig. 1:3). There are no analogies among cited Neolithic specimens to the figurines of the birds of our collection.

The bird image was embodied in cast bronze in western Siberia (beginning of the Bronze Age to the Middle Ages). Together with realistic images of waterfowl and birds of prey, the owl (or great horned owl) was also embodied in castings, but in combination with anthropomorphic elements (a face on the breast of the bird) (Kosarev 1984:188, Fig. 25), a feature that is characteristic for portable art of western Siberia.

Two figurines in our collection (Fig. 28:1, 2) embody that nocturnal representative of ornithofauna, the owl (or great horned owl). In Siberian and Far Eastern small stone sculpture there are no such images, and the search for analogies has been rather difficult. Images of birds reminiscent of owls were found at the Paleolithic Trois-Freres Cave (France). Just as with the Tytyl' small sculpture, the bodies of the birds are shown in profile, while the head is en face (Abramova 1980:Fig. 12:2). The frontal image of the owl or Great Horned Owl was executed splendidly in the Tomsk cliff painting (Okladnikov and Martynov 1972: Stone V, Fig. 93), and a graphic illustration of the great horned owl decorates a ceramic vessel of the early Iron Age of Pechora (Burov 1992:Fig. 5:5)—its "big-eared" head and round eyes with pupils being emphasized.

Tytyl' V site. Figurine of a ground squirrel.

Tytyl' IV site. Figurine of a goose.



Nizhnetytyl'skaya IV site. Figurine of a bird.

Tytyl' V site. Figurine of an owl.

Tytyl' V site. Figurine of a burbot (?).

Nizhnetytyl'skaya IV site. Astral image.

Inset 3. Small stone sculptures.

Researchers note that bird images have a sacred character, especially if they are accompanied by solar signs. Such symbols indicate divine essence, the upper level in the mythological model of the world (*Mify narodov* . . ., 1988:346).

In contrast to birds, fish emerge as zoomorphic classifiers of the lower cosmic zone.

Images of fish are among the specimens of sculptures under examination here. The collection of eight fish falls into two groups. To the first belong three artifacts (Fig. 23) that are distinguished by their simplicity and the crudeness of the blanks, which were flakes of gray silicified slate and chalcedony. Modification was kept to a minimum—the smallest faceting of the edge while preserving the form of the flake and the removal of micro-flakes for forming the mouth and bifurcation of the tail fin. In both cases, the surface of the figurine preserved the negatives of the preceding flake removal. The second group (Fig. 24:1–3, 6, 7) is made up of small sculptures that differ in completeness—both of their sides are carefully retouched. Also, the images were created in different time periods: two objects from the first group (Fig. 23:1, 2) come from Upper Paleolithic sites (Ul'khum I and Ushki I),[14] while figurines in the second group come from Late Neolithic sites in western Chukotka (Fig. 24:1–3) and Kamchatka (Fig. 24:6, 7). Also, Old Bering Sea figurines from the Uelen cemetery that were treated as "end blades of arrows" (Arutiunov and Sergeev 2006:Fig. 65:1, 2) are probably images of fish.

In recent years, a representative collection was made of stone fish from chronologically different sites in Primor'e (Brodianskii et al. 1998). The earliest are images from the lower (pre-Neolithic) complex of the Ustinovka III site (Brodianskii et al. 1998:Fig. 7), while two other figurines of fish come from the Ustinovka I workshop site (Brodianskii et al. 1998:Fig. 2:3, 4). The last two named of these images are closest (in raw material, blank, and forming technique) to Ul'khum small sculpture. A similar figurine of a fish was found in a very distant region—in the Vyshnevolotskii District of the Vologodskii Region. This small sculpture of flint was made on a flake: the contours of the body and tail fin were formed by means of edge retouch in the appropriate places (Repman 1957:135–137). An image from the Tytyl' V site (Fig. 24:1) is similar in the smallest details to the Volosovo small sculpture cited by Zamyatnin (1948:Fig. 5:22).

One thick, excellently retouched image of a fish comes from an assemblage of stone artifacts collected in the central regions of the Bol'shezemel'skaya tundra (Chernov 1954:Fig. 25:1). In the Neolithic and Bronze Age of western Siberia, as distinct from eastern Siberia, sculpted images of fish are almost unknown. Figurines of fish (of bronze) came into fashion here at that time but were not numerous until the Middle Ages (Kosarev 1988:105). The stone image of a fish is a rather widespread subject in the Neolithic and Bronze Age of Pribaikal'e and neighboring regions of Siberia (Okladnikov 1950b:242). Most often they are treated as fishing devices intended as lures. They are substantially larger than our finds and in the majority of cases have holes drilled for attachment.

Researchers do not exclude the creation of fish figurines for cult purposes. Small stone (more precisely, micaceous slate) sculptures of fish were found during the examination of rocky outcrops in Kurkutskii Bay in Lake Baikal. The figurines were carefully worked, with eyes, mouth, and gill covers being indicated, in which, as in the tail part, a biconical hole had been drilled. The author of the find notes their position: "they were set up vertically in a small 'bowl' niche in the cliff." In his opinion, they were made "in deep antiquity and were used as cult objects over a long period of time" (Aseev 1985:171, Fig. 7). A favorite object of Neolithic artists and "sculptors" was the burbot. The form of the burbot is embodied in a triad of evil spirits connected with the realm of the dead in cliff illustrations at Besov Nos in the Onezhskii group of petroglyphs (Laushkin 1962). It is also possible that the sheat-fish (a Eurasian catfish), embodied in a small stone sculpture and described by A. R. Artem'ev, had analogous symbolism. One figurine (coming from a Neolithic complex in Priamur'e) was made from gray sandstone and replicates an Amur sheat-fish (Artem'ev 1998:103, Fig. 2). An image of a fish made from gray flint, preserved in the museum collection at Pennsylvania State University, comes from materials of adjoining regions.

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[14] The third image of this group is part of a surface collection.

The figurine is described with the group of amulets from the Point Barrow (Alaska) region and, in the opinion of the researcher, represents a grayling or sculpin (Jordan 1980:36).

It was natural for the inhabitants of freshwater basins to turn to fashioning sea mammals, images of which we have in our collection.

One small sculpture of a seal is the only one of its kind that has been found (Fig. 22:4). In the store of small stone sculpture found in northern Eurasia there are no analogies of this image. The seal is a rare being even in the cliff drawings of the coastal regions, and it did not acquire widespread embodiment in sculpture either. Only a few figurines of this pinniped, made of different raw materials, can be cited. In the stockpile of Paleolithic pieces of portable art there are no images of seals. In the Neolithic of Eastern Europe only one sculpture is known of from Zimnyaya Zolotitsa (Arkhangel'sk District), which was described by Zamyatnin. The figurine, worked by bifacial retouch, quite realistically reproduces the living model: round head, rear flippers compact and slightly diverging (along the edge) to the sides and a smoothly rounded front flipper (Zamyatnin 1948:Fig. 11). The researcher suggests that the second front flipper is broken off and draws its contour, which, in my view, is erroneous. The figurine of the seal is illustrated in profile, and not flattened from above. It is in such iconography that the image of a seal from the Bol'shoi Kamen' site (Kamchatka) is given, with the only difference being that on the latter small sculpture the front flippers (flipper) are not depicted at all and the head is of a somewhat stretched (downward) form (Fig. 22:3). The iconography of a bone figurine of a Baikal seal from an early Bronze Age burial in the vicinity of Idan (Angara basin) is analogous. Its head is rounded on top, slightly extended, and lobed below. A front flipper is indicated (carved) but the rear ones are not depicted (Rygdylon and Khoroshikh 1958:Fig. 1:3). Such a (horizontal) pose is characteristic for seals, which cannot "walk."

Two small stone sculptures of seals were obtained in the Neolithic assemblages of Primor'e. The figurine of a seal found during excavations at the Rudnaya Pristan' site is described by A. V. Tabarev (1994). This silhouette image (measuring 8.2 x 4.1 x 0.2 cm) was made on a greenish-gray flake by edge retouch of the dorsal surface along the perimeter. Facial working is absent. The figure is treated in a characteristic pose—on its stomach, with an elevated round head (Tabarev 1994).

A figurine with the image of a seal (?) was found in the lower layer of the Boismana II site. Formed on a blank of dark-green silicified slate by edge retouch on both sides, the object has two arrangements. In the researcher's opinion, a wild boar can be seen in one aspect, and in an inverted view, a seal (on its stomach, with raised head, without detailed extremities) (Brodianskii 1998b:Fig. 3:1).

Among coastal objects of portable art is an image of a seal (Neolithic site—Evstafiya Bay) in the form of a pendant made from clay (dimensions 1 x 4 cm) (Garkovik 1998:Fig. 1:2). The shape of this image amazingly duplicates the figure of a walrus from the Gal'shtrem collection (Zamyatnin 1948:Fig. 4:14). At its base lie two geometric figures (two cones or [in cross section] two triangles attached by the bases. Thickening along the line of the juncture creates or indicates the flippers, a triangle crowned by a roundish, flattened head is the front part of the figure, and a triangle without additional details is its rear part. The only difference is in the raw material: the walrus was made from flint by complete retouch, the coastal figurine is of clay).

Judging by the manner of production of the sculpted objects cited here, representatives of different families of pinnipeds are embodied in them.

A very special place in this series is occupied by a pendant from Spafar'eva Island (Magadan District), which apparently represents the mythical form ("face") of a walrus (female walrus?). The image is preferably designated as flat or two-dimensional sculpture (Fig. 26:5). The design is created in an arbitrary, stylized manner. It has no analogies.

The assortment of small animalistic sculptures of the northern Far East includes large sea mammals: whale, orca, and porpoise (?). Images of whales (two figurines from Kamchatka) were executed arbitrarily and are similar in technique and style (Fig. 22:1, 2). The whale is embodied in cliff illustrations

in Chukotka (Dikov 1999) and on the southern Korean Peninsula (Rakov 1998). But the Kamchatka objects, the petroglyphs of Chukotka, and the Korean cliff illustrations have nothing in common with regard to treatment of the image of the sea giant. In small stone sculpture from the region of Point Barrow (Alaska) the whale is embodied in amulets. The collection includes 18 images made from flakes of flint, jasper, obsidian, and quartz. In all cases, the dorsal image of the animal is depicted—as if being viewed from above. Images fall into two groups: one includes realistically made shapes, the second differs by its schematic nature. They are dated to the middle and second half of the first millennium A.D. (Jordan 1980). The Alaskan sculpted images are not at all stylistically comparable to the Kamchatkan. One unique ornament "with a sculpted image of the head of a female narwal" was found during excavations of the Neolithic Chertovy Vorota site (Primor'e) (Kononenko 1994).

There are also no analogies for images of orcas (Fig. 22:5) and porpoises (Figs. 22:6; 35) executed with naturalistic exactness.

One figurine of an amphibious newt was made on a small piece of obsidian (Fig. 25:1). This animal has been found in Chukotka (incidentally, 80 km from the Tytyl' V site where the small sculpture was found) by miners, who have taken it from a permafrost lens at a depth of 15 m. According to scholars: "The Siberian salamander (*Hynobius keyserlingi*), or the four-toed newt, is the only widespread species which lives from the Arkhangel'sk Region to Chukotka, and, in the south, appears in northern Mongolia and northeastern China; it is found in Kamchatka and the Kurile Islands" (*Zhizn'* . . ., 1985:32). It has "a broad flattened head, compressed on the sides, but lacks leathery folds on the tail. The skin is smooth, and along the sides of the body are 12 to 15 furrows on each side. The color is brownish or gray-brown." The dimensions fluctuate from 8 to 13 cm, "of which the lesser half falls to the tail" (*Zhizn'* . . ., 1985:32).

Specialists write that in the tundra newts appear in flood-plain forests and successfully endure long periods of freezing temperatures. During these cold snaps, the newt is covered with an icy armor, while its tissues remain soft (owing to reorganization of the whole organism and transformation of glycogen into glycerin) (Il'ves 1994). Most notable is the ability of the newt to regenerate lost parts of the body—extremities, tail, eyes—and its remarkable endurance (Brem 1992:3:84).

S. P. Krasheninnikov's observation is curious: "It might be appropriate to note that throughout all of Kamchatka there is not a frog, not a toad, not a snake; only some lizards rather, which the Kamchadal consider to be spies sent from the lord of the underworld for watching them and for foretelling death; for which reason they gladly look diligently for these lizards, and when they catch sight of them they tear them into small pieces so that they are not able to give information to the one who sent them. If one of these animals happens to escape from them, they fall into great sorrow and despair, hourly expecting death, which sometimes from their despondency even leads to greater affirmation of the superstition in others"[15] (Krasheninnikov 1949:332, 333). From the information cited by Krasheninnikov, it can be seen that the Itel'men treated the newt with great superstition, seeing in it the essence of the underworld.

In shamanic mythology the serpent may also be classified as a member of the underworld.

Images of the snake (serpents) appear in the portable art of northern Asia rather early. One "buckle" in the form of a plate of mammoth tusk is quite famous; on its concave side were carved the "undulating coiling bodies" of three snakes crawling in one direction. This object was found By M. M. Gerasimov in 1929 at the Pribaikal'e site of Mal'ta, the age of which is about 25,000 years (Abramova 1960:Fig. 7:2).

The representation of snakes in small art is characteristic for the Paleolithic. All known serpent figurines (two-dimensional or in the round) were found within the territory of the former USSR (with the exception of one from Mas d'Azil in France). Altogether, objects with an image of a serpent are few in number. Researchers note one peculiarity: images of reptiles are usually arranged parallel to the longest

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[15] L. S. Berg, commenting on the text, notes: "That which Krasheninnikov calls a lizard is the Siberian four-toed newt, widespread from Kamchatka to the Eastern European part of the Union" (Krasheninnikov 1949:333 [in notes]).

edge of an object (see the images on the plate from Mal'ta [Abramova 1960:Fig. 7:2]) and are most often in a horizontal position (Toporov 1972:91).

The snake image played a significant role in the world view of agricultural tribes. Images of snakes in the form of painting or relief appliques on vessels were found in the culture of the Anausk tribes of the fourth and third millennia B.C. (southern Turkmen). In vastly larger numbers, similar images (often in compositions with animals, birds, and people) are noted in paintings of vessels in the Near East and glyptics (on cylinders, seals, and stamps) of Mesopotamia. However, beliefs connected with snakes are also reflected in the ideology of hunting-fishing tribes of the forest zone of Eurasia. A sculpted image (of wood) of a crawling snake was found during excavations at the Gorbunovskii peat bog (Urals), its outline exactly duplicating the illustration on the handle of one of the Seisminsk daggers (Eding 1940:65, Figs. 61, 67).

The efflorescence of the serpent cult in eastern Siberia is connected with the Bronze Age (*Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987:350). Documentary confirmation of this cult includes the small sculptures found in burials in the cemeteries of Shumilikha and Shiverskii, as well as images of snakes on cliffs along the Angara and Olekma Rivers (*Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987:350).

A three-dimensional image of a snake (of bone), combining in itself additionally the form of a phallus, was found in Layer II of the Neolithic Boismana II site (Primor'e) (Brodianskii 1998:96, Fig. 2:8).

Archaeological sites of the second millennium B.C. reveal evidence of rather broad ethnocultural connections between regions often substantially distant from one another. This explains the similarity of subjects in representational art and mythology. In the opinion of researchers, myths of the foremost agricultural regions, idiosyncratically interpreted, penetrate into the sphere of hunting-fishing tribes (*Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987:350).

The above-cited archaeological resources provide the image of a crawling snake, which, in my opinion, is also present in one of the objects (Lebedintsev 1996:158, Fig. 10:2) of the Tokareva culture (northern Priokhot'e), while a stone pendant from this same culture features the figure of a snake in the form of a spiral (Fig. 26:1).

The image of spirals, characteristic for the petroglyphs of Sakachi-Alian (lower Amur), is encountered on ceramics in the Kondon culture and in the cultural layers of the Voznesenovskaya site, dating to the end of the fourth and the third millennia B.C. (Okladnikov 1971). A spiral-like ribbon design is also noted on a piece of ceramics from a site near Nikolaevsk-na-Amure dating to the end of the second and first half of the first millennia B.C. (Okladnikov and Medvedev 1981:223, 224).

Researchers consider the spiral-like decoration as one of the characteristics differentiating lower Amur art from the northern Neolithic cultures (Okladnikov 1981), but the spiral was also known to the northern tribes. In the north of European Russia there are enigmatic surface spiral features composed of large stones—the renowned White Sea labyrinths. Similar megalithic structures are known in other European countries: Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, and England. Modern investigators of the White Sea labyrinths treat them as coming from the Karelian-Finnish epoch and as representing images of mythological snakes of the underworld (Burov 2001).

The number of objects of portable art with such symbolism is not limited. Several small, early Eskimo paddles (Fig. 42) of walrus tusk (ceramic stamps) have been discovered, decorated with a spiral, from the Uelen (Arutiunov and Sergeev 2006:Fig. 79:1) and Ekven (Leskov and Müller-Beck 1994:151, Fig. 248:3) cemeteries, as well as among the Seshan antiquities (Dikov 2003:176, Pl. 168). Spiral-like flourishes also decorate a "winged object" found in the Ekven cemetery (Leskov and Müller-Beck 1994:107).

The cosmic symbolism of images with two spiral-like coiled snakes having their heads, jaws open, directed toward each other is seen in a composition on a dedication stone of the fifth and sixth centuries (Gottland Island). Over the images of the snakes was pecked a solar sign, and somewhat lower, a tree

with all its features (crown, trunk, roots) formed the axis of symmetry. At the very bottom of the composition is the boat carrying the dead (*Mify narodov* . . ., 1987:287). The object represents a model of the world in the classical form in vertical projection (based on Scandinavian mythology).

In the Far East (from Primor'e in the south to Chukotka in the north), illustrations of spirals are directly or indirectly connected with ceramics in most cases.

Symbolic Images

In the small sculpture of Northeast Asia, there is a small group of symbolic images (crescents, a deer [?] head with a crescent, crescents, figurine of a star, and female and male symbols).

A crescent from the Bol'shoi Kamen' site (Kamchatka) (Fig. 29:2) is the closest to one from Volosovo in technique, manner of execution, and form. The Volosovo image differs only by having a small waist in the center (for suspension?) (Zamyatnin 1948:Fig. 6:1). A second Kamchatka crescent from Layer II of the Avacha site (Fig. 29:3) (Dikova 1983:Pl. 47:7) is completely identical to a find from Tikhmanga (*Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987: first color insert, reverse side). A Chukotka crescent (Fig. 29:1) was executed somewhat more crudely. By its features it is closer to a figurine from the Neolithic Repishche site (northwestern Russia) (Zimina 1987:12). Among the sculpted images that are identified as combinations, and conveying the shape of an animal with a lunar sign, described by Zamyatnin, is a zoomorphic figurine (of a bear) styled by the "addition of the upturned horns of a crescent on its back" (Zamyatnin 1948:110). In Chukotkan sculpture (Fig. 29:5), a similar crescent was placed on the head of a deer and is associated with new (rising, like a new moon) antlers ["spike buck"]. Such images (sometimes with a solar symbol on the back or head of the animal) are characteristic for cliff illustrations of northern Europe. In Zamyatnin's opinion, the value of such combined images "both in flint sculpture and in cliff illustrations" consists of the fact that they "reveal the semantic content of isolated images of animals (deer, swan, bear), which, for that time, already had complex meaning, such as forms of spirits or deities connected with the sky" (Zamyatnin 1948:110).

Among Zamyatnin's materials are figurines with multi-toothed projections, similar to the one found at the Chukotkan Nizhnetytyl'skaya IV site (Fig. 29:4). He finds parallels for these images in cliff illustrations in outlines of "Besov'e sledki" ("small footprints of the demon") (Zamyatnin 1948:110, Fig. 6:4, 19, 20). Similar multi-toothed figurines are probably cosmological symbols.

Researchers note a "rather high level of observational astronomy" among peoples of the Upper Paleolithic, Neolithic, and Paleo-Metal, which, in their opinion, was brought on not just by economic needs. Observing how celestial bodies influence nature, "summoning, in particular, the change in the time of year that in so many ways determines the external circumstances of life," primitive man assumed that they also influenced his personal life. Therefore, observations of the sun and moon acquired ritual significance (Vud 1981:267).

A special place in small sculpture of the northern Far East is occupied by the phallic image (Fig. 30). It is interesting to observe in which cultures and at which sites phallic symbols are encountered.[16]

Sculpture of phallic appearance has been identified as far back as the Upper Paleolithic. The material complex of the Mezinskaya site contains 11 images of birds, in which the symbolic reflection of a male sign occurs (Abramova 1992:34). At the same time, on the body of the little birds were engraved triangular signs creating a combination of the traits of both sexes (Demirkhanyan 1985:135). Such a combination can also be traced in Upper Paleolithic statuettes from the Island of Malta, which have an

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[16] See Part II with regard to phallic symbolism.

elongated phallic top, as if growing from an oval trunk (a vertical oval symbolizes a woman's vagina—M. K.) (Demirkhanyan 1985:134). There are also phallic objects in the bone inventory from the Upper Paleolithic Khotylevskaya site (Zaveriaev 1978:Fig. 5), but the most interesting in a series of phallic sculptures of the Upper Paleolithic is a rod from the Achinskaya site embodying the "union of symbols of male and female principles" (Larichev and Sazonov 1989:171), a brilliant semiotic analysis of which was made by Larichev (Larichev and Sazonov 1989:171). Researchers have connected the ornamental design on these objects with various calendric cycles (for example, the nine months of female pregnancy—see Zaveriaev 1978), and with paleo-astronomical calculations (as a "distinctive reflection . . . of astronomical observations that were first conducted by early people through an elaboration of a lunar-solar calendric system, and then in the course of the practical use of it as well" [Larichev 1985:84]). Deciphering of the sign system of the Achinskaya rod permitted the researcher to treat it as a "'micro-model' of the Universe . . . similar in type to other phallic models of the world" (Larichev and Sazonov 1989:171). Bone and ivory, particularly mammoth tusk, served as raw material for making phallic figurines in the Upper Paleolithic. This was most likely the result of the ideal plasticity of the material for applying all kinds of checks, holes, and other elements of geometric design requiring great clarity and precision.

The phallic form had its most widespread embodiment in round sculpture during the Eneolithic period and the Bronze Age over a relatively vast area of Eurasia, which investigators connect with the establishment of a production economy, in particular, agriculture. However, finds of objects of phallic appearance are also noted in the Neolithic, which reflects a certain circle of ideas peculiar also to a society with an appropriating economic model.

In a female burial on the Panteleikha River (Yakutia) 11 objects of bone and antler were found, which represent phallus halves that do not match, though on some specimens traces are noted of attachment to some object (Kistenev 1980:86). Besides the Neolithic stone inventory (Middle Neolithic, but at the boundary with the Late Neolithic according to the definition of the researchers of the burial), the complex houses a multitude of bone items: a pendant with decoration in the form of zigzag-like/snake-like figures and a series of triangles; stylized images of birds; a disk with hoof-like handles and solar symbolism; and a broad disk of mammoth tusk with rows of small linear anthropomorphic figures engraved on it in groups, similar to images of souls of deceased ancestors on drums of Nganasani shamans. In a word, a full set of shamanic attributes necessary for him or her—judging by the identification of the bone remains, the deceased was a woman—during the trip to the distant spaces of the universe and underworld, as well as in medical practice. The assemblage of the bone inventory from the Rodinskoe burial has a complex symbolism with a graphic code requiring steadfast attention and non-traditional methods of investigation similar to those which were used by Larichev for uncovering the semantic meaning of pendants of the well-known necklace from Mal'ta and the Achinskaya rod.

On Hokkaido Island in Japan, during the process of excavating camps, villages, and kurgans, phallic images in the form of stone rods—*sekibo*—are found fairly often. The largest sekibos, measuring from 1 to 2.5 m, are assigned to the Middle Jomon. In the final Jomon their dimensions are reduced by 40 to 50 cm. Beside these, the Japanese finds include "clay images of a phallus with two heads" (Chan Su Bu 1978:179).

Stone, ceramic, and bone phallic images are also known of in Far Eastern cultures, and their chronological range is rather broad—from the Paleolithic up to the present time. A small sculpture of a snake/phallus was found during excavations of the Neolithic Boismana II site in Primor'e (Brodianskii 1993:Fig. 2:8). A series of stone phallic figurines, including those with snake images, was found on the lower Amur (Brodianskii 1996:112).

Sculpted phallic images were found in the material complex of House No. 3 at the Neolithic Kondon site. The circumstances under which the phallic items were found is interesting. The most remarkable of the finds in the house was a small female sculpture of Mongoloid appearance—the famous "Kondon Madonna" (Okladnikov 1983:22). Here in fragments of small ceramic vessels was an object in the form of a rod 2 cm in diameter with a blunt end. Beside it stood a small jar-like vessel 4 cm in diameter with a

hole in the center of the bottom. At a distance of 25 cm from these items lay a stone phallus (Okladnikov 1983:18). Thus, in this case a combination is observed: phallus, small female sculpture and rod, ceramic (ritual?) vessel. Almost the same combination of symbols (except the ceramics) was noted at a Neolithic site in the western part of Honshu Island (Japan) that was made up of 12 houses arranged in pairs. Near each pair of houses were ritual objects: a stone post, a *dogu* (a female figurine), and a phallic image (Brodianskii 1987:68, Fig. 7). As researchers suggest, the myth of the solar family was reflected in this particular arrangement of the sculptures near the houses (Brodianskii 1987:69).

The symbolic combination of a small phallic sculpture with a ceramic vessel can be seen in the archaeological complexes of Bronze Age western Siberia. In the vicinity of Tyumen' a small flat-bottomed ceramic vessel was found with a clay pestle-like mask figurine concealed in it (Moshinskaya 1976:38, Fig. 5). V. I. Moshinskaya notes "the close similarity displayed both in the overall form of the whole statuette and in the details of the modeling of the face with well-known, pestle-like figures from the Minusinsk basin" (Moshinskaya 1976:38). E. B. Vadetskaya, who investigated the Minusinsk pestle-like figurines, looks at the fact that they were found primarily in women's or children's burials. In her interpretation, these are images of dolls/idols. Substantiating the fallacy of such treatment through ethnographic parallels, Moshinskaya cites V. N. Chernetsov's view that "these could be images of deceased family members" (Moshinskaya 1976:59). In our opinion, the Tyumen' pair—the vessel and small pestle-like sculpture within it—are most likely fertility symbols. The form of both objects point to this idea. The vessel can be correlated with the vulva, if the small pestle placed within it is considered a phallic form symbolizing the life-giving male principle. At the same time, certain symbolism was cloaked in the form of the vessel. It has a steeply convex body with nipple-like appliques and it can be perceived as a female breast or the stomach of a pregnant woman, in equal measure the source of female power and health for the expected offspring, necessary for continuation of the family and tribe, and for sustenance of the social group.

During excavations at the western Chukotkan Neolithic Tytyl' IV site, Locus 2, we found a pestle of phallic form (Fig. 38). In the Samus'-Seisminsk period in western Siberia there were pestles and grinders (or "smoothers") with phallic sculptures on the handles (Kosarev 1984:Figs. 20:9; 21:4). Such artifacts are also noted in eastern Kazakhstan (Chernikov 1960:Pl. XV:4). These kinds of pestles are characteristic "for all the sites of the Andronovskaya and Srubnaya cultures . . . as an inalienable part of a primitive agricultural economy" (Chernikov 1960:29). M. F. Kosarev views boot-like stone grinders, "which have handles made in the form of a human head or phallus," as evidence of an agricultural fertility cult (Kosarev 1984:112). Judging by Yakutian (Rodinka II) and Tytyl' finds, ideas connected with a fertility cult could also have arisen in a society with an appropriating type of economy.

In material complexes of the Botaiskaya culture (Eneolithic) in the Ural-Irtysh' inter-river area, pestles/phalluses are encountered, as are hammers with a phallic-appearing head. Along with this, among the artifacts were noted "scrapers" or "straighteners" for arrows, which, in V. F. Zaibert's opinion, were used "as mystical idols" in ceremonies connected "with the cults of fertility, a woman of recent confinement, and the woman keeper of the hearth" (Zaibert 1993:226, 227). One hypothesis is that a "scraper" ("straightener") is a maximally stylized female symbol that was used at "mystical copulation of the female principle (symbol) with the arrow, widely treated in ethnography as the male symbol, as a symbol of death and rebirth" (Zaibert 1993:226, 227). In archaeological complexes of the Botaiskaya culture, cult phalluses of stallions made from aurochs horn were found (Zaibert 1993:Fig. 48). This emphasizes how important the cult of the stud horse was in ceremonial rites of the Botai people, as it was the power, stamina, and health of the stud horse that determined the "quality of the offspring, and ultimately, the well-being of the people" (Zaibert 1993:226, 227). The horse-aurochs opposition symbolized the increased production power of the stallion.

Stone pestles with bears' heads, found in the Neolithic sites of Pribaikal'e, are one variant of the widespread phallic pestles (Okladnikov 1950b:331). Connecting these finds with the "idea of fertility and the idea of reproduction of living beings," Okladnikov cites a ritual of the Dakota Indians, which specified that in the spring festival the men, disguised as bison, use artificial phalluses, the intention of which

was to make the bison cows fertile, thus increasing the herd (Okladnikov 1950b:331). A similar mystical means is a phallic pestle with an image of the head of this animal. If the totemic ideas of the peoples of Siberia and the Far East are taken into account, phallic pestles with bears' heads can be explained as "evidence of the cult of the male ancestor, which symbolizes the active male principle in a society of forest hunters and in its cosmogony, and the significance it played in the act of hunting as the livelihood of the community." (Okladnikov 1950b:331).

Ideas connected with honoring the ancestors, both as protectors and benefactors, occurred in the somewhat unusual phallic pestles found during excavations on the Antilles Islands. The upper parts of the pestles were decorated with masks/visages of a skull-like character (Okladnikova 1979a:Pl. XXVIII:5–11). As the researcher suggests, in these small art works "the mythological subject of the Great Original Mother of All Living Things is reflected—the Mighty Ancestral Spirit." These finds are more than 6,000 years old (Okladnikova 1979a:119).

Stone pillars encountered in many parts of Puerto Rico are also connected with a cult of ancestors. They have an elongated tear-shaped form and "a design of cup-like depressions and skull-like visages." A similar combination of symbols may be evidence of the existence of an ancestor cult connected in some degree with a fertility cult among Puerto Ricans (Okladnikova 1979a:119).

Phallic symbolism is also present in burial complexes. Thus, in the Onon River valley (Zabaikal'e) stelae of phallic appearance have been noted at the cemeteries of Ul'ba I and Ul'ba II (Okladnikov and Zaporozhskaya 1970:Pls. 80, 82, 83, 89–91).

In Yustyd, a cult center in Gorno Altaisk, pestles and unmodified phallic-shaped stones were found in a sacrificial "hoard" at the base of the Central Deer Stone (Kubarev 1979:Fig. 11). Also, natural boulders of phallic form were considered deities and set up by the Japanese at forks in roads (Ksenofontova 1981:76).

Cults connected with idealization of the male principle existed among many peoples of Eurasia and America up to the beginning of the twentieth century. This was reflected in the use of phallic symbols for ritual dress or use of these symbols during performance of certain ceremonies. A two-dimensional image of a phallus on a metal plate is part of the characteristic dress of an Orochi shaman. Receptacles of heavenly spirits/helpers produced in the shape of bears, artiodactyls, and predatory animals and birds were fastened to these objects (Mazin 1984: Pl. 20:4).

The Khanti and Mansi made a wooden phallus during the ceremonial festival of the slain bear. This custom has been preserved up to the present day among the Shortsi, who live in Khakasiya (Potapov 1953:151). A natural bear's penis was kept by the Udege women as an apotrope or security against nonfertility (Okladnikova 1979:67).

In the pantheon of Buriat shamans, a special role was played by the male acting as the embodiment of Ukhaa Solbon or Solbon-tengri, one of the great spirits of heavenly origin who "had the closest relationship with livestock breeding cults of the Buriat, personifying the great productive force of nature. It was also worshiped as a deity that sent good sons . . . . As a deity endowed with good productive force, Ukhaa Solbon was represented with emphasized sexual traits, disproportionately and imposingly large" (Ivanov 1957:144). The roots of these representations, which are artistically reflected in some cliff drawings of Eurasia, are lost to antiquity. So, for example, in the beliefs of the Scandinavian Saami of the Bronze Age, the "heavenly man" was considered to be the god of fertility and the sun, sporting phallic features (*Mify narodov* . . ., 1987:287).

In the mythology of many peoples, the phallus is identified with the mushroom shape. A Ket myth, for example, explains mushrooms as phalluses drooping in the woods (*Mify narodov* . . ., 1987:335). It may be possible to envision a mushroom image in the headdress of the Yenisei Evenk, cited by S. V. Ivanov, as a symbol of the life-creating force, signifying the creation of new life. The figure of a man cut from a black hide and sewn to a piece of orange material (Ivanov 1954:Fig. 51:1) personifies the shaman's ancestor (Ivanov 1954:155). The orange material, to which the anthropomorphic image is sewn, is

cut out in the form of a mushroom/phallus, and has beads embroidered (?) along the edge of the whole appliqué, adding great significance. In this opposition—the orange (close to red) color of the phallus/mushroom and black color of the deceased ancestor—is "read" the meaning of this combination, constructed on the idea of life and death, the idea of new birth, and ultimately, eternity

Exhibits brought by L. Ya. Shternberg from Japan—seven small ceramic sculptures of young badgers—and preserved in the MAE RAN, serve as an illustration of the semantic analogy of the phallus and mushroom. Two of the figurines represent wandering monks or actors (Ksenofontova 1981:66), on whose belts hang a small phallic-shaped bell "that attracts attention to itself with its disproportionately large size and probably points out the meaning and significance of these images" (Ksenofontova 1981:66, Fig. 2). The semantic center of the third small sculpture, a small standing badger, in R. A. Ksenofontova's opinion, "is a large—in comparison with the figurine itself—mushroom-like image in the right paw of the badger. Emphasis on the mushroom-like object is increased by means of a gold dye that covers it" (Ksenofontova 1981:66, Fig. 4). The investigator notes that "in the representational practice of the Japanese cult the mushroom was a phallic symbol, with which red and gold colors were usually connected as well" (Ksenofontova 1981:69). A disproportionately large genital organ in some figurines emphasizes the reproductive power of the badger and the being it represents in sculpture (Ksenofontova 1981:69).

Initially in early Japan, phallic images were symbols personifying strength, and the provision of descendants, and thereby the continuation of life. Later, abstract ideas about a strong, healthy life were formed, "and the phallic symbol began to be perceived as the antipode of death, of a force counteracting various illnesses." Investigators of Japanese phallicism propose three stages in the development of these ideas: initially phallic emblems were symbols, then they became mystical objects, and later they were transformed into deities (Ksenofontova 1981:74).

Phallic deities, in a personified or symbolic form, male and female, were set up along roads in Japan and served to protect a person from infections and epidemic illnesses. The second important function of the phallic cult in Japan was connected with agriculture and ceremonies directed toward guaranteeing abundant crops. Phallic images were an element of Japanese agricultural ceremonies up to the twentieth century (Ksenofontova 1981:78).

In the forms of phallic deities are a combination of two polar ideas—birth and death, death and birth. This is evidenced by ceremonies carried out in "bear" festivals among many peoples of the world and the use of pestles with skull-like visages by the early population of the Antilles Islands, as well as with festivals connected with the awakening of nature and the arrival of spring in Siberia. According to the calendar of the Even of northwestern Verkhoyan'e, the arrival of the sun and the new year is the plane of existence where the old year is destroyed and the new one born (Alekseev 1994:184, 185). With this in mind, we turn our attention to several types of early weapons having phallic form or having some parts with phallic features. This especially concerns axes-hammers. It is possible to cite as an example a shaped axe/hammer found on the shore of Lacha Lake (Studzitskaya 1983:Fig. 2). The mushroom-shaped, clearly discernible butt is marked "with a well defined neck." Below the curve of the neck can be seen two symmetrically located hemispherical prominences. The researcher compares it with pestle-like drilled stone axes and interprets it as a very stylized image of the head of an animal (Studzitskaya 1983:131). In my view, this axe has a phallic form.

In a Bronze Age culture of northwestern China, stone swords are found together with well-developed forms of bronze swords. Some of these have a mushroom-like shape (Varenov and Komissarov 1985:Fig. 6:3, 4). The investigators note their ritual use (in particular, as burial inventory), stressing that "most often they were made of nephrite" (Varenov and Komissarov 1985:110). The authors state: "At the end of Western Chou they lost all external similarity with bronze fighting swords and were merged with things of purely ritual assignment: scepters of the Gui and Chan" (Varenov and Komissarov 1985:112).

A scepter as a sign of authority, power, and courage is also associated with the phallic symbol. We note that phallic symbolism also appears in some examples of military weapons, such a daggers and

swords during the Bronze Age as well as in later times. A whole series of such daggers was found in the Altai (Chlenova 1981:Figs. 3, 8, 11, 13). Similar forms with "mushroom-shaped hat and butterfly-like hilt" are known to have been found over a huge territory including the Caucasus, Dzungarian Ala Tau, Altai, Minusinsk basin (Chlenova 1981:Fig. 4:4–6), Fergana, and Pamir (Litvinskii 1972:113, Pl. 40:1, 2, 5). Savromatsk swords of the seventh to fourth centuries B.C. also had a "mushroom-like handle and butterfly-shaped hilt" (Pshenichnyuk 1983:Pl. XLIV:16–18). Bone knife handles found in late Kargopol' sites belong to this same time period. They, too, have a characteristic phallic shape (Oshibkina 1968:Fig. 1:1–5). It is possible that at the root of this symbolism initially lay the same ideas connected with death (making a sacrifice) in the name of propitiation of the gods, which the investigators note also in the semantics of the arrow, signifying the act of uniting the offering with the earth. It may be that phallic features were originally added to ritual weapons intended as an offering.

Unidentified Figurines

Unidentified figurines comprise an isolated group in which ornithomorphic, zoomorphic, and possibly mythological beings or natural symbols are embodied (Fig. 31). Morphological features and technical methods speak in favor of the fact that these objects are not tools, but bear a representative character. By means of multi-directional spall removal, retouch, and sawing, emphasis was placed on such details as ears (Fig. 31:1, 3, 5), and a neck groove and extremities are clearly marked (Fig. 31:3, 5, 6). Sometimes the working of the slab simulates the form of this or that object, in which a bear (Fig. 31:5), a seal (Fig. 31:11), or a tree (Fig. 31:10) is "recognized." All the images are unique, with no analogies. Only one figurine, which is reminiscent in outline of a tree, might be compared with some specimens of "indeterminate character" described by Zamyatnin (1948:Fig. 7:5, 6), in which it is possible to recognize the tree-like image or deer antlers.[17]

One cannot help but also notice stones of natural zoomorphic form that were found along with other artifacts during the survey and excavation of some sites: a shaped pebble (Fig. 32:1) reminiscent of a mammoth (Upper Paleolithic layer of the Bol'shoi El'gakhchan I site), a tiny pebble of chalcedony (Fig. 32:2) similar to the head of a goose (Neolithic complex from Lake El'gygytgyn), and an elongated flat pebble with two natural pits/"eyes" on the rounded end (Fig. 32:3) and with a natural "design" reminiscent of a burbot (Tytyl' IV site, Locus 2).

While making fetishes of objects in the landscape—mountains and cliffs of anthropo- and zoomorphic form—primitive man could not avoid noticing small stones also, which in his view demonstrated the same qualities that he saw or wanted to see in the sculptures that he made with his own hands. The presence of such shaped stones of natural origin in early cultural complexes does not seem accidental (Fig. 32), which is corroborated by similar finds, typologically identical, even in the Urals (materials of Yu. B. Serikov currently being prepared for publication).

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[17] An image of deer antlers in a stone sculpture was found among the Canadian Inuit (Rousselot 1994:101). It is identical to ones illustrated by S. N. Zamiatnin (1948:Fig. 7:2, 7, 8).

2.

The Role of Small Sculpture in Religious Ceremonial Practice of the Peoples of Northern Eurasia

(Ethnographic Sources, Myths, and Folklore)[18]

Anthropomorphic Images

Small stone sculpture reflects a historically determined strata of the spiritual culture of primitive society imbued with the concepts people had about the surrounding environment and world in general (in its global—or cosmic—scale), beliefs, and cults. All aspects of the character of their world-view and primitive ideology are reflected in concentrated form in the most conservative sphere of social perception—the mythology and religious ceremonial activity of these early groups. Some elements of their spiritual heritage, with origins lost in the Stone Age, are preserved fragmentarily among the native populations of northern Eurasia, not just in oral folk creation, but also in the form of cult objects. Besides archaeological resources, these materials hold the most prospects for discovery of the semantics and functional assignment of pieces of portable art.

The accumulation of ideas about fetishes and the specific uses of sacred objects, in the opinion of ethnographers, is directly dependent upon the character of established social behavior (Simchenko 1976:259). The making of small anthropomorphic images of stone emerged during specific stages of man's awareness of his surrounding natural environment and was postulated by its anthropomorphization. Fetishization was initially associated with natural objects outwardly reminiscent of man himself. Up until recently, the worship of a stone of unusual shape or form was common among many peoples. The sources of this worship, judging by their relationship to such naturally shaped objects as beings of the female sex, were founded during a period of matriarchy, which was completely formed during the Neolithic period and which served as a "social base for a cult of female deities" (Tokarev 1964a:17). With the change from maternal clan to paternal, male personages ("grandfathers") emerge along with the female ones ("mothers," "grandmothers").

The worship of natural stones or crudely trimmed wooden posts imitating human forms was preserved in many European countries: France, England, Scotland, and on the Scandinavian Peninsula. Some researchers connect these objects from the prehistoric period with primitive phallic cults (Donini 1962:60). A cult of sacred stones has also been noted among peoples of northern Eurasia: the Saami, Nenets, Entsi, Nganasani, the Ob Ugrians, Yukagir, Evenk, Yakut reindeer herders, and Eskimos. In most cases the stones or piles of stones that served as objects of worship had a human-like form (Simchenko 1976:256). The cult of stone fetishes among the Nganasani and Entsi reflects the most archaic stratum of beliefs connected with ideas of an Earth Mother as a supernatural being. Unusually shaped stones were thought to be separated from her body (Simchenko 1976:256). They were addressed as "mother," "grandmother," or "old woman." Among the Saami, Entsi, Nganasani, and Yukagir, stone fetishes were

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[18] Materials on the religious ceremonial sculpture of certain Northeast Asian peoples are drawn on in more detail. These include the Chukchi, Itel'men, Koryak, Yukagir, Even, and Yakut. On the sculpture of the Ugrian group of peoples—Samodii, Evenk, and Dolgan—see the monographic research of S. V. Ivanov (1970).

also considered female beings. Ethnographers note that the idea of a maternal beginning of all forces of nature lay at the base of these views (Simchenko 1976:258). Stones in the tundra, reminiscent of a person standing erect or a half-length image, were thought among the Nganasani to be their ancestral sacred relics. In some cases, natural stone was slightly modified in order to increase its similarity to a person. They "dressed" it, covering it with a hide, and changed the clothing three times a year (Gracheva 1977:219, 220). The Nganasani addressed stone idols with requests to bring success in deer hunting, inasmuch as they connected those places with hunting (with spears) or the calving of wild deer (Simchenko 1976:256).

Honoring boulders and unusual places on the landscape remotely reminiscent of a person is also noted among the Nenets. On Vaigach Island two natural cliffs of human-like form were considered sacred. They knew them by the names "Old Man" and "Old Woman." Similar to the Nganasani, the Nenets modified natural stone projections and individual stones, providing them with an anthropomorphic form. Statues in the form of a truncated bust of black stone or a stone idol with copper eyes have been found (Khomich 1977:10, 11). The vast territories of the Malozemel'skaya tundra, the northern Urals, and the Tazovskaya tundra all contained areas with such statues (Khomich 1977:12).

The Yukagir also considered stones of anthropomorphic form sacred. At the mouth of the Stolbovaya River (the right tributary of the Kolyma) is an outcrop that was pointed out to me by the Korkodonsk Yukagir N. N. and O. D. D'yachkov. In these rocky outcrops they saw the "Old Man" and the "Old Woman." The Eskimos used these same names to show respect to two standing stones at Uelen, the northeasternmost point of the Chukchi Peninsula (Vdovin 1977:139).

Yakut reindeer herders called sacred stones "grandfather stone" or "man stone" (Simchenko 1976:257). The sacred tradition of worshiping anthropomorphic fetishes occurred over a large territory—"from the western Ural peoples to far in the east, uninterrupted to any significant degree in the tundra zone" (Simchenko 1976:256).

An outcrop at the mouth of the Kolyma is called "mother" by the Yukagir and "hole in the woman" by the Yakut. This outcrop was an object of worship by all who came here to hunt, that is, for the Yukagir, Yakut, and Chukchi. It was believed that this stone attracted deer. This cult place was not a sanctuary of any specific people, tribe, or family. Researchers assign the making of these sacred hunting places to the period preceding the formation of the paternal clan (Simchenko 1976:258).

Besides monumental stone fetishes that were primarily of natural origin and were communal-tribal sacred objects, there existed personal or family fetishes represented by small pebbles taken from sacred cliffs or found under extraordinary circumstances. These types of stone fetishes were widespread among the forest and tundra Yukagir and among the northern Samodii, and were worshiped by them as female beings. In the opinion of some investigators, these beliefs connected with the image of mother earth, from which all life proceeds, "are peculiar to the Uralic-speaking peoples of northern Eurasia and distinct from the beliefs of other peoples of Siberia and the northern New World" (Simchenko 1976:264).

Among the Nenets the functions of small anthropomorphic stones were separated: some were patrons of sea mammal hunting, others were for reindeer herding, some were considered patrons of the family, and others protectors from illness (Khomich 1977:12, Fig. 3). Besides these "guardians," "patrons," and "protectors," a variety of idols existed among them that were made in memory of great-grandfathers or grandmothers and were present at the births of infants. Investigators see the origin of the ancestor cult in these ideas (Simchenko 1976:262). Tribal sacred objects of the Nenets were shrines with anthropomorphic images—patrons of the hunt—and family sacred objects were idols—helpers in the hunt (Simchenko 1976:262). Small stones were also connected with a successful hunt among the Nganasani. This kind of stone was placed permanently inside the tent and represented a woman, and it was a woman who took care of it (dressed and fed it) though the role of the fetish was to guarantee success in the hunt (Gracheva 1977:221).

The Ket kept anthropomorphically shaped stones as sacred objects of the family. These fetishes, together with their wooden analogies, also embodied the female principle. Their assignment was connected

with functions of woman/mother, hostess of the family, and keeper of the hearth. They were believed to facilitate births, help children grow, and protect them against illnesses (Alekseenko 1971:268). The attachment to anthropomorphic stone fetishes is probably an echo from early times when such figurines, just as tools, were made of stone. Researchers note that female images in the form of crudely made stone and clay figurines are encountered in burials and in Neolithic layers in various places: in Asia Minor, the Aegean Archipelago, the Balkan and Iberian Peninsulas, in France, England, and Scandinavia (Tokarev 1964a:15). S. A. Tokarev sees a genetic connection between these images and Paleolithic female figurines personifying the clan or family hearth (Tokarev 1964a:15).

According to the mythology of the Saami, Nenets, Entsi, Nganasani, and Yukagir, fire was also represented in the form of a woman, continually bearing daughters in the shape of tongues of flame (Simchenko 1976:265). According to the mythology of the Yukagir, the Fire Mother looked like a naked young girl. The Fire Mother forewarned members of the family of approaching danger and protected the women (Simchenko 1976:266).

Fire as a woman emerged among the Evenk, Nivkhi, Nanai, Ket, Ainu, Dolgan, Shortsi, Teleut, Buriat, Kakasi, and other peoples of Siberia and the Far East (Simchenko 1976:266).

The mythological form of the "hostess of the fire" represented in the form of a girl, woman, or old woman was sustained among many native peoples of northern Eurasia. Among the Evenk, the hearth was personified in a female image like a "grandmother." The Dolgan, worshiping its female embodiment, called it "matushka" [mother]. The Nganasani and Entsi saw in the domestic hearth the "mother of fire." The Nanai considered the hearth as having the form of the bent old mother of fire (Tokarev 1964b:256-261). By regarding the fire in the hearth as the chief family and clan sacred object, the family and clan idols of each home were cloaked with the mantle of equal respect (Tokarev 1964b:256-261). These ideas are a distant echo of the maternal clan. Sometimes, along with the female personification of the hearth fire, male personification, which reflects patriarchal clan ideology, is also encountered, as, for example, among the Giliak (Tokarev 1964b:256-261). The embodiment of the main family/clan sacred objects in female sculpture, the commanding role of women in family ceremonies, and the keeping of the cult objects by a hostess of a house—all this attests to the survival of an archaic consciousness of a maternal community, which survived as anthropomorphic cult images among many peoples of northern Eurasia clear up to the twentieth century.

We will now turn to the ethnographic sources of the native population of extreme Northeast Asia: the Chukchi, Koryak, Even, Yukagir, Itel'men, and Yakut, and will dwell on those features connected with the making of anthropomorphic images in the cult ceremonial practices of these peoples, but not touching on ethnogenetic problems, which is outside our area of study.

The anthropomorphism of fire and various spirits inhabiting water and earth is reflected in the greatest degree among the Chukchi and Koryak reindeer herders. In their religious perception, the most significant place was occupied by the hearth, which was identified with fire—the source of light and warmth. Therefore, the most respected bundle of instruments was that for making fire (in Chukchi: *gyrgyrti*), the instruments serving as protectors of the family and herd (Ragtytval' 1986:171). Traditionally the bundle of gyrgyrti consisted of ten or more instruments, with an especially large number in families of the primary hearth, that is, in the families of the principal leaders (Ragtytval' 1986:171).

The wooden fire board was most often made from a root, the wood of which was considered softer. This instrument had a human-like form: a round head was carved on one end, and the eyes and mouth were marked, though in some cases the surface of the face was left smooth. The body could be straight or bent, depending on the form of the blank. Sometimes the extremities—in the form of shoots or projections—were denoted (*Etnograficheskie materialy* . . ., 1978:101). Along the whole board on one surface, special depressions—*lylet* or eyes—for starting a fire with a bow drill were hollowed out in one to three rows a small distance from each other. After long use the surface of the depressions became charred and rounded (Ragtytval' 1986) and acquired a cup-shaped form. A groove—like a neck—tied with fine cords interlaced with sinew threads for fastening it to the bundle defined the line between the head and the body

(Ragtytval' 1986). A new set of implements for making fire appeared in the complement of the family sacred objects when a boy child reached one year of age, since each boy was considered a future founder of a new hearth (Ragtytval' 1986:172). With the continued use of the fire board, the depressions were worn through and, according to the ideas of the Chukchi, lost their magical power. When this happened, they were burned (Ragtytval' 1986:172). W. G. Bogoras noted that the Chukchi considered the spring antler festival the best time for destroying worn-out sacred boards. The head was sometimes cut off the fire boards and attached to the bundle of sacred protectors, but most often the boards were completely burned up, and only small wooden images of them were added to the bundles (Bogoras 1939:57).

According to evidence from the members of the Northeastern Geographic Expedition, at festivals the Chukchi adorn the "deities of their deer and land" with willow branches or small strips of sinew, putting them on their necks. A bed of willow branches is laid out, and all this so that during severe snowstorms, when deer frequently become dispersed, the deities will drive them back to the herd (*Etnograficheskie materialy* . . ., 1978:101).

One reported use of fire boards during a festival of deer butchering is curious. On the second day, two hearths were laid out, before which were placed skins of the slaughtered animals with their heads and feet turned to the south, "because in the north, in this dark zone of the sky, there is no place for the sun." On the heads of the deer were placed wooden deities, "which serve them for making fire," inasmuch as before them, as the Chukchi say, "the fire should be inextinguishable." To a deity they directed the words: "We bring you an offering, and we will never forget you. Do not allow any misfortune to befall us, protect our herd, and preserve our wives" (*Etnograficheskie materialy* . . ., 1978:134). This automatically brings to mind cliff illustrations of the deer/sun, with symbols of a celestial body on the back or on the head of the animals. The ceremony described above took place in the eighteenth century and probably preserved ideas with roots in the Neolithic period.

In daily life the wooden fire boards were called the masters of the deer. According to Bogoras's observations, each fire board had its assignment: an older one was considered a patron of the herd, another one protected hunting, a third was used at an offering (Bogoras 1939:56). Researchers believe that such differentiation of function of fire boards existed in this way when the Chukchi had a complex economy and multi-herd deer breeding was only in the beginning stages. When it became the primary type of economy, the gyrgyrti acquired the function of protectors of the herd—"shepherds" (Ragtytval' 1986:171).

The dominant role of the instruments of the gyrgyrti among the multitude of other family sacred objects can be explained by the special place of fire in the world view of the Chukchi, as it was among other peoples of northern Siberia. "The chief place among sacred objects in the economy belongs to the hearth, to the fire of which each festival adds a sparkle, obtained by means of the inherited wooden instruments for making fire," wrote Bogoras. "Each family has its own fire. Families, whose fire comes from different lines of ancestors—even in cases where they have lived together many years—carefully keep their fire from any contact with anyone else's. The borrowing of fire from a neighbor is considered the greatest sin" (Bogoras 1939:54). Ethnographers note that the traditional relationship toward fire among the Chukchi has been preserved up to the present day. For both the dwelling hearth and ceremonial hearths out of doors during traditional festivals, they still used one of the wooden instruments of the bundle even in recent times, but the degree of blood relationship between members of individual Chukchi families was emphasized by the name "people having one fire" (Ragtytval' 1986:172).

In the hierarchy of Chukchi "patrons," the fire board "was considered master and elder among all the other spirits." "The role of midwife and the ability to increase the herd and family was attributed to it" (Anisimov 1967:123). It was on this foundation of early religious ideas that features of the new ideology connected with the emergence of the patrilineal family—which arose due to the development of reindeer herding—were built. To these new traits belonged inheritance connected with obtaining a herd and the transmission of fire from father to son, who became "the man with the chief implement for making fire" (Bogoras 1939:58).

The Chukchi fire board, with semantic roots going back to the matriarchal period (Anisimov 1967:123), is the materialized embodiment of the fire cult, represented in female form. Symbolic reflection of this form goes back to the Paleolithic, the symbolism of the implement on the whole attesting to this. The cup-like depressions for making fire are analogous to female symbols, which are noted among cliff illustrations in the Paleolithic and are preserved in Neolithic illustrations (Brodianskii 1996a:11-38). The bow drill, as an arrow in combination with a bow, has phallic symbolism. The process itself of making fire is comparable to the act of copulation by the male and female principles. Analogous symbolism is masked, for example, in the shaft straightener (a grooved instrument for calibrating arrow shafts) found in archaeological sites of northern Kazakhstan (Zaibert 1993).

Besides anthropomorphic fire boards, among the Chukchi (and some groups of Koryak [Vdovin 1977]) "small deities" existed, which were represented by "small forked branches" with carved projections for feet and a rounded part shaped like a head on top with a groove/neck for attachment. They were worn fastened to a belt or, among the women and children, on the fur parka. Figurines were considered personal protectors and guardians (*Etnograficheskie materialy* . . ., 1978). The name of these guardians—*tain'ykvyt*—translated literally from Chukchi is "those against which crashes, that which protects against misfortune" (Ragtytval' 1986:172). According to the observations of ethnographers, nowadays the tain'ykvyt is not attached to clothing, but is added to the common bundle, which on the day a child reaches one year of age, becomes his personal guardian amulet (Ragtytval' 1986:172). The bundle containing the fire board and personal protectors was the primary Chukchi sacred object, which they "fed" during production-economic festivals (after the calving, during the period of winter solstice, and so on), as well as in commemoration of significant family events (Ragtytval' 1986:172).

In the bundle were not only personal protectors, but also those objects to which were ascribed "power, will, and favor to a person" (stones, animal figurines, parts of burials, clothing accessories, etc.) (Ragtytval' 1986:175). In the pantheon of Chukchi protectors was another "defender" with an anthropomorphic appearance—the *okkamak*—which in translation from Chukchi means "wooden place for the death of evil forces" (Ragtytval' 1986:176). It was believed to be the protector of the yaranga (the Chukchi house), and sometimes they called it the protector of the hearth inasmuch as the idea of "house" and "hearth" were often identical (Ragtytval' 1986:176). The okkamak was made of a thick branch (more than 10 cm high), its lower part having bifurcated cut-off branches identified as legs. The upper part, imitating the head, was smoothed and differentiated from the body by a neck groove. Its symbolic clothing was a thin dressed hide taken from the shank of a deer (Ragtytval' 1986:177).

During the seasonal festivals there were certain guidelines for the "feeding" of the family sacred objects: first the mistress fed the house fire, then each implement for making fire, and finally, the okkamak (Ragtytval' 1986:189).

According to ethnographic data, there were both large anthropomorphic defenders and protectors among the Chukchi and other "more formless ones." They tied them "to some of their freight sleds" (*Etnograficheskie materialy* . . ., 1978:101).

The human-like figurines were not only made of wood. Images of people or deer are mentioned that were carved from hide, which the Chukchi wore on their neck. They "have nothing to do with their beliefs . . . these are no more than a sympathetic remedy for an illness given by their shaman; the Chukchi leave these amulets without regret, making new ones later" (Olsuf'ev 1896:245). Bogoras noted that among the Chukchi and Koryak, anthropomorphic amulets were made very crudely, whereas children's toys were made quite artistically (Bogoras 1939). The crude form of the anthropomorphic images possibly goes back to stone predecessors that are encountered in the archaeological sites of Chukotka. Interesting in this scheme is the ethnographic evidence of the existence among the Chukchi of human images of stone that were considered to be the supernatural husbands or wives of their possessors. When used in ceremonies they were called "ceremonial husband" or "ceremonial wife." In the Kolyma region, a female shaman pointed out to Bogoras a stone of unusual form with two projections on the ends similar to the forks of a "wooden spirit." The woman called it her husband and maintained that she loved it more than

her living husband. She asserted that almost all of her children were conceived from this stone (Fraikopf 1996:30).

Stone amulets, according to Krasheninnikov, also existed among the Koryak. "The Settled Koryak," he writes, "according to their strange superstition, have simple stones in place of wives: they dress them in a dress, lie down to sleep with them, and sometimes joke with them and entertain them, as if being amused. I obtained two such stones from a resident of Okerach in Ukinskaya Bay, one of them, which he called his wife, was larger; and the other, which was his son, was smaller. The larger one's name was *Yaitel'-Kamak* (Healing Stone) and the other was *Kalkak*" (Krasheninnikov 1949:458). According to the declaration of the Koryak, he "loves the stone wife more than his real one and he always takes Kalkak with him on the road and to the hunt" (Krasheninnikov 1949:458).

In another instance, a stone encased in the hide of a mountain sheep was brought by the Koryak for divining the selection of a child's name (Krasheninnikov 1949:459).

Such relationships with individual stones—dressing them in a dress, and using them in daily situations—leads to the assumption that in antiquity similar amulets had anthropomorphic form and were made purposefully. E. A. Alekseenko, studying the cult of domestic guardians—*alely*—among the Ket, notes close parallels among other peoples historically connected with the southern Siberian culture-language area. It is significant that these parallels concern not only ideas that are reflected in ceremonial practice, but "also the very images of the alely as a sculpted type" (Alekseenko 1977:54). Along with wooden alely, the Ket often kept natural stones (some small and others reaching 25 to 30 cm) reminiscent of a human figure. They also called these alely, assigning them to a series of female beings and guardians of the family, and the same ceremonial activities (feeding, replacement of old clothing, presentation of beads, and so on) were carried out in relation to them (Alekseenko 1977:54). The observations of ethnographers concerning stone amulets among the Chukchi and Koryak attest to a broader area of such ideas in antiquity, not limited just to the southern Siberian region. In the cited examples, the presence of fetishistic views is uncovered, reflecting "ideas of the supernatural in the crudest subjectively natural form" (Anisimov 1967:71) and preserved as relics of a matriarchal clan society up to the present day.

Ethnographic data attest to the fact that the creation of stone sculpture was preceded by the fetishization of natural objects of anthropomorphic form: mountain massifs and cliffs, individual stones and boulders. Legends arose about them, they became woven in the canvas of myths, surrounded by a halo of sacredness, and worshiped. Thus, in the first stage of religious representational work the "natural model" was used in cult ceremonial practice (Stoliar 1985). Not being content with an object in its natural form and worshiping its anthropomorphic qualities, "man very early begins to give to objects a human-like form (Fraikopf 1996:15). The primitive master emerges as a sculptor, slightly correcting and "humanizing" the natural object. The fragments that were created during the process of "sculpture" were used as fetishes (in this case, a part replaced the whole, possessing its supernatural qualities). The idea then probably came to man to anthropomorphize this part taken from the sacred object. Thus, the industry of portable stone anthropomorphic amulets arose, which existed alongside wooden and bone analogies that were easier to make. This was also possibly demanded by the nomadic way of life of hunting groups who traveled long and far from their sanctuaries, but always had with them part of the sanctuaries—their patron, protector, guardian—in the form of a small anthropomorphic figurine. The social structure of the primitive community exerted influence on the sphere of the cult, and depending on the former, the initial assignment of the anthropomorphic sculpture was changed (became more complicated or was lost). Among northeastern Paleo-Asiatics (the Chukchi, Koryak, Itel'men), features of an earlier organization—the maternal clan structure—could still be traced at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Owing to this, echoes of the world view, religious ideas, and creation of myths of Northeastern Paleo-Asiatics were preserved as remnants (elements of cult ceremonial attributes and ceremonial activities) up to the present time, which contributes in some degree to the "reading" of the semantics and assignment of these archaeological items of portable art.

Anthropomorphizing spirits and conferring human-like images on them is most clearly represented among Northeastern Paleo-Asiatics by the Itel'men and Chukchi. In the spiritual culture of the Koryak, researchers note many elements similar to the Chukchi. The most esteemed guardians among the Koryak were also the wooden fire boards, on the upper part of which they "make an idol . . . and revere them as watchmen of the deer herds" (Krasheninnikov 1949:729). Among personal guardians and amulets, researchers note wooden human-like figurines or *kalaku*, which the Koryak sewed to the clothing of children to protect them from evil spirits (Antropova 1976). The Koryak also carved human figurines on the steps of the ladder logs that were used for entering and leaving through the hole in the roof of their winter houses. On the first step at the bottom was the small human-like figurine of Miti, personifying the wife of the prime ancestor Kutkh, from whom they trace their origin, as do the Itel'men. On the second step Kutkh himself was represented. On the third step was a figurine of a whale, on the fourth step an eagle, on the fifth the moon, on the seventh the sun, and on the tenth a face was carved, which the Koryak call *bog* [God] (Lindenau 1983:109).

A rather numerous group of Even lives in the northern Far East (the primary group of them settled in the Khabarovsk Region). A brief description of the Even of the Okhotsk coast (the Lamut) was left in 1742 by Ya. Lindenau. He recorded the fact that upon the death of a relative the Lamut made wooden figurines that were smeared with the blood of a sacrificed dog and placed around the fire (Lindenau 1983:67).

U. G. Popova studied the Even of the Magadan Region most thoroughly. Her fieldwork was carried out in the second half of the twentieth century, that is, 200 years after Lindenau. In the spiritual culture of the Even at this time, much had been lost or transformed under the influence of socioeconomic reforms and new ideology. Remnants of former religious ideas have been only fragmentarily preserved and their materialized embodiment as cult objects and ornaments for clothing is now represented mainly in museum exhibits. Popova notes that among the Even anthropomorphic images were characteristically used for decorative art: schematically executed human heads were included in decoration and called "little faces" (Popova 1981:184). In artistic creations, illustrating people was not accepted. This was the monopoly of the shamans. Among shamanic elements were ten "dolls" (on a small fabric belt), which the priest of the cult fastened to a breastplate during shamanic rituals. Their arrangement is interesting. The largest "doll" was sewn in front view ("as if standing in front"): judging by the clothing it represented a male "spirit." The other anthropomorphic figurines were 1.5 to 2 times smaller and arranged below the large doll as if standing behind it. They were dressed in women's clothing (Popova 1981:183). Nine anthropomorphic images were suspended on thongs and on breastplates of Evenk shamans. These figures symbolized mythical old women, mistresses on the road to the "underworld." As A. F. Anisimov notes, such ideas "carry in them clear traces of the maternal clan" (Anisimov 1952:167). In the complex of dolls of the Evenk shamans, one male image can be distinguished, which reflects ideas that were developed with the formation of the male clan (Popova 1981:183). This is also supported by the Even's idea of the fire spirit, which appeared among them as a male anthropomorphic being "similar to a man." The "Fire Father" was considered a good spirit, on whom the warmth, satiety, health, and life of a person depended. Among the Even of the Magadan Region, this image coincides with ideas of the spirit—the "master" of any taiga locality. A propitiating sacrifice brought to the fire spirit was also simultaneously intended for the "master" of the locality (Popova 1981:185). The anthropomorphization of spirits as male in appearance among the Even is recognized by researchers as a rather late event.

Some light can be shed on earlier beliefs of the Even (one of the branches of the Tungus) through observations made by Lindenau among the Evenk (a second branch of the Tungus) of the Udskoe fort on the Sea of Okhotsk. The same as the Itel'men and Koryak, the Udskoe Tungus had stone amulets. These appeared among them as apotropes or guarantees against illness. Stone and deer hair, sewn in a small pouch that was worn around the neck, were used for pain in the joints (Lindenau 1983:90). Traditional ideas of the Tungus later became intertwined with newer Christian beliefs. In Lindenau's words, the Udskoe Tungus kept a wooden idol in their tents, dressed in fur decorated with small straps, in honor of the old man who lives in the sky (Lindenau 1983:92). They also made wooden anthropomorphic im-

ages for commemoration of the dead a year after the death of relatives. An effigy, which depicted the deceased, was made from a rotten tree since it was easier to work. It was dressed and set on the bed of the widow or widower. Then a deer was sacrificed, the meat cooked, and, along with other foods, "offered" to the effigy. According to Lindenau, during the ceremony the shaman puts pieces from each dish "to the mouth of the effigy, then takes it away again and eats it himself, smokes a pipe and blows smoke on the effigy." At the end of the ceremony, the shaman addresses it with the request: "do not return, do not spoil our hunting, and do not do any harm to our children." During this speech "the clothing is pulled off the effigy, which is then carried away from the house and hung up in a tree or thrown away like something of no value." This was the ceremony of banishment of the spirit of the deceased, which, in their opinion, belongs to the devilish force and causes harm to the living (Lindenau 1983:91).

Among the native occupants of the northern Far East are the Yukagir and Yakut, whose primary territory of occupation is Yakutia, though there are a few of them in the Magadan Region and in Chukotka. They are scattered in small villages and in large part have lost their roots, having mixed families. The Yukagir, being an autochthonous population of Northeast Asia, occupied a huge territory—from the Lena to the Anadyr—even into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but by the end of the nineteenth century W. I. Jochelson, who concerned himself especially with the study of Yukagir tribes, discovered only two small territories where the Yukagir language was preserved—on the Kolyma and the Alazea. At present, much of Yukagir culture has been eroded or lost. Members of an Academy of Sciences expedition, organized at the end of the 1950s, noted, in the region of settlement of modern Yukagirs, the difficulty in distinguishing the features of their material and spiritual culture which had been lost or transformed during the process of disintegration of ethnic boundaries. The Yukagir themselves, according to physical anthropological data, were close to the Even (*Yukagiry* . . ., 1975:10).

In light of the problem that interests us, the conclusion of the ethnographers can be cited: "We failed to learn about any idols or images of spirits" (*Yukagiry* . . ., 1975:54).

The scant information available on the production of three-dimensional anthropomorphic images can be found in Yukagir folklore. In the "Legend of the Shaman" it is told how a lad shot the "devil's wench," and she threw his soul/shadow down to the underworld. A shaman brought the boy back to life, having carved a wooden girl and set the image on a tree (Khoziain zemli . . ., 1994). The Yukagir also deposited wooden idols in burial structures—called *saiby*—constructed above the ground on sawn off stumps of trees. Two such sculptures of relatively large size (one of them fragmentary) were taken away from the ruins of a saiba near the mouth of the Yasachnaya River (Yakutia) (Kiriyak 1993b:Pl. 110).

In the manuscript "Yukagir and Yukagirized Tungus" (Jochelson 1910–1926), an English translation of which is preserved in the Siberian section of the Institute of Ethnography of RAN (at present it has not been published), there is evidence that the Yukagir hung large wooden idols on trees in honor of their ancestors. Jochelson describes such an idol, which he found on the bank of the Kolyma River, and expresses the idea that these idols served as a receptacle for the spirit of an ancestor (Jochelson 1910–1926, Chapter on "Social Life," p. 7). S. V. Ivanov (with reference to W. I. Jochelson) writes about "wooden peoples" covered with images of various animals. The Yukagir shaman "put" in the wooden peoples those spirit masters who ruled the souls of the animals drawn on these sculptures. Unfortunately, none of these illustrations by Jochelson was described and none published (Ivanov 1954:530, 531). In L. N. Zhukova's book, *Religion of the Yukagir, Pagan Pantheon*, one anthropo-zoomorphic wooden figure is featured: a fantastic being with a human face and deer antlers. Its surface is covered with images of animals and game birds, symbols of abundance and attributes of hunting. According to the beliefs of the Yukagir, an image acts as an intermediary between man and the master of the world (Zhukova 1996b:63, 64). As Ivanov suggests, the shaman, having "settled" with the spirit master of the animal in the anthropomorphic image and having drawn on it figures of the creatures to be hunted, he obtained authority over them and could compel the spirit master to "send" these animals to the hunters. The actual fact of marking images on the sculpture is noted as a very rare event in the art of Siberian peoples (Ivanov 1954:531).

Early ethnographic knowledge gathered on the Yakut provided very scant information about the place of three-dimensional anthropomorphic images in their religious-ceremonial activity. Lindenau, who dedicates a substantial part of his work *Descriptions of Peoples of Siberia* to the Yakut, only once mentions a wooden "little idol," which a shaman carved to avert various unpleasantries caused to people by spirits of shamans after the shamans' deaths. The shaman, summoned for an exorcism of these spirits, made an anthropomorphic image, dressed it in little scraps of clothing, placed it in a basket, and hung it in the yurt in a place of honor (Lindenau 1983:42).

Primary data on Yakut ceremonies can be obtained from the summary work of N. A. Alekscev's *Traditional Religious Beliefs of the Yakuts in the Nineteenth and Beginning of the Twentieth Centuries*, in which he used, in addition to known information from researchers and explorers, unpublished archival resources and field material. Noting among the Yakut the existence of ceremonies and ideas connected with the assignment of supernatural properties to objects and events of nature, the author emphasizes that "the supernatural essence of objects was not represented in anthropomorphic form" (Alekseev 1975:32, 33). The existence in the past of the belief among the Yakut in amulets and a magic stone, which was an aid to summoning bad weather, is mentioned (Alekseev 1975:32, 33).

