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L I E T U V O S

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# ARCHEO*logija* 19

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# ART OF THE VERETJE CULTURE

SVETLANA VIKTOROVNA OSHIBKINA

## INTRODUCTION

The study of Boreal of the Russian Plain started after sites of sand lowlands had been discovered. On those sites situated on sandy soil no organic materials can be preserved. Relatively homogenous collections of artefacts found during excavations or found on the ground indicated that groups of hunters-gatherers were highly mobile, though the level of culture was relatively low. This conditioned a situation when no permanent settlements existed as well as no definite living territory and no traditions related to the organisation of settlements and construction techniques. Though by that time some turf sites were discovered in Northern Europe containing artefacts made from organic materials, including decorated ones (Clark, 1954, 1975), in East European Boreal such artefacts were still rare. Discovery of Oleneostrovskii cemetery and Nizhneye Veretje site where tools made of bone, antlers and wood were found, made the researchers date those sites as Neolithic (Foss, 1941, 1952; Ravdonicas, 1956; Gurina, 1956). One more argument for the Neolithic character of these sites was the modified shape of tools and artistically decorated artefacts, which seemed to be uncharacteristic for Boreal.

Further research proved that Boreal in Eastern and Northern Europe was the time when a number of cultures were flourishing. This was conditioned by the necessity to adopt to change that took place after the glacier retreated. When the adaptation process ran smoothly, groups of people started to dwell on a certain territory. In a number of cases we see complicated structures combining permanent settlements and temporary sites (Filatova, 1988.) as well as unified interior organization of dwellings (Oshibkina, 1987, Oshibkina, 1997, 126). Particular interest presents the art of Boreal population, which proves high level of material and mental culture, which is reflected in the funeral process and manufacture of decorated working tools, weapons and culture artefacts.

## ART OF THE VERETJE CULTURE

We know several sources of Boreal art, they are sites or groups of settlements (Oshibkina, 1992). A very representational collection of artistic artefacts comes from the Veretje culture settlements situated near Vozhe and Lacha lakes which are connected by the river Svid and make up a single system. This region presented a certain ecology niche very suitable for the Boreal population. Settlements and sites are situated along the banks of the Lacha lake as they were in Boreal up to the moment when these banks started to turn into a bog. In present time these banks are covered with bogs or turf at the bottom of which culture layers of the Veretje culture are found. Contemporary cemeteries are situated in the vicinity of settlements, on high banks. Beside this limited territory characteristic tools were found scattered over a large territory, mostly to the South-West, thus marking the probable way the population moved to the North, probably, in -Preboreal.

At all sites of the Veretje culture art artefacts and decorated weapons were found. The number of findings depends on the size of territory examined by excavation and preservation grade of organic materials in every case. By all means, artistic approach towards the manufacture of weapons and tools was a tradition for these people, as well as primitive sculpture, which, most probably, had to do with religion.

At Veretje I 1500 square meters of territory were excavated. E found remains of three big dwellings and over 50 art items. Among them tools bearing ornaments, drawings or engravings, carved ornaments made up of duplicated elements and groups. It is accepted thinking that ornaments were made not only for decoration, but were also bearing certain traditional information. There exists no system for classification of ornaments, sometimes they are divided into animalistic, vegetable and geometric, plus one separate group, mixed ornaments. (Ivanov, 1963, 8). We

