

## SEASONAL REVIVAL RITES AND ROCK ART OF MINUSINSK BASIN COLONIZERS, SIBERIA

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This paper takes an ethnoarchaeological and ecological approach to understanding patterns of iconography of rock art observed on the Middle Yenisey River, and its tributary to the east, the Tuba River, in the Minusinsk Basin of Southern Siberia. As a member of the Siberian Association of Pre-Historic Art Researchers (SAPAR), I was invited to participate in a Soros Foundation-sponsored expedition with Kemerovo State University faculty and other SAPAR members from July 28-August 15, 2002.

An international group of rock art researchers, Russian, French, and American, around twenty in number, camped on the west and east banks of the Middle Yenisey River near Abakan, the capital city of Khakassia in the Russian Federation, north of Mongolia. We hiked, were ferried by tugboat, and rode in a "vintage" 1960s bus to rock art sites at Oglakhty I-III, Tepsei I, Ust'-Tuba II, and Shalabolino. The primary purpose of the expedition was to access the extent of erosion and vandalism to the rock art, to propose methods of conservation, and to raise the question of eligibility of these rock art sites as UNESCO World Heritage sites.

This paper proposes a working hypothesis for the colonization of this region to reconstruct the cultural origin, symbolic significance, and relative dating of this rock art. Supporting evidence is based upon my observations in the field, reinforced by research conducted recently by multi-national archaeologists, and by ethnographers during historic times. First, I describe the general features of the rock art at the sites visited. Then, the Late Pleistocene or early Holocene environment, in particular the faunal assemblages during the Last Glacial Maximum (LGM), 19,000-18,000 B.P. (uncalibrated)<sup>1</sup> is considered, as well as the broader

ecological context of the Minusinsk Basin. Lastly, I discuss what is known about the demographic and ethnographic histories of the Minusinsk Basin and hypothesize regarding who colonized the region, who created this rock art, and what it meant to them.

### MIDDLE YENISEY ROCK ART

In 1994 and 1995, Jacov Sher and Henri-Paul Francfort stylistically dated the petroglyphs at major sites on the Middle Yenisey River, Oglakhty I, Tepsei I, Ust'-Tuba II, and its tributary, the Tuba River, Shalabolino. Purportively the sites are the Upper Paleolithic, Minusinsk style, to the Neolithic, Angara style, and the Bronze Age (Francfort and Sher 1995:II; Martynov, A.I, 1991:25; Okladnikov 1966:109; Pyatkin 1998:26-30; Pyatkin and Martynov 1985; Sher 1980:185-193; Sher, et al. 1994: IV-V, 20).

While initially persuasive, further consideration of Sher and Francfort's stylistic dating of Minsinsk attributed to the Upper Paleolithic raises questions based upon important differences between Minusinsk style and European cave art's faunal assemblages and their respective time frames. While the two styles resemble one another in that they depict prey and predatory mammals with a heavy outline style in large, meter scale images, significant differences in their respective faunal assemblages affect their relative dating. For example, the European pictographs include Ice Age megafauna such as woolly mammoth, rhinoceros, and bison in the rock art faunal assemblages, C<sup>14</sup> dated between 30,000-15,000 B.P. This is in contrast to the Minusinsk Basin petroglyphs, which are generally smaller in centimeter scale. They represent both mam-

moth-steppe and forest-steppe, post LGM interglacial, mammals. Represented are moose, aurochs, red deer, reindeer, brown bear, horse, and wild boar (Goebel 1999; Guthrie 1990; Hoffecker, personal conversation 2004).

Until a more accurate method of dating this rock art can be found, a paleoenvironmental approach can help to establish an upper bound or oldest possible date, for dating this Minusinsk Basin rock art through the comparative analysis of the rock art faunal assemblage with the Minusinsk Basin paleo-environment after the last glacial maximum and related taxa. This approach narrows the time frame for the creation of these two styles of rock art *after* 14,000 B.P., when the Ice Age megafauna disappeared from the Minusinsk Basin. To infer a reasonable lower bound or most recent date, we need to look at ethnographic evidence concerning the transition of Minusinsk Basin colonizers.

Also, of interest for futuring dating, both Minusinsk and Angara style petroglyphs are

heavily repatinated, low contrast. They are covered with some lichen or with calcium carbonate from seasonal submersion from the Krasnoyarsk Dam construction which raised the water levels several meters at Oglakhty I-III, Tepsei I-II, Ust'-Tuba II, and Shalabolino.

The Minusinsk and Angara style petroglyphs of moose, aurochs, red deer, wild horse, wild boar, and brown bear which have nearly identical interglacial faunal assemblages, are situated on a horizontal axis from west to east with Oglakhty, furthest west, Tepsei, Ust'-Tuba, and Shalabolino, furthest east. The ideological significance of the positioning of the rock art on an east-west axis is discussed below. First, Minusinsk style is characterized by heavily outline-pecked, large-bodied taxa in assemblages that focus on a single large-bodied red deer, with antlers, *Cervus elaphus*, in conjunction with smaller moose, and bear at the Oglakhty I site (Figures 1 and 2).