The hunting cult offers one idea of the use of anthropomorphic images. The author relies on ethnographic materials of the Vilyui and Olenek Yakut, for whom the use of wooden idols was characteristic. After long, unsuccessful hunting seasons among the Vilyui Yakut, a ceremony for summoning or attracting the spirit master of the forest, Barylaakh, was carried out, which was accompanied by bringing an offering of some kind of livestock and by making an image of the spirit, which was cut from a piece of wood just over a meter long (Alekseev 1975:55). The ceremony was conducted by a shaman who moved the spirit master of the forest into himself and promised in its name an abundant catch. The image of the idol stood near the door (Alekseev 1975:57).

For their part, following a long period of unsuccessful hunting, the northern Yakut carried out a ceremony of purification—called *chychypkan*—for which an anthropomorphic idol of wood up to 2 m long with the same name—chychypkan—was used. At one end, the pole was cut into a stylized image of a human head, while the opposite end was split. Across the pole a stick was set in a notch, imitating arms. This idol was strung between two trees in a vertical position with the split ends spread apart so that a person could crawl between them. Two more small, sharp-headed idols were set on different sides of the chychypkan, near one of which was placed a wooden image of a fish. A hunter with a gun and staff crawled three times between the legs of the chychypkan, and then blocked the entrance with the small idol with the pike fish and went hunting (Alekseev 1975:57).

Alekseev notes that at Olenek some hunters had idols that served as amulets. A successful hunter who happened to kill a wild deer with antlers grown together made an *esekeen*—amulet—from them, which contributed to a successful hunt. Before the hunt, it was "fed" and set near the fire, and tossing it then predicted what would befall the hunter—success or failure. An offering of the lower teeth and grease from the knee of a deer, which expressed gratitude, was brought to the esekeen, and with this an incantation about future success was delivered. The amulet was kept in the place of honor in the *uras*,[19] opposite the entrance, and during migration it was carried on a special deer (Alekseev 1975:58, 59).

Two anthropomorphic images made of copper plate were found among shamanic garments: one represented the patron spirit, the other was the assistant to the shaman. As Alekseev suggests, every shaman has his (or her) own patron spirit and in each specific case embodies different spirits (Alekseev 1975:149). A report is cited, stating that there were shamans who possessed patron spirits—*emeget*—of Tungus (Evenk) origin (Alekseev 1975:149).

Alekseev, doing analysis on hunting cults among individual groups of Yakut (the Vilyui and Olenek), writes about the correlation among them of ideas about the *esekeen* with Evenk beliefs about

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[19] A Yakut house.

shingken (similarity can also be seen in the names of the spirits) and suggests that the northern Yakut, who lived in close contact with the Evenk, "borrowed from them not only hunting methods but also many ceremonies of the hunting cult" (Alekseev 1975:59). In his opinion, the chychypkan ceremony was also borrowed, as well as the belief in amulets that bring good fortune in hunting (Alekseev 1975:59). Of course, the author contradicts himself below, noting that "the available materials do not corroborate the widespread opinion that the hunting cult was borrowed by the Yakut from their neighbors" (Alekseev 1975:64).

However, the opinion that the Yakut borrowed hunting cults is not without basis. Supporting this is their relatively late settlement in territory occupied by the large Yukagir and Tungus (Evenk) tribes and, consequently, an inevitable assimilation accompanied by interpenetration of elements not only of material but also of spiritual culture. The Yakut brought a new type of livestock breeding—that of horses—and along with it a certain cult ceremonial practice and its elements. Their ceremonies, connected with honoring patron spirits of the family (the deities *aiyy*) at the *ysyakh* festival, which was dedicated to the coming of summer and the flourishing of horse breeding, reflected an ideology of southern livestock breeders alien to northern deer hunters. It is also significant that the aiyy deities were considered deities of only some of the Yakut (Alekseev 1975:82), while the others did not have the right to conduct a ysyakh, that is, to appeal to the aiyy. This taboo was widespread among the descendants of Omogoi, one of the legendary ancestors of the Yakut (probably Yukagir in origin) (Alekseev 1975:79). Also of note is the fact that the spirit of the master of the forest among the northern Yakut had a Tungus-like appearance (Alekseev 1975:51) and among certain shamans there were anthropomorphic pendants of the patron spirits *emeget* (Alekseev 1975:149). The material symbols of the Yakut festival ysyakh were hitching posts and miniature representations of them, as well as bowls for koumiss—or *chorony*—the shape of which held a deeper meaning connected with the cosmogonic ideas of the Yakut (Zhukova 1996b:26). Without touching on problems of the ethnogenesis of the Yakut, it is possible to find the presence of a foreign component in the Yakut ethnic group relying on the Yakut epos, the above-cited prohibitions, and the rudiments of the most conservative elements of the material culture—the shamanic attire. And if it is considered indisputable that the aiyy cult "was brought by the Yakut from their southern homeland," then on this same basis the northern elements of the hunting cult—the use of anthropomorphic images and ceremonies connected with them that were partially transformed and partially adapted to a new ideology—should be considered to have been borrowed from the Yukagir or Yukagirized Tungus or from the neighboring Evenk.

In the collection of anthropomorphic images we are studying, obtained during the process of excavating Neolithic sites, the largest number of figurines comes from Kamchatka and belongs to the Old Itel'men culture, which existed for a long time and which provided the source of the present-day native population of Kamchatka—the Itel'men. By fortunate circumstances the ethnography of the Itel'men has received a more complete elucidation. Modern science is obliged for this knowledge to the conscientious and scrupulous work of members of the Great Northern Expedition of the eighteenth century, and especially to S. P. Krasheninnikov, who left a detailed description of the seasonal festivals connected with the annual economic cycle among the Itel'men (Kamchadal). Understanding the importance of the task set before the expedition, Krasheninnikov carefully considered the smallest details of ceremonial activities of the Itel'men during their festivals, tried not to let even one of the variants of the ceremonies they were conducting escape his attention, and explained this as the desire to preserve for history the memory of "their delusions." At this time (the end of the 1730s) he stated that "today all the referenced pagan ceremonies are abandoned and in a few years they will be completely lost to oblivion with some loss to history" (Krasheninnikov 1949:415).

The longest and most packed with ceremonial activities was the Itel'men (Kamchadal) festival of gratitude to the animals occupying the land and sea and asking nature for blessings (according to S. P. Krasheninnikov, this was the festival of purification of sins).

The hierarchy of wooden idols called into action during the process of the holiday ceremonies is rather complicated to grasp, inasmuch as Krasheninnikov gives different variants of the festival for

northern and southern groups of Itel'men, at times omitting details and not always explaining the function of figurines, and sometimes the information cited by him even appears contradictory. Nevertheless, his materials have not lost their scientific value, and the volume and depth of research into the various aspects of Itel'men culture makes this unique among monographs in Russian ethnographic literature.

The religion of the Itel'men in fact remained primitive animism (Orlova 1975:128). Krasheninnikov writes that "they populated the sky, air, waters, and land, mountains and forests with various spirits, which they fear and worship greater than god, and to whom they bring offerings, and they also carry other idols with them, or have them in their houses." A characteristic feature of the religious ideas of the Itel'men is the anthropomorphization of "masters of nature" and various other kinds of spirits. This is most clearly shown in the elements of the festival of gratitude. The *khantai*, which embodied the syncretic form of a human/fish, was considered the central being of the Itel'men festival. The place of the khantai was by the hearth, but during the ceremony procession they carried it around the fire accompanied by three "little idols"—*yaidach'*—thrown from the top of the entrance hole and set up near the ladder by which they departed the yurt. An obligatory element of the ceremonial activities was edible grass and *tonshich'* (sedge), which they tied around the wooden images. "They drummed near the hearth" with this yaidach (Krasheninnikov 1949:369, 416).

Along with the khantai, a small idol in the form of a post with its top hewn "like a head" was kept permanently in the yurt. This was known as *azhushok* among the northern Itel'men, or *azhulunach'* among the southern ones. It was believed to protect the yurt from forest spirits and was set over the household vessels (opposite the hearth) (Krasheninnikov 1975:414, 416). "They feed and rub with sarana (a grass with an edible root—M.K.) or fish and tie sweet grass and tonshich' on the necks" of these "protectors" each evening (Krasheninnikov 1975:717).

Besides clan (group) guardians (as a rule, several families lived in a single yurt) there were also personal ones. Krasheninnikov writes that among the southern Kamchadal stakes "with hewn heads" called *urilydach'* were placed on cross bars above the women's sleeping places (Krasheninnikov 1975:416, 421, 717). The small idols that they individually possessed had the same name (Krasheninnikov does not give an explanation). They were shown special respect: during the festival of gratitude sweet grass was tied to them and they were treated with *yukola* (dried fish), which—adhering to a certain ritual—was taken from the four corners of the yurt crosswise, and they were fed *tolkusha* (a kind of mincemeat), *sarana*, or other food, brought by members of the festival (Krasheninnikov 1975:423).

Various anthropomorphic figurines were also made during the course of the festival ceremony. Krasheninnikov mentions small idols—called *itung*—which were placed over the hearth (Krasheninnikov 1949:416). Before the culminating moment—upon entry into the yurt of the "whale" made at the beginning of the festival (from yukola and sweet grass)—they cut 55 small, pointed-headed idols from birch stumps, which were called by one group of Itel'men *kamuchyuchi* and by another *kamuda*. They embodied "demons, who lodged themselves in the female sex during the dance" (Krasheninnikov 1975:414, 418). According to Kamchadal beliefs, these were enemies who live in clouds and create thunder, "human-like in appearance, except with a pointed head," and "50 or more entering the mouth of a woman" (Krasheninnikov 1975:421). In order to propitiate them, in the autumn before going seal hunting eight seal skins were promised, onto which the little pointed-headed idols were set. They were smeared with low-bush cranberry juice and had crushed sarana set before them. After being entertained, they had grass caps put on their heads. Sweet grass and tonshich' were tied on them. In one variant of the festival they were tied up in two small bundles, in another three bundles, and thrown into the fire. Following this, one small idol, "which is revered for its service as a *kamuchyuchi* and called *kamtach'*," was thrown into the fire (Krasheninnikov 1975:414, 418). The burning of the kamuchyuchi in the hearth was accompanied by periodic departure from the yurt of one of the members of the ceremony, who upon returning commented upon the journey of the kamuchyuchi along the river, who, going downstream, "obtained fish," and going upstream, "killed sheep and threw them from the mountain to the earth." Whereupon the burning bundles of the small idols were shaken off over the yurt, strewing sparks inside, and then two

seals caught during the first hunts were shaken before the ladder (an activity that must have represented thunder) (Krasheninnikov 1975:415, 416).

Thus, a whole gallery of anthropomorphic figurines having a certain role in the everyday life of the Itel'men or as beings of ritual activities and magical ceremonies passes before us. To some an offering of gratitude is brought, to others, one of propitiation, the goal of which is to ensure the well-being of the clan and family through abundance in the hunt and keeping the members of the group healthy. Undoubtedly, the commentator was correct in his conclusion that "the religious ideas and ceremonies of the Kamchadal, recorded by Krasheninnikov . . . are an excellent resource for becoming acquainted with the earliest period of this people" (Krasheninnikov 1975:415).

Ethnographic sources suggest that there are multiple aspects to anthropomorphic images, which, as a rule, were made within the context of ideological views and cult ceremonial canons. Most of the materials examined above belong to a historically early kind of sculpture, the sources of which must be sought in religious mythological systems of the Stone Age.

The earliest anthropomorphic figurines were connected with the fire cult, which was centered on the domestic hearth. Images of the first protectors of the fire are represented by female statuettes found in Paleolithic sites (Abramova 1962, 1966). Produced during the period of a maternal clan-based communities, these views—in the midst of such isolated peoples as the Northeastern Paleo-Asiatics—were preserved up until the nineteenth century. The materialized representation of the fire cult among the Chukchi, Koryak, and Itel'men was the chief sacred object of the family, the fire board, in the semiotics of which the female form of Paleolithic priestesses is already seen. The differentiation of the fire boards according to functions (protector of the herd, patron of the hunt, protector from illness, guarantor of fertility of the family and herd, midwife, and others) reflects an earlier tradition of making various anthropomorphic images depending on functional orientation. Supporting this is the presence in the complex of Chukchi (and Koryak) sacred figurines connected with the female functions of the mother, mistress of the family, qualified to guarantee successful child delivery and protect the children from illness.

Along with the fire board and other objects placed together in a single bundle is another anthropomorphic being from the pantheon of family sacred objects. This is *okkamak*, protector of the house. "Small deities" worn on the clothing or hooked to the belt are also noted to be among the revered anthropomorphic figurines of peoples of the Paleo-Asiatic group. It is characteristic that these "small deities" are "fed" while does are calving and at the winter solstice. All the facts speak of early sources for this custom, at the basis of which lies the fertility cult. Among the "small deities" are a multitude of different amulet protectors. Some of them, basically semantically related, are differentiated by functions. Thus, among the medicinal amulets, each figurine provides security against illness of a certain kind (pains in the joints and heart, illness of the stomach, and so on). One investigator of early forms of religion, S. A. Tokarev, wrote: "Clan and family cults were preserved among all the peoples of Siberia, though in different degrees, but frequently it is impossible to define the boundary between their forms. Their objectives were varied: the clan fire and the family hearth, and the spirit 'protectors', i.e., clan patrons and fetishes" (Tokarev 1964:262). The variety of cult anthropomorphic figurines, which often lost their initial meaning, is convincing confirmation of this. Chukchi and Itel'men amulets in the form of anthropomorphically shaped stones are distinctive. In the words of informants, they illustrate one or both of the spouses (see above). In these ideas can be seen echoes of very early phallic cults oriented toward the increase of the human group.

Ethnographic materials contain information on sculpted anthropomorphic images connected with the human essence. They reflect ideas of the soul and concern about its refuge after the death of the person. The making of a figurine of a deceased relative followed by its subsequent removal (discarding) resulted from the determination to protect the living from the insidious plotting of the soul/shadow. In the making of such images it is possible to see the remaining echoes of the ancestor cult, when such images were preserved and kept as patrons of the family and guardians.

As is well known, the cult is most conservative in regard to innovation. Many of the anthropomorphic images cited here preserved (up to ethnographic times) the beliefs connected with the ideology of maternal clan organization that was developed in the Stone Age. But, turning to ethnographic sources, one must not forget about later stratification connected with the breaking of the maternal clan and its replacement by a paternal organization with different ideological orientations. One cannot help but consider (including the system of small sculptures) the presence of elements of shamanism as a later historical phenomenon.

Zoomorphic Images

Bringing in ethnographic materials, we will dwell on only those creatures represented by small stone sculpture in the northern Far East.

Mammoth. According to the evidence of researchers, the image of the mammoth remained in people's awareness for a fairly long time and, "invested with a fantastic form," was reflected down to our times in myths, legends, and "in ideas about different fabulous animals, which often had nothing at all in common with the mammoth that was contemporary with people during the Paleolithic period" (Ivanov 1949a:133). Ideas about the mammoth occurred among almost all peoples of northern Eurasia. In Medieval Slavonic literature there was the unicorn, a large animal that had the head and tail of a horse, but the body of a fish. It lived deep under the earth somewhere beyond the sea and was considered the mother of all animals (Ivanov 1949a:133). Among many northern European and Siberian peoples the mammoth was imagined to be a real live animal that lived under the earth. The Finns thought that this powerful animal "lived and traveled under the earth, clearing the channels of streams and subterranean rivers" (Ivanov 1949a:134).

The Khanti and Mansi called the mammoth Earth-Bull, though it figured in their ideas also in the form of an underwater being—a large pike with deer antlers (Ivanov 1949a:137). The Baikal Evenk also had a dual idea of the mammoth—in some cases it was a large horned fish living in the sea, in others it was a half-fish half-animal with the head of a moose, a tail, and the body of a fish (Ivanov 1949a:137). Among Siberian peoples, ideas about the mammoth were interwoven with shamanic ideas about zoomorphic spirits that were at the disposal of the shamans (Ivanov 1949a:135). Images of mammoths have been found among small shamanic sculptures, though outwardly they are very remote from such images in Paleolithic art.

Nearer to reality were ideas about the mammoth in extreme Northeast Asia. The Yukagir saw the mammoth as an animal with long tusks. Among the Chukchi the mammoth was considered a deer's evil spirit, which lived under the ground and traveled there in narrow passages. Its large tusks, which replaced antlers, grew from the shoulders or stuck out from the nose. When people saw mammoth tusks sticking from the ground, they had to cut them off or break off the ends; otherwise they would vanish into the ground (Bogoras 1939:37).

Judging by the folklore of the Chukchi and Yukagir, they found not only tusks but whole mammoth carcasses, which contributed to their more realistic ideas about this extinct animal giant (Bogoras 1939:37, 38). But images of it are rather rare. Bogoras cites a Yukagir illustration of a mammoth made with the tip of a knife on a small wooden board (on a black background). The context in which this image is placed is interesting: figures of horses and a dog are carved behind and two birds are carved above. The second half of the board was decorated with red paint, and on that side the outlines of other animals, birds, and plants were visible (Bogoras 1939:33). The color opposition in this case illustrates beliefs that were developed in the Paleolithic about life and the life force, symbolized by the color red, while death and darkness were symbolized by the color black. Besides colors, plants and animals emerge as classifications of these oppositional worlds. According to Chukchi mythology, "all the animals, birds, and

plants led by a deer rider personify white shamanism, whereas two northern animals—a dog and a horse together with a mammoth—serve to embody darkness and rage" (Fraikopf 1996:24). If one proceeds from this, then the symbolism on the board cited by Bogoras, which was used by shamans for summoning spirits, becomes clear (Bogoras 1939:38). The Yukagir view the mammoth as one of the strongest spirit helpers among their fierce shamans, who release it only on rare occasions, i.e., during struggles with other shamans. The shaman also used the services of the mammoth during his trip to the underworld (D'yachkov 1992:235–237). S. V. Ivanov dedicated his substantial work to the analysis of ideas about the mammoth and its embodiment in shamanic elements and applied art of the peoples of Siberia (Ivanov 1949a).

Bear. The most archaic elements of the bear cult, which have not been preserved among other peoples, appear in a Ket folk festival. Ceremonies that belong to it are the feeding of the head of a decapitated bear, fortune telling with the aid of a cut-off bear paw, the making of images of bears, and the use of the hide from the nose and lips of the bear as a mask. At the same time, researchers also note the ancient but common "Eurasian-American" ceremonial complex that includes various prohibitions; bear dances and pantomimes "having the purpose of both favorable outcome of the hunt and increase in the number of animals"; the ceremonial removal of the skin; the excision of the eyes; the severing of the bones, sexual organs, ears, and nose; phallic ceremonies; and others (Alekseenko 1960:102, 103). A later stratum connected with the bear festival among the Ket is also characteristic for peoples of the lower Amur and Sakhalin. This includes raising a bear, keeping it in a cage, and sacrificing it during a festival carried out over many days (Alekseenko 1960:102).

One of the most "reliable activities for ensuring success in acquiring provisions" and widespread among the peoples of Siberia on the whole, was the practice of keeping parts of the animal and the bones. This was done in order to "transform" dead and even consumed animals into live ones (Kulemzin 1991:106). Archaeological materials corroborate the existence of this custom in deep antiquity.

Among the peoples of Siberia and the Far East there was an especially respectful relationship regarding the head of an animal, in particular the skull itself, as a receptacle for the living force and intellect (Okladnikova 1979b:64). Among the Nivkhi there were ritual clan storehouses into which the skulls of bears were placed, while the remaining bones were placed together in a cage (it was thought that from the moment of installing the skull in the storehouse the bear went off to its fellows in the forest). In this manner the general Siberian cult of the death and resurrection of an animal was manifested (Taksami 1975:100). Among the Nenets reverence for the bear was reflected much more weakly than, for example, among the Ugrians, but ritual activities with parts of the bear's carcass also occurred among them: the head was kept in the forest and the bones buried in the ground (Kulemzin 1991:107), and they also followed the custom of collective eating of the bear's head (Kulemzin 1991:109). The head of a slain bear was used with special reverence among North American Indians also. The Tlingit, for example, carried the bear's head into the house and sprinkled it with white eagle down, which was considered sacred (Averkieva 1981:143). Among the coastal Chukchi the head of a polar bear was used as an offering. The hunter who killed the bear carried away its head to his father's burial place in order to please his ancestors (Vdovin 1977:165).

Some parts of the bear were used as "medicinal objects." The Stony Tunguska Evenk hung the paw of a bear on a pole in the tent to protect the health of family members (Kulemzin 1991:105).

The ends of bears' paws were cut off during the bear festival among the Nivkhi (Penskaya 1986:159).

Among the Permiak and peoples of the Urals, some bear parts, including the skull, claws, and paws, served as a magical remedy (Zelenin 1936:94, 95). Cases have been known of women keeping a bear's penis as an amulet to ward off infertility (Okladnikova 1979 b:67).

In the materials of travelers and ethnographers of the past century is evidence that many Siberian peoples swore on the head or paw of a bear, as well as before one of its fangs (Kosarev 1981:253).

Bear fangs and claws were sometimes kept as amulets.[20] Among the Ostiak, a bear's tooth was hung over the cradle or on the neck of a child. The Nenets wore a bear fang on the belt as protection against evil spirits. It also fulfilled the role among them of an apotrope or diverter, which brought good luck (Kosarev 1981:253). The power, dexterity, and courage of the bear were worshiped by the Indians of the Northwest Coast of America. Any hunter who entered into single combat with a bear was treated with special reverence—a necklace of bear fangs served as a reward for such boldness (Okladnikova 1979b:65).

"Living substitutes" of the animals were seen in relation to some parts of the body (the head, jaw, teeth, feet, claws). The natives often conversed with them. The Nanai frequently addressed a bear fang with the following words: "You are powerful, you fear nothing—come, help me. Make my child brave" (Ivanov 1977:89). If a Nanai had several children die, in order to save a newborn he took the tusk of a bear or wild boar or the claw of a lynx or bear and addressed it with the following words: "Guard (protect) my child when you are summoned" and hung the tooth or claw on the cradle (Ivanov 1977:89). In order to ensure a boy became a hunter, and grew up healthy, they had him swallow the pupil of a bear's eye. In order to ensure that a child would be able to use its hands well in the future, they placed in its right hand a tassel made from the cartilage of a bear's throat (Ivanov 1977:87, 88).

The special relationship to some parts of a bear (head, paw, fang, and so on) has its roots in deep antiquity. The archaeological evidence of a very early cult of this animal is the ceremonial activities using bear skulls and bones in the early stages of the Paleolithic that have stable ethnographic parallels up to the beginning of the twentieth century, as well as the presence in Neolithic sites of northern Siberia of such natural objects as individual fangs or necklaces of bear fangs and the ritual burial of bears. Rather early (in the Upper Paleolithic) images of the bear and its attributes appear (two-dimensionally in cliff illustrations, and three-dimensionally in the form of sculpture). It is reasonable to infer conservatism in the long-term stability of ideas about the bear and ceremonies connected with it, all of which are reflected in ethnographic sources. Its "portrait" has also remained unchanged, being iconographically identical from the Paleolithic through ethnographically surveyable times (Miller 1929:Fig. 11:1, 2).

"Of particularly great interest for the history of primitive beliefs and art are data on the connection of the images of slain animals with the cult of their heads, skulls, and other parts of the body. Among the Ket, for example, a severed bear's head—its skull, and the skin taken from its nose and lips—could substitute for the image of the bear" (Ivanov and Levin 1964:221). Some researchers suggest that the sculpted image of a bear was considered "as the absolute equivalent of a living bear, i.e., its double, which was always at hand" and which was addressed for help and advice (Kosarev 1981:253).

In the culture of the Khanti, an ancient stratum of beliefs was preserved, which reflected pre-animistic ideas, according to which their helpers could be either the animals themselves or figurines of them (Kulemzin and Lukina 1992:89). With respect to amulets, pre-animistic beliefs are found among the Nivkhi, who did not consider them images of spirits, did not pray to them, but in every way tried to cajole them, and in cases where these objects didn't fulfill requests directed to them, they could be beaten or even thrown away (Ivanov 1977:89). Researchers do not connect these images with animism inasmuch as they are not endowed either with a soul or a spirit, but they see the sources of these ideas in early animistic attitudes, elements of which were retained in the awareness of the Khanti even at the beginning of the twentieth century. Later, this was forced out by animistic ideas (Ivanov 1977:89).

Manmade amulets, like their natural analogies, were used in the medical practice of these populations. Lower Amur peoples (the Ulcha, Nivkhi, and Nanai) sometimes "expelled" the spirits of sickness without appealing to shamans. For example, infirmities of the eyes were treated without the help of shamans by attaching figurines (carved from birch bark) of spirits—those inflicting the illness—to the eyelids (Kulemzin 1991:106). Small figurines of animals, in which the spirit bearers of illness were "enclosed" without the help of a shaman, were used in treating children (Kulemzin 1991:106). Sculpted

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[20] Amulet (apotrope, protector) is an object that protects against misfortune (*Sovetskii entsiklopedicheskii* . . ., 1989:1:50).

images and certain parts of the bear were used as apotropes or deflectors of illnesses and infertility (Okladnikova 1979b:67). It is known that a Nanai who had stomach pain used the image of a mouse, which was tied over the place where it most hurt, having fumigated the amulet beforehand in the steam of Labrador tea (Ivanov 1977:87). They also evidently used a figurine of a bear carved from wood in the same way to treat swellings (Ivanov 1977:87), which required a stronger apotrope for treatment. The Ainu, who raised bears in captivity, hung an image of a bear on the neck of a sick bear cub (Ivanov and Levin 1964:218, 219).

Among the peoples of the Amur, a dual relationship existed with the bear: on the one hand, they saw spirits of bears as good and benevolent, and on the other, as bringers of evil and sickness (Okladnikova 1979b:67). Therefore, in the opinion of researchers, it is very difficult to determine precisely whether a sculpture represents "an evil spirit or a spirit that drives off illness" from among those bear images sculpted as "spirits of illness" (Okladnikova 1979b:67).

Making images of bears also brought about their "revival" or "rebirth".

Among the Nivkhi and Ainu, there were two instances in which the figurine of a bear was made: after successfully hunting it or as a sacrifice at a bear festival (Taksami 1975:178).

Among the Ket, after killing a bear, its image was depicted on birch bark. The birch bark with the image was placed in a box, which was open on top and in front, with the head of the bear toward the open front part. Skin taken from the bear's forehead, nose and lips was also placed there, along with its gallbladder, penis and an eye; a cedar twig bent in a ring and held in place with a small a bit of fish glue; and slender sticks attached to the ring, which imitated the ribs of the bear. The ring symbolized something connecting the parts of the bear's body. The birch bark image of the animal, after a soul was "installed" in it, was tied up in the forest. According to the beliefs of the Ket, at the moment this object fell to the earth "rebirth of the slain bear" occurred (Ivanov and Levin 1964:221). The Nivkhi and Ainu "installed" a soul in the image of a bear in this way: the figurine of a bear carved from wood was placed upon the head of one killed during the hunt, or during the bear festival, since they were convinced that the soul of the slain bear was in this image (Ivanov and Levin 1964:219).

Bear images also fulfilled the function of guardian. There is evidence that to protect a child from harmful beings the Nanai made wood carvings of the paws of a bear, along with other images (a birch-bark pike, a figurine of an owl, and so on) (Ivanov 1977:83). Among the Komi, bear pendants were worn by women on the breast and on a belt as a talisman protector, which must have been "to protect the breast and vagina of the woman and to make her fertile" (Golubeva 1979:6).

Among the Nivkhi, as among the Ainu, small sculptures, along with figurines of bears, were made from roots of a looped form: on one end the head of a bear was carved, on the other, a bird. Such objects were an "emblem of wealth in sea and forest hunting" (Ivanov and Levin 1964:219).

Similar to the Ainu and Nivkhi sculptures of bears are those of the Nanai. The Nanai viewed items made from larch stems bent in a loop as receptacles for souls of living bears (Ivanov and Levin 1964:219). Usually a shaman "installed" the soul of a bear in a bent stem of larch upon the request of the hunter. The Nanai or Nivkhi who possessed such an object considered himself master of the bear and did not doubt his success in the hunt (Ivanov and Levin 1964:200–221).

Ideas about the "soul" of the bear or its "shadow" were widespread among the Khanti, Ket, Koryak, and Eskimos. Jochelson published a wooden figurine of a bear he saw among the Koryak. It was made when a bear was killed, then "fed" during the ceremony of sending the animal "on the return trip" to the sea. Similar ceremonies and rituals also existed among the Eskimos of the Bering Strait, but instead of using a wooden figurine for such purposes, they used a stuffed image of the slain animal, which they sent back to the sea. The possessor of a bear effigy also considered himself master of its "shadow" or "soul," which made future hunting favorable (Ivanov and Levin 1964:221).

In the mythology of one group of Northeastern Paleo-Asiatics—the Chukchi—an eminent place is occupied by a mythological giant polar bear with a body of solid bone. Sometimes it is illustrated as eight-legged. According to the ideas of the Chukchi, who gave it the name "bald white bear," it is very much stronger than the common polar bear and is considered a man-eater (Bogoras 1939:37). Black bears, revered by the Chukchi as consanguineous relatives, are seen as people dressed in bear skins. According to their legends, bears are shamans capable of learning people's intentions at a distance, therefore one should never say anything bad about them and never set a trap for a bear or plot against it (Bogoras 1939:37). Bogoras suggests that these ideas were borrowed from the Yukagir, "for whom the black bear is an object of the greatest reverence; they also consider it a shaman and sorcerer and, hunting it, they conduct a whole series of ceremonies for the purpose of restraining its anger. The Russified Kolyma Yukagir, speaking of the bear, call it *ded* (grandfather), *starik* (old man), or very briefly 'he'" (Bogoras 1939:37).

Original sculpted images of a bear are frequently encountered on ladles or dippers used by the Nivkhi in the bear festivals. The ethnographer's description provides a more complete understanding: "On Nivkhi ladles the bear may be shown with a loop on its neck and seated on its rear paws, or as a bear standing between two posts. There are also sculpted figures of bears whose bodies change into a spiral on the end. On some ladles, images of a sprawling bear were encountered, on others, bears standing upright, and on the ends of small paddles, the stylized heads of bears" (Taksami 1975:175).

The image of a sprawling bear (or a hide with the head and extremities?) could symbolize a sacrificial bear (either one raised in a village and killed at the bear festival or a wild one killed during a hunt). In the Pegtymel' petroglyphs (Chukotka) there are illustrations of a spread out bear skin with all the elements (Dikov 1999:Fig. 27) analogous to the sculpted artifacts.

The image of a bear and its parts—both sculpted and flat—was widely used in shamanic practice, which is corroborated by ethnographic sources not only from northern Eurasia but also North America. Flat metal images of bears, bear heads, and bear skins are characteristic parts of the Siberian shaman's costume or drum (Mazin 1984:Pls. 20:3, 14; 39:5; 52:3), the skin of a bear was put on by Siberian and North American shamans for their trip to the upper and lower worlds, and Indian shamans in California covered themselves with a bear skin in order to conduct rites and ceremonial activities (Okladnikova 1979b:67).

According to the beliefs of the Tavgi Nganasani, during the journey to the other worlds the shaman was transformed into a polar bear. This moment is illustrated during the ceremony by the way the shaman uses the pole on which a polar bear skin is placed. His actions imitate rowing, while at the same time he growls like a bear (Popov 1936:75, 76).

Among some Siberian and Far Eastern peoples the bear skin personified their ancestor. The Nivkhi, like the Ainu, brought a bear head with the skin into the house during the bear festival, took it to the hearth, and then placed it on planks in the place of honor (Ivanov and Levin 1964:219).

In northwestern and northern North America, the image of a bear was present not only in shamanic elements, such as dress, but also on objects of applied Indian art, such as rugs on which the sick were placed during the shaman's performance. Figures of sprawling bears (skin taken along with the head?) decorated the copper shields of the Indians, symbolizing the well-being and authority of the chief. The totem poles of the Indians were also covered by images of bear tracks (Okladnikova 1979b:63).

The bear cult is most completely reflected in myths, stories, and epics. In the mythological ideas of many peoples of Siberia "hybrid beings—half human/half bear—are known of," which are born from a marriage of a woman with a male bear or a hunter with a female bear (*Mify narodov* . . ., 1988:129). The theme of the kidnapping of a girl or a woman by a bear and the raising of children from their marriage is characteristic of oral sources among the native population of Siberia. Its origins may go back even into the early stages of the Siberian Neolithic.

The matrimonial subject (a bear and a woman) is embodied in a bone object from the Serovskii cemetery (lower Angara). The artifact was found in Burial 12 in a complex with other objects, among which were the canines of a bear, a pointed object of phallic form painted red, and others (Okladnikov 1976). Three component parts can be distinguished in the composition. The upper one is represented by a sculpted being with a single hollow body, four extremities in the form of short triangular projections, and two heads, one of which is anthropomorphic, the other zoomorphic (according to Okladnikov, in one interpretation this is a bear, in another it is a fox). The rear (lower) part of this sculpted group changes into a long round bent rod (in Okladnikov's interpretation, this is the tail), which terminates almost at the very end in a rounded anthropomorphic face with the chin turned toward the open hollow of the upper collective sculpture (Okladnikov 1976:Pl. 65). This is treated by the investigator as a dual twin mythological being (the son of an animal and a human) that emerged from a mixed marriage. The artifact itself, in his opinion, served as "a shaman's drum stick."

Even if one does not agree with the determination of the functional assignment of this object and does not concur with the author in the discussion concerning the reflection in Serovskii sculpture of the twin myth, it is entirely possible to accept his conclusion that the bone object from the Serovskii cemetery is a sculpted illustration "of the earliest mythological concept of the connection between a woman and a revered animal" and, we add, the birth as a result of this marriage of an offspring in human form. That is, in the Serovskii sculpture the origin of the totemic cult of the bear is reproduced in symbolic images. The find may be from as far back as the fourth millennium B.C. Traces of this cult were preserved in the lower Angara region up to the beginning of the twentieth century. In the mythology of the lower Angara Evenk, one of the central beings is the cosmic bear Mangi, who emerges as a hunter of moose or deer. In the opinion of researchers, this zoomorphic form is the earliest in the mythic creation of Siberian peoples inasmuch as it emerges as the original ancestor (Anisimov 1959:15).

Ideas about the bear as the ancestor, i.e., the oldest relative, of their totem also existed among North American tribes. Among the Indians of North America the bear cult passed through several stages in its development. Initially, reverence for the bear was connected with the clan cult. For example, the California Wintu observed a strict taboo in relation to the grizzly bear—eating its meat was equivalent to cannibalism (Averkieva 1981:143). Later, with the disintegration of the clan structure, the ancestor cult was replaced by the hunting cult. The bear is considered the protector of hunted animals, and so only in rare cases is a hunted animal itself. There was also a belief that a member of the bear clan was the luckiest at hunting its clan totem. In this case the totemic animal was thought to voluntarily bring itself to the sacrifice. A taboo against eating bear meat was observed by bear clan kinsmen (Averkieva 1981:143). And finally, the bear cult acquired individual features. Among the Athapaskan tribes of California the bear was considered a spirit protector of shamans. According to the beliefs of these American Indians, "the so-called bear shaman, putting on a bear skin, turned into a bear and acquired such supernatural qualities as invulnerability, superhuman quickness of movement, and the capability to kill an enemy by his power" (Averkieva 1981:147, 148).

These same stages were uncovered in bear cults among Siberian and Far Eastern peoples with the only addition being that animistic ideas preceded totemic ones, which can be traced in the culture of the Khanti (peoples' helpers are the animals themselves) and among the Nivkhi (bear amulets were not perceived by them as images of spirits).

The taboo names of the bear among the Yukagir, Evenk, Khanti, and other peoples who speak of the bear allegorically—old man, grandfather, father, grandmother, mother, master of the forest, he, and so on—reflect the theme of ancestry. Also connected with the image of the bear ancestor is the concept of it as the first cultural hero. The Ob Ugrians ascribed to the brown bear, and the Nenets to the polar bear, the bringing of fire or the knowledge of how to use it (*Mify narodov* . . ., 1988:129).

Analysis of the archaeological and ethnographic sources, and myths and stories leads to an understanding of "the extreme age of these mythological ideas about the bear and the cults connected with it,"

as well as "the exceptional stability of the views of people regarding the nature of a bear and its sacred importance" (*Mify narodov* . . ., 1988:128).

Ground squirrel. The ground squirrel is another land mammal represented in Northeast Asian sculpture, though there is scant information about it in the ethnographic literature. According to the beliefs of the Evenk, "if the skin of a fur-bearing animal had an unusual shade or any spots, it was believed that its soul was located within the skin." Parts of the animals' bodies in which the "soul was located" were strung onto sinew thread to make amulets (Mazin 1984:27). Similar ideas also existed among other peoples of northern Asia. Pieces of skin from the tails of ground squirrels and deer hide were both used as trim on the ceremonial dress of the Chukchi women and were valued as protectors from evil spirits (Vdovin 1977:143). Krasheninnikov wrote about the use of ground squirrel fur "on clothing which is not considered for daily use" by the Koryak (Krasheninnikov 1949:246). In addition to the place that this small animal occupied in the religious sphere, it was the target used by Eskimos in training their children to shoot the bow (Menovshchikov 1959:105).

Sea mammals, the largest of which was the whale, played a definite role in hunting cults among coastal residents.

Whale. Based on the religious ideas of almost all coastal residents of Northeast Asia, sea mammals—whales, walruses, and seals—as well as all other animals and fish, live like people (Anisimov 1969:77). The whale festival, which took place in the fall with the catching of a whale, was considered the most important among the coastal tribes. Ethnographers believe that the maritime complex of beliefs and ceremonies connected with the whale festival had much in common among the Northeastern peoples—Chukchi, Koryak, Itel'men, and Eskimos (Anisimov 1969:79).

The primary sacred object of the festival was a wooden figurine of a whale set up in the place of honor. Near it was placed a wooden cup with offerings for the "guest" whale (Anisimov 1969:77). Describing the catching of a whale with nets of cured walrus thongs by the Olyutorskii Koryak, Krasheninnikov mentions a wooden whale "about two feet long," which is carried out of the yurt after the caught whale is "fastened" to the land. A new booth is built and the wooden image taken there. A lamp is lit and "placing it, they deliberately urge that the fire not go out from spring to fall, while they continue the hunt" (Krasheninnikov 1949:292). The wooden whale is taken from the booth to the yurt in spring, before whale hunting, and returned to the booth at the end of the festival (Krasheninnikov 1949:292). During the fall festival of giving thanks, the Kamchadal also made a figure of a whale—of yukola and sweet grass—which, according to the requirements of the festival, was carried into the yurt. Krasheninnikov describes this moment: "About midnight a woman entered the yurt by a *shopkhod* or *vyvod* (a lateral entry, and not through the upper opening intended for leaving and entering—M.K.). Tied on her back was a whale constructed of sweet grass and fish that had been made at the beginning of the festival. She crawled around the hearth, while behind her followed two Kamchadal with seal guts interwoven with sweet grass, crying like crows and hitting the whale with the guts." After the hearth had been circumambulated, young children rushed up to the woman and tore the whale into pieces, which were then divided between those present at the festival and eaten (Krasheninnikov 1949:418). Explaining this ritual, Krasheninnikov writes that "the grass whale is made in the shape of a dead whale carried on the waves, with rows of intestines shaped like ravens pecking its carcass, and small children pulling it to pieces in the manner of Kamchadal cutting off its blubber."

Not having any explanation for these activities from the Kamchadal themselves, Krasheninnikov suggests a magical meaning for the activities he saw, the essence of which was catching and eating real whales, as was done with the grass one (Krasheninnikov 1949:418). Such magical calling of sea mammals he explains by the fact that "there is no whale, walrus, and beluga hunting in Kamchatka, but they kill seals on the coastal ice" (Krasheninnikov 1949:710). In spite of the fact that the Kamchadal fall festival of giving thanks was addressed to all natural beings and events that provided life sustenance for the family and clan, its main character was the whale. This is explained by the abundance of material goods that it provided. Regarding the "great benefit" of the whale, Krasheninnikov wrote, "from their hide they

make soles and thongs, the blubber they eat and burn instead of candles, the meat they use as food, they sew their baidars with the baleen, and from that same material they weave nets for foxes and fish. From the lower jaw they make sled runners, knife handles, rings, dog harnesses, and other small articles. Gut serves them in place of vats and barrels; sinew is convenient for tie-downs for traps and for ropes, and the vertebrae for mortars" (Krasheninnikov 1949:294). Whale hunting played the same role among the Eskimos, Coastal Chukchi, and Koryak.

In the collection of stone amulets from Point Barrow (Alaska), the basic group is made up of whale figurines. This is also explained by the fact that whales were the basis of traditional life support of the population of Point Barrow and the basis of economic life of the large villages of natives in the region of the Bering Strait and the coast of northern Alaska (Jordan 1980:36). Among the Eskimos at Point Barrow, anthropomorphic masks appeared with images of whales attached to them. In the words of a possessor of such masks, they help him hunt whales (Liapunova 1967:40).

Orca. The orca plays an eminent role in the mythology of many peoples of the Pacific coast. According to their beliefs, this is a sea monster, from which even whales—the giants of the sea—get out of the way in fear. At the same time, they see them as benefactors, driving "into the nets fish and pinnipeds, which in fear throw themselves toward the shore before the orca and become the catch of the people" (Orlova 1976:227).

The Nivkhi call the orca "master." Seeing them in the sea, the Nivkhi address them with the words "we came to ask," and throw into the water some of the provisions, fire, and shavings of *inau*. According to their beliefs, if the orcas find themselves on a very long trip, they run out of fire or food. As a sign of gratitude for these offerings, the orcas kill whales and allegedly toss large pieces of whale blubber and meat up to the boat (Taksami 1976:215). According to Nivkhi legend, the orcas kidnapped a daughter from one family. She herself obtained the appearance of an orca and sent seals to the shore for her parents (Taksami 1977:103).

Among the Udege, an encounter with an orca led to terror. Having caught sight of it, they try to give it a propitiating offering in the form of matches and a small piece of sugar. They consider empty boats, thrown up on the shore by the waves, to be orca clothing. Taking them is to subject oneself to the greatest danger (Arsen'ev 1948:176).

Krasheninnikov, who observed orcas near the Kamchatka shore, rejects the opinion of the local population that an orca pursuing a whale will pierce the whale's stomach with its sharp dorsal fin, "though their plume [dorsal fin] is long, about two arshin,[21] and very pointed, and even in the sea seems like a horn or bone, it is soft, consisting of pure fat, and does not have a single bone in it" (Krasheninnikov 1949:295). The Itel'men had a respectful relationship with the orca. "They try to persuade whales and orcas with words when they see them at hunting," writes Krasheninnikov (1949:411).

As ethnographers note, the orca cult played an important role in religion even among other coastal peoples of Northeast Asia, including the Chukchi and Eskimos (Bogoras 1939:36). An orca was not an object of the hunt and was considered a sacred being. According to their ideas, in summer "it made itself at home in the sea, creating fear among all the inhabitants, and in winter it dressed itself in fur and, in the form of a wolf, roamed the tundra," catching deer (Menovshchikov 1959:90). The Eskimos depicted the figure of the orca on the sides of the bow of their umiaks or whaleboats, considering it a patron of the hunt. Before going into the sea they "fed" the orca by rubbing this figure with seal blood or oil (Menovshchikov 1959:92). Orca teeth were considered a reliable prophylactic against head and especially tooth illness (Fraikopf 1996:29). Among the subjects of cliff art on the Northwest Coast of North America, a special place is occupied by images of whales and orcas. The Indians honored the orca as a totemic animal (Okladnikova 1979b:72).

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[21] One arshin equals 28 inches or 71.12 cm.—*Trans.*

Walrus. The walrus cult played a primary role among the Eskimos and Settled Chukchi. The reindeer herders were also concerned with it since they used products from sea mammal exploitation, which came to them through exchange. They acknowledged that these were gifts from the ruler of the sea, which she provided to their maritime fellow tribesmen. "The powerful old woman of the sea, the idea of whom was so distinctive to the Eskimos," was also known to the Chukchi. They allegedly called her Walrus Mother. She ruled all the animals of the sea and lived at the bottom of the sea (Bogoras 1939:30). These ideas about the mistress of the sea, in the opinion of researchers, came to the Chukchi from the pantheon of the Eskimos along with the culture of sea mammal hunting and the religious ideas accompanying it (Vdovin 1977:130). The cult of the old woman Sedovlasa was noted among the Chukchi south of the Anadyr. To the north, on the shores of the Bering Strait and the coast of the Arctic Ocean the Master of the Sea, a male deity, was worshiped (Vdovin 1977:130).

The Gray-Haired Old Woman was worshiped by the Settled Chukchi and the Reindeer Chukchi, who spent the summer on the sea coasts, as well as by the Kerek and Koryak. They requested of Gray-Haired Old Woman, mistress of the sea, that she present them with sea mammals and fish. An offering of a white deer was made to her (Vdovin 1977:131). Bogoras cites one of the native illustrations executed in seal blood on a small board, which depicted this powerful old woman in the form of a large female walrus (Bogoras 1939:30). In the mythology of the Nivkhi fishermen and hunters of sea mammals, a powerful old sea woman was also known who lived, according to one variant of the myth, at the bottom of the sea in a small grass yurt, and in another variant, in the house of the Master of the Sea (Anisimov 1969:83).

Seal. In Ivanov's prominent work, dedicated to sculpture of the peoples of northern Siberia (Ivanov 1970), wooden and birch-bark images of seals made by the Pribaikal'e Evenk are cited. These are strikingly similar (in proportions, pose, and the modeling of the head and body) to the stone figure of a seal (Fig. 22:3) from the Neolithic complex in the Bol'shoi Kamen' site (Kamchatka) (Ivanov 1970:Fig. 129). All the images are untreated.

Small sea mammals—seals, sea lions, and others—were significant as hunted animals. And though this hunting was not as complex as hunting whales, it did require certain skills. Preparation for hunting activities was begun in early childhood and carried out usually in the form of play. Among the Ulcha, for example, there was the game of *pentekechi*, during which one of the participants pulled a "seal" of fir branches or grass along the ground and the others had to hit it with spears from a certain distance (Sagitova 1998:184).

Sculpted images of seals found in Primor'e, Kamchatka, and Chukotka attest to the existence of a cult of this animal over a fairly vast territory. This is also reflected in the folklore of the peoples who occupy the coastal regions of the Far East. The Ulcha and Nanai peoples gave the seal the attribute of foresight, of sympathetic feeling with the hunter in cases of death among his kinsman, which was reflected in the faculty of the seal "to wipe tears dry with its flippers" (Tabarev 1994:10). For reproduction of the animal and successful future hunting, the skull of the seal, with eyes and whiskers inserted, was returned to the god of the water, accompanied by an offering of food (Tabarev 1994:10). In the tradition of Far Eastern folklore, the seal appears as the Ruler of the Sea, regulating the quantity and course of fish and sea mammals and protecting hunters (Tabarev 1994:10).

Among the Itel'men there was a ceremony connected with catching seals, which was carried out in the form of a dramatized performance. During this ceremony an imitation sea shore was built by having stones carried in, and grass seals were made, which were placed in a mincemeat (fish roe, willow-herb, and low-bush cranberry mixed with seal oil). Then the "seals" that had been placed in the vessel of mincemeat were pulled several times across the "bank" of small stones, as the sea pinnipeds were summoned "to visit." At the conclusion of the ceremony the grass seals were burned in the yurt and the mincemeat eaten, while the participants repeated: "so that the seals will come more often." Seal jaws that had been placed in a dish during the ceremony were thrown out of the yurt at its conclusion, guaranteeing thereby the return of the seals to the sea (Krasheninnikov 1949:722). In Koryak mythology the seal Akimba accompanies the god and creator Kutkh during his journey to the underwater

kingdom (Okladnikov 1979:75). Amulets in the form of images of seals were present among various maritime peoples. The Greenland Eskimos placed a figurine of a seal inside the kayak for a successful hunt of this animal (Liapunova 1967:40). The Nivkhi (Giliak), in order to help a sick child, made (based on the advice of the shaman) an image of the master of the water in the form of two seals (Orlova 1964:238).

Fish. A representative series in our collection is made up of stone fish. In the mythology of northern Asiatic peoples, fish are correlated with beings of the underworld. It is possible, therefore, that images of fish are most often encountered among shamanic elements and on cult objects (Ivanov 1970; Mazin 1984). The use of images of fish as fetishes is known from ethnographic materials. In the notions of the Nganasani, success in hunting and catching fish was attributed to them. They kept these hunting and fishing fetishes in cases made of whole fish skins and moved them about on a sled especially made for them. North American Indians had similar fish figurines. They kept them in a special pocket in the front part of the fisherman's clothing (Okladnikov 1950a:332).

Certain legends exist regarding different kinds of fish. Among Finno-Ugric peoples and American Indians, the opinion was widespread that there was fire in the entrails of the salmon. According to their beliefs, the salmon symbolized abundance, knowledge, and inspiration (*Mify narodov* . . ., 1988:393). A special relationship to the burbot is noted among the majority of peoples of Siberia. In shamanic cults, the form of the burbot was connected with the underworld, and its external appearance—a large mouth and snake-like body with spotted coloring—may have given rise to this (Okladnikov 1950a:334). The image of the burbot was used more often than others in shamanic performances connected with the expulsion of the spirit of illness from the body of the sick person. The Evenk shaman placed the "extracted" evil spirit of the tormented sick person in a hollow wooden figurine of a burbot and, having stopped the hole with a plug, sent the latter under water, commanding that the spirit be released near the stream rapids under a large stone (Ivanov 1970:156).

In Nganasani folklore the burbot is mentioned as a chthonic deity—the master of the waters (Okladnikov 1950a:334). According to the perceptions of some peoples of Siberia, the burbot is worshiped as a totemic ancestor. Among the Tuvans, for example, a taboo existed on the use of the burbot in food since a human origin is ascribed to it (Okladnikov 1950a:334). The Stony Tunguska Evenk also did not eat the burbot, because its snout was "similar to the face of the Evenk" (Vasilevich 1959:186). In the opinion of researchers, the burbot cult has an early origin. Among the Buriat there are legends about a burbot original mother, which attests to sources of cults of this fish even during the period of the maternal clan (Okladnikov 1950a:336). In the views of the Yenisei Evenk, the form of the burbot, in all probability, integrally coexisted with the form of the mammoth and entered the pantheon of the most powerful of the shaman's helpers in his journey into the underworld, during which the mammoth punched a road through obstructions, cleared away stones, and thrust out earth, while the burbot cleared the channels of the underground rivers. These ideas were possibly embodied in images imitating the helpers of the shaman in the form of syncretic beings—with the body of a burbot and branched horns on the head—that were called mammoth (Ivanov 1970:Fig. 209:4).

Newt. A very special place is occupied by the newt, an amphibian which is an enigma.

Bogoras writes about the newt and the ideas connected with it: "I never saw it, but repeatedly heard a description of it from representatives of various tribes. . . . A multitude of legends are connected with the newt. The Chukchi maintain that it appears only to those people who will die in a short time. A newt that is caught must be cut into small pieces. If the pieces bleed, the unfortunate person who came across it can stop worrying; but if it does not bleed, he will inevitably die. Among the Russified Yukagir the same legend exists" (1939:40). Near the mouth of the Anadyr, Bogoras acquired an image of a newt made of antler (Fig. 25:2). It is characteristic that the sculpture was given a human face. It has front extremities (the rear ones absent) and a tail reminiscent of that of a fish. Nevertheless, it has something in common with the Tytyl' find that we published. Investigators note that in Chukchi demonology, in part agreeing with that of the Eskimo, there is a whole series of beings occupying the intermediate position between

spirit masters of the earth and sacred animals. The newt belongs to this circle (*Mify narodov . . .*, 1988:276).

Birds. In the modest collection of small stone sculpture are the material personifications of various representatives of the ornithofauna of the northern Far East: of large birds—the goose, owl (or horned owl), and eagle(?); and of small ones—the swallow (or swift), titmouse (or other bird of this family), and ptarmigan.

In mythological ideas, the form of the bird was connected with certain symbolism. Sometimes one and the same bird was represented in different roles in different traditions. Some birds qualified as "bad," bearing a threat or prophesy of misfortune (*Mify narodov . . .*, 1988:347). Such an idea existed among many peoples of northern Eurasia in relation to owls, though these views were contradictory. Among some peoples, an encounter with an owl brought on superstitious fear. The Khanti inferred in its appearance the soul of a deceased person. In their opinion, an encounter with this bird presaged approaching death. The relationship of the Mansi to it was similar. In the views of the Ob Ugrians, the owl symbolized a connection with the underworld (Chernetsov 1959:121, 155). Among the Nganasani and Nenets, at places of worship and in graves, the owl could be found among wooden figurines of birds (Ivanov 1970:177, Fig. 165). In the views of the Entsi, the horned owl was considered a shaman's helper in the struggle against evil spirits, and its image was a fixture on a shaman's breastplate (Prokof'eva 1971:15). The owl as a shaman's helper—along with the falcon, hawk, and black swan—was used in a ceremony connected with the "search" for the soul of the sick person (Ivanov 1970:160). Among many Siberian peoples, images of owls enter into the complex of the shaman's costume as the personification of forces belonging to the "dark" world (Prokof'eva 1971:7). Among the Entsi, a figurine of a horned owl was located in the upper part of the breastplate of the shaman (above the metallic disk symbolizing the shaman's navel) (Prokof'eva 1971:15, Fig. 3). The costume and head gear of the shaman (of the Altai, Tuvans, Khakass, and, in part, the Buriat) were made of natural bird feathers (from the wings)—most often, the horned owl (Prokof'eva 1971:93). Some peoples of the southern Far East kept live owls in the house and worshiped them as "medicinal" guardians. The Nanai carved an image of an owl from the woody mushroom as an amulet against the crying of children at night (Smoliak 1976:171).

In many traditions, the form of the bird (usually specific for this locality) was connected with concepts about the soul. Birds appear as a symbol of the soul among the Evenk, Altai, Yakut, and other peoples, as well as some American Indian groups. Sometimes the form of the soul was differentiated and was correlated with a certain bird, depending on the character of the death. Among the Tlingit, the soul of a drowned child was embodied in a sea duck, the soul of an infant suffocated by the mother during sleep, in an owl (*Mify narodov . . .*, 1988:347). Based on the ideas of the Ob Ugrians, a man had several souls: one of them ("going along under the river") could take on the form of a wagtail, titmouse, magpie, swallow, or other bird. Another (the "sleepy" soul, that is, appearing during sleep) is represented in the form of a woodcock, whose image was placed on children's cradles (*Mify narodov . . .*, 1988:347). Most often, a small bird personified the soul. The Khanti and Mansi applied an image of the sun, moon, and birds (a grouse, titmouse, and others) with charcoal or chalk on the bottom board of their coffins. The birds were there to "more strongly attach the soul to the place of the burial and limit its possibility to wander around" (Chernetsov 1959:144). The form of a small bird also had a soul—*omya*—which had to settle in the body of a pregnant woman so that the most important features of the child's vital functions appeared. Beliefs about this small bird formed a rather complex and harmonious concept of the beginning of human life among the Nanai (Ivanov 1976:163). Such birds were depicted in family trees or fluttering around them (Ivanov 1976:164). While growing, the *omya* bird descends from the top of the family tree, moving from the upper branches to the lower, and then settling into one of the women, giving life to the soul of the future child (Ivanov 1976:164, 165). That is, the vitalizing of the fetus of the mother depends on the vital beginning that is embodied in the small bird (Ivanov 1976:166). Also, the upper Amur Evenk identified the birth of a person with the form of the small bird. A small box was made for the newborn in which a nest and a wooden bird (the guardian of its soul) was placed, since it was the only being capable of protecting the child from all possible illnesses and misdeeds of hostile spirits (Mazin 1984:58).

In some traditions birds appeared as a totem. Not only large birds, such as the eagle and raven, but also small birds, like the sparrow among the Dravidians and the woodpecker among the Chinese, belonged to this class (*Mify narodov . . .*, 1988:347).

Small birds appear in some cosmogonic myths. Thus, in stories about Chukchi shamans a "small gray bird with a blue breast" is repeatedly mentioned, which "acts as a shaman, sitting between the bough and the trunk, calling spirits." In another story of a similar kind, the "small bird, which is sitting in a hollow of the bough, beats on a grass drum. . . . The thievish raven descends to it, listens to its songs, and takes possession of them, drawing them in with his breath" (Bogoras 1939:4). Based on the ideas of the Chukchi, a small bird, the *zimushka*, along with the ptarmigan, helps the raven creator obtain light (Vdovin 1976:229).

Rather contradictory ideas existed about the swallow. Among the Nanai it was a symbol of happiness and prosperity for the family, probably through an association with the good messenger of spring, the sun's ascent, and morning. It was forbidden to be killed like other small birds (the hoopoe, kestrel, and others) (Smoliak 1976:140). In the beliefs of the Slavs, the swallow was a harbinger of good weather. The idea was that swallows fly high to "good weather" (*Mify narodov . . .*, 1988:39). At the same time, the swallow was connected with the other world, with death, and was considered an intermediary between life and death (*Mify narodov . . .*, 1988:39). Among the Nanai there was the concept of swallows as "participants" in the shamanic ceremony at large funeral banquets (Smoliak 1976:141).

The goose was also in the pantheon of shamanic helpers. Its image was part of the complex of shamanic equipment in the form of metal pendants (Ivanov 1970). Certain ideas were connected with the bill of this bird. As part of the makeup of clothing among Nenets shamans in the past were shoulder straps braided of reindeer hide on which 70 goose bills were strung (Prokof'eva 1971:12, Fig. 2).

In cosmological myths the goose often appears as the bird of chaos, but at the same time, as the creator of the universe, which has laid the golden egg-sun (*Mify Narodov Mira*, 1992:348).

Astral Symbols

(Moon, Sun, Stars)

Statistics show that among the items of material culture of primitive society, beginning in the Paleolithic period, images of the moon predominate over images of the sun. This phenomenon is explained by the traditions of maternal clan societies being closely connected with the earliest lunar calendar, which was used for determining the periods of pregnancy and birth. The moon was thought of as the master of water inasmuch as over the course of millennia man observed its influence on the ebb and flow of the sea. Archaeological information (Larichev 1983, 1989a, 1989b, 1996) indicates an ancient origin for the lunar calendar and the special relationship with the moon, which represented one of the chief mythological personages (*Mify narodov . . .*, 1988:78).

The form of the moon in Nganasani mythology belongs to maternal cosmogonic personages. But the Moon Mother did not take part in the creation of the modern world. After the appearance of people she began to keep track of the menstrual period and pregnancy, being considered the protector of women in their specifically female manifestation. The form of the Moon Mother among the Nganasani and Yukagir had secondary significance derived from the Earth Mother. In the hierarchy of kin relationships, she (the Moon Mother) was the older sister of the Earth Mother (Simchenko 1976:269).

The sun appears in mythological systems in various roles. In Chukchi mythology it was represented as a man in shining clothes who traveled through heaven on dogs or deer. In many descriptions these deer

had copper horns. White deer, in the view of the Chukchi, were a gift of the sun to people. The Chukchi called the moon the sun of the evil spirits. In their mythology the sun of the underworld was similar to the earth's moon. Shamans sought advice from the moon for evil charms and spells. The Chukchi made an offering to the new moon every month in the form of blood soup, meat, and oil, as well as deer figurines made of snow or ground leaves. This offering took place in the evening and, as it was intended for evil spirits, it was conducted secretly (Bogoras 1939:78).

A universal principle of any mythological system presumes a binary classification of events arranged in paired opposition. The moon appears in opposition to the sun, embodying the male or female beginning (*Mify narodov* . . ., 1988). In a whole series of lunar myths there is the motif of the marriage of the moon and sun. In Ket mythology the moon is a man and the sun is a woman. In distinction from this, in Chinese mythology the sun personifies the male, positive, active principle and the moon the female passive, dark, and cold principle (*Mify narodov* . . ., 1988:79). Such connections are characteristic for Siberian shamanic myths, too, which is reflected in the symbolism of the structure of the world on shaman's drums, where the moon is usually on a dark background to the left of the Axis of the Universe (*Mify narodov* . . ., 1988:79). Other ideas exist as well about these chief heavenly bodies of the mythological world order. Among the Sel'kup, the sun and moon are the two eyes (good and evil) of the supreme deity Num (*Mify narodov* . . ., 1988:401).

In shamanic cults, the more important role was allotted to the sun. Based on the ideas of Ket shamans, one of seven roads was directed to the sun, along which "passed" shamans of a certain category (Alekseenko 1977:33). The Nganasani "turned" (dedicated) a deer to the sun by placing a sun brand on it (Gracheva 1983:24).

Sun and moon images are widely known among elements of a cult character in the form of illustrations on drums and the pendants on shamans' caftans. They are also present on many everyday objects. For example, in instances where a child showed anxiety during the day, the Nanai hung an image of the sun carved from a fish skin, birch bark, or cardboard in the form of a disk with rays (small bands) radiating from it and a hole (round or square) in the center (Ivanov 1977:84) on the cradle. They held the belief that the sun was a female, a bearer of life. They explained the child's anxiety as a temporary departure of its soul—*omya*—from the body. The image of the sun helped return it to the child. They asked the sun to send life (the soul) to an unborn child, inasmuch as, based on their understanding, such souls obeyed the sun. Similar ideas probably existed among the Ket, who depicted a bird in the rays of the sun.

For children who displayed anxiety at night, disks from birch bark depicting the moon were carved instead (Ivanov 1977:85). The Yukagir decorated the pointed peak of their hats and the backside of their gloves with an image of the sun. The ornamental zone of their summer clothing was decorated with a sun symbol whose rays bordered the neck (Zhukova 1996a:51–53). The Nivkhi, in order to bring up a boy to be a good master of the home, hung a small bow over the cradle, and on the bow string were attached images of different men's tools (axes, rifles, leisters, rattles, and arrows), as well as the sun and the moon (the sun in the form of a disk with a hole in the middle, the moon in the form of a new moon or crescent) (Orlova 1964:238, Fig. 15:1). Over the cradle of a girl they placed an image of the sun and the moon and tiny reproductions of women's tools (a scraper, needle case with needles, thimble, sinew thread, small pieces of hide and cloth, and so on) (Orlova 1964:238, Fig. 15:1).

A multi-toothed (multi-rayed) artifact from the Chukotka site of Nizhnetytyl'skaya IV may symbolize the sun. However, the traditionally acknowledged depiction of the sun (in the two-dimensional variant, that is, an illustration or applique) was round like a disk or ring. It is therefore more logical to see in the Nizhnetytyl'skaya find the image of a star. The multi-toothed image in an Evenk illustration is "read" in precisely such a way (Fig. 109), providing ideas about the upper world; a many rayed (with rays in the form of stretched triangles) star was placed between the images of the moon and sun (Mazin 1984:8, Fig. 2). According to the mythological ideas of the Dakota Indians, the moon was the wife of the chief deity—the sun—and the morning star was their son.

Multi-toothed figures are a fairly widespread motif in cliff illustrations of northern Europe and Siberia, which attests to a significant antiquity for the cult of astral objects. The star among the Evenk that is of particular interest here is Venus—Chalbon—which appeared in the east in the morning, and in the west after sunset. The Evenk considered this star the motherland of people and believed that unborn souls of all people were found there. They believed that the route to Chalbon was open only to powerful shamans (Mazin 1984:10).

The Nanai were very familiar with some stars. They allotted to heavenly bodies a special power that influences people. They prayed to them and brought offerings (Smoliak 1976:136). In the notions of the Chukchi, stars and constellations belong to "beings." They focused their greatest attention on the Pole Star—"the Motionless Star" or "the Anchored Star" (the latter name is characteristic for many peoples of Eurasia). In the mythology of the Chukchi, the house of the Pole Star was located at the zenith, and under the house was the hole for moving from one world to another. Owing to this hole all worlds, whether lower or upper, can see the Pole Star, whereas the rest of the constellations are specialized to each world (Fraikopf 1996:14).

According to the beliefs of the Chukchi, the Pole Star is where the Creator lives and sometimes it is identified with him. The Pole Star (the "Creator") protects earthly people from being followed by evil spirits, can bring the dead to life, and provides animals—both land and sea animals—for food. The Pole Star was viewed by the Chukchi as a life-giving, life-supporting essence, always favorably disposed toward people and protective of them (Vdovin 1977:124, 125). An image of the Pole Star made of wood was fastened to the shell of the drum of a Chukchi shaman (Vdovin 1977:119, Fig. 1). It is similar to the multi-angled figurine found at Nizhnetytyl'skaya IV (Fig. 29:4). I. S. Vdovin cites the observations of G. U. Sverdrup about the worship of some stars: the Reindeer Chukchi annually carried out offerings to the star Altair, in the constellation Aquila, while the Kolyma Chukchi "honor one or two more stars." But all the Reindeer Chukchi assert that the "stars are not their gods but gods of the deer" (Vdovin 1977:119, Fig. 1). It is probable that the Nizhnetytyl'skaya find also embodied one of those stars specially honored since ancient times.

3.

On the Question of Semantics in the Small Art of the Stone Age of the Northern Far East

In the interpretation of small images the most complex and yet probably most solvable problem remains the clarification of their semantics and functional assignment.

Drawing on archaeological parallels and ethnographic and mythological materials brings us closer in some degree to determining the subjects, and finding a route to understanding the semantic code and sensing the psychological aura of the early masters, creators of these amazing items of portable art, striking in their simplicity, refinement, primitiveness and richness of content.

It is probably impossible to avoid making mistaken conclusions in the analysis of shaped images that reflect both individual mastery and the specifics of each concrete case about which the subject (in the art) was formed. The character of the majority of finds does not contribute to a successful solution to the questions raised—many of the finds were taken from the surface, others were obtained during excavation of a cultural layer, but not in the context of a dwelling, burial, or ritual complex that might shed light on the religious-ceremonial side of the spiritual life of these early social groups. The cultural-economic type of archaeological sites is the only supporting background in which the recovered sculpted images are "interwoven." But even if one views the figurines by themselves (and of course, also considering the concrete material complexes), it is impossible to underestimate them as a product of art, produced in a certain epoch and spiritually connected with it, as manual creations in which not only an ideological message was invested, but also a psychological impulse of the human individual, bearer of definite cultural traditions. In this is the essence of the items of portable art being investigated as a historical source.

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Analysis of all known small sculptures from the northern Far East presented in this study convinces one of the existence of this category of representational art during all stages of the Stone Age.

Judging by available materials, artists during the Paleolithic concentrated their attention primarily on the form of the mammoth, though man himself did not escape their notice. Evidence of this is the tentatively executed small female sculpture and three-dimensional image of a female symbol from Cultural Layer VII of the Ushki I site, as well as the anthropomorphic figurine of a seated person found in Cultural Layer VI of the same site. In Mesolithic complexes two additional beings appear—a bison and a bear (from the Chukotkan sites of Tytyl' IV [Locus 3] and Tytyl'vaam II). The themes depicted in small sculpture are expanded and enriched in the Neolithic. The human form (woman) occupies a very significant place in its ensemble, which is rivaled in the quantity of such images only by that of the bear. In addition to these two leading beings in portable Neolithic art of Northeast Asia, various representatives of fauna were reflected: land and sea mammals, fish, birds, and a unique amphibian, the newt. Humans attempt to grasp the world around them not only in its obvious sense, but also in abstract ways forming the many fantastic patterns that combine anthropo- and zoomorphic features.

Beginning in the Paleolithic, the secrets of the universe fascinated humans. In mythological creation, forms were reflected that were connected with astrological observations. Natural phenomena were

viewed through the prism of social consciousness. Heavenly bodies found their material embodiment in objects of primitive culture—these bodies were connected not only with seasonal cycles but also with events within the clan community.

Analysis of the small sculpture available to us indicates that a long series of images belongs to one culture (Old Itel'men), with a large share of the anthropomorphic figurines falling to it. A similar situation is observed in Eastern Europe, where small sculpture was widespread in the Volosovo culture and is, in essence, a distinctive indicator defining the cultural association of these archaeological sites. This phenomenon, which in all probability lies in the ideological system of an unidentified social group, does not have an explanation. Of course, it is also essential to consider the incompleteness of information that might shed light on the world view and ceremonial activity of early social groups because of the lack of such sites that have preserved cultural elements, such as cemeteries. Burials have not been found in Old Itel'men culture inasmuch as a surface or above-ground method of disposing the corpse was carried out (Krasheninnikov 1949). Also, no cliff drawings have been found in Kamchatka. It is possible that this kind of representational activity was not characteristic for the early Itel'men, but rather that sculpted objects served as their functional equivalent (S. N. Zamyatnin wrote about this phenomenon).

In the diverse material we are researching, ideas are reflected that are characteristic for a maternal clan community, enriched by a symbolic religious-mythological character. Static figurines, like photographs, imprint moments frozen in time, having materialized and left for history a simple code of the complex interaction of man and his surrounding environment. Realizing the importance of sculpted images as a source for the reconstruction of various aspects of the spiritual culture of primitive society, we will try to understand the meaning and purpose of objects of portable art represented in the northern Far East.

Sixteen objects make up the collection of anthropomorphic images of fully erect humans. Ten originate in the Neolithic sites of Kamchatka containing cultural remains that belong to the early Itel'men (different stages of development of the Old Itel'men culture). Of the remaining six images (from Chukotka and from northern Priokhot'e), three are iconographically similar to the Kamchatka ones and three stand apart. It can be hypothesized that canonically similar small sculptures had an identical semantic and functional impact. The difficulty arises in the fact that only a small number of the figurines have a definite tie in the context of a cultural layer. The rest were found on the surface or in a cultural layer but with no recorded location. In the investigations of Dikova, two clusters of obsidian and flint figurines are denoted on the plan of the excavation (Dikova 1983:Figs. 71, 73), but there are no details about the types of images found in each of them. In Table 45, cited by Dikova (1983:Figs. 71, 73), in addition to female figurines, there were zoomorphic ones. From the text it follows that "obsidian and flint figurines, among which there is an especially remarkable anthropomorphic image," tentatively named "Tar'ina" (after the name of the culture), were discovered near an accumulation of hearth stones (Dikova 1983:126, 127).

The anthropomorphic figurines in the Kamchatka collection and the Chukotkan finds, which are forms canonically close to those of Kamchatka, were executed in different styles: some represent more realistic images (Fig. 4:1), others were treated less precisely (Fig. 4:2), and a third group was extremely schematic (Fig. 5:1, 2). Also of particular interest is the presence of "hybrids" (syncretic) and fantastic beings that have anthropomorphic features (Figs. 5:4; 6:1; 7), on the basis of which a conclusion can logically be drawn that anthropomorphic figurines, even those belonging to a one-culture complex, have diverse meanings and specialized assignments. Considering the fact that Old Itel'men culture existed over the course of millennia and was the basis for the formation of the Itel'men ethnic group, it is useful to review historical sources, primarily the works of Krasheninnikov, who left a sizable description of the material and spiritual culture of the Itel'men of the eighteenth century (see above). Retrospectively, some parallels are revealed.

