

## **“Winged objects” (harpoon counterweights)**

**Old Bering Sea II “winged object” excavated at Kukulik,  
St. Lawrence Island (1990), 5.7 x 11.3 cm**



Bruce White photos

This winged object is described in detail in the following article by Mikhail Bronshtein: "Winged Object No. 58" (translated from the manuscript and slightly revised in consultation with the author). Other information concerning its style and decoration can be found in Collins (1937, p. 82, Fig. 15, 7b and 8c; "Principal decorative motives of Old Bering Sea style 2") showing patterns on the center and side portions of its "front" (i.e., completely decorated) side, and in Bronshtein (2002). A very similar 9.5 cm winged object was collected in Chukotka by I.P. Lavrov, and in 1992 entered the collections of the Museum of Oriental Art in Moscow (Inv. No. 13938III; see Bronshtein and Shirokov, 2008, Fig. 25, p. 24).

For a general discussion of the possible significance of the winged object as a symbolic representation of the atlas vertebra at the base of the skull, and by extension its embodying the concept of the harpooned animal's principal soul that is located at this joint, see Arutiunov (2009).



**Pottery paddle (16.2 cm) found together with the winged object shown above**

For a similar pottery paddle ("ceramic stamp") from the Ekven site in Chukotka, with simple parallel incisions rather than the more usual circular motifs, see Arutiunov and Sergeev (1975, Fig. 57-3), and for three other examples of this type collected by Rudenko and Dikov, see references 25 and 26 in the following article on "Winged Object No. 58".





**Top and bottom views of OBS II winged object**

An ivory hook on the throwing board fits into the shallow depression at the top of the winged object (see below a 36 cm Birnik/early Punuk throwing board from Ekven House 1), and the wood harpoon shaft is inserted into the square, rectangular or triangular socket at the bottom of the counterweight. While OBS hooks were rectangular and S-shaped (see Bronshtein et al., 2007, #47, and below), this throwing board has a conical, peg-shaped hook.



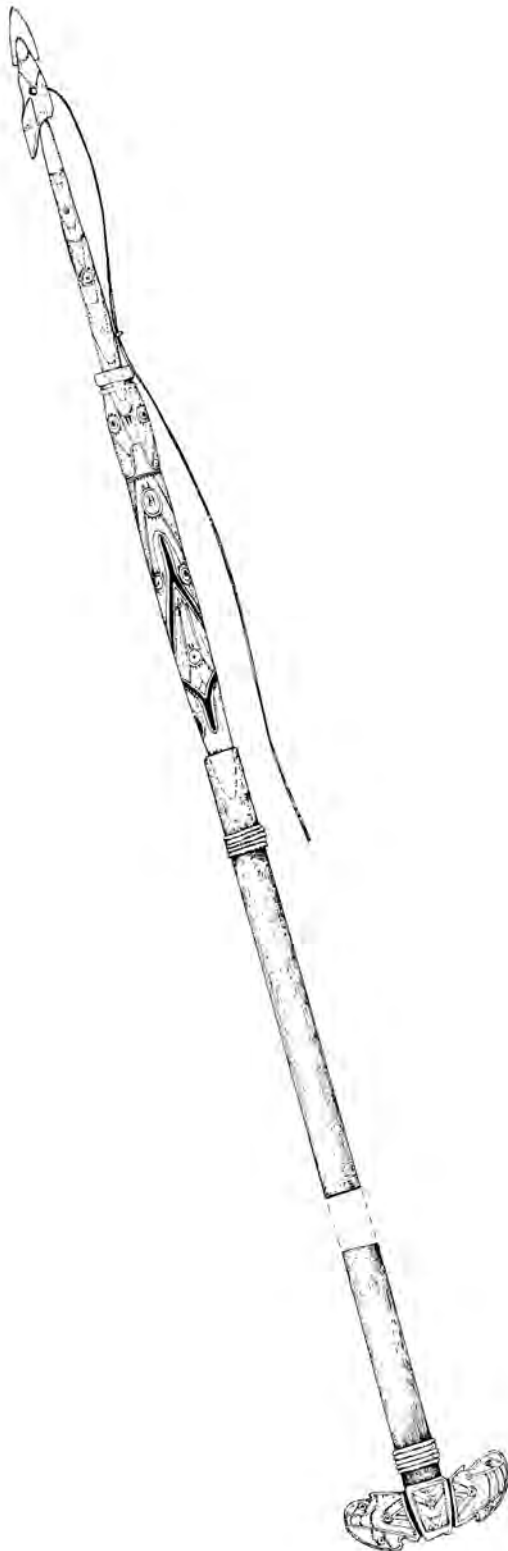


**OBS and early Punuk throwing board hooks (3.6 and 2.5 cm)**  
(Bronshtein et al., 2007, #47 and 60, from Ekven burials 302 and 319)

#### **Literature:**

- Arutiunov, S.A. (2009): The Eskimo harpoon, in *Gifts from the Ancestors: Ancient Ivories of Bering Strait* (Fitzhugh, W.W., Hollowell, J. and Crowell, A., Eds.), Yale University Press, pp. 52-57.
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- Bronshtein, M.M. (2002): Structural and artistic features of "winged objects" – The discussion continues, in *Archaeology in the Bering Strait Region – Research on Two Continents* (Dumond, D.E. and Bland, R.L., Eds.), University of Oregon Anthropological Papers No. 59, pp. 127-137.
- Bronshtein, M.M, Dneprovsky, K.A., and Sukhorukova, E.S. (2007): *Mir arkticheskikh zveroboev: shagi v nepoznannoe* (World of Arctic Maritime Hunters: Steps into the Unknown). State Museum of Oriental Art and Department of Culture of the Chukotka Autonomous Region, Moscow-Anadyr.
- Bronshtein, M.M. and Shirokov, Y.A. (2008): *Chukotskaia i eskimoskaia reznaia kost - khudozhestvennye izdeliia I-XX vekov iz fonda Severnoi Azii Gosudarstvennogo muzeia Vostoka: Katalog* (Chukchi and Eskimo ivory carving - Artwork of the 1st-20th centuries from the north Asia collections of the State Museum of Oriental Art: Catalogue), Gosudarstvennyi muzei Vostoka, Moscow.
- Collins, H.B. (1937): *Archaeology of St. Lawrence Island, Alaska* (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 96, No. 1), Washington, DC.

**Components of an Old Bering Sea culture harpoon: harpoon head with line, foreshaft, socket piece, wood shaft, and counterweight (“winged object”)**



From Leskov, A.M. and Müller-Beck, H. (1993): *Arktische Waljäger vor 3000 Jahren - unbekannte sibirische Kunst*, v. Hase & Koehler Verlag, Mainz



**OBS II winged object, Cape Kialegak, St. Lawrence Island (1990), 6 x 16.5 cm**



A 21.7 cm winged object of very similar design was excavated from Ekven burial 9 (Arutiunov and Sergeev, 1975, Fig. 49-4).