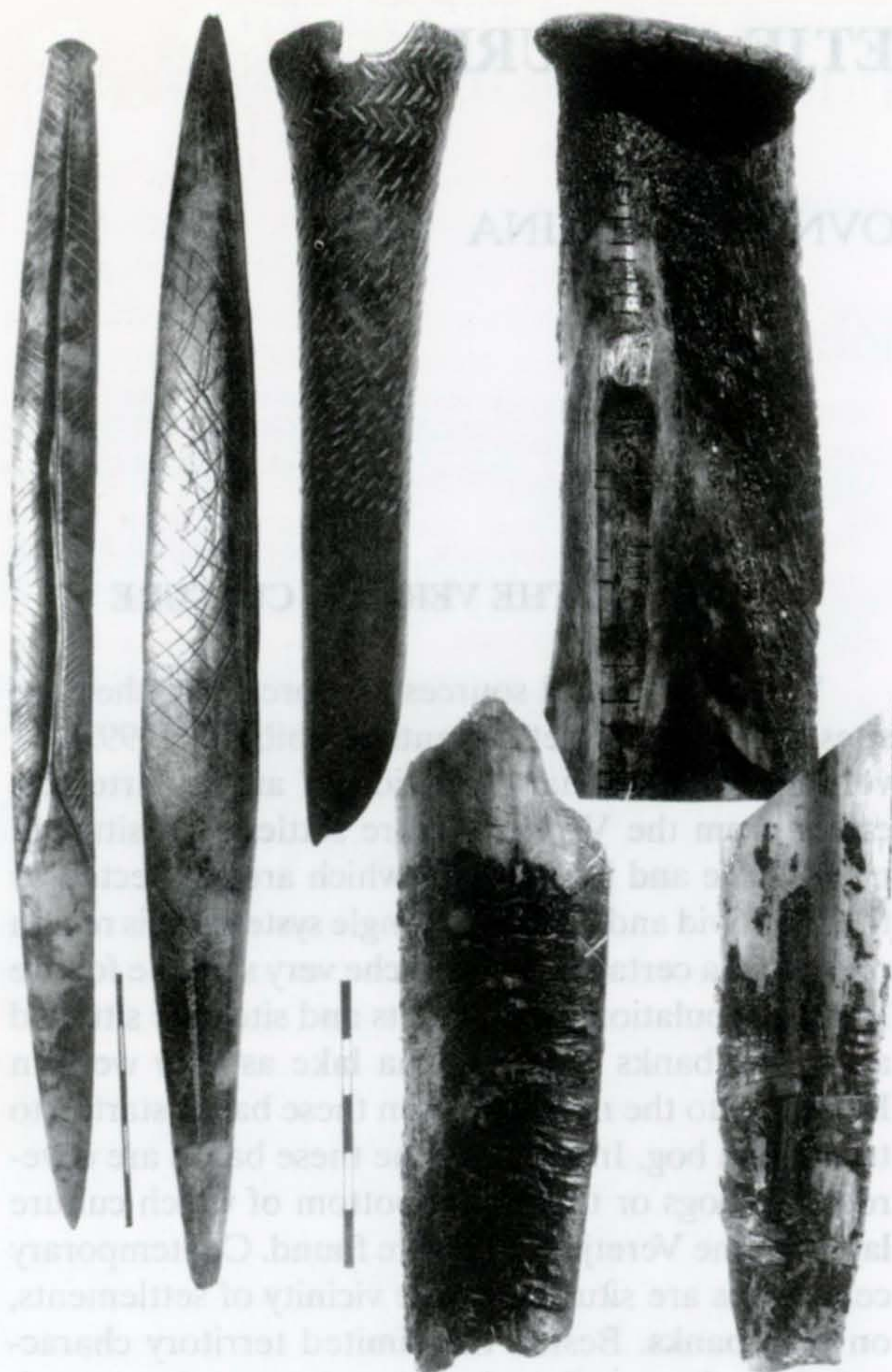


Fig. 1. Veretje I site. Ornamented tools (1-4) and marks (5). 1, 2 – daggers; 3 – spare point; 4 – dagger made from an elk shoulder bone; 5, 6 – knife hand.

derived four ornament groups from the materials of Veretje I: geometric, scratched, oval carved, scratched on sides. It is very characteristic that the same types of ornaments can be found at other sites of the Veretje culture.

The most wide-spread are geometric ornaments composed with groups of lines or carvings of different length, triangle or diamond-shaped figures, fur-tree-like ornaments (Fig. 1,1; 2,2,4,5). Geometric ornament is well structured and looks decorative. It can more often be found on knives cut from moos shoulder blades. In a number of cases the lines are curved following the shape of the tool, which creates a particular artistic outlook. The composition made on a wooden plate resembling an oar is a striking example of geometric ornament. Its size is 18x8 cm and this artefact still bears some red paint. On one of its polished sides one can see a composition of diamonds filled with carved lines (Oshibkina, 1997, 141).

The first impression of the ornament made by carving or scratching is that of chaos. In reality this is one of the most popular motifs. It is, probably the most archaic one as well. Scratched ornaments can be more often found on household tools: wide-bladed knives, needle holders, tools for skin processing, but can be also seen on daggers and arrow heads (Fig. 1,2; 3,4-7).

The ornament made by short oval carvings placed at the same angle ("field") or fur-tree-like ornaments were very rarely enhanced by other elements. This type of ornament is very specific and can be found on various tools: for example the hollow spare head with protruded point bears this ornament from the butt to half its length. The ornament turns into the fur-tree type near the holes for fixation (Fig. 1,3). Such compositions can be found on artefacts made of wood and antlers (Fig. 2,1,3).