During festivals of thanksgiving the Itel'men placed small anthropomorphic idols, called *itung*, over the hearth while in the midst of making the chief ceremonial being, known as the *khantai*. The small idols that "abide" with the *khantai* are repeatedly mentioned. It is notable that Old Itel'men *tar'ina* were

also arranged near the hearth in a "cluster." These were made from material similar to that used in making the khantai, and were close to it iconographically. According to the ethnographic data, the *khantai* was carried out to a booth after the termination of the festival where it was kept during the course of a year (until the new festival), and the *itung* were left in the house near the hearth over that same time period.

Similar small anthropomorphic sculptures were noted among the Kamentsy Koryak, who were neighbors of the Itel'men and probably had some elements in common with them, not only of material but also spiritual culture. The Kamentsy put small wooden idols on alder rods "so they would be more comfortable" and decorated them with thongs and beads. There were also benevolent beings in the form of humanoid statues of wood and stone by the same names among the Alyutorsk Koryak, located north of the Itel'men. These "helpers," considered to be anthropomorphic figurines, had "material claims: they were given food and water. But if upon appealing to them for assistance the expected results were not received, they did not give them food and could simply throw them away" (Vdovin 1973:94).

Syncretic anthropomorphic images might also have a justification. Parallels to them appear in ethnographic sources about the Itel'men and neighboring peoples. One such "hybrid" figure is a small sculpture of a fish-man from Zemlya Geka (Fig. 7), which belongs to the Old Kerek culture.[22] In it can be seen the chief personage of the festival of thanksgiving among the Itel'men—the *khantai*, preserver of the hearth and guarantor of successful providers. According to Krasheninnikov's description, the *khantai* "is made to resemble a mermaid, that is, with the head and chest of a human and from there down a fish, and is usually placed by the hearth. . . . This *khantai* idol is annually made anew . . . and is placed with the old one, and by counting them it is possible to learn how many years that yurt has been there" (Krasheninnikov 1949:376). Similar ideas and ceremonies might also have existed among the Kerek, which can be logically explained by the cultural interactions of neighboring ethnic groups.

A second small syncretic sculpture, which embodies the form of a bird-man, is an image found at the Neolithic Bol'shoi El'gakhchan IV site (Fig. 6:1). It resembles an arrowhead, the significance of which is understood in the context of ethnographic materials.

An autumn festival of thanksgiving to all beings was celebrated by one of the subdivisions of the Karaginsk Koryak from which, according to their beliefs, "successful hunting on the sea and land, health, and general well-being in life depended" (Vdovin 1973:40). During the procession of ceremonies connected with this festival, there was one that brought in wooden figurines—the *effev'*, whose very form is reminiscent of arrowheads, but which had berry juice depicting the eyes, nose, and mouth (Vdovin 1973:42, Pl. III:3).

They always made five *effev'*, which consisted of two pairs (husband and wife) and a lone man. The fulfillment of the ceremony, including the participation of the *effev'*, was connected with worshiping thunder and lightning and hunting sea mammals. The five beings of the *effev'* all had their own names, owing their origins to thunder (Vdovin 1943:42). This ceremony occurred only in the evening. Before the *effev'* were brought into the room, the hide of a seal or sea lion was stretched over the doors of the house, and onto this hide young people threw five birch sticks resembling darts, sharpened on one end by being burned in the hearth. These were thrown with enough force to pierce the hide, that is, "to kill a sea mammal." After this the *effev'* were thrown through an open door into the room where they were caught by the master of the house or a close relative. These activities were connected with Koryak ideas that the *effev'*, as a creation of thunder, "fly" during a storm. After having transferred these darts into the room, the rain of fertility was imitated by having fruit (crowberries and low-bush cranberries) and cedar (pine) nuts thrown into the room from the outer entryway. These ceremonies reflected the connection of natural phenomena with ensuring the well-being of man: thunder sent projectile points for a successful hunt and rain predetermined a good harvest of berries and nuts (Vdovin 1943:42). After the *effev'* were received in such a way, they were arranged on a bed made from the skin of a newly obtained sea mammal. The ceremony

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[22] The Kerek were located south of the mouth of the Anadyr River along the coast of Oliutorskii Bay in a region close to the Itel'men.

of feeding the *effev'* and gathering them for a trip was performed. Little hats and gloves were woven of grass for them and moose-hide skis and wooden spears were made for the *effev'* men, while snowshoes and bags or baskets that they wore on their backs were made for the *effev'* women (Vdovin 1943:43).

Before the departure of the *effev'* to their home (that is, into the fire), they and all the participants present were treated to boiled fish. This ceremony was strictly observed. Sending the *effev'* "on the way" completed it: the master took them, together with the objects prepared for them, and threw them into the fiery oven. With this, the ceremony of the *effev'* was concluded, and the latter were remembered only in summer when the fish run began. The family that performed the ceremony of thanksgiving with the *effev'* during the festival, burned, as a gift to each of them, five pink salmon (three males and two females) in a fire somewhere in the forest (Vdovin 1943:43).

Vdovin, who described the festival of thanksgiving and the accompanying ceremonies among the Karaginsk Koryak, notes the commonality of a whole series of details with Itel'men ceremonies in their festival of thanksgiving (Vdovin 1943:46; also Krasheninnikov 1949:425–426). He suggests that the "pointed-headed little dolls" that Krasheninnikov described, which were also connected with the idea of having originated in thunder, were identical in form to those of the Koryak. If one analyzes the "activities" of the *kamuchyuchi* during their return "home" based on Krasheninnikov's cited commentary of the Itel'men, who, leaving the yurt, watch after them (the *kamuchyuchi* catch fish, kill wild sheep, and so on), then the conclusion suggests the likeness of their spirits (by their function) to projectile points. In the ethnic history of the Koryak of the eastern coast of Kamchatka, "the Itel'men left easily followed traces of their influence" (Vdovin 1943:47).

An image of the *effev'*, cited by Vdovin (1943:Pl. III:3), not only integrates anthropomorphic features (the details of the face are depicted), but also includes elements of an ornithomorphic being (drooping wings are designated and the form of the tail plumage is depicted). The form of the head is also reminiscent of a bird's head face on, while the figure of the *effev'* on the whole was worked like an arrow point (Fig. 6:3).

In the channel of similar ideas, in my view, some paleo-ethnographic sources are found, discovered by V. V. Leont'ev among the Kerek. In Gavriila Bay, at the open profile at Kanyyun village, he picked up two objects: a bone arrow point and a figurine of a small bird with a seal's head (Leont'ev 1983:49). A peculiarity was noted on the point—a human face was illustrated on one side of the tip: two horizontal dashes denote the eyes, a triangle with one angle directed downward is the nose, and below, a small cut carves the mouth (Fig. 6:2). In the words of an old Kerek, in earlier times they hunted whales with such arrows, trying to hit them in the spine of the tail flipper (Leont'ev 1983:49).

It can be hypothesized that the distinctive design of such points determined their ritual character. As the researcher notes, this arrow point is similar in form, material, and ornamentation to others found in large numbers at a sacrificial place located near the village (Leont'ev 1983:49, 50). Among these finds is one that can be distinguished by its "somewhat original decoration (the form and dimensions are similar)" (Leont'ev 1983:49), the distinctive element of which is the image of a small branch reminiscent of a "stylized flying bird." No similar element is noted in other Kerek artifacts (Leont'ev 1983:49). In these cases, the idea of a bird connects the points from the village with those from the sanctuary in some way (this does not seem to have an explanation): in one case, as an accompanying being (a bird with a seal's head), and in another, as an element of design, but both implying this item had a ritual function.

The Kerek were bordered on the south by the Apukinsk Koryak, while the Alyutorsk Koryak lived farther south. Villages of the latter were located north of Karaga village, in which the Karaginsk Koryak lived, whose festival of thanksgiving (with the participation of *effev'*) is described above. It is possible that some cultural elements were borrowed or there were certain common ideas in more remote times among tribes who were members of a single Paleo-Asiatic cultural community during the Stone Age, but who separated into individual ethnic groups upon the breakup of the primitive structure.

A stone point of anthropomorphic appearance (Fig. 6:1) from the Bol'shoi El'gakhchan IV site possibly reflects an early stage in the rise of ceremonies similar to those that existed among the Itel'men and Karaginsk Koryak (and probably Kerek), connected with the idea of giving thanks to the elements and beings of nature that provide a prosperous livelihood to small bands and individual families.

The Bol'shoi El'gakhchan IV site is located 50 km from the northwest boundary of the Koryak National District. The population that left Neolithic artifacts there had contacts with eastern tribes, and it is possible that some inland groups penetrated the territory occupied by the pre-Koryak ethnic group in northern Priokhot'e and farther east. During the process of segmentation and fusion of different ethnic groups, new tribal unions were formed that were connected not only by commonality of territory but also by unified views in the realm of religious ideas.

The investigator of small flint sculpture, S. N. Zamyatnin, first focused attention on the fact that "a very substantial part of the flint images (and not just of our North European Neolithic, but also of other places) both in general outline and dimensions are much like arrow points" (Zamyatnin 1948:122). Noting a particular period (Neolithic-early Bronze Age) as having an animistic perception of the environment and "allotting individual qualities even to inanimate objects, including tools and weapons," the researcher proposed a ritual character for flint sculptures and their connection with ceremonies, suggesting that "they were simultaneously personifications of beings to whom sacrifice was offered" (Zamyatnin 1948:122). These conclusions can clearly be drawn with regard to the El'gakhchan (lithic) anthropo-ornithomorphic point, the bone analogies of the Kerek, and the wooden *effev'* of the Koryak and Itel'men.

Among the small Kamchatka Neolithic sculptures, there are clearly expressed beings, i.e., images with a pointed projection in the place of a head (Fig. 5:4). Both figurines are of obsidian (the author cites only one of them) (Ponomarenko 1985:88, Fig. 19:13).

A similar working of form, in my view, reflects the ideas of the early Itel'men connected with thunder. This is especially related to the raw material itself—obsidian—which among the Chukchi was considered "thunder stone, allegedly falling from the sky in the form of spheres or roughly worked arrow and spear points" (Fraikopf 1996:15). To the Karaginsk Koryak, who adopted some cultural elements of the Itel'men, obsidian was alleged to be scrapers produced by thunder (Vdovin 1973:42). The Itel'men considered the *kamuchyuchi* (or *kamuda*) (described above) to be products of thunder and lightning, which, according to our understanding, had a material embodiment similar to arrow points. Krasheninnikov mentions in the "retinue" of *kamuchyuchi* their helper the *kamtach*, which at the conclusion of the ceremony was also sent into the fire. The Neolithic pointed-headed figurines of obsidian could have depicted this helper of spirits, produced, as they were, by thunder and lightning and different from them outwardly in individual details, but having the pointed head and connected with them through the "relationship" of origin. It might also be suggested that these pointed-headed beings made of obsidian personified mountain spirits, which among the Itel'men were called *kamuli* or small spirits. "These gods," Krasheninnikov writes, "or, according to the locals, enemies, live on high, especially smoky mountains" (Krasheninnikov 1949:408). They have an anthropomorphic appearance, which is evidenced by his short observation: "Some ascribe thunder and lightning to the enemies and others to the people living in a burning hill" (Krasheninnikov 1979:371). It is entirely possible that the objects representing these gods were thunder arrows (the same *kamuchyuchi* of Itel'men or *effev'* of the Koryak), materialized in antiquity in the form of points.

In the mythology of the Chukchi, evil spirits (*kele*) who bring illness or death had the appearance of pointed-headed people (or animals). They live under the earth or in desert places in the west, in a dwelling they enter through the left side of the hearth (*Mify Narodov Mira*, 1982:276).

Unfortunately, the archaeological material is far from always correlated with the ethnographic material, as the time interval is often so great that important changes occurred in the sphere of these early groups. With the replacement of the maternal clan by the paternal, constants of social organization were also altered, and male beings came to replace female beings who formerly reigned in mythology and during ritual ceremonies. This comes out very clearly in all the activities conducted during the thanksgiving

festival, described by Krasheninnikov, the coordinator of which is the "old man," the oldest (male) participant of the ceremony (Krasheninnikov 1949:416–427). Nevertheless, the archaic elements of the beliefs were preserved. Among such elements are the worship of fire and the preparation of various anthropomorphic figurines connected with the cult of the domestic hearth and ancestors. This probably also includes the Itel'men *itung* statuettes mentioned above, which were located above the hearth, and figurines of *yaidachi* that were thrown into the yurt through the upper entryway to children sitting near the ladder, who carried them around the fire and "beat" them near the hearth (Krasheninnikov 1949:410–418). Among the Karaginsk Koryak, similar figurines were considered male guardians and together with fire-striking stone (also of anthropomorphic form) had a direct relationship with the ancestor (Vdovin 1973:169).

A material echo of the female guardians of the fire, known through Paleolithic statuettes, is undoubtedly the fire board, which is still used up to the present day among the Chukchi and Koryak. During the period of the maternal clan, which was ultimately developed in the Neolithic (Tokarev 1964), *tar'ina*—small female sculptures executed with skill and love (Fig. 4:1)—could have emerged among the ancestors of the Itel'men as such guardians. Identifying the imprecise schematic figurines (Fig. 5) of obsidian from Chukotka and Kamchatka is complex. The specifics of these images—their "headlessness" or "pointed-headedness"—probably indicates a special status in the pantheon of worshiped beings. Among the Itel'men, beliefs existed about shamanic spirits that live "in burning hills, are a quarter of an *arshin* tall, have a black body, and the same for the wives," who teach the shamans how to help the sick. According to notions of the Itel'men, they are also small though powerful ("they can carry five whales in one hand"). The shamanic spirits have a constant struggle with forest spirits, which they "do not allow into the huts" (Krasheninnikov 1949:717). The indistinct obsidian figurines noted could have embodied these or other shamanic spirits.

If we turn to the equipping of the Sel'kup or Evenk shamans, among the elements of ritual dress are anthropomorphic images of an unusual character: they are shaped like a small rod either with or without a head (Ivanov 1970).

According to Itel'men mythology, fire-spitting volcanoes ("burning hills"), with their peaks reaching into the clouds, combined within themselves the elements of the upper and lower worlds, and were occupied not just by mountain and shamanic spirits. There also, according to Itel'men beliefs, were sent the souls of the deceased (Krasheninnikov 1949:716). The "shadow" of a man and his soul could also take on the form of an anthropomorphic image of black obsidian. Among the Eskimos is a legend that a deceased person is able to transform into an evil spirit and return. A "doppelganger" of the deceased that invisibly accompanied the living had two names among the Eskimos: *pista*—representative, and *tag'nyk'*—shadow (Menovshchikov 1959:94). It must be considered that elements of shamanism reflected in the artistic formation of their rituals are interwoven into the complex processes occurring in clan society

Unfortunately, we only an insignificant number of sculpted images of man in full stature available, which constitutes far from the full spectrum of mythological ideas connected with the ceremonial activity of early groups.

If ethnographic parallels of the Itel'men and the groups of Koryak, who are similar to them, basically serve as the key to revealing the semantics of the anthropomorphic figures, then Eskimo materials can shed light on the semantic context of the image of the human head in the interpretation of an early master of the Tokareva culture (Fig. 26:2). We will turn to the investigation by S. V. Ivanov of two female statuettes of the American Eskimos (Norton Sound, Alaska) that are preserved in the collections of the MAE (St. Petersburg). Both bone figurines (one 18.8 cm high, the other 5 cm high), dating to the first half of the nineteenth century, are "images of women with emphasized sexual characteristics treated in a realistic manner" (Ivanov 1949b:164). The carver devoted special attention to creating the heads, which are disproportionately large and somewhat flattened in both cases. Other features also attract attention, in particular the detailed shape of the head, through which the meaning of the images is revealed.

On one statuette a shallow groove was carved around the head (along the edge of the face and nape of the neck), to which, based on Ivanov's hypothesis, a cord with hair would have been attached, but was later lost (Ivanov 1949b:Fig. 1). There was no groove on the second statuette. Holes were bored in the top of both sculptures (one in the first, two in the second) and stopped with wooden plugs (on the second figurine one of the holes was open, as the plug had been lost). Upon closer examination of both statuettes, black locks of human hair, folded twice, were discovered in the holes closed with plugs (Ivanov 1949b:165). Ivanov also refers to other (archaeological) materials, among which are human figurines with a depression in the head. Male figurines are also encountered among these materials (Collins 1929; Hrdli ka 1930; Mathiassen 1927). The cited specimens of early and modern Eskimo art "attest to the fact that among the human images . . . were figurines designed to have hair or some other part of the body placed inside them" (Ivanov 1949b:166).

The Late Neolithic pendant from Tokareva Bay was executed in the same manner as the head of the above-mentioned early Eskimo sculptures (Figs. 12:1, 26:2). Judging by the hair arrangement, one man who is depicted is of an anthropological type very close to beings embodied in the sculptures from Norton Sound described by Ivanov. Also characteristic are the methods of flattening the heads, as well as the presence of holes in the heads. The hole was drilled obliquely in the Tokareva figurine: beginning at the nape of the neck it goes toward the crown of the head and ends with a broad opening having a diameter about one-third the width of the face. It is possible that the hole was also there as a receptacle for human hair and at one time had a wooden (or bone) plug. In that case, a cord for suspension could have been placed in the deep neck groove. It is also possible that a tassel of hair or a small plait was passed through the hole in the head and was fastened to a cord between two knots that acted as plugs. Such close parallels also suggest an identical purpose for the early Eskimo and Tokareva sculptures.

Turning to the ethnography of the Asiatic and American Eskimos, researchers have noted a special relationship to the hair of the deceased, in which, according to native beliefs, the soul of the person was preserved. Thus, they customarily cut part of the hair of the deceased, "in order that he would again 'come' to the people, that is, be reborn in a child" (Ivanov 1949b:167). Such customs also existed among the Tlingit Indians: a girl wore a lock of hair from a deceased clansman on a belt, thinking that his soul would be reborn in her future child (Ivanov 1949b:167). The cult of the dead, closely connected with the ancestor cult, is reflected in the religious sculpture of numerous peoples. Wooden images of deceased tribal members that included a tuft of hair of the deceased were placed on posts in the villages of the Kitiksan tribe (British Columbia). Some African tribes deposited the burned bones of the deceased in a hole in the head of a "doll" (Ivanov 1949b:168).

Investigators believe that the Eskimo statuettes reflect an earlier stage of the cult of the dead, "the basis of which is the concern for the rebirth of the deceased's soul in his closest descendant" (Ivanov 1949b:168). This cult was embodied among the Greenland Eskimos in the custom of conferring on dolls the name of the deceased, as the soul and name were in close connection, and the doll, as a consequence of having the name of the deceased conferred on it, was simultaneously also the receptacle of his soul. The care of a child for a doll was at the same time concern for the soul of the deceased "contained" in the doll (Ivanov 1949b:169). Chukotka Koryak dolls also have special meaning in this connection, being carefully preserved as amulets and passed from mother to daughter. In the case of the birth of a second daughter, a tuft of fur was taken from the doll of the older daughter and put in a new doll.

Researchers suggest that in earlier times the doll was filled with hair cut from the deceased and valued because "confined" in it was the soul of a deceased relative who was waiting to be reborn in a new child (Ivanov 1949b:170). The Even custom of sewing tufts of human hair to the head of "shamans' dolls" can probably be explained by similar ideas (Khakhovskaya 1999:105). Bogoras, describing Chukchi dolls, drew attention to the fact that they were carefully sewn and mended (Bogoras 1939:70). Being the receptacle of the soul, which was confined in the hair (later, animal hair became the equivalent), the dolls had to be carefully safeguarded. A similar relationship is noted in the case of Eskimo statuettes, in which the hair of the deceased was placed in a head hole that was stopped up with a plug (Ivanov 1949b:170). Ivanov made the important observation that "the 'soul' contained in the doll was not required

to be reborn in female form." According to information from the Eskimo, Ktug'e, whom he cited, "a deceased woman could be reborn as a man, and a man as a woman" (Ivanov 1949b:170). All the cited evidence leads to a confirmation that the Tokareva believed this type of pendant served as a temporary harbor for the soul of a deceased ancestor, reflecting the idea of reincarnation peculiar to a whole circle of Pacific Ocean peoples.

Chukchi Late Neolithic visages (Fig. 8:a, b) are also associated with an ancestor cult, but different concepts and connections are reflected in them.

The closest parallels to the Chukchi anthropomorphic artifacts can be traced in the ethnographic material. For example, a skull-like image with two eye sockets was applied to the handles of wooden drumsticks for shamanic drums (personal collection of F. F. Il'in, from Yakutia). A visage similar to the Tytyl' one, but carved on the trunk of a tree, is cited by Ivanov in the description of sculpture of religious assignment among the Baikal Evenk (Ivanov 1970:Fig. 156). The eye sockets (the form and proportions in relation to the remaining facial details) were similarly worked in them, as was the execution of the whole composition in low relief. Based on M. G. Levin's information, images on trees personified deceased shamans among the North Baikal Evenk and were made for purposes of attaining success in hunting. A small table of food offerings was set up in front of them (Ivanov 1970:172)

Partial anthropomorphic visages, similar to the one found at the Rauchuvagytgyn I site, are encountered on cult objects among the peoples of the Sayan-Altai Plateau, in particular, among the Kumandin [Cuman?] and Teleut, but were applied to small scraps of fabric (Ivanov 1955:Figs. 24, 30). As with the Chukotka find, the Kumandin images are treated simply: an irregular (malformed) contour of the skull that lacks ears or hair and has only roundish or square eyes on the "face." But these images present the whole figure, including arms, legs, and trunk—without sexual characteristics—executed in a linear manner, though the head is disproportionately large. According to the beliefs of the Kumandin, these images embodied spirits of the ancestors along the female line and were summoned to protect women in childbirth and to ensure successful childbirth (Ivanov 1955:229). Among the Teleut, along with complete anthropomorphic figures, there are those that are abbreviated, sometimes represented only by heads. The images were drawn by women and also embodied the spirits of ancestors inherited along the maternal line (Ivanov 1955:235).

Visages similar to that from Rauchuvagytgyn are also found in "mountain" Buriat *ongony*[23] (Ivanov 1957:Fig. 9), which were created by shamans as receptacles for spirits of the shaman-ancestors. They are also found on the *ongony* of smiths—in this case, a figurine with a two-eyed visage was depicted as the older sister of divine smiths, patroness of their occupation (Ivanov 1957:113, 114, 125, 126).

The conclusion can be drawn from an analysis of the parallels cited above that the idea of spirit patrons is also reflected on the visage from the Rauchuvagytgyn I site. This image of a spirit did not require detailed elaboration, as it was not of material substance and did not have a corporeal form, but rather existed only in the imagination of man. It's possible that the inclusion or disregard of individual details depended on the practical meaning that the early artist invested in his work, that is, on the function of the spirit rendered by him. But in spite of the incompleteness of the images, in most cases the eyes were denoted, as the peoples of Siberia believe this is the only way that an object is considered to have been given life and capability (Ivanov 1954:748).

In the skull-like visage from the Tytyl' site, the cult of the dead man (kinsman, shaman) is shown, while the object of worship is the skull. According to the beliefs of several of the peoples of Siberia and the Far East, the head of a shaman was the receptacle of the spirit helper. Being installed in the head, the ancestor thinks for the shaman, and governs him (Okladnikov 1955:304).

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[23] *Ongony* are images of spirits painted on material, sewn from rags, or cut from felt, wood, or tin, or molded from clay (Ivanov 1957).

The Yukagir conferred paramount significance on the head of the shaman. This was reflected in a ceremony for dismembering the body of the shaman after death. His dried bones and tissue were given out as amulets to act as personal protectors of members of the family, while the head was left as a family deity, and requests for successful hunting or fishing were addressed to it (Jochelson 1926).

The custom of removing the head of a deceased shaman after his death, which would be burned or boiled upon its subsequent burial, was also noted among the Sel'kup. People who died violent deaths were treated in the same way—their heads were cut off and buried separately. Sel'kup legends tell about the *kveli*—a people who vanished—and about a whole cemetery of such heads (Pelikh 1972:115–119). Ritual burial of human skulls in Chukotka (Dikov 1961:34) possibly reflects similar ideas and cults.

The custom of separating and preserving the skull of a revered ancestor has been around since the Middle Paleolithic. Up until recently it still existed in Oceania, Indonesia, and South America. In N. R. Kabo's opinion, the appeal to a mysterious substance—human thought—is illuminated in the skull cult (Kabo 1984:96).

Determining the semantics and assignment of zoomorphic images is substantially more complex for several reasons. First, the semantic impact of Paleolithic sculpture will be entirely (or in substantial degree) different from the Neolithic and later because beginning with the Neolithic shamanism provided the main influence on the graphic arts. In the ceremonial practice of shamans, sculpted images acquire a different resonance. Second, in the collection of portable art of the northern Far East, zoomorphic beings are represented predominantly by isolated finds, with the exception of images of mammoths and bears. Third, there is no semantic context that is present in the subjects of cliff painting or in the inventory accompanying burials (with the exception of the Ushki materials) or in the sacrificial complex of sanctuaries, as the finds were obtained among a body of tools and implements or in surface material. But the facts imply that—beginning with the Paleolithic—images of animals and anthropomorphic images were the primary subjects of primitive art. This is also documented in flaked stone artifacts.

Paleolithic figurines of mammoths and bison are evidence that an animal cult existed in the northern Far East just as early as in Europe or Siberia. The social base of this cult was the primitive band of hunters, who provided for the prosperity of the tribe, clan, and family. It is notable that among the zoomorphic beings of the Northeast Asian region, the most important position in portable art is occupied by the form of the mammoth (numerically exceeding Siberian finds in substantial degree). This leads to the conclusion that in the "pantherion" (B. L. Bogaevskii's term) of animals of the northern Far East the mammoth occupied a special place, as it did in sites of European Russia where figurines of it "were made in series" (Abramova 1962:70).

The earliest image of a mammoth from the collections under review was obtained in Cultural Layer VII of the Ushki Upper Paleolithic culture, which dates to 13,000 to 14,000 years ago[24] (Dikov 2004:20). From the numerous pendants of this complex, Dikov distinguished one—a "horned oval" (Fig. 2:2)—which he views as a "symbolic female image" (Dikov 2004:25). In my view, another pendant deserving attention (Fig. 2:3) treats the form of a mammoth in an indistinct, stylized way. This flat pendant has traces of wear on one surface, "which is evidence of it having been sewn flat-side down to clothing" (Dikov 2004:25). In this case, we have documented confirmation of a rather early mammoth cult in Northeast Asia.

Judging by the morphology of these pendants, they were worn on the breast or fastened to the clothing (on the upper part or at the waist). Ethnographic parallels speak of the fact that in this arrangement figurines carried out the role of guardians, "healers," or (with the establishment of the ideology of shamanism) shaman's helpers. According to the beliefs of early peoples, such a guardian or helper was given the same mighty power that the mammoth possessed.

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[24] After factoring in the correction of the dates for Cultural Layer VI (lying above) on the basis of paleo-magnetic investigations and constant seasonal erosion (and consequently, rejuvenation) of both layers by the waters of the encroaching lake, the date for Cultural Layer VII (and likewise Cultural Layer VI) might also be made earlier by 2,000 years (Dikov 1993b).

Because of its delicacy and refinement, one figurine of a mammoth from Cultural Layer VII in the Ushki I site stands alone compared to other finds from Ushki Cultural Layer VI and the eastern Chukotkan sculpture of the Upper Paleolithic site of Ul'khum I (Figs. 13, 14), all of which unite the use of a crude raw material—flat sandstone pebbles—with minimal detail. The presence of ocher on the Ushki images and a slightly indented band of surface grinding on one side along the whole vertical axis (Fig. 13:1) speaks of these being fastened on a narrow (wooden? bone?) support, such as a staff, and their likely use in some kind of ritual ceremony. The small sculptures, which were not suitable for constant wearing, probably had diverse assignments dictated by procurement needs. They were probably used as sympathetic means for the magical attraction of animals.

As cult objects, the sculpted images of a mammoth reflected pre-animistic ideas about the mammoth.

Double figurines—"reversibles," i.e., images of a mammoth and a bison on the same object (Fig. 16)—are probably illustrations of mythological beings.

The pivotal theme of the mythological concept of the Universe—the process of its origin and evolution—was connected with the mammoth, in V. E. Larichev's opinion (Larichev 1980:198). In the world that surrounded Paleolithic man the mammoth appeared in different roles: creator of the Universe and its symbol, the condensation of the male principle in the aspect of creation of the Universe, the extracted form of the Universe, the creator, and organizer of Earth, and the spirit of the underworld (Larichev 1980:187). These beliefs, passed down from generation to generation, all the while being transformed, were preserved in the ethnic memory of many generations.

In the animal art of the northern Far East, the mammoth left its traces in small flaked stone sculpture. It was chief among Upper Paleolithic beings, which was probably due to the impressive population of these animals in the circumpolar regions of Northeast Asia where for a long time they were the primary object of hunting. As a relict form, the mammoth, under conditions of isolation, continued to exist until 4,000 years ago, which has been confirmed by the investigation of osteological remains on Wrangel Island (Vartanyan et al. 1993:339).

In this connection, the figurine (Fig. 16:4) found in the Neolithic Tytyl' V site does not seem so imaginary. Lake Tytyl' has a direct outlet to the Arctic Ocean through Chaunskii Bay, which is southwest of Wrangel Island. There is indirect evidence that the early Tytyl' people reached the severe Arctic shores: the find of a slab of baleen in a layer dating to 4200 ± 100 (MAG-1904), and a small figure of a polar bear—for whom this same Wrangel Island is considered the "maternity ward" (Kiriyak 1993b). The frequent discoveries of well-preserved carcasses of mammoths and their bones in the territory of extreme Northeast Asia (from the Arctic latitudes to Magadan) are confirmation of the fact that the mammoth played an essential role in the paleo-economics of the inhabitants of this huge territory. This is also reflected in the mythological ideas of the peoples of these primitive groups.

Bison played a special role in the mythological views of people of the late Pleistocene-early Holocene. In the "twins-double" (mammoth/bison) that I cited, the figure of a bison in the Ushki (flat) and Tytyl'vaam (raised) sculptures can be most clearly traced (Fig. 16:1, 2). Dikov, the finder (cited above), also perceived a bison in another small Ushki zoomorphic image (Dikov 1993:25, 32). The opposition of mammoth-bison discovered in the Chukotka and Kamchatka sculptures is not the fruit of fantasy. This "chord" of two beings (Larichev 1980) is documented by finds in Burial 10 of Upper Paleolithic Cultural Layer VI of "small images of a mammoth and bison" (Dikov 1993:25, Figs. 14:1; 15:6). The fact that the burial of children and part of their accompanying inventory were covered by a bison scapula after a rich fill of bright-red ocher also attests to the role of the bison in the ritual-ceremonial practice of early Ushki people (Dikov 1993:25, Figs. 14:1; 15:6). The burial fill of red ocher, which symbolized the life force, and the use of the animal's scapula, which served (based on ethnographic information) as an instrument for divination, emphasize the supernatural implication of the activities of the early Ushki people at the ritual burial of the children (or children's heads?), to which a special meaning has been given by the figurines of the mammoth and bison placed in the grave. This is one aspect of Paleolithic art that is rich in

meaning (Lyubin 1991:38). It is tightly interwoven with the informative-illustrative function of early objects of portable art (Lyubin 1991:38), in which the conceptual ideas of mythological world view and world order were embodied.

Unfortunately, materials on Paleolithic art of Northeast Asia are neither very diverse nor numerous. But even the available sources amend established ideas about its forms and contents, about regional features and cultural specifics. As material documents of their period, they reflect different facets of the economic and spiritual life of Paleolithic tribes that occupied the severe circumpolar zone of northern Asia.

As far as can be judged by the examination of small sculpture, beginning with the Mesolithic and especially in the Neolithic among tribes occupying the inland regions of Northeast Asia, the bear was the most important in religious ideas and ceremonial practices.

Turning to Chukchi finds, a hypothesis of their principal assignments can be stated.

1. Chukchi mythology held special ideas with regard to black bears, which were the object of most reverent worship. These bears were considered shamans and endowed with supernatural abilities (Bogoras 1939:37). At the same time, no cult of the brown bear is noted among the Chukchi (Leont'ev 1976:165).

2. The image of the skin of a bear could be part of the zoomorphic "collection" of a shaman as one of his elements. But an isolated figurine found in an ordinary archaeological complex is not considered to be a shaman's object. Instead, it might be interpreted as a symbol of a slain animal or a symbolic sacrifice. The substitution of an image for a sacrificed animal is characteristic for the Chukchi (Gurvich 1977:84). Among Chukchi amulets, "protectors"—small skins, skulls, beaks, and feathers—were also noted. These guardians, according to the beliefs of their possessors, transformed into the corresponding animals in times of need and rendered the required help (Fraikopf 1996:29).

3. Figurines might serve as the equivalent of a living bear or its double, to which one could turn for help or advice when the need arose.

4. Images could be used directly as amulets, as a means of averting an evil principle, including even that of a bear. Such figurines served as personal guardians. According to Bogoras, a Chukchi woman who had two figurines of brown bears told him that they were usually in her fish bag and every time she was threatened by evil spirits she pulled the bears from the bag and placed them on the ground outside the entrance to her home (Fraikopf 1996:30).

5. It can be assumed that they were used as a mystical fetish for attracting animals or a successful hunt.

6. Bear sculptures could possibly be used as receptacles for the soul of a slain or living animal.

7. The image of a polar bear, made on a slab of black obsidian, occupies a special place in the collection of stone "bear" sculptures from Chukchi sites (Fig. 17:6). In Chukchi mythology, one notable being is a gigantic polar bear/man-eater "with a body of solid bone." It belongs to the pantheon of evil spirits. In a Chukchi illustration cited by Bogoras in his book *The Chukchi*, this polar bear is shown as black. In the ideas of the Chukchi, it is much stronger and fiercer than the usual polar bear. In translation from Chukchi it is called the "bald white bear" (Fraikopf 1996:37).

For the sake of accuracy we note that the figurine of the polar bear from the Tytyl' III site does not look like an "evil demon" (no attributes of evil, such as an open, tooth-filled maw or sharp claws, were noted on it). Moreover, it gives the impression that the master made it with great zeal and positive emotion. This form of a stately animal with a pendulous stomach—possibly a female bear, carrying future offspring—is viewed as being calm or serene. And from this point of view it is possible to see it as an apotrope reflecting the idea of fertility and propagation of the animals.

8. A small poly-iconic sculpture could reflect a mythical or fabulous story, in which three beings participated: a bear, a fox (possibly an Arctic fox), and a human. Close and detailed examination of the object reveals the nature of the individual miniaturized details, which were created in microscopic size. This is also characteristic for other figurines. Thus, for example, in the small sculpture of a bear from the Tytyl' IV site (Figs. 17:7; 34) the eye and ear are visible only through the use of substantial magnification. Microscopic detail is noted by researchers of graffiti found in Alaska. This belongs completely within the ornamental miniatures (on stone) of northern Chukotka. Researchers of primitive art note this unusual "visual sensitivity," "visual memory," and unusual "sharpness of the eyes" among modern Australian aborigines and Bushmen (Miller 1929:25).

9. Sculpted images of a bear's head (Fig. 18) appear to be a substitution for the whole being ("a part as the whole"). In this case, the sacred meaning of the whole image of the bear figure was extended to it. Also, the idea of the head as the most significant part of the animal being depicted cannot be excluded, since the head is the receptacle of mind, as early man saw it, and thus likened the bear to himself. The act of associating or making bear and man identical is reflected in one of the main stages (in several Siberian traditions) in the ritual of the bear hunt—the "unfastening" and then removal of the skin (or "fur coat") of the animal, thereby accepting it into the human group (re-embodiment of the bear in a human on the basis of similarity of the skinless bear's body with a human body) (*Mify narodov . . .*, 1988:128).

In this regard, it is interesting to cite the view of the Khanti regarding the bear: on the one hand, it was an object of the hunt, on the other, a former human, an ancestor. In the Khanti festival, the bear appears in two roles: as an animal—a source of food (a carcass without skin)—and as an ancestor of man, his progenitor (its skin with head and paws attached plays this role) (Kulemzin and Lukina 1992:90). The purpose of the bear festival was to reconcile the soul of the bear with the hunter who killed it (Kulemzin and Lukina 1992:90).

10. Attention should also be drawn to the finely detailed mastery with which the sculpted image of the head of a bear cub was executed, its plastic figure, the elegance of the raw material (transparent smoky-gray obsidian), and the working of such details as the eye, ear, and fluffy fur coat (Fig. 18:1). Therefore, it is also essential to consider the esthetic needs of the early master.

Archaeological data attest to man's complex and multifaceted ideas about the bear, in whose cult totemic beliefs and animism, magic, and fetishism were interwoven with naive fantastic views (Ivanov 1977:81).

If one judges by the beings represented in the collection of small stone sculpture, the most worshiped animal in the Paleolithic was the mammoth, in the Neolithic the bear. For primitive man of the inland regions of Northeast Asia, they had special significance. In the coastal regions, the accent was shifted to sea mammals, which became altered in social perception and acquired fantastic features. These animals, considering their individual characteristics and behavioral features, became heroes of myths, legends, and tales. Influenced by a cult, they found creative embodiment in cliff art and small art, carrying out the most diverse functions, especially to ensure a successful hunt, and consequently, the well-being of the clan and family.

The repertoire of sculpture in this category includes the whale, orca, and pinnipeds—the walrus and seal. In the inland region of Chukotka a figurine of a harbor porpoise or dolphin has been found. All the finds were represented by individual specimens and belong to complexes of Neolithic cultures, whose economies do not have clearly reflected indicators of developed sea exploitation. The Old Itel'men culture (Kamchatka), among the artifacts of which are two images of a whale and one each of a seal and an orca, was basically a fishing culture that did not adapt to a tradition of sea mammal hunters (Ponomarenko 1985:198). Utilization of sea mammals was also a seasonal occupation in the Tokareva culture of northwestern Priokhot'e (Lebedintsev 2000:181), where a series of stylized figurines, including walruses,

emerged. Researchers assume it was only chance that led to the hunting of large sea mammals (Lebedintsev 2000:189). At the basis of this exploitation was seals, which they procured at haul-outs or on the ice.

Nevertheless, sea mammals occupied an important place not just in the paleo-economics of coastal tribes, but also in the mythological perceptions of early man. It can be inferred that the figure of the whale, an inhabitant of the sea expanses, was not overshadowed in the mythology of Northeast Paleo-Asiatics by the form of the land giant, the mammoth.

So these tribes had a special relationship with whales, "which they (the Itel'men—M.K.) try to persuade with words when they see them on the hunt" (Krasheninnikov 1949:411). The Itel'men prepared a "whale" from sweet grass and yukola at their festival of thanksgiving. According to the order of the ceremonial activities, at midnight a woman brought it in on her back and, having gotten down on all fours, she circumambulated the hearth, after which the edible whale was taken apart by the young children and divided among those present. Krasheninnikov hypothesizes that these activities were aimed to "direct to them . . . whales to hunt" (Krasheninnikov 1949:420). Judging by the fact that all the activities connected with the "whale" (its preparation and being carried around the hearth) were among the duties of women (with the coordination of all the ceremonial activities by the oldest man), it is possible to envision very early roots for this ritual. This is corroborated by the observations and conclusions of Krasheninnikov, the essence of which is the fact that "the basis of their faith is based in early traditions, which they observe more than the law, not accepting any evidence for refutation" (Krasheninnikov 1949:409). The Large Whale cult existed among the settled Chukchi, along with the cult of the Gray-Haired Old Woman (in the form of a female walrus) and the Sea Master (Vdovin 1977:131).

There is evidence to suggest that stone figurines of whales (Fig. 22:1, 2) were made by early Itel'men as a means of sympathetic magic invoked for success in the procurement of sea mammals, an act in which a significant role was allotted to women, according to representatives of the Eskimos and Coastal Chukchi. Bogoras cites the words of an Eskimo from Cape Chaplina: "Wrongly they think that women are weaker than men at hunting. Domestic sorcery is stronger than that of conjuration, which is carried out on the tundra. A man goes around vainly searching, but those who sit by the lamp are in fact strong, it being easier for them to call prey to the shore" (Bogoras 1939:63).

The orca was never the object of the hunt. It was worshiped as the patroness of sea hunting, and was believed to drive whales toward the shore. Possibly the stone figurine of an orca from the Kamchatka site was an amulet, similar to its image on an Eskimo umiak.

Considering the relative ease with which it can be carried out, seal hunting remains the most productive method of procuring food for coastal residents of Northeast Asia even up to the present time. Among the Itel'men the seal cult is reflected in several successive activities using the skin of these animals: the throwing out of sacrificial seal "hides" promised to the spirits of thunder and lightning, the placement on them of the pointed-headed small idols before sending them "home" (into the fire), and the shaking of two skins of first-killed seals in a simulation of thunder (Krasheninnikov 1949:416–418). All these activities were conducted to secure a rich seal harvest as a guarantee of prosperity and satiety (see above about the activities of the Koryak with the *effev'*).

As researchers suggest, images of seals (in both two and three dimensions) had magical significance. The sacredness of these tiny sculptures is also emphasized (Khlobystin 1964:35). An image of a seal on a unique object found on the northwest shore of Lake Baikal beside a cave site of the Bronze and early Iron ages has special meaning (Khlobystin 1964:36). The uniqueness of the find is in the fact that it is a dark-green pebble of phallic form, which is emphasized deliberately by tiny grooves created on the narrow end. An image of a seal was engraved on its surface. The author treats this combination as an illustration of a "sacred marriage": the joining of a woman with the totem (the seal) and her assistance in reproducing it (Khlobystin 1964:36).

Finally, all the cited activities connected with the skin of an animal or its image are explained by the desire for successful hunting and procurement of rich provisions, which is guaranteed by the fertility

of the objects used to achieve this. The figurine of a seal from the Bol'shoi Kamen' site that we cited also probably fits into one of these formulas (Fig. 22:3). Another known purpose for images of pinnipeds, according to ethnographic data, is carried out by the Coastal Chukchi, who attached wooden figurines of seals between the floats of nets for catching seals. Based on their beliefs, these images attracted seals and then seized them. Sometimes all the net floats are shaped like seals (Fraikopf 1996:31).

One early master gave a somewhat different quality to the image of a seal (Figs. 22:4; 36) in the sculpture from Osinovaya Spit—an alert pose with the ear hole clearly shown. Here is none of the simplification and crudeness peculiar to Chukchi amulets. On the contrary, assiduousness and care are noted in the creation of this figurine that may possibly personify a mythical being in which was embodied the cult of the "mothers" of animals procured for food, and among which the "bearded seal mother," the "seal mother," and others were worshiped (Vdovin 1977:131).

In Kerek mythology a syncretic form of seal-bird existed, materialized in a sculpture with a bird's body and a seal's head. This small sculpture of bone was found by Orekhov in Zemlya Geka (see the complex from the Geka I site in the first chapter). It is possible that a similar being is embodied in a Late Neolithic stone pendant from northwestern Priokhot'e (Fig. 26:8).

Unfortunately, not all the portable figurines available to us in which sea animals are reflected can be understood from the point of view of their semantics and function. The image of a dolphin or harbor seal (Figs. 22:6; 35), magnificently technically executed and worked out in an extremely realistic manner, transgresses the bounds of ethnographic parallels and mythological forms of Northeast Paleo-Asiatics. Possibly the roots of those early ideas were lost, or perhaps it was not only and not always just worldly pragmatism or ceremonial practice that gave rise to objects of genuine art.[25] Even within the framework of the "primordial primitive" the sculpted articles and ornaments "attest to broad development of esthetic ideas" (Abramova 1966:77).

Beginning with the Paleolithic, images of fish are encountered,all over the vast expanse of northern Eurasia, including in works of portable art. Stone fish are present throughout the Neolithic sites and in Siberian burials (Okladnikov 1950b). Researchers note the use of figurines of fish as fishing lures (Okladnikov 1950b:332) and as a sympathetic remedy—the Vakhovsk Khanti threw carved fish figurines in the water when there was floating ice in order to ensure success at catching fish (Chernetsov 1964:28). V. N. Chernetsov suggests fishing lures were also the rational basis on which the magical activity of luring fish developed (Chernetsov 1964:28). Similar fetishes in the form of small fish figurines, which were kept on the front part of a fisherman's clothes, have also been noted among North American Indians (Okladnikov 1950b:332). It is possible that the sculpted images of fish found in the Tytyl' V site in Chukotka, among which is an image of a burbot, also fulfilled similar functions (Fig. 24:1–3). Most North Asiatic peoples had a special relation with the burbot (see above).

No developed cult of specific kinds of fish among Northeast Paleo-Asiatic has been noted in the ethnographic literature. The use of images of fish as a healing remedy or apotrope to ward off pain was noted among the Yukagir (Jochelson 1910–1926). Steel ornaments in the form of fish with engraving or inlays were part of the decoration of the Yukagir apron. It was believed that these images helped with stomachaches, during menstruation, and with childbirth (Zhukova 1996a:38). In the assemblage of individual amulets of the Asiatic Eskimos, besides anthropo- and zoomorphic images, there were also pendants in the form of fish (Menovshchikov 1959:92). The Yukagir had a special relationship with the burbot: in some cases (which are not specified) they used dressed burbot skin in making summer trousers

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[25] Zoomorphic figurines could reflect the ancients' mythological ideas about the universe. Archaeological and ethnographic research includes information about the zoomorphic metaphor of the universe among the natives of Siberia and North America. These resources have been clearly elucidated by E. A. Okladnikova (1995). Among the California Indians a huge snake or pair of such snakes appeared as a metaphor for the universe (Okladnikova 1995:198).

Among the Chumash Indians steatite images of whales served as models of the universe, their numerous replicas being characteristic of their small art. In the Indian myths, an ichthyomorphic metaphor of the universe is also present (Okladnikova 1995:199).

(Zhukova 1996a:38, 84). The purpose may have been to drive away evil spirits of the lower world, as the Dolgani did during traveling in "bad" places by beating a drum covered with burbot skin (Kosarev 1984:192). Therefore, the available information allows the sculpted image of a fish, in particular the burbot, to be treated as a zoomorphic classifier of the lower world (the lower cosmic zone) in the context of mythological ideas that existed for many peoples around the globe. It is possible that the figurines were also used in ancient times as amulets of "medicinal" character. An image of a fish (Fig. 24:1) of red silicified slate (a perfect analogy of a Volosova figurine—see Zamyatnin 1948:Fig. 5:22) may have been used as a means of sympathetic magic. A sculpture of a fish with its mouth wide open and rather impressive dimensions, from the second layer of the Kamchatka site of Zhupanovo (Fig. 24:7), could, in the belief system of the Itel'men, personify the sea god Mitga who, in their view, "owns the sea and the fish," but dispatches them not for the livelihood of the people, but "but to get wood for boats for himself" (Krasheninnikov 1949:408). The origin of early Kamchadal ideas about a mighty sea god belongs to the Upper Paleolithic and is documented by the discovery of a geoglyph—a silhouetted image of a fish of red ocher—on the floor of a surface dwelling in Cultural Layer VI of the Ushki I site (Dikov 1993:32). The pieces of portable art that have come down to us reflect a definite circle of ideas connected with fish not only as part of the realm of nourishment for most peoples of the northern Far East but also appearing as functioning beings of myths and folk tales.

The semantics of images of a serpent in the Tokareva culture (there being only two such objects) are practically impossible to decode. Hypothetically, relying on the cited parallels, it is possible to propose a solar or (in a broad sense) cosmic symbolism in the spiral-like relief of the pendant, if it is considered that spirals in several mythological traditions were allotted a special role in cosmogony (*Mify narodov . . .*, 1988). The spiral is, in all probability, the ultimate transformation of the form of a serpent in mythological perception, though, along with its abstract symbol, images that are more realistic also continue to exist. Researchers note that in the earliest period, snake forms are predominantly found in the horizontal position, which are later replaced by the vertical position. The vertical position of the serpent, which was usually applied on bone rods, illustrate the idea of the "World Tree": the snake is connected with it, and in several traditions is also its equivalent (Toporov 1972). This is probably not strictly uniform. Though not rejecting the connection of the snake with the World Tree, a different symbolism can also be proposed for its images on bone rods or dagger handles, where it may embody authority, power, and superiority, similar to the cobra crowning the head of the Pharaoh.

It is characteristic that the image of the serpent is among the elements of Siberian and Far Eastern shamans. They appear on many cult objects: drums, rugs, and robes. Serpents appear as classifiers of the lower world in the three-part structure of the universe peculiar to shamanism. They were illustrated, as a rule, on the lower part of objects and in the horizontal position.

In world traditions, various ideas have been connected with the form of the serpent. Even in the views of neighboring peoples, snakes might personify different concepts. The Trans-Ural area and western Siberia are an example. Here images of the snake are rather widespread as decorations and cult objects. Among the Sel'kup, the snake was considered patron and protector of the soul/shadow during its journey into the World of the Dead. Simultaneously, it was a symbol of the journey (Kosarev 1981:256). Among the Ket, the snake personified wisdom and the secrets of the earth and underworld (Kosarev 1984:190).

Besides ideas connected with the cult of the deceased, researchers note the earliest beliefs reflected the totemistic significance of the snake.

In combinations such as those of the Boismana poly-iconic sculpture (see above), the snake was associated with the idea of fertility. The notion of the snake as a healer, apotrope, or shield against illness existed rather widely, which was clearly manifested in the production of decorations in the form of snakes or in the renowned medicinal emblem.

Returning to the stone pendant with the spiral image of a snake, it can be stated that the ideas accommodated within it were characteristic for graphic arts throughout the entire Far East, beginning in

Chukotka and ending on the Lower Amur. This manifestation most likely demonstrates the convergent development of ideas in the sphere of spiritual life, though elements of borrowing cannot be ruled out.

Various kinds of ornithofauna of the region are represented in the small group of bird figurines: the owl (or horned owl), goose, titmouse, swallow, and eagle or hawk (?).

Proceeding from the fact that in most traditions owls or horned owls qualify as "bad," that is, birds presaging misfortune (*Mify narodov . . .*, 1988:347), it might be inferred that the small Chukchi sculptures also had a similar semantic content. Inasmuch as the figurines do not have traces of having been fastened to or otherwise worn on clothes (in the array of the shaman's costume they were worn on the breastplate—see Prokof'eva 1971), it's possible that they were made for use in the house, perhaps as an amulet for warding off evil spirits—a protector of children against harmful beings, as it was done among the Nanai (Ivanov 1977:83–86). They could be kept together with other guardians in the bag intended for this, which would be hung up in "its" place in the house (we recall Bogoras's story of the Chukchi woman who took out stone protectors from the fish bag and set them at the entryway to the yaranga). The artistic perfection of a small bird sculpture (Fig. 28:1) from the Tytyl' V site (western Chukotka) also attracts attention: its colored (two-color) raw material (orangey-white chalcedony) becoming "enlivened" by means of denotation of the "all-seeing" eyes, at the same time underlining the predatory essence of the bird by accentuating the clinging claws. As it is caressing the eye of a person (a child), the image has a frightening appearance for evil forces.

The semantics of bird-like figurines (of stone, metal, and other materials) are extremely complex "since totemistic and animistic ideas and elements of cults of different character and magical activities were often interwoven here" (Kosarev 1984:188). This pertains particularly to the image of the goose in our collection. It is possible to see the special relation of the Yukagir to the goose. Jochelson, who studied the Yukagir on the Kolyma and Alazeia, noted that the Alazeya clan had the name Gusinyi (Goose), though, in that researcher's opinion, this doesn't necessary substantiate a totemistic basis for the name (Jochelson 1910–1926). But at the same time, the legend Jochelson cited about the Yukagir of the Goose Clan, regarding the shaman who was transformed into a stork and flew away with the birds, is not a rejection of a totemistic foundation of this clan name. The goose (male and female) is the most popular being of Ugor folkloric/mythological narrative, whose material embodiment was figurines of copper, and later—in the early Iron Age and Middle Ages—of gold, silver, and other metal (Polos'mak and Shumakova 1991:42). The female goose was one of the zoomorphic images of the chief Ugor goddess Kaltash-ekva, whose primary functions were to provide children, to help with childbirth, to determine the life course of a person, and to protect against and bring back from illness (Polos'mak and Shumakova 1991:36). Also, her son Mir-Susne-Khum could take on the form of a gander. Some considered the "Copper Goose" of the sanctuary at Belogor'e village the helper of the anthropomorphic spirit, an image of which was kept along with the goose; others credited it with being the chief idol (Polos'mak and Shumakova 1991:36). One detail is essential: Belogor'e village was the center of the Mos' phratry, whose ancestor was considered the deity Kaltash-ekva. The "Copper Goose" that personifies this deity was thus reputed to be the totemic ancestor (Polos'mak and Shumakova 1991:36).

The pre-Yukagir, who up until the advance of some groups into the east, were neighbors of the pre-Ugor, could have borrowed (?) some elements of culture, which were preserved in the mythology even in their new territory. Seeing echoes of totemistic beliefs in the Alazeya Yukagir Goose Clan is not nonsensical when viewed from this perspective. Jochelson thought the Yukagir of the Zaiachii Clan from Yasachnaya might bear the name of the ancestor, which he thought was Ushkan or Tabukan (*zaiats* or hare) (Jochelson 1910–1926:5). On this same basis the source of the name of the Goose Clan may also be recognized, and consequently the honoring of the goose as the totemic ancestor.

Pendants in the form of goose figurines could be found in the vast territory between the Ob and Irtysh Rivers (the region of formation of the pre-Ugor, pre-Yukagir, and pre-Lopar' in the Neolithic, according to Chernetsov's well-documented version) over a fairly long span of time (up to the fifth century A.D.) (Polos'mak and Shumakova 1991:41). Incidentally, the best known image of the goddess Kaltash

was done as a doe hare (Polos'mak and Shumakova 1991:40). Investigators of the Kulaisk art of casting note multifunctionality in pendants illustrating anthropo- and zoomorphic beings: "Goose pendants, which became ornaments, remained as cult objects, providing the zoomorphic image of the deity and possibly denoting the phratrial association of their bearers. Some phratrial ancestors, for example the hare and goose, were 'tied' to certain territories" (Polos'mak and Shumakova 1991:43).

In the northern Far East (besides the Tytyl' find from western Chukotka that we cited) ideas connected with the goose are reflected in a naturally shaped object (Fig. 32:2) resembling a goose head from an artifact assemblage from Lake El'gygytgyn (central Chukotka). Images repeating the pose, proportions, and aspect of the Tytyl' figurine can be found among the Pegtymel' petroglyphs (Dikov 1999:Stone V:54). Completely identical figurines (the same iconography: stretched neck and slightly elevated head, shape expanding downward, lacking extremities, as if cut off—the method possibly "showing" a bird on the water) are depicted in inscriptions at the mouth of the Krestiakh River (Olekma River basin) (Okladnikov and Mazin 1976:Pl. 24:IV). In both of the latter cases the accompanying figures are deer and oval-round spots, while in the Pegtymel' composition, in addition to this there are two images of boats. Unfortunately, the researchers only establish the presence of bird figures in the petroglyphs and in the inscriptions, but do not comment on them.

It is somewhat difficult to add information about the meaning of sculptures embodying "small" birds apart from what was noted in the ethnographic parallels above. Both the swallow and titmouse were connected in several mythological traditions with ideas about the soul. Among the Itel'men, small birds were caught in the forest during the festival of thanksgiving and after ceremonial cleansing, "firing at the fire," they are divided into three parts, each thrown separately into the fire as a sacrifice to the pointed-headed devils "who arrive at the festival and settle in the women" (Krasheninnikov 1949:421). In this case, the small bird appears as an offering, while in a second variant they are the sacrificial food, "which each participant, having taken a bite, throws into the fire" (Krasheninnikov 1949:427). In Chukchi mythology, small birds have their own special land. "The small gray bird with the blue breast," on the one hand, was connected with the other world ("conducts shamanism" and "appeals to spirits"), and on the other, it is a performer (to its own drum) of songs, which the raven takes into possession (Bogoras 1939:4). This mythological being in the form of a small singing bird, but from its "special land" (in this case, the black color of the small sculpture has its own sacred function), was likely rendered by an early Tytyl' person.

Of the large birds among Northeast Paleo-Asiatics (the Chukchi, Koryak, and Itel'men), as well as the Eskimos, Aleuts, and northwestern American Indians, the raven was the bird most often worshiped. In mythology, it appears as a creator and cultural hero, and in addition, among the Itel'men and Koryak it personifies the primal ancestor. In the folklore of the Chukchi the raven takes on various roles: the creator's helper, a shaman, and a trickster (Meletinskii 1979).[26] In spite of the significance of the raven in the religious ideas and mythological epos of Northeast Paleo-Asiatics this form is not represented in Neolithic small art. Only one (late) wooden sculpture of a flying(?) raven is known (Tein 1985:112, Fig. 2), which was found on Ratmanova Island (Big Diomede Island in the Bering Strait) in a mixed cultural layer containing Okvik, Old Bering Sea, and Punuk artifacts. The find belongs to the Punuk period of Old Eskimo culture, which existed from the ninth to the early sixteenth centuries A.D.[27] Judging by appearance, one wooden sculpture of rather impressive dimensions was the handle of a staff (?) that could have been used as a ritual object during ceremonies.

The Neolithic sites of eastern Chukotka (places of occupation by modern Eskimos and Chukchi) were studied by Dikov using the method of complete archaeological examination of the territory (he

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[26] E. M. Meletinskii (1979) made a thorough analysis of the mythological epos of Paleo-Asiatics (the Chukchi, Koryak, and Itel'men), as well as Asiatic and Alaskan Eskimos, Aleuts, and Indians of the Northwest Coast of America.

[27] The author of the finds did not go beyond a general description of the cultural remains, i.e., he did not separate them chronologically from the total complex (Tein 1985).

published all materials in a monograph in 1993) (Dikov 1997). No evidence of a Raven Cult was found in the material complexes.

The phenomenon that the Raven form was ignored in Neolithic art in Northeast Asia, considering the appeal to the Raven of practically all peoples who live or have lived in this territory, can be explained only by the fact of the rather late appearance of the raven cycle in myth creation of the Northeastern Paleo-Asiatics.

Ornithomorphic beings personifying (presumably) eagles or hawks were embodied in a miniature sculpture from central Chukotka (Fig. 28:3). The black figurine of a bird is part of a Late Neolithic assemblage of artifacts, in which can be distinguished a small group of objects of portable art. Besides the eagle (?), a brown bear (Fig. 17:3), horned owl (Fig. 28:2), and horse (?) (Fig. 31:3) can be identified in it. In this combination, sculpted images may be logically treated as embodying shamanic spirits-helpers, though other meanings connected with mythological or folkloric beings are possible.

In the collection of small stone art being studied, we treat one group of images as symbolic: the female symbol, the phallus, crescents, an image of a reindeer head with a crescent, a multi-pointed little star, and a tree. It is important to recognize the tentative and imperfect nature of the proposed classification system, as the semantics of the early artistic materials are multidimensional, while syncretism of the primitive art is the most complex aspect in the course of determining its social functions. Thematically attributed images (see above), such as the bear skin and the snake coiled into a spiral, would also preferably belong to the same group of symbols.

Pendants from Cultural Layer VII of the Ushki I site, representing the female symbol (the lower part of the torso) (Fig. 2:2) and the indistinctly treated female figure (Fig. 2:1), just like European and Siberian statuettes, emphasize the special role of the woman in the ideology of the Upper Paleolithic hunting tribes of the northern Far East. The imprecise character and rational schematism of the images speak of a more advanced ability to perceive abstract concepts. Figurines made in the form of pendants were most probably intended for fastening to clothing or wearing around the neck and may have functioned either as amulets that stimulated child-bearing or as guardians. The fact that the small sculptures were found in a complex with other artistically formed pendants, among which is an image of a mammoth (the rest of the pendants, unfortunately, defy identification), might emphasize the connection of the woman with the form of an animal and the mystical role "that a woman played in ensuring hunting success" (Abramova 1966:93) as early as the Paleolithic.

The small Tokareva sculpture (Figs. 26:3; 30), conveying a nearly natural phallic form, continues the semantic series of widely known objects of portable art with phallic symbolism in Siberia, reflecting a whole stratum in the spiritual culture of many tribes and peoples connected with the worship of the life-creating force of nature, with its rhythmic cycles of loss and renewal, birth and death. Archaeological and ethnographic sources have preserved evidence of all kinds of phallic cults and ceremonies connected with agrarian and livestock breeding festivals. Among Teutonic peoples the god/impregnator Fro was worshiped as the patron of love and marriage, upon whom rain and clear weather are dependent, promising good harvest, good fortune, and the overall well-being of the people (Okladnikov and Zaporozhskaya 1970:101).

Among the Slavs was a god of the rising or spring sun, Yarilo, patron of people, animals, and plants (the word "yar" itself denoted animal lust, carnal love, and impregnating force). For both deities, exaggerated features of the male sex were emphasized (Okladnikov and Zaporozhskaya 1970:101). In Scandinavian mythology, Thor appears as personifier of the productive forces of nature, impregnator of cows and women, invariably with a large hammer in his hand (Okladnikov and Zaporozhskaya 1970:101). In agrarian and livestock ceremonies of the peoples of the Caucasus, the "central feature was ceremonial phallic scenes" connected with the chief mythological being of the fertility cult. Among some groups of the northern Altai people, frankly erotic ritual elements were part of the solicitation for successful hunting, good harvest, and well-being of the livestock and family. During this ceremony, a special being was present (his role was carried out by a young man selected by the shaman) with a wooden staff and phallus

in his hands (Okladnikov and Zaporozhskaya 1970:115). Among the Yakut, rituals of an orgiastic character took place, which had the goal of "seizure of sexual passion for people and livestock from the spirit of the land." During the mystery play, women, imitating the neighing of horses, fell upon the shaman, carrying out sexually passionate movements over him (Okladnikov and Zaporozhskaya 1970:116). Similar body movements were performed over the carcass of a slain bear after the removal of its skin by Chukchi men participating in the "bear festival." In recent times a wedding ceremony accompanied by a special ritual existed among the Chukchi, in which a fat deer was slaughtered and carved up according to definite rules stipulating the preservation of the sacrum and kidneys with the interior fat that covers them: the phallic cult is reflected in this symbolism (Lebedeva 1982:80).

Ritual activities connected with a phallic cult among the Kamchadal (Itel'men) were described by Krasheninnikov. A ritual was carried out by the oldest men and consisted of the preparation of a *pom*—an anthropomorphic phallic figure of straw "about half an *arshin* high"—which was hung on the ceiling by a "secret *ud*" "two *sazhen'* long."[28] Further activities were split into two stages. First the "secret *ud*," bent in a ring, was scorched in the fire, after which it was used to fan the yurt with an accompanying choral cry of "ufai." In the second stage they burned up the *pom*. The ash that was formed was swept toward the ladder and each of those present, having taken a little, strewed it on the path to the forest "along which they go hunting" (Krasheninnikov 1949:426). Only the men were present in the yurt during the activities with the *pom*. The purpose of the ritual was to ensure a successful hunt. The fertilizing force of the straw *pom*, which in all probability personified the deity of fertility among the Kamchadal, was considered a guarantee of this. "What the *pom* meant and why it was made, the Kamchadal themselves either could not or did not want to say," wrote Krasheninnikov (1949:426).

Thus, the small Tokareva sculpture can also be viewed, along with the phallic pestles, mallets, and pestle-like figurines known in Siberia, as a symbol of fertility, summoned to secure increased reproductive force for both people and animals. Although not as developed as early Eskimos, the material remains of the Tokareva culture (Lebedintsev 2000) for hunting sea mammals—which led to a decrease in migratory communities—together with items of portable art, unique in their way, reflects the structure of a patriarchal clan, possibly from the very beginning.

Four flaked objects in the collection being investigated belong to the category of astral symbols. A multi-pointed (multi-rayed) image symbolizes the sun or a bright planet. In the system of mythological ideas of the peoples of the northern Far East the cosmic luminaries—the sun, moon, and stars—belonged to beings and were worshiped as deities. These views are most clearly represented among the Chukchi (see above) and Yukagir (Bogoras 1939; Zhukova 1996a, 1996b). Round silver and copper pendants on Yukagir aprons (treated as "breast metal" and "breast sun") and on the caps and belts of the Even, in whose ethnogenesis the Yukagir participated, are evidence of an ancient sun cult.

The "eye" ornament in the design of Evenk dress and peaked caps, shoes, small bags, and mittens among the Yukagir all have solar symbolism (see the repositories of the Magadan District Regional Museum—Zhukova 1996a, 1996b). An image of the sun in the form of an appliqued horseshoe-shaped band with radiating rays adorns the summer clothing of the forest Yukagir. This same motif is embedded in the Chukchi and Eskimo hide balls.

Solar symbolism is rather widely represented in the applied art of the modern population of extreme Northeast Asia, but not in portable or monumental objects of the Neolithic and Paleo-Metal periods. The multi-pointed (multi-rayed) figurine of flint that we found is the only known astral sculpture of Neolithic times (Photo 5) among Northeast Asiatic objects of portable art.

In the monumental art of the northern Far East—the Pegtymel' petroglyphs—a solar symbol in the form of a radial spot was engraved only once (Dikov 1999:Stone IV:Fig. 22). The context in which the illustration is enclosed has considerable significance. This two-dimensional group of images with

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[28] One *sazhen'* equals 2.134 m.—*Trans.*

several figures is localized: two deer walking (running?) one after the other, which two dogs (one behind and a second to the side) "surrounded." Above the antlers of the first deer is a multi-rayed spot, and beside it (the outermost illustration) is depicted a triangular arrow point with a concave (indented) base, which is linked with other figures of excessively large dimensions. Somewhat above this compact group is a stretched oblong spot. Also inviting notice is the solitary figure of a deer located at the base of this same stone block. Above the middle of this animal's back, almost touching it, is a silhouette of a small sphere. It is possible to "read" this composition as the approach of the hunting season for deer using dogs, as foretold by hunting magic. It is known that hunting deer and foxes with dogs on snow thinly covered with ice was typical for the Yukagir and American Athapaskan Indians (Jochelson 1910–1926; Dzeniskevich 1987).

It is typical that the image of multi-rayed figures is a rather widespread motif in the rock illustrations of Siberia. There is an especially large number of them on the middle Nyukzha (in the Olekma basin). Among the multi-rayed figures, investigators of Nyukzha art distinguish images of the sun (large hollow circles with radiating rays—inside two of them visages were drawn) and images of stars (small spots, completely filled with paint, with radiating rays, which are viewed to be the constellations Ursa Major and Ursa Minor) (Okladnikov and Mazin 1976:104).

Instead of going into the analysis of stylistic comparisons as one of the criteria for dating Nyukzha images, we will turn our attention to the compositional peculiarities of the two upper groups of rock art, which are arranged as if in a narrative manner, illustrating a certain ritual-ceremonial cycle (Okladnikov and Mazin 1976:104). Both groups frame the central (the largest and most archaic) figure of a deer (Okladnikov and Mazin 1976:Fig. 17): the first (Okladnikov and Mazin 1976:Figs. 1–16, 18–21) is on the northwest side; the second (Okladnikov and Mazin 1976:Figs. 22–31, 34–42) is on the southeast side. What invites attention are the dynamics of movement transmitted in opposite directions (with the exclusion of objects used to procure food), which probably reflects a different time, possibly the beginning and end of some kind of ceremony connected with the breeding season of animals. In the first group is one position of the heavenly bodies: Sun is on the left, Moon on the right, but in a lower position; human figurines, a figure of a shaman, and a flying female (or male) grouse all pointing toward the right (to the east or south). In the second group, the primary heavenly bodies exchanged places (and Moon is even farther down in the illustration vis-à-vis Sun) and human figurines are turned and now move toward the left (to the west or north). The stars were also shifted, but the same number of them (seven) appear, which leads to the proposition that there aren't two constellations (Ursa Major and Ursa Minor) depicted, as is stated in the text, but only one of them. In the first group of inscriptions a grouse is shown sitting, in the second, it is mating. A small figure lying on the ground (not necessarily a human) may represent a sacrificial animal. One of the large-rayed heavenly bodies in the first group may personify a bright (morning or evening) planet as this image also appears on shamans' drums. A logical conclusion would be that the middle Nyukzha inscription is illustrating a calendrical cycle, as it is accompanied by corresponding shamanic mysteries (considering that the figure of a shaman is located in the center of the composition), in the context of which a specific place is designated for the Sun, Moon, and Stars, possibly marking seasonal parameters of ceremonial activities.

In Yukagir mythology, the Sun, Crescent Moon, Ursa Major, Morning Star, and Aurora Borealis were personified. Sun appears as a male being, granting offspring to people and animals (Zhukova 1996b:45, 49). In the religious ritual practice of the Yukagir, the days of the summer solstice, which marked the beginning of a new annual cycle, were especially celebrated. Apropos of this, at the beginning of summer, festive ceremonies were arranged, by means of which they expressed peace, love, and concord to the sun, "in order that fish, animals, and birds lived harmoniously, did not scatter, and made it possible to catch them in large numbers, and the Oduly (Yukagir) themselves, wiping out internal enmity, achieved great increase" (Spiridonov 1930:202). During such festivals a ceremony of purification was conducted, which made use of a structure similar to that rendered in the inscriptions of Suruktakh-Khai (in Yakutia) i.e., a semicircular arc with radiating rays symbolizing the sun deity (Zhukova

1996a:Fig. 20). These ceremonies have been preserved throughout the territory of the present-day Yukagir over the course of the last three millennia.

The astral symbol in the form of a small multi-rayed figurine is thus an essential element in the system of cosmological ideas of the early population of Chukotka, corresponding with the sun or a star (planet).

Earlier, the opinion of specialists was noted regarding the predominance of myths about the Moon in objects of spiritual culture of primitive societies. Lunar figurines were found in the Neolithic, but many of them come from the Paleo-Metal and Medieval period (as female ear ornaments). In the ensemble of small sculptures we are examining are three crescents (Fig. 29:1–3). On comparison, a difference is seen in the configuration of the lunar symbol, which may be a reflection of different lunar phases. Man's observations of the birth of the new moon (the appearance of the lunar crescent), its waxing and existence in full form (the lunar disk), and subsequent waning formed ideas about the change of life cycles—death and rebirth—in the world view of early tribes (Demirkhanyan 1985:131). This theme is reflected in myths and folklore of many peoples of northern Eurasia and adjacent territories. In the mythological systems that were formed as part of the traditions of the maternal clan, beliefs about Moon are closely connected with the life cycles of a woman, also dictating a calendrical structure based on numerical parameters of lunar months. Possibly the small sculptures of crescents transmit a certain calendrical code (first, second, or third quarter of the moon), regulating some kind of mystical ritual activities. Belief in the miraculous power of Sun, Moon, and other celestial bodies could also determine the function of such images as guardians against malevolent forces.