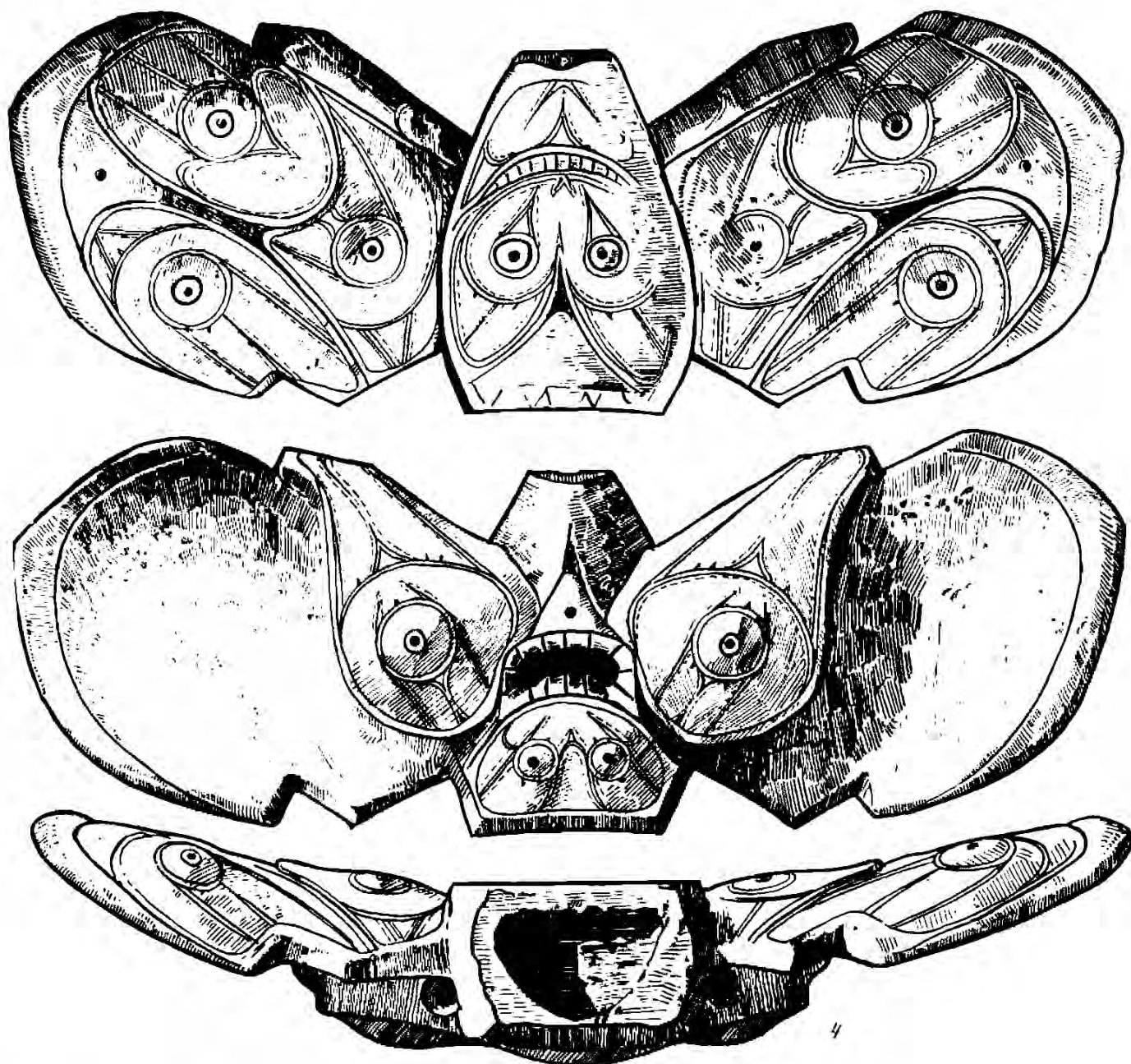


Рис. 49. Инвентарь погребения 9 ( $\frac{3}{5}$  натур. вел.)

1—3 — наконечники гарпунов, 4 — «крылатый предмет», 5 — головка древка

### Winged Object No. 58

In October, 2009, at the exhibition "Gifts of the Ancestors: Ancient Ivories of the Bering Strait" held at the Princeton University Art Museum, I had the opportunity to see an ancient Eskimo harpoon stabilizer that I believe deserves special attention. It not only has undeniable artistic merit - simple symmetrical shape, decoration composed of carefully incised fine lines - but it is also of great interest for studying the evolution of these striking and largely mysterious ivory carvings made by ancient Arctic sea hunters, the so-called "winged objects".

Judging by the color and surface texture of this harpoon stabilizer, it must have spent many centuries in the ground. In the exhibition catalog, where this object is number 58, the following information is provided: Harpoon counterweight, Okvik/OBS I, Walrus ivory, length 11.5 cm, Provenance unknown<sup>1</sup>. Working from color photographs of the harpoon stabilizer, drawings were made by Nina Survillo, the Moscow Museum of Oriental Art artist, and based on these I would like to express my views on this very interesting object.

To begin with, I would like to disagree with the conclusion that this winged object (referred to hereafter as WO-58) belongs to the "Okvik/Old Bering Sea-I" subculture. The main reason why I disagree with this conclusion is the absence on WO-58 of typical Okvik/Old Bering Sea-I (OBS-I) graphic decoration, which is in my opinion the most reliable indicator of the OBS-I style. The design motif that is characteristic for only this style consists of tiny triangles (serrations, or "teeth") located in a very specific staggered arrangement along double parallel lines. Such a pattern is clearly seen on a number of other objects from Chukotka and St. Lawrence Island that were exhibited in Princeton, and whose cultural identity was in these cases absolutely correctly described in the exhibition catalog as OBS-I or Okvik/OBS-I<sup>2</sup>.