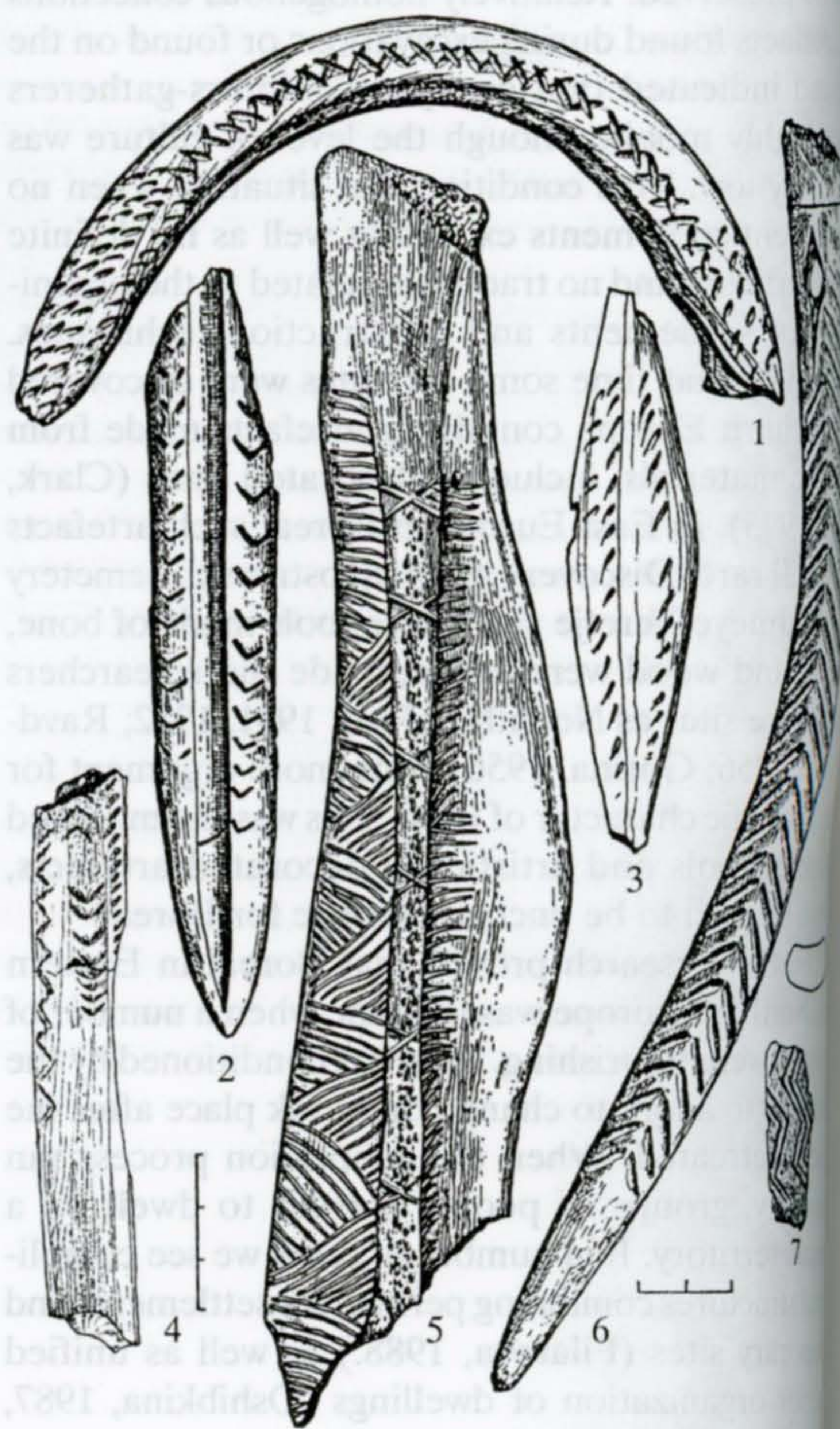


Fig. 2. Ornamented tools. 1, 2, 4, 5 – Veretje kI; 3 – Sukhba; 6 – Lukinchikha; 7 – Nizhneye Veretje. 1 – wooden tool; 2 – dagger with two grooves; 3, 7 – plates made from antlers; 4 – knife made from a rib; 5 – knife made from an elk shoulder bone; 6 – dagger made from antlers.