Lunar figurines described by Zamyatnin in most cases generally have adaptations (grooves or projections) for fastening to a cord, which presupposes wearing them on the breast or neck, or hanging them over a specially revered (guarded?) place in the house (the cradle, a woman's bed, and the like). No items with such adaptations were found among the objects we are examining here, but they could have been preserved in special bags, for example, in the manner of the amulets kept by Chukchi women (Bogoras 1939).

The macrocosmic phenomenon of the death and birth of the moon (the lunar crescent) had "a most important meaning in the ideology of the earliest societies" (Demirkhanyan 1985:131). The motif of the growing new moon, symbolizing the fertility of animals and plants, as well as the continuation of the human species, was embodied in the small sculpture of a deer head with a crescent in place of its antlers (Fig. 29:5). Shoots reaching upward are associated with young deer antlers, which during the course of the season grow, become strong, branch out, and then are shed by the deer in the new season (like the new moon) to repeat the whole cycle anew. A deer antler is likened (to a quite large degree) to a tree that annually sheds its foliage in order to reproduce it again in spring. In cliff art a deer antler is rather often illustrated in the form of a towering branched tree. Besides the sacred meaning of the being itself (with a tree or new moon in place of antlers), in its semiotics is reflected the universal principle of opposition and unification of two polar opposite phenomena—life and death, death and rebirth—making up the dialectics of being peculiar to myths the world over.

Flaked images of heavenly bodies according to the beliefs of their creators, could have been the embodiment of genuinely existing cosmic objects but endowed in the primitive perception with a material nature, capable of intervening in the life of man and uniting with him in some manner. At the basis of these views lay pre-animistic ideas, according to which everything surrounding man was endowed with life, consciousness, and will (the sky, heavenly bodies, wind, thunder, lightning, water, earth, and so on) (Ivanov 1977:80). At the same time it is impossible to abandon consideration of universal concepts of world mythological systems, in which the sun is connected with ideas about "heavenly fire," and the moon with ideas of fertility that predetermined the presence of images of celestial bodies in cult and everyday objects, as well as in items of portable art.

* * *

In the present work, sources in the interval 14,000 to 2,100 years ago on the portable art of the northern Far East are reviewed. In the stone sculpture ensemble, materials of the Neolithic predominate, especially the late part of this period. A small number of images belong to the Upper Paleolithic and some specimens to the Mesolithic.

In this art is reflected primitive man's graphic perception of everything existing on Earth and in the Cosmos, refracted through his ideas about world organization and world order.

During the process of the material formation of his interrelations and interactions with his environment, man created both a two-dimensional and three-dimensional world of images, those really existing and those born of his creative imagination and fantasies. Before us passes a gallery of plastic forms in which the theme "human" and "animal" remains constant (during all times). The dominant position in this view is occupied by animals that served as the object of the hunt: the mammoth in the Paleolithic and the whale and seals in the Neolithic.[29] At the same time, several forms of animals are present which have a place in the religious ideas of early people—the bear, horned owl, newt, and burbot—which leads to the view that their sculpted images were cult objects.

Sculpture of a symbolic character, i.e., treating man and animals in a general form, demonstrates the capability of abstract constructions early in the Stone Age.

The process of cognition in primitive society was not limited to reality existing on earth. At the level of primitive perception occurs man's comprehension of laws of the universe. This is confirmed by objects of small art that include cosmic symbols in the form of astral and lunar figurines. Interwoven in the canvas of mythological context, they are a reflection of the elements of scientific thought acquired by practical observation of celestial bodies over many millennia.

Traditions of maternal clan society are reflected in female anthropomorphic beings, and only as reality changed over time do the male sculpted "portrait" and phallic symbols appear, expressing disintegration of the maternal clan, after the paternal clan system forced it aside. During this stage, the collection of Tokareva sculpture (northwestern Priokhot'e) occupies a very extraordinary place, reflecting in both form and content a higher organization of production forces (in comparison with migratory groups of hunters of reindeer), brought on by the transition to sea mammal hunting and the stabilization of communities connected with it.

On objects of portable art in all stages of the Stone Age the tendency toward mythic creation is noted (fantastic figurines are created, which combine anthropo- and zoomorphic features).

The relatively small number of figurative objects reflects the stage of archaeological study of the region. However, as mapping of the sites indicates (Fig. 1), these objects are present in almost all of the thoroughly investigated sites, which should stimulate further investigation in this direction in the territories not presently embraced by archaeological work.

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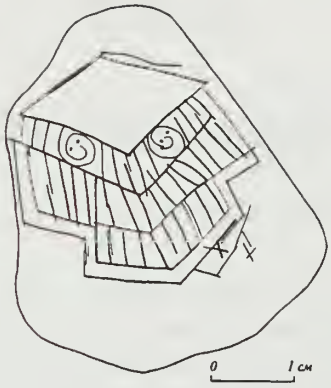
[29] It is impossible to ignore the lack of reindeer images in small stone sculpture, as this animal in was the basic food animal from the Paleolithic up to the present time in Northeast Asia. On the other hand, it was rather widely represented in monumental art, being the main being featured in practically all compositional groups of the Pegtymel' petroglyphs (northern Chukotka).



PART II

GRAPHICS ON STONE (SMALL FORMS)

PART II

Introduction

Graphics on small stones rarely attract the attention of Russian archaeologists. This also true of engraving on bone (although unique early Eskimo items are the exception and interest in them has not faded since their discovery). Publications are frequently limited to a brief acknowledgement of the presence of graffiti in archaeological complexes. In special literature these phenomena are examined in generalized terms, illustratively, without commentary (Oshibkina et al. 1992). In some cases an attempt is undertaken at classification and semantic analysis (Grichan 1987). This can be explained both objectively and subjectively: the discrete character of the finds resulting from the incompleteness and irregularity of the archaeological investigation of the immense territory of Russia and the relatively rare use of stone for small engravings in antiquity (with the presence of softer but less durable materials—wood, bone, and clay). The attempt to decode the information they contain holds the danger of passing from the plane of scientific analysis into the ephemeral world of conjecture and fantasy. It is impossible not to consider the skepticism of some researchers as regards the "reading" of these objects. Meanwhile, the graphics—independent of the material (stone, bone, or clay)—present a most valuable stratum of representational activity and artistic creation, touching many aspects not only of world view and religious order, but also of the culture and economy of early social groups. In this regard, graffiti represents an important cultural-historical source, and to exclude it from investigation not only makes our ideas about the spiritual culture of primitive groups poorer, but limits knowledge about the people themselves. "Primitive art shows us a man who is reaching into the world for knowledge, beginning to change the world, and because of this process, discovering his own potential" (Finkelstain 1956:36).

Studying the cliff art of Siberia, I. T. Savenkov emphasized that not one stroke, not one illustration, and not one pose of an animal, is by chance. All have a definite meaning, the solution lying in the religious and mythological systems of primitive peoples (from the archive of I. T. Savenkov [Belokobyl'skii 1986:109]). Being symbolic in essence, small graphic arts not only embodied in code the ideas of world view and religious mythological character, it also acted much like pictographs, with the information in the image appearing as a mnemonic device, relying on memories of the past and communicating immediately from one person to another before the time when permanent meaning was attached to symbols (Kabo 1981:9). This required a special intellectual disposition, the ability to abstract, to focus in simple representational formula the world surrounding man—the animals, people, sun, sky, water, and earth, which marked the transition from painting pictures to writing (Finkelstain 1956:37).

The representational materials available to archaeologists convince us of the fact that "in the Paleolithic and periods following it man possessed the ability to transform his surroundings into symbols and construct from them a world of symbols that paralleled the physical world" (Toporov 1972:98). The archaeologists V. E. Larichev, B. A. Frolov, and others successfully deciphered the symbolism of primitive art, which had been concealed for tens of millennia. It should be acknowledged that with the accumulation of materials the interest in objects of portable art grows (Krupyanko and Tabarev 1996). Nevertheless, in the resolution of problems connected with these objects, a tangible gap remains. This is primarily related to such kind of illustrative sources of small forms as graphics.

PART II

Toward Stating the Problem: Graffiti as an Object of Research

Graphics on small stones are a phenomenon that is widespread in time and space. Engraved pebbles, slate slabs, small rocks, and objects with a domestic function have been found in Eurasia and America beginning in the Paleolithic Era and continuing to the Middle Ages. This examination will be limited to selective material with the purpose of drawing greater attention to this category of objects.

The earliest engravings on stone in the form of simple linear symbols conveyed by representational means go back to the earliest periods in the history of humanity. There is evidence of cuts in the limestone cortex of a tool of the Riss glacial period from Mecklenburg, a pebble with deep cuts from the Riss-Würm horizon at Isturitz, and a "grooved" round flat stone from the middle Mousterian complex in the Hungarian site of Tata, which has been C^{14}-dated at about 50,000 years (Stolyar 1985:125). Crosses were carved in a slab of limestone from the Mousterian layer of Tsonskaya Cave in Georgia and in a small nummulite from the Mousterian complex at Tata (see above) (Stolyar 1985:125, Figs. 91, 93).

Topical engravings with animalistic themes are found in the upper Aurignac. Stream pebbles, slabs of limestone, and rocks (from 3 to 5 cm long) were used as the raw material. The illustrations were most often applied to one surface, but there are two-sided engravings as well. The beings that appear on them are the woolly rhinoceros and the brown bear (a two-sided composition on a pebble from the rock shelter at La Colombiere, France), a mammoth (a double image from Laugerie-Haute Cave, France), a bison (from Bruniquel Cave, France), and a wolf (from Polezini Cave, Italy) (Stolyar 1985:Figs. 147–150, 164). In A. D. Stolyar's opinion, the small engraved figures named above represent models or framework-type images that would have been covered with animals' skins (Stolyar 1985:206).

Small stone engraving is believed to have begun in the Magdalenian. In the opinion of authoritative researchers, it appeared before bas-relief and "carved outline" (Stolyar 1985:223) art forms. The bas-relief engraved image of a bison on a sandstone slab and a reindeer on a stone slab from Isturitz were executed in the style of "engraving with raised surface" (Stolyar 1985:Figs. 198, 200).

Eighty-seven slate slabs with 224 engraved figures were found during excavations in Hennersdorf (Germany). Chronologically, the finds were placed at the end of the Middle Magdalenian (Bosinski 1971).

Engraving had definitely been mastered by the Upper Paleolithic. Among small art forms, the engravings on bone, antler, and stone have a striking delicacy and beauty. An image of a hare with all the natural details engraved on stone is a genuine masterpiece of animal art (Stolyar 1985:Fig. 208). A female image, from the Rogalik XI site (northern Donets), scratched on a retouching tool made of a slate slab is very different (Gorelik 1997). Executed in a symbolic manner, it is rendered in the style of Paleolithic statuettes.

The Paleolithic engravers' preference for mammoth tusk is quite noticeable. Carving on ivory occurred throughout East European sites—Eliseevichi, Mezino, and the Siberian site of Mal'ta. But artists also used slabs of marl (Kostenki IV) and sandstone (Kostenki I) as raw material. (Abramova 1962). At other sites, blanks of soapstone were engraved (Afontova Gora II and Afontova Gora III) (Frolov 1974). The graphic elements were simple: parallel and intersecting lines and geometric figures, such as angles, triangles, and radially dispersing line segments. Engraving was also applied to working instruments (flint

artifacts). In this regard, the complex of the Upper Paleolithic Khotylevskaya site (Desna River) is significant. Besides decorated bone objects, a block of flint artifacts was distinguished (blades, burins, and scrapers) in the Khotylevskaya complex. Engraved on their chalky cortex were "non-complex compositions of simple geometric elements, forming angles, triangles, rhombs, crosses, and shading" (Zaveryaev 1981:154). Noting intermittent cuts in some cases, the researcher believes that they served as records of "some numerical expressions." Speaking of the purposeful assignment of the engraving, he suggests that among them may be accounting tallies; stones for fortune telling, magic or casting spells; or the simplest *churingi* with spirits of the ancestors embodied in them (Zaveryaev 1981:154).

One engraved tool under review is known to be from the Paleolithic of Yakutia (Northeast Asia) (Krupyanko and Tabarev 1996:Fig. 3:2). Another notable image from the Paleolithic of Primor'e (southern Far East) was carved on soft stone. As researchers suggest, the head of a snake is embodied in this engraving (Krupyanko and Tabarev 1996:68, Fig. 1). Sandstone slabs with line and dot engravings were found in Upper Paleolithic Cultural Layer VI of the Ushki I site in Kamchatka (Dikov 2004:Figs. 21, 22).

Engravings on stone are also described throughout the extensive literature on Paleolithic art (Abramova 1962, 1966; Stolyar 1985).

Graffiti on stone in the Mesolithic of northern Eurasia, on the other hand, is rather rare. In the territory of Eastern Europe three centers of Mesolithic art are noted: the Veret'e culture (eastern Prionezh'e), the Oleneostrovskii cemetery (Kareliya), and the peat bog Vis 1 (Vychegda basin). At Veret'e 1, about 50 objects were collected with engraved ornamental patterns, hatching, primitive illustrations, and symbols, but all were on antler or bone (Oshibkina et al. 1992:11, Figs. 8–25). Only one engraved stone was found. Engraving in the form of intersecting straight lines was applied on the (white) cobble cortex of black flint, worked by steep edge retouch (Oshibkina et al. 1992:33, Fig. 44; Krupyanko and Tabarev 1996:Fig. 3:1[2]). Judging by the reproductions in the sources named above, the impression is created that the engraving is the figure of a mammoth, whose white silhouette can be easily traced on the black background.

In Siberian finds an argillite slab was found with a pattern inscribed in the form of a net (Verkholenskaya Gora) (*Mezolit SSSR* . . ., 1989:Fig. 110:30). We also found a fragment of graffiti on a slate slab (Fig. 46) at the Mesolithic site of Tytyl' IV, Locus 3 (Kiriyak 1993b).

The insignificant number of Mesolithic engravings on stone that have been discovered is probably explained by the few known sites of this period.

An entirely different picture is seen in the Neolithic, by which time objects of portable art had become fairly numerous.

A representative group of stone *churingi* complete with graphic designs is noted in the Upper Volzhskaya culture. Engravings on stone are encountered at various sites. At the Sakhtysh VIII site a fragment of an oval stone slab was found, one side of which was covered completely with a herringbone pattern (Oshibkina et al. 1992:Fig. 92). Another *churinga* from this same site has engravings on both sides. On one side is an oval carved with a groove and transected by lines running in different directions. On the other side—as if twisted counterclockwise in a spiral—were circular lines with arc-shaped line segments radiating in opposite directions, giving the impression of upward movement along a spiral like the course of a spinning top (Oshibkina et al. 1992:Fig. 94). A *churinga* from the Ivanovskoe VII site is represented by a trapezoidal slab with an engraving of a square-celled net (?) (Oshibkina et al. 1992:Fig. 93:1). In the Upper Volzhskaya layer of the Zamost'e II site, 58 *churingi* were found. Illustrations in the form of ladders, circular figures, and hatching were engraved on them. On one slab with a sub-rectangular shape, short line segments were engraved, grouped in fours and pointed in various directions (Oshibkina et al. 1992:Fig. 93:2). On another was an unfinished triangle with a sloping cross in the center (Oshibkina et al. 1992:Fig. 93:3). Small stones with carved images were found in the Tverskaya District at the Berendeevo XVIII and Ozerki 5 sites. They are all, in the opinion of the investigators, reminiscent of Australian *churingi* (Oshibkina et al. 1992:74). Sandstone *churingi* of Bronze Age times were also found in "Podkova" Cave (northern Priazov'e).

Judging by the subjects of Neolithic engraved stone, images of a symbolic-geometric character prevailed. Among the set of symbolic figures, the most common were acute angles, triangles, straight and sloping crosses, double and single line segments, parallel and multidirectional lines, ladder- and herringbone-like "constructions," concentric circles, and other geometric images, all of which attest to well-developed abstract thinking. Along with this, realistic forms from the natural world are also reflected in the graffiti. An image of a moose head was scratched on a slab found near of the mouth of the Vetluga River (Nikitin 1980:163). A similar illustration can be seen on a slate slab found at the Khunnskii site in the Ivolginskoe archaeological area of Zabaikal'e. It is dated from the third to first millennium B.C. (Davydov and Minyaev 1975:198). In Bronze Age burials in the region of Tuva, stone vessels were found with images of animals scratched on the body (Mandel'shtam 1973:228). Information about finds of graffiti on stone also comes from other regions of Siberia and the Far East, but these are isolated finds and are not always accompanied by illustrations. Slate slabs with images scratched on them were also found among the complex of artifacts in the Neolithic layer of a site on the Kochechumo River basin of the lower Tunguska (Andreev and Studzitskaya 1967:153).

A whole series of stream pebbles and stone slabs with engravings was found in the region of the Irkutsk reservoir. Especially striking among them were mask-like compositions and illustrations of fish. A set of linear symbols made in the form of paired line segments, arrow-like figures, zigzags, and sloping crosses was used in the compositions (Klimashevskii 1974:159–165). A cult of Ichthyophagi can be traced in the motifs of Angara graffiti, which is reflected in the stylized images of fish, and also the masks, which in all probability embody the supreme spirit, the patron of fishing success.

Another collection of graffiti presented (41 specimens) in this work comes from the territory of Gorni Altai. It was assembled during excavations of Old Turkic kurgans and small fenced enclosures, as well as nearby areas. (Grichan 1987).

Engraved pebbles are also known in Far Eastern cultures. A series of graffiti (26 objects) belongs to the Neolithic complex of Rudnaya Pristan'. Among the decorative motifs used in the engraving, three types are distinguished: ornamentation combining parallel lines and semicircles, net, and "herringbone" (Krupyanko and Tabarev 1996:Fig. 2:3). It is notable that these illustrations lend an anthropomorphic nuance to some oval and sub-triangular pebbles.

The art of carving on stone has been in existence for a rather long time, as attested by finds at some medieval sites. On the premises of a twelfth to thirteenth century workshop (in the city of Suzdal) a whetstone was found for sharpening blades and needles. On its surface was scratched the image of a human face in profile, and next to it a few somewhat ladder-shaped figures (Glazov 1973:58).

A large number of engravings on stone have been found in North America (including the island region) and Canada (see below).

While not attempting to undertake the task of summing up all the graphic arts objects in the entire world, I do want to direct attention to similar sources consisting of a whole stratum of art of the Stone Age. The material, including engraved bone, is worthy of multifaceted investigation. The repetition of many elements of design (in the form of different geometric figures and combinations of them) is surprising, beginning with specimens of the earliest times on up to the Middle Ages.

It is also of note that objects of portable Paleolithic art (engravings on bone and stone), though excellently described and scrupulously considered, have not yet become objects of independent interdisciplinary research.

Publications of Neolithic graphics on stone can be characterized as surveys in most cases. Meanwhile, what is especially attractive is the very phenomenon of the existence of this kind of art form, one that did not join the common channel of realistic reflection of the world surrounding man and that is so unusual and permeated with symbolism in all subsequent stages of the Stone Age. The Neolithic art of engraving stone does not appear suddenly out of nowhere, rather its roots go back to the Paleolithic. A single collection of engraved disks and fragments of mammoth tusk found in the Paleolithic site of

Eliseevichi contains all spectra of the linear symbolic figures widely used in Neolithic engravings. The discovery of this type of genetic source is only one aspect in the history of primitive graphic creation. The place of the objects of this category in the world view/mythological systems of early social groups, the semantics, and the assignment of graffiti to all stages of the Stone Age are questions that require consideration. The resolution of these problems will help to fill the substantial gap in the system of spiritual values that came to us from the depth of distant millennia.

Over the last twenty years a significant number of sources have been accumulated in the northern Far East. This adds to the importance of publishing all known materials at this time.

PART II

Chapter I

Description of Archaeological Sources Cultural-Historical Parallels

Stones with engraving have been found in Northeast Asian sites of various periods. The earliest of these is thought to be from Cultural Layer VI (Upper Paleolithic) of the Ushki I site. Two of them are displayed in Part I. In both cases scratching was used as a shape-defining element: in the first, the fur clothing of a small anthropomorphic figure is imitated (Fig. 3), in the second, the long straggly hair of a mammoth is emphasized (Fig. 13:1). In the Ushki collection there are three more stone slabs with scratched multidirectional lines. The shape of one of them is also reminiscent of a small image of a mammoth, which can be traced in the contour of its sub-triangular base (Fig. 13:2). An effect added by shading is located in the lower part of the figure. It is possible that the engraving here carries out an independent function, and is not just part of the design of the sculpted image. The dimensions of the slab are 6.1 x 5.3 cm. The engraved symbol of a sloping cross in the otherwise unoccupied representational area above is also notable. On the surface of the fragment of the other slab (Fig 13:1?) multidirectional lines can be very vaguely seen. The dimensions of that slab are 6 x 3.7 cm. On the third slab of sub-square form a light shading was applied to one of the surfaces (Fig. 43). Its dimensions are 4.7 x 4.5 cm. A peculiarity in the technique of the engraving among early Ushki people is the grinding of one surface before starting to engrave; this appears as a blank area for placing an image. The reverse side preserves the cobble cortex. Images of "tent-like dwellings" on a sandstone slab belong to the subject illustrations (Fig. 44:a, b) (Dikov 2004:Fig. 15b). The dimensions are 11.8 x 6.1 cm. A small sandstone slab with an X-shaped illustration composed of small pits occupied a special place in the system of graphics among the Ushki people (Fig. 100) (Larichev and Kiriyak 2002:Fig. 1). Its dimensions are 9.7 x 4.5 cm.

An elongated pebble that I found on the eroded surface of the Bol'shoi El'gakhchan II site also probably has an Upper Paleolithic age. The accompanying inventory in the small surface collection includes a bifacial chopper and a wedge-shaped core. A pebble, which is round in cross section, and oblong-oval in plan, possibly served as a hammer stone. On one end are traces of striking, on the other are two areas of trimming. Shading is localized in two areas: in one area it is found on a somewhat projecting surface and is directed perpendicular to the long axis of the object; in the second, lines grouped in pairs gravitate toward a deep pit of natural origin and are directed parallel to the long axis (Fig. 45). When combined with the trimmings, the whole artifact might be viewed as some fantastic zoomorphic form (in this case, one trimming imitates the oblong mouth of the "animal," the second, a nostril, and the depression, an eye; the vertical shading emphasizes its back half, the horizontal shading, the head). The length of the pebble is 14 cm, the height is 6 cm, and the width is 3.5 cm.

I found a fragment of a slate slab with engraving at the Mesolithic workshop site of Tytyl' IV, Locus 3 (Fig. 46). The dimensions of the fragment are 2.5 x 2 cm. All the remaining items of this category belong to the Neolithic and later times.

Two graphic art miniatures were found by Dikov in eastern Chukotka.

The graffiti on a rectangular-oval flake of yellowish-gray slate comes from an assemblage of artifacts collected on a 20-meter fluvioglacial hill in the valley of the Igel'khveem River, located in the Bering Sea drainage. On the natural surface of the flake three lines formed by deep grooves cross at one point. The lines are outwardly reminiscent of the structure of a tent—a temporary summer dwelling among Northeast Asian peoples (Fig. 47:a, b). On the lower right, images can be traced of a rectangle with double line on one side and the angle with its peak downward, also with a double line on one side. On the left are two barely visible strokes. The dimensions are 3.4 x 2.5 cm (Dikov 1997:64, Pl. 94:1).

A second engraving on a fragment of a pinkish slate slab was picked up on a gentle cape-like slope 5 m high that is directed toward the Utaatap River (Bering Sea drainage). The author of the find sees in this image "some waterfowl like a swan, goose, or duck flapping its wings, evidently trying to fly up from the water, but with its tail seized by the mouth of some kind of water beast, possibly mythic, like a large fish or some kind of other mythological chthonic being" (Dikov 1997:76, Pl. 102:2) (Fig. 48). Ascribing the small and unremarkable complex of the Utaatap I site (36 flakes, 1 knife-like blade, and 2 slab fragments) to "no earlier than the Late Neolithic," the author in a summary chronological table places the graffiti in a series belonging to the Remnant Neolithic (Dikov 1997:94). The dimensions of the artifact are 8.4 x 2.8 cm.

Two engravings come from the region of the Upper Kolyma. Both were obtained by S. B. Slobodin during excavations at the Pridorozhnaya site in the Late Neolithic complex of artifacts (Slobodin 1996:100, Figs. 17:8; 18:14).

On a small sub-rectangular stone, a linear composition was engraved (Fig. 49). Two parallel straight lines set far apart were carved as deep grooves along the long axis of the stone. Four rows of line segments grouped two to three to a row intersected them perpendicularly. As if suspended from one edge, two small latticed figures "in the form of a railway track" (rails with ties)—as American specialists (see below) define such illustrations—complete the composition.

A second illustration, part of which is lost, was engraved on another slab (Fig. 50). The early engraver emphasized the central part of the composition by cutting a deep oval-shaped groove and dividing it into three parts using two channeled lines. The middle area was divided into equal parts by a line which originates on the oval groove on each side, but doesn't meet in the middle. One of those half-lines curves to intersect a channeled line and proceeds on to end at the upper zone of the oval. On the outside, four lines were scratched and oblique shading can be traced, but part of the slab on this side has been lost along with its images. The finder gave only a brief description of them.

A representative series of engravings on stone was obtained by Lebedintsev at sites of the Late Neolithic Tokareva culture (Fig. 51). Most of them come from a site on Spafar'eva Island and a site in Tokareva Bay (Lebedintsev 1996, 1990, 2000). One object was found on Nedorazumeniya Island (Vasil'evskii 1971). All were made as pendants, except one composition on a flint flake (Fig. 51:11) (Lebedintsev 1996:Figs. 1; 2; 13:8; 2000:Figs. 32; 101). We note that the Tokareva people, who created flawless decorative art, also engraved everyday objects of bone: harpoon heads, combs, punches, needle cases, spoons, and burin handles (Lebedintsev 1996:145). They preferred to make the pendants of stone.[30]

Next we will examine a series of Tokareva graffiti using the description of the material made by the author of the finds.

Graffiti on a small, flat, light-brown pebble in the form of an anthropomorphic mask was found by R. S. Vasil'evskii in the Nedorazumeniya Island site (Fig. 51:1) (Vasil'evskii 1971:38, Pl. VII:4; Lebedintsev 1996:142, Fig. 1:1).[31]

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[30] Part I of this research includes representative examples of sculpted pendants of stone, the elements of the decoration for most of which were also executed by engraving.

[31] The image, schematically executed by R. S. Vasil'evskii and copied by A. I. Lebedintsev, is authenticated by a plaster cast that is preserved in the repository of the Magadan District Regional Museum.

One oval pendant is in the form of a small, reddish, ground disk with a biconical hole 0.2 to 0.6 cm in diameter, having carved oval concentric circles and short rays along the edge (Fig. 51:2). Traces of crude working in the form of carved lines can be seen on the surfaces. The length of the pendant is 4.3 cm, its width is 4 cm, and its thickness is 0.4 cm (Lebedintsev 1990:Fig. 1).

A pendant decorated with notching along the edges every 1 to 3 mm and with a geometric illustration in the form of inscribed and carved lines is in the form of a small, ground, roundish, yellowish-pink disk (Fig. 51:3). In the upper part a 0.2 cm-diameter biconical hole was drilled. The length of the pendant is 4.4 cm, its width is 4.1 cm, and its thickness is 0.4 cm (Lebedintsev 2000:53, Fig. 32:3).

A reddish pebble pendant is unifacially convex in cross section with a biconical hole in the upper part and a carved illustration on one side (Fig. 51:4). The illustration consists of several vertical lines located in the center of the pendant, one of which is deeply carved, and horizontal lines spreading out from the center to the sides. There are also short carved lines that were applied between the horizontal ones. To the right of the hole can be seen arc-shaped traces that were made twisting the drill away from the sharp edge of one of its shoulders. The reverse side of the pendant is undecorated. The edges of the pendant, except the upper one, were ground perpendicular to the plane of the object. The diameter of the hole is 0.25 to 0.6 cm. The length of the artifact is 5 cm, its width is 3 to 4 cm, and its thickness is 0.7 cm (Lebedintsev 1990:Fig. 1).

A yellow pebble oval pendant has a biconical hole in the upper part (Fig. 51:5), and partially ground edges. The flat surfaces are also ground. On one side, an illustration of a tree or plant design was applied with carved lines. The diameter of the hole is 0.2 to 0.4 cm. The length of the pendant is 3.2 cm, its width is 1.7 cm, and its thickness is 0.5 cm (Lebedintsev 1990:Fig. 17).

A fragment of another pendant has an image of a tree or leaf (Fig. 51:6) (Lebedintsev 1990:Fig. 45:9).

An oval pendant made from a grayish-brown pebble has a biconical hole in the upper part (Fig. 51:7). On both sides of the lower part depressions that are probably an element of decoration were made by drilling. Longitudinal lines were applied on the surface of the artifact by a burin. The diameter of the hole is 0.25 to 0.65 cm. The length of the pendant is 3.7 cm, its width is 2.2 cm, and its thickness is 0.6 cm (Lebedintsev 1990:Fig. 22).

An oval pendant in the form of a small ground disk with a lenticular cross section has a biconical hole in its upper section. It is decorated by notches along the edge and deeply carved lines on both surfaces (Fig. 51:8). On one side nine horizontal lines were made, on the other, six horizontal lines and between the second and fifth are six vertical lines. On both ground, flat surfaces of the pendant traces of burin lines can be seen, with the burin providing the form. The upper part of the artifact is broken at the hole. The length of the pendant is 3.1 cm, its width is 2.1 cm, and its thickness is 0.35 cm (Lebedintsev 1990:Fig. 5).

A grayish teardrop-shaped pendant with a lenticular cross section has a notched edge (Fig. 51:9). Its upper part, where a hole was originally located, is broken. Intersecting straight lines were carved on both surfaces of the artifact. The length of the pendant is 2.9 cm, its width is 2.2 cm, and its thickness is 0.3 cm (Lebedintsev 1990:Fig. 20).

The upper part of a pendant shaped iike a small yellowish disk is broken along horizontal lines, which were carved on both sides. In the upper part of the pendant a biconical hole 0.3 to 0.7 cm in diameter was drilled (Figure 51:10). At a 45-degree slope to the horizontal line are sets of carved lines of three to four each. On the reverse side the lines slant to the left. The height of the broken part is 1.7 cm, it is 3.4 cm wide, and 0.6 cm thick (Lebedintsev 2000:53, Fig. 32:7).

An engraving on a small flake probably represents a fragment from a composition (Fig. 51:11). Among the chaotically applied carved lines can be traced a symbolically executed image of a waterfowl (possibly a swan) or mythic being, turning its head toward a lattice (Lebedintsev 1996b:Fig. 13:8).

Among the decorated pendants are teardrop-shaped artifacts both in their final form and as blanks (lacking drilling), on which unsystematic or random shading was applied (Lebedintsev 1990:Figs. 2, 3, 8, 12, 15).

As the investigator of the Tokareva culture suggests, the engraving could have been applied by a metal burin, inasmuch as iron began to arrive on the Okhotsk coast by the end of the first millennium B.C. (Lebedintsev 1996; 2000).

The principal block of graffiti we're examining comes from the Rauchuvagytgyn I site, which I discovered in 1981 (during a survey in the polar zone of western Chukotka) on a 4 m high fluvioglacial terrace at the mouth of a river that falls into Lake Rauchuvagytgyn. The complex of artifacts collected on the dispersed-sod surface is evidence that the site existed during the Late Neolithic; this was corroborated later by charcoal analysis taken from the hearth in the dwelling (see the description of the complex in Chapter I, Part I). Among the first finds were five pieces of slate slabs with illustrations inscribed on them. During subsequent large excavations fragments were found that substantially supplemented the first finds, and new specimens were discovered. Identification of the cultural remains collected on the surface and obtained in the excavations led to their eventual combination in one material complex, and their radiocarbon dating to 2,500 years ago (Kiriyak 1993a).

The early inhabitants of the site picked up raw material with an eye to its plasticity. They engraved slabs and everyday objects from sandstone and argillaceous slate, pebbles of fine-grained stone, and flakes of hornfels. A significant proportion of the objects have engraving on both surfaces. Some graffiti was damaged during use (decorations on knife blanks and other everyday objects), which might mean their primary meaning and assignment would be lost due to the lack of a clear objective. It is also remarkable that they were found both within surface dwellings discovered during the excavations of the site, and far outside of them. No large concentration was noted in any one place. All the slabs with illustrations were broken into small fragments, sometimes measuring no more than 5 mm. It is impossible to say whether this was intentional. Images on pebbles and flat stones were preserved undamaged. The dimensions of the graffiti, all of which seemed to have a specific subject, fluctuate from 2 to 11 cm. In the illustrations, microscopic details that attest to the high acuity of their creator's sight is noteable. The results of trace analysis lead to the conclusion that they were applied with a metal burin.

The stylistic and technical uniformity of execution of the engravings, the repetition of subjects, and the complete command of the burin indicate an individual master, a single creator of all the miniatures containing graphics at the Rauchuvagytgyn I site.

With the large variation of design on one or both sides of the raw material it is possible to distinguish several groups in the representational material, by considering groupings of several elements and the character of the symbols. We note the complexity of the proposed groupings, inasmuch as some images are fragmentary, and with further excavations of sites component parts could be found that complicate one or another of the compositions. The proposed systematization facilitates a description of the illustrations.

First Group.[32] Complex compositions within ovals. Slab No. 1 of black slate (Fig. 52) consists of five fragments, one of which was found on the surface, while the others were obtained during excavation. The composition was almost completely revealed. The images were applied during two or three sequential stages. First, the figures were scratched in oval and divided by a straight line and a double arc into three parts. In the top part were symbols in the form of double parallel segments located separately or intersecting; lying on its side was an arrow and lines applied at an angle. In the middle part of the oval, below a straight (triple) line, a small anthropomorphic figure in the form of an arrow can be clearly traced, also lying on its side. In the center is a "honeycomb" figure (in the form of a polygon) with a cross-shaped mark in an exposed area.

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[32] A drawing of all the graffiti was made by substantially enlarging (5- to 10-fold) a photograph, then copying to paper.

The lower part of the oval is divided into five zones by vertical straight lines. In each of them figures were scratched similar to acute-angled 8s (in a horizontal position) grouped two to three in each zone. Shading on the outside of the oval does not extend to the upper part of the perimeter. Above this composition a multi-tiered figure of double zigzag-shaped lines with short branches ("little horns") at the peaks was applied, to the left of which a sloping cross is rhythmically repeated. This ladder-like composition covers the oval, while the left flank goes far beyond its border, but here images were applied as if turned over—with branches pointing downward. Two pairs of parallel lines serve as the foundation of the zigzag-like "construction." In the lower part of the oval, on the right, can be seen two acute-angled figures—a simple one below and a complex one above. We note that part of the image was lost through mechanical and chemical actions over time. On the reverse side, images are absent. The dimensions of the slab are 4.8 x 4.6 cm.

Slab No. 2 (Fig. 53) of black slate is probably half of the original piece. There is engraving on both sides. Just as in the preceding case, the images were applied in stages. First, the whole surface was covered by a thick net of the finest lines (in the illustration it is omitted due to its frequency), then an oval was carved, and shading applied outside it. Within its boundaries, illustrations more reminiscent of geometric blueprints were scratched. Two sections can be distinguished in the general composition. In the upper section, rectangular (in several stages) constructions resembling fences were engraved. The demarcator of the area in the oval is a lower stage of "fencing" represented by a narrow strip with transverse double segments. Straight lines run downward from it vertically, dividing the remaining part of the oval into zones into which figures similar to geometric mushrooms were placed, making up several vertical rows. In the upper stage of the "mushroom" composition a rhythmically repeating symbol in the form of a sloping cross is seen. In the middle stage, on the left, a regular cross is illustrated. The dimensions of the slab are 4.5 x 3.4 cm. We will examine the illustration on the reverse side of Slab No. 2 below.

Second Group. Graffiti with multi-stage double zigzag. This type of element is quite visible on Slab No. 1 (Fig. 52). We see an analogous "construction" on a flat flake of black hornfels (Fig. 54). Here a three-stepped zigzag with branches is located close to a two-stepped upside down one. Both were placed between parallel straight lines. Sloping crosses are repeated in the middle-stage area. A lattice was scratched above the stepped constructions, opposite vertical branches, while all the remaining area was filled with H-shaped figures. The dimensions of the flake are 5 x 3.3 cm.

Another small fragment on a piece of slate features a stepped construction, identical in general details to the preceding item (Fig. 55). The illustration looks incomplete: in two cases single lines form the zigzag, no branches were drawn, and no marks are in the interior area. The dimensions of this slab are 3.3 x 1.8 cm.

A ladder-like figure of double angles with "branches" at the peaks, placed between vertical pairs of parallel lines, is well preserved on two fragments of a slate slab that represent a once single whole (Fig. 56). Also, images outside the boundaries—repeating the motifs described above—can be partially seen. H-shaped symbols are carved in the middle-stage area of the central and lateral figure. Part of the composition has been lost; what remains measures 3.8 x 2.7 cm. On the reverse side, intersecting parallel lines and "fences" were scratched (Fig. 70).

Preserved on a small, narrow fragment of light-gray slate slab with a smooth surface (Fig. 57) is the upper part of a ladder-like construction with finely worked-out details. Anthropomorphic images in the form of horizontally reclining arrows can also be seen, over which a sloping cross is inscribed. On the reverse side are two pairs of straight lines. The dimensions of this artifact are 3.9 x 1.4 cm.

Two- and three-stage ladder-like constructions make up the composition on a flat cobble (Fig. 58). In the center, between two pairs of vertical lines, is a three-stepped figure of double angles with "branches" at the peak (two steps were clearly engraved, while the third leans toward the edge and becomes lost). On the left and right of the central figure analogous "stages" of double angles were carved, also with the peaks directed upward. Enclosed within the structure, on the left, is a sloping cross. The

surface of the images has been eroded to a significant degree, so part of the illustration is lost, the carved lines being hardly visible. The dimensions of this artifact are 7.2 x 5.3 cm.

In the graffiti cited in this group, a notable feature in four cases is symbols in the form of sloping crosses placed in the middle-stage area; and in two compositions are symbols in the form of the letter H that were composed of double line segments. The H-like figure is repeated five times in one composition done on a flake of black hornfels, and also features the sloping cross symbol (Fig. 54).

Third Group. Elements of dwellings are sometimes the subject of graffiti, though characterizing some as dwellings must be acknowledged to be uncertain. The image of a house with a cylindrical lower part and a conical roof terminating in a circular bifurcation, is scratched on a gray slate slab (Fig. 59). Shading descends from what is presumably a floor. The house is illustrated as if transparent—within it can be seen details of the supporting structure in the form of double lines. Linear figures can be faintly seen to the left and right of the circular bifurcation. The dimensions of this artifact are 7.5 x 6 cm.

On a flat gray stone with a broken projection, a more complex illustration is scratched, which consists of three independent components located vertically one above the other (Fig. 60). At the top is illustrated a "building" of a type similar to the preceding house (cylindrical base, conical roof, triangular bifurcation), but with more complex symbolism in the "living" area, in which double zigzag figures form a "honeycomb" image. All the free space is filled with a multitude of parallel straight lines intersecting each other at right angles as well as sloping. The double lines of the bifurcation in the upper part of the "roof" extend into the "structure" and are shaped like a sloping cross. Just as in the first case (Fig. 59), shading is inscribed going down from the "floor." The second component, located below the natural break in the stone, is a figure resembling an enclosed fence shaded by vertical line segments and joined to the third component, which can be tentatively called an image of a net. The dimensions of this artifact are 9 x 5.5 cm.

Another construction similar in configuration to a "dwelling" of cylindrical-conical form is illustrated on a flat cobble (Fig. 61). The "living" space is divided by double lines into three stages. In the lower one, two sub-rectangular sectors can be traced on the left and right, with a passage going vertically upward between them. Erosion of the surface and the multitude of lines makes it difficult to reconstruct the whole composition. The dimensions of this artifact are 6 x 3.7 cm.

Finally, graffiti with a three-stepped polygon construction resembling a truncated pyramid can be tentatively assigned to this group (Fig. 62). The inner three-stage area is divided up by a multitude of vertical parallel straight lines. To the left and right in the upper part, under the "roof" in the form of a rhomb, can be seen two spirals with two dot depressions ("eyes"), which, in this connection, appear to be snakes. The dimensions of this artifact are 4.3 x 3.9 cm.

Fourth Group. Graffiti with zoomorphic images. At present there are only two items in this group. The first composition was engraved on the reverse side of Slab No. 2 (Fig. 53). On a background of straight and curved lines can be distinguished an outline of a polar bear carved schematically by a deep groove. Its image is covered by zigzag-like thin straight lines. Under the "stomach" is a mark in the form of two pairs of intersecting segments (Fig. 63).

The contour of the other animal, in all probability a deer, can be seen on a fragment of a gray slab of fine-grained sandstone (Fig. 64). The animal is illustrated in an extremely simplified manner and is compositionally connected with geometric designs in the form of shaded angles superimposed upon each other, as if mutually penetrating. In this shaded field, two small teardrop-shaped images can be clearly seen. They look animal heads, and were applied by the method of rubbing a cavity in the surface of the slab, possibly with an abrasive instrument. Above the shaded angles were scratched thin transecting lines. The whole "blueprint" is lodged between two deeply carved parallel straight lines, from which on the outside at a right angle were placed short line segments. The dimensions of this artifact are 3 x 2.1 cm. Unfortunately, both slabs with zoomorphic images are fragmentary.

A spheroidal pebble with an incised (?) image of a bird has a special place in this thematic group (Fig. 101a). Its diameters are 3.5 and 3.7 cm.

Fifth Group. Graffiti with complex subject illustrations. On a slate slab of sub-triangular form was engraved a composition of multidirectional geometric-like images (Fig. 65). On the lower portion was scratched a triangular (tent-like) figure, which had images set symmetrically on both sides. On the left is a symbol in the form of lightning, and on the right is a composition of several elements: two parallel vertical lines with a triangle over them, above which a teardrop-shaped figure was engraved by a deep groove. Joined with the figure is the base of a phallic-like arrow, its tip especially deeply carved (or pecked?). On the right of it another triangle can be traced. The whole slab is speckled with short, fine carved lines. Part of the upper image was lost either due to deliberate grinding of the surface or from long contact with an unknown object, leaving the edges and part of the exposed surface polished to a shine. The dimensions of this artifact are 6.3 x 6 cm.

A composition, several elements of which have unfortunately been lost because of natural destruction of the surface layer, was carved with the finest lines on the patinated surface of a trapezoidal slate slab. The illustrations were set symmetrically in relation to the axial straight line with an upward-turning bifurcation (Figs. 66a, 66b). In the upper part, sloping equally toward the axial line, were carved two straight lines each ending in a two-pronged fork. Along both sides of the axis *tamgi*—or brand-like symbols—can be traced. These include slanting crosses, simple and complex angles, and a figure like the numeral 9. Partially preserved in the lower zone was shading consisting of two to three horizontal line segments. The remaining part of the surface at that spot was eroded, and the images were lost. The dimensions of this artifact are 3.8 x 3.3 cm.

Another slab of bifacial multi-shaped engraving came to us in substantially fragmented form. Three pieces of it were successfully collected. A restoration on one side reveals part of a composition in which there are two vertical ladder-like figures and a dangling triangle with doubled and extended lateral sides, shaded within. At the bottom edge of the slab, a tent-like image was scratched (Fig. 67), while on the reverse side a more complex illustration was engraved. The whole field was "lined" in cells (a "net-like" background), which has elements of decoration along most of it in the form of arc-like double lines with rhythmically repeating Г-like figures turned in different directions (Fig. 68). The dimensions are 10.8 x 3.5 cm.

Another complex engraving has been partially reconstructed from two fragments. Arranged in the center is a composition of triangular figures inscribed within each other. The exterior doubled sides have transverse shading. A thick bundle of thin lines serves as the foundation of the composition (Fig. 69). The dimensions of this artifact are 5.8 x 2.4 cm.

Graffiti with intensive shading can be distinguished in a separate group: various ladder-shaped illustrations (or "fences," which are reminiscent of a railway track, i.e., rails with ties).

Two "ladders," directed at an angle to each other, with linear geometric figures and a sloping cross in the center of the composition (Fig. 70) were engraved on opposite sides of one slab, along with an image of a multi-step zigzag with branches (Fig. 56).

A multitude of ladder-fence-looking figures diverging, transecting, and arranged in parallel were engraved on both sides of another slab composed of two fragments (Figs. 71:a, b; 72). The dimensions are 4.2 x 2.9 cm.

Unfortunately, the graffiti with the most complex illustrations were represented by two small pieces of slabs. These had various combinations of geometric figures: double zigzags, "ladders," and shaded triangles (Figs. 73, 74). The dimensions of these artifacts are 2 x 1.9 cm and 1.8 x 1.2 cm, respectively.

A rather interesting subject can be traced on a small reddish fragment (Fig. 75) that has triangles and a disk (all the figures have internal shading) arranged in it. The dimensions of this fragment are 2.2 x 2 cm. In the collection of graffiti from Lake Rauchuvagytgyn, the use of a pinkish-reddish material was

noted for only three specimens, and a figure in the form of a disk is at present the only one in the rather diverse geometric subjects of graphic art of the Rauchuvagytgyn people.

Sixth Group. Compositions of simple geometric figures. On one side of a slate knife was engraved a polygonal figure of a house-like construction (Fig. 76:a). On the reverse side was a long fence-like illustration and two rows of parallel line segments (Fig. 76:b). The dimensions of this artifact are 11.3 x 5 cm.

On a fragment from a small slab were engraved figures of triangles attached by the angles, sloping crosses, and short hatching (Fig. 77). The dimensions of this fragment are 3.3 x 2.4 cm.

Two specimens in the collection have clearly distinguished chains of rectangles with double sides (Figs. 78, 79). The dimensions of these artifacts are 6.8 x 3.6 cm and 2.3 x 1.6 cm, respectively.

On one side of a small fragment a similar subject can be traced (Fig. 80), while on the reverse side chaotic lines were scratched (Fig. 81). The dimensions of this fragment are 2.5 x 2.1 cm.

Two compositions are linked by a "plant" motif.

One was a gray slate slab (possibly a fragment) with very complex micro-relief images on both surfaces. One side was engraved with a composition, including a triangle with extended sides on the top (on the left) and an image in the form of a tree with rising branches (on the right). In the free space a symbol of a short acute angle pointing toward the tree was scratched (Fig. 82). The slab is 4.4 cm. high and 4.8 cm. wide.

A second image, which partially symbolizes a tree, has very small dimensions: it is 2.8 cm long and 0.9 cm across. This image was applied to one side of a flake of dark-gray slate. The engraving imparts the structure of a leaf with a central axial "vein" in the form of a smoothly bending curve and lateral branches slanting away from it (Fig. 83:a). The flake may have been taken from a damaged slab on which there was already an engraving, inasmuch as on the edge of the reverse side can be seen zigzagging double and single transecting lines. The remaining part still has the smooth surface of the spall (Fig. 83:b).

A large part of the material is impossible to assign to any group because of its fragmentation.

On a slab that was reconstructed from three flakes can be seen a composition of multidirectional lines and sloping crosses (Fig. 84). The dimensions of this fragment are 4.3 x 3.5 cm.

An unorganized subject of chaotically applied lines was noted on two fragments of slate slabs (Fig. 86:a, b). Their dimensions are 4.3 x 3.5 cm and 3.4 x 2.7 cm, respectively.

Working instruments of slate were also subjected to engraving. On one fragment of a tool were scratched multidirectional lines and a lattice (Fig. 87). The dimensions of this fragment are 2.6 x 2 cm. In another instance, cross-shaped figures supplement linear engraving on a piece of a knife (Fig. 85). Its dimensions are 5.3 x 2.9 cm.

A slab with a ground underside is especially notable (traces of polishing can be seen). A smooth arch-shaped line implies that the disk-like form was deliberately conferred on the slab, and probably had special meaning for the early Rauchuvagytgyn people. On one fragment an engraving of diverging lines can be traced (Fig. 88:a, b).

One group that includes six fragments may once have been part of a single object (the intermediate parts of which have been lost). The motifs and the manner of applying the illustrations on each side attest to the unity of both compositions (Fig. 89:a, b, c). The dimensions of the fragments vary from 3.4 x 1.6 cm to 2.1 x 1.1 cm. On one 2.2 x 1 cm. fragment—probably coming from this same group—is a biconical hole (Fig. 90).

The rather frequent use of the H-shaped symbol as an independent *tamga* is quite noteworthy (see Footnote 7). One large fragment of a two-layered slab was worked in such a way that part of one layer was trimmed on three sides (with projecting pointed angles) as if to rest on a platform. This was reminiscent of a symbolic bas-relief ornithomorphic image, which had an H-shaped *tamga* in the

niscent of a symbolic bas-relief ornithomorphic image, which had an H-shaped *tamga* in the humeral region (Fig. 91:a, b). There are no other images either on the obverse or reverse side. The dimensions of the whole slab are 6.6 x 3.3 cm.

Two very small fragments also have this feature. On one an H-like symbol with double sides was carved (Fig. 92:a), on the second the H is scratched by a single line (Fig. 92:b). The dimensions are 1.4 x 1.3 cm and 1.8 x 1.5 cm, respectively.

One fragment of another slab is marked with a double H-like *tamga*, on one side of which was engraved a simple linear figure (Fig. 92:c), and on the reverse are chaotically transecting straight and arc-shaped lines.

A large number of very small flakes also have traces of engraving on one or both sides. As a rule, these are unsystematic multidirectional lines (Figs. 93; 94:a, b). The dimensions of these flakes are 4.2 x 2.5 cm, 2.8 x 2 cm, and 3.1 x 1.7 cm, respectively.

Of the graffiti found at other sites, a "mushroom" composition on a slate slab found in the cultural layer during excavations at the Tytyl' V site deserves attention.

The Tytyl' V site is located on a morainal hill 8- to 9-m high, opposite a still-active deer crossing. The cultural remains obtained during the excavations set the diachronic character of the site, the material complex of which was formed from the Late Neolithic to the early Iron Age.[33] Based on the technique of application of the illustration, the Tytyl' graffiti is analogous to that found at Rauchuvagytgyn. The illustrations were scratched, lines are barely discernable, and only some parts were modified by deeper grooves. Negative factors, such as severe climatic conditions (the site is located above the Arctic Circle) and time, lead to the loss of some elements of the original illustration. In stylistic regard, however, the images differ. The mushroom-like figures are more realistic in the Tytyl' site, not as geometric as the one on the slab from the Rauchuvagytgyn 1 site.

The central place in the composition is occupied by a mushroom with a semi-oval cap (Fig. 95). Two straight-line segments outline the stalk along the vertical axis below the cap, the stalk being cut at the bottom by a zigzagging acute-angled figure. Left of the stalk of the mushroom a single-barbed point of an arrow or harpoon (?) was engraved, the working part of which is clearly illustrated on the background of the cap. A series of short, diagonal line segments are inscribed radiating inward from the top edge of the mushroom-like figure. In a second sketch, to the left, two or three figures repeating the mushroom-like contour were engraved and arranged as if behind the central image, creating the impression of several mushrooms. Below, as if arising from a single point, is a small bunch of straight lines spread out like a fan. A multitude of straight lines transecting the mushroom-like figures in different directions is inscribed in the middle of the composition. The symbol of a cross occupies the free space on the upper right part of the slab. The dimensions of this artifact are 4.3 x 3.7 cm.

A second object representing the Tytyl' V site is a piece of an oblong pebble, which has a series of lines carved diagonal to the long axis on its broad surface (Fig. 96). The dimensions of this artifact are 4.1 x 2 x 1.6 cm.

Two artifacts with graffiti were found in the surface collection from the Tytyl' IV site, Locus 1. Deeply carved intersecting straight lines have been preserved on a 4 x 1.8-cm fragment of a slate slab (Fig. 97)

A second engraving in the form of a bundle of lines was applied to a fragment of a knife (?) (Fig. 98). The dimensions of this fragment are 4 x 2 cm.

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[33] A detailed description of the material complex of the Tytyl' V site can be found in Part I

In graffiti (inscribed on two fragments) found at the Kymynei (Ilirneigytgyn) V site, only part of a composition represented by parallel straight lines and a vague rectangular figure on the split edge was preserved (Fig. 99). The dimensions are 3.8 x 2.3 cm.

A chronological series of graffiti on stone completes a find by Orekhov during excavations at a Remnant Neolithic site on Cape Alevina (not far from Magadan). This is a flattened oval pebble. On one side a figure in the form of a straight cross was carved with a deep groove, the vertical line of which corresponds to the longitudinal axis of the base, while the transverse line is placed closer to the upper edge (Fig. 101b). The dimensions of this pebble are 6 x 4.5 cm.

* * *

The ensemble of graffiti from sites of Northeast Asia can be chronologically split into two unequivalent (by number of objects) blocks: engraving of the Upper Paleolithic and the Neolithic (its different stages). Only one insignificant fragment was assigned to the Mesolithic.

Sources representing Paleolithic materials are few in number. Nevertheless, depending on the engraving it is possible to classify them into three groups. First, natural "sculpted" forms that were engraved for the purpose of applying the elements of design reinforcing the perception of anthropo- and zoomorphic beings. To this group belongs a poly-iconic sculpture from Cultural Layer VI of the Ushki I site (Fig. 3), which is thought to be a small figure of a sitting man in fur clothing (one aspect) and the head of an animal (another aspect) (Dikov 2004). From this same site also come two small sculptures of mammoths (Fig. 13:1, 2). The material used for these were pebbles (one fragmentary) of natural form, providing the silhouette of the animal, with engraving applied to imitate long fur.

A find from the Bol'shoi El'gakhchan II site can be assigned to this same group (Fig. 45). The localized engraving, applied to two areas of the oval cobble, was supplemented by a natural depression and by two trimmed areas imitating nostrils and mouth, creating the form of a mythic zoomorphic being.

The second group is represented by a subject engraved on a flat pebble (Fig. 44a, b) from the Ushki I site (Cultural Layer VI). Two conical houses are illustrated on it that appear to be sitting one behind the other with trees growing close by. Another small slab with a pitted X-shaped design may also be assigned to this group (Fig. 100). The X is composed of two zigzagging lines, the angles of which point toward each other. One line has fourteen pits, the other sixteen (including those on the broken part of the slab). An attempt to study early calendric-astronomical systems (see the works of V. E. Larichev, A. V. Pen'kov, and others) leads to the view that the Ushki-dotted illustration is a calendar with images of the synodical lunar cycle, in which the "light" (including full moon) and the "dark" (from the initial waning of the lunar disk) periods are reflected (Pen'kov 1999:237).

To the third group is assigned a fragment of a stone slab with unsystematic linear engraving (Fig. 43).

The Neolithic materials comprise a large block of graffiti, the bulk of which comes from the Rauchuvagytgyn I site (western Chukotka). A separate group is from artifacts of the Tokareva culture (northern Priokhot'e) executed in the form of pendants, except for one engraved flake (Fig. 51:11). In technique, the Tokareva graffiti are close to the sculpted artifacts described in Part I (the use of small round and oval pebbles as the base, intensive grinding of the surface in most cases, the forming of the contour along the whole perimeter of the artifact by carved notches or engraved line segments, the application of the illustration using deeply carved lines—or more rarely, by scratching—and the presence of holes for hanging or sewing).

A find from Cape Alevina is similar to the Tokareva pendants (Fig. 101b). The remaining graffiti (from Chukotka and Kolyma sites) are analogous in technique and style to Rauchuvagytgyn forms, which must be treated in more detail.

Analysis of the graffiti from the Rauchuvagytgyn I site reveals characteristic features. First, the technique of applying the illustrations: they were all scratched with channeled lines and only twice were some elements of the images rubbed in. Second, the style is homogeneous: the images were applied in a linear-geometric manner. Animals are shown in profile and always following the same contour, their bodies are treated in a simplified manner—having geometric outlines—and other details (eyes, ears, and the like) are absent. Anthropomorphic figures were applied linearly, in the form of arrows. Evidently the subject itself was not as important for the early artist as was the process of engraving, that is, a certain magical meaning was invested in the image of lattices and straight and curved lines that accompanied the illustrations. Finally, all graffiti are small (their dimensions do not exceed 10 to 11 cm). Some of them had a disk shape and were worn on the chest as amulets, which is borne out by the grinding on the edge—which added a roundish outline to the perimeter—and biconical holes made for hanging or sewing the item onto something.

Archaeological materials (cliff art and ceramics) and ethnographic sources (illustrations, ornaments, and *tamgi*) of the peoples of Siberia make it possible to find parallels, and in fact to advance the problem of the genesis of individual graphic motifs and to associate the creators of the Rauchuvagytgyn graffiti to a definite ethnocultural community. The decorative motifs (their content and peculiarity of arrangement), the repeating elements of different geometric "constructions" (houses and multi-stage figures), and the identical nature of a large number of *tamgi*-like symbols, with which the Rauchuvagytgyn illustrations are saturated, may serve as criteria.

Next we will take a look at compositional peculiarities, representational methods, and the most characteristic elements of design of graphic arts miniatures.

In two compositions a decorative field is present in which the illustrations were arranged zonally. These are the graffiti with geometric mushrooms (Fig. 53) and one of the compositions in an oval (Fig. 52).

The mushroom element is not typical of present-day native population of Northeast Asia, but it was encountered among the Sel'kup. They decorated artifacts of birch bark with it—ritual bracelets, bast baskets for holding clothing and decorations, and the drums and parkas of shamans. Mushroom elements in Sel'kup decoration appear in a variety of compositions: standing in a row (Khoroshikh and Gemuev 1980:179, Fig. 4:17), with caps pointed toward each other (Khoroshikh and Gemuev 1980:183, Fig. 7:2), and grouped by fours with caps focused toward the same spot (Khoroshikh and Gemuev 1980:179, Fig. 4:17). Some of these ornamental motifs were present in the territory of the Tomsk District since the middle of the second millennium B.C. (Khoroshikh and Gemuev 1980:185). Varying groupings of the mushroom images, including in combination with sloping and straight crosses, also takes place in the ornamentation of the Ob Ugrians (Ivanov 1963:108, Figs. 56:6; 58:12, 22). This type of peculiarity—allocating a pattern to zones—has been noted as a general feature of decorative composition in the region of the Tomsk inscriptions in Siberia (Okladnikov and Martynov 1972:173). A detail in one of the Sel'kup decorations attracts particular notice: figures resembling triangles attached at the top are combined with mushrooms (Khoroshikh and Gemuev 1980:Fig. 4:17). This type of decoration (in the form of acute-angled figure 8s) is in the composition of Slab No. 1 (Fig. 52) from Lake Rauchuvagytgyn (Kiriyak 1993b:75, Fig. 46, Pl. 114). This is the second complex composition in the collection (Fig. 52). It is deemed impossible at this time to unravel the semantics of the acute-angled figure 8, so this is only an attempt to find out on which objects such age-old symbols are encountered.

The acute-angled figure 8 (Pl. 24:1) was already part of decorations on vessels of agricultural tribes in Mesopotamia from the middle of the fifth to the beginning of the fourth millennium B.C. (Masson 1964:404). In Sumeria, some slate burins and ceramic scrapers of the fourth millennium B.C. had such a form (*The Dawn . . .*, 1961). This symbol was placed on vessels of the Kvetsk culture of India in the third millennium B.C. (Masson 1964:270–286, Fig. 52). Straight and sloping lattices were noted to be accompanying decorative elements (in Sumeria and India). The acute-angled figure 8 was designated a female figure among Eneolithic agricultural people of Europe in rug patterns and on ceramics (Rybakov 1981:159, 187, 189).

Triangles connected at the top are a characteristic decorative motif of Eneolithic ceramics of Middle Asia (*Eneolit SSSR*, 1982:Pls. XIV, XV, XVIII, XXIV). In the Tripoli-Kukutenskaya culture they represented the female figure on ceramics, bone, and coquina (*Eneolit SSSR*, 1982:Pl. LXXIV).

A symbol with an identical outline is present in alphabetic systems of Asia Minor (Lycia, Kariya, and Cyprus) and the Yenisei (Savenkov 1910:Pl. XIII). Designating its origin as the sloping cross, I. T. Savenkov notes analogs among Loparian and Karelian brands or ownership marks (*tavra*) (Savenkov 1910:296).

In the first half of the first millennium B.C., a similar symbol in the form of indentations was noted on ceramics of the Krasnoozerskii type in Priirtysh'e (Kosarev 1981:Fig. 73:1) and as an artistic decoration on the ceramics of the Molchanovskaya culture on the lower reaches of the Chulyma (Kosarev 1981:Fig. 74:3, 8).

It is also encountered on ceramics from complexes of the early Iron Age in Yakutia (Fedoseeva 1980:Fig. 103:6).

At approximately the same time a similar *tamga*-like symbol was carved on grave structures. On the Chulyma it is on a stone slab of a burial kurgan of the Tagarskaya culture (end of the first millennium B.C.) (Khudyakov 1980:107, Fig. 9:2) and on stelae of early Turkic kurgans (Kubarev 1980:80, Fig. 6:3, 12) in Gorni Altai.

This figure is encountered again in the decoration of Ob Ugrians, in particular the Khanti. Among the latter there was a custom of giving a "girl's paddle" ornamented with a rattle or carving to a beloved girlfriend. On its blade would be triangles connected at the top (Ivanov 1963:59, Fig. 19:2).

Figures resembling connected triangles (acute-angled figure 8s) are found on shamans' drums among the Nganasani. Holes resembling this form, but referred to as "nostrils," were carved on the inside of the shell of drums intended for a shaman's performance for spirits of the upper world and for a shaman's performance over a woman in childbirth (Popov 1984:140, 142, Figs. 23, 25). The Nganasani smear paint using a small board of that shape: one half is used for black and the edge of the other half for red (G. N. Gracheva, personal communication). The Nganasani also carved a hole in the form of an acute-angled figure 8 in a wooden hook for hanging a kettle in the tent. The first shaman to appear during a shamans' performance used this hook as a drum: he placed it on his left knee and struck it with a rattle (Gracheva 1984:88, Fig. 1).

Among the Koryak, embroidery of a row of figures in the form of triangles connected by the angles was made on a strip sewn to the hem of clothing (Fedorova 1988:Fig. 6).

A similar symbol in combination with a straight cross, a zigzag, and the image of a deer and a bird were carved on the top of a deer's skull among the Evenk (Ivanov 1954:Fig. 14:2). It is also present in the form of a carving on wooden boxes among the Yukagir, along with decorations of sloping crosses and vertical zigzags (Ivanov 1954:Fig. 82).

Sloping crosses are combined with similar images in compositions found on Rauchuvagytgyn slabs. Emphasizing the ancient character of cross-like symbolism, Savenkov (1910:229) directs attention to the fact that "the sloping cross did not undergo any changes" in distinction to the straight one, which experienced various modifications. The sloping cross is encountered fairly often among the petroglyphs of the middle Lena, on the upper reaches of the Olekma, on the upper Amur, and in the inscriptions of the Aldan (Okladnikov and Mazin 1979:Pl. 45). Sloping crosses are found among the decorations on Neolithic ceramics of various periods. They are noted in combination with zigzags among the Afanas'ev people (end of the third and beginning of the second millennia B.C.); borders of sloping crosses, triangles, and zigzags are part of the decoration in Andron times (1700 to 1100 B.C.); and sloping crosses and triangles are found on clay artifacts of the Fominsk stage of the Verkhneobskaya culture (Ivanov 1963:453).

The great expert on Siberian decorations, S. V. Ivanov, ascribes the sloping cross without frames to rare decorative motifs noted—in this case—among the Yukagir and Buryat (Ivanov 1963:452). The

sloping cross is usually accompanied by various other elements—angles, triangles, zigzags. They were inherited, in the scholar's opinion, from Neolithic times (Ivanov 1963:452). Besides the sloping cross, there are images of a straight cross on the slabs under examination. Crosses (sloping and straight) in cliff art are a rather widespread symbol. The straight cross is present along with the image of trapping fences in the Ural inscriptions. It is on the Borodinskaya (Chernetsov 1971:Pl. XII:35) and Isakovskaya cliffs (Chernetsov 1971:Pl. V, Fig. 8). A. P. Okladnikov treats these illustrations, also characteristic for the Lena inscriptions, as astral symbols, which reflect, in combination with circles of "more or less regular outlines, around the perimeter of which run numerous line segments, and double circles," cosmic notions and ideas of early peoples (Okladnikov and Mazin 1979:85).

In Rauchuvagytgyn graffiti the cross (sloping and straight) is present on several slabs. On two of them the semantics of the sloping cross are connected with constructions of zigzag-like figures that have double line segments on top. These figures were applied in one, two, or three stages. The sloping cross is rhythmically repeated and is usually found in the center of the area between zigzags. Figures of double zigzags are reminiscent of roof-shaped images—tectiforms in Paleolithic inscriptions—which some researchers treat as dwellings, others, as traps for large animals (Okladnikov 1967:67, 123). There are, of course, other interpretations, for example, some see the image of the female symbol in them (Abramova 1972; Elinck 1982; Toporov 1972). P. P. Efimenko's point of view, which considers them dwellings (Efimenko 1938:482, Fig. 192), seems to be more reliable. Inscriptions of several tectiforms (Efimenko 1938:Fig. 192:2, 3) convey with absolute precision the form and structural details of a *felidzh* (a tent of camel or goat hair) among the nomads of North Africa (*Narody Afriki* . . ., 1954:161). The remarkable similarity in descriptive manner and geometric form of some house-like structures in the graffiti from the Rauchuvagytgyn 1 site (Fig. 61) and in the Paleolithic art of Europe must be noted (Efimenko 1938:Fig. 192:2–4): an outline consisting of a double line along the whole perimeter or part of it, designation of a vertical passage to a smoke hole, transparency, and the revealing of the internal details (filling of the "living" space with simple linear elements). In the Paleolithic and Rauchuvagytgyn graphic arts, along with realistically executed illustrations there are purely symbolic images of houses (Fig. 60), the sacred meaning of which is suggested in the geometric "fillers" (in a Paleolithic illustrations these are sloping crosses [Toporov 1972:Fig. 5: second row vertically, bottom symbol]). Multistage zigzag-like constructions with rhythmically repeating sloping crosses in the mid-stage area are probably also symbolically close to such images (Figs. 54–56). Paleolithic traditions in the art of forest and taiga zone creatures are also noted only in later periods (Formozov 1980:42). Researchers suggest that some features peculiar to the ornamentation of the Eneolithic and the cliff art of the Ural-Siberian area may, in some measure, be traced in ethnographic materials, for example, in the illustrations of the Saami-Lopari, Ob Ugrians, and Yukagir (Matyushin 1976:287).

The zigzag with line segments is a widespread motif in the cliff art of Tagil. V. N. Chernetsov has determined that this motif appeared sometime between the third and second millennia B.C. (Chernetsov 1971:107). The double zigzag with short line segments, viewed by the researcher as a kind of trap, is also seen on the Borodinskaya cliffs, as well on ceramics of the end of the Neolithic and beginning of the Bronze Age in sites at the Kalmatskii ford and Bor I at Chusovaya (Chernetsov 1964:21). This motif remained unchanged during the course of the second millennium B.C. in Pritobol'e (Kosarev 1981:Figs. 2:9; 4:8; 5:5; 29:11). The zigzag with double line segments is encountered on bone points from the Shigirskii peat bog in the Urals (Chernetsov 1971:Fig. 60:7), which Chernetsov is inclined to identify as pictures of lances for hunting from a boat. Similar points, in his opinion, could be used for killing animals in traps, and therefore the illustrations most probably reflect hunting (Chernetsov 1971:108).

Decoration in the form of the zigzag, with various elements added on top (dots, single strokes, triangles, and Г-shaped figures), was widely distributed in western Siberia in the Andron period and later times (*Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987:Figs. 106:17; 109:18; 114:3; 116:8). In the Glazkovskaya culture the zigzag with paired line segments at the peaks has additional elements such as the two-pronged line segment coming from the hollow part of the angle (*Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987:Fig. 125:23). All the components of Glazkovskaya decoration are present in the Rauchuvagytgyn graphics we are examining.

The zigzag motif with line segments on the top is also mentioned in ethnographic material. For example, among the Lozvinsk Mansi, birch-bark artifacts were formed in a similar way—the tops of round women's boxes had a complex design, called "sun" (Chernetsov 1964:22, Fig. 7:9). A similar motif was found among the decorations (on soft materials) of the Dolgan (Ivanov 1963:Fig. 189:20).

The zigzag with extended line segments on top and arranged between two parallel lines resembles a honeycomb, and is characteristically found in Ural inscriptions (Chernetsov 1964:Pl. X:21). It is also typical of tattooing that the Khanti and Mansi women applied on the palm of their left hand (Chernetsov 1964:Figs. 6:2; 8). Researchers designate it as one of the sacred symbols of the Ob Ugrians (Simchenko 1964:Pl. 60:12). A similar pattern is present in Dolgan decoration (Ivanov 1963:Fig. 189:21), and the "honeycomb" illustration of double lines, specifically, is present (twice) in a composition of graffiti from the Rauchuvagytgyn I site (Figs. 52, 60).

In Rauchuvagytgyn graphics, besides the images examined above, small anthropomorphic figures are noteworthy (Figs. 52, 57). A clear image in the form of an arrow can be seen in the upper part of the second stage of the composition on Slab No. 1 (line segments, connoting arms and legs, are parallel and spread apart, and a line segment appears in place of the head), and though the small figure is shown in a horizontal position in relation to the whole composition, it expresses dynamics, movement, and striding (Fig. 52). Similar images are often encountered in cliff art. There is a linear image of a small human figure in the Pegtymel' Cave on Stone IV, which was applied on a silhouette of a deer (Dikov 1999:Fig. 28). In contrast to Rauchuvagytgyn, the small sub-rectangular head that completes it was formed by pecking. Next to this image and transecting the head of an animal from the top downward are scratched long diverging line segments, similar to those seen in the upper part of the Rauchuvagytgyn composition where paired diverging line segments transect the oval or extend downward from it. Between these line segments, but deflected to the right, is another small arrow-shaped figure also placed in a horizontal position and similar to the first, but—in distinction from it—without a "head." A whole series of such small figures were engraved in a bone disk from a Rodinsk burial (Kistenev 1980:Pl. III:23). Linearly geometric human figures are characteristic for many cultural traditions of the world (Clark 1978:480, Fig. 285).