Although some small triangles vaguely resembling "teeth" are present in the decoration of WO-58, they do not correspond in their configuration, size, or relation to other elements of the pattern with what can be seen in the other objects described as Okvik/OBS-I. The ornamentation on WO-58 belongs instead, in my opinion, to the style that replaced the early OBS engraving style, namely OBS-II. This is indicated by the presence on WO-58 of an ornamental pattern that is found only on products of the middle Old Bering Sea period (OBS-II). This pattern consists of a narrow strip in which the enclosed space is equally divided by other vertical lines. These "strips with breaks" are clearly visible in the large photograph of WO-58 on one of the frontispieces in "Gifts from the Ancestors ..."<sup>3</sup>, as well as in the line drawing of its front side (Fig. 1). A similar motif can be seen on a number of other objects in the exhibition, in particular on zoomorphic sculptures dating from the OBS-II period excavated at the Ekven cemetery at the north-eastern tip of Chukotka.<sup>4</sup>

The presence on WO-58 of ornamental motifs characteristic of the middle OBS period is not the only argument in favor of assigning it to OBS-II. Let us turn to the composition on the reverse side of the WO-58, which is a conventional image of ornithomorphic mythological creatures. Such "birds" have a large triangular head with large close-set eyes and a pointed beak, and at the sides, separated from the head, are wings with clearly defined feathers (Fig. 2). Exactly the same ornithomorphic images can be seen on two harpoon stabilizers whose photos are included in "Gifts from the Ancestors ...". One of these was found in Ekven burial 310 B and another on St. Lawrence Island, both of these winged objects being described as belonging to the OBS-II tradition.<sup>5</sup>



The list of ancient Eskimo harpoon stabilizers with similar ornithomorphic symbols can be expanded considerably. Two winged objects similar to WO-58 were found in the Uelen cemetery near Ekven in north-eastern Chukotka - in burials 24 (58) and 4 (60)<sup>6</sup>. In the Ekven burial ground, in addition to the previously mentioned burial 310 B, harpoon stabilizers with conventional images of "birds" that are very similar to that seen on WO-58 were part of the burial items in graves 57, 130 and 234.<sup>7</sup> A winged object of the same type was found at the Kukulik site on St. Lawrence Island<sup>8</sup> (from which WO-58 was also excavated, see below). It is also likely that a single harpoon counterweight with what appears to be an ornithomorphic image (unfortunately only a small fragment of this object has survived) was found in Ipiutak dwelling N-34<sup>9</sup>. Another winged object that has entered the art market has ornithomorphic decoration almost identical to that of WO-58, but its provenance is unfortunately unknown<sup>10</sup>.

I strongly believe that all of these winged objects are covered with graphic ornamentation characteristic exclusively of OBS-II. Thus, we can fairly confidently say that in Old Bering Sea art there is a tradition of decorating harpoon stabilizers with images of an ornithomorphic creature having a large, triangular head, big eyes and wide-open wings. This character, which probably had magical significance, was apparently part of the culture of marine mammal hunters of Chukotka and St. Lawrence Island. The people depicting it on winged objects probably belonged to a subcultural community (OBS-II) and within this community probably constituted a local sub-ethnic or social group.

Is it possible to answer the question of where and when the tradition of depicting ornithomorphic motifs on winged objects was prevalent, to track the fate of this tradition, and to reconstruct the characteristics of the local group of ancient hunters of the Bering Strait who depicted "large-eyed birds" on their harpoons"? I will dare to make such an attempt, relying largely on information obtained from a comparison of WO-58 with other winged objects.

I believe that ornithomorphic motifs first appeared in the decoration of harpoon stabilizers during the final stage of the early OBS culture. At least two similar objects with OBS-I engraving are known, in which the ornament can be clearly seen to represent birds' feathers. One of these was found in Ekven burial of 204, the second comes from Uelen burial 6 (59)<sup>11</sup>. On the Ekven object the feathers are shown in a somewhat different manner than on WO-58 and other harpoon stabilizers insofar as they are present on the front as well as on the back side of the winged object. On the object from the Uelen burial the representation of feathers is almost identical to that on winged objects with OBS-II decoration; the decoration of the winged object can be considered as the forerunner of the image of a "bird" head.

Both of these burials – in Ekven 204 an elderly man was buried, and Uelen 6 (59) was also a male judging by the nature of the grave goods - belonged to people who played a prominent role in their communities. In support of this thesis I will present only one argument: the burial included engraving tools containing iron – objects that were certainly true rarities in the Bering Sea region in the first centuries of our era<sup>12</sup>.

I will mention one additional feature of both funerary assemblages. In each of them, according to my observations, there were objects with OBS-II decoration, together with objects having OBS-I ornamentation. (These findings formed the basis for my mentioning above that ornithomorphic motifs appeared in the final stage of the early Old Bering Sea culture).

The presence in OBS-I burials of winged objects with ornithomorphic motifs together with other objects having OBS-II ornamentation suggests that these motifs could have been introduced into

early Old Bering Sea art by bearers of this subculture. This idea is supported by the finding in a number of Ekven burials (i.e., burials 37-38, 255 and 284) of harpoon stabilizers with OBS-I ornamentation having features that resemble the "classical" ornithomorphic images. Thus, in particular, the reverse side of these winged objects depict masks with clearly defined eyes, and the harpoon stabilizers in burials 37-38 and 284 have images with obvious similarities to that of the "large-eyed bird" on WO-58<sup>13</sup> (Figs. 3-4).

The assumption that the appearance of ornithomorphic images in the decoration of winged objects was due to the emergence of a new artistic tradition - the OBS-II style - is nothing more than a working hypothesis that undoubtedly needs reliable factual support. Nevertheless, I present it here because I believe that it is directly related to determining the position occupied by WO-58 in the evolutionary series of Old Bering Sea winged objects. Several of its features indicate to me that WO-58 can be considered as the earliest known example having the image of a "large-eyed bird" with open wings.

I have reached this conclusion by comparing the size of WO-58, the configuration of its wings, and some features of its ornamentation to those of other harpoon stabilizers. Thus, the size of WO-58 (recall that its length is 11.5 cm) is significantly smaller than that of the other winged objects with ornithomorphic symbols. To give only a few examples, harpoon stabilizers mentioned above from Ekven (burial 310 B) and from St. Lawrence Island have lengths of 17.0, 18.4 and 18.9 cm, and the length of another winged object mentioned above, whose provenance is unknown, is 16.2 cm.

If we compare the size of WO-58 with other winged objects having OBS-I ornamentation we get a different picture. For example, the length of the winged objects from Ekven graves 238, 251 and 274, which date to the early Old Bering Sea period, are 13.0, 10.0 and 11.1 cm<sup>14</sup>, respectively, and therefore show good agreement with that of WO-58. The same correlation can be seen in the small OBS-I harpoon stabilizers from Uelen burials 14-15 (58), 6 (59) and 20 (59), whose lengths range from 12 to 14 cm<sup>15</sup>.

A similar pattern is observed when comparing the shape of the wings of harpoon stabilizers. WO-58, having semicircular wings without projections, is almost identical to most early OBS harpoon stabilizers (Figs. 5-6), which differ markedly from the elongated wings with curly projections seen on the other winged objects with ornithomorphic motifs (cf. Figs. 7-8 and 10).