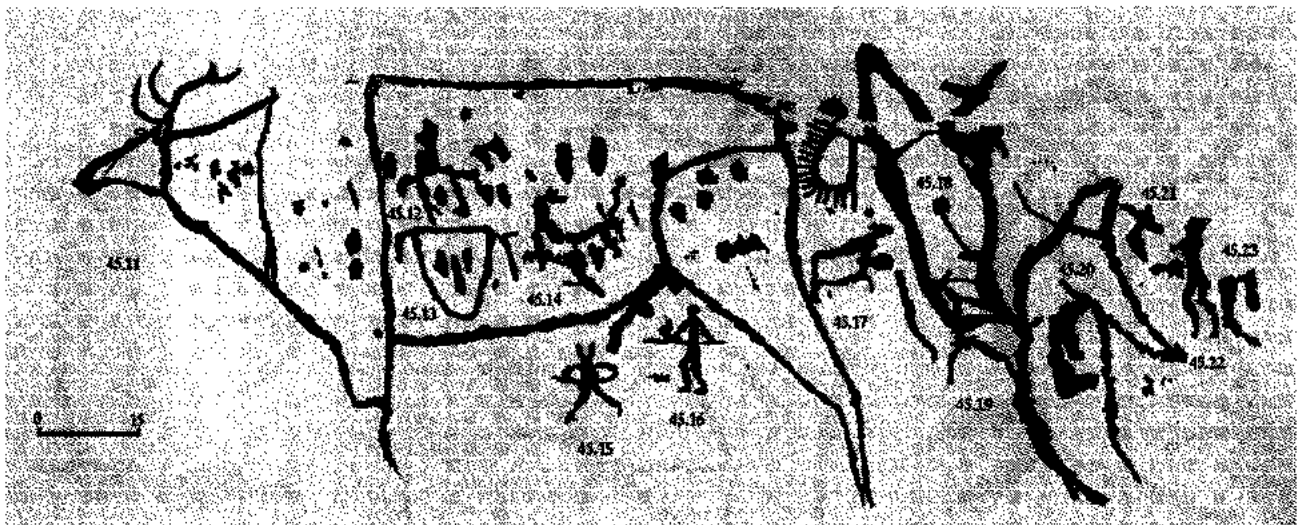


Figure 1A: Oglakhty I petroglyph of “cosmic elk”. Drawing from Sher, *et. al.* (1994)

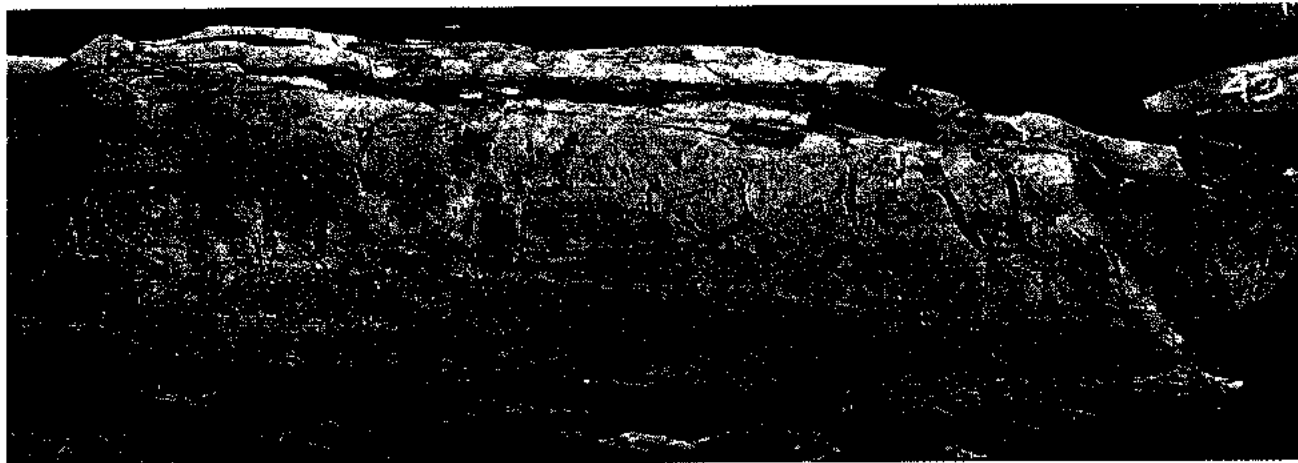


Figure 1B: Oglakhty I petroglyph of “cosmic elk”. Photo is Plate 5 in Sher, *et al.* (1994).