Analogs to anthropomorphic images made in the form of an arrow can also be found in the ethnographic material, for example, among the Nganasani whose ritual drums feature a field divided into four sectors, the lower part depicting "shadows of the dead" (Ivanov 1954:80). Linearly schematic human figures are on the covers of drums among the Dolgan (Ivanov 1954:105, Fig. 7) and on leather bags for holding wooden "evil spirits" for the Nganasani (Ivanov 1954:79). The field containing these images on bags is outlined by an oval. Images of people in the form of linear figures (single or grouped) are noted on chest and head gear and mittens of Okhotsk Yukagirized Evenk (Ivanov 1954:154, 155, Figs. 48, 49; 159, Fig. 54:1). Some small anthropomorphic figures personified spirits of a separate class—shaman's helpers (Ivanov 1954:153). Why the anthropomorphic images on the Rauchuvagytgyn slab were made in the horizontal position, and not the vertical, is difficult to say, though this is quite likely connected with the general semantic load of all compositions. It is possible to point to the rather widespread image of anthropomorphic figures in the "supine" position in the *tamgi* of the Ket and Sel'kup (Simchenko 1965:139–143), as well as the Nganasani (Gracheva 1983:Fig. 3).

In the following section, we will examine slabs with zoomorphic images, beginning with the reverse side of Slab No. 2, on which the outline of a polar bear can be traced (Fig. 63).

The array of geometric lines and symbols inscribed above this Rauchuvagytgyn illustration do not easily yield to decoding. In style and composition, as well as technical manner, the Rauchuvagytgyn inscription is similar to an illustration on the middle Lena: using a pointed object, a figure was scratched of an animal (a moose), part of whose body and head is covered by slanting, intersecting lines "like a net or fence" (Okladnikov 1955a:109, Fig. 32). In the Lena inscriptions there is another illustration with a multitude of short intersecting lines executed using the scratching technique. Within such "netting" can be seen a schematic image of an animal (Okladnikov 1955a:107). Okladnikov connects these symbolic images

with the magical method of killing animals and with the cult of the suffering, death, and revival of the animal (Okladnikov 1955a:107).

On one of the slabs (Fig. 64) is an outline of a deer (?). Compositionally it is connected with the geometric drawing in the center—the figure of an extended triangle or an angle with shading. Similar images are encountered in cliff art, on ceramics, and illustrations on wood. They are present both in the Urals (Chernetsov 1964:20, Fig. 4:6) and on the Borodinskaya cliff (Rezh River), date to the third and second millennia B.C., and are analogous to illustrations on ceramics from pit houses at the second Aiatskii site, which is also assigned to the second millennium B.C. (Chernetsov 1964:21, Fig. 5:1–3).

Identical illustrations of animals are encountered on the Yenisei (Savenkov 1910:Pl. I, Fig. XII) that depict some details similarly to those in the Rauchuvagytgyn graffiti. The most like the latter are images of animals in the cliff art of the Urals (Chernetsov 1964:Pls. XI:63; I). They are united by such features as the contour of the inscription, the geometric nature of the figure (sub-rectangular body, lenticular head), the lack of some details (eyes, ears, and the like), and the depiction of the rear extremities in a broken curve. Common in the composition of the illustration-drawing from the Rauchuvagytgyn I site and the Ural cliff illustration with a trap of triangular form is the fact that the latter is located between parallel straight lines—"fences"—as in the Rauchuvagytgyn composition. The composition on a slab from Lake Rauchuvagytgyn is most likely connected with drive hunting, in which leather nets were used. This method existed among many north Eurasian peoples: the Yenisei Nenets, Entsi, and Nganasani, and the natives of settlements of the lower reaches of the Yana, Indigirka, and Kolyma (Simchenko 1976:95). This method is characteristic of the tundra zone as well. It is vividly described in the procurement system economy of the Nganasani: in a chosen place an enclosure of stakes with goose wings ("flappers") was arranged, which was shaped like an acute angle. Here a net was set up, and into this structure deer were driven (Popov 1948:33–38). Doctor Merck, a member of the geographic expedition of 1785-1789, writes about the Yukagir hunting deer using nets made of moose-hide thongs (*Etnograficheskie materialy* . . ., 1978:151). Doctor Kiber, a member of F. P. Wrangel's expedition to the Northeast and who also observed this kind of hunting, noted that nets were a *sazhen'* wide and two versts long.[34] In order to obtain such nets, "each family linked theirs together" (Simchenko 1976:95). In the Rauchuvagytgyn drawing there is an image resembling a pole with "flappers."

Images of two types of houses are encountered in graphic arts miniatures: one with a cylindrical framework and conical roof, the second in the form of a tent. They are both characteristic for the Yukagir and for a related peoples, the Even. In detailing the characteristics of Yukagir houses, Jochelson noted the conical form in the forest zone and the cylindrical-conical in the tundra. In the intervening forest-tundra zone there was probably a mix of both types.

In Rauchuvagytgyn art it is possible to distinguish a whole series of graphic elements that have remarkable parallels in the cliff art of the Urals and western Siberian ceramic decorations of the Bronze Age. These are complex arched-type figures in the form of shaded angles oriented toward opposite sides or in various directions (Figs. 69, 75) (compare Chernetsov 1964:Pl. XI:3; Fig. 4:6; Pl. XXIV). Sometimes they are accompanied by elements characteristic for Rauchuvagytgyn art—"ladders," lattices, and chains of rectangular linear figures (Figs. 67, 70, 78, 79) (compare Chernetsov 1964:Pls. XIV, XIX, XXIV). Similar motifs are common in western Siberian ceramics (compare *Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987:Figs. 88:2, 9; 116:3; 117:9).

Among the graphic designs of the Rauchuvagytgyn people there are significant Г-like symbols set on double-line segments and pointed in opposite directions (Fig. 68). Exact analogies to them can be traced in the ceramics of the Andron period (*Epokha bronzy* . . ., 1987:Fig. 110:3) and the decoration of the Nganasani (Ivanov 1962:Fig. 4:3).

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[34] One *sazhen'* equals 7 feet or 2.13 m; one verst equals 3500 feet or 1.067 km.—*Trans.*

The straight doubled cross is also frequently repeated. A similar symbol is encountered among the Nganasani, which was drawn on the bottom of wooden cradles regardless of the sex of the child for whom it was intended (Gracheva 1983:41). According to an analogously symbolic image applied to cradles intended for children of only male or only female sex, the above-named sign might be treated as a symbol of the sun or of fire (Gracheva 1983:41).

Altai graffiti, executed on the same material (river pebbles and slate slabs), is similar in many aspects to the Chukotkan specimens presented. Similarity can be traced in style and technique of application, as well as in individual details within the image: this applies to the form and elements of houses noted above. Houses on Altai slabs, as on Rauchuvagytgyn ones, have a higher cylindrical part on a low conical roof, and a contour framed by a double line. On individual Altai specimens there are also elements like "nets," "fences," and zigzags. With regard to subject, they are diverse, having images of a shaman with a drum, drums individually, human figures with sketched elements of clothing, and abstract anthropomorphic images, as well as depictions of horses with riders, deer, foxes, and a bear. And although the Altai images are schematic and were executed in a geometric manner, the real subject can be deduced in them, as can isolated elements of dress and head gear (Grichan 1987). The author of the investigation of the Altai collection of graffiti distinguishes one group of images reflecting shamanic cults, and another group of secular illustrations which have ethnographic features presumably characteristic for Turkic-Mongol peoples. The illustrations are similar to those found in ethnographic times. Many motifs in the Rauchuvan graffiti have direct analogies in the engraved pebbles of the Torgazhak (Khakasiya) site (Fig. 102).

The most often repeated representational elements are multi-stage constructions in the form of stepped zigzags with line segments at the peaks reflecting, in my view, shamanic ideas of the world, its structure, and spatial (vertical and horizontal) connections. A pair of line segments on top of a zigzag appears to mark the entrance or exit from one world into another and agrees with the three-part (or multi-part) concept of arrangement of the universe in the religious-mythological views of the Northern Asian peoples. From this standpoint it is possible to explain the images of ladders in the Rauchuvagytgyn and Upper Kolyma graffiti, the meaning of which can be deduced by the pictures and water colors of the Sel'kup (Prokof'eva 1961) illustrating the system of shamanic views of the world and various phenomena in nature and society.

Among the materials published by E. D. Prokof'eva, the most informative for "reading" our graffiti is an illustration (Prokof'eva 1961:67, Fig. 4) on which are depicted a flat landscape with a sky made of two semicircles forming an upside down bowl over it. Rather than going into a lot of details on the subject, we will dwell on a few important characteristics. On the land, in the center, the tent of the shaman and director of the cult himself during shamanic ceremonies are depicted. At the base of the tent is a vertically standing ladder—this is an image of a post with notches with which the idea of passage into heaven was associated (Prokof'eva 1961:67, Fig. 4). From this "ladder into heaven" begins the imaginary road to the first heavenly circle, which is also sketched in the form of a ladder, but slightly sloping and larger in scale. It terminates at the entrance into heaven, which is marked by two short line segments.

As regards composition and graphic determination, the Rauchuvagytgyn illustration—unfortunately represented by a only small fragment of a slate slab—is similar to this Sel'kup one (Fig. 67). The fragment is not adequate for a comparison of the remaining essential details. Decoration in the form of small Г-figures placed on short line segments on the reverse side of the slab (Fig. 68) is probably in the same semantic field with it.

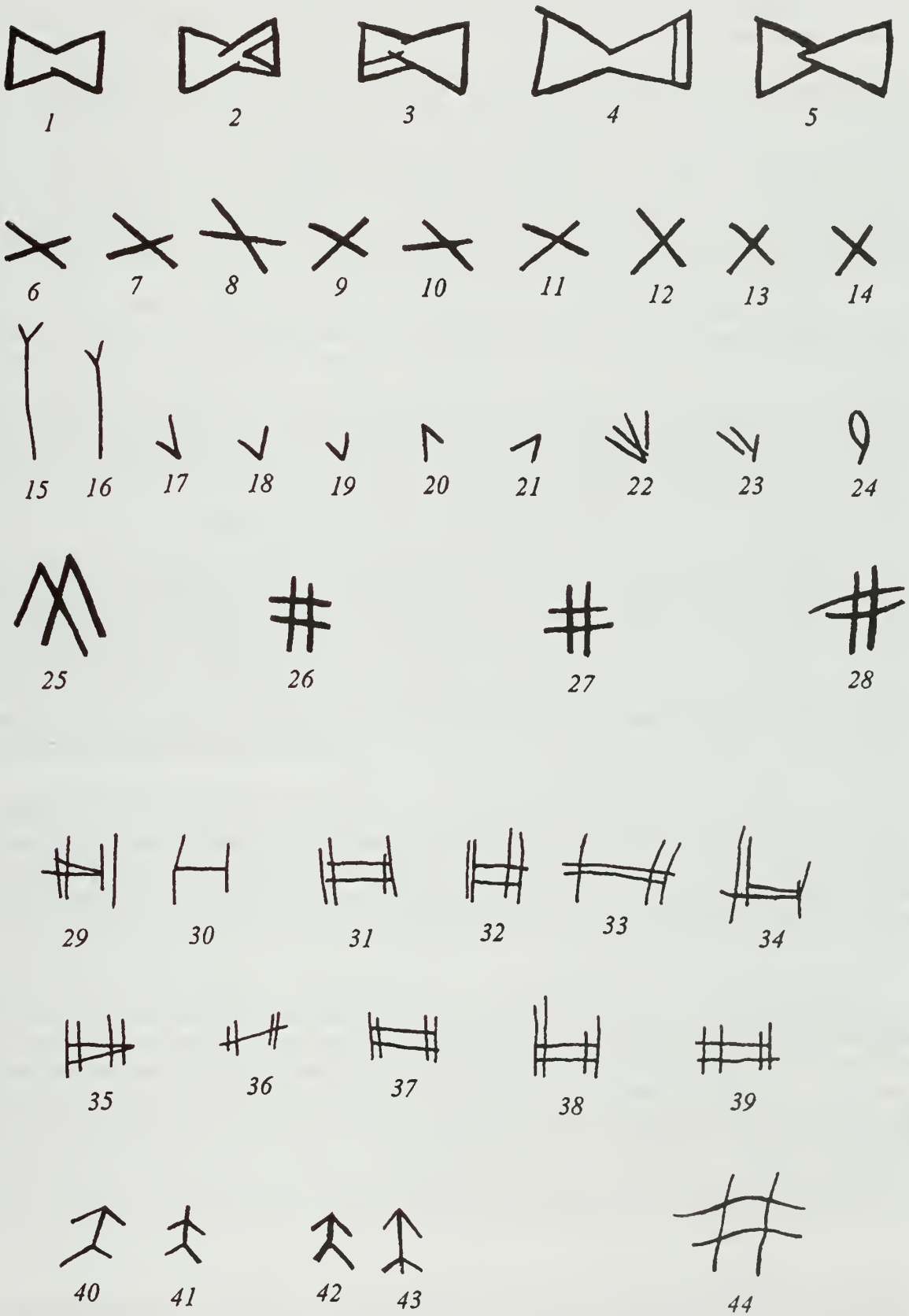

Plate 24. Tamgi or brand-like symbols on artifacts from the Rauchuvagytgyn I site: 1–43—stone; 44—ceramics.

Of the multitude of ladder figures in the Rauchuvagytgyn graphics, of course, not all reflect the motif of the shamanic road to heaven. In a composition (Fig. 76:b) on a slate (fish?) knife, where a series of vertical line segments were engraved beside a horizontally lying "ladder", it is possible that a partition was being illustrated, which would be used to "lock" the narrow exit from the lake to ensure a successful fish harvest, while vertical marks, like tally strokes, recorded the successful catch. Partitioning off a river or tributary was well known, particularly to the Yukagir. It was graphically reflected in a simple way on their *tosy* (Tugolukov 1979:67) of the end of the nineteenth century. In the basin of the Malyi Anyui River, on the left bank, there is a lake (with traces of early sites on the shore) that local deer herders call "Lake with Locks," explaining that fish were caught here until recent times by using this method. Locks and dams for catching fish and molting waterfowl are encountered in the cliff art of the Urals and illustrations of the Khanti and Mansi (Chernetsov 1964:24, 25, Figs. 9, 10).

Analysis of graffiti from the material complex of the Rauchuvagytgyn I site reveals a large number of representational elements, which have forms resembling the *tamgi* of the peoples of Siberia[35] (Pl. 24). Individual symbols are repeated fairly often, including the sloping cross (Pl. 24:6–11), the short acute angle (Pl. 24:17–21), and the linear figure shaped like the letter H, in most cases with double line segments (Pl. 24:29–39). Other, rarer symbols are small arrow-like figures (Pl. 24:40–43), lattice (Pl. 24:26, 27), straight crosses—standing upright and lying on their sides (Pl. 24:12–14)—lattice with a pair of arc-like line segments (Pl. 24:28), and short lines with a forked end (Pl. 24:15–16). Small figures in the form of branches (Pl. 24:22, 23), the numeral 9 (Pl. 24:24), and M-shaped contours (Pl. 24:25) belong to single *tamgi*-like symbols in the representational material of the Rauchuvagytgyn people.

All the forms cited above have parallels among *znamena*[36] (a term in departmental record keeping of the seventeenth century), which is the only documentary source of the non-literate peoples of Siberia during the period of Russian colonization (Simchenko 1965:3). *Znamena* and *tamgi* served as symbols to mark such property as deer and horses. They were applied to various documents in place of signatures. Ethnographers believe that these symbols developed from clan symbols to family and individual symbols. *Tamgi*, which depict animals that were clan totems, are among the earliest of these brand markers (Simchenko 1965:3). Researchers note a special category of *znamena*—the sacred symbol—which were used in exceptional cases: they were placed on oaths and other documents that were accompanied by religious decrees (Simchenko 1965:3).

Some *tamgi*-like symbols existed over a fairly lengthy period of time (counted in millennia). Among these are variants of the acute-angled figure 8 (Pl. 24:1–5), sometimes called a "double axe" or "Cretan axe," the semantics of which are reflected in the name of a similar ornamental motif among the Entsi—"sharp iron" (Ivanov 1962:64). In Rauchuvagytgyn graphics a similar symbol is repeated twelve times (in the form of decorative composition). In several cases it is tied up with combinations of different linear elements (Fig. 52; Pl. 24:2–5).

Some symbols (1, 25, 30) cited in Plate 24 were noted in ancient cities and rural points of the northern Black Sea area in such types of written sources as graffiti on ceramics (black-lacquered, red-lacquered, simple turned and modeled vessels, amphorae, *pifosy*, and on tile) (Emets and Peters 1994) and as cult symbols on plastered walls (Dashevskaya 1962). As investigators suggest, some complex symbols came down to Crimean Scythians from the Sarmatians, who, in their turn, borrowed them from the peoples of Siberia, the Altai, and Middle Asia (Dashevskaya 1962). These objects are dated to the second and third centuries A.D.

Analyzing linear graphic symbols (multidirectional angles, simple and complex crosses, and the like), Savenkov assigns them to an ideographic group of inscriptions. He saw in this group the onset of

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[35] The presence of brand-like symbols is characteristic for Rauchuvagytgyn graffiti. The lack of them on objects from other sites of Northeast Asia can probably be explained by the small number of discovered sources.

[36] Identical terms are: *tamga* (the name of various symbols among Turkic peoples), *piatno*, and *kleimo* (the Russian name for an owners mark). The last two are equivalent to the term *tavra* (a brand).

writing: the differentiation of linear symbols, "also taking into consideration the cult that this pictographic form of writing served" (Savenkov 1910:253).

In the collection of graffiti being investigated is one very critical artifact, which not only traces the chronological depth of the use of the *tamgi*-like symbols, but reveals the semantic load of the inscriptions as well. I have in mind the angular slate slab with a barely discernable H-like *tavro* (Fig. 91). Time was required in order to see in it something larger, which turned out to be the key to the clarification of a whole series of Rauchuvagytgyn subjects. With close study it was revealed that the angularity of the slab was not an accident. Its form was achieved by an early master who obtained the relief image of a bird by means of flaking, pecking, and pressure retouch. Especially carefully elaborated (with the use of intensive grinding) were the left wing, as if outstretched, and the upper part of the head with a beak, running to the edge of the stone[37] (possibly by this method intending to show a bird soaring in airy space). The sacred meaning of the image was stressed by the H-shaped *tamga* scratched on the left side at the "attachment" of the wing to the body. The early "sculptor" was imprinting, in all probability, a mythic entity symbolizing heaven, sun, thunder, or other divine being.

Among the *znamena* of the Ugrian people of the Ob, such a symbol (in variants) is encountered rather often (Simchenko 1965:Pl. 61); the Mansi also marked wooden hunting knives with it (Ivanov 1954:25, Fig. 6); it was applied to Chukchi and Eskimo hunting quivers (in the upper zone); and was widespread in Chukchi and Eskimo sewing and ivory carving (Andreeva 1988:58).

The length of preservation of one and the same forms of symbols, many of which are known in the cliff art of western Siberia, in the opinion of researchers, can be explained by the invariability of the domestic way of life among Siberian peoples, whose symbol system is regarded by specialists as a mnemonic means for transmitting information. This system reached its highest achievement among the Ugrian peoples, whose *znamena* "should be considered a transitional form from the simplest pictographic writing to ideographic" (Simchenko 1965:166, 167).

Yu. B. Simchenko emphasizes the originality of the Ugrian symbols and notes the borrowing of symbols by neighbors, which is accompanied by numerous analogies among Sel'kup (southern Samodi) *znamena* (Simchenko 1965:166, 167).

Upon comparing *tamgi*-like symbols of the Rauchuvagytgyn people with specimens from Siberian and Northeast Asian peoples, the largest number of parallels is discovered among the Ob Ugrians, and also the northern Samodi people: the Avaamsk and Vadeevsk Nganasani and the Khanti and Karachinsk Entsi. Not only are the simple and complex geometric figures (crosses and angles) identical, but also specific *tamgi* (H- and 9-shaped ones, line segments with split ends, and lattices). Among the *znamena* of the Avaamsk Nganasani (based on known sources), the H-like *tamga*, for example, is repeated in either simple or complex form eleven times. The symbol in the form of a line segment with a split at the end is encountered three times among the Entsi (Dolgikh 1957).

Of the Ugrian parallels in Rauchuvagytgyn graphics, besides the "honeycomb" illustration, rarely used *tamgi* are seen about as often. This includes the shaded disk (Fig. 75) (compare Simchenko 1965:Pl. 5:8) and the lattice with an arc-shaped pair of transverse line segments (Figs. 53, 63) resembling a hunting tool at the ready (compare Simchenko 1965:Pl. 14:8).

The content and volume of the material used for comparison leads to the designation of a special category of symbol in the Rauchuvagytgyn graphics that could be regarded as a pictograph. Radiocarbon dating of the material complex at the Rauchuvagytgyn I site—2500 ± 100 (MAG-902)—attests to its Late

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[37] A combination of plans from various points of view is graphically presented in relief: the body and head are given in profile, while the open wing is shown from above. A similar manner of conveying form is characteristic for the art of many pre-class societies; in particular, for a long time the tradition of portraying in different aspects some parts of the body of one and the same object (animal and human) existed in Egypt (Mat'e 1961:6).

Neolithic age, which is documentary evidence of the existence of pictographs among the Rauchuvagytgyn in the Late Neolithic (concluding stage).

Pictographic writing in the past existed among a limited circle of peoples: in the Ugrian group the Khanti and Mansi mastered it; in the Turkic language it was the Tofalari and Khakasi; in the Mongol language it was the Buryat; among the Tungus it was the Evenk, and of the "Paleo-Asiatics"—in the broad sense of this idea—it was the Yukagir and Nivkhi (Ivanov 1954:12). As the analogies cited above indicate, the Rauchuvagytgyn illustrations are in many ways close to the decorations and *tamgi* of the Samodi (Nenets, Entsi, Nganasani, and Sel'kup) and Ob Ugrians. The Rauchuvagytgyn people themselves can be identified ethnically with the ancestors of the Yukagir (Kiriyak 1993b). The similarity of some elements of the culture among such geographically distant peoples could have been caused by the underlying base of phenomena of the earliest stage of ethnogenesis (*Etnogenez narodov* . . ., 1980:106) and cultural influences. Chernetsov believes there was interaction among pre-Ugrians, pre-Samoyed (pre-Samodi), and pre-Yukagir populations in the territory between the Urals and the Yenisei (*Etnogenez narodov* . . ., 1980:25).

Comparing the illustrative material of the slabs being studied with illustrations on the cliffs of the Urals, the upper and lower Lena, and the Angara, it is possible to see great similarity between them. Such a phenomenon is not likely to be chance. Analyzing cliff illustrations of the Angara, northern Norway, and the Urals, Chernetsov emphasizes their similarity, "just like a series of typical features common to images of animals among the Saami, Ob Ugrians, and Yukagir" (Chernetsov 1969:118). He explains this similarity as being part of a single Ural stratum, which lay at the basis of the formation of a variety of peoples. Many researchers currently share his point of view. In the opinion of M. G. Levin, in the formation of peoples belonging to the Ural ethnic group, as well as among those settling northern Siberia east of the Ob-Yenisei watershed, a single early stratum participated, called by him "Yukagir" (*Etnogenez narodov* . . ., 1980:15). G. F. Debets and M. G. Levin view the Yukagir as the early ethnic substratum that determined the anthropological type of the Tungus (*Etnogenez narodov* . . ., 1980:148, 149). The migrational processes of the Ural-language population between the Ob and the Yenisei were connected by Chernetsov with the settling of the pre-Samoyed, pre-Loparian, and pre-Yukagir areas. The latter was the most distant from the Ural focus, suggesting that the pre-Yukagir were the earliest stratum of Ural people, who led the advance to the north (*Etnogenez narodov* . . ., 1980:148).

Inasmuch as the ethnic composition of the population that left the graphics at the Rauchuvagytgyn I site is what interests us, we will turn now to historical information. Based on data from archival sources, this territory was occupied in the seventeenth century by one of the Yukagir clans—the Chuvantsi. The eastern boundary of their region of settlement passed, in the opinion of some researchers, along the Chaun River, in the opinion of others, somewhat to the east, i.e., along the Pegtymel' River (Gurvich 1966:53). Through toponymy I. S. Vdovin substantiated the presumed eastern boundary of settlement of the Chuvantsi along the Chaun River, where they were bordered by the Chukchi (Vdovin 1944:250). The latter probably had clashes with the Yukagir (Chuvantsi) in this zone. The name of the river flowing from the lake at the site we are studying, Rauchua—which translates from the Chukchi as "the place of victory over the nomad camp"—indirectly attests to this relationship (Leont'ev and Novikova 1989:324).

Thus, there is every basis for assuming that the graffiti at the Rauchuvagytgyn I site, like the whole material complex, were left by the pre-Yukagir, who by the middle of the first millennium B.C. had developed pictographic writing.

A great deal of attention is devoted to graffiti as a historical source in foreign literature. Graphics on stone is a respected division of small art among American and Canadian researchers.

A multitude of engravings on stone have been found in northeastern North America, at sites of the Maritime culture (Fitzhugh 1985). Soapstone served as the basic material for engraving. The tradition of engraving it existed for a long time, embracing the pre-ceramic and ceramic periods, and continuing into our own times. Engraving was employed on pendants with a variety of forms, such as that of small

dumbbells or disks, or those that were amorphous. Researchers note geometric designs engraved as combinations of loops, leaf forms, triangles, double lines, and double and single strokes.

While widespread among the early cultures in the large territory of northeastern North America, small art forms containing graffiti have local peculiarities that are determined by their assignment. Some of them were used as fetishes and amulets, others for fortune telling and conjuring. Some of them were created as objects of decorative art. Others, executed less carefully—without concern for artistic form, and probably having no relation to art—may rather have been connected with religious or cult practices (the process of engraving itself being the important aspect).

Yet another proposal exists in regard to Maritime pendants, which, in our view, has prospects for further investigation. Part of these objects, some researchers suggest, were connected with the geographic habitation of early tribes. In my view, the natural micro-environment surrounding early man gave birth to myths and superstitions, creating a psychological-emotional aura of his habitat and postulated the artistic graphic activity and art.

The concept of mythology of place is advanced by the investigator of *naub-kau-zo-vin*—tiny disks obtained from sites in Michigan. They are dated to 1300 and 1550 A.D. (Cleland 1985). The author analyzes a block of graphic arts materials of 130 objects covered by various graphic symbols. They are all grouped into categories: those in the form of a cross (an image of a star), a triangular figure (the top of a mountain), a tree, a symbolic image of a bird, otter, beaver, tortoise, and others. Taking analogies from petroglyphs and pictographs of the Canadian Shield, the investigator connects the subjects of the disks with mythology, in which various cultures were reflected.

In collections of graffiti from Lake Rauchuvagytgyn, elements of design of northern and eastern American pendants are often repeated, but this might be attributed only to a manifestation of convergence.

A large number of engraved pebbles and slate slabs have been found in pre-ceramic and ceramic layers of sites on Kodiak Island (Clark 1964; Knecht and Jordan 1985). At some sites the collection of graffiti is calculated in the tens and hundreds of specimens. More than 100 engraved artifacts from Kodiak Island have been published, and the overwhelming part of the collection has been interpreted as sculpture. In fact, in most cases it is possible to trace all the details of the face, clothing, and head decorations (the shaped stones with engravings are reminiscent of Russian matryoshka dolls with rich and varied design). Sometimes a few of the elements of the face or clothing are absent, and then the creation itself of the early artist takes on an abstract form. A large group of Kodiak graffiti marks out ethnographic features in their manner of decorating the face (by tattooing? with labrets?), the head (temporal or ear ornaments), and the clothing (by embroidered belts, aprons, hanging fringe or "tails"). Ribbon-like motifs in the form of ladders, thin bands, figures similar to a "railroad," and arched elements, all appearing as if strung on straight lines, can be distinguished among the ornamental decoration. Decorations were typically applied in a linear geometric manner. There are elements in the form of trees, nets, and circles with a dot in the middle. Among the finds the researchers distinguish engravings of another type not associated with the sculptures: images with the form of ribs and a skeletal frame. An illustration on one of the specimens corresponds to decoration on the back of the clothing of Siberian shamans.

Shaped slabs, similar to those at Kodiak, are encountered in the Ipiutak culture in archaeological sites of Alaska. They are similar in method of engraving, compositional features, and individual subject matter. But in their makeup there are more plant motifs resembling conifer branches, star symbols executed linearly, and other elements characteristic for naub-kau-zo-vin disks of the northeastern coast in Michigan. In the Ipiutak graffiti from Cape Krusenstern symbols in the form of a bird's foot and line segments with an end that is split are repeated over and over; there are stylized and simplified images of animals (Giddings and Anderson 1986). It is possible to find among the design elements identified for the numerous graffiti cited in this work remarkably precise analogies in the graphics from the Chukotka site of Rauchuvagytgyn I, lying far to the west of the Bering Strait. Among such elements are nets, lattices, ladders, birds' feet, line segments split on the end, various combinations of straight lines, and others.

Individual motifs are also encountered in the Norton culture (Alaska) on objects of reddish burned argillaceous slate. Burned argillaceous slate in the Norton culture was considered a valuable material, which was not widely used in daily life, and quite evidently went into the making of special purpose objects. The slate was sawed and ground, giving it various forms as material for the sculptor (Giddings 1964). Some specimens with graphics have grinding on the edge and drilled depressions (possibly incomplete perforations), which also connects them (in technique of preparation) to the graffiti of the Rauchuvagytgyn I site.

A great deal of attention has been paid to the form of the raw material on which engravings were applied, beginning in the Paleolithic. P. P. Efimenko describes a series of slate slabs in the material complex of the Paleolithic Kostenki I site with "intentional sawing evidently for providing these things with a more regular form." Among the specimens he investigated are graffiti with a triangular outline (Efimenko 1958:328, Fig. 126:2). Along with these he notes modifications intended to round the slabs of dense marl (Efimenko 1958:380).

All the engraved pendants of the Tokareva (Late Neolithic) culture (Fig. 51) had a round or teardrop form.

Numerous ancient engravings on ceramic sherds were also given a roundish form (Rusyaeva 1971).

These data show that the content and form of the graffiti are located in one semantic field.

Researchers interpret some Ipiutak images as masks used in sympathetic magic connected with hunting. In my view, the Kodiak and Ipiutak graffiti—not having two absolutely identical specimens—reflect individualistic manifestations of clan or social order, the semantic analogs of which are possibly *tamgi*, which were widespread in the seventeenth century among the native peoples of Siberia.

Identities discovered in the graphic transmission of some symbols and images in the northern zone of Chukotka and America might be assigned to a single representational tradition, which existed in contiguous territories, or explained as distinct impulses from Siberian tribes or possibly as convergent development of early cultures in a similar ecological and geographic environment.

Analysis of subjects of cliff art in Siberia, the ethnography of Siberian peoples, and pictographic writing that existed among some of them, as well as the sources of small art forms (graphics on stone) of North America that we have cited lead to a very careful systematization of the graffiti from the Rauchuvagytgyn I site into categories. The first category is ritual designs connected with certain magical activities. Compositions that might be part of this category are those with "mushrooms" (Fig. 53), the image of the polar bear that fell into a trap (Fig. 63), and others. The second category includes designs that are probably pictographic writing, which were used for transmitting information to relatives and fellow tribesmen about the movement of individual families, their occupations, and events that had occurred over a certain segment of time. The "drawing" with a stylized image of a deer (Fig. 64), the knife with several line segments and long "fence" applied to it (Fig. 76:b), and others may be assigned in this way. The third category is designs reflecting, in my view, ideas of world view and cosmic or cosmological beliefs. These are graffiti with compositions within an oval (Fig. 52), with complex ladder-like constructions of multi-stage zigzags (Figs. 54–58), and others. The fourth category is slabs with images that probably fulfilled the role of guardians and were worn as amulets, which is borne out by the holes drilled in them (Fig. 90). Some specimens were intentionally, by means of grinding the edges, given the rounded form of a disk, which is graphically demonstrated by one of the objects (Fig. 88).

Not all the graffiti can be placed in this categorizing schema. The purely decorative motif rather clearly and graphically stands out on slabs with mushroom-like images, complex compositions enclosed in an oval, and the Г-shaped symbol. This is evidence of the fact that the cult symbol of a decoration can coexist with its decorative function.

Of course, the categories designated above are impossible to examine in "pure" form inasmuch as magical activity is probably interwoven with daily affairs, and religious beliefs and ideas of world view with mythology.

The collection of "special signs" in graffiti from the Rauchuvagytgyn I site are of particular note. Many engravings were intentionally damaged (some as a result of retouching tools having pecked illustrations, others as a consequence of grinding the exposed surface, thus "eliminating" former images and applying new ones), creating the impression that some specimens were refurbished in order to be continually reused for the same function.

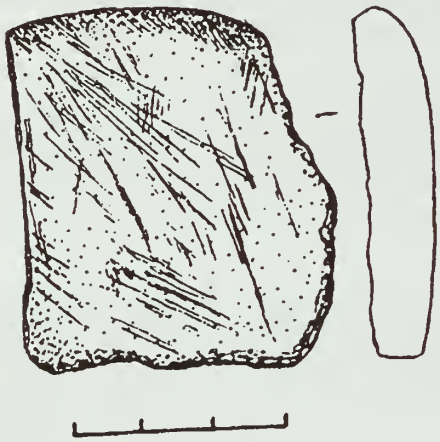
Chernetsov (1971:91) wrote regarding the contempt toward pre-existing images on the Ural cliffs: in several cases pictures were scraped off, and sometimes new ones were simply applied on top of the old ones. He also notes a similar manifestation with regard to engravings on metal disks and mirrors from the Istyatsk cache, dated to recent centuries A.D., which emphasizes the transient significance of the images and the shifting of ritual emphasis to the process of preparation, and not to the object itself (Chernetsov 1971:91).

As ethnographic sources attest, illustrations were applied to ritual objects during periodic or sporadic ceremonial festivities. So-called tally sticks (ritual clubs) existed among the Khanti and Manci, on which stories, songs, and dance activities were recorded with charcoal or ocher. Because of the instability of the dyes, toward the end of the festival only dim spots were left (Chernetsov 1971:91).

The art of the American Eskimos, whose artistic skills were directed toward making ritual objects (drums and masks), also did not have a specific independent function. The drums and masks were painted with picturesque images or symbols accompanying oral narratives, and at the end of the ceremony or speech, for "which they served as a graphic educational tool," the illustrations were washed off and the masks burned. From the point of view of the Eskimos, such representational material had no artistic value. Researchers connect the applied role of art of the American Eskimos with "exaggerated ritualized conduct," which was the continuation and development of "very archaic tendencies" (Ivanov 1972:106).

A similar stratum of ceremonial art is also represented, in my view, by some specimens of western Chukotkan miniatures.

The graphics of the Rauchuvagytgyn people, considering the rich arsenal of its representational means, is indisputably art, which satisfied the requirements of the socioeconomic life of the primitive group. Although it was an ideological instrument, it fully reflects the syncretism of social consciousness with the poly-functional direction of its undifferentiated (at the stage of clan society) form.



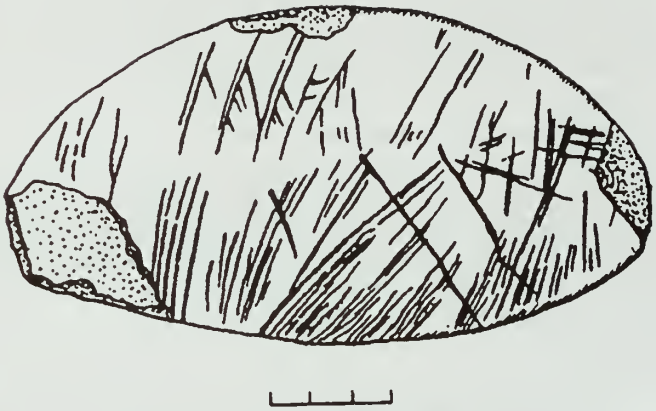


Figure 43. Ushki I site, Layer VI. Fragment of a sandstone slab with an engraving of multidirectional lines.

Figure 44. Ushki I site, Layer VI. Graffiti with a representation of dwellings: a—sketch; b—photo.

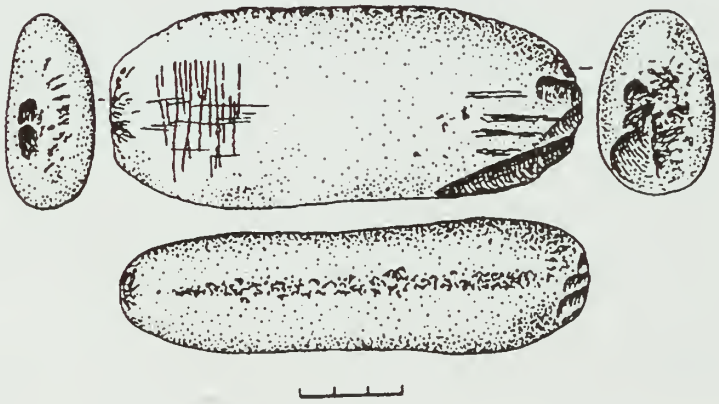


Figure 45. Bol'shoi El'gakhchan II site. Engraved cobble (hammer stone?).

Figure 46. Tytyl' IV site, Locus 3. Fragment of a slate slab with linear engraving.

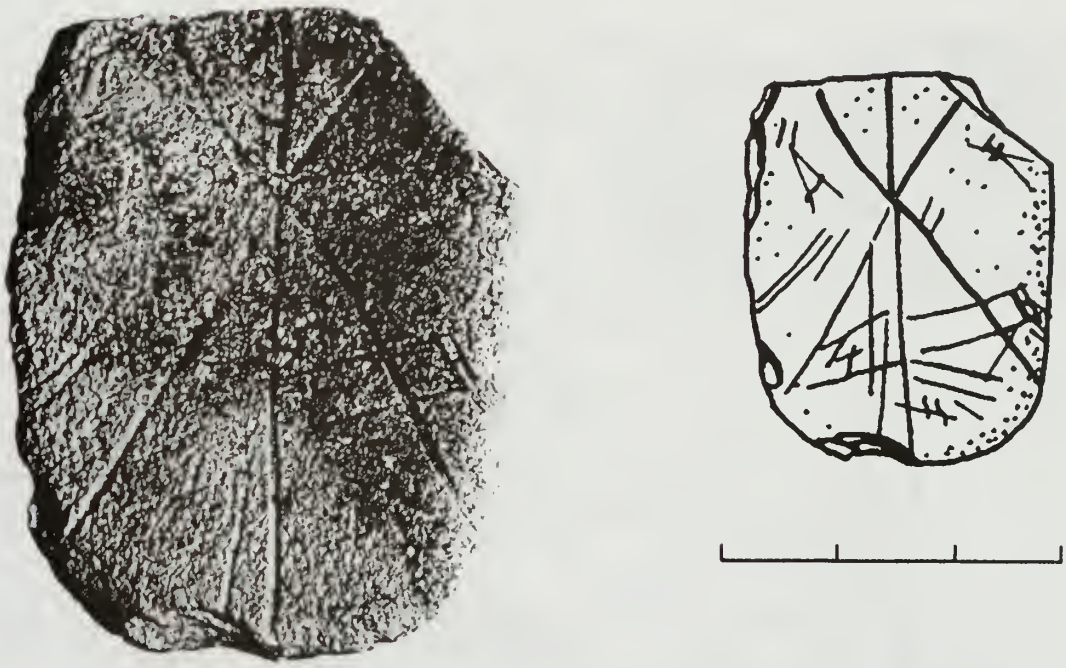


Figure 47. Chuvaigytkhyn IIA site. Graffiti with representation of a house(?): Left—photo by N. N. Dikov. Right—sketch (after N. N. Dikov).

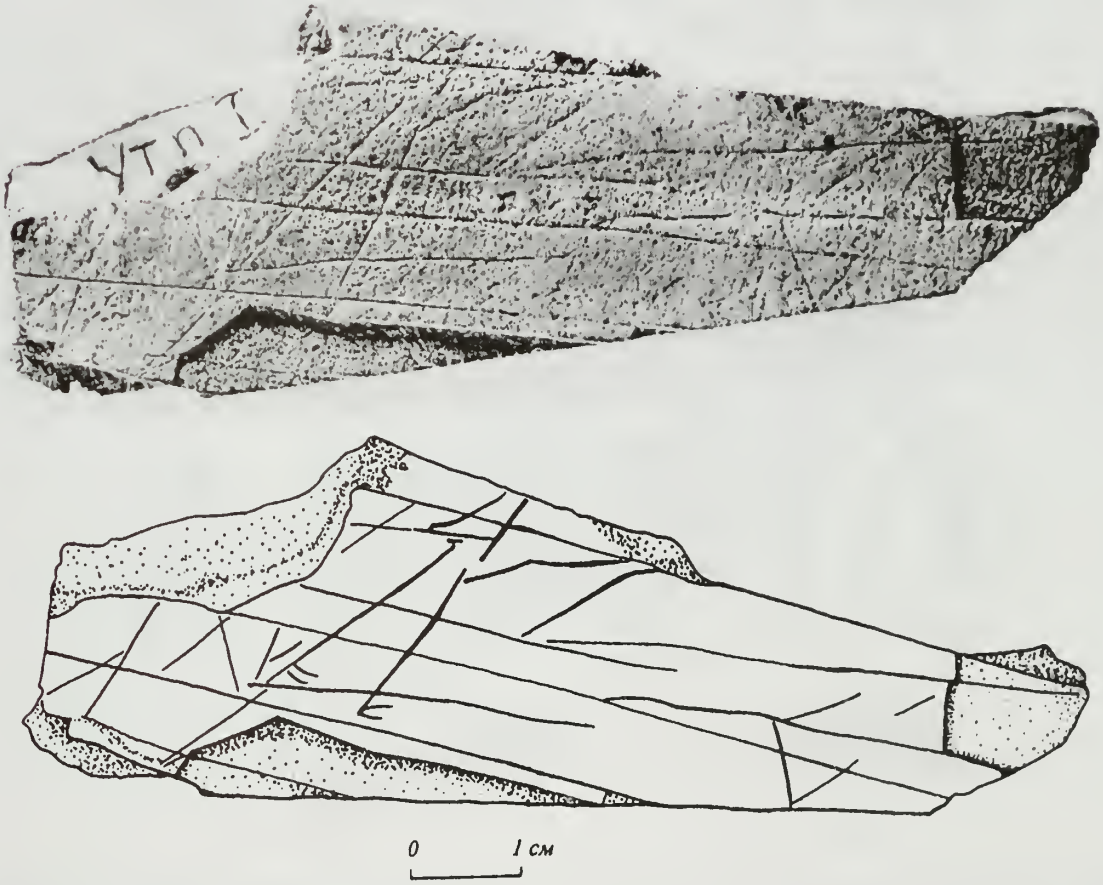


Figure 48. Utaatap I site. Graffiti with an image of a bird. Top—photo by N. N. Dikov. Bottom—sketch by N. N. Dikov.

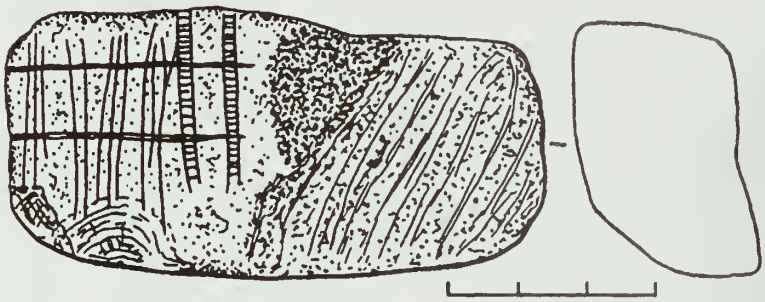


Figure 49. Pridorozhnaya site. Graffiti with ladder-shaped illustration (after S. B. Slobodin).

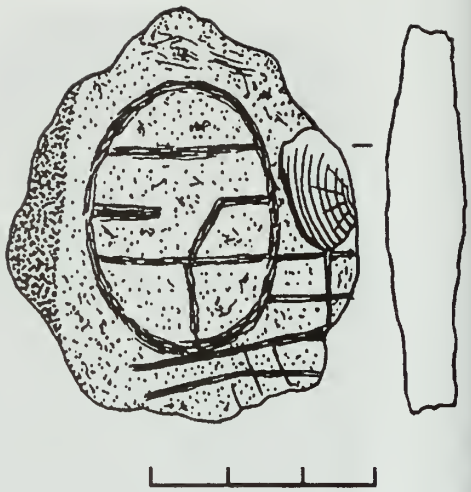


Figure 50. Graffiti from the Pridorozhnaya site (after S. B. Slobodin).

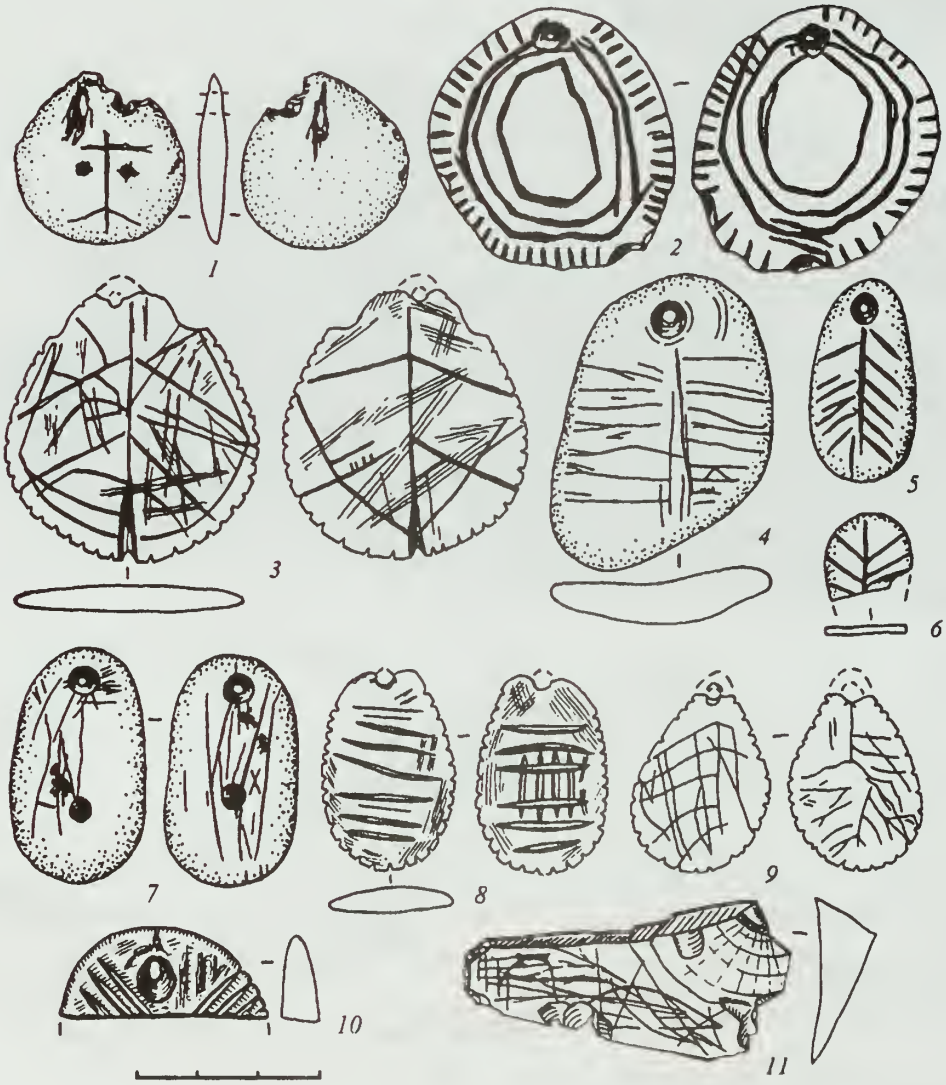


Figure 51. Northern Priokhot'e. Graffiti from sites of the Tokareva culture: 1—enhanced copy of a find by R. S. Vasil'evskii; 2–11—by A. I. Lebedintsev.

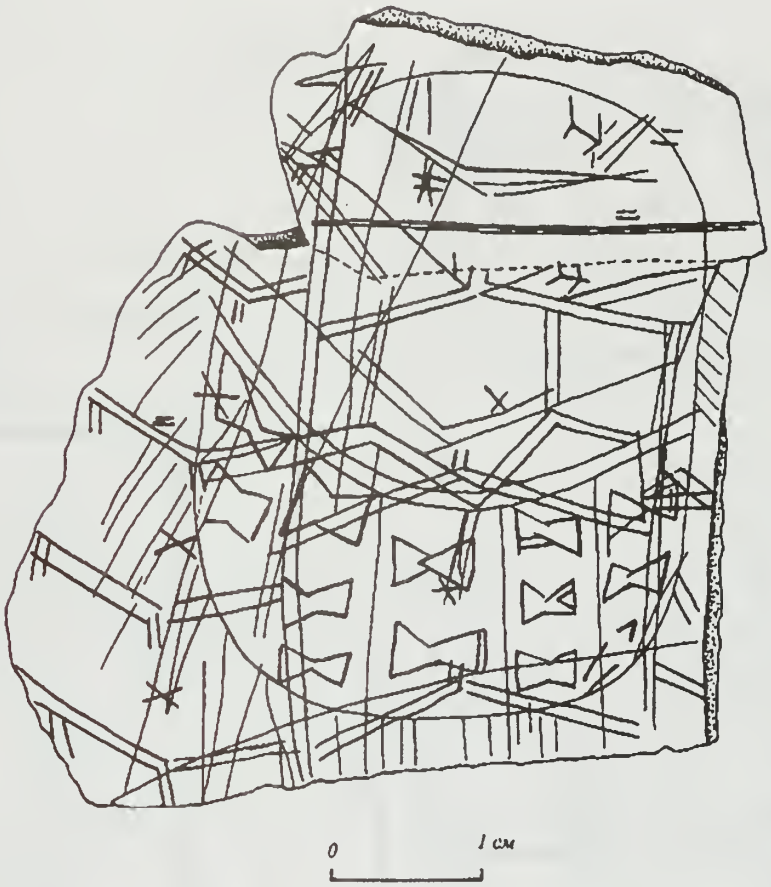


Figure 52. Graffiti with compositions within an oval.[38]

Figure 53. Graffiti with "mushroom" design.

[38] Figures 52–94 are from the Rauchuvagytgyn I site.

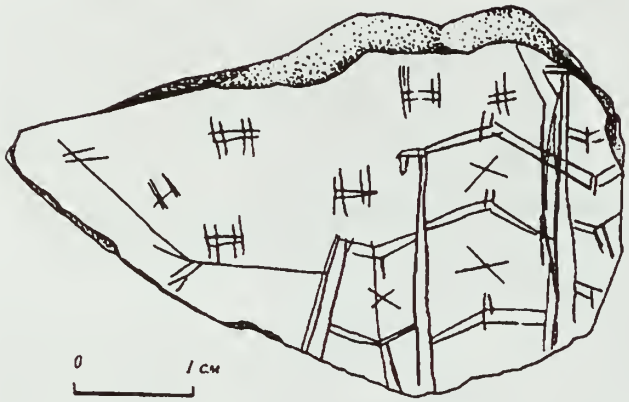


Figure 54. Engraved flake with multi-stage, stepped composition.

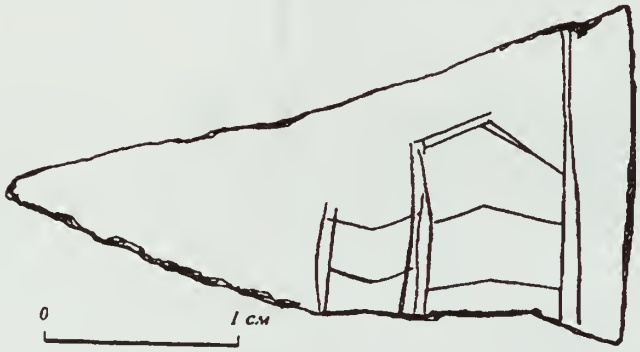


Figure 55. Simple multi-stage, stepped composition on a fragment of a slate slab.

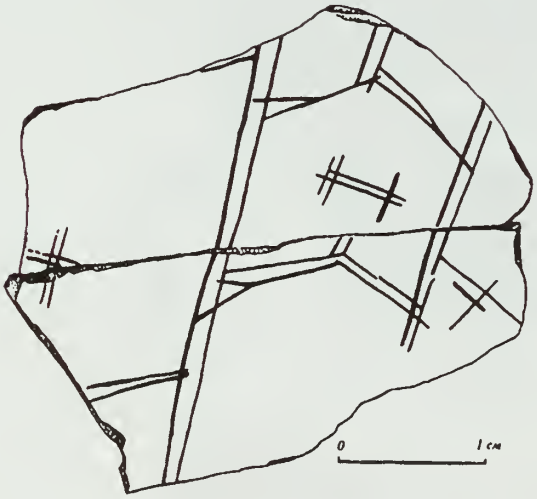


Figure 56. Fragment of an engraved slate slab with multi-stage, stepped composition.

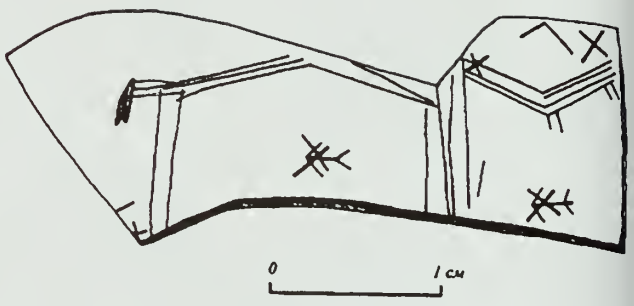


Figure 57. Fragment of a slate slab with multi-stage, stepped composition and anthropomorphic images in the upper stage.

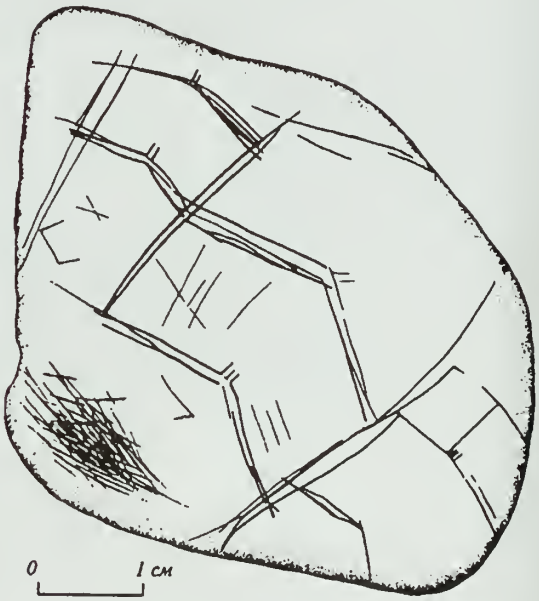


Figure 58. Engraved cobble with multi-stage, stepped composition.

Figure 59. Graffiti with an image of a house.

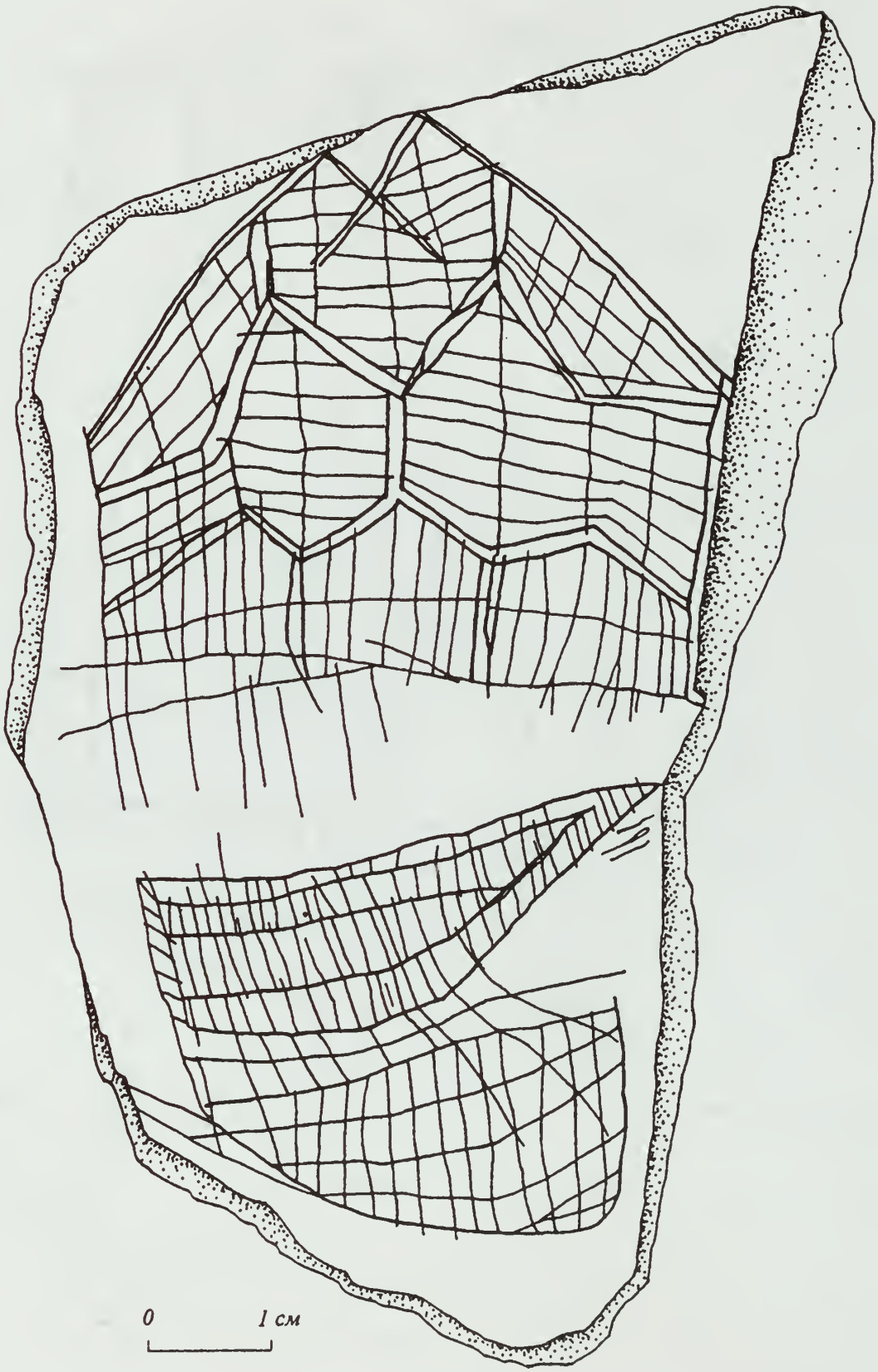


Figure 60. Graffiti with a complex three-part composition on a flat stone.

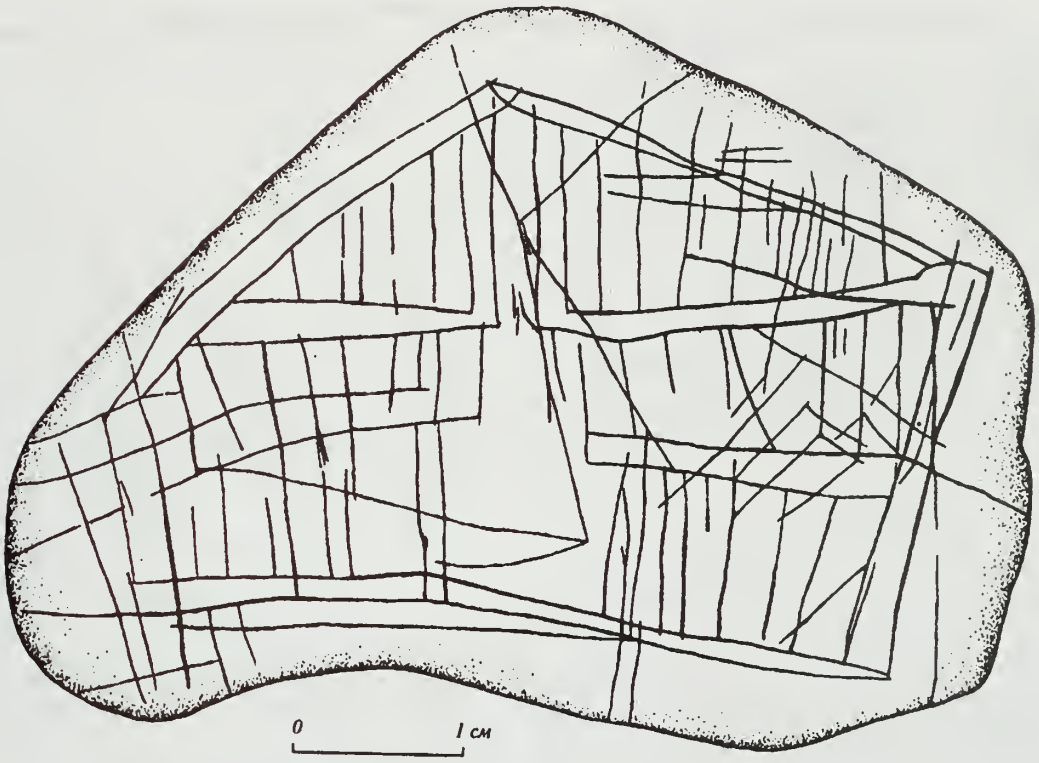


Figure 61. Engraved cobble with an image of a house-like three-stage "construction."

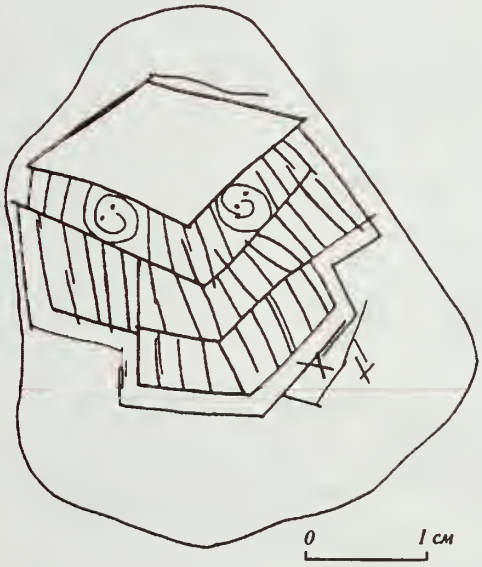


Figure 62. Engraved cobble with an image of a truncated pyramid.

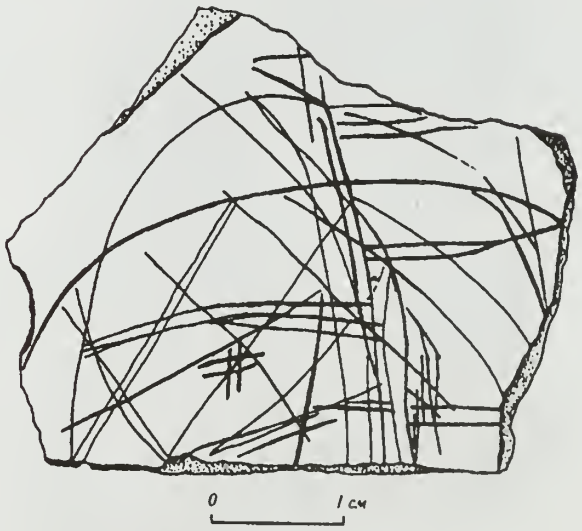


Figure 63. Fragment of a slab with a zoomorphic image (reverse side in Fig. 53).

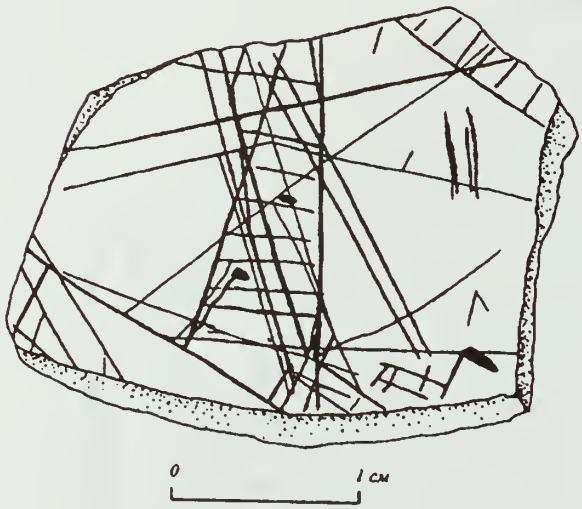


Figure 64. Fragment of a slab with a zoomorphic image (scene of a reindeer hunt with nets?)

Figure 65. Graffiti (on a slab) with an image of an arrow point of phallic form.

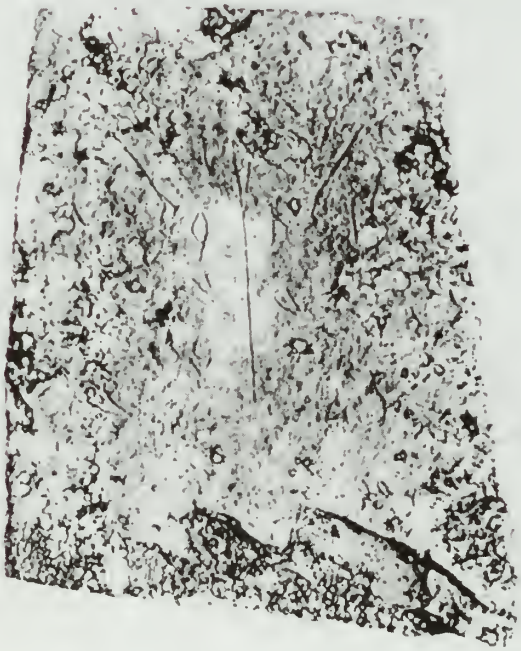


Figure 66. Slate slab with two-part symmetrical composition: Left—photo. Right—sketch.

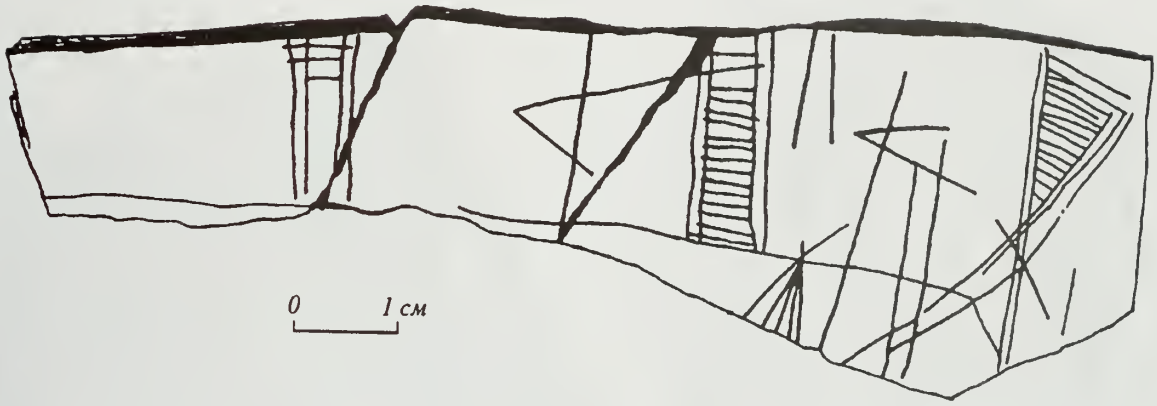


Figure 67. Fragment of a slate slab with engraved multidirectional lines and a pattern of Г-shaped figures (?).

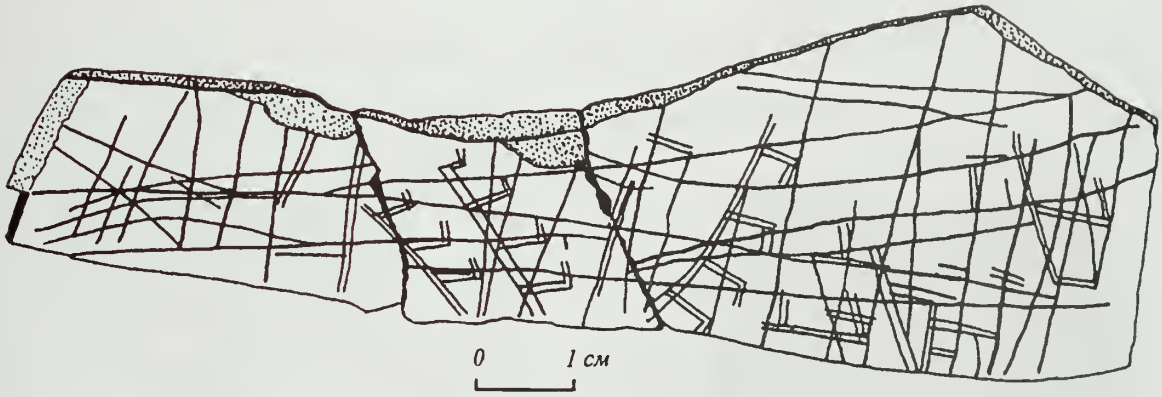


Figure 68. Graffiti with an image of ladder-shaped figures and a house (?).

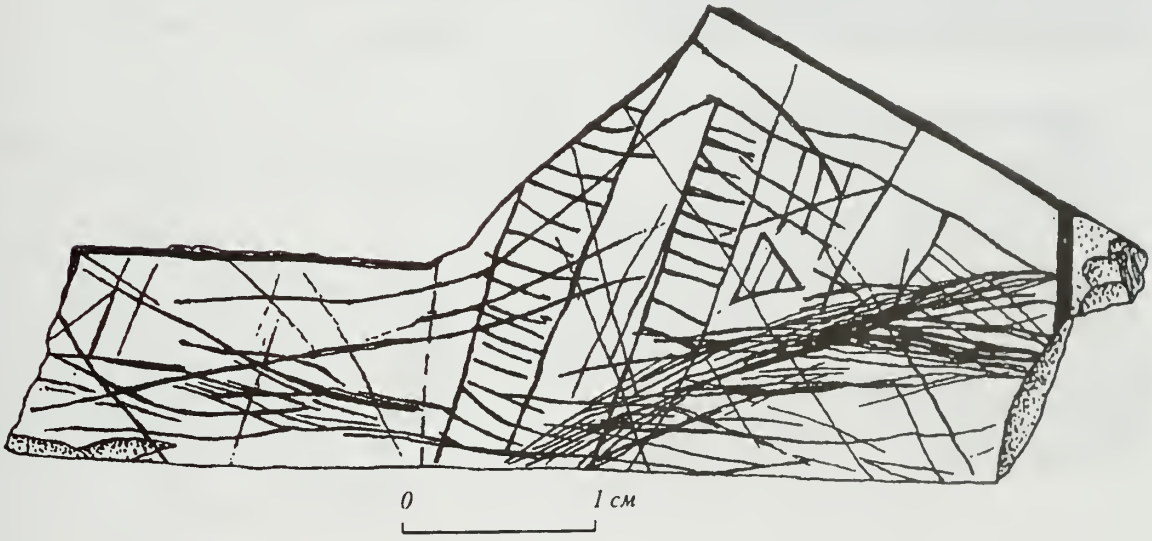


Figure 69. Fragment of a slate slab with engraved ladder-shaped figures.