The ornamental pattern on the front of WO-58 is also much closer to the graphic compositions on harpoon stabilizers dating from the early period of the Old Bering Sea culture. The greatest similarity to WO-58 with regard to features such as the choice and the relative positions of geometric motifs can be seen in objects from Ekven graves 37-38, 63, 238, and 251<sup>16</sup>. The major elements in the patterns on the front of these winged objects are concentric circles that form unique "centers of gravity" consisting of straight and curved, and solid and broken lines (cf. Figs. 1, 5 and 6). However, in at least one case the pattern of WO-58 shows a striking affinity to that on the front of a harpoon stabilizer from the middle Old Bering Sea period. This winged object (Figs. 7-8) is from Ekven burial 234<sup>17</sup>. The similarity of the ornamentation on the winged object from this Ekven complex and that on WO-58 is such that it deserves special attention.

However, one must first mention an important consideration, which concerns the fact that these two winged objects differ in size: the length of the one from Ekven is 18.0 cm<sup>18</sup>, and thus longer than the 11.5 cm WO-58. This fact led to differences in the overall composition. The engraving on WO-58 consists of three patterns - the pattern on the central part of the winged object, and two

repetitive patterns on its wings. In contrast, the engraving on the Ekven harpoon stabilizer has at least seven components: the pattern on the central part of the winged object and three patterns on each of its wings. In other words, the composition on the Ekven winged object contains four additional components that are not present on WO-58. If we disregard these "extra" components and compare the engraving on WO-58 with that on the remaining three segments of the Ekven object (Fig. 9), it can be seen that the designs on WO-58 and the three segments of the winged object from Ekven burial 234 are almost identical. In fact, we see the same basic pattern: concentric circles and tangential lines. Each of the circles forms the composite center of a segment and represents its "semantic emphasis". The lines converge at a circle or an acute angle, or flow around it. An even greater similarity is seen in the identical angles of the axes of symmetry - in both cases the axis of symmetry in the center and on the wings does not converge at an acute but rather at a 90° angle, which is very rarely found in winged objects. It is hardly a coincidence that the portion of the winged object from Ekven burial 234 containing engraving very similar to that on WO-58 measures about 11-12 cm, which is essentially the same as the length of WO-58.

There are of course some differences in the decoration of the prehistoric Eskimo objects that we are discussing here. The concentric circles on WO-58 are larger than on the Ekven winged object, whose decoration is not present in the dashed line ornamentation of WO-58, etc. In general, however, comparative analysis of both objects strongly suggests that one of them served as a prototype for the other.

I believe that the "initial version" was WO-58, which has archaic features (I specifically mentioned this issue earlier) that are not present in the winged object from Ekven. That this winged object from Ekven was made later is also indicated by the nature of the "Bird" image on its reverse side. The same applies to the ornithomorphic figures on the harpoon stabilizer from Ekven burial 310 B mentioned above (Fig. 10), as well as on several other winged objects that were clearly made at a later time than WO-58 based on the characteristics of their design and decor<sup>19</sup>.

While noting the existence of a chronological gap between the production of WO-58 and the winged object from the Ekven burial, I believe that this time interval was very short because of the strong similarity of the patterns on their front sides. The masters who created them no doubt based their design and ornamentation on a specific, perhaps local, artistic style, and this finding in turn supports the hypothesis that the sea hunters who used winged objects with ornithomorphic symbols belonged to a single local group.

There is additional evidence (mentioned in part above) indicating that the people who owned WO-58 and the winged object from Ekven burial 234 belonged to one and the same subethnic group. At the beginning of these notes I discussed the presence on WO-58 of a specific graphic pattern of "strips with breaks" that is characteristic of OBS-II ornamentation. I also mentioned that this motif can be seen on a number of objects from the middle Old Bering sea period, and in particular a zoomorphic sculpture from the exhibition "Gifts from the Ancestors ...". I would now like to add information about this sculpture: it was found in the Ekven cemetery, and precisely in burial 234.

This fact is remarkable in that it brings us closer to the man who over a millennium ago owned a "WO-58" and about whom, like the other ancient inhabitants of Ekven, we unfortunately know nothing, especially about who was buried in grave 234. Since sufficient information about the archaeological assemblage is given in the catalog of the Princeton exhibition, I will only mention that the man buried in grave 234 was undoubtedly an outstanding hunter and, judging from what was



found in his grave, one of the most influential people in the Ekven community in the middle of the first millennium A.D..

Recall that I previously mentioned that the people found in the graves containing winged objects with OBS-I ornamentation and ornithomorphic motifs – Ekven burial 204 and Uelen burial 6 (59) - also surely belonged to the local elite. Is this, therefore, a coincidence or a definite pattern that we are seeing, and can we safely assume that the presence of ornithomorphic motifs on winged objects indicates that their owners belonged to a special, "prestigious" local group?

To attempt to answer this question more precisely we must turn to other burials at Ekven and Uelen in which winged objects with ornithomorphic motifs were found. According to my calculations there are at least 12 such graves<sup>21</sup>. All of them belonged to the OBS-II subculture. In most of the assemblages various grave goods were indeed found, while some of them were rather poor<sup>22</sup>.

Given these circumstances, I believe that it is possible to make the following hypothesis. The people who engraved ornithomorphic creatures on harpoon stabilizers were apparently members of a separate ethnic community that was typologically close to a tribe or a group of related clans. The "large-eyed bird" was perhaps their totem, and the emergence of this community was probably the result of a so-called ethnodivision processes in the environment of early OBS culture. This small branch probably originated as a result of these or other factors in their pronounced isolation from the great majority of their fellow tribesmen, and led to their cultural and ethnic identity.

Having emerged as an independent ethno-cultural unit, the "large-eyed bird tribe" undoubtedly played a very important role in the life of the various communities in the territory of the north-eastern tip of Chukotka. It is possible that the same applied to its role on St. Lawrence Island where, as we know, winged objects with "classical" ornithomorphic images were also found, including WO-58. The high social status of a local community lent "prestige" to its symbols, and this in turn led to the appearance of ornithomorphic motifs in the art of other ethnic groups. (For example, in early Old Bering Sea Ekven and Uelen - burials 204 and 6 (59)).

The period during which the "large-eyed bird tribe" maintained its ethno-cultural identity was probably rather long. This assumption is based on the fact that many of the winged objects with ornithomorphic motifs differ markedly from one another in their design, and changes of this type in the design of objects used as hunting weapons could hardly have occurred over a short time period.

Of course, all of these hypotheses require detailed evidence, and the author of these notes can only hope that he still has time to carry out the necessary studies. In completing this essay and with regard particularly to the study of Winged Object No. 58, I would like to address the matter of where this harpoon stabilizer was created. Although in the catalog to the Princeton exhibition its provenance is listed as "unknown", it was in fact excavated in 1990 at the Kukulik site on St. Lawrence Island (personal communication from the on-site collector, via the owner). This find-site is in good agreement with other archaeological evidence for cultural interchange between North-Eastern Chukotka and St. Lawrence Island, and in particular with Kukulik, as described in detail elsewhere<sup>23</sup>. Additional support for these cultural relationships comes from the fact that WO-58 was found together with a pottery paddle having relatively unusual simple parallel incisions rather than the more common circular motifs, and at least five similar pottery paddles have been found in Chukotka (one in Ekven burial 154<sup>24</sup>, two in Uelen<sup>25</sup>, and two by Dikov in the Chini cemetery<sup>26</sup>).