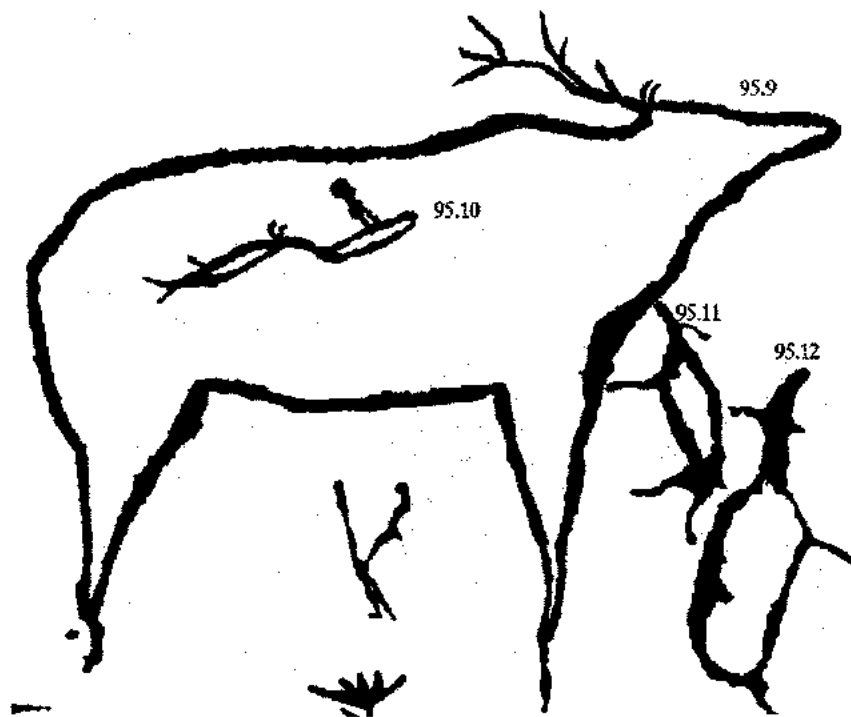


Figure 2 Oglakhty I petroglyphs of two Minusinsk style red deer. In Sher, *et al.* (1994).

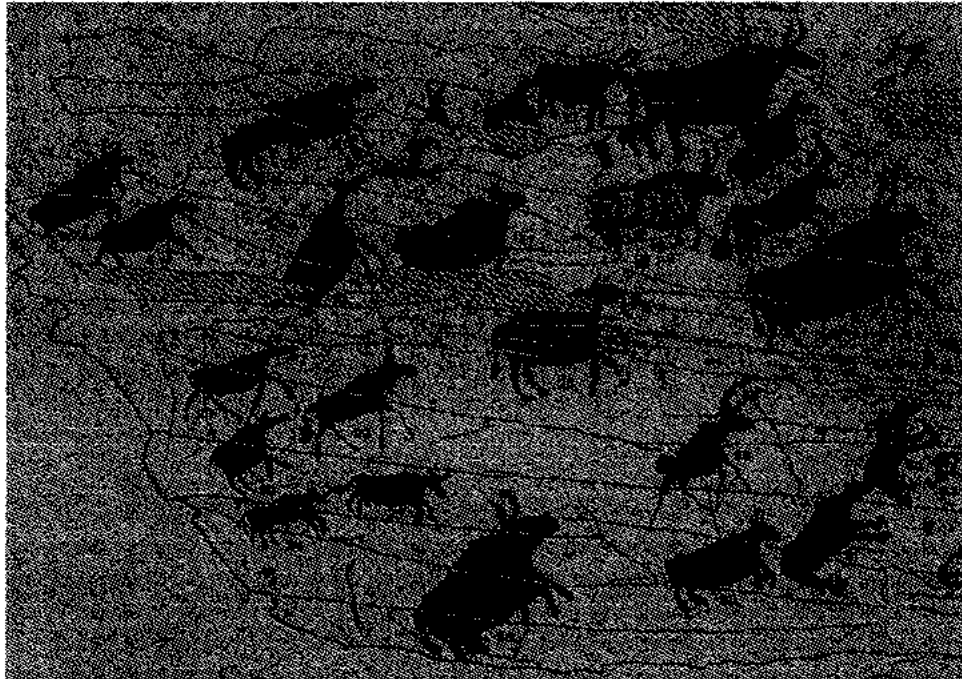


Figure 3: Ust'-Tuba II petroglyph of two bears, herd of auroches and mooses with bear bust in upper right corner. Drawing from Francfort and Sher 1995, Plate 39. Photo by L. McNeil.

At the four major Middle Yenisey River sites, the Angara style rock art taxa are characterized by four distinct variants or sub-styles, all small, centimeter scale: outline-pecked head and chest (bust); full body outline-pecked with partial

interior pecking along the head, chest, and/or haunches; full body solid-pecked; and full body solid pecked; and full body outline-pecked with vertical interior lines. All of the Angara-style rock art depicting forest-steppe taxa, i.e.,

auroch, moose, red deer, wild horse, wild boar, and brown bear, are represented in the four sub-styles. (Table 1.) The ideologalsignificance is discussed below.