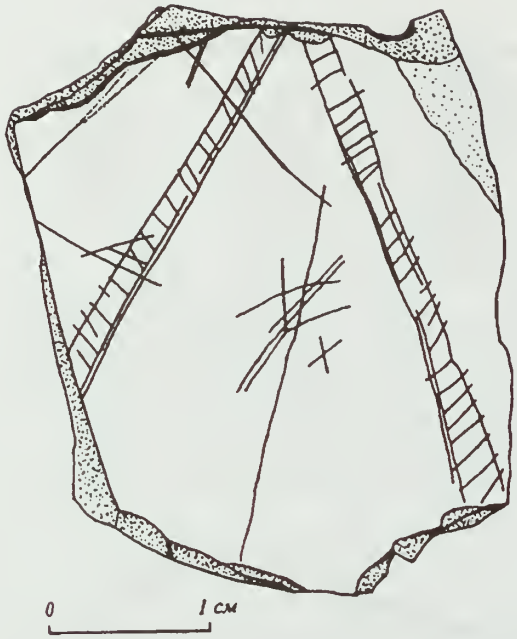


Figure 70. Fragments of an graffiti with ladder-shaped figures (reverse side of Fig. 56).

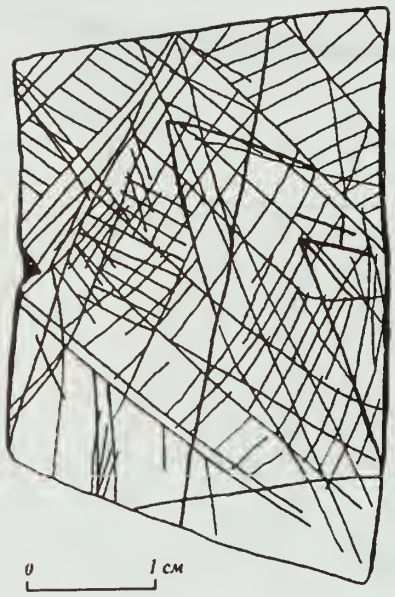


Figure 72. Fragment of a slab with engraving of ladder-shaped figures (reverse side of Fig. 71:a, b).

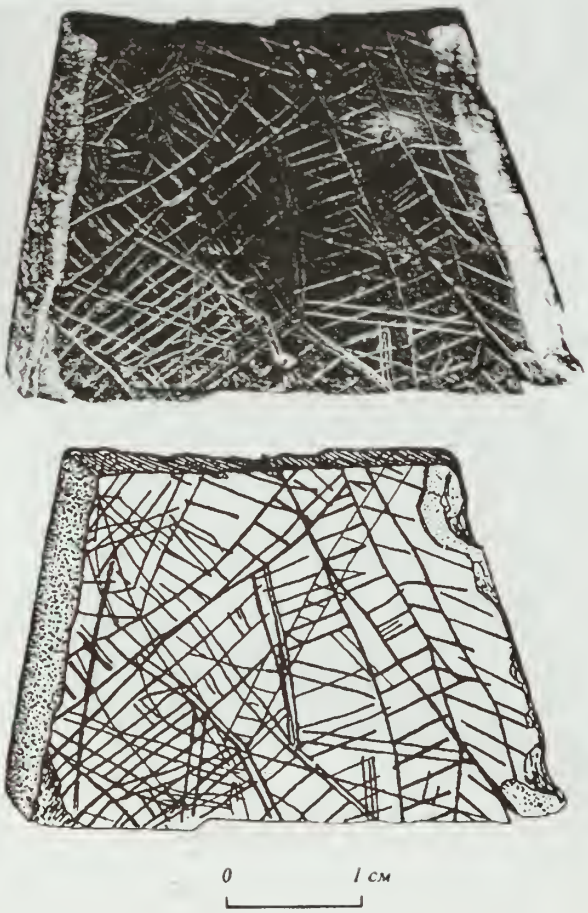


Figure 71. Fragment of a slab with engraving of ladder-shaped figures. Top—photo. Bottom—sketch.

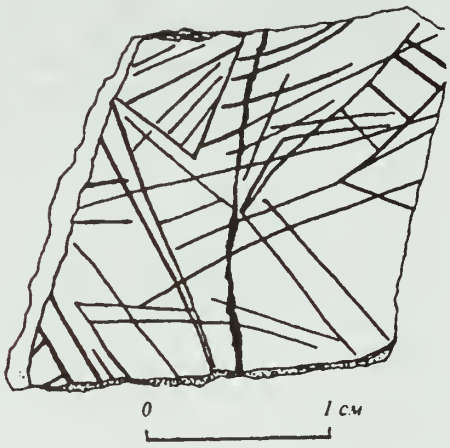


Figure 73. Fragment of a slab with engraving of angles, ladder-shaped figures, and multidirectional lines.

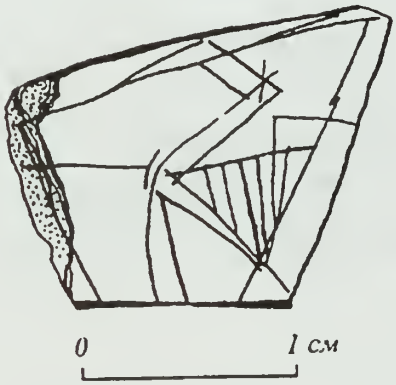


Figure 74. Fragment of a slab with engraving of a zigzag-shaped figure and a cross-hatched triangle.

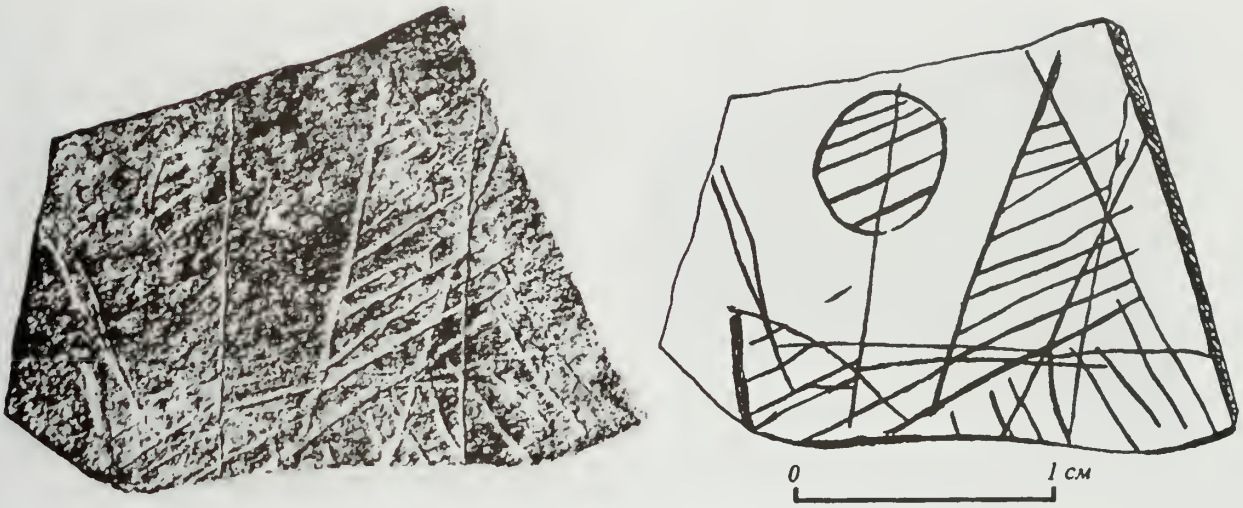


Figure 75. Fragment of graffiti with images of cross-hatched triangles and disk: Left—photo. Right—sketch.

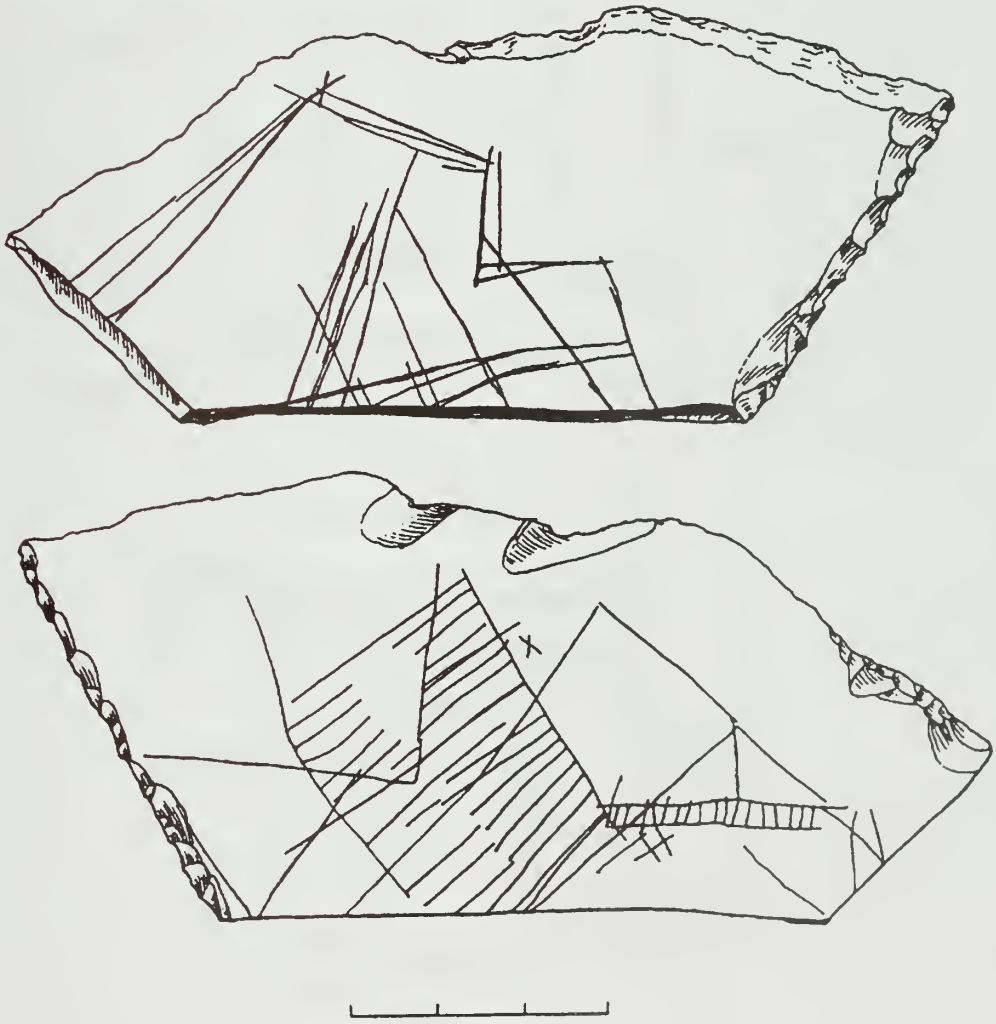


Figure 76. Slate knife with engraving on both sides: Top—house-like structure. Bottom—dense hatching and ladder or fence.

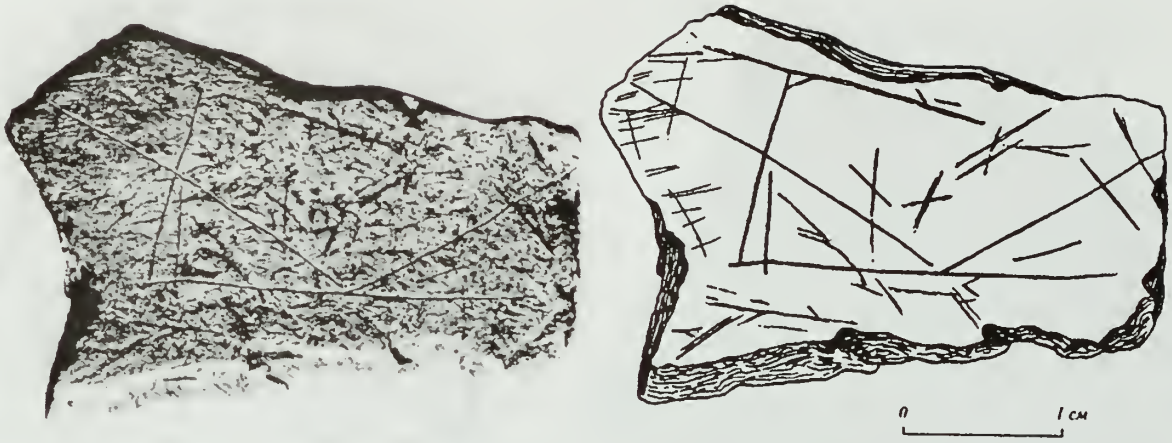


Figure 77. Slab with engraving of simple linear figures: Left—photo. Right—sketch.

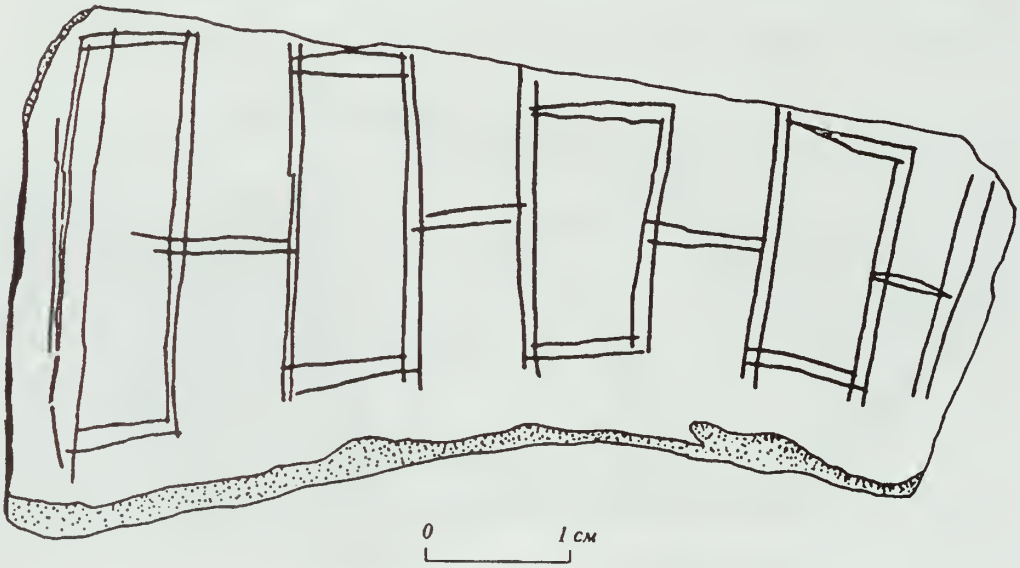


Figure 78. Slab with engraving of a chain of rectangles.

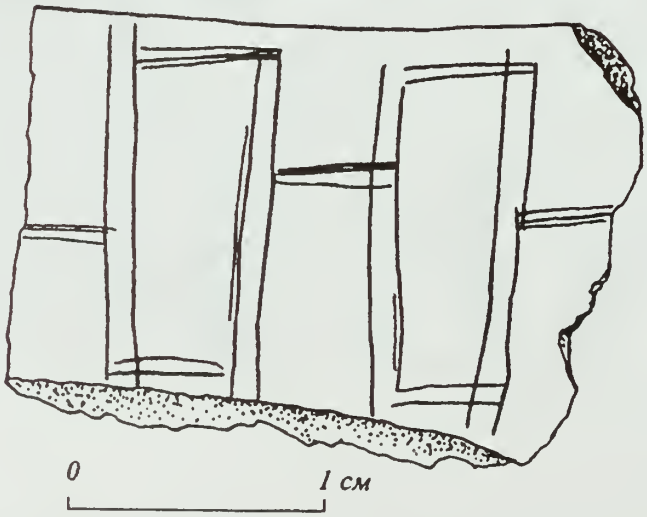


Figure 79. Fragment of graffiti with a composition of a chain of rectangles.

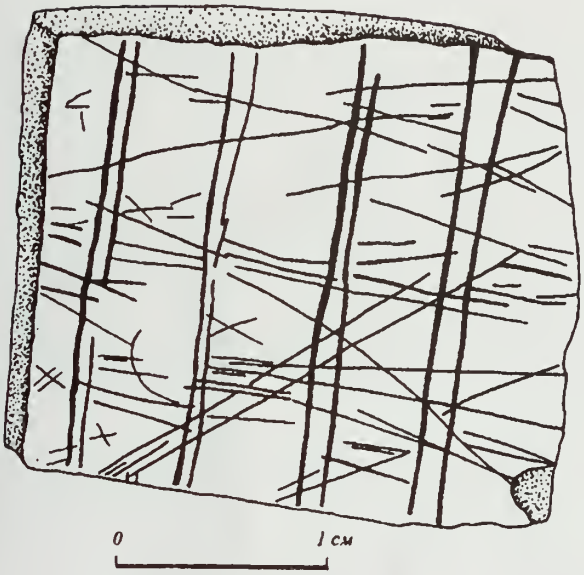


Figure 80. Fragment of a slab with engraving of parallel and intersecting straight lines.

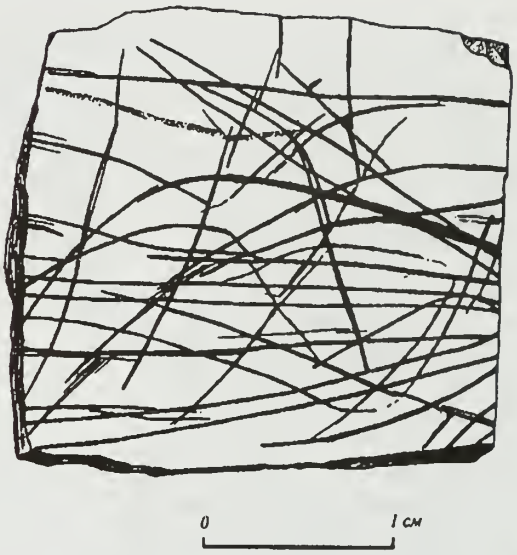


Figure 81. Fragment of a slate slab with engraving of chaotic lines (reverse side of Fig. 80).

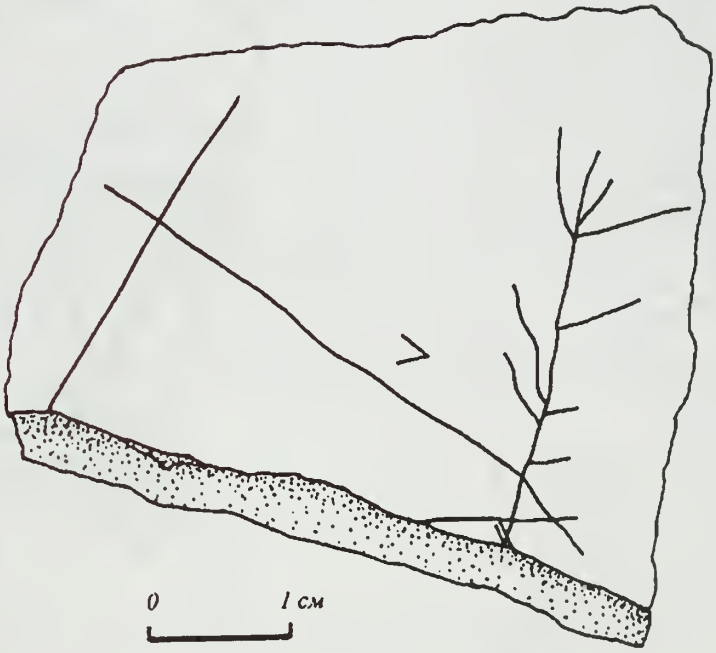


Figure 82. Flat stone with an image of a tree.

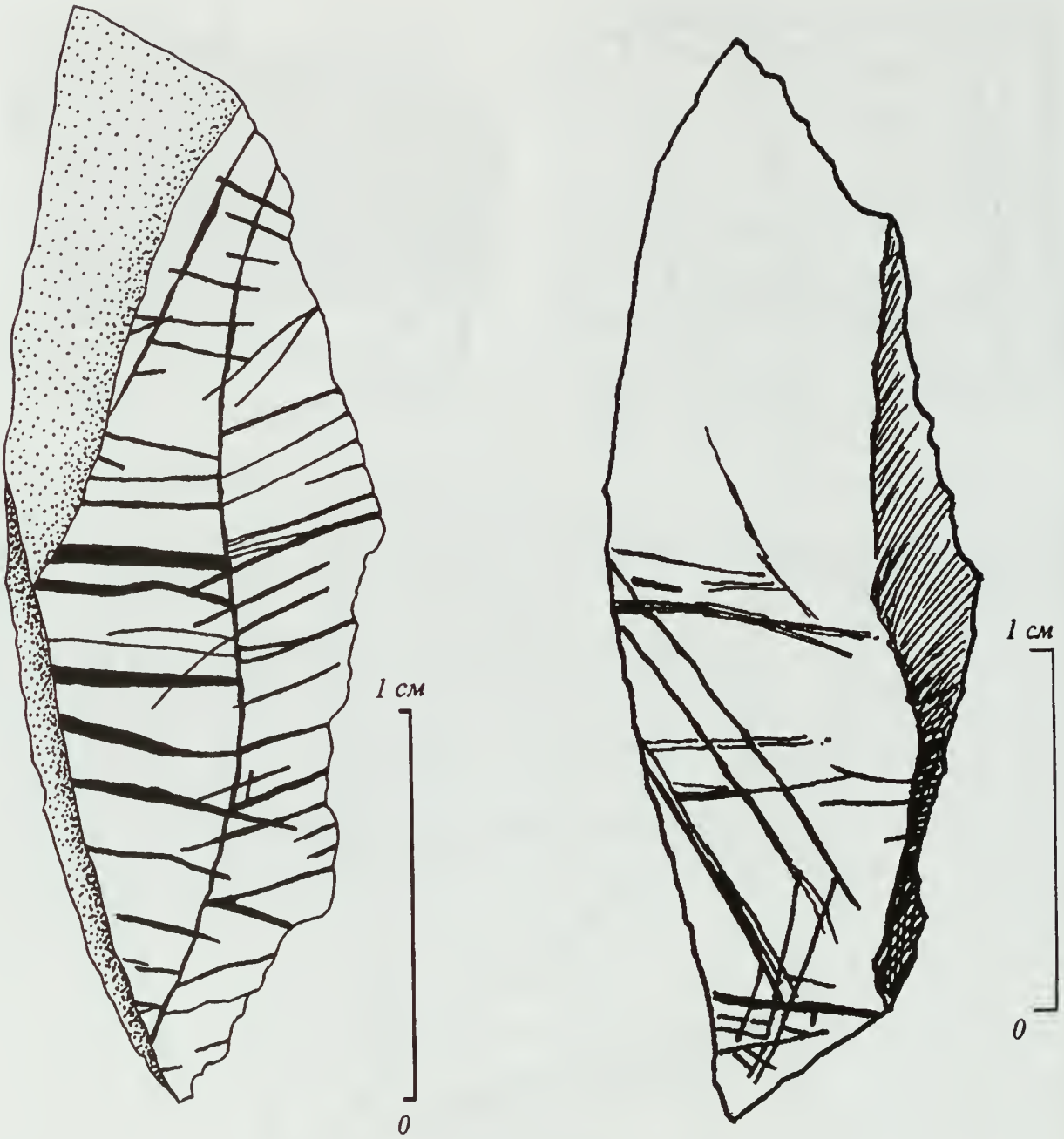


Figure 83. Left—flake with an image of a leaf. Right—the reverse side of the flake.

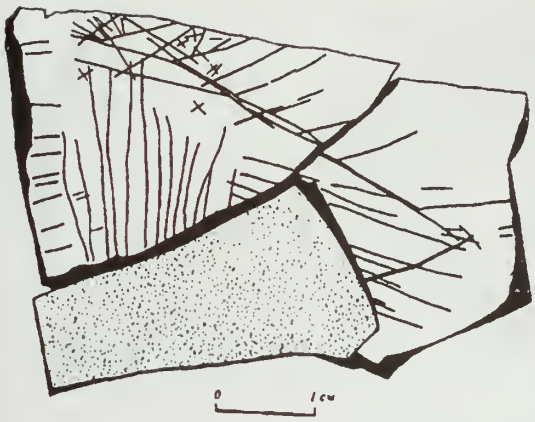


Figure 84.Fragments of graffiti with a composition of multidirectional lines and cross-shaped figures.

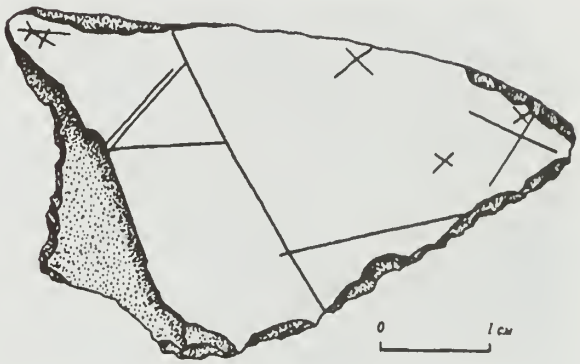
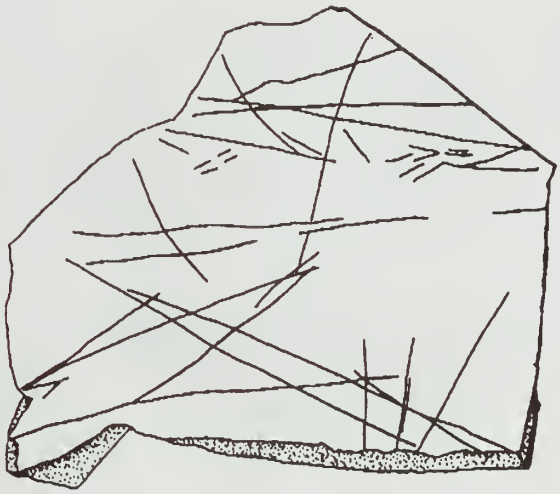


Figure 85. Fragment of a knife with engraved multidirectional lines and cross-shaped figures.



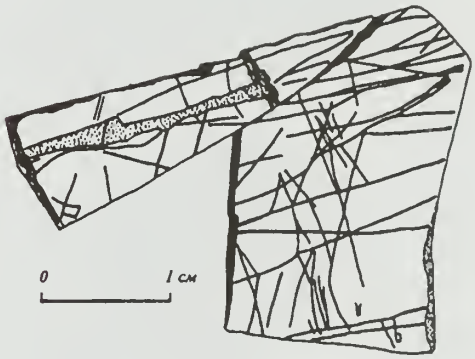
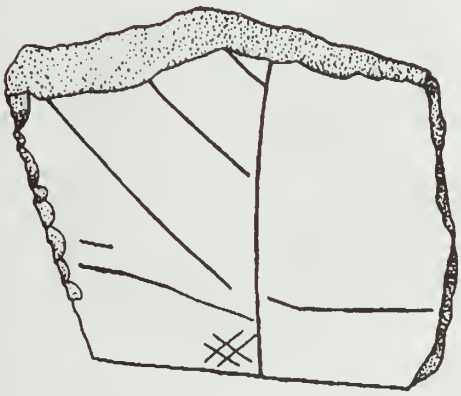


Figure 86. Fragments of slabs with an engraving of multidirectional lines.



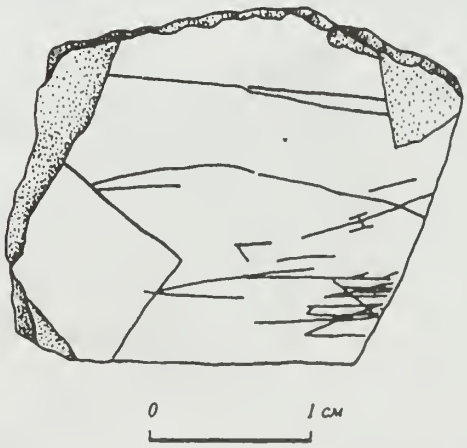
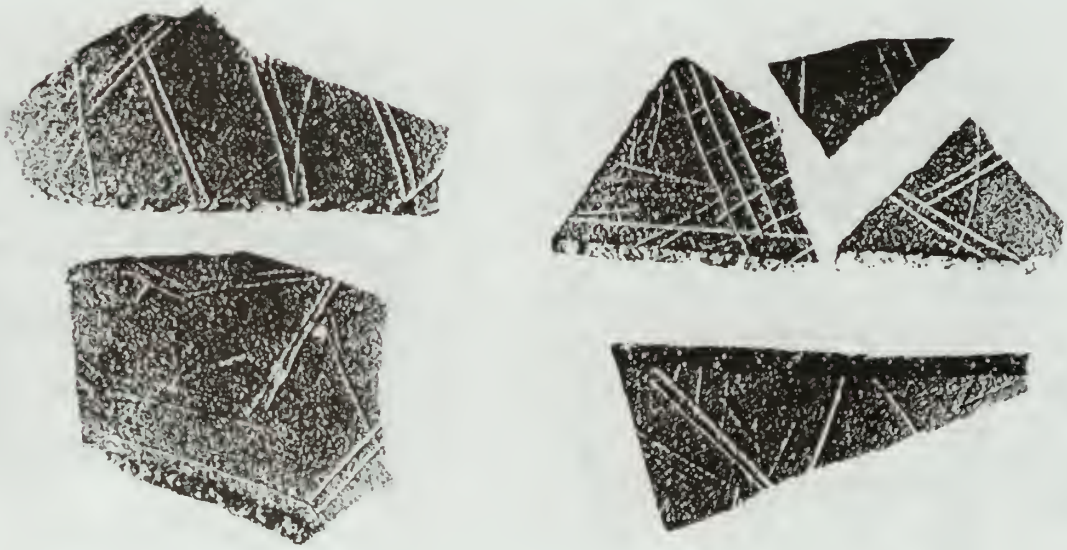


Figure 87. Fragment of a tool (?) with bifacial engraving of multidirectional lines and a lattice. Left—obverse. Right—reverse.

Figure 88. Fragment of a slate discoid slab with graffiti: Left—photo (obverse). Right—sketch (reverse).



Figures 89a and 89b. Fragments of graffiti with illustrations of simple linear figures (photo).

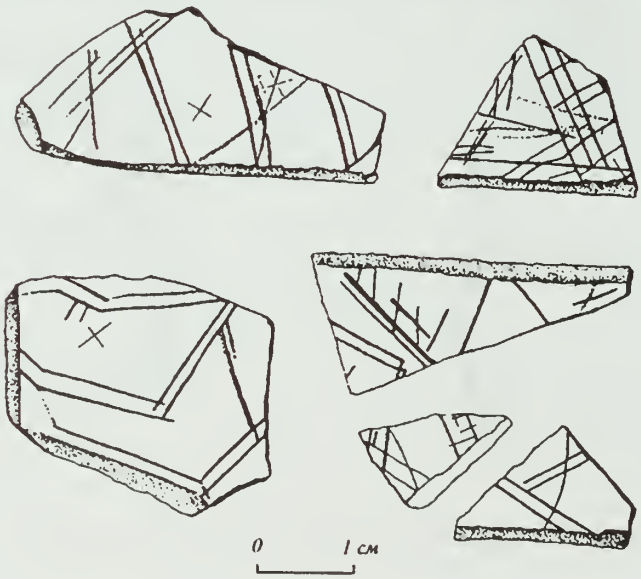


Figure 89c. Fragments of graffiti with illustrations of simple linear figures (sketch).

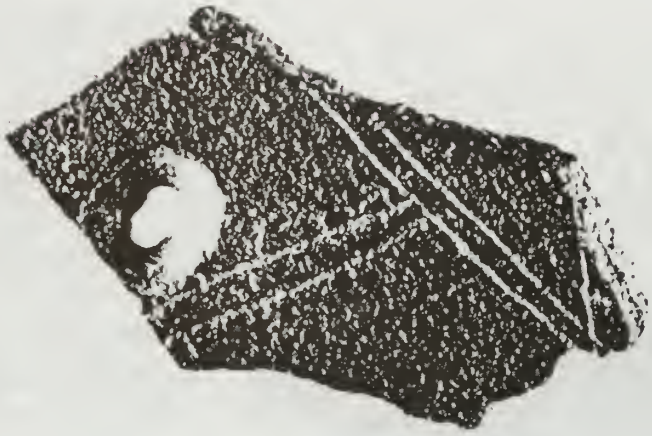


Figure 90. Fragment of graffiti with biconical hole.

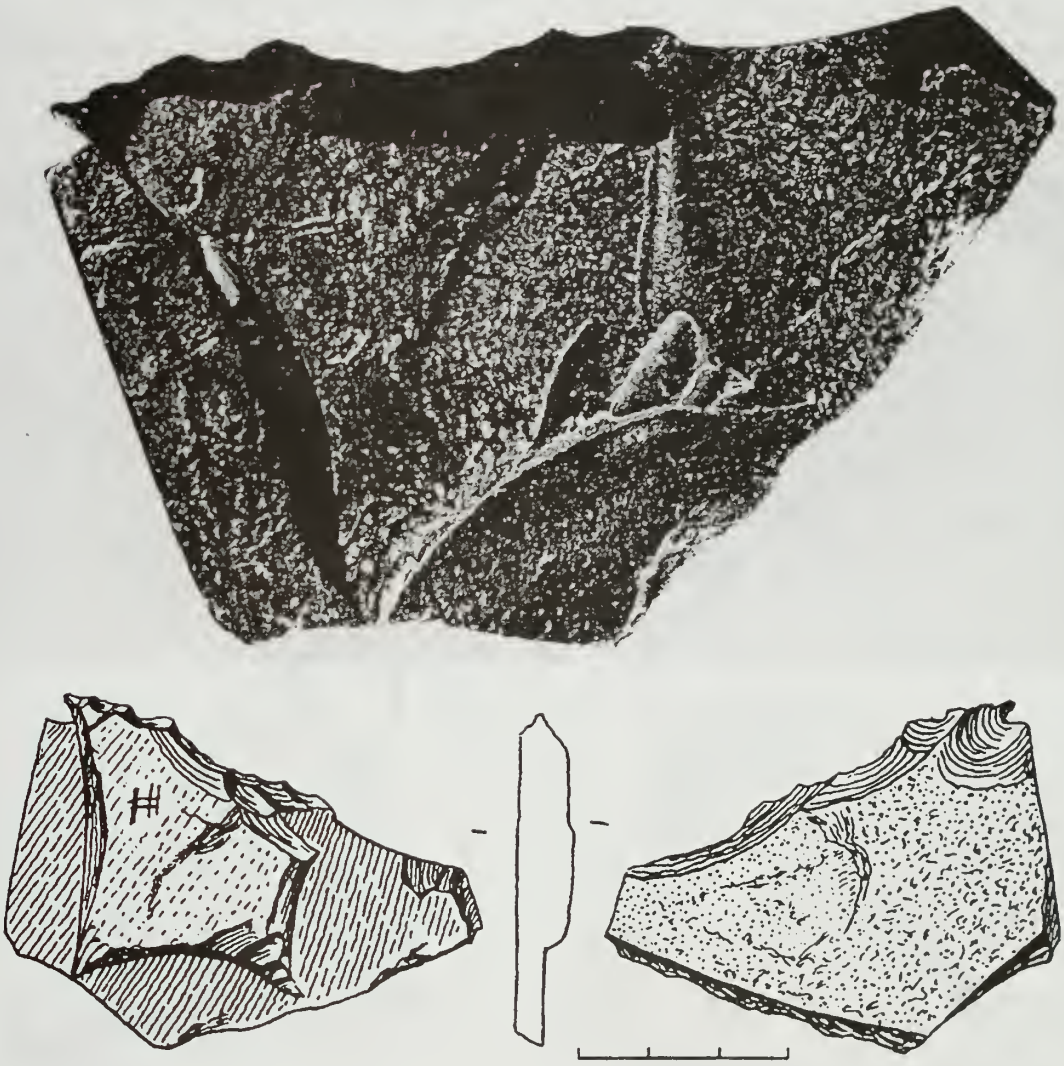


Figure 91. Relief zoomorphic illustration with H-like engraving: Top—photo. Bottom—sketch.

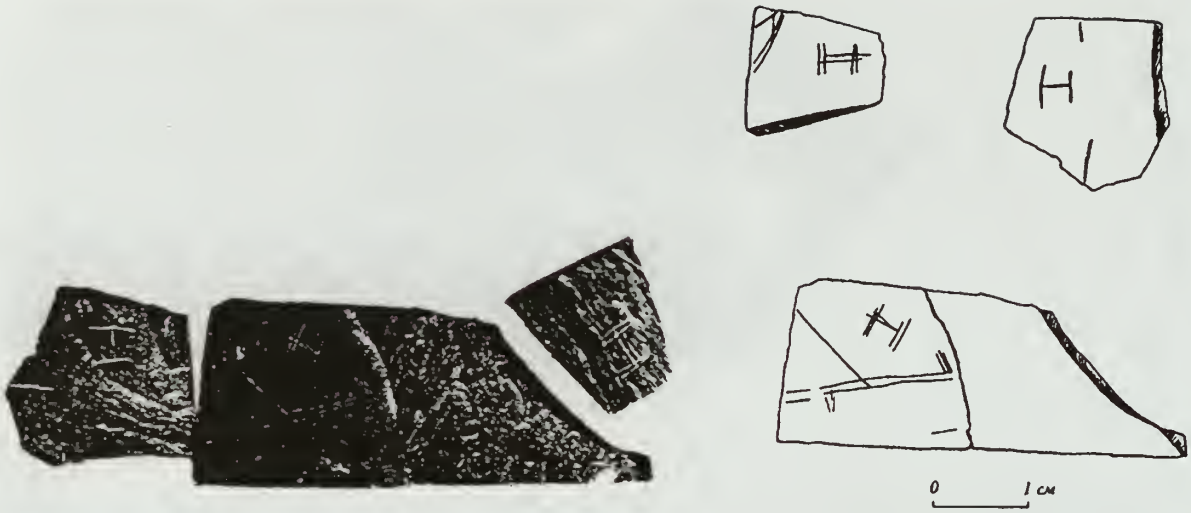


Figure 92. Fragments of slate slabs with engraving of single H-like figures: Left—photo. Right—sketch.

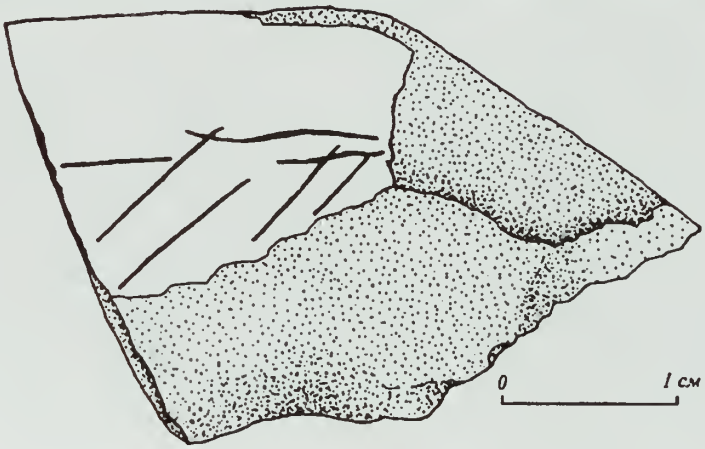


Figure 93. Flake with linear engraving.

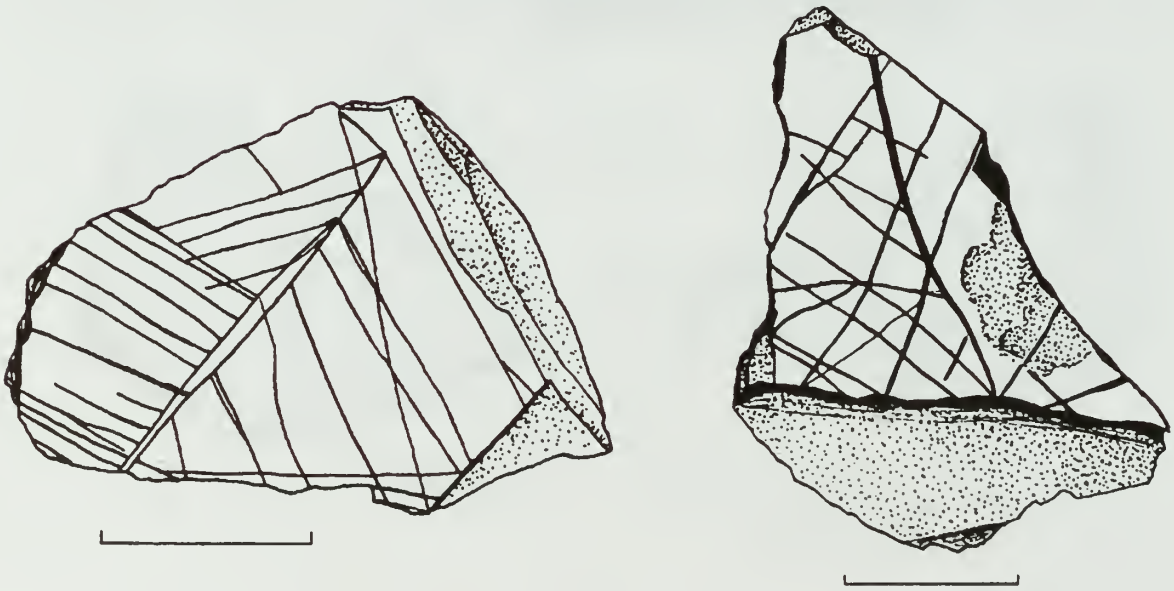


Figure 94. Flakes with engraving of multidirectional lines (a, b).

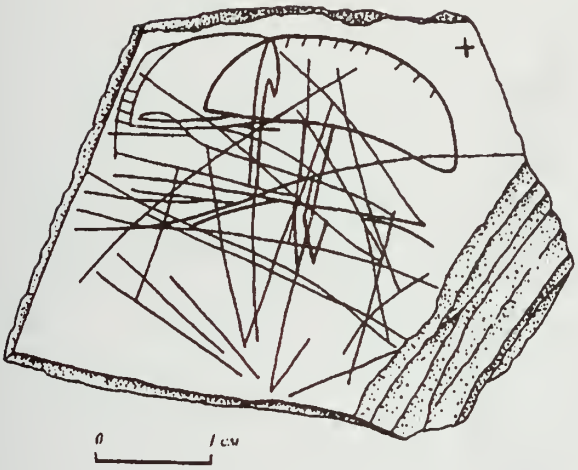


Figure 95. Tytyl' V site. Inscription with an image of mushrooms.

Figure 96. Tytyl' V site. Fragment of a pebble with linear engraving.

Figure 97. Tytyl' IV site, Locus 1. Fragment of a slate slab with linear engraving.

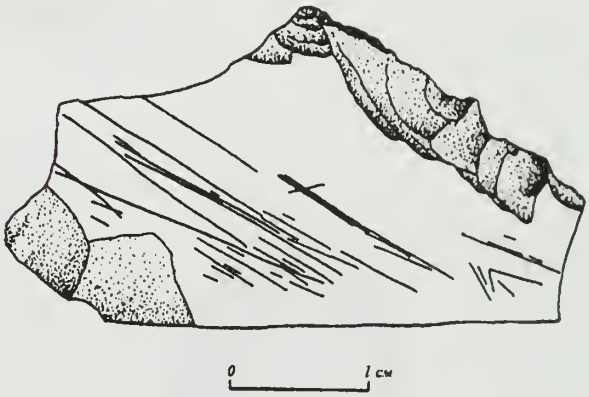


Figure 98. Tytyl' IV site, Locus 1. Retouched flake with linear engraving.

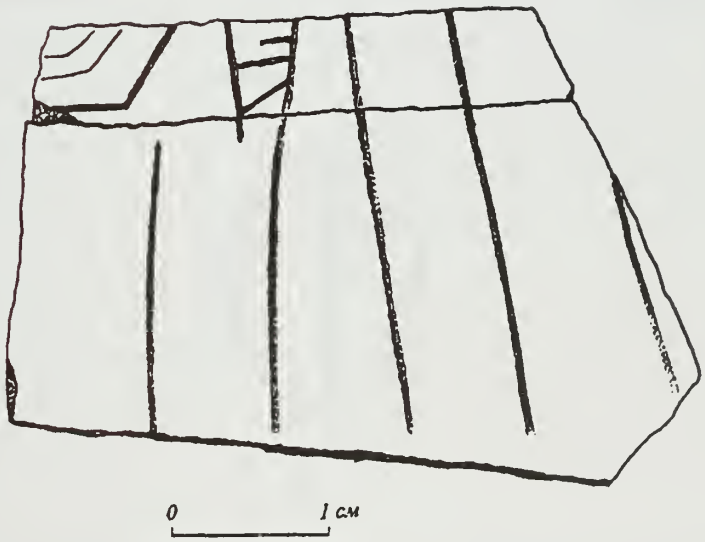


Figure 99. Ilirneigytgyn V site. Slate slab with linear engraving.

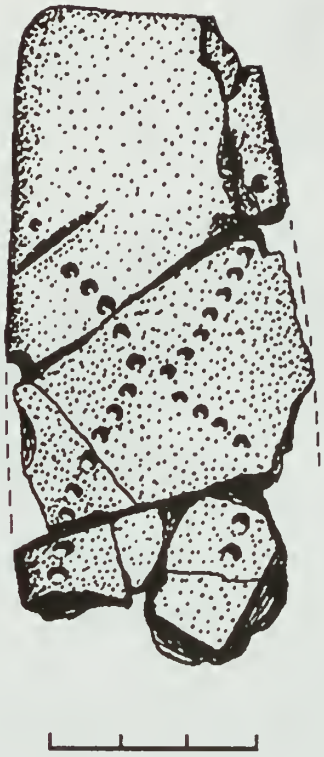


Figure 100. "Lunar calendar" from the Upper Paleolithic site of Ushki I (after N. N. Dikov).

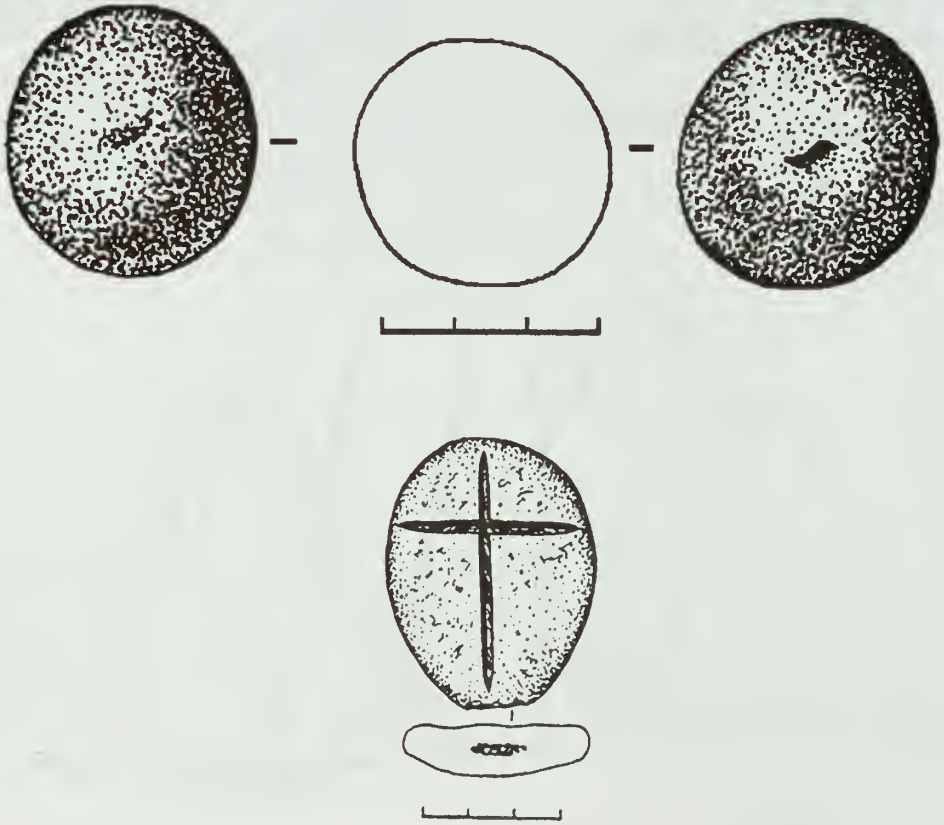


Figure 101. Images carved on a pebble: Top—a bird (Rauchuvagytgyn I site, excavated by author. Bottom—cross (Cape Alevina site, excavated by A. A. Orekhov).

PART II

Chapter II

Interpretation (Themes, Subjects, Semantics)

On the basis of the graphic resolution, content, and semantics of the representational sources in the block of graffiti under review, it is possible to distinguish four thematic groups (with the reservation of their subjective "reading" by the author of this research).

Cosmological Ideas in the Subjects of the Graffiti

The most obviously cosmological ideas of the Neolithic population of Northeast Asia are reflected in a complex composition enclosed in an oval divided into three parts (Fig. 52).

The oval itself resembles a shaman's drum with its pictographic illustrations and symbolism. The most productive parallels are in the characteristics of drums of the Sayan-Altai peoples (the Shortzy, Kachin, Sagai, and others), as well as the Sammi, Sel'kup, and Nganasani (Alekseev 1984; Popov 1984; Potapov 1981; Prokof'eva 1976). On the Rauchuvagytgyn slab the oval is divided into three stages: the upper stage is separated from the middle by a straight line and the middle from the lower by a double inverted arc. Each stage has its symbolism. The figure of the oval, as though composed of two mutually opposing arcs, just like the form of a drum, is correlated in the mythology of many peoples of the world with the Cosmic Egg, the symbol of the Universe. On the slab are graphically reflected the ideas of the early Rauchuvagytgyn people about the cosmos and cosmogonic events. These include "the establishment of the cosmic expanse (the separation of heaven and earth, the forming of three cosmic zones, and the like), the filling of the expanse with concrete objects or abstract essences, the combining of everything real into the one, and the separation of everything from the one" (*Mify narodov . . .*, 1988:7). In Chinese mythology, Heaven and Earth were joined together like a chicken's egg (*Mify narodov . . .*, 1988:7). The symbolic reflection of heaven in the creation myth of the Yukagir, for example, was a prominent arc with the ends turned down, and the symbolic reflection of the earth was a prominent arc with the ends turned up. The mythological marriage of Heaven and Earth gave birth to the Universe (Zhukova 1996a:31). This act is set to poetry in the "Kalevala" (1956:25):

> From the egg, from the lower part,
> Emerged mother—the damp earth;
> From the egg, from the upper part,
> Arose the high heavenly vault,
> From the yolk, from the upper part,
> The bright sun appeared;
> From the egg white, from the upper part,
> The bright moon appeared;
> From the egg, from the mixed part,
> The stars were made in the heaven . . .

In the Rauchuvagytgyn composition there is also an inverted arc, which is seen as the symbolic boundary between the middle and lower worlds.

In the notions of the Yukagir, the sign of a concave arc symbolizes the foundation of the earth and the hearth and is correlated with the maternal womb (Zhukova 1996a:30). Over the basic components of the Rauchuvagytgyn graffiti, the early artist engraved a structure in the form of a three-stage figure of double angles with branches at the peaks, which can be treated as a cosmic pillar—the World Tree (Axis of the Universe) in one of its variants. In many world mythologies the vertical axis of the Universe is represented by a tree, a pole with a solar symbol on top, a tethering post, steps, a ladder, or a rope (Nakhapetyan 1994:107). Among many peoples, the forms of the World Tree and the Cosmic Egg are used as symbols of the vertical path, uniting the upper and lower worlds. In the Tungus-Manchurian languages the term denoting tree can be translated literally as "road" (*Mify narodov . . .*, 1987:234). In the subjects of many myths the tree is a road along which the shaman or a mythological being moves from one world to another (*Mify narodov . . .*, 1987:234). The ternary structure of the World Tree includes the entire sphere of existence and brings opposites together: the upper world (the heavens), the middle world (the earth), the lower world (the subterranean kingdom); the past, the present, the future; ancestors, the present generation, descendants; day, night; north, south; etc. (*Mify narodov . . .*, 1987:399–400). A three-stage figure of double angles with projections at the peaks is continually repeated in subjects of Rauchuvagytgyn inscriptions, but in this case appears independently, without background illustration. A characteristic detail is, in almost all cases, a sloping cross (in four subjects) or an H-like symbol (in five subjects), which is a central feature in the space between the angles. It can be hypothesized that in this case the canonization of symbols of the cosmic pillar and symbolic marking of cosmic space take place.

If the slab with the complex composition enclosed in an oval represents the universal model of the Universe with the symbolism of the World Egg and the World Tree,[39] then on other specimens the idea of a Model of the World was reflected differently. In the collection from Lake Rauchuvagytgyn there are two compositions, the subject of which is images of dwellings of the yurt type of the Sayan-Altai peoples, i.e., those having a high cylindrical lower part and a low conical top with a circular bifurcation in the center. In the first case, the illustration was made in X-ray style: the contour of the dwelling and the interior details—the framework, smoke hole, and hearth arrangement—were drawn. In spite of the simplified schematic style, the image conveys an impression of real house construction (Fig. 59). The second image, which is a representation of the designated theme, is a compound component made up of a three-part composition engraved on a flat stone with a stepped fracture and uneven surface (Fig. 60). A figure was engraved above, the outline of which typologically repeats the preceding (cylindrical base, conical roof, triangular bifurcation in the place of the smoke hole), but the "living" space is filled by a multitude of linear symbols, on the background of which a "honeycomb illustration" is clearly evident.

In the ideas of some peoples, the distinctive mythological model of the world is the dwelling. The post/ladder standing in the middle of the Koryak semi-subterranean house "symbolizes the connection of the upper and lower worlds, reflecting, apparently, ideas of the World Tree" (*Mify narodov . . .*, 1988:275). The traditional dwelling of the Koryak has a form externally similar to Sayan-Altai specimens. The form is the same for the permanent dwelling among the Even and Yukagir, in distinction from the summer tent (of triangular configuration). In the creation myth of the Yukagir, Heaven is a gigantic dwelling, which is a graphic image of an angle with its apex turned upward, reminiscent of a tent, or a figure of trapezoidal form (Zhukova 1996a:32). These ideas are reflected in decorative motifs on Yukagir footwear and clothing. The ideas of the ancients about the Model of the World, the structure of the Universe, and the World Tree were the most conservatively preserved in the modeling and decorations of shamanic clothing of the peoples of Siberia and the Far East and the elements of the shamanic costume (Mazin 1984). The everyday—but to a greater degree festive (or funeral)—clothing also helps reveal the ideology of distant ancestors. Yukagir decoration appears to be a kind of code of cosmic symbolism on coats and footwear, and in the construction of the details and ornamentation of aprons (Zhukova

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[39] Similar ideas are probably represented in the graffiti from the Pridorozhnaia site (Fig. 50) (Slobodin 1996:Fig. 18:14).

1994:51). Of all the parallels that can be drawn for deciphering graffiti with a three-part structure and complex construction of a dwelling, the greatest prospects, in my view, are analogies with Yukagir aprons. "As is well known, the form of the upper part of the Yukagir apron was trapezoidal, while the lower part was square; in some specimens the upper part was light and the lower one dark" (Zhukova 1996a:33). It is this variant of an apron that is the most characteristic for the Yukagir (Figs. 102–104). Its structure, connected with mythological ideas of the Yukagir about the structure of the World, is quite ancient, which is borne out by the permanence of its form both in time and space independent of age, gender, or other features (Zhukova 1996a:33). It is easy to be convinced that the form of Yukagir aprons repeats the form of the house represented in the graffiti from the Rauchuvagytgyn I site.

In the symbolism of the very form of Yukagir aprons, ideas connected with the decorations in the middle zone are particularly illuminating (Pl. 25:1, 3, 5). By zones of decoration is meant that the apron is divided into three parts: the upper, middle, and lower. The fabric of the upper part, as a rule, was not decorated, but silver and copper disks symbolizing the sun, moon, and the planets were sewn to the breast in the upper zone. Under them were sometimes sewn pieces of blue silk, symbolizing the heavens (Zhukova 1996a:24). In the center of the apron or just below was sewn a decorative rectangular or crescent moon-shaped band with the ends turned upward. Sometimes they sewed several decorated bands, called the "heart of the apron" or the "palette of life," which took in everything necessary for normal human life: homeland, hearth, and kin (Zhukova 1996a:24). On the apron, the "palette of life" is located within a trapezoidal figure imitating a mythological house. On the lower part of the apron a decorative strip was arranged between the outline of the bordering edge and hem of the apron and by a form resembling an inverted (Zhukova 1996a:30). The - and Y-shaped details of design on the apron each had their symbolism. Thus, the whole closed outline of the apron (the trapezoidal top and rectangular or square bottom) could be seen as the unity of Heaven and Earth, in which a model of the Yukagir Universe was graphically reflected (Zhukova 1996a:32). It might be suggested that the earliest mythological ideas—formed in the Neolithic or early Bronze Age—are reflected in the symbolism of the Yukagir apron, if one takes into account the characteristics of a shaman's apron that were preserved in burials of the Glazkovskaya culture (Pribaikal'e) (Okladnikov 1955). On Yukagir aprons this form "was common for men, women, and children—whereas among the Tungus peoples men's and women's aprons differed not only in decoration but in form" (Zhukova 1996a:33), though on some specimens among the Evenk, a graphic depiction of the World Tree can be found (Pl. 25:11).

In an attempt to decipher the complex composition engraved on a stone from Lake Rauchuvagytgyn (Fig. 60) I relied on the symbolism of Yukagir aprons as an example, inasmuch as, in my view, one and the same mythological idea were given graphically similar embodiment in these different materials. From this standpoint, both the image of the dwelling itself—taking into consideration the symbolism of the signs arranged within its borders—and the composition as a whole can be examined, assuming the upper part is identified as Heaven (its modifications in the form of a house); the middle illustration (the fence) with clan territory, some limited expanse on the land, or the earth itself; and the net (the receptacle of fish, which appears in mythology and religious ideas of many peoples as the essence of the lower world) with the lower world.

The Rauchuvan illustration is very similar to an image on birch bark (Pl. 25:6) from a dwelling complex of the Ymyyakhtakh culture that was studied by archaeologists at the Belaya Gora site (Indigirka River basin, Yakutia). In the scholars' view, loose-fitting clothing—likely a bib-apron, traditional for the Even, Evenk, and Yukagir—was the image engraved on the birch bark (Everstov 1999:55).

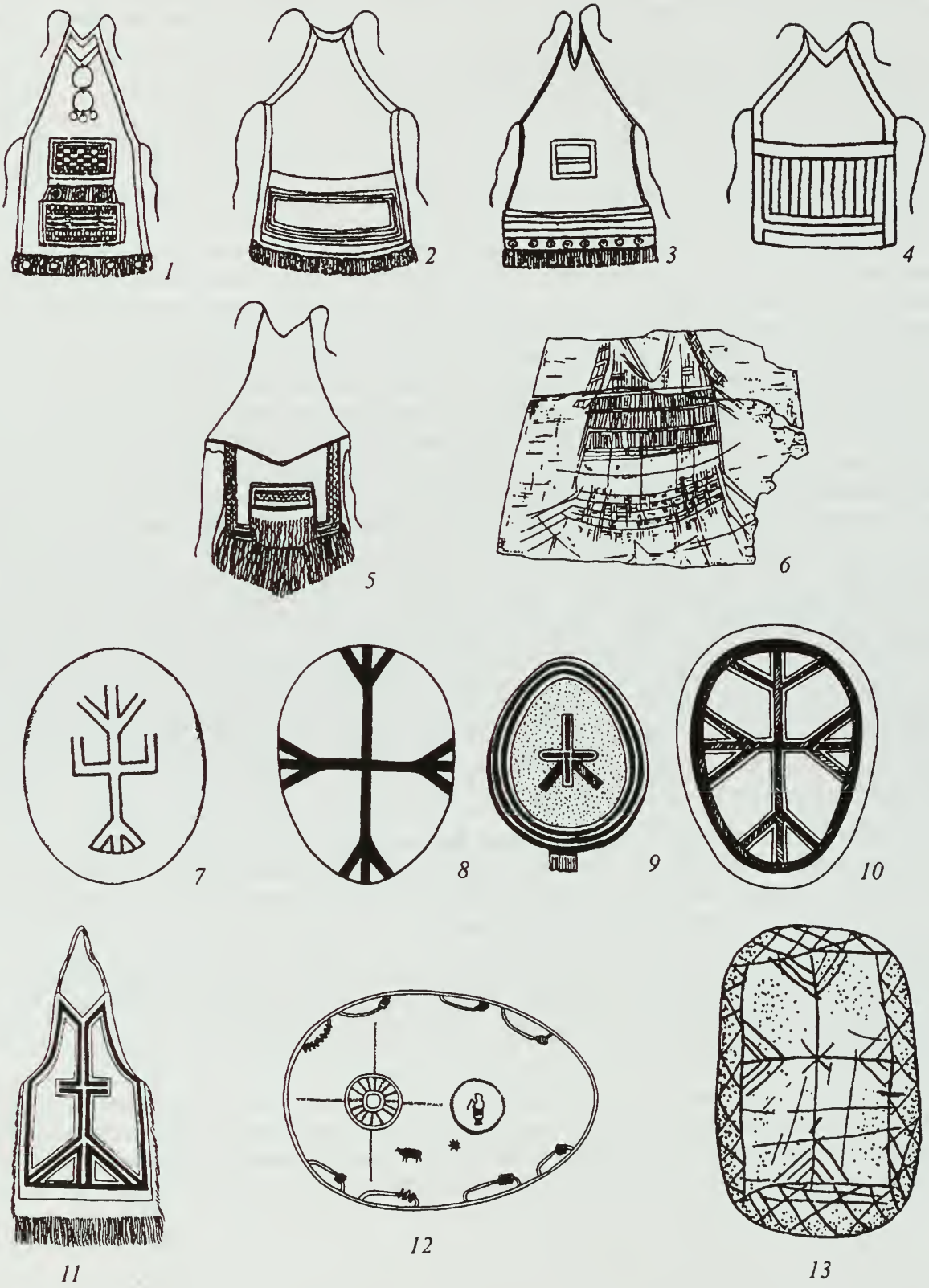

Plate 25. Images and ornaments on Yukagir (1–5) and Evenk (11) aprons, on drums (8, 12), drum covers (7, 9, 10) of Evenk shamans, and on archaeological finds (6, 13). (1–6 after S. I. Everstov, 7–12 after S. I. Ivanov, 13 after D. G. Savinov).

The upper part of both illustrations, reminiscent of dwelling structures, is covered with a multitude of straight parallel strokes. The three-part nature of both "structures," the correlation of their parts, and the sequence of their vertical positions are identical. The person who found the birch-bark artifact argues that the archaeological and ethnographic data associate the whole complex with the ancestors of the Yukagir (Everstov 1999:55).

Analysis of both images (on stone and on birch bark) leads to the conclusion that the beliefs embodied by the early masters in their works and connected with their cosmological ideas were identical.

Thus, we saw two variants of the mythological Universe that are embodied in Rauchuvagytgyn graphics. A third variant, closely related as a mythological idea to the second, is also possible. On a small flat pebble a three-stage geometrically regular lattice construction is depicted, at the base of which lies a rhomb (Fig. 62), the whole structure resembling a truncated pyramid. Dwellings in the form of truncated pyramids have been encountered among the Sagai, Shortzy, Kachin, Altai-Kizhi Teleut, Dolgan, Sel'kup, Ket, Khanti, Yakut, Evenk, and Yukagir, with eight of these communities having winter (permanent) housing of such a form (*Istoriko- . . .*, 1961:132–135).

A sacred meaning is imparted by the Rauchuvagytgyn image through spirals set in the upper layer on two (geometric) surfaces (sides) of the presumed house, below the figure of the rhomb. This composition may have embodied the combined idea of the ancients about the Universe. In many of the world mythologies the Universe has a four-part horizontal and a three-part vertical division. The world structured along the horizontal is represented as four sides, a square or rhomb, modeling the countries of the world and having two coordinates (two horizontal axes): left-right and front-back (*Mify narodov . . .*, 1987:403). In the Rauchuvagytgyn graffiti the axes pass through the corners of the rhomb (each of the angles shows the direction north-south, east-west). In the mythology of the Yukagir that has come down to us there occurs the formula of the Universe, according to which the upper land is correlated with the rainbow or a conical dwelling (see above), the lower land is a "truncated four-cornered pyramid," and the middle land, concave in relation to the upper, separates them (Zhukova 1994:49). Proceeding from this, it could be suggested that the distant ancestors of the Yukagir had permanent dwellings in the form of a truncated pyramid.

The spiral in the mythological ideas of some peoples of the world was the preeminent character in cosmogenesis. Thus, in the creation myth of the Bambara and Dogon (Mali), the primary role was carried out by vibration and spiral-like movements. "In the cosmogonic myths of the Bambara, during the course of creation of the universe . . . in one of the stages appeared the spirit Io, 22 basic elements, and 22 coils of the spiral" (*Mify narodov . . .*, 1988:161). Two spiral-like figures of coiled snakes were depicted on a memorable stone of the fifth and sixth centuries from the island of Gotland and represent the upper world in the vertical Model of the Universe among Scandinavians. The spatial model of Scandinavian mythology reveals the same type of ideas as do many mythologies of the world, including Siberian (*Mify narodov . . .*, 1987:287–288). On objects of portable art of Northeast Asia, a symbol in the form of a spiral was engraved on a stone pendant from the Tokareva culture (northern Priokhot'e) and on a ceramics stamp among the early Eskimos (Fig. 42), which the author interprets as a solar symbol (Lebedintsev 1996:143). The parallels cited also lead to the placement of a third composition from the Rauchuvagytgyn graffiti in the same semantic series with the preceding.

The theme of the cosmos in the shamanic mythology of the early Rauchuvagytgyn people did not arise by chance. The natural environment itself in the vicinity of the lake created an aura of place, unusual in landscape and micro-climate. The Rauchuvagytgyn I site is located in the center of a bowl-shaped river valley. The borders of the natural bowl are equally high mountains of loose material. The mountains appear symmetrically reflected—three on the right, three on the left. The bowl is enclosed in the rear by the mountain chain, which creates the impression of a huge natural tent with an entryway into boundless cosmic space, the lake itself like a door into the terrestrial space of the limitless tundra. Such associations probably also occurred to those who came here a hundred, a thousand, or even more years ago.

The Aion Chukchi, whose summer camp was located 10 km down the river, revealed to us that they call this place Bol'shaya Yaranga, and a mountain on the left is called Polog.[40] In their words, the Master of the Lake lives on a small cape-like point in the lake, where he keeps his herd. In all probability, the broad, short valley, surrounded on three sides by mountains, was seen by early people as the Large Clan Dwelling (conventionally, Bol'shoi Shater or Great Tent), the cult of which was rendered on slate slabs by early artists (Figs. 59, 61).

Around the lake, a multitude of camps, workshops, and other small simple settings were discovered where raw material was worked. On all the hills, shore terraces, and rocky mounds—even unfavorable ones in our view—the cultural remains of distant millennia were encountered. The closed valley has a peaceful, branching river emptying into the lake, ice on the lake, and small valleys with narrow outlets going off in different directions—all of which attracted (and at present still attract) wild deer. Their paths run along the edges of the shore zone, at the foot of the mountains. All day the deer pass along the very remote corner near the ice, and in the evening, when the sun sets and the shadow of the western mountains covers the valley, they go by these same paths back to the tundra. The abundance of sunlight during the polar summer day and the constant wind has favored migrations into the bosom of the natural Bol'shoi Shater over a period of three to four thousand years, and it was into this temporal framework that the Rauchuvagytgyn finds are fitted.

People came, following the deer. They settled near deer paths and pastures. Under the sod in the area of the Rauchuvagytgyn I site four stone-lined hearths were uncoverd, as well as traces of four surface dwellings with a large quantity of ceramic fragments, stone knives, arrow points, and clusters of split reindeer bones.

In my opinion, these places attracted people not only as a source of provisions but also as the object of a mystical connection with the Cosmos, of interaction with the spirits of the upper and lower worlds. Such ideas of the ancients might be provoked by the distinctive nature of the "architecture" of the Bol'shoi Shater and by the emotional mood created by the beauty and rhythmic nature of the surrounding expanse. During "intercourse" with the spirits they conjured them by making illustrations on stone. Under the open sky and by the dim flicker of the hearth, legends and myths were composed and delivered orally and via graphics on slate slabs and flat pebbles, preserving this distinctive chronicle up to the present day.

There is no doubt that the mythology of place is reflected in the graphics of Rauchuvagytgyn, but it is concealed under a layer of symbolism that does not always yield to deciphering.

A mythological model of the world is also represented on a pendant from Nedorazumeniya Island (Northern Priokhot'e), which outwardly resembles a mask or a miniature copy of a shaman's drum (Fig. 51:1). At the same time, the idea of fertility and renewal in nature is reflected in it in a simple graphic formula (Fig. 104), which attests to the poly-semantic nature of many items of primitive art.

We find the same such graphic formula in rock inscriptions on the lower Angara, on cliffs near Manzi village, and in the Kamenki River basin (Okladnikov 1966:Pls. 171, 174). A. P. Okladnikov, who studied the Angara inscriptions, finds analogies with these images in the ethnographic materials of the Evenk, i.e., on shamans' bibs and metal pendants (Okladnikov 1966:140, Fig. 46).

In the context of the theme that interests us I want to draw attention to figures from the Torgazhak site (Fig. 102:2–4), in which a model of the world is embodied, and among them one artifact (Fig. 102:3) is especially attractive. The graphic formula of this image is exactly identical to drawings on drums of the Yenisei Evenk, which is probably not simply a coincidence. In the Torgazhak graffiti, the Universe was modeled in the same semantic form and no doubt reflects the mythological ideas of the same ethnocultural community. Therefore, we will focus on the compositional elements of the image from Nedorazumeniya Island (Fig. 104), which has been transmitted by its corresponding symbolic code, and we will try to decipher it. The vertical segment with two flanking dots (a straight cross is

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[40] A *yaranga* is a portable Chukchi dwelling, a *polog* is a sleeping place with deer hides in it.

carved on one of them; Fig. 104:4) is a graphic expression of a phallus (Fig. 104:1). In world cultures this symbol is known as the sign of the lingam, where dots along the sides designate testicles (Demirkhanyan 1985:141). The triangular sign with the point directed upward, just as the one with the peak pointed downward (with or without a line dividing it), is, according to semantics, a female symbol (Fig. 104:2). Thus, the central figure (Fig. 104:3) comprises two parts—male and female—in which combination is the reflection of one of the principles of organization of the vertical component, namely, "the transmission of movement directed upward, imitating the growth and development of a tree."