To conclude these notes, I will briefly summarize my description of the harpoon stabilizer published as No. 58 in the catalog of the exhibition, "Gifts of the Ancestors ...". As I see it, this

exceptionally graceful winged object was created about 1,500 years ago by a hunter belonging to a local ethnic group that might be called the "large-eyed bird tribe". This tribe or, more likely, several related clans formed part of a larger ethno-cultural community known as OBS-II, or the middle Old Bering Sea period. This "large-eyed bird tribe" had a pronounced sub-cultural identity that it maintained over a rather long period of time. WO-58 was made at the beginning of this period, a fact that gives it a particular archaeological and art historical importance. Study of its design and decorative features can be expected to significantly enhance our understanding of the evolution of the prehistoric Eskimo cultures of Alaska and Chukotka, the structure of ancient Eskimo communities, and the processes of cultural interaction between the Arctic sea hunters in Asia and America in the first millennium A.D.

February-March 2010

<sup>1</sup> Gifts from the Ancestors: Ancient Ivories of Bering Strait. Princeton, 2009. p. 301, cat. # 58.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 35, fig. 12, p. 113, fig. 3, p. 129, fig. 5, p. 132, fig. 14, p. 134-135, fig. 15, p. 218, fig. 17, p. 255, fig. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 296.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 104, fig. IV.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 300, cat. # 37, 41; Bronshtein, M.M, Dneprovsky, K.A., and Sukhorukova, E.S.: *Mir arkticheskikh zveroboev: shagi v nepoznannoe* (World of Arctic Maritime Hunters: Steps into the Unknown), Moscow-Anadyr, 2007. p. 101, № 23; drawing of "winged object" from Ekven burial 310 B as in Fig. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Arutiunov Sergei, Sergeev Dorian. Ancient Cultures of the Asiatic Eskimos: the Uelen Cemetery. 2006. p. 121, fig. 49/6, p. 124, fig. 52/17.

<sup>7</sup> Arktische Waljäger vor 3000 Jahren: Unbekannte sibirische Kunst. Mainz-München, 1993. p. 120, kat. # 77; Arutiunov Sergei, Sergeev Dorian. Problems of Ethnic History in the Bering Sea: the Ekven Cemetery. 2006. p. 139, fig. 61/17, p. 165, fig. 84/1; drawing of "winged object" from Ekven burial 234 as in Fig. 7-8.

<sup>8</sup> Wardwell Allen. Ancient Eskimo Ivories of the Bering Strait. New York, 1986. p. 76-77, # 84.

<sup>9</sup> Larsen Helge, Rainey Froelich. Ipiutak and the Arctic Whale Hunting Culture. New York, 1948. Pl. 27, # 19.

<sup>10</sup> Wardwell Allen. Ancient Eskimo Ivories of the Bering Strait... p. 76-77, # 85.

<sup>11</sup> Arutiunov, S.A. and Sergeev, D.A.: Nauchnye rezultaty rabot na Ekvenskom drevneeskimosskom mogilnike (1970-1974), in *Na styke Chukotki i Aliaski* (Results of fieldwork at the ancient Eskimo Ekven cemetery, 1970-1974, in *At the Crossroads of Chukotka and Alaska*), Moscow, 1983, p. 217, Fig. 20; also Arutiunov, Sergei and Sergeev, Dorian: Ancient Cultures of the Asiatic Eskimos.... p. 121, fig. 49/7.

<sup>12</sup> Arutiunov, S.A. and Sergeev, D.A.: Nauchnye rezultaty rabot na Ekvenskom drevneeskimosskom mogilnike ..., p. 210; also Arutiunov Sergei, Sergeev Dorian. Ancient Cultures of the Asiatic Eskimos.... p. 56.

<sup>13</sup> Arutiunov Sergei, Sergeev Dorian. Problems of Ethnic History in the Bering Sea... p. 128, fig. 53/1; Arktische Waljäger vor 3000 Jahren... p. 116, kat. # 73, p. 118-119, kat. # 75.

<sup>14</sup> Arktische Waljäger vor 3000 Jahren... p. 116, kat. # 69, p. 118-119, kat. # 75; Bronshtein, M.M, Dneprovsky, K.A., and Sukhorukova, E.S.: *Mir arkticheskikh zveroboev...*, pp. 66, 98, 191, № 106.

<sup>15</sup> Arutiunov Sergei, Sergeev Dorian. Ancient Cultures of the Asiatic Eskimos... p. 121, 123, fig. 49/6-7, 51/14.

<sup>16</sup> Arutiunov Sergei, Sergeev Dorian. Problems of Ethnic History in the Bering Sea... p. 128, fig. 53/1, p. 165, fig. 84/4; Arktische Waljäger vor 3000 Jahren... p. 116, kat. # 69; Bronshtein, M.M, Dneprovsky, K.A., and Sukhorukova, E.S.: *Mir arkticheskikh zveroboev...*, p. 66, 98, № 106.

<sup>17</sup> Arktische Waljäger vor 3000 Jahren... p. 120 kat. # 77; Bronshtein, M.M, Dneprovsky, K.A., and Sukhorukova, E.S.: *Mir arkticheskikh zveroboev...*, pp. 62, 103, 187, № 39.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Cf., e.g., Arutiunov Sergei, Sergeev Dorian. Problems of Ethnic History in the Bering Sea... p. 139, fig. 53/1, p. 165, fig. 84/1; see also fig. 9-10.

<sup>20</sup> Arktische Waljäger vor 3000 Jahren... p. 184-185 kat. # 335; Gifts from the Ancestors.... p. 104.

<sup>21</sup> In the Uelen cemetery, burials 2(55), 3(58), 24 (58), 6(59), 7(59), 4(60), at Ekven – 57, 130, 141, 234, 310 B, 320.

<sup>22</sup> See Arutiunov Sergei, Sergeev Dorian. Ancient Cultures of the Asiatic Eskimos... p. 41-69; Arutiunov Sergei, Sergeev Dorian. Problems of Ethnic History in the Bering Sea... p. 33-56., Bronshtein, M.M, Dneprovsky, K.A., and Sukhorukova, E.S.: *Mir arkticheskikh zveroboev...*, pp. 100-105.

<sup>23</sup> М. Бронштейн: Культурные связи Северо-Восточной Чукотки и о. Св. Лаврентия по данным археологии. (M. Bronshtein: Archaeological evidence of cultural connections between Northeastern Chukotka and St. Lawrence Island), in *Studia Anthropologica: sbornik statei v chest M. A. Chlenova, A. Fedorchuk and S. Chlenova*, eds. (Studia Anthropologica: A Festschrift in honor of Michael Chlenov) , Moscow, Mosty Kultury, 2010.

