OBS II ivory *ulu* (woman's knife) consisting of a stylized bear with complex incised designs, inlays (baleen or sea lion whisker) in the nostrils and in three bosses, the underside of the head carved in phallic form, with a slate blade. Excavated summer, 1991, at the Camp Collier site (near Kangee camp), St. Lawrence Island, 13 cm.



Bruce White photos



A pottery paddle (ceramic stamp) from Ekven burial 45 has a very similar phallic form on the underside of a bear(?) head at the end of the handle (see above and Arutiunov and Sergeev, 1975, Fig. 65-6).

Arutiunov, S.A. and Sergeev, D.A. (1975): *Problemy etnicheskoi istorii Beringomoria – Ekvenskii mogilnik* (Problems of the Ethnic History of the Bering Sea – The Ekven Cemetery), Nauka, Moscow [An English translation by Richard L. Bland was published by the Shared Beringian Heritage Project, U.S. National Park Service, 2006].