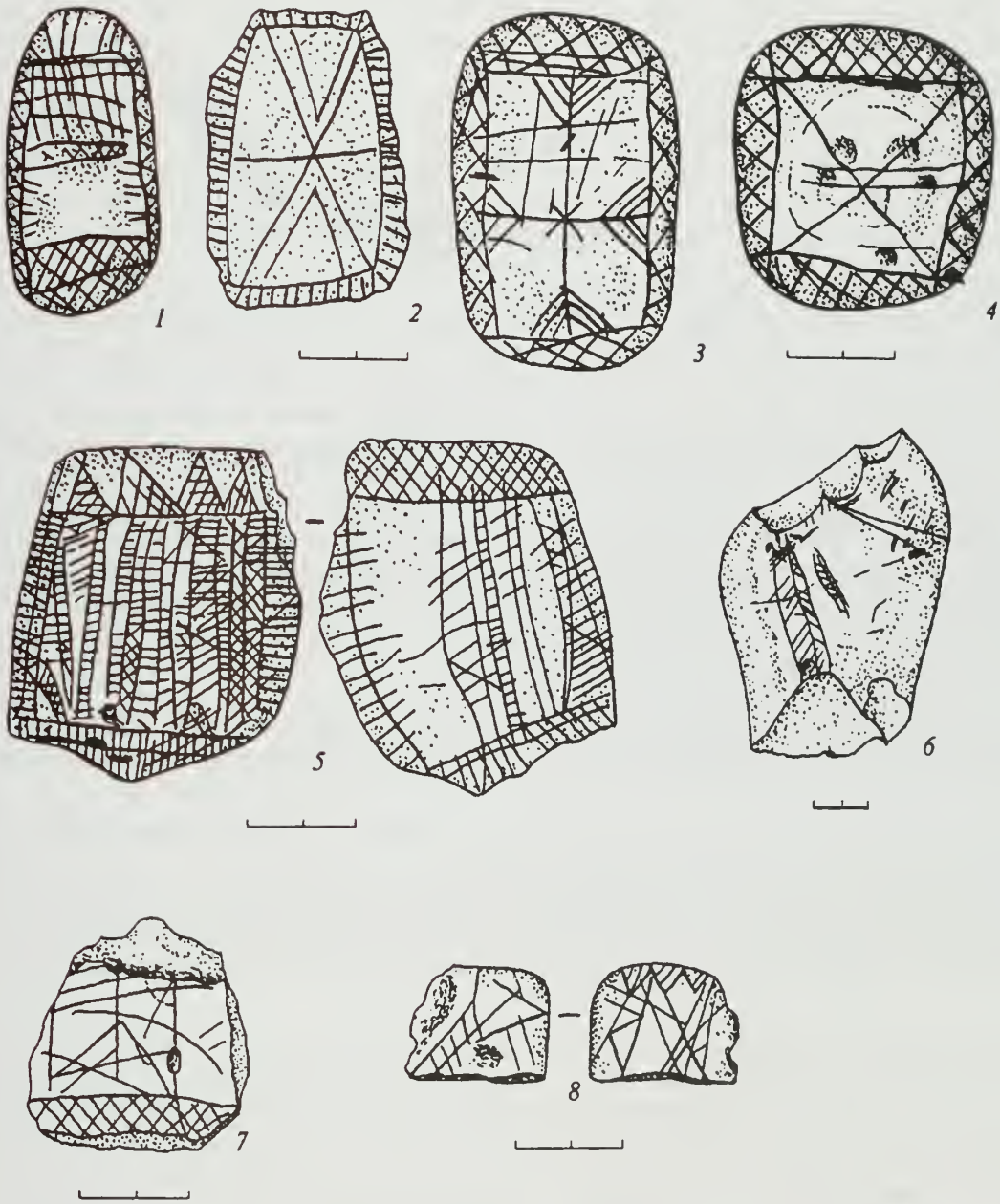

Figure 102. Engraved pebbles freom the late Bronze Age site of Torgazhak (after D. G. Savinov), Khakasiya, Minusinsk Basin.

The image of the tree in the mask illustration we are examining is reinforced by a transverse stroke, located on the top, over two dots, and a "female" by a triangle dissected on the bottom (correspondingly crown—roots). A sign in the form of a growth from the triangle—through the heart of the tree (Figure 104:5)—conveys the idea of vertical growth and has a sacred meaning (Demirkhanyan 1985:132). A linear figure (without dots) is conceived as a phallic anthropomorphic image (Fig. 104:3), which acquires at the same time an additional semantic aspect, since it is the graphic reflection of the World Tree, representing one of the basic mythological constants. The vertical (male) component of the mask reflects the idea "of the vertical structure of the universe, characterizing the beginning of the world and connecting at the same time with the deity of the death and regeneration of nature" (Demirkhanyan 1985:132). All the elements in the composition we are examining create the features of an anthropomorphic mask. The representation of a face in the form of a graphic symbol—vertical stroke and two flanking dots—is known in many world cultures. This sign is widespread, for example, in Armenian petroglyphs it is a symbol of a phallus, having the meaning of the World Tree (Demirkhanyan 1985:141). An analysis of the details of the mask shows that it is also poly-semantic, and its creator was not only an artist, but also a philosopher, who managed in a simple graphic formula to express the complex ideological concept of the Model of the Universe with its tripartite structure, symbolizing the "constant renewal of life" (Demirkhanyan 1985:142). In the center of this universe constructed by him is a human in two of his roles—male and female—who, when combined, personify the inexhaustible spring nourishing humanity.

Traditional elements of culture, as is known, are retained the longest in the spiritual sphere. In the opinion of researchers, "sacred ideas are initially formed from mythological concepts, and therefore are preserved rather long in the consciousness" (Gening 1989:163, 164). Some elements of the world view and religious ceremonial system of early tribes, which was given material embodiment in items of cliff art during the Neolithic period, can be found in the ethnographic material. For example, a radial arch of wood, which the Yukagir were still setting up in the twentieth century during spring festivals dedicated to the sun, is an exact copy of the images of it in cliff inscriptions on the Lena River dating to the second millennium B.C. (Zhukova 1996a:Fig. 15, 16). The most steadfastly preserved are sacred elements in the ornamentation and decoration of clothing—above all ceremonial clothing, but also sometimes everyday clothing—especially on such items as the apron, as well as on cult objects: shamans' drums, their covers, and the drumsticks. As a rule, these objects are kept with care as family idols and are passed from generation to generation. Along with the myths, they represent the most valuable sources in deciphering objects of early art that have come to us over many millennia.

In the attempt to find parallels to the graffiti from Nedorazumeniya Island, relying on Evenk materials has shown the greatest prospect. Very close analogies can be traced in them not only in graphic form but also in the semantics of the symbols, by means of which the form was created.

Above all, the similarity with drums of different groups of northern Evenk, both in form and in the system of pictograms, is revealed. The form of the drum in the mythology of many peoples of the world corresponds to the Cosmic Egg—the symbol of the Universe. Part of the cosmological structure of the Universe—represented by a variant of the Cosmic Egg—are the sun, moon, and stars. Based on the laws of mythological oppositions, the sun and moon as symbols of day and night, light and dark, and ultimately, life and death are obligatory components of the Universe.

On the drum of the Zeisk Evenk (Pl. 25:12), these heavenly bodies are represented by two circles: night is marked by a female anthropomorphic image (corresponding to a legend widespread in Siberia), and day with a straight cross intersecting a circle in the center, with the ends of the cross lines extending beyond the circle's boundary. The early master used an identical method in depicting the solar symbol (a cross was engraved on one of the two flanking points) in the making of the Tokareva pendant. Its central figure is a cross-shaped illustration located at the center with a triple fork below (Fig. 104:3).

Direct parallels to this image, symbolizing the pillar of the Universe or World Tree, are encountered on drums (Pl. 25:8) and drum covers (Pl. 25:9, 10) of the Evenk of the Yenisei region, as well as aprons of some groups of Evenk (Pl. 25:11). The researcher of graphic arts materials of peoples of Siberia

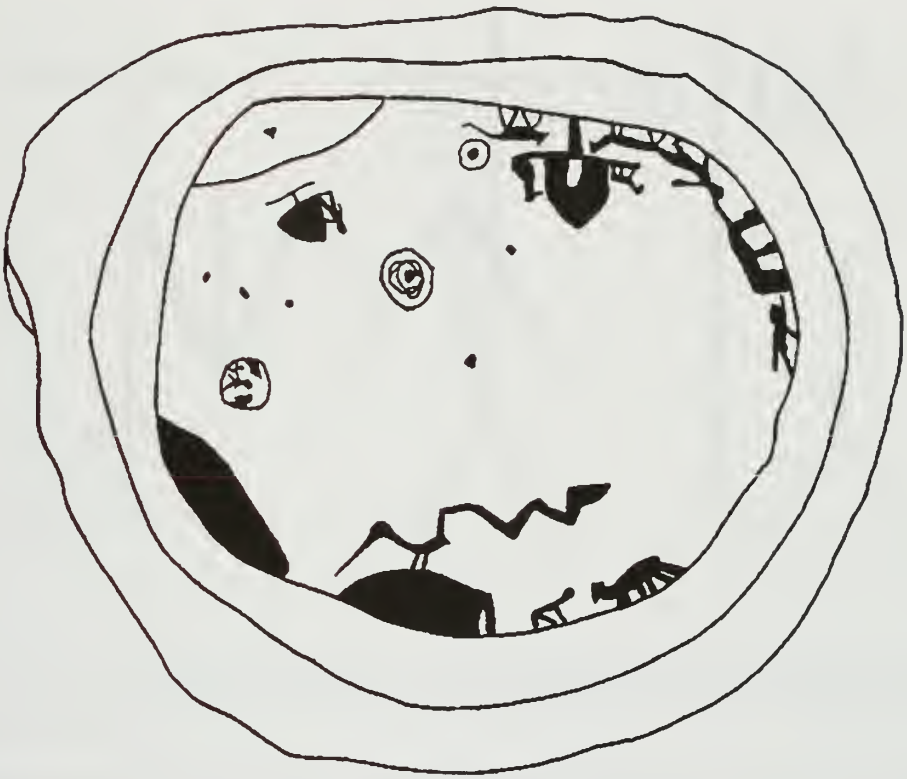

Figure 103. Chukotka illustration depicting the universe (after W. G. Bogoras).

and the Far East, S. V. Ivanov, in uncovering the semantics of this symbol based on the semantic meaning of the drum and its parts, wrote that "a reflection of cosmogonic ideas should most probably be found in the indicated painting" and "it is hardly possible to doubt that there is a connection between the graphic figures on drums and images of the Universe and sun . . . on metal pendants on Evenk shamans' caftans" (Ivanov 1954:180, 181). Upon comparison of the above-mentioned archaeological object from Nedora-zumeniya Island with ethnographic sources, complete similarity of the graphic formula reflecting the idea of the World Tree, as well as the arrangement of several details having a definite semantic emphasis, can be traced. It is also impossible to avoid noticing the fact that, first, the enlisted ethnographic sources are represented not by individual objects but by whole series, which excludes chance coincidence, and second, they belong to the northern group of Evenk.

In the analogies cited, as far as its possible to assess, close cultural contacts and interaction of the pre-Evenk and pre-Koryak cultures become apparent in the territory of northwestern Priokhot'e. This probably extended beyond the level of simple borrowing, and also had deeper ethnic connections, the spatial and temporal direction of which can be traced only by enlisting archaeological sources of the Far East region and adjoining territories.

Thus, it can be summarized that in the Neolithic and Paleo-Metal conceptually developed ideas about the surrounding world existed in the small graphics of the early "Paleo-Asiatics" (in the broad sense). One of the most important world-view paradigms was the model of the Universe.

In the assembled graffiti being examined, there is what at first glance appears to be the simplest image in the form of a straight cross or concentric circles, but in which the ideas of the ancients about the universe were also probably reflected.

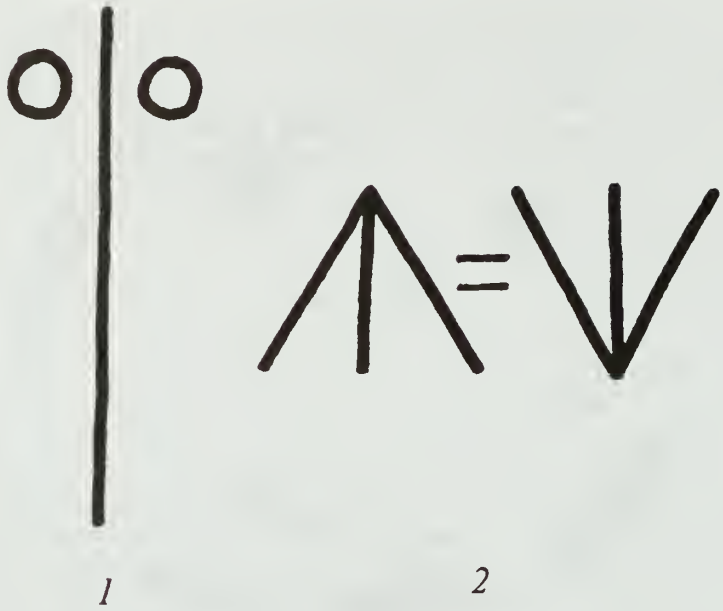

Figure 104. Graphic code of a mask from Nedorazumeniya Island (author's interpretation): 1—phallus; 2—female sign;

On the pebble from Cape Alevina (Fig. 101b) is inscribed a figure of a straight cross, which can be interpreted as a symbol of the World Tree, and—in combination with the oval form of the pebble—as the simplest model of the Universe.

On both sides of a pendant from the Tokareva culture (Fig. 51:2) were engraved three concentric circles. Perpendicular to the outside circle were engraved lines (36 on one side and 42 on the other), possibly recording calendrical calculations. Similar illustrations are encountered among the Indians (in the state of Nevada) and are treated by researchers as symbols of the Universe (Okladnikova 1995:96, Fig. 16).

The California Indians portrayed a flat model of the World in the form of a series of concentric circles. Circles served to demarcate "worlds," or levels of the universe. Sometimes mythological reference points were within the sphere (Okladnikova 1995:88). We see a similar "map of the universe" in a Chukotkan illustration cited by Bogoras (Fig. 103).

A spheroidal pebble on which is an engraved miniature image of a bird (a loon? or a duck?) from the cultural layer of the Rauchuvagytgyn I site occupies a very special place in the system of cosmological ideas and their embodiment by Late Neolithic inhabitants of western Chukotka (Fig. 101a). The object is conceived to be a materialized metaphor of the Universe or symbol of the Cosmic Egg.

The image of the Cosmic Egg is well known in many cultural traditions. From it emerges the Universe or a certain world creating personage—the creator, or demiurge (in the mythological ideas of several Siberian peoples the loon appears as a demiurge, diving to the bottom of the World Ocean and getting soil for the creation of the earth).

In the mythology of the Pomo and Miwok Indians of central California the metaphor for the Universe had the form of a sphere, by which the ornithomorphic form of the demiurge or demiurges who laid the Cosmic Egg was often implied. The condor Marumda and his brother, the raven Kuksu (the latter bore the name Kutkh among the Itel'men) personified these demiurges (Okladnikova 1995:200). According to one version of the myth about the creation of the Universe, Kuksu manufactured the sphere out of rubber and resin and concealed it in the feathers under his wing. Kuksu "incubated it, like an egg, before throwing it into the waters of the ocean, where the sphere-egg turned into the terrestrial firmament" (Okladnikova 1995:201).

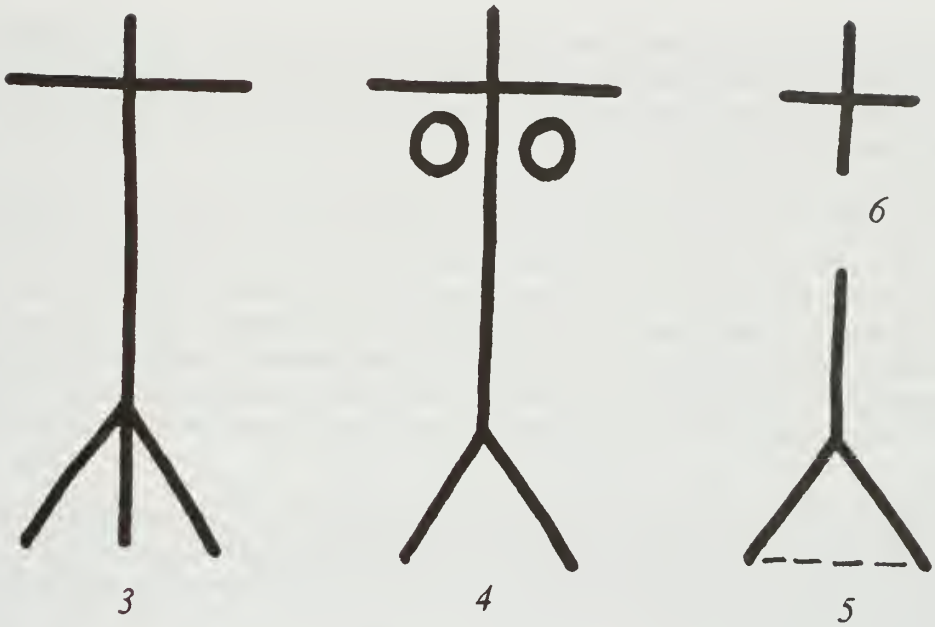

Figure 104. 3—World Tree (Axis of the Universe) and one of the variants of the male (phallic) figurine; 4—one of the variants of the female figurine; 5—one of the variants of the World Tree growing from the female bosom (symbol of growth); 6—solar sign.

Cliff illustrations and cosmogonic myths of the native peoples of Siberia and North America are evidence that the earliest forms of metaphor for the Universe are zoomorphic, anthropomorphic, and materialized (house/cult structure, basket, vessel, and so on), and that the planar model of the universe is the most recent (Okladnikova 1995:198). This is also vividly demonstrated by graffiti found in Chukotka and Khakasiya (see above).

Investigations have also shed light on the use of miniature images in stone (probably being the sturdiest material to have been preserved up to the present time). Ethnographic sources emphasize the primary importance of the model of the Universe in any ritual directed toward the maintenance of tradition (Okladnikova 1995:264). This was provided for by ceremonies of initiation, hunting, burial, and new year's rites connected with the cult of the renewal of life (Okladnikova 1995:264). Among the North American Indians, ritual was the realization of cosmogonic ideas. Expressed in vocabulary current among them, and utilizing elaborate scenarios, it included the creation of an illustration of the Universe, the narration of myths, and conducting sacred songs and dances. It was obligatory to take a narcotic substance for communicating with the world of spirits.

The creation of a model of the Universe (in sand or on the surface of stone, on vessels or ceremonial structures) comprised a realm of the most tabooed sacred knowledge. The process of creating the illustrations was part of the common cosmological schema, by the design of which the acts of the original ancestors were repeated and the matter of the creation of the world was continued (Okladnikova 1995:264).

The Model of the Universe was viewed by the Indians as a unique source of information on the universe and the essence of things was identified with knowledge of the origin of things (Okladnikova 1995:268–269). Knowledge of the structure of the Universe brought psychological equilibrium inasmuch as, according to the ideas of the Indians, it made them part of the powers of nature, created the "illusion of the possibility to control processes, which in reality are not under human control." The process of learning was carried out by means of symbolization of phenomena, and possession of the symbol provided power over the object (Okladnikova 1995:269–272).

The sensation of this power, created during the process of a ritual (the visual model of the Universe in sand or on a cliff), was probably maintained in daily life through the presence of a materialized symbol in the form of a portable image in stone, wood, or bone, which was always with one (and which could be recreated during ritual ceremonies). Finds from the Torgazhak, Rauchuvan, and others presented above represent, in our view, such symbols.

The most important role in the system of cosmological ideas was allocated to such form-building elements as crosses—which the Indians called the "hands of the world"—in the planar model of the universe (Pl. 25:7–11, 13). The neophyte, who stood in the center of the model of the Universe during the initiation, had to mentally dissolve into the crosses, which permitted him to see all that occurs in the world, and to concentrate within himself secret knowledge (Okladnikova 1995:269, 270). The crosses embodied unity and interconnection of the macrocosm and microcosm, helped a person determine his place in space and time, and created a favorable psychological atmosphere for the union of all members of the group.

Ceremonial activities were directed toward establishing spiritual contact and psychological proximity to the metaphor of the Universe, at the core of which was the spirit-ancestor, the creator. The model of the universe, thus, "became the essential element of the cult of the ancestors, as if combined with their authority" (Okladnikova 1995:269, 270).

Thus, the multifaceted and poly-semantic model of the Universe, in whatever form it might have been embodied, provides for a symbolism that relates to the basic arrangement of primitive societies.

The most varied archaic forms of the model of the Universe are contained in the materials of foreign and Russian ethnographers, archaeologists, and linguists. Investigations show that the sources of ideas about the universe among the aborigines of Siberia go back to the cultural traditions of Egypt, ancient India, the Near East, and "by certain bonds" are connected "with cosmological and cosmo-psychological teachings of Buddhism" and the philosophy of China (Okladnikova 1995:46-47).

Phallic Symbolism in Late Neolithic Graphics on Stone

Three-dimensional phallic images are common in archaeological complexes of Siberia and the Far East. An attributive reflection of various phallic cults, they are especially characteristic of social groups with a producing type of economy. But, as investigations show, ideas connected with a phallic cult were not foreign even to Neolithic hunting tribes (see above in Part I, Chapter II). These ideas were materially embodied in graphic form as well.

In the composition on a slab found in the cultural layer of the Rauchuvagytgyn I site, the dominant figure is an arrow of phallic form (Fig. 65). Those sites that contain this symbol require special understanding. Without assuming to have exhausted all the possibilities, I will attempt to designate some sources that have this motif. Serving as evidence of the fact that arrows were used in certain ceremonies is a find in the Early Neolithic Serovsk cemetery in Pribaikal'e of a bone point of phallic form decorated in red paint, which lay at the feet of the deceased (Okladnikov 1976:53). In another instance, we find a graphic image of an arrow as an independent symbol in the petroglyphs of Zabaikal'e, Mongolia (Okladnikov 1972:Pls. 7, 8), where it is most often encountered set on its stemmed base in combination with dotted figures that were drawn separately from the handle, continuous with it, or on the tip of the point (Okladnikov and Zaporozhskaya 1969:Pl. 61:2). The swastika and straight cross are notable as accompanying graphic symbols (most often arrow-like symbols are present in the petroglyphs of the Selenduma basin). In addition, arrows with mushroom-shaped figures are sometimes encountered in the composition (Okladnikov and Zaporozhskaya 1969:Pl. 64:8). In the petroglyphs of adjoining Yakutia, among illustrations of Suruktaakh-Khai Tokko, there is an image iconographically similar to one at Rauchuvagytgyn

(Kochmar 1994:Pl. 37, Area VIII, Fig. 79). The image of a small snake on the shaft points out the sacred meaning of the Yakutsk arrow. Images of stemmed points in combination with mushrooms, as a compound element of design on ceramics from eastern Mongolia, sometimes make up the decorative band under the rims of vessels (Tivanenko 1981:52, Fig. 3; 1990:59, Fig. 20). Direct analogics to the double images (arrow-mushroom) on eastern Mongolian ceramics have been noted by investigators in the Selenge petroglyphs of Zabaikal'e, "which belong to the final stage of the Siberian Bronze Age" (Tivanenko 1981:64).

Analogous symbolism in the form of arrows (points with rectangular or triangular stems) and mushroom-shaped figures have the most surprising incarnations throughout the huge territory of Central Asia. During the work of the Khoresm Expedition among the ruins of dwellings dated to the first and second centuries A.D., fragments of ossuaries (burial vessels) were found, which are "fairly precise reproductions of buildings that actually existed" (Rappoport and Lapirov-Skoblo 1968:147, 148). The prototypes for the ossuaries, in the opinion of the investigators, were "monumental burial structures (mausoleums)" in early Khoresm and "other regions of Central Asia" (Rappoport and Lapirov-Skoblo 1968:149–151). Judging by the reconstruction of one such mausoleum, these were tower-shaped structures with a ring of arrow-shaped gun-slots around the perimeter (Rappoport and Lapirov-Skoblo 1968:Fig. 3). Another early Khoresm structure of fourth century B.C., Koi-Krylgan-Kala, was a temple of the burial and astral cult, the central building of which was a round mausoleum, also girdled in the very upper part by arrow-shaped gun-slots (Rappoport and Lapirov-Skoblo 1968:150, Fig. 4). In ossuaries of the fifth to eighth centuries A.D., architectural details of monumental buildings continued to be reproduced. The authors of the investigation cite examples of an ossuary from the Bayram Ali necropolis, on which the gun-slots have a mushroom shape. Along with a realistic image of a mushroom (a dome-shaped cap on a sub-trapezoidal stalk), there are also geometric images (a triangular cap with sub-triangular stalk) (Rappoport and Lapirov-Skoblo 1968:Fig. 7). The ossuary from Turkmenistan shows an example of mushroom-shaped loopholes (Photo 9).

The arrow-shaped/mushroom-like elements of design of early Khoresm burial structures were not done by chance. They were widely distributed in a very large territory. During excavations at Dal'verzintepe (the territory of Kushan Bactria), terra cotta *postavtsy* or icon cases of the second and third centuries A.D. were found, which were intended for storing cult objects. Four-cornered in plan, they "replicate actual architectural forms" (*Les Tresors* . . ., 1978:87). Both icon cases presented in the illustration (*Les Tresors* . . ., 1978:87) have gun-slots that replicate the form of triangular arrow points, and in one of the exhibits a short triangular stem was also copied. There are also two shaped incense burners in the abovementioned collection, and "high stable pedestals with arrow-shaped cuts support the vessel for kindling a fire or emitting incense" (*Les Tresors* . . ., 1978:87).

Another category of early objects can be cited in which the form of the arrow is reflected—stone arrangements on the ground. These were found as early as the 1920s by Yu. N. Rerikh during an expedition of N. K. Rerikh to Central Asia and were documented in both eastern Pamir and Tibet (Litvinskii 1972:138, 139). Arrow-shaped arrangements in eastern Pamir are part of a cult complex "presumably of the Bronze Age" on the shore of the Kokuibel'su River, which is represented by a cemetery bounded "on the north and south by huge arrangements in the form of an arrow," one being 27 m long and 3 m wide. Similar arrangements were also discovered on the opposite bank of this river (Litvinskii 1972:138, 139). Researchers note that the arrow occupies an important place in the early Tibetan nature cult and plays a definite role in the system of agricultural ceremonies, having a connection with the fertility cult in general (Litvinskii 1972:138).

The arrow appears as a symbol of fertility in India and in China, where at the same time it is connected with the cult of the dead (Litvinskii 1972:138). Supposing that specific arrangements in the form of an arrow in eastern Pamir and Tibet "could have been connected with the cult of the sun—or more broadly, the fertility cult—which later became the most important among the Saka-Massagete tribes of Central Asia," B. A. Litvinskii believes that these beliefs could have come to Afghanistan and India through the Saka tribes (Litvinskii 1972:139).

We also encountered arrow-shaped arrangements during archaeological surveys on the upper reaches of the Omolon River (a right tributary of the Kolyma) in the territory of the Northern Even Region. They are part of a definite system of surface arrangements of large river cobbles along the river bank in arid shoreline hills and passes. Amorphous cobble arrangements, as well as linear ones in the form of separated or joined concentric circles and small snakes are part of this system, and sometimes hearths with stone facing are noted to have been placed beside them. Often, white (quartzite) pebbles are in these, and one small, snake-like arrangement is composed entirely of small white cobbles. Several arrow points were found between the stones of one such arrangement (Vorobei 1991). In the remaining cases, nothing of the accompanying inventory was found. Judging by their semantic formula and location, they could be affiliated with cults associated with calendrical festivals, in which an important place was given to the meeting of the sun—harbinger of approaching spring and the awakening of nature (the hope of the fruitfulness of people and animals was always connected with these events). The function of some of them as surface pictographic letters can not be excluded.

An image of an arrow, symbolizing the male principle, is a familiar design in the cliff art of the Paleolithic, sometimes being accompanied by the female symbol (Toporov 1972:87, Fig. 5). A poetic form of the arrow with phallic symbolism was a significant part of the cultural traditions of many peoples and was preserved in the epos, exorcisms, and superstitions. Connected with mytho-poetic creation is the expression, set with wings, of the "arrow of love" (Toporov 1972:85).

In mythology the arrow and phallus are found in the same semantic field. This is especially connected with ideas about the bow and arrow. The body of the bow in many mythological texts is identified with the lower world, which in its turn corresponds to the cosmic female womb, as, for example, among the Khakas, Sagai, and Shortzy, among whom "symbolical embodiment of the Umai ('womb of the mother,' 'placenta') is a bow and arrow with the skin of a small hare, a white rag, or birch bark fastened to them" (*Mify narodov . . .*, 1987:77). Similar semantics of the bow "are the basis of the phallic system of the arrow." According to Polesian superstitions, sterility can be cured by a "Peroun arrow." In folk ideas of Georgia, the rebirth of male strength is connected with the arrow. In the Buryat wedding, conducted in the absence of the bride groom, the bride, "going to the altar, carries an arrow in her right hand" (*Mify narodov . . .*, 1987:77). In cosmogonic myths reflecting the motif of an egg broken by an arrow, researchers note the embryonic symbolism of the point of the arrow. This symbolism "can be understood in the custom of the Saami of arranging a staged hunt with the performance of sterile women and, in the epic motif, of the conception of the hero during his father's hunt" (*Mify narodov . . .*, 1987:77). The bow and arrow thus are viewed as a ritual-mythological metaphor of "mother-earth and father-heaven joined in sacred marriage" (*Mify narodov . . .*, 1987:77).

The long evolutionary development of mythological forms of the bow and arrow led to the substitution of these objects by anthropomorphic deities who "inherited the semantics of their physical substitutes, bringing together the cosmic marital pair: the archeress-archer" (*Mify narodov . . .*, 1987:77). Analysis of the archer by a mythologist led researchers to arrive at the conclusion that the arrow and the body of the archer, "which took on a phallic tinge" (*Mify narodov . . .*, 1987:77), were equivalent. A clear illustration of this idea is the sculpted image of Shiva-Rudra on a background of *lingi* (phallic images), and his burial in the earth "symbolizes the act of cosmic unity." Cosmic unity is also imitated by the ritual of human sacrifice, which existed among the Maya, during which the priests addressed to a captive warrior the words: "We want to unite the earth with you," whereupon before the man was shot with the arrow, the priest pierced the man's penis with it and sprinkled the ground with the blood (*Mify narodov . . .*, 1987:77).

Also connected with the reproductive function were ritual elements that were placed by the Tuva people beyond the hearth at the head of the bed of the mistress of the yurt. Above the children's pillows they placed protective objects, which were significant in their symbolism. These were of two kinds: 1) a band with colorful ribbons to which anthropomorphic figurines, a bow, arrows, and the like were attached; 2) a sack (or bag) inside of which they hung with brilliant thread an anthropomorphic doll, a small bag with beads, a miniature pillow with an arrow or copper plate wrapped in fur sewn into it, and so on

(Solomatina 1990:89, 90). In the yurt of the Tuva people, two points were connected with life cycles within the dwelling. These were birth and death—the place beyond the hearth and the threshold. In the set of Tuva reproductive amulets, judging by the description, the arrow invariably appears as the symbol of the male principle.

As the materials cited above indicate, the form of the arrow is poly-semantic. Symbolizing the male principle, the arrow reflects the idea of fertility. At the same time, one of the universally recognized concepts is embodied in it—the idea of the death and resurrection of nature.

The Tree as Subject in Late Neolithic Graphics

The motif of the tree (or leaf of a tree) is reflected in graffiti from the Rauchuvagytgyn I site (Figs. 82, 83) and sites of the Tokareva culture (Fig. 51:4–6). The tree was depicted with raised or downcast branches, and its whole plant system can be traced on a leaf.

Ideas connected with the tree were embodied in monumental and portable art, in ethnographic and oral sources over a huge area. Their sources are in the deep Paleolithic[41] and were discovered in cave art and in graphics. The motif of a painted "sapling," is noted in frescos of Parpalo cave, where it is represented on pieces of stone slabs in a layer of Magdalenian age (Okladnikov 1972:43). Based on iconographic resolution, this image is, more than any other, close to the western Chukotkan illustration. Figures of trees in the form of a "whisk broom" are encountered also in the Kastilo script samples. Here they are combined with uncertain symbols, which some researchers believe designate the female principle (Okladnikov 1972:43). Schematic illustrations of trees in the form of a "small fir tree" and a "whisk broom" are in the subjects of paintings in Khoit-Tsenkere Cave (Mongolia). A similar subject is also clearly represented in the portable art of Magdalenian age in Western Europe. The small branches of a tree with almond-shaped leaves were engraved on a piece of deer antler from Trilobite Grotto (Okladnikov 1972:Fig. 26:a). An image of a sapling or branch with teardrop-shaped leaves was carved on a "chief's staff" from Beiri (lower Savoy) (Okladnikov 1972:Fig. 26:b). On a bone item from Mas d'Azul, a schematically drawn sapling is shown with the root system (Okladnikov 1972:Fig. 26:e). It is important to note the realistic manner of making the plant in the portable art of the Paleolithic, with its distinctively detailed art, conveying with great accuracy the form of the plant, leaves, or blossoms.[42]

Images of trees are encountered in the cliff art of Karelia and Scandinavia and in the petroglyphs of Belomor'e and Onega (Zhuravlev 1976:306). This motif is also characteristic for the cliff art of the Urals. A distinctive method of illustrating trees appears in the Ural inscriptions, as if the branches were broken and the ends pointed downward, their outline acquiring a zigzag-like form, though there are also schematically simplified illustrations with straight or raised branches (Chernetsov 1971:Fig. 49). The theme of the tree is definitely repeated in the cliff art of Zabaikal'e. In the Selenge inscriptions, trees are illustrated in a different iconographic manner: with branches arranged perpendicular to the trunk and, as in the form of a fir tree, of differing lengths or decreasing in length toward the top (Tivanenko 1990:Fig. 20).

The motif of the tree had the clearest graphic expression in the glyptics of old Mesopotamia. Despite the fact that the date palm was engraved on objects of the Old Babylonian period, on the Assyrian seals the grape vine, reed, and other plants are also present. In addition, on Akkadian seals there are illus-

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[41] The remarkable find in the complex of the final Paleolithic site of Suvorovo VI in eastern Primor'e might serve as evidence of a special relation to the tree, possibly as a reflection of a cult that was formed. On a large bifacial artifact "a clear imprint (bas-relief) of a leaf of a tree or bush was preserved, lovingly bypassed by the spalls removed from the blank" (Krupianko and Tabarev 1996:Fig. 6).

[42] A summary of the Paleolithic illustrations of plants that are encountered in portable art was made by S. N. Zamiatnin (1960:Fig. 9).

trations of a tree similar to a cedar, and in the opinion of the investigators, "the basic significance was assigned not to the kind of tree but to the very essence of the vegetation, that is, its symbol" (Komortsi 1981:43). In all probability, similar symbolism is also encoded in the small plastic art of the Tokareva culture at the sites closest geographically to Chukotka, and are notable by their synchronic framework.

Engraving in the form of a tree or leaf among the Tokareva people (Lebedintsev 1990:Figs. 1, 17; 2000:Figs. 32:3; 45:9) was applied to pendants, which are treated as decorations (Lebedintsev 1990:52), and on tools used to procure food (bone harpoon heads) (Lebedintsev 1996:Figs. 3:3; 4, 6, 7). The tree was executed schematically in the form of a geometrically designed fir with branches sloping downward. In some cases it was given anthropomorphic features.

Rather close parallels to a western Chukotkan illustration of a tree can be noted in the small art of the Neolithic Chaluka site (Aleutian Islands), which has in its complex graffiti on small elongated pebbles that is similar in technique and style to the Rauchuvagytgyn image (Aigner 1972:Figs. 1; 2:c, e). Based on all the criteria (material, technique of execution, style) the tree in the Rauchuvagytgyn graffiti can be correlated with images on slate slabs found in the region of the Gorni Altai (Grichan 1987:Figs. 7:1; 10:2). A characteristic detail in one of the subjects in the Altai graffiti is the image of a rope with ribbons stretched between two trees, emphasizing the functional role of the tree in a specific case.

The motif of the tree is widespread from the Neolithic to the Middle Ages in graphics on ceramics. In semantic expression, images of trees on ceramics found in Karelia (the Pegrema II site) are most similar to the illustration from western Chukotka. There are also two components present in them: the triangle and the tree with branches raised at the sides (Zhuravlev 1976:305). Their compositions differ as a result of different ideas. On the Pegrema ceramics the tree is depicted on top of a triangle, as if it were "growing" from its top (Zhuravlev 1976:Fig. 1). The whole composition is strictly geometric: the branching from the central axis (the trunk) was done at the base, in the center, and at the top.

Trees with branches pointing upward or at right angles to the trunk are encountered on ceramics from eastern Mongolia, and with downcast branches, on ceramics from Zabaikal'e (Tivanenko 1981:Fig. 3; 1990:Figs. 18:1, 2; 20). Fir tree-like illustrations are noted on ceramics from the twelfth and thirteenth century Churchen fortified village of Anan'insk (Primor'e). Also characteristic for them is a schematic quality, but they differ in that their tree images are shown as if in a mirror reflection (inverted doubles) (Guseva 1983:Fig. 3).

The motif of the tree is characteristic for a broad circle of ethnographic sources—from shamanic drums to clothing and details on clothing among peoples of Siberia and the Far East—in the most varied interpretations. For example, on the drum of the Nganasani shaman, figures in the form of a fir tree embody "shadows of the dead," i.e., anthropomorphic figures appear to be strung together in one bunch (Gracheva 1983:Fig. 13). In this case the "florization" (if it can be so expressed) of the anthropomorphic images was not accidental. It symbolizes the connection and change of generations, the eternal "tree of life." In the ethno-culture of the Yukagir a common phenomenon noted is the comparison of man with grass, a tree, or with vegetation in general. In the pictographic script of the Yukagir—*tosy*—the tree is usually present as an accompanying element. The tree motif was found unexpectedly in the love *tosy* of the Yukagir,[43] in which figures of people are illustrated in the form of a small fir tree. Researchers note in them the synthesis of two anthropomorphic forms: the pointed-headed man (in Yukagir mythology this is the ancestor) and the man-tree (Zhukova 1988:131).

A graphic symbol of a tree is present on aprons and small bags of the Yukagir (Zhukova 1996a:36, Fig. 28), as well as on aprons of the Tungus (the Evenk, Even, and Orochi) (Kocheshkov 1996:Fig. 2:1–3). The peoples of extreme Northeast Asia had a unilinear method of expressing trees and human figures (short line segments went out to the sides, extending down or up from an axial vertical line), as in the pictograms of the Yukagir and the tattooing of the Chukchi (Ivanov 1954:Fig. 18). Pointed-headed figures in

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[43] *Tosy*—pictographic script (love *tosy* are lines drawn by Yukagir women on the birch-bark).

the form of arrows were a widespread motif of cliff illustrations encountered on the middle Lena, Aldan, Olekma, Indigirka, and in Zabaikal'e, Priamur'e, and Chukotka.

The form of the tree as an all-embracing symbol of life was foremost in the mythologies of all peoples of the world. As has been demonstrated following investigation of the many aspects of the form of the tree, "no other natural object has attracted such intense and heartfelt interest to itself" (Sagalaev 1991:129). The cult of the tree and plants in general was distributed worldwide. It is reflected in the cave art and portable art of Western Europe, in which a realistic embodiment of actual plants with definite economic significance for man is characteristic.

Myths speak of the worship of rice in Southeast Asia (Taylor 1939:288), bananas in Polynesia, Africa, and northern Australia, the Bo tree in India and Ceylon, and the ash tree in North America (Lebbok 1896:199–203). Greek and Roman mythology presents the idea of the worship of individual trees and whole groves, in which live dryads, fauns, and satyrs (Taylor 1939:339). Tacitus mentions the worship of sacred groves in Germany, and German mythology and folklore speak of woodland fairies. The oak in particular, through transference of its name to the name of the temple, testifies to the worship of the Celts (Lebbok 1896:199). Trees were also worshiped by the people of Siberia and the Far East. The most honored were the birch, larch, and cedar. The worship of trees among northern Asiatic peoples was preserved up to the twentieth century not only in rituals connected with certain cults (for example, the burial of bears' bones and skulls and human burial among forest peoples), but in decorations.

Flowering and deciduous plant images are characteristic decorations for peoples of the lower Amur and Sakhalin. Having recourse to the stylization of images, the Nivkhi, for example, strove to observe strict symmetry and would even illustrate the internal fibers of plants (Taksami 1975:186). Clothing, footwear, gloves, and birch vessels were ornamented with decorations of flowers or leaves. Leaves of various trees occupy a prominent place among plant motifs. The Nivkhi strictly depicted certain plants that played some role in their life in the past. Images of seaweed are among early decorative motifs of the Nivkhi (Taksami 1975:186). Judging by the objects of portable art of Western Europe that have come down to our time, seaweed was illustrated as far back as the Paleolithic.

The significance of the tree in the economic life of man (structural elements for building dwellings, "fodder" for the fire, raw material for tools and objects for the household), in the opinion of researchers, was a prerequisite for the cult connected with making trees taboo, traces of which are known in the beliefs of very different peoples (Zelenin 1933:503). It might be deduced that the cult of trees, as of animals, originated during the period of mankind's animistic ideas. Observations about replacement and the recurring biological cycles of trees (germination, growing, flowering, fruit bearing, and withering away) presented early man with a basis for thinking of them as living beings with souls. Along with this, animistic ideas were formed about the fact "that trees are alive and feel pain" (Zelenin 1933:593). A taboo against felling trees arose. Ideas about the power of a tree occurred, including its ability to move in space, to speak, to bring good or evil to man, to change into a man and back (Zelenin 1933:294).

Man's relationship with trees led him to identify himself with them (hence, the syncretic nature of the graphic formula of man-tree in the cliff art of the Urals and Siberia, the pictographic script of the Yukagir, in the decorative motifs of the Tungus and Yukagir aprons, and the tattooing of the face among the Chukchi). Already in the most ancient times the idea of a tree as the ancestor, the forefather, had been formed. According to the mythology of the natives of the Philippine Islands, humankind "arose from a large reed with two joints, which floated on the water; it was finally thrown ashore by waves where it fell under the foot of a falcon, whose beak split the reed, and from one of its joints arose man, and from the other, woman . . . from this marriage came the various tribes of the world" (Lebbok 1896:202). Such a dualistic view of the tree as the first ancestor, which provided the male and female principle, also existed among Siberian peoples. In mythological texts and art, the form of the tree is represented at one moment as female—the maternal personage—at another as the paternal (Zhukova 1988:138). Two trees standing close together are often called "grandfather" and "grandmother." Some peoples, upon conducting a tree burial, connected the tops of two trees, which, by the logic of the ritual, symbolized the joining of the

tree-mother and the tree-father (Sagalaev 1991:123). Many peoples find their origin in specific kinds of trees. The Sakhalin Gilyak find their origin in the larch, the Ainu find theirs in the fir, and the Oroki find theirs in the birch (Zelenin 1933:624). The Yukagir, who decorated the hems of male aprons with the figure of the pointed-headed ancestor, called these decorations the "young larch" (Zhukova 1988:132). The interaction and relationship of man and tree were clearly reflected in burial rituals.

Interment in trees was a widespread method of burial among many Siberian and North American peoples. A rudiment of very early ceremonies is the burial of children in the stump of a tree among the Ket, Yenisei and Sym Evenk, Northern Sel'kup, Shortzy, and Kamchatka Itel'men. The Nenets suspended the body of a stillborn child on a wooden pole dug into the ground. This same custom is also found among residents of the Canadian north (Alekseenko 1967:207).

The Yukagir set up burial chambers (a *saiba*) in stumps.[44]

The survival of the once widespread custom of burial in trees is the burial of a shaman in a granary, which was noted among the Khakas Kachin, Lena Yakut, Manchurian Tungus, and especially the Evenk peoples, as well as among the Shortzy, Nenets, Northern Sel'kup, Yukagir, Even, and North American Indians (Alekseenko 1967:207). According to the beliefs of the Ural-Altai peoples, the connection between man and tree was not only not broken at death, but was strengthened after death (Sagalaev 1991:121). Burial in a log or hollow tree trunk, under a tree or in a split, which took place among the Sayan-Altai peoples, symbolized the act of "merging" the deceased into the tree, of the "return" of man "to the nest of the mother-bird," who lived in the sacred tree, in the expectation of being born again (Sagalaev 1991:122).

The theme of the sacred tree was individualized, and clan trees are found in many mythologies. The Nanai, for example, made images of clan trees on wedding robes and other objects (Taksami 1975:185). As researchers suggest, personal trees existed, which were thought to be doubles of their masters. Among the Yukagir, the relationship toward the larch was especially respectful. It was considered the Yukagir tree. Any man could make an anthropomorphic figure from a young larch and consider the tree his second "I." Such a tree remained after death as a living memory of the deceased. The Yukagir call it the "tree that has a master" (Zhukova 1988:138). Shamans each had a personal tree, or analogs of them (a staff, pole with birds, a forked stick with features, and others). The shamanic tree is a universal of many northern Asiatic peoples that embodies cosmic support, which connects the middle world with the upper and lower, and is the shamanic road during his travels (*Mify narodov* . . ., 1987:234).

The image of the tree as a symbol of cosmic space was applied to aprons (Pl. 25:11) among the Evenk (a geometric figure) and on ribbons of the shamanic costume. An illustration in the form of a ladder with three crossbars on a ribbon of a Nerchinsk shaman symbolized the gigantic world tree, which was spread through the whole stratum of heaven. The transverse bars denoted rungs of this cosmic ladder on which the shaman stopped as he went up to heaven (Ivanov 1954:142). A similar three-stage construction, the steps of which are represented in the form of a double zigzag with line segments on top, is illustrated on the background of the oval symbolizing the Cosmic Egg in one of the graffiti (Fig. 52) found at the Rauchuvagytgyn I site.

In the cosmic myths the World Tree in all its variants and modifications is the universal support of the Universe, the dominant base of the three-part cosmic space. Each of the parts is marked by corre-

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[44] During a survey along the upper Omolon, we encountered two burials of a later type that preserved some traits of early ceremonies. In the first case, the deceased was placed in a depression hollowed out in a tree trunk and covered by a layer consisting of three rows of logs. The burial chamber was set between the four trunks that served as its lateral supports, three of which were cut to the height of a grown man. The structure had been set up on the living tree's thick roots, which projected above the ground. By the decayed parts of the clothing and its decoration it could be assumed that an Evenk woman had been buried there. The second burial, with a structure somewhat different from the first by way of a burial chamber resembling a coffin, repeats the previous procedure: a structure was set up on the projecting roots of two living trees, which served it as lateral supports. By the accompanying inventory and the remains that preserved the decoration from a small cap, it could be assumed that a Yukagir was buried there.

sponding symbols: the upper (crown of the tree) by images of birds, the lower (roots) by images of fresh water animals, reptiles, and so on. In Siberian tradition, a tree was perceived and illustrated (on shamans' drums and *ongony*) in its entirety,[45] including the roots, trunk, and crown (Sagalacv 1991:107).

And, finally, the tree in many mythological traditions represents another role—as a life-giving force in its male fertility principle or in the female, which grants life-sustaining moisture for purposes of increasing vital energy, fertility, and healing (Zhukova 1988:138).

A great deal of research has been dedicated to the theme of the tree in mythology and art, and just listing it would occupy several dozen pages. I have tried to limit myself to a small cluster of sources in which the basic aspects of this theme are reflected: the tree as the source of vital blessings, tree-ancestor, shamanic or personal tree, cosmic tree, and tree-symbol of fertility, on which canvas are probably listed the forms engraved in graffiti from the Chukotkan Rauchuvagytgyn I site and the Tokareva pendants. The extreme laconism of the illustrations and the lack of graphic (or symbolic) context make it difficult to decipher the meaning encoded in them.

Mushrooms as Subjects of Western Chukotkan Late Neolithic Graphics

Images of mushrooms are present in two similar graffiti from western Chukotka (Figs. 53, 95). In addition to the material and technique, what particularly unites them is the object of early man's attention—and the subject of the graphics—specifically mushrooms. If in the Rauchuvagytgyn composition the mushrooms are interpreted conjecturally as amanitas (Kiriyak 1984:41), then in the Tytyl' illustration there is also evidence of favor toward this poisonous mushroom, widespread even at the present time in Chukotka. The early artist probably strove to transmit the distinctive "design" of the red amanita—the cap of which is marked with small white scales—through the use of short diagonal strokes on the surface of the cap, along the contour line. Anthropomorphic images of amanita mushrooms are a rather pervasive motif in the Pegtymel' petroglyphs (northern Chukotka) (Dikov 1999:22–27). The shape of the caps of the mushrooms in the Tytyl' graffiti and in the Pegtymel' petroglyphs (Fig. 105a) are analogous, and differ from the Rauchuvagytgyn by a smaller degree of stylization.

The motif of a mushroom hunt might be imagined in the Rauchuvagytgyn composition, and is probably present in the Tytyl' illustration as well, considering the image of a (bone?) arrow point or harpoon head in the background of the cap of the mushroom.

The mushroom-like anthropomorphic figures, sometimes treated as images of "dancing little men in large wide-brimmed hats" (Devlet 1976b:22), are encountered often in the cliff art of Siberia, Mongolia, and northern Europe. Dikov was the first in Russian literature to draw attention to this: "It is now possible to interpret as anthropomorphic amanitas, for example, the statuette 'with a head resembling two birds' heads turned different ways' (or simply with a mushroom cap instead of a head) from the Developed Neolithic of Priladozh'e and possibly some anthropomorphic figures with so-called 'lunar' or 'solar' features in the Onega petroglyphs, one of which is very similar to the Pegtymel' anthropomorphic mushroom-like illustrations" (Dikov 1999:73). Besides the expressive illustration of a "dancing" mushroom in the Boyarsk inscriptions (middle Yenisei), mushroom-like images are encountered on the upper Yenisei (Devlet 1976b:Pls. 19, 25, 36), which M. A. Devlet was inclined to interpret, following Dikov, as amanita mushrooms (Devlet 1976b:23, 24). A similar subject is widespread in Mongolia (Okladnikov 1980:Pl. 149:1–10; 1981:Pls. 92:1; 108:3; Koval' 1980:101).

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[45] *Ongony* are hand-made images of spirits (drawings made on cloth, sewn, cut from trees, or made of clay).

The form of the mushroom in Zabaikal'e had a different iconographic resolution, in distinction from the "dancing little men" of the Yenisei and Mongolia. On the cliffs in the vicinity of "Derevenskaya Mountain" (Okladnikov and Zaporozhskaya 1969:Table 14:2–6, 9–12), Shanaty, and Varvarina mountain (Tivanenko 1990:Figs. 33:3; 34:7; 36), mushrooms have naturalistic features but were placed in the context of the ritual-magical plan. The form of the mushroom is present in the petroglyphs of the middle Lena (Okladnikov and Zaporozhskaya 1972:Pls. 91:1; 98:1; 142:4). Similar figures are also encountered among petroglyphs of the Angara (Okladnikov 1966:Pls. 104:5; 168:1). Proceeding from this, though it is by no means a full list of sources, it is possible to conclude that a mushroom cult enjoyed a rather broad geographic existence in antiquity in the region of modern northern peoples of Eurasia, a cult that also pervaded other continents, in particular, Africa and South America. This cult is most clearly represented in the cliff art of Tassili-n-Ajjer (a mountain plateau in southeastern Algeria). In a frieze 15 m in extent, mythical anthropomorphic beings in stylized masks of mouflon sheep were illustrated, along with other animals. The figures are arranged rhythmically one after the other (Fig. 106). The unusual position of the legs is especially noticeable: one is bent at the knee, the other is moved to the side as if suspended in the air; the body and head are inclined toward the leg bent at the knee, creating the impression of an impetuous dance, the dynamics of which are emphasized by the arm bent at the elbow (a pose "with arms akimbo"). The dancing little men, holding a mushroom in their free hand, whirl along toward the large cap of a mushroom coming up from beneath the earth (Mirimanov 1972:384, 385, Fig. 1). Researchers ascribe the illustration to the culture of "Round Heads" (sixth millennium B.C.), which attests to the very early origin for the cult of hallucinogenic mushrooms and their use in ritual-religious practices of shamans. The author of this investigation of stylistic evolution in the cliff art of the Sahara, V. B. Mirimanov (reference was made to his materials earlier) dwelled on the analysis of the frieze with mouflon masks; and while cursorily mentioning that "various everyday objects appear in the hands" he left off without giving attention to the fact that the anthropomorphic beings in masks were illustrated with mushrooms." This is by no means to disparage the author, considering the different purpose of his research.

An etymological interpretation of the Tassili images was first proposed by the Italian ethnobotanist G. Samorini who conducted research at Tassili (Algeria). Noting that "mushroom symbolism is present in many mythological-religious scenes both at Tassili and also near Akakus in Libya" (Samorini 1989), he adds several photographs of cliff drawings from various places at Tassili as illustrations, the most significant of which were two images of sorcerers in mouflon masks. One of these images has two plans: the contours of a human figure (part of a torso and legs), executed in a realistic manner, project from the back. In the front is the image of an anthropomorphic being in a mask with four mushrooms that appear to be sprouting from its "flesh"—one each above the elbows and knees. The second illustration repeats the previous except that it has only one plan, with the mushrooms entirely covering the contour of the masked figure, excepting the head, and having especially large specimens "clutched" in the "palms." Both figures are illustrated with legs tucked under and placed to the side and arms with elbows bent. A phallus with exaggerated features was given to the first. Among the Tassili images are illustrations of mushrooms growing from various parts of the body of female round-headed anthropomorphic figures. In the illustrations cited by researchers, mushrooms are of a single type and their outline resembles the amanita.

In Samorini's album there are photographs of fragments of Tassili inscriptions with images of mushrooms of globular form, amazingly similar to the mushroom widespread in Eurasia that is known to us as *dedushkin tabak* or grandad's tobacco (*Scleroderma aurantium*), as well as mushrooms resembling the special kind of large (height of the fruiting body to 25 cm and weight to 2 kg) morel (*Morchella steppicola*) that grows in sagebrush steppes and deserts (Vasil'kov 1955). In distinction from amanitas, their "existence" in inscriptions is different from, independent of, not in any way connected with the anthropomorphic round-headed or masked figures. In the gallery of cliff inscriptions of Tassili n'Ajjer, more than 15,000 images are represented, a substantial number having subjects reflecting mythological-ritual activities of early North African tribes, which had at their basis the cult of hallucinogenic mushrooms.

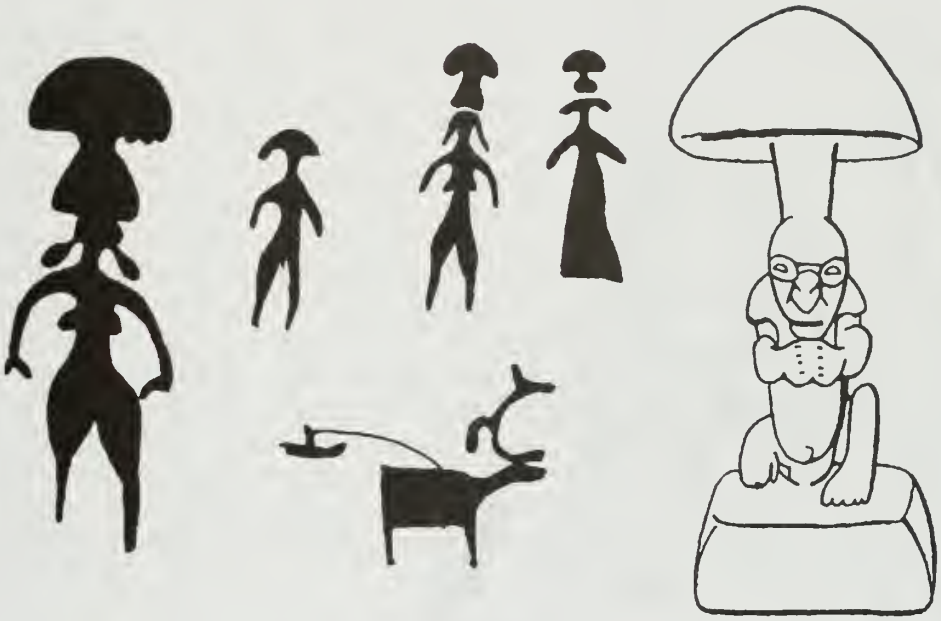

Figure 105. Illustrations of mushroom-like figures: Left—in the Pegtymel' petroglyphs (Chukotka). Right—in an early Maya sculpture (500–200 B.C.) from the National Museum of Guatemala (after N. N. Dikov).

Photo 9. Ossuary. Central Asia, Turkmenistan. Photo by A. A. Burkhanov, 1992 (Institute of History, Academy of Sciences of the Tatarsk Autonomous Republic).

Figure 106. Images of mushrooms in frescos of Tassili (Algeria). Sketch was sent by G. Samorini (personal files of N. N. Dikov).

The esoteric mushroom cult is also noted in early traditions of Mesoamerica. It existed in the mountain regions from the Valley of Mexico to Guatemala and El Salvador, but it was embodied differently from North African sites. In 1898 the German geographer K. Sapper described in the pages of the scientific journal *Globus* a stone object that he called an "idol in the form of a mushroom" (Sapper 1898:327). At present, a large number of similar sculptures are known of. Their dimensions fluctuate from 15 to 30 cm (Fig. 105:b), and illustrate a mythical spirit of myco-, zoo-, and anthropomorphic appearance. In the opinion of specialists, the earliest statues combine two elements: a mushroom and an image of a human face, a stylized animal, a bird, or a toad, which appeared at the base of the stalk. These are dated to the "early Pre-Classic period" (second millennium B.C.). The "stone mushrooms" of the "Late Classic period" (600 to 900 A.D.) are crudely worked sculptures, often not even having images (Borchegiy 1959). The first to move away from the traditional interpretation of the "stone mushrooms" was a scientific member of the Harvard Botanical Museum, R. G. Wasson, who perceived in the mushroom-like figures hallucinogenic mushrooms encountered in nature, and who therefore suggested the existence among the early Maya of certain cults and religious ceremonies in which these mushrooms were used (Wasson 1968). He proposed a new name for the psychotropic form of mushrooms—"enteogen" ("the God that is born from within"). Wasson, who dedicated his whole life to the study of mushrooms and the use of psychogenic species in the religious practices of early tribes, concluded that mushroom cults existed all over the world and stated the hypothesis that this cult originated in the depths of the distant past in a region of Eurasia (Wasson 1968).

Symbolism

In the mythological traditions and folklore of Eurasia and America it is possible to distinguish a whole stratum of ideas that connected mushrooms with such natural occurrences as lightning, thunder, and thunderstorms. In some cases the connection of the mushroom with lightning or thunder is reflected in its very name. In Russian folklore the mushroom is called *gromovik* (the thunderous one); among Slovenians, *molniinyi grib* (lightning mushroom); and in Chinese folklore, mushroom of the peal of thunder." Legends that mushrooms grow not from rain but rather from thunder are widespread in India, Iran, among Arabian Bedouins, in Oceania, among Mexican Indians, and in the Far East (*Mify narodov . . .*, 1987:336). Also close to this sphere of ideas is the symbolic connection between the toad and the mushroom, which is found iconographically reflected in the sculpture of the "stone mushrooms" of the Maya. The association of the mushroom with the toad is also present in the culture of the Spanish Basques, in Slovakia, and in the Ukraine, and traces of it are noted in Germany and France. The name "toadstool," as applied to various kinds of mushrooms, exists in the center of Africa among both mycophiles and mycophobes. In the English language "toadstool" is a common name for mushrooms (Heim and Wasson 1958). The symbolic connection between the toad and the amanita in mythological traditions is also accompanied by etymological observations (Wasson 1968).

In the mythology of many peoples of the world another conceptual approach to the symbolism of the mushroom can be noted, connected, as Heim and Wasson (1958) suggest, with the associative thinking of early man, in whose ideas the mushroom either embodied in itself the unity of two principles—the male (the stalk of the mushroom—phallus) and the female (the fruiting body of the mushroom or cap—vulva), or was sometimes perceived in its entirety as the male symbol. In a Ket myth mushrooms are explained as phalluses withering in the forest (*Mify narodov . . .*, 1987:335). Amphibians also belong to this sphere of ideas in the most diverse primitive cultures. They are also sometimes associated with the female sexual organs, in particular with the uterus (Heim and Wasson 1958). This last motif may be reflected in some illustrations of mushrooms of roundish or globular form at Tassili.

Functional Use of Amanitas

The psychogenic property of the amanita was used in daily life by many peoples of the world in the past. The Ostyak, for example, dried the amanita, considering it the "intoxicating mushroom," which "communicates to man a special state, when he 'knows everything,' knows who stole something from him, who deceived him, and the like" (Shatilov 1927:166). At the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, travelers and ethnographers wrote about the use of the amanita as a stimulant or hallucinogen by the peoples of Siberia. The Chukchi used intoxicating amanitas, and—based on their religious ideas—considered these mushrooms to be a special "tribe." "Amanitas can appear to intoxicated people to be strange human-like forms. Although, one amanita may appear in the form of a one-armed, one-legged man, another may look like a stump. The number of apparent human forms a person may see corresponds to how many of them he has eaten. If a person ate one amanita, he would see one amanita person. If he ate two or three, he would see a corresponding number. Amanitas take a man by the hand and lead him to the after-world, showing him everything that is there, carrying out the most improbable things with him. The ways of amanitas are tortuous. They visit the land where the dead live" (Bogoras 1939:5). In the mythology of all Paleo-Asiatic peoples, amanitas play a big role as a source of narcotic ritual food (*Mify narodov* . . ., 1988:275). They were also used in extraordinary daily situations. According to S. K. Patkanov, performers of *byliny* (epics) and heroic stories used mindaltering mushrooms. "For great inspiration a singer eats several (7, 14, 21) amanitas before the beginning of the singing, that is, a multiple of seven. This drives him into a frenzy . . . all night long in a wild voice he sings *byliny*, even those which had been, it seemed, forgotten for a long time. In the morning he falls exhausted onto a bench. Little touched by his state, the listeners are content that they heard the songs of their fathers, sung with such feeling" (Patkanov 1891:5, 39). Based on legends from Western Europe, the hallucinogenic mushroom was used before battle by the Vikings. Having lost their senses under its influence, they threw themselves practically without weapons on the enemy in the thick of the fight and in a state of blind possession, not distinguishing at times their own compatriots from others (Dikov 1999:72). Wasson refutes such a view as baseless (Wasson 1986:74).

The esthetic virtues of the amanita, in combination with its hallucinogenic properties and mystical connection with formidable natural elements in the world view of early man, led to a belief in the supernatural possibilities of this mushroom.

Visual and psychotherapeutic observations and evaluations brought about the functional application of the amanita and its place in religious/cult practices. At certain stages of development of early societies, the cult of psychotropic mushrooms became the prerogative of shamans and sorcerers. Investigators of Mayan culture suggest that there was nothing more tempting "for the leadership of the priesthood than to take the prophesying mushrooms from folk ceremonies, and adding the crowning touches to a deeply emotional belief that the people experienced toward these mushrooms, gathering around them all the ritual ceremonies that could be created by complex ceremony" (Heim and Wasson 1958). Over the centuries, the priestly leadership could keep for themselves the sacred mushrooms of the Maya in the form of sculpted statues, while endemic use of hallucinogenic mushrooms continued, elevated in status to a respectfully observed cult (Heim and Wasson 1958). In the literature on the ethnography of the peoples of Siberia and the Far East there is vast information about the use of amanitas (or beverages made from them) by shamans for attaining a state of ecstasy, with which a "second sight" is opened.

In Mansi folklore the shaman calls himself the "amanita-eating" man (Khomich 1972:209), and the use of amanitas is not unknown to Chukchi shamans. The "shamanic routes" to heaven were usually preceded by the expectation of receiving a drink made from amanitas. In this way, the effect of the cosmic expanse and establishing connections between cosmic zones was provided. In this context, interpretation of mushrooms as the World Tree is suggested. In the National Museum of Natural History in Paris, the Plenkuro fresco in particular illustrates a mushroom in the function of the Biblical tree of knowledge of good and evil (*Mify narodov* . . ., 1987:336).

The vast literature on shamanism describes the most widespread of the shamanic rituals in which an ecstatic state of propitiator was required as being those connected with the expulsion of the spirit of illness and performance at the time of birth. Mexican mythology also bears evidence of certain mushroom rituals. Four days after gathering mushrooms a Zapotec shaman would make a request for mushrooms to the Earth, to the God-Father, to the Trinity, and to the great flash of lightning, which brought up mushrooms and provided their blood (*Mify narodov* . . ., 1987:336). In this myth, along with later religious ideas, appear features of aboriginal shamanism, including ceremonials connected with the fertility cult and hunting magic, which are also clearly imprinted in cliff inscriptions of Eurasia and Africa. Shamanic mysteries reflected on the cliffs of the Yenisei and the Lena show amanita mushrooms having a part. These are connected with ideas of attracting wild game and asking for the "gods' beneficence." Similar motifs can also be found in North African subjects, the only difference being that in Siberia the big game targets were moose and deer, while in Tassili it was mouflon sheep, the animal they most revered from antiquity up to the present day. In the petroglyphs of Chukotka (Pegtymel' River) there are 34 anthropomorphic illustrations with mushrooms over their heads or in place of their heads, three of them being of the male sex, the remaining being female. Of the female figures, two are the most expressive (Dikov 1999:Stone III:14). In them, besides the erotic features, most noticeable are the amanita mushrooms drawn with naturalistic details over their heads (Fig. 107), the iconography of which very precisely repeats the Tassili that were engraved in the "facial" masks of the mouflon sorcerers. The Pegtymel' female figures are possibly "amanita girls," heroines of Itel'men stories, who tempted and led hunters astray (*Mify narodov* . . ., 1988:275). Besides the myths reflected in Pegtymel' subjects, it also possible to imagine similar Zapotec (see above) rituals connected with requests for mushrooms that always attracted wild deer (among the Even, for example, mushrooms are called "deer plants"). Prayer for the increase of mushrooms is a prayer for the increase of deer, which remained an object of the hunt in Northeast Asia over the extent of millennia (from the Paleolithic up to present).

In all probability, the two graphic miniatures from western Chukotka—unconventional art for that area—were also connected with mushroom hunting magic. In order to unravel their semiotics, a vast amount of material may be drawn on. In the "graphic formula" of the Tytyl' image, the symbolic reflection of the amanita as the lightning mushroom (the zigzag-like symbol intersects the stalk of the mushroom) can be distinguished. The early master also communicated the power of the mushroom. Recall in Bogoras's story how amanitas "when they grow . . . break the solid roots of the trees with their strong heads and cut them in two. They sprout through stones and break them into small pieces" (Bogoras 1939:5). In the Tytyl' graffiti, a sheaf of straight lines is expressively conveyed, appearing as if they extend out from one center, spreading out fan-like. The symbol in the form of an arrow point or harpoon head could be considered a symbol of the hunt. The cross-shaped symbol at the top makes the meaning of the whole composition sacred and possibly transmits the idea of the "sacred mushroom." Finally, in the Tytyl' illustration the idea is reflected of the plurality (reproduction) of mushrooms. Similar signs (the "hunt," "plurality," "sacred mushroom") are also seen in graffiti from the Rauchuvagytgyn I site, the only difference being that in this case the mushrooms are depicted in geometric form and include decoration created by the early artist of the composition.

* * *

It would be a mistake to consider this work as exhaustive. As an object of research, a block of graphic miniatures from the Late Neolithic Rauchuvagytgyn I site (western Chukotka) was, on the whole, selected as the most representative in regard to number and diversity of subject-symbolic expression. To establish a foundation of thematic interpretation, only complete images (which make up only an insignificant part of the collection) and reliably identified fragments were used.

The search for parallels in world cultures reveals commonalities, during the course of which the development of graphic art occurred, symbolic in form and syncretic in content. Along with this, regional

features were also clearly evolving. For comparison the Rauchuvagytgyn graffiti, the pendants from the Okhotsk coast (Fig. 51), and a block of Altai finds (Grichan 1987) show how different the early cultural traditions were.

In the graphics of Northeast Asia were materialized the ideas of the ancients about the surrounding world and natural phenomena—ideas that resulted from mythological notions. The Universe appears as the dominant background in their depictions of the world. Cosmological ideas are the most important compositional element of world view and generally of all spiritual culture in primitive society (Evsyukov 1988:4).

The system of symbols on the Rauchuvagytgyn graffiti are evidence of a rudimentary form of writing, reflected in a pictographic method of transmitting information.

PART III

PEGTYMEL' PETROGLYPHS

PART III

History of the Discovery and Study of the Pegtymel' Petroglyphs

In 1965, geologist N. M. Samorukov, while working with a geological crew on the riverside cliffs along the lower course of the Pegtymel' River (northern Chukotka), found illustrations pecked in the cliffs. Information about them was given to the Laboratory of Archaeology, History, and Ethnography SVKNII DVNTs AN SSSR. Later, in 1967 and 1968, an expedition under the leadership of the head of the Laboratory, N. N. Dikov, conducted a survey and investigation of the petroglyphs. As a result, a multitude of new petroglyphs as well as a second petroglyph site farther down the Pegtymel' River were found. In 1986, Dikov undertook a third trip to this area and found several previously unnoticed illustrations and another site. Simultaneously, he made a compilation of artifacts and excavated sites at the Pegtymel' cliffs.

The first detailed information about the rock illustrations of Pegtymel' was published by Dikov in 1967 immediately after, using his fresh impressions of the initial trip and acquaintance with the petroglyphs (Dikov 1967). Using illustrations, the author reports the history of the discovery of the site by geologist N. M. Samorukov, describes the geomorphological situation in the region of the Pegtymel' cliffs, along with the technique of drawing the images, and briefly, in examples from the three sites, reveals the content of the compositions, emphasizing their mystical principle.

Beginning with groups of illustrations that render scenes of hunting sea mammals, Dikov designates the lower chronological boundary for the petroglyphs as the middle of the first millennium B.C. Concerning the ethnic association of their creators, he suggests that the "illustrators" were coastal and tundra Chukchi. Turning his attention to the frequently repeated subject of the anthropomorphic images crowned with mushroom-shaped figures and assuming the mushrooms to be psychotropic amanitas, Dikov suggests the primitive artists may have rendered in the anthropomorphic mushrooms a deity who was the patron of deer and protected them.

Dikov brings in more information about the "northernmost petroglyphs on the planet" in 1968 in "Notes of the Chukotka District Regional Museum." His article contains eighteen illustrations of compositional groups with various themes. The author, analyzing the subjects of the cliff illustrations, emphasizes not only the magical, but also the deep, realistic beginning of Pegtymel' art, the illustration of which he sees in the ethnographic resources that have come down to us from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. In his opinion, scenes depicting real deer and sea mammal hunting are engraved on the Pegtymel' cliffs: "the dream of a comfortable life in the tundra defined the general sense of the Pegtymel' cliff art" (Dikov 1968:5).

Proceeding from the fact that among the petroglyphs there are "no or almost no illustrations (except for some entirely indeterminate ones) that show the taming of deer," Dikov suggests that "they (the illustrations—M.K.) all or almost all belong to that time when the tundra population of the Chukotka lived by hunting wild reindeer." From this, in his opinion, it is possible to determine the upper boundary of the petroglyphs. He designates the lower boundary, as before, to the first millennium B.C., not specifying the limit of the date (Dikov 1968:5). He avoids stylistic analysis "of the quite varied images" of deer inasmuch as "tracing the evolution of style here is very difficult," and he suggests that "different stylistic

methods are often synchronic" (Dikov 1968:5). He considers the images of anthropomorphic mushrooms to be the latest illustrations.