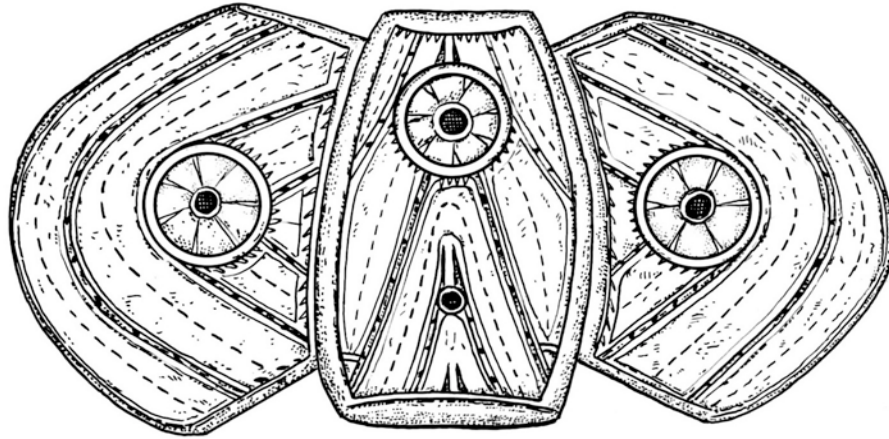
<sup>24</sup> Sergei Arutiunov and Dorian Sergeev: Problems of Ethnic History in the Bering Sea: the Ekven Cemetery. 2006, p. 134, Fig. 57-3.

<sup>25</sup> Rudenko, S.I.: The ancient culture of the Bering Sea and the Eskimo problem. Arctic Institute of North America, University of Toronto Press, 1961, Pl. 4-25. Sergei Arutiunov and Dorian Sergeev: Ancient Cultures of the Asiatic Eskimos: the Uelen Cemetery. 2006. p. 163, Fig. 79-2.

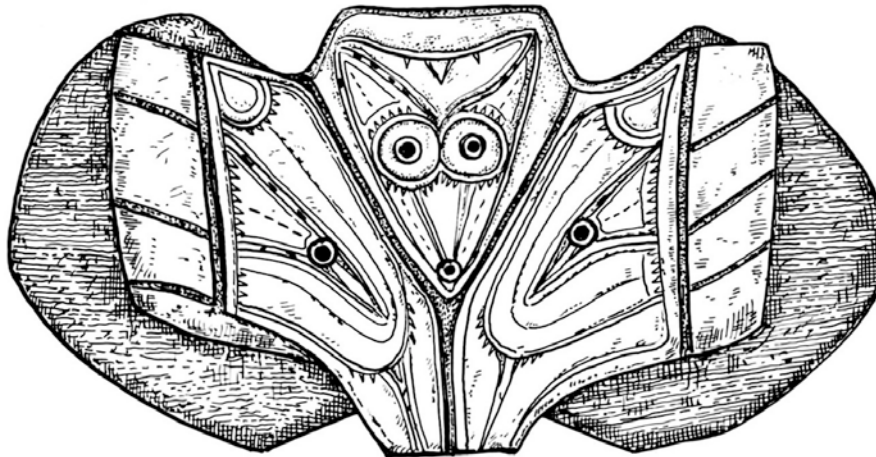
<sup>26</sup> Dikov, N.N.: Chiniiskii mogil'nik: k istorii morskikh zveroboev Beringova proliva (The Chini cemetery: On the history of the sea hunters of the Bering Strait), Nauka, Novosibirsk, 1974, Fig. 36-1,2.



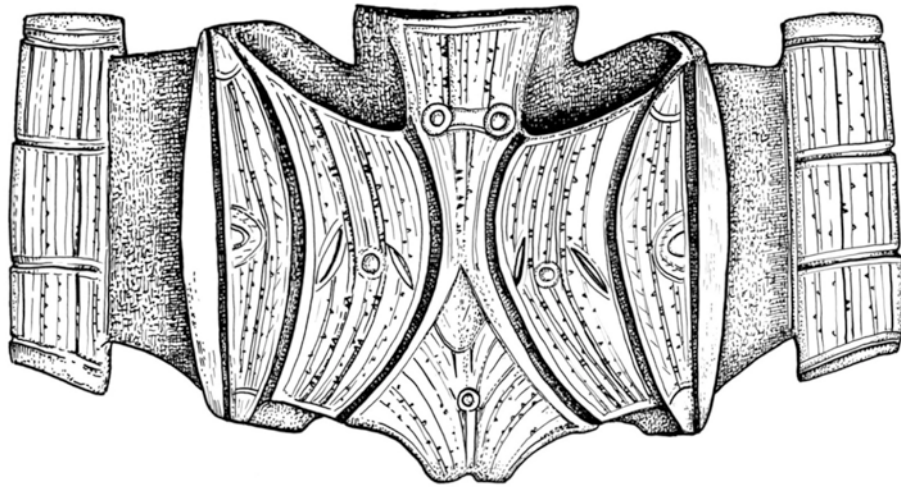
Drawings by Nina S. Survillo, State Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow



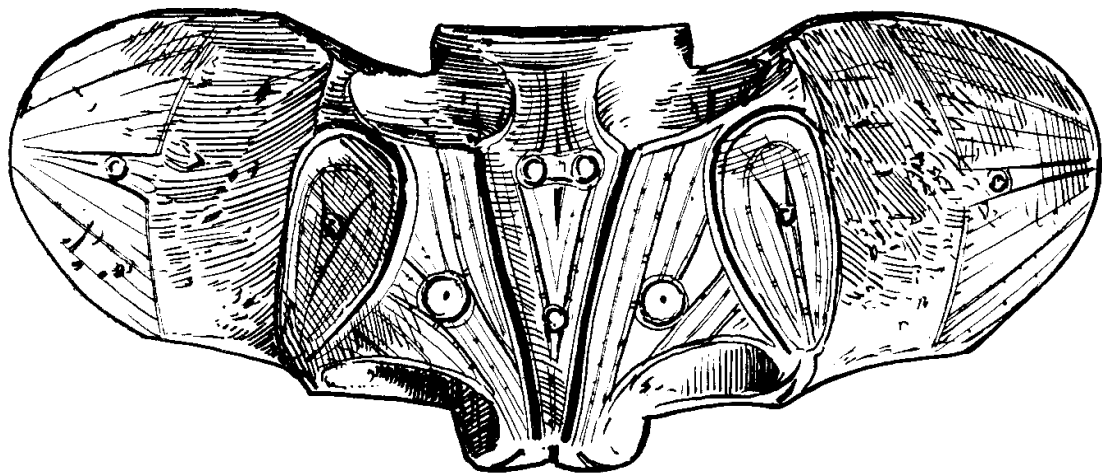
**Fig. 1.** "Winged Object" "WO-58"