In addition to the faunal assemblage mentioned above, the Oglakhty I and Tepsei I sites depict two brown bears standing upright in Minusinsk (M) outline-pecked style and Ust'-Tuba and Shalabolino depict approximately twenty-five brown bears in Angara (A) style in the following three poses: standing upright on hind legs (full body), standing on all four legs, east or right-facing (full body), or bear head and chest (busts), right or east facing: Oglakhty I (M-one upright; A-one bust), Tepsei I (M-upright), Ust'-Tuba II (A-two solid-pecked, upright bears and one outline-pecked bear bust), and Shalabolino (A-twenty-two bear images in all these poses). In conjunction with Angara style petroglyphs at these sites, one finds canoe-type

boats, anthropomorphic figures, some with horns, and large fish. The latter correlates with a warmer and wetter interglacial environment.

### PALEOENVIRONMENT AND TAXA

The faunal assemblage depicted in the rock art at these Middle Yenisey and tributary, Tuba River, sites correlates with Late Pleistocene/early Holocene interglacial, forest-steppe paleoenvironment and taxa that appeared after 14,000 B.P. when Ice Age megafauna disappeared in the faunal record (Goebel 1999; Guthrie 1990; Vasil'ev 1992; *contra* Sher 1994; *contra* Francfort and Sher 1995). For example, in the faunal record of habitation sites along the Middle Yenisey River (Vasil'ev 1992), by around 14,000 B.P., Ice Age herbivores such as woolly mammoth, rhinoceros, and bison, are replaced by interglacial forest-steppe ruminants, predominantly at most sites reindeer, (*Rangifer*

TABLE 1 ANGARA STYLES OF PETROGLYPHS

	Auroch	Moose	Red Deer	Wild Horse	Wild Boar	Brown Bear
A						
B						
C						
D						

- A. Head and chest (bust): emerging of the upper body from the river portal (birthing).
- B. Full body, outline with partial interior pecking: newly emerged into the human world.
- C. Full body, solid pecked: fully emerged into the human world (born).
- D. Full body, outline with interior line pecking: passing through the lower world (not yet born).

*tarandus*), followed in frequency by moose or "elk" (*Alces alces*), red deer (*Cervus elaphus*), aurochs (*Bos primigenius*), wild horse (*Equus ferus*), and small game such as wild boar, hares, marmots, fox, and waterfowl such white goose, duck, and loon, and anadromous fish such as salmon, shad, etc. During the interglacial in the Minusinsk Basin, the faunal record shows "mammoth fauna" diversity of large herbivores (ruminants and non-ruminants), as well as omnivores, occupying their respective ecological niches. Nonruminants (mammoth and bison), co-existed with browsers and grazers (moose, red deer, reindeer, argali, aurochs), until around 14,000 B.P. when mammoth and bison disappeared from the Middle Yenisey River faunal record. After their disappearance or extinction, several ruminants (browsers, grazers, and intermediate types) co-existed in neighboring ecological niches into the last glacial period (14,000-12,000B.P.).

During the interstadials, which are glacial stages marking a temporary retreat of the ice, pine and deciduous forests expanded as habitat for forest types (red deer, moose, wolverine, wolf, roebuck, wild boar and brown bear) and forest-steppe (open space) types (reindeer, fox, hare, others) thrived, while aurochs occupied the steppe/prairie niche. In the ice-free rivers and streams of Southern Siberia, large fatty fish became an available food source (and notably, boats, fish traps, harpoons, and hooks appear in the archaeological record), as well as scrub birds (grouse) and waterfowl that migrated to the region (ducks, loons, white geese).

The issue of representative samples and distribution make generalizations about faunal data in the Minusinsk Basin problematic. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that large herbivores, moose, red deer, and aurochs, as well as small mammals like wild boar, that are present in the rock art with moose being predominant, show a decline in numbers in the faunal record between 14,000 -11,000 B.P. (Vasil'ev 1992: 351-362) at both Afontova and Kokorevo cultural sites.<sup>2</sup> Not surprisingly,

predatory animals such brown bear, cave lion, wolf appear at lower numbers than prey animals in the reported faunal records of Middle Yenisey valley sites of the Afontova and Kokorevo cultures in the Kokorevo-Novoselovo area. These animals are often reported as *rare*, and the brown bear disappears at reported sites between 13,000 - 11,000 B.P.

Probable causes might include one or more of the following: (1) a glacial interlude around 12,000-11,000 B.P. which could have sent large herbivores south or east across the mammoth steppe into Beringia and North America, feasibly followed by humans, and or, predatory animals; (2) depleting wood resources necessary for fire and warmth in the Minusinsk Basin; and/or (3) over-killing of protein-rich mammals during the known massive recolonization of Southern Subarctic Siberia post LGM. (Goebel 1999: 218-220; Guthrie 1990; Hoffecker, Powers, and Goebel 1993: 46-53).