In determining the place of the Chukotkan petroglyphs among sites of the Subarctic, Dikov notes some features of similarity with the Karelian and Siberian petroglyphs of the Neolithic and Bronze Age. Alaskan inscriptions, in his opinion, "have fewer specific analogies" (Dikov 1968:60).

Dikov's monograph *Mysteries in the Rocks of Ancient Chukotka (The Petroglyphs of Pegtymel)* was published in 1971. In it he summarized the descriptive portions of the previous works, but more thoroughly pondered classification, dating, and ethnic interpretation of the petroglyphs. In the context of the overwhelming multitude of subjects connected with deer, he marks out (with consideration of style and content) the established representational canons, on the basis of which he constructs a relative chronology. The classification schema illuminates the correlated dependence of diverse images (deer, anthropomorphic figures, and boats) with various canons, and though it is not without error, there is in it a central logical conclusion about the development of the role of the double-bladed paddle in the scenes of hunting magic.

The conclusion of the researcher about the tendency of deterioration from canon to canon of the "realism of the art on a background, the technique of which was gradually degrading" is not reinforced by clear arguments, and assigning the most "realistic representations of women-"amanitas" (Dikov 1999:36–37) to the IV and V (most recent) canons contradicts the conclusion.

Out of the common regularities of stylistic development in the petroglyphs of Siberia and northern Norway, Dikov assigns the realistic, isolated figures of Pegtymel' deer to the earliest period of "works" on the Pegtymel' cliffs, and considers the lower boundary for dating the cliff illustrations as the second millennium B.C.—or closer, he suggests, to the boundary of the first millennium B.C. (Dikov 1999:46). The artifacts from sites located on the edge of the cliff in the immediate vicinity of the petroglyphs are brought in as a reinforcing argument. The cultural remains found in a cave with illustrations and radiocarbon analysis of charcoal from a hearth led to the determination that the upper boundary of the petroglyphs was the fifth century A.D.

With regard to the ethnic association of the early inhabitants of the Pegtymel' River basin who left the gallery of cliff art, Dikov concludes: "The Pegtymel' rock art belongs largely to the ancestors of the Chukchi, who assimilated the proto-Eskimos, and then, toward the middle of the first millennium A.D., experienced the influence of the coastal Eskimos—the Old Bering Sea and the Birnirk." The most recent drawings, in his opinion, belong to the herding Chukchi (Dikov 1999:86).

In 1972 a collection was published dedicated to the problems of the archaeology and early history of the Ugrians, which included an article by V. N. Chernetsov entitled "Rock Art of the Ural Area" that illustrated a huge circle of monumental sites of northern Eurasia. In the concluding part of the research the author also turns his attention to the Pegtymel' petroglyphs. Following Dikov, he subdivided the Pegtymel' cliff illustrations into two subject groups, dwelling in more detail on the second, which is clearly distinguished from the first one with its hunting theme. In the second group Chernetsov is especially attentive to the anthropomorphic figures with mushroom-like headdresses. In his opinion, Dikov was not far from correct when he saw images of mushroom-shaped spirits in them.

Chernetsov (1972:54) points out the identical illustrative method—the combination of anthropomorphic and zoo-phytomorphic images—in engravings of the early Ugrians, in which images of women-plants, women-roe deer, women-owls, and so on, with the characteristic expression of the second (non-anthropomorphic) form portrayed in headdresses.

In examining the cliff illustrations of the Ural area from the point of view of their ethnocultural association, Chernetsov draws for comparison on the Pegtymel' as well as other materials. He notes that, "in stylistic regard the petroglyphs found by Dikov do not have sufficient analogies in eastern Siberia" (Chernetsov 1972:55). At the same time, viewing the Pegtymel' cliff illustrations as a legacy of "the Neo-

lithic circumpolar world of Eurasian hunters," he does not exclude their connection with distant ancestors of the Yukagir or some group related to them (Chernetsov 1972:55).

As a result of the more recently discovered cliff illustrations in the territory of the former USSR, A. A. Formozov allocates a special place to the Pegtymel' petroglyphs. Dwelling on the insufficiencies of the description of the material and the arguments in the conclusions, he expresses the opinion that the book was written more for a broader circle of lay readers, whereas "concerning a variety of petroglyphs entirely new for us and a circle of cultures that were poorly illuminated in the Russian archaeological literature, this type of publication does not seem to be the most successful" (Formozov 1973:264).

In the opinion of the reviewer, referring to the archaeological material obtained in the excavations around the petroglyphs, Dikov did not prove the date the site was used. The find of an armor plate in the cave with illustrations and a charcoal date (1460 ± 70 B.P.), as Formozov has considered, leads to a reassessment of the petroglyphs, and even to assume they might have been created at a relatively later time. Unconvincing, in his opinion, is Dikov's treatment of some of the illustrations as images of "winged objects" and further explanation concerning its assignment.

While agreeing with observations concerning the inadequacies of Dikov's monograph (we will dwell on them below), we must nevertheless, though with great reluctance, note its indisputable merit. In the classification of the petroglyphs the author, proceeding from the style and content of the illustrations, successfully used the principle of defining graphic canons, which allowed him to elaborate on the periodization of the cliff illustrations and to build a chronological scale. In the interpretive part, the investigator first addressed the reason for the mushroom-like figures, logically arguing that they indicated participation in the cult of hallucinogenic amanita mushrooms, widespread among the Northeast Paleo-Asiatics in the past. The scrupulous reproduction of the images to their fullest extent, including even the smallest details, and their system of arrangement in a volume of illustrations that promotes "reading" the drawings, should indisputably demonstrate the merit of the work.

In 1986 Dikov again visited the Pegtymel' cliffs and found a new petroglyph site 10 km down river from the last one. It exhibited "two compositions of deer figures and an isolated image of a deer" (Dikov 1992:44). He also found and recorded two more compositions on the cliff with the primary block of petroglyphs he had investigated during his first visit (1967), one of them with an entirely new subject (Dikov 1992:Fig. 2).

Acknowledging that "the petroglyphs indicated that hunters, and later possibly even deer herders, had been living there for a very long time," the researcher maintains his previous approach to questions of the dating and ethnic association of the cliff illustrations (Dikov 1992), conceding—with consideration, of course, given to the discovery in Chukotka of Late Neolithic graffiti (with reference to Kiriyak 1993b)—the prospect of "also identifying Yukagir elements in the Pegtymel' petroglyphs" (Dikov 1992:49).

The Pegtymel' cliffs, difficult to visit even formerly when a helicopter could deliver one to any point in Chukotka, are at present almost entirely inaccessible. Nevertheless, meager information about them forces its way out, sometimes in the most surprising way.

In 2000 an article was published in the journal *Northern Spaces* by ethnologist and film director A. V. Golovnev about a trip to the Pegtymel' River, during which he presented his understanding of the petroglyphs. He believes that many illustrations on the cliffs of Pegtymel' reflect superposition. In subjects of the rock inscriptions he sees "scenes of dialog between spirits, people, and animals, which could have been reproduced in rituals and repeated in reality if they were engraved ('implanted') in the images" (Golovnev 2000:48). The two basic subject lines of the petroglyphs, in his opinion, reproduce the heroic hunting style and amanita visions. While doubting the possibility that grand rituals were conducted in antiquity near the cliffs with illustrations, he nevertheless notes "traces of scratches or rubbing" on some erotic images, which, in his opinion, "does not exclude a sexual-'magical' relationship toward them" (Golovnev 2000:48). The perceptions of the Chukchi, who experienced "amanita submersion," cited by

him and based on their ideas "about substitution of the head of the person with an amanita cap," deserve attention. This explains not only the scene described by Bogoras about a person under the influence of amanitas, who went about with his neck drawn in and assured everyone that they had no head (Golovnev 2000:48), but also prompts the semantic context of several illustrations.

In 2002, in a compilation of materials from the second Dikov symposium, an article was published by V. V. Pitul'ko about the Pegtymel' petroglyphs (Pitul'ko 2002), in which the author dwells on two aspects—dating the illustrations and reviewing the events represented in them. Starting off with the proposal that the petroglyphs are associated with the legendary Onkilon—sea mammal hunters whose sites are scattered along the whole coast of the Arctic Ocean from the Kolyma to Bering Strait—the author extracts a date of 1240 ± 70 (LU-4422), obtained on a sample of wood from an uncovered cultural layer of an early maritime village located east of the mouth of the Pegtymel' River (we note that the Pegtymel' cliffs themselves that have illustrations are located 60 km southeast of the mouth of this river in the inland zone). Comparing this date with the only one obtained by Dikov through the analysis of charcoal from the hearth in the Pegtymel' cave (1460 ± 70 B.P.), Pitul'ko states, "it is evident that these images were created precisely then, during the eighth–twelfth centuries, in a relatively short time." It is difficult to disregard the date suggested by the researcher for a distinct group of petroglyphs (the primary cliff massif has an extent of 2 km, and additional illustrations have been found 10 km downstream from it). In the "history of the formation of this site" it is also probably impossible not to take into consideration that near the illustrated cliff "there are areas with an undisturbed cultural layer, the age of which is earlier than 3300 B.P." (Pitul'ko 2002:409). It might be possible that these cultural remains have a greater relationship to the site than those that (according to Pitul'ko) are located 60 km (or more) from it, though in both cases it would be preferable to rely on documented materials. Unfortunately, none are available.

Developing a hypothesis about the Onkilon, Pitul'ko also touches upon the problem of the "human-amanitas." He criticizes Dikov, who, so he writes, "by virtue of his romantic nature" was inclined "toward a rather original treatment of the 'anthropomorphic amanitas' as a reflection of the cult of hallucinogenic mushrooms" (Pitul'ko 2002:413). The remainder of the article is dedicated to an attempt to prove that it is not amanita mushrooms engraved on the Pegtymel' cliffs, but rather female coiffures. He did not note (or did not wish to note) that four times a mushroom was also represented in association with the head of a male anthropomorphic figure (Pl. 26:10; Fig. 109) (Dikov 1999:Stones I:3, III:14, IV:34; IX:78). It is probably not necessary to have either an overly romantic nature or appreciation of fantasy to notice in several illustrations the prominence of the coiffure of a girl with two braids running down from her temples, while on her head (Pl. 26:10; Inset 5; see also Dikov 1999) or above her head (Fig. 109; see also Dikov 1999) a mushroom is represented in all its natural beauty (many times larger than the head and only twice smaller in size than the human figure itself, which emphasizes its semantic significance). The image of a mushroom that has no association at all with a coiffure was also drawn on the back of a deer (Fig. 110; see also Dikov 1992:Fig. 2).

The treatment of mushroom-like figures presented by Dikov has never been doubted by other Russian (V. N. Chernetsov, A. A. Formozov, M. A. Devlet) or foreign researchers (R. G. Wasson, Y. Samorini).

Inset 4. Pegtymel' petroglyphs: Stone IV:16 (after N. N. Dikov).

PART III

Chapter I

Pegtymel' Petroglyphs: A Unique Site of Monumental Art

1.

Description of the Pegtymel' Petroglyphs.

In this chapter, we will present a detailed description and analysis of the representational material, in addition to what Dikov has done.

Based on the content, the petroglyphs are rather uniform, their core theme being predominantly reindeer hunting. Most of the subjects are developed around this theme. Therefore, it is natural that the most important character in the Pegtymel' monumental art is the deer—in aggregate 315 figures of deer have been recorded on all cliffs investigated at present. All the images are in profile-silhouette, executed by rubbing or grinding and pecking. In the latter case, an outline was first traced, then the pecking was done within the outline. Probably the only incomplete images are one outlined figure of a deer and a partially traced outline of a second (Dikov 1999:Stone IX:74).[46] There are 36 antlerless figures (possibly only calves were illustrated in this manner). The remaining deer are represented with antlers, sometimes shown with lifelike accuracy (the pairs of antlers were drawn with branches). That is, in practically all cases they are summer deer, with antlers not yet shed (Inset 4).

In three cases deer were drawn with bent legs: twice clearly posed lying down (Dikov 1999:Stones IV:42, 46), once probably in a gallop, judging by the position of the head and the tension of the forward rushing figure (Dikov 1999:Stone VII:74). In most cases the deer are shown with two legs (Fig. 107), however, in five cases three legs were drawn (Pl. 26:11—in the upper left) and in four cases, four legs. In 20 cases the splayed hooves of swimming deer are shown (Pl. 26:2).

Throughout the deer images two alien figures can be distinguished, pecked in a realistic manner. One resembles a muskox (the massiveness, hump, plastic line of the neck and head, and two pointed arcs of horns bent forward in parallel), though a peculiar stylization of a deer is not impossible in this illustration. The second reproduces the form of a moose with realistic accuracy (Dikov 1999:Stones IV:44, 46).

The second entity of the Pegtymel' compositions (in numerical terms) is the human. These are basically images of people found in single- or multiple-place boats—265 figures (Pl. 26:5, 11). They are shown in profile, most often in the form of short columns or strokes, sometimes with the accent on the

[46] Petroglyph numbers and figure numbers are the same in both the original (1971) edition and in the translation (1999). Therefore, only the 1999 translation will be cited.—*Trans.*

figure of a harpooner, illustrated rather realistically. In 33 cases the process of harpooning an animal is shown. In two of them the object of the hunt is a whale (Pl. 26:1); in the remaining it is deer (Pl. 26:2, 4, 5). All episodes of deer hunting are carried out from a single-place boat. A link in the form of a bent line running from the boat or human figure to the back of a deer is sometimes shown (Fig. 107). 12 isolated figures appear to be actual people. Two are static images, the remaining are shown dynamically: carrying light single-place boats on their head or shoulders (Dikov 1999:Stones II:13; IV:16), going at a bear with a spear (Dikov 1999:Stone IV:24), throwing some object with the right hand (Dikov 1999:Stone X:85), and hurrying along (on skis?) with a dog after deer (Dikov 1999:Stone XI:104). One person, fighting a bear (Pl. 26:3), is illustrated en face, another, traveling on skis (?), is in profile (Pl. 26:4), the remaining are in half profile. The static figures are given en face.

In the Pegtymel' compositions 70 anthropomorphic figures are present, among which 37 are represented with a mushroom on the head (Pl. 26:7, 9) or in place of the head (Fig. 109). Only four human-like images are in profile, the remainder are shown en face. Isolated mushroom-shaped figures (no more than two) (Pl. 26:5, 7–10) border human-like ones (also isolated) or are located beside deer (Pl. 26:5) or boats. In only three compositions are a group of mushroom-shaped images present (from four to five) (Dikov 1999:Stones III:14; VI:70; IX:78).

The next entity (numerically) in the drawings on the Pegtymel' cliffs is the boat, of which 76 are single-place and 32 are multi-place. They were all drawn in silhouette, with the exception of one with a pecked outline, and for the most part illustrated realistically. In five cases, a steering oar is shown. In four cases, a single-blade paddle (possibly illustrating only half of a double-blade paddle) is present with a single-place boat. In seven cases, there are double-blade paddles.

Twice a double-blade paddle is raised over a single-place boat in which a person is sitting (it is not shown transversely but parallel to the boat). In six subjects a double-blade paddle is illustrated independently (Pl. 26:5, 6), but in a composition with other figures. Dikov studied the role of the double-blade paddle in Pegtymel' art. He traced its canonization and revealed the semantics: according to the logic of the early "illustrator," it provided increased speed for the boat and consequently success in hunting (Dikov 1999:35).

Dogs and wolves make up a rather numerous group of images—31 figures. They are shown silhouetted in profile, and are stylistically similar. In some cases they are identified by the tail, which was held low by the wolves and raised high above the body by the dogs (in images where the animals are swimming these differences disappear).

Of the land animals in Pegtymel' compositions, nine are bear figures. Four of them clearly represent a polar bear (in one case there is a pair—a mother bear and a cub). Twice an inhabitant of the Chukotkan open spaces—the wolverine—is illustrated. In one case the figure is very realistic—all four legs were drawn, along with a humped back—as on a baby bear—and the tail is sticking upward. Sea mammals (whales, orcas, and seals) are represented by ten figures, with emphasized naturalistic details—the fountain of water (Pl. 26:1) from a blowing whale is shown, as is the pointed, slightly bent fin of an orca. The animals are shown silhouetted in profile. The bifurcated tails of the whales and orcas are shown in plan from above.

Twice, paired images of paws are encountered (long, with claws; and rounded, with short toe-like projections [Fig. 110]), but in both cases one paw has five toes, the second has six toes (Dikov 1992:Fig. 2; 1999:Stone X:81). Tracks may represent various entities (in one case, this is a chain of parallel, unidentified tracks; in the second, the paired tracks are those of a human, and judging by the smooth oval, wearing soft footwear).

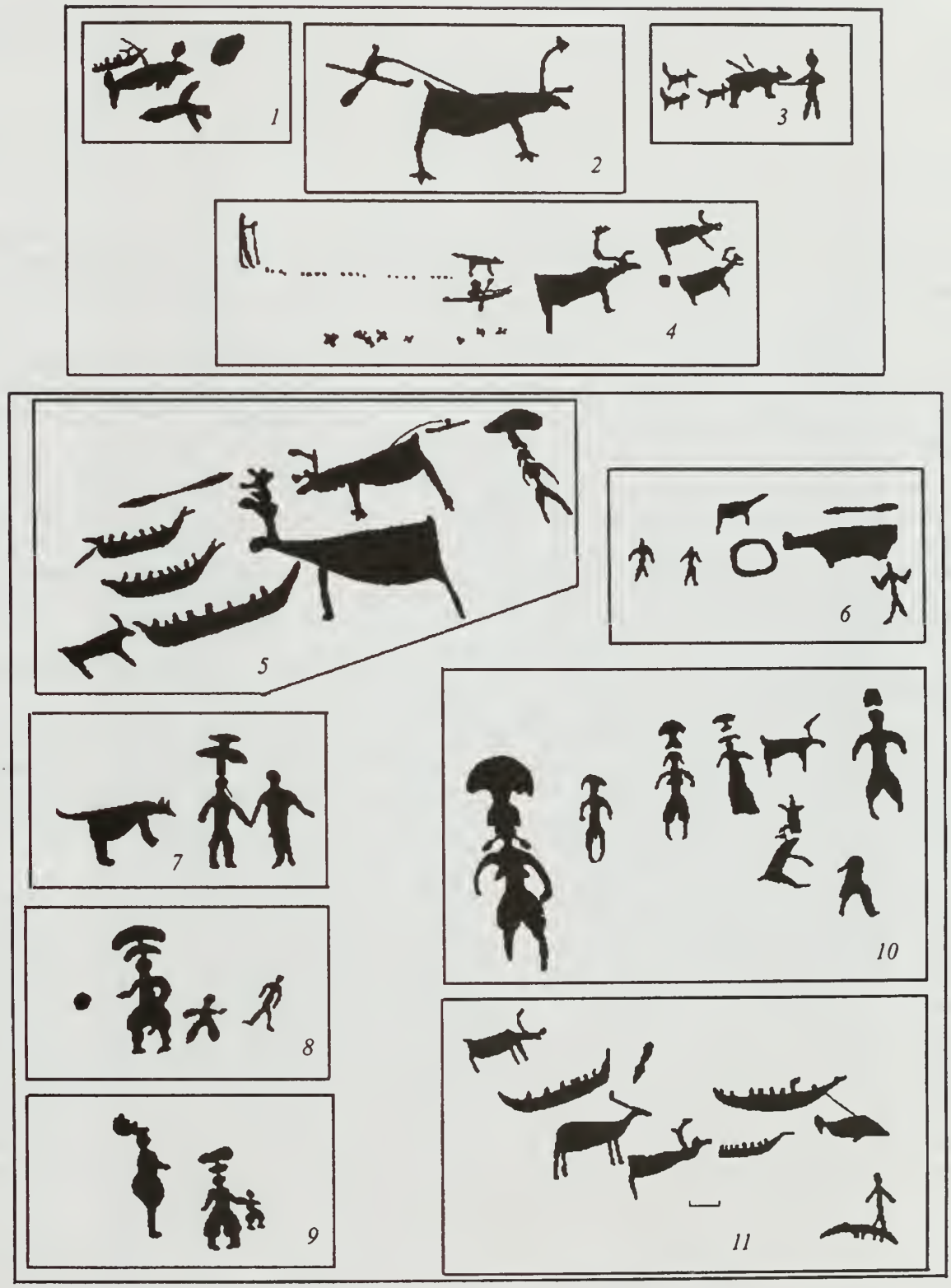

Plate 26. Pegtymel' petroglyphs (after N. N. Dikov, 1971): a—everyday scenes (?); b—magic and mythology (?). Top: 1—Stone XI:99; 2—Stone VI:63; 3—Stone IV:24; 4—Stone XI:104. Bottom: 5—Stone V:55; 6—Stone I:7; 7—Stone I:2; 8—Stone VI:65; 9—Stone IX:79 (in center); 10—Stone III:14 (bottom); 11—Stone II:12 (bottom).

There are 22 images of birds (geese, ducks, a swan, and a gull) among the illustrations. Birds are shown in silhouette and variously foreshortened: geese and ducks sit on the water (in flocks) or stand on land on one leg (two figures), a gull and two indeterminate birds with wings spread in plan view from above, and a swan in half profile flies toward the observer.

Two entities can be assigned to the fantastic. In them features of a bird-man (possibly a shaman) can be seen (Dikov 1992:Fig. 2; 1999:Stone X:87). Both figures are given in silhouette and are shown dynamically in half profile.

Three times independent images of mushrooms are encountered, with both the cap and stalk being clearly illustrated. In two cases, mushrooms rest on the backs of deer (Fig. 110—the composition on Stone VI, found in 1986) (Dikov 1986:Fig. 2). Another isolated image is of a stretched animal skin (bear?).

In most compositions amorphous spots are present. Some were applied intentionally by the artist; others are possibly fragments of destroyed images. But on one of the cliffs (Stone X) a multitude of spots represent a chain of tracks, either in parallel pairs or applied randomly. Some of them resemble human tracks.

A small number of graffiti form a special group of images. They are present on two cliffs and in the cave (Dikov 1999:Stones IV, V). In one case they were scribbled over petroglyphs, in another they were covered by them. Among the images, three are linear anthropomorphic figures and two are incomplete zoomorphic figures. In the remaining cases they are simply bunches of lines intersecting figures of a mushroom (Dikov 1999:Stone IV:41), or a deer (Dikov 1999:Stone IV:52), or descending from the jaws of deer (Dikov 1999:Stone V:59).

An illustrated outline of a decorated jar-like vessel is isolated and separated from other images (Dikov 1999:Stone IV:49).

Petroglyph analysis enables the content of several isolated groups to be revealed. A sizeable number of images that are compositionally organized can be designated as scenes of daily life with a narrative character: hunting sea mammals (Pl. 26:1, 11) (Dikov 1999:Stones II:12; III:14), hunting bears with a spear (Pl. 26:3) (Dikov 1999:Stone IV:24), hunting deer with dogs (Dikov 1999:Stone IV:25), the fall hunt on the first snow (Pl. 26:4) (Dikov 1999:Stone XI:104), and others.

The second group probably consists of illustrations of magical orientation, called upon to ensure success in hunting deer and sea mammals. These are scenes with bunches of graphic lines intersecting the figures of deer or connecting them (Dikov 1999:Stones IV:52; V:59) and hunting deer from a single-place boat (the most widespread subject) (Fig. 107); compositions in which the double-blade paddle is present as an independent object—it is engraved not only above the deer hunter (Dikov 1999:Stone V:59) but also above multi-place boats (Pl. 26:5) from which whales and orcas are hunted (Dikov 1999:Stone V:55, 58). In one case, the paddle "hovers" above a harpooned sea mammal that is connected with an item that Dikov treats as a "winged object," known from numerous finds in Old Eskimo cemeteries of eastern Chukotka. A. A. Formozov, in the above-cited review, expresses doubt concerning such an interpretation. It is possible to agree and further suggest that the early illustrator could have been depicting seal skin floats, which are used when hunting sea mammals to keep the prey from sinking and are found in connection with that animal (Dikov 1999:Stone V:58), whose figure is pecked rather clearly.

Several compositions probably reflect shamanic rituals. In these are anthropomorphic figures (in one case in a pose of adoration), images of round objects (drums?) in the hand of an anthropomorphic figure or beside it, and tracks in the form of chains or random-appearing spots (Dikov 1999:Stones I:7; IV:45; X:81, 83, 84). Independent compositions with mushroom-anthropomorphic images probably also belong to the same sphere—in one of them an expressive object in the foreground sits in front of a group of amanitas and anthropomorphic figures (Fig. 109). This was treated by Dikov as a boat that is similar to a ritual dipper (Dikov 1999:Stone IX:78). In another image, mushroom-like figures surround a deer lying on the ground (a ritual sacrifice?) (Pl. 26:10) (Dikov 1999:Stone III:14).

Inset 5. Pegtymel' petroglyphs: Stone III:14 (after N. N. Dikov).

Some scenes in all probability embody mythological subjects or ideas. To this category of illustrations can be assigned a composition with an image of the "boat of the dead" (?) (Fig. 108) (Dikov 1999:Stone IV:16) and an image of an anthropomorphic figure (a "shade of the dead") on an overturned boat with passengers (Pl. 26:11—lower right) (Dikov 1999:Stone II:12). Figures of girls, illustrated in naturalistic, even erotic detail (Pl. 26:10; Inset 5), with large mushrooms above their heads, are possibly heroines of myths (Dikov 1999:Stones III:14; IX:78).

Golovnev's hypothesis, based on the stories of native Chukotkans, is also possible, namely, that people are depicted in some scenes as being in a state of amanita intoxication. There are two illustrations that can be assigned to this group, which depict realistic figures of people in dress typical for Chukchi women (the *kerker*), together with some children, (Dikov 1999:Stones VI:65; IX:79).

Despite the seeming uniformity of the petroglyphs, they embody various aspects of the material and spiritual life of those who came to the Pegtymel' cliffs over a very long period of time.

2.

The Question of Dating the Petroglyphs

Analysis of the stylistic peculiarities of the petroglyphs reveals several independent lines, which may reflect a chronological break in the application of the illustrations. Images of deer and an isolated figure of a moose with elegantly drawn human feet instead of hooves are separated into an independent group. Animals are given in lifelike detail, i.e., they have hair below the neck and a pair of realistic antlers; in two cases, all four feet are depicted (Dikov 1999:Stones II:11, 13; IV:44, 46).

A. P. Okladnikov, studying the petroglyphs of the Angara, separated out images of moose with a special stylistic working—having hooves portrayed like human feet—as the earliest group of illustrations. He ascribed the static character of the figure of an animal and the skillful illustration of details—antlers, ears, and tassel under the neck—as associated indicators of images belonging to this group. In his opinion, "a very early artistic tradition, Paleolithic in origin" can be seen in the Angara illustrations (Okladnikov 1966:110, 111).

He then brought in small sculptures found in Neolithic burials (of Serov and Kitoi times) on the Angara and Yenisei for a chronological interpretation of the Angara petroglyphs. A sculpted image of a moose from Bazaikhi, used as a dating analog, had the front hooves worked in the form of human feet, identical to those at Pegtymel' (compare Okladnikov 1966:Fig. 35:1; Dikov 1999:Stones II:13; IV:46). In all probability, this is not a sound basis for assigning the Pegtymel' illustrations to such an early time. Even Dikov, repeatedly turning to the question of dating them, designated the second millennium B.C. as the lower chronological limit, placing it closer to the first millennium boundary (the Paleo-Metal period). But the Angara analogies, with such specific stylistic features, obviously enable the Pegtymel' petroglyphs to be dated to the Neolithic, and the first half of the second millennium B.C. cannot be excluded, since it falls within the Late Neolithic (according to the Yakutian chronological scale). Considering the general commonalities in the stylistic development of Siberian petroglyphs, Dikov did not exclude a Late Neolithic age for the "realistic deer silhouettes" (Dikov 1999:40).

Unfortunately, the Pegtymel' archaeological materials obtained by Dikov during excavation were very few in number and not diagnostic. Clear elements for dating are absent from the complexes, but the researcher is not to blame for this. Large-scale archaeological work has not been carried out at the Pegtymel' cliffs, which can be explained by the specifics of the site (the northernmost in Asia). It is located

Figure 107. Pegtymel' petroglyphs (in center—deer hunter at "ford").

in polar latitudes with extremely severe climatic conditions that have limited the amount of time it could be investigated. The small size of the archaeological crew (two to three people) that participated in the surveys and excavations must also be considered. The short duration of the expedition was basically spent copying and recording the illustrations.

Crudeness and carelessness are characteristic for the following block of petroglyphs: figures of stout deer, often illustrated with two boot [*valenki*] -shaped legs (the exception being one figure with three legs), and with one antler or (very rarely) with two thick antlers. A small number of anthropomorphic images were drawn with massive feet. These compositional groups are characterized by overcrowding of figures, the presence of a large number of amorphous spots of various sizes, the interconnectedness of beings by means of lines, dots, and stretched amorphous spots. Diffuse spots are often connected with deer's hooves (Dikov 1999:Stones III:15; IV:21 (upper group), 43, 52; V:59). Isolated figures of deer probably belong to this group (Dikov 1999:Stones VIII:76 (upper right corner); IX:50; XI:101)—in two cases images of them are accompanied by diffuse spots.

Similar treatment of legs on animals can be traced in inscriptions in Yakutia (Kochmar 1994:139), territorially the closest to the Chukotkan. This stylistic feature was first noted by A. I. Mazin. He dated the images of animals with boot-shaped legs to the Late Neolithic-early Bronze Age (by the Yakutian chronology). Materials from the shrine at the cliff with illustrations investigated by Kochmar corroborate and refine the date. He assigns the illustrations to the time of the Ymyyakhtakh culture (3800–2900 B.P.) (Fedoseeva 1980:212; Kochmar 1994:189).

With regard to the Yakutian analogies, it is reasonable to regard early hunters—bearers of the North Chukotkan culture (middle of the second to the beginning of the first millennium B.C.)—as the creators of this group of Pegtymel' petroglyphs. The latest known site of this culture today—the Rauchuvagytgyn I site (western Chukotka), with its unique graphic miniatures described in Part II of this monograph—is dated by radiocarbon to 2500 B.P. (Kiriyak 1993b).

The most abundant group of Pegtymel' petroglyphs is composed of illustrations executed in a relatively realistic manner. They are all silhouetted in profile, the deer figures having a sub-triangular form (in the water—with sagging bellies), with two club-like parallel or downward-spreading legs (two individuals had three extremities drawn; only one had four), and sometimes a bend in the knee joint shown.

The neck and head, as a rule, are extended, and the line of the head smoothly changes into the horizontal line of the back. In most cases one antler (with branches) is illustrated, more rarely, two. In many compositions the figures of the deer are static, sometimes set with the heads facing one another (this also being characteristic for a group with boot-shaped extremities). A special stylistic group of images of animals with spread hooves (two-, three-, and four-pronged) can also probably be assigned here. The artist used this method to show the anxiety of the swimming deer, which were illustrated in compositions with anthropomorphic figures or boats, sometimes alone, sometimes in groups.

The style of drawing three-digit extremities on animals and anthropomorphic beings can be traced in Yakutian petroglyphs beginning in the third millennium B.C. and up to the early Iron Age (Kochmar 1994:136–143). Analogous figures with three-digit extremities are encountered in inscriptions in Zabaikal'e, on the middle Lena, Tom', and Angara, and in Priamur'e (Kochmar 1994:138) and are dated from the Paleolithic to the Middle Ages. Therefore, these stylistic features are not admissible as a dating indicator for the Pegtymel' petroglyphs.

Inasmuch as deer of the style described above are represented on the Pegtymel' cliffs in compositions with boats having a bifurcated bow (a detail known from the ethnography of the Aleuts)—which probably demonstrates an element of an Esko-Aleut aboriginal mother culture—and with scenes of sea mammal hunting, this illustrative stratum can be dated to the time of the establishment of sea mammal hunting on the northern coast of Chukotka. This has been determined by researchers (with reference to archaeological sources) as the first millennium B.C. (Dikov 1999:39), although more probably at the very boundary between B.C. and A.D. or the first centuries A.D., and documented by clear archaeological evidence of sea mammal hunting in the Okvik and Old Bering Sea cultures (Dikov 2004). The archaeological and physical anthropological data, as well as the theory of a common Aleut-Eskimo language, indicate that by the second millennium B.C. an ethnic differentiation occurred, as a result of which the Eskimo and Aleut ethnocultural communities were separated. The Old Bering Sea culture is not viewed as purely Eskimo: according to physical anthropological researchers, the Old Bering Sea populations possessed features of an undifferentiated proto-Eskimo-Aleut type (Dikov 2004:169), material evidence of which could have been manifested by the early Pegtymel' "illustrators" in depicting distinctive means of swimming.

Finally, the smallest group—a total of three anthropomorphic figures and two figures of animals (deer?)—make up graffiti scratched on the wall of the cave and on Stone IV (Dikov 1999:Fig. 52), absolute analogies to which are found in Lena inscriptions at Shishkino village (Okladnikov 1959:Fig. 62:1). Linear anthropomorphic phallic figures are identical; and the body and legs of animals are identically drawn in the form of open parallel lines and without a head. Okladnikov emphasizes the remarkable coincidence of these illustrations with analogies in the Caucasus and in Transcaucasus, on the Don, and in Bulgaria (Okladnikov 1959:131). The graffiti he cited are dated to the ninth to tenth centuries. Through stylistic features and technique of execution he places them in a series with Kurykan inscriptions on the Lena cliffs. Dikov also compared the Pegtymel' graffiti with those on the Lena and dated them to the Iron Age (Dikov 1999:58).

A unique image is a decorated jar-like vessel (Dikov 1999:Stone IV:49), characteristic for ceramics of a more southern, maritime culture of northwestern Priokhot'e—the Tokareva (Lebedintsev 2000). The illustration was applied in "mixed" technique, with the use of graffiti as well as rubbing and pecking.

Figure 108. Pegtymel' petroglyphs (in center—mythological subject?).

3.

The Place of the Pegtymel' Petroglyphs in the Rock Art of Northern Eurasia

For defining the place of the Pegtymel' petroglyphs among the known sites of monumental art today, the most productive comparisons can be made with Northern European art from Finno-Scandinavia and the Urals, as well as from Siberia, e.g., the Angara cliff illustrations.

In the search for cultural and genetic connections in rock art, the circle of petroglyphs of the Ural area was examined by V. N. Chernetsov (1972) in the context of the Subarctic ethnocultural community. Comparing the petroglyphs of the Pegtymel' River and illustrations in Arctic Norway, he notes the stylistic similarity of deer figures ("as with some Angara images of deer") and skin baidars, but considers it premature to draw conclusions about the degree and nature of the similarities between the Pegtymel' petroglyphs and Norwegian and Ural rock art only on the basis of these data. He explained the similarity of cliff art in northern Norway and the lower Angara, on the one hand, and the Urals, on the other, by the existence of an early Ural ethnic community (Chernetsov 1972:51). In order not to restate his detailed analysis, which used materials of neighboring sciences, and his conclusions made on this basis, many of which remain relevant even today, we refer the reader to the work cited above.

Certain features of similarity with the Pegtymel' petroglyphs can be traced in the art of Karelia. This includes both the technique of applying the illustrations (pecking by a quartz instrument) and the theme, which often approaches the commonplace. For example, Karelian scenes of hunting moose in crusted snow or hunting sea mammals by boat (Zalavruga II) are comparable to the Pegtymel' with the only difference being that deer were hunted on land in Chukotka. Hunting is shown just as dynamically in the Karelian petroglyphs as on the Pegtymel' cliffs. In some cases the stylistic features in the image of the hunting tools or the object of the hunt itself even coincide (compare Dikov 1999:Stone V:58 and Savvateev 1970:Fig. 37:12). The investigator of the Karelian rock art, Yu. A. Savvateev, noted some features in the Karelian petroglyphs (i.e., the dominance of man over animal—the prevalence of people and boats among the images, the realistic manner of the "writing," and the narrative character of the representational material) (Savvateev 1970), which can also be fully assigned to the Pegtymel' illustrations. But this (purely formal) similarity can be explained by an identical cultural-economic type, the similarity of the natural-climatic environment in the extreme northwest and extreme northeast of Eurasia. However, detailed analysis of the petroglyphs shows that in content, style, and probably assignment of the illustrations of Karelia and Chukotka the differences are just as great as the physical distance between them.

Dikov, revealing the commonalities of stylistic development of Siberian (Angara) and Chukotkan images, has doubts that such geographically distant parallels can be used (Dikov 1999:40), but at the same time uses the Scandinavian illustrations for comparison with those of Pegtymel', bringing the latter together with northern Norwegian petroglyphs (Dikov 1999:40). Meanwhile, it is impossible not to note the similarity of the Pegtymel' petroglyphs to the lower Angara cliff illustrations, which can be traced in several lines.

These are primarily subject-thematic analogies. The main focus for attention of the "illustrators" were the basic hunted animals: for the forest Angara people, it was the moose (with the exception of a few deer); and among the tundra Pegtymel' people, it was the deer. Analogous to these were stylistic features, including silhouettes and outline illustrations applied in a manner nearly lifelike. Such details as the style of drawing the legs, characteristic for both regions, are particularly noticeable: animals were illustrated with two, three, or four extremities. The hooves were not shown at all or were given in the form of a two-pronged fork or (in exceptional cases) depicted as human feet. The difference is only that on the Angara cliffs the animals are represented as if ascending a mountain, while those on the Pegtymel' cliffs are swimming the river, standing, or grazing. Also, the manner of representing the deer with bent legs (positioned lying down or in a headlong gallop) is identical. Among the Angara and Pegtymel' illustrations there are a multitude of anthropomorphic images of people en face and in profile. There are individual figures and those clustered in groups. They are shown independently or in an environment with animals (moose or deer), and in some cases an anthropomorphic figure is accompanied by a circle or disk (an image of a drum?). Some small men are shown in a pose of adoration (prayerful address to the supreme deity), from which it can be concluded that some kind of shamanic mystery plays are illustrated on the Angara and Pegtymel' cliffs.

Boats, most often with five, six, or eight paddlers, occupy a special place in the subjects of both sites of monumental inscription. There are also single-place boats. In several cases the form of water transportation also coincides, though the absolutely realistic representational manner of the Pegtymel' people versus the less careful, more generalized style of the Angara people should be noted. Judging by the character of the illustrations, mythic or shamanic boats are represented, in addition to ones that really existed.

Of the technical methods used by the early Angara and Pegtymel' people in applying images, the following are identical: grooved outline pecking (this is used to a lesser degree in the Chukotkan petroglyphs), the renewal or "restoration" of illustrations by later visitors and the addition of details to some of them, and the use of the color contrast between the pecked surface of the stone and the untouched cliff background. In spite of the analogies cited, there are substantial differences. On the Pegtymel' cliffs, living scenes of the life of the early inhabitants are exhibited—spearing swimming deer and hunting sea mammals—which are not reflected at all on the Angara cliffs. Also, the primary object of attention in the

environment of the taiga hunters was the moose, while among the residents of the Chukotkan tundra it was the deer. In the subjects of the Pegtymel' cliffs anthropomorphic mushroom-like figures or simply mushrooms occupy a significant place, which only occur in isolated instances in the Angara illustrations (Okladnikov and Mazin 1976:Pls. 104:5; 168:1).

In 1994, N. N. Kochmar's work on rock illustrations in Yakutia, a region adjacent to Chukotka, was published. The value of the monograph is in its use of the richest archaeological material (from shrines and sanctuaries located near the inscriptions) for chronological interpretation of the Yakutian illustrations. But their comparison with the Pegtymel' petroglyphs does not show close parallels and reveals the isolation of the Chukotkan site in technique, theme, and the semantic context of its subjects. The Pegtymel' petroglyphs are an entirely new, original source of rock art in northern Asia, the study of which has only begun.

PART III

Chapter II

Pegtymel' Petroglyphs as an Ethnocultural Resource

The Pegtymel' cliffs were a cult site, where seasonal (summer and fall) festivals took place. This, in Dikov's (1999:62) opinion, explains the display of illustrations on the south-facing cliff surfaces. In our view, the seasonal character of the illustrated scenes is also accentuated by the position—or more precisely, the orientation—of the figures of the deer and hunters. One cannot help but notice the fact that groups of animals are presented in predominantly two aspects: running (or swimming) from left to right, or the reverse; the exception being diachronic images (Dikov 1999:Petr. 69). Concerning the semantics of the left to right aspect, it might be suggested (in ethnographic interpretation) that the spring migration of deer (from south to north) is depicted by those compositions in which deer are situated with the head to the left, while in the fall (from north to south) it would be the reverse. The number of scenes illustrating the fall spearing of deer is almost double those in which it might be the spring hunt. There is pragmatic logic in this regard. As ethnographers note, in spring the deer were lean and were taken (on the Anadyr) only to feed dogs. The inhabitants mostly stored the carcasses of the fall deer (Tugolukov 1979:52).

The primary thematic layer of "everyday writings" on the Pegtymel' cliffs (Pl. 26a) acquaints us with the hunting activities of the inland population of Chukotka (the spearing of swimming deer, and taking animals with the aid of dogs) and of coastal peoples (the procurement of pinnipeds and large sea mammals). In distinction from the Angara, here there is entirely no reflection of fishing (or a fish cult). The second part that makes up the epic on the Pegtymel' cliffs (Pl. 26b) are the religious-mythological motifs (the reflection of ideas and cults connected with the specifics of the shamanism of northeastern Paleo-Asiatics).

A feature of the Pegtymel' representational material is the presence (in practically all thematically depicted components) of water transportation—more than one hundred boats of various sizes, configurations, and capacity are rendered in the petroglyphs. Perhaps the whole store of water transportation that the residents of circumpolar latitudes of extreme Northeast Asia used on the rivers and sea is represented in illustrations on the cliffs of the Pegtymel' River. The early artist reproduced them with realistic accuracy. Even considered superficially the characteristic structural details—including the shape of the paddle blade—can be seen. Boats supplied with fantastic features are reflected in the illustrations right alongside specimens that really existed (Fig. 108). The former are present in the context of mythological subjects (Dikov 1999:Petrs. 16—upper left, 78).

In his classification table Dikov (1999:Fig. 27) selected only a few multi-place boats as images that accompany a specific canon. He speaks of boats in passing, placing emphasis on the multi-place vessels. "Now for the first time we reliably know how and with precisely what kinds of boats and weapons the fall hunt of swimming deer was carried out. Large boats with many paddlers were usually used when spearing the deer swimming across the river. We see them in many petroglyphs (see Fig. 6; Petr. 9, 13, 15, 16, 36, 40, 55, 58). Apparently, they even speared deer from them, but the primary purpose of these multi-seat boats was to keep the deer from swimming off down the river" (Dikov 1999:65).

Actually, multi-place boats are present in some compositions that depict hunting on the water, but not one of them demonstrates the process of hunting with such a boat. At the same time, we see how spearing is conducted from small single-place boats (in these episodes, as a rule, a spear or line is depicted). It might be proposed that large boats were used at the mouth, near the sea for transporting deer carcasses, but it is difficult to imagine that such boats could quickly be turned and block the route of the deer in a river as relatively small as the Pegtymel', especially in fall when the water level is substantially lower and the river has become very shallow. Most probably images of such boats have another semantic context, even in compositions with deer.

Dikov, mentioning the small quick boats that "played an especially responsible and decisive role in spear hunting," sees in them kayaks similar to those of the Cariboo Eskimos or Greenland Eskimos, or "close to the Chukotkan Eskimo kayaks," but of less perfect form (Dikov 1999:65–66).

Given the originality and specifics in the construction of modes of transportation of the peoples in Siberia and the Far East, it is practical to consider the images of Pegtymel' boats as a source of valuable ethnocultural information.

Corresponding to the two kinds of hunting (reindeer and sea mammals), the early "artists" also drew two kinds of boats adapted for these purposes by dry-land, inland deer hunters and coastal sea mammal hunters. The cliffs themselves with the petroglyphs are located 60 km from the mouth of the Pegtymel' River, which empties into the Arctic Ocean. Judging by the form of the realistically illustrated water transportation, about ten types of boats can be identified, though only half of them (as applied to our part of the world) can be found in the *Historical-Ethnographic Atlas of Siberia* (1961), the remaining are described in the ethnographic literature. Thus, the type of boat may serve as an ethnic marker in the petroglyphs. We can turn to ethnographic sources for analysis of the illustrations with regard to their ethnocultural characteristics.

Spearing swimming deer (the most often repeated subject of the petroglyphs) is considered an ancient Yukagir occupation. As documentary sources attest, the economy of the ancestors of the tundra Yukagir was specialized. They led a nomadic form of life, following the herds of wild deer from the forest-tundra to the sea, that is, from south to north in spring and from north to south in fall. The basis of their existence was spearing swimming deer. The drive hunting of molting geese, fishing, and dog breeding served as subsidiary branches of the economy. The use of skis, hunting with dogs, and the dugout boat are noted as archaic elements of the early culture of the tundra Yukagir (*Yukagiry* . . ., 1975:81).

W. I. Jochelson, who studied the material culture of the Yukagir at the end of the nineteenth century, noted among them two types of boats: dugouts and plank canoes (*vetki*). The dugout (single log) was made from the trunk of the poplar, was 5–6 m long, and 65 cm wide. "It is so thin that its weight is no more than 65 pounds, and therefore can be easily carried from one river to another," writes Jochelson (1910–1926:Ch. XXI:1–8). For such boats they made a double-blade paddle with blades "in the shape of a poplar leaf" (Jochelson 1910–1926:Ch. XXI:1–8).

The second type of Yukagir boat is the plank canoe, on which thin boards were sewn to the bottom with sinew threads, while the seams on the outside were covered with larch resin (Jochelson 1910–1926:Ch. XXI:1–8). We see the boats described by Jochelson in Yukagir *tosy* (Tugolukov 1979:67, 106), and the double-blade rhomboid paddle is also noteworthy. Illustrations of both types cited above are rendered on the Pegtymel' cliffs (Dikov 1999:Petrs. 26, 31, 43, 53, 55, 75, 82, and others).

According to W. G. Bogoras, the Coastal Chukchi were rarely occupied with spearing deer, and only in some places (between the Anadyr and Cape Chaplino on the Chukchi Peninsula). In his words, it was deer herders who mainly practiced such hunting (Bogoras 1991:74). His observation is also important that "the Reindeer Chukchi who live in the country do not have skin boats since they do not need them; some purchase small wooden boats from the Yukagir or Yakut, which they use for their needs on lakes and small rivers" (Bogoras 1991:70). Describing spearing deer on the Anadyr River, Bogoras mentions the "double-blade paddle, similar to the Yukagir," which usually is used for paddling (Bogoras

Figure 109. Pegtymel' petroglyphs. "Toadstool spirits" (after N. N. Dikov).

1991:73). The Yukagir double-blade paddle of rhomboid form is rendered in the Pegtymel' illustrations (Dikov 1999:Petrs. 55, 57).

A Yukagir ethnic component can also be traced in other petroglyphs that embody the hunting activity of the native population. The Yukagir have specific methods for the procurement of moose (in the forest zone), deer (in the tundra), and fur-bearing animals in crusted snow in spring or on skis with the aid of dogs during the first snow in fall (Jochelson 1910–1926:Ch. XXI:12; Tugolukov 1979:50). The Pegtymel' illustrations also reproduce these methods of hunting (Dikov 1999:Petrs. 11, 22, 25, 42, 79, 104). In three cases, a man and dogs are shown in scenes of hunting. In Petroglyph 11, an anthropomorphic figure has an excessively enlarged foot—which may represent a snowshoe. Two dogs have a deer at bay: one in front, the second behind.

In Petroglyph 104 the hunter leans on a pole. In front of him a dog pursues deer—the artist clearly depicted the line of its paw tracks and, parallel to them, the tracks of the deer hooves, which emphasize hunting in snow and not in water (Pl. 26:4). At the same time, a small boat with a paddler and a double-blade paddle is represented in this group of illustrations. This seeming incompatibility can be explained as diachronic petroglyphs.

Scenes of hunting a bear with dogs can probably be assigned to this same category of petroglyphs (Dikov 1999:Petrs. 24, 61). A composition (Pl. 26:3) in which a hunter is represented holding the neck of a bear with a forked stick is especially significant. Three dogs help keep the animal in check (Petr. 24).

As historical sources show, the moose customarily lived near the sea shore in former times (Petr. 46 recreates the form of this animal with naturalistic precision)·and the Kolyma Yukagir hunted it in the snow crust in spring on skis and with a dog. But within the last two centuries it has moved into the forest (Bogoras 1991:74). Moose hunting was not characteristic for the Chukchi. In distinction from the Yukagir they hunted fur-bearing animals—the fox and Arctic fox—in the first snow with a dog or deer sled (Bogoras 1991:74).

The dog is a widespread entity in the Pegtymel' petroglyphs. Sometimes it can be seen as a wolf (Dikov 1999:Petr. 8). Bogoras (1991:39) notes that the east Siberian sled dog resembles a wolf in external appearance, and its head is like that of a jackal. They are shaggy and have a bushy tail, especially those living in places close to the sea coast. He relates a story told by a Yukagir about his grandfather's attempt

to harness tame wolves, which turned out to be an unsuccessful undertaking since the wolves were too timid and often laid down, so the dogs had to drag them (Bogoras 1991:39).

Another occupation typical for the Yukagir is rendered on the Pegtymel' cliffs—the drive hunting of molting geese. In Petroglyph 54 are fourteen geese illustrated either sitting or attempting to fly, twelve spots of different sizes, and two boats. This composition overlaps a swimming figure of an oncoming deer. Separated from it is another group of pecked illustrations that for the most part have been lost, and only the image of another deer can be identified. A scene with a flock of birds, which are not swimming in single file but rather are scattered on the water, is very eloquent. They appear as if contained between two boats, one in the front, the second, in which the figure of a paddler is depicted, to the side. The "illustrator" manages to transmit the feeling of the river—it is evident that the geese and boats are traveling in tandem along the stream, the lower part of some of the bird figures appear to be cut off, as though they are submerged in the water.

According to historical sources, the Settled Yukagir on the lower reaches of the Indigirka, Kolyma, and Anadyr, in addition to hunting swimming animals, practiced drive hunting of molting geese (*Yukagiry* . . ., 1975:82). And in one instance the settled residents of the lower Kolyma—the "deerless" Yukagir (the Chuvan and Khodyn who resettled there from the Anadyr) and Russian old dwellers—acquired up to 30,000 to 40,000 of the molting birds (geese and ducks) in a single season that substantially enriched their supplies (Tugolukov 1979:57, 58). The calculation was that, at the beginning of that hunting season, the geese had had time to feed and become fat but the wing feathers still had not grown enough that the birds could fly away. The people constructed a special enclosure with a corridor and nets, toward which the hunters, sitting in boats, drove them. It also occasionally happened that the geese that noticed the danger jumped in panic onto the plank canoes, which capsized under the weight of the birds, and the people sank (Tugolukov 1979:57, 58). Captured birds were preserved for future use—the carcasses were salted in barrels or whole birds were soured in permafrost pits without being disemboweled (Tugolukov 1979:57, 58).

Goose hunting is similar to spearing swimming deer (Tugolukov 1979:57), therefore the presence of boats together with geese in the Pegtymel' composition is justified by the analogous methods of procurement. Chronologically later linear illustrations, in which Dikov (1999:58) sees "the rudiments of pictographic writing, similar to the well-known Yukagir *tosy*," could also have a direct relation to the Yukagir. Supporting this are graffiti we found at the Rauchuvagytgyn I site (Old Yukagir culture). Their stylistic features and methods of providing a connection between the objects being illustrated are characteristic of Yukagir pictographic writing (Shargorodskii 1895; Dikov 1999:Petrs. 52, 59). Thus, Chernetsov's (1972:55) assumptions about individual petroglyphs on the Pegtymel' cliffs belonging to the ancestors of the Yukagir is corroborated.

Creating his "fitting"of Pegtymel' illustrations into the ethnic groups that could have lived in this region in the past, Dikov essentially did not leave a place for the ancestors of the Yukagir, having given priority to the "ancestors of the Chukchi, who assimilated the ancestors of the Eskimos" (Dikov 1999:83, 86). At the same time, he believed that "it is scarcely possible to assign the Pegtymel' petroglyphs to the ancestors of any particular one of the present-day native peoples living in Chukotka: the Chukchi, Eskimos, or especially the Yukagir," suggesting that a general Paleo-Asiatic source lies at bottom and the Pegtymel' art has to be assigned "to the beginning cultural-economic phase of the enumerated peoples" (Dikov 1999:82–83, 90–91).

However, stratigraphic analysis of the petroglyphs, "ethnically incompatible" (according to Dikov) features of the second order, and amazingly close parallels of some images to Chukchi illustrations of the nineteenth century (see: illustrations on a seal skin—Ivanov 1954) attest to the use of the Pegtymel' cliffs over a rather long period of time, up to the ethnographic era. The dating of the cultural layer in the cave containing illustrations (1460 ± 70 B.P.—MAG-18) (Dikov 1999:53) marks, in Dikov's opinion, the upper boundary of the petroglyphs. But stylistic similarity to Chukchi illustrations on the seal skin and drawing boards (Ivanov 1954:Fig. 28, 30–32, 34, 35)—and even to the modern engraving of walrus tusk

(Novaya, 1986)—of some Pegtymel' illustrations (Dikov 1999:Petrs. 80, 89) makes their upper chronological boundary substantially younger.

It is also impossible to remove from consideration the fact that—as analysis of a convincing series of physical anthropological material from the Uelen and Ekven cemeteries has shown—"formation of the [physical] anthropological composition of the Chukchi and Eskimos had already been concluded at the boundary of our era" (Alekseev 1989:419), consequently a large part of the petroglyphs can be assigned to a specific ethnic group.

Next we will examine the stratum of Pegtymel' petroglyphs connected with the life of the maritime inhabitants of the circumpolar latitudes. In this case, illustrations of boats emerge as an ethnocultural indicator of the first order. This is the most reliable source, with consideration of a strict realistic representational canon. Few details of ethnographic character (dress and so on) serve as additional traits for ethnic identification in the graphic world created by the early artists on the cliffs of the Pegtymel' River.

A multitude of large boats with varying numbers of paddlers (from three to eight) and some single-place specimens acquaint us with an entirely different world, distinct from the inland cultural-economic one, and plunge us into a different ethnic sphere. The large skin baidars of the Chukchi-Eskimo type are similar to those of the North Americans, which have crews of six to eight members and are easily recognized. There are baidars of the Koryak type, which have sides that narrow toward the stern, as well as having a semicircular bow and stern (Bogoras 1991:65). There are also boats, including single-place ones, of the Aleut type. Multi-place boats with a greatly projecting fancy-shaped bow look somewhat unusual (Dikov 1999:Petrs. 12, 14, 27, 28, 29, 33).

In some compositions real scenes of hunting sea mammals were illustrated: the figure of the harpooner standing in the boat, who is throwing a harpoon at a beluga or whale, is accurately depicted (Dikov 1999:Petrs. 12, 99). But most often the multi-place boats were shown among deer (Dikov 1999:Petrs. 9, 15, 17, 36, 55, 58), and in some compositions two entities are present—a deer and a sea mammal (Dikov 1999:Petr. 60). Such a combination of figures can probably be explained by chronological heterogeneity of images or by a special individual meaning for each of them.

Amazingly precise analogies to this thematic group of petroglyphs can be traced in the illustrations on the well-prepared seal skin acquired by American sailors in the 1860s or 1870s in Chukotka (Ivanov 1954:449, Fig. 28). This pictorial canvas (114.3 x 119.3 cm) contains several hundred individual figures applied in dark-red paint and united in scenes and complex compositions. Researchers acknowledge that the illustrations, executed by a talented and observing person, tell with "exhaustive completeness" about the daily life and economy of the Coastal Chukchi and Eskimos and characterize their material culture and ceremonies with documental accuracy (Ivanov 1954:449).

The number of reproductions of human figures, deer, whales, pinnipeds, bears, and dogs that are identical to those of Pegtymel' is astonishing. At least five types of large and small boats can be compared with those of Pegtymel'. The style and manner of execution are equivalent: illustrations on the seal skin are silhouetted, human figures—for the most part having an abstract character—are given en face and in profile, and among them are also Φ-shaped ones (these are isolated, as in the petroglyphs); boats and animals are shown in profile; and the number of paddlers is clearly indicated, their figures often marked by vertical strokes. A drawing of the lone figure of a shaman (in my view, a female shaman) is analogous to Pegtymel' anthropomorphic images with a mushroom above the head; braids are shown plaited at the temples and clothing resembling the *kerker* is shown (Ivanov 1954:449, Figs. 28, 37; Dikov 1999:Petrs. 14—central figure, 70—left figure). On some animals (Ivanov 1954:Fig. 40) the legs resemble those of humans, and are depicted with feet (Dikov 1999:Petrs. 13, 45, 104).

Comparison of the representational material on the Pegtymel' cliffs and the seal skin allows for the assignment of some petroglyphs to a rather late time, approaching the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. The images in Petroglyphs 13, 28, 29, 33, 46, 85, 89, 97, 99, and 104 are probably chronologically

more recent. This is not contradicted by Dikov's (1999:86) conclusion that "some of them belong to the reindeer-herding period."

Thus, analysis of maritime subjects in Pegtymel' petroglyphic art reveals two more ethnic components—Chukchi-Koryak and Eskimo-Aleut—to which Dikov (1999:83–84) turned his attention. Concerning the Aleut component in the Pegtymel' art, Dikov uses as an argument images of "multi-place boats with high bows," which he compares with Aleut baidars. The parallels he uses are typologically completely analogous to the Chukchi (Ivanov 1954:Figs. 28, 29) or Koryak (Ivanov 1954:Fig. 27) forms of baidars drawn on the seal skin. In my view, the bow of these vessels looks elongated owing to some kind of arranged (fastened) rigging, possibly a furled sail.

Information on the typical Aleut baidar is very scarce. On the basis of written evidence and sketches it is known that in the past the Aleut baidar had a slightly projecting pointed stern and bow elevated above the sides and a bifurcated stem, as on the baidarkas (Lyapunova 1996:108). Among the Pegtymel' images of boats there are in fact Aleut baidarkas and baidars (Dikov 1999:Petrs. 13, 16, 55). They are distinguished by such characteristic details as having a bow bifurcated like a fish's tail. In four cases baidarkas are located on the shoulders of people who are carrying them (Dikov 1999:Petrs. 13, 16—below). Dikov treats these scenes in a different way. He sees in them people carrying some kind of animal (Dikov 1999:68). In Petroglyph 16 (upper left) such a boat is shown together with a person, but in upside down view. An anthropomorphic figure is shown in a prayerful pose.

There is also an Aleut boat among the illustrations found in 1986 (Dikov 1992:Fig. 1). Absolutely identical images of single-person baidarkas are encountered on early Aleut darts (Ivanov 1954:Fig. 51). The artist rendered, as is also seen in the Pegtymel' petroglyphs, a structural feature characteristic only for the Aleuts: the bifurcated stem (Lyapunova 1996:114, Fig. 11).

The Pegtymel' petroglyphs, which record this specific element of the culture of the Aleuts, who took up the material culture of the Eskimos, reflect in all probability an early period in the history of the Eskimos. Some specialists say that, "owing to comparative isolation of the Aleuts from the mainland population, many features of Old Eskimo culture could be preserved among them much longer than among the mainland Eskimos" (Fainberg 1954:21). Two Aleut baidars with paddlers sitting in them (five and eight, respectively) are represented in Petroglyph 55 (Dikov 1999). Thus, the presence of connections of the ancestors of the Eskimos with the Pegtymel' art has documentary corroboration.

Features of the second order attest to the fact that a substantial portion of the illustrations undoubtedly belong to the Chukchi. This is corroborated by numerous images of anthropomorphic amanita mushrooms, which reflect the cult of this psychotropic mushroom. As is well known, the use of amanitas in shamanic practice and everyday life was widespread among the northeastern Paleo-Asiatics (Chukchi, Koryak, and Itel'men), to a lesser degree among the Yukagir, and not noted at all among the Eskimos. In petroglyphs with female anthropomorphic images, crowned by mushrooms, the hairdo is notable: two braids, as if plaited at the temples and hanging down like little tails or drop-like earrings. According to Bogoras, Coastal Chukchi women plaited their braids behind their heads, the young women and girls "made two braids on the sides of the head at the temples," and the braids were adorned by a multitude of small beads and buttons (Bogoras 1991:187). The Pegtymel' beings probably illustrate Chukchi myths about "amanita girls," who seduce and lead hunters astray, as did those among the Itel'men (*Mify* . . ., 1988:275). But it is also possible that the female figures personify heroines of Itel'men and Koryak legends, also known as "amanita girls," which acquaint us with the "small people" of their enteogenic world, represented by tiny girls whose full size is a few centimeters (Wasson 1986:68).

Without doubt, the illustrations of a mushroom theme reveal a distinctive stratum in the mythology of the northeastern Paleo-Asiatics and have deep roots. The clothing of some female beings indicates the affiliation of some petroglyphs with the Chukchi: this is the typical Chukchi *kerker* or overalls, the cut of which, in Bogoras's words, "exert influence even on the gait of Chukchi women and bring on the mockery of the Lamut" (Bogoras 1991:179). The Pegtymel' artist was able to reflect even this pigeon-toed gait in the illustrations (Dikov 1999:Petrs. 26, 34, 65, 78; Fig. 44) by showing the feet turned inward.

Figure 110. Pegtymel' petroglyphs. Shamanic mysteries (?), after N. N. Dikov.

The traits of first and second order (Dikov's terminology) that we have cited for ethnic interpretation of the petroglyphs characterize three ethnic groups: the ancestors of the Yukagir, the Coastal Chukchi, and the Eskimos, who left the earliest stratum of petroglyphs, and later, probably of the Yukagir (Chuvantsi) and Chukchi, who assimilated the Eskimos.

This type of ethnic division also comes from historical sources. In the seventeenth century the Chukchi moved along the right bank of the Pegtymel' River and farther east (as far as the Amguema), assimilating the Eskimos on the coast of the Arctic Ocean (Dolgikh 1960:550). Russian explorers—G. Sarychev in the eighteenth century and F. Wrangell in the first quarter of the nineteenth century—noted that the Chukchi area extended to Cape Ryrkaipii (their western boundary) (Dolgikh 1960:549). I. S. Vdovin (1944:53) finds Chuvantsi toponymy in the Chaun Bay region. He believes the Chuvantsi were neighbors of the Chukchi here.

The Palyavaam River (*palya*—Yukagir for "mountain" or "cliff"; *vaam*—Chukchi for "river") flows into Chaun Bay from the east, its name indicating the initial occupation in this region by the Yukagir. It has its beginning 25–27 km from the source of the Pegtymel' River. Both rivers flow almost parallel to their lower reaches, approaching each other in some places to within 20 km. Beginning in the middle courses, the valleys are favorable for passage in east-west and north-south directions.

Chukchi reindeer herders have found burials in the valley of the Palyavaam River that are not Chukchi in character. They consist of antlers set in a line, which usually have lying beside them an ornamented spear point and battle knife, probably of bronze since they were covered with a green patina. In the reindeer herders' opinion, these burials had been made by the Even (Leont'ev and Novikova 1989:300).

Most probably the Yukagir (Chuvantsi) were participants in the burials with antlers. As is well known, there is no Evenk toponymy in this region, and the territory of Even occupation is several hundred kilometers to the south. At the same time, Chuvan toponymy has been noted in the region of Chaun Bay (Vdovin 1944:53). I note here that I encountered similar burials with deer antlers laid out very close to each other in a herring-bone pattern, with the frontal bone invariably directed toward the east, in the Mlelin River valley, which lies north of the Palyavaam River and even closer to the Pegtymel' River.

B. O. Dolgikh's conclusion that the Chuvantsi occupation went as far as the left (west) bank of the Petgymel' River is not without merit, and it provides an even stronger foundation for confident acceptance of the Yukagir as the potential "illustrators" of the Pegtymel' cliffs, which were a sanctuary for various tribes and peoples who occupied this territory in the Stone Age and later. The tribes came together here to conduct seasonal festivals and perform magic ceremonies that were accompanied by dancing, stories about the journeys of mythical heroes, and the application of cliff illustrations. The ceremonies were supposed to contribute to the propagation of animals and successful hunting.

The petroglyphs are distinctive historical documents, through which it is possible to reconstruct some of the features of the material and spiritual culture of the early inhabitants of the severe circumpolar region. The contact of various ethnic groups in these places probably resulted in the rapprochement and borrowing of certain cultural elements. There is evidence of such rapprochement of the Yukagir and the Paleo-Asiatics, which has been preserved (among the first) in the form of the survival of cremation, fortune telling by means of suspended objects, sacrificial offering of dogs, the special role of the raven, and so on (*Yukagiry*, 1975:83). A reverse connection also existed: elements of continental culture penetrated into the Old Eskimo milieu, which is corroborated by the finds of objects of the Ymyyakhtakh (in the opinion of many researchers, Old Yukagir) culture in Eskimo burials (Arutiunov 1983:258).

The Pegtymel' petroglyphs in extreme Northeast Asia continue to remain a unique ancient "narrative" source, equivalent to the epic of Eurasian peoples.

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Abbreviations

AN—Akademii nauk (Russian Academy of Sciences).

AO 1967 goda—Arkheologicheskie otkrytiya 1967 goda (Archaeological Discoveries 1967).

ARAMNH—Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History.

ArA—Arctic Anthropology.

Avtoref. dis. ... kand. ist. nauk—Abstract of thesis of doctoral candidate.

ChOKM—Chukotskogo okruzhnogo kraevedcheskogo muzeya (Chukotka District Regional Museum).

Dal'nevost—Dal'nevostok, Dal'nevostochnyi (Far East, Far Eastern).

Dis—Dissertatsiya (Dissertation).

DVGU—Dal'nevostochnyi gosudarstvennyi universitet (Northeastern State University).

DVNTs—Dal'nevostochnyi nauchnyi tsentr (Far East Science Center).

DVO—Dal'ne vostochnoe otdelenie (Far Eastern Division).

Ekonom—Ekonomicheskii(Economic).

Entsikl—Entsiklopediya (Encyclopedia).

RSFSR—Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic.

Geogr—Geografiya (Geography).

Geograf—Geografiya, geograficheskii (Geography or Geographic).

GME—Gosudarstvennyi muzei ethngrafii (State Museum of Ethnography).

GMINV—Gosudarstvennyi muzei iskusstv narodov Vostoka (State Museum of Oriental Art).

Gos—Gosudarstvennyi (State).

ICAES—International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences.

IGU—Irkutskii gosudarstvennyi universitet (Irkutsk State University).

In-ta—instituta (of the Institute).

Izd-vo—Izdatel'stvo (Publishing House).

Kand—Kandidat (Candidate).

Kn—Kniga (Book).

KNII—Kompleksnyi nauchno-issledovatel'skii institut (Interdisciplinary Science Research Institute).

Kraeved—Kraevedcheskii (Regional).

KSIA—Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta arkheologii (Short Reports of the Institute of Archaeology).

KSIE—Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta etnografii (Short Reports of the Institute of Ethnography).

KSIIMK—Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta istorii material'noi kul'tury (Short Reports of the Institute of the History of Material Culture).

LGPI—Leningradskii gosudarstvennyi pedagogicheskii institut (Leningrad State Pedagogical Institute).

M—Moskva (Moscow).

MAE—Muzei antropologii i etnografii (Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography).

MIA—Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii SSSR (Materials and Investigations of the Archaeology of the USSR).

MKAEN—Mezhdunarodnyi kongress antropologicheskikh i etnograficheskikh nauk (International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnographic Sciences).

MOKM—Arkhiv magadanskogo okruzhnogo kraevedcheskogo muzeya [Archive of the Magadan District Regional Museum]

Nauch—Nauchnyi (Scientific).

Nauk—Nauka (Science).

NITs—Nauchno-issledovatel'nyi tsentr (Science Research Center).

Ob-va—Obshchestvo (Society).

Otd—otdeleniya (division).

PAE—Prilenskaya arkheologicheskaya ekspeditsiya (Lena Archaeological Expedition).

Polit RA—Rossiiskaya arkheologiya (Russian Archaeology).

RAN—Russkaya akademii nauk (Russian Academy of Sciences).

RANION—Rossiiskaya assotsiatsiya nauchno-issledovatel'skikh institutov obshchestvennykh nauk (Russian Association of Science Research Institutes of Social Sciences).

RGO—Russkoe geograficheskoe obshchestvo (Russian Geographical Society).

RSFSR—Rossiiskaya Sovetskaya Federativnaya Sotsialisticheskaya Respublika (Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic—the Russian republic in which Moscow is located).

SA—Sovetskaya arkheologiya (Soviet Archaeology).

Sb—Sbornik (Collected Articles).

SE—Sovetskaya etnografiya (Soviet Ethnography).

SO—Sibirskoe otdelenie (Siberian Division).

Soobshch—Soobshchenie (Report).

SPb—St. Petersburg.

SSR—Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik (Soviet Socialist Republic).

SSSR—Soyuz Sovietskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

SV—Severo-Vostochnyi (Northeastern).

SV KNII SO AN SSSR—Trudy Severo-Vostochnogo kompleksnogo nauchno-issledovatel'skogo instituta Sibirskogo otdeleniya Akademii nauk SSSR (Works of the Northeastern Interdisciplinary Scientific Research Institute of the Siberian Division of the Academy of Sciences, USSR).

SVAKAE—Severo-Vostochno-Aziatskaya kompleksnaya arkheologicheskaya ekspeditsiya (Northeast Asian Interdisciplinary Archaeological Expedition).

SVNTs—Severo-Vostochnyi nauchnyi tsentr (Northeast Science Center).

SWJA—Southwestern Journal of Anthropology.

T—Tom (Volume).

TGU—Tomskii gosudarstvennyi universitet (Tomsk State University).

TIE—Trudy Instituta etnografii AN SSSR (Works of the Institute of Ethnography, Academy of Sciences, USSR).

Tr—Trudy (Works).

Uch. azp. LGU—Uchenye zapiski Leningradskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta (Scholarly Notes of Leningrad State University).

Vestnik DVO RAN—(Bulletin of the Northeastern Division of the Russian Academy of Sciences).

VGO—Vsesoyuznoe geograficheskoe obshchestvo (All-Union Geographic Society).

VDI—Vestnik drevnei istorii (Bulletin of Early History).

Vsesoyuz—Vsesoyuznyi (All-Union).

Vyp—Vypis' (Extract).

YaF—Yakutskii filial (Yakutsk Branch).

YaGU—Yakutsk gosudarstvennogo universiteta (Yakutsk State University).

Zap—Zapiski (Notes).

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