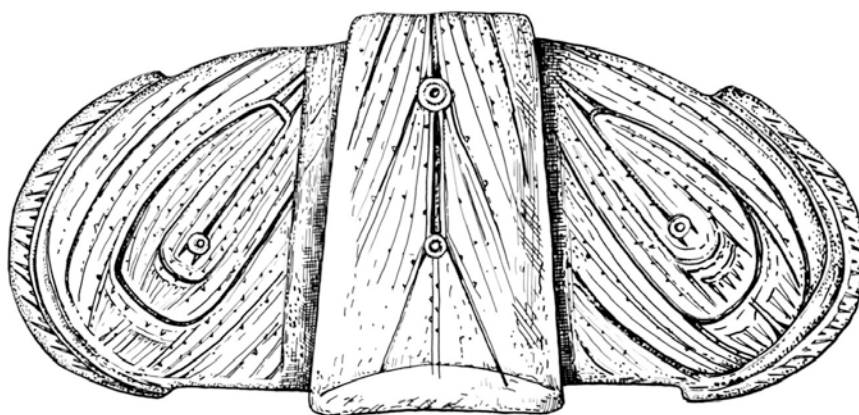
**Fig. 2.** "Winged Object" "WO-58" (reverse)



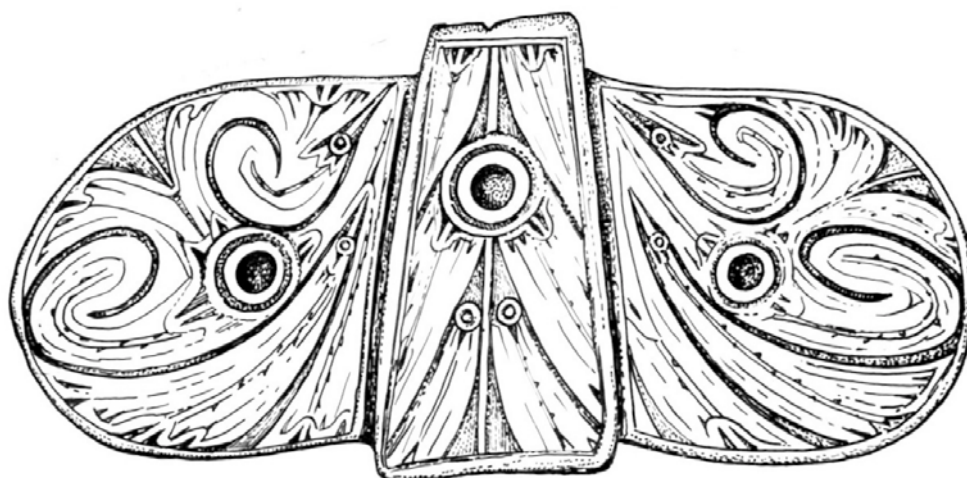
**Fig. 3.** “Winged Object” Ekven burial 284 (reverse)