In any case, the decline in major food protein, or wood sources would have stressed human inhabitants living in Southern Siberia, especially in winter when having a fire for warmth and a high-protein food source would have been essential. To further compound these stresses, colonizers living in bands with low population densities would incur serious somatic and reproductive challenges. Consequently, social adaptive responses to these marginal conditions, such as periodic aggregations, discussed below, would be crucial to cultural survival.

### MINUSINSK BASIN COLONIZERS

Archaeologists studying the Minusinsk Basin of the Upper Paleolithic agree that Astakhov's (1966) model for "the general sociocultural pattern of life of prehistoric people" still holds, that is: "they probably lived in small bands" which

would have had its own peculiarities, reflected in the characteristics of technology,

tool-types, and dwelling construction. Small bands of this kind coexisted for centuries and millennia, replaced each other at the same sites, interacted, mixed, interrelated, joined together or separated (Okladnikov 1981:113).

The period after the LGM, 19,000-18,000 B.P., is of most interest here since the paleoenvironmental forces of this period correlate best with the faunal assemblages depicted in the rock art. This was also a period of rapid recolonization of the region, although climatically it was still subject to glacial interludes or “cold snap” extremes.

During the final stage of the Siberian Upper Paleolithic, 16,000 – 12,000 B.P., Afontova and Kokorevo Cultures coexisted at numerous temporary habitation sites along the Minusinsk Basin, suggested by the “absence of long-term base camps.” Archaeologists describe these sites as small, short-term camps with light above ground dwellings, or “huts”, having central rosette-style hearths, littered with little debris, which were occupied by “highly mobile hunter-gatherers” (Goebel 1999:223; also see Okladnikov 1981:113; and Vasil’ev 1992:357, 377).

According to ethnographic accounts (*etic*) and ancient oral traditions (*emic*), Tungusic-Manchu speaking (proto)Evenks colonized Southern Siberia from the Ob and Yenisey River in the west to the Okhotsk Sea in the east. Made up of numerous small groups, or bands, these Evenks adopted clan names, often related to their territorial rivers which were Er-bogachenskiye, Zapadnye or Yenisey, Pod-kamennaya Tunguska, Symskiye, Vitim, etc.<sup>3</sup> At the mouth of the Amur River, they are referred to as Kilen or Kili. This was the Nanay’s name for themselves. Around Lake Baikal, northern Evenks have interacted culturally with Buryats, Mongols, and Yakuts.

Due to their wide distribution in small bands with low population densities, ethnographic accounts report that these Tungusic Evenk

peoples, possibly their neighbors, relied upon aggregations of neighboring clans for spring revival rites. This effectively would address challenges in exogamous mate-finding, food-sharing during late winter scarcity, and alliance forming.

According to ethnographic accounts collected in the early seventeenth to twentieth centuries from widely-dispersed Evenks throughout Siberia, clans gathered for spring revival rites (Anisimov 1963a, 1963b; Vasilevich 1963, 1971a, 1971b). For Yenisey Evenks, the rock art sites on the Middle Yenisey discussed here, appear to have marked a ritual clan center which extended from Oglakhty in the west to Shalabolino in the east. Furthermore, being situated on the Middle Yenisey River, these sites would have served as ideal interclan aggregation sites, being easily accessible by river or by land during both glacials and interglacials. The sites also provided access to water, game, fish, after 12,000 B.P., and wood sources for fire. On the convergence of rock art and aggregation sites in Europe, Bahn 1982; Conkey 1980, 1992, 2000; Sieveking 1978, 1979; on Paleoinidan aggregation sites, see Hofman 1994.

These interclan revivals, or *ikenipke*, although timed at the beginning of the new hunting season, were not about “hunting magic” in the simplistic sense of performing sympathetic magic (*contra* Breuil 1952). Consequently, they should be distinguished from the small band’s, microband or clan-wide, pre-hunting rites, or *shingkelevun*, whose purpose was to ensure a successful hunt; from the *post-mortem* bear festival rites of propitiation to the revered totemic animal (Hallowell 1926); or from later shamanic curing rites or séances whose function was “to retrieve the stolen soul” of a sick individual.

### SPRING REVIVAL RITES

While spring revivals were different from these other rites in their communal focus, it is

important to understand that these various Evenk rites were cognitively grounded in shared, socially-constructed knowledge that informed their cosmology, beliefs, myths, and rock art. (See Hirschfeld and Gelman 1994 on mental mapping and knowledge domains; Boyer 1994, on knowledge domains and religious beliefs; *contra* Lewis-Williams and Dowson 1988, on rock art production and altered states; *contra* Winkelman 2002, on shamanism and cognition).

Evenks, dispersed throughout Siberia before the domestication of the reindeer, Neolithic or Aeneolithic, adapted a distinctively Sibero-Mongolian mythology. It was based upon a three-tiered cosmological structure of sky world, cosmic tree, and river portal. There were rites whereby dancers "ascend to the sky". And there were beliefs about the cosmic balance of dualities, i.e., male-female, lower world-upper world, father-mother, birth-death, and of the bear ancestor and "elk" cow, maral or moose. Early Tungusic Evenk colonists in Southern Siberia appear to have combined these Mongolian beliefs with widely dispersed Eurasian beliefs about the bear as totemic ancestor and spirit helper (Humphrey 1996:247-248).

Characteristically Evenk spring revival rites, *ikenipke*, were communal, or macroband, gatherings to ensure "increase" construed broadly in ecological and human terms. As concluded from the ethnographers, Anisimov 1963b; Turov 2000; field work by Russian Vasilevich 1971a involving numerous clans of Evenks in Siberia, reports all religious ceremonies were clanwide and obligatory to every member of the clan. The performance of these ceremonies relates to "the care and duty of the whole clan" and, the collective preparation of these ceremonies is in itself a clan festivity related to the clan's common origin.

The concepts of rebirth of nature, the multiplication of animals, and the insurance of success in future hunts are also connected

with these ceremonies; every member of the clan, without exception, is permitted to use the ceremonial "shamanizing" equipment". [And], the right to use this equipment during these ceremonies and to enter into shamanizing activity with its aid is an obligation for every clan member (Anisimov 1963a:116; Humphrey 1996; Kehoe 2000; Vasilevich 1963:46-47 on "to shamanize" in Tungusic Manchu, meaning a performance to narrate or sing clan stories, not exclusively trance or séance).

According to Evenk three-tiered cosmology, the Mistress of Animals resides in the upper world, *ugu buga*, where she maintains control over the souls of unborn animals; humans reside in the the middle world, *duluga buga*, which includes the clan territory, defined by hunting and fishing ranges; and deceased ancestors, *buni*, reside in the lower world, *khegu-ergu buga*, in which exists the top-to-bottom reversal of the human world.

Also, according to Evenk mythology, the bear "spirit of the ancestors", *khargi, mangi*, and Master of the Lower World ascends to the upper world by way of the clan tree--a larch *turu*--to implore the Mistress of Animals, *Kheglen*, elk or maral, to release the souls of unborn animals into clan territory. The bear's return to the human world with the reborn or reincarnated, game animals takes place at the clan river "portal", or springs, at the clan center of rocks and clan tree, *bugady mushun*.

## ROCK ART AND RESTORATION CYCLE

Taken together, the location of these rock art sites on south or east-facing cliffs overlooking a river, as well as the numerous bear images depicted in conjunction with difficult to procure or less plentiful game animals, such as moose, aurochs, red deer, horse, suggests that these rock art sites were associated with clan sanctuary and spring interclan aggregation sites. Given their location in ancient proto Evenk territory, this rock art imagery has narrative features that relate to the mythic cycle of the



totemic animal-intermediary, *khargi* or *mangi*, in its journey of ascent to the upper world by way of the clan tree, *turu*, in the fall, and its reemergence into the human world in the spring leading a herd of game animals. Notably, these rock art sites, *bugady mushun*, are situated near a dense collection of Middle Yenisey Afontova Culture and Kokorevo Culture habitation sites.

For Evenks, the clan river united the three worlds of the universe, consistent with Tungus-Mongol beliefs held by Western and Khori Buryats, Yakuts, "horse" pastoralist Evenks, and peoples from Altai and Tuva. As Anisimov's Evenk ethnographic accounts report, "The headwaters originate in the upper world, on the upper course of mythical clan river being where the receptacle of souls of animals reside before birth," which is controlled by the cosmic "elk" whom the bear solicits (Anisimov 1963b: 204-205). Oglakhty I and Tepsei I Minusinsk style images appear to be associated with the mythic headwaters of the upperworld in the west where the cosmic "elk", a female red deer with antlers that signify the Tree of Life (Anisimov 1963a:83-84; Anisimov 1963b:183; Jacobson 1993:185, 193-194; Marytnov 1991:99-107) and ancestral bear meet (Figures 1 and 2) and where the river's mouth empties into the "underground sea of the nether world" (Anisimov 1963b:166).<sup>4</sup>

In contrast, the rock art sites at Ust'-Tuba II-III, Figure 3, and at Shalabolino suggest sites of emergence from the lower world back into clan territory due east of Oglakhty. These rock art sites have significance as sacred clan territorial centers with clan tree and rocks and aggregation sites where *mangi*, completing his cosmic journey, emerges from the lower world with herds of game animals in early spring. Situated propitiously at the portal of emergence, the clan lands with sacred rocks and trees, are identified with places for hunting wild game, fish, and waterfowl.

At Shalabolino, hundreds of heavily repatinated Angara style petroglyphs grace south-facing cliffs overlooking the Tuba River, due east

from Oglakhty, Tepsei, and Ust'-Tuba. Out of hundreds of images, Shalabolino has twenty-two recorded bear petroglyphs depicting brown bears with shoulder hump, in several poses: a tree-climbing bear, Figure 4; two bears standing upright, a larger with a smaller bear, possibly an adult with offspring, next to a natural fissure or portal in the rock, Figure 5; single bears standing upright or walking on all fours, in either case leading herds of large game animals, Figures 6 and 7. There are also single bear busts near, and typically to right or east-facing, suggesting the bear's partial emergence from the river portal to the lower world, followed by large game animals, who are also sometimes depicted from the chest up (Pyatkin and Marynov 1985:159 figures 6-12, 1985:160 figures 1-15; personal field notes and photographs).