**Fig. 4.** “Winged Object” Ekven burial 37-38 (reverse)

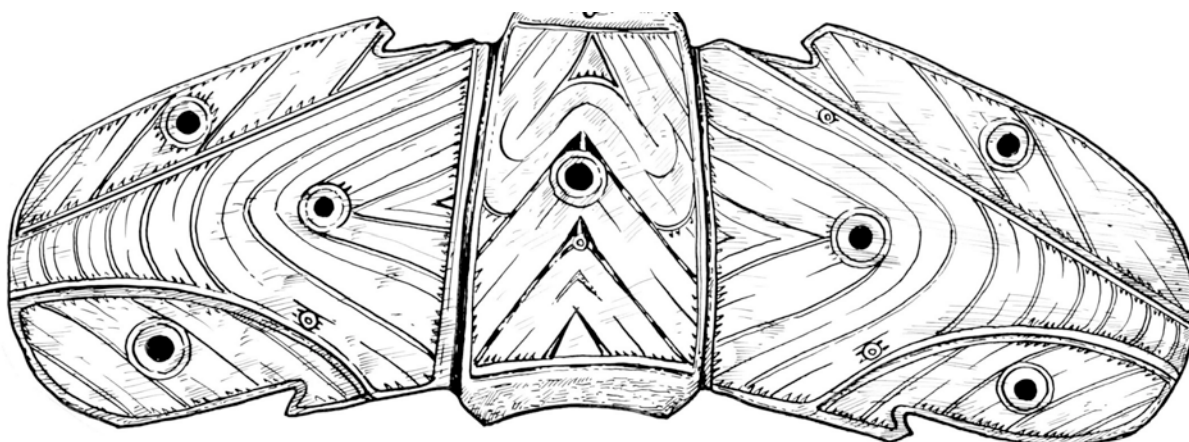


**Fig. 5.** "Winged Object" Ekven burial 274

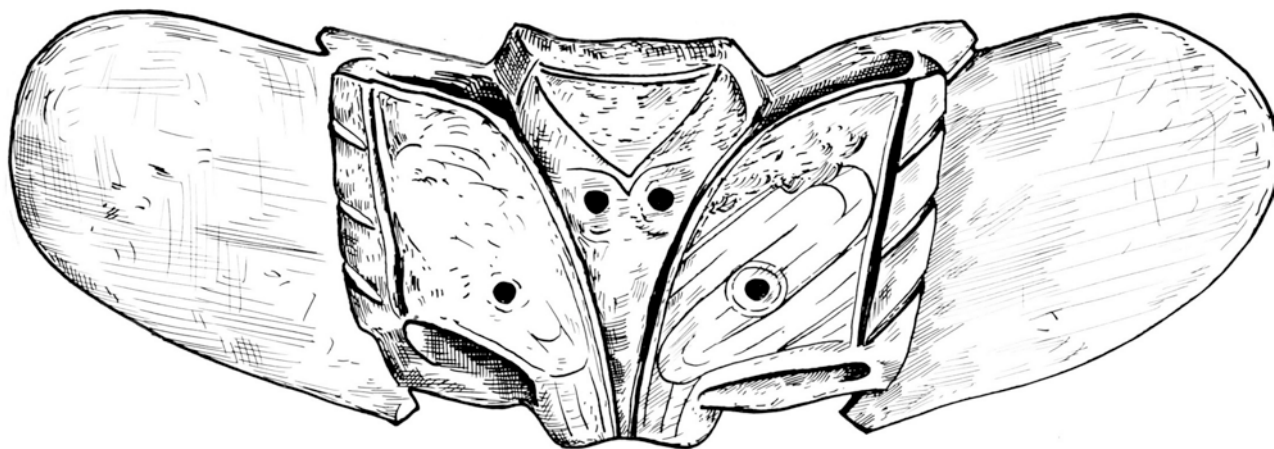


**Fig. 6.** "Winged Object" Ekven burial 284

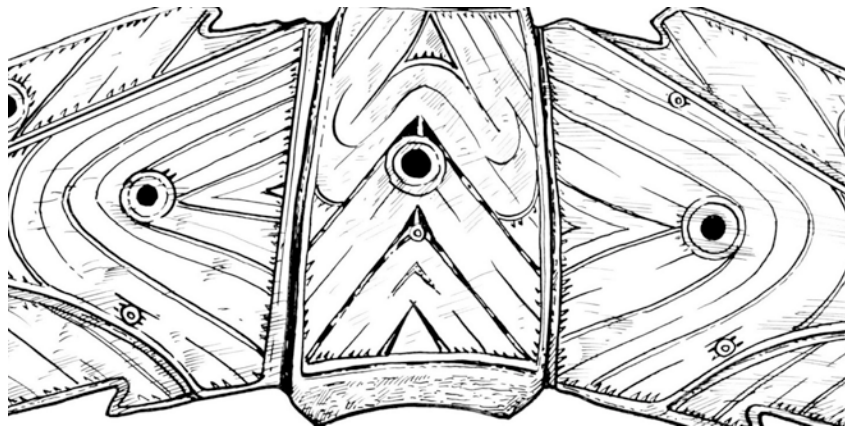
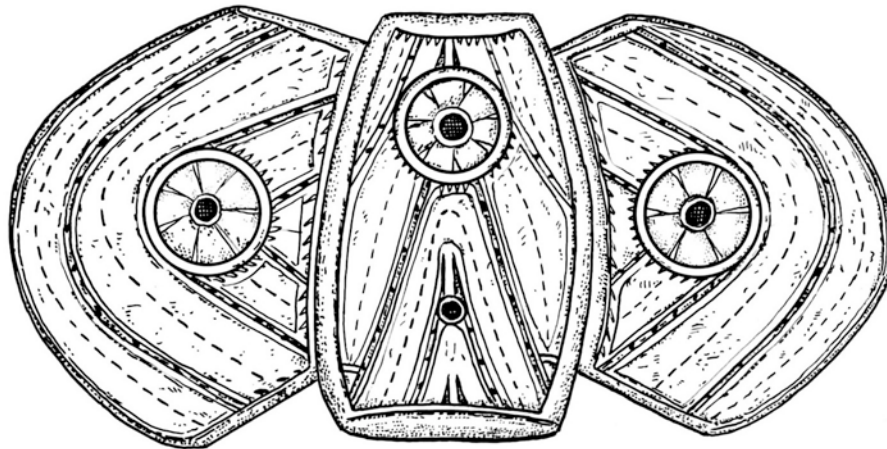




**Fig. 7.** "Winged Object" Ekven burial 234



**Fig. 8.** "Winged Object" Ekven burial 234 (reverse)



**Fig. 9.** “Winged Object” “WO-58” and portion of “Winged Object” from Ekven burial 234

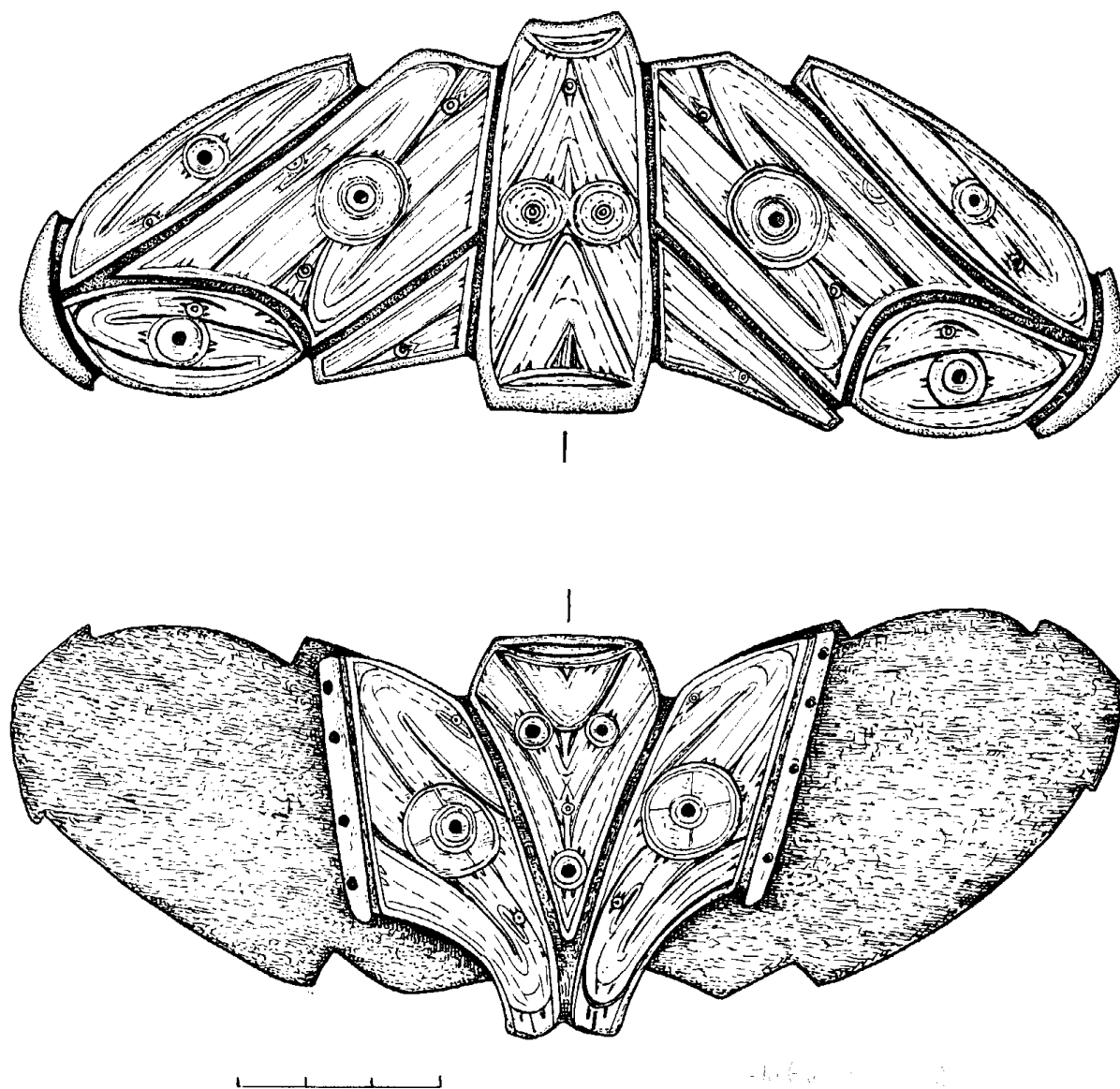


Fig. 10. "Winged Object" Ekven burial 310 B