Figure 4: Mykalent copy of a petroglyph of bear climbing a tree at Shalabolino site on Tuba River. Photo from E. Miklashevich, Kemerovo State University and Museum of the Archaeology and Ethnography of South Siberia.



Figure 5: Mykalent copy of petroglyph of two bears standing upright at Shalabolino site on Tuba River. Photo from E. Miklashevich, Kemerovo State University and Museum of the Archaeology and Ethnography of South Siberia.

As mentioned earlier, the Angara style petroglyphs at these sites depicting bears and game animals are represented in four distinct sub-styles: (a) outline pecked, with some interior pecking, head and chest or bust; (b) full body, partially pecked on head, chest, and, or haunches; (c) full body, solid pecked; and (d) full body, outline pecked with vertical interior lines, Table 1. Moreover, these four Angara sub-styles, when viewed in relation to Evenk bear restoration beliefs, appear to correspond to stages in the process of emergence, death-rebirth, as does the location on the clan river. The greatest number of petroglyphs showing bears with game animals, in all Angara sub-styles, appear at Shalabolino, the river site of emergence from the lower world into clan territory. Regarding the interior line style, Ekaterina Devlet, archaeologist at the Russian Academy of Science, Moscow, maintains that in Siberian rock art, the interior line, "x-ray or skeletal", style for anthropomorphic figures suggests the death-like experience of shamanic trance (Devlet 2000).

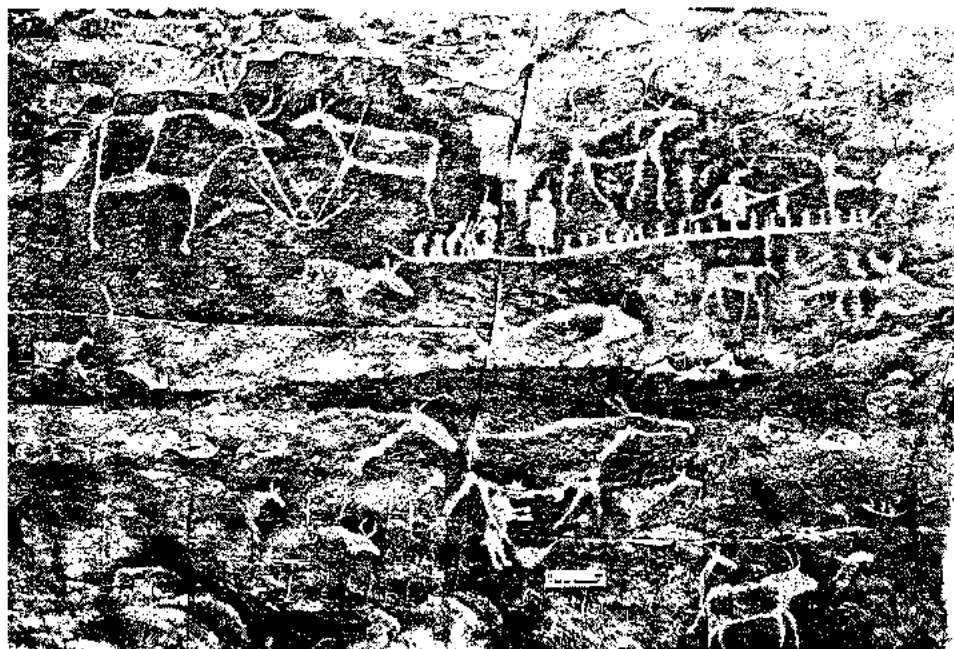


Figure 6: Mykalent copy of a petroglyph depicting herd of game animals, small bear standing upright (below center) and boats carried anthropomorphic figures at Shalabolino on the Tuba River. In Pyatkin and Martynov (1985).



Figure 7: Mykalent copy of a petroglyph depicting a bear on the right facing a herd of game animals. In Pyatkin and Martynov (1985).

Considering Evenk communal, non-shamanic ear restoration beliefs, it is reasonable to infer that the bears and game animals are depicted in interior line style to signify that stage in their journey through the lower world, associated with the dead, or unborn. Moreover, the animal bust images suggest emergence from the river “portal” from the lower world. The interior pecking only on head, chest, and, or haunches suggests their new born stage; and interior solid pecking represents their full emergence, or birth, into the human world and clan territory.

The features of this site that testify to its importance as an Evenk clan center and as a spring revival aggregation site, include the heavy concentration of petroglyphs with bear restoration narrative elements that correspond with Evenk-specific mythology and restoration beliefs of the bear ancestor ascending the clan tree, imploring the Mistress of Animals for the release of the unborn souls of game animals, and leading game animals from the lower world into clan territory. Another geological feature at Shalabolino, that suggests that it could have been regarded as an important emergence site, has to do with its abundant underwater springs, which I gladly discovered on a muggy day in August 2002. As numerous oral traditions of indigenous peoples attest, natural springs were, and still are, regarded as portals or super highways, if you will, from the under world out of which animal or bird spirit-helpers communicate with deceased ancestors.

## CONCLUSIONS

By synthesizing ecological and ethno-archaeological evidence, one can infer that Minusinsk Basin rock art sites mark a ritual center and spring revival aggregation site for widely-dispersed small bands of early Tungusic Evenk colonizers in the Yenisey River region, who called themselves “Yenisey Evenks.” Into historic times, northern Tungusic Evenk peoples inhabited the major river valleys throughout Southern and Subarctic Siberia from the Ob and Yenisey Rivers in the west to lower Amur River and Sahklin Island in the Russian Far East, and from Lake Baikal to the south and the Upper Lena in the north. Today, they are known as the northern or “reindeer” Evenks, who inhabit the taiga region north of Lake Baikal.

The evidence presented here is expanded upon in a longer paper about the spring revival rites and symbolic representations of Minusinsk Basin and Basin-Plateau colonizers.<sup>5</sup> Regarding the Minusinsk Basin during the Late Pleistocene and early Holocene, 17,000-11,000 B.P., spring revival rites and related symbolic complexes expressed in myths and rock art iconography, emerged in response to reproductive and somatic challenges of colonizers in Southern Siberia’s interglacial forest-steppe environment.

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I am singularly indebted to Dr. Elena Kostoglodova, Slavic and Germanic Languages and Literature Department at the University of Colorado, Boulder, for translating articles from Russian to English.

## NOTES

1. Russian B.P. 14C-based dates should be calibrated back in time by approx. 2,000 calendar years, based upon reconstructed 14C activities during last glacial period; see K. Hughen, et al, *Science*, 303, 9 Jan. 2004, 202-207.

Based on scattered evidence, northern Evenks share material cultural features with Kokorevo

Culture. These features include seasonal habitation or aggregation sites (Kokorevo I and IV) round, rosette-style hearths associated with light above ground dwellings such as huts or tents. The extent of Afontova and Kokorevo cultural sites outside the Yenisey Basin, from the Ob' basin, Altai, Angara, Trans-Baikal region, overlaps with Evenk habitation areas throughout Siberia (Anisimov 1963b on Evenk exogamous clans: 195-197; Vasil'ev 1992: 377).

2. The Kokorevo Culture existed along side the Afontova Culture in the Minusinsk Basin, although a bit more recently. At Afontova Cultural sites: Kurtak III, 14,300 B.P. +/- 100, 14,390 B.P. +/- 100, and 16,900 b.P. +/- 700 yrs, Tashtyik I and II, 13,000-12,000 B.P., and Kokorevo II, 13,330. B.P +/- 100 yrs, and red deer, aurochs, cave lion, saiga antelope, wolf, hare, and marmot are *rare*, while bear, and or, moose are *absent* (Abramova 1979a, 1979b; Astakhov 1987; Vasil'ev 1992:357-360). At Kokorevo Cultural sites: Kokorevo I, layers 2 and 3, 15,900 B.P. +/- 250 to 12,940 B.P. +/- 270, Kokorevo IV, 14,320 B.P. +/- 330 yrs, Novoselovo VII, 15,000 B.P. +/- 300, etc. include the forest-steppe taxa, cited above, but no bear or moose. I am suggesting that this 'window' of time correlates with the peopling of the Americas.

3. We believe that Yenisey Evenks adapted from seasonally mobile hunter-gatherers to semi-sedentary "reindeer breeders" during the Neolithic or Aeneolithic. Cultural anthropologists attribute the domestication of animals to the Neolithic in the Middle East from 9,000-3,000 B.P., and typically a millennia or two later in Southern Siberia, 7,000-3,000 B.P.

4. Images of boats at this site recall the Evenk beliefs about the soul's journey by boat out of the lower world, as well as the bear ancestor's ascent back to this world via the clan river (Vasilevich 1963:58-60, on soul's journey on the clan river, Engdekit). As recorded by M. Devlet (1998), Angara and Bronze Age style

rock art from the Aldy-Mozaga rock art site, Sayan Canyon of the Yenisey River, at Tuva, depict a bear with game animals (Devlet 1998:92, panel 30); and, most striking, a bear bust next to what appears to be an endless cycle of game resources (moose, red deer, horse, argali, birds, and fish (Devlet 1998:99, panel 40).

5 "Seasonal Revival Rites: Ecological and Symbolic Adaptive Strategies of Minusinsk Basin and Basin-Plateau Colonizers" (under review) On spring revival rites and rock art in the Basin-Plateau, see (McNeil 1999:133-139).

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