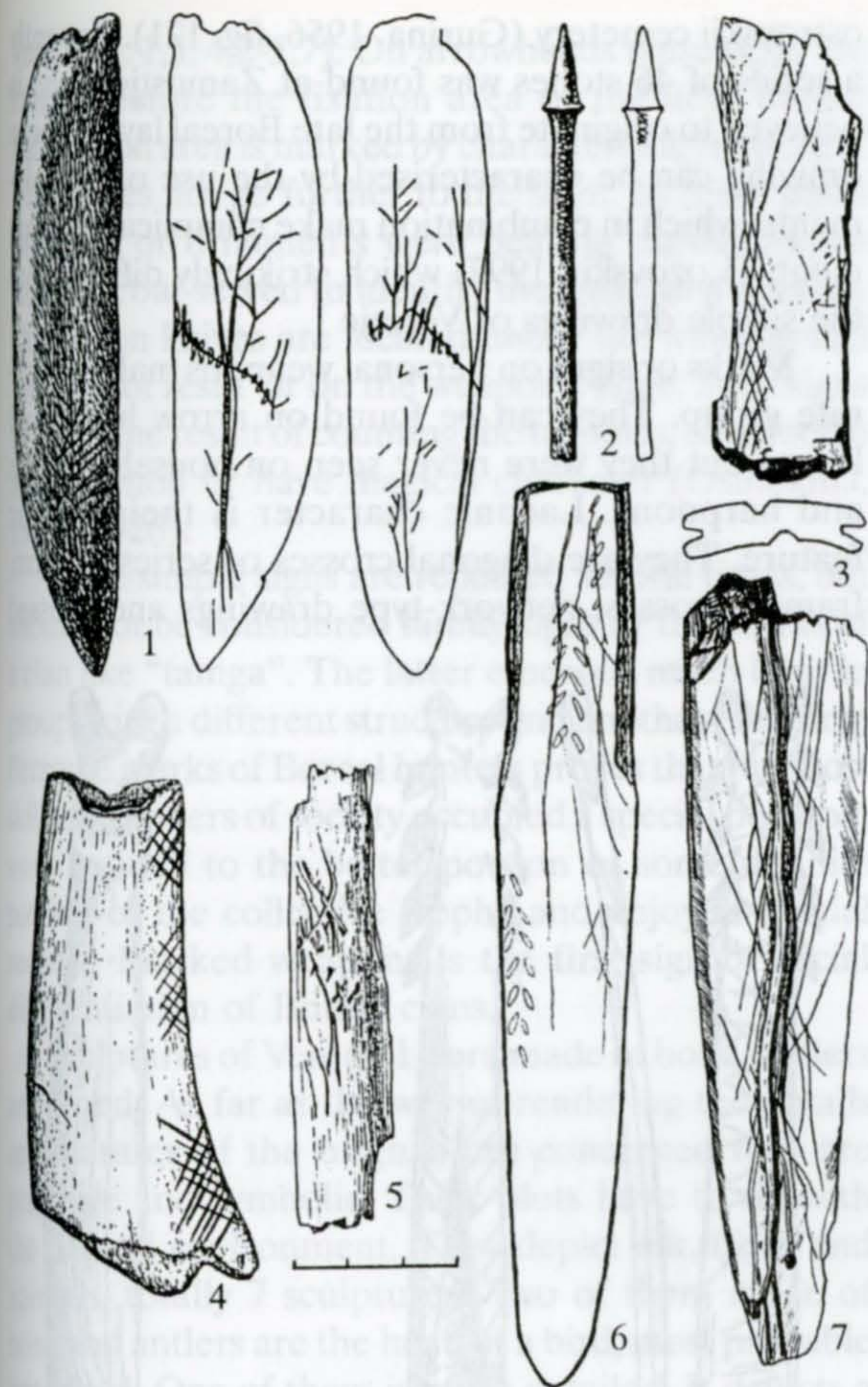


Fig. 3. Tools with scratched ornament. 1, 2 – Nizhneye Veretje; 3 – Sukhoye; 4–7 – Veretje I. 1 – hoe made from antlers; 2 – arrowhead; 3–5, 7 – remains of knives; 6 – scraper made from antlers.

Side carving was found on wide-bladed knives, grooved daggers and knives made of straightened ribs. They are placed at equal intervals or grouped, as, for example, on the dagger made from an elk shoulder blade. (Fig. 1, 4). A particular interest presents the object made from a long bone, which was processed and polished in such a way that the section of its upper part is close to rectangular, while that of its lower part is oval. Judging by the round carvings, this could be a knife holster. The tool's edges are decorated with a series of carvings (Fig. 4, 9).

Among the arrow heads from Veretje I a separate group is made up by the asymmetric ones with protruded point (type YII). There are totally 16 such samples or 8.1% of all arrowheads. Only arrowheads of this type bear carves and ornament of crossed lines (Fig. 4, 8) along the protruded point and the dents situated under it. Of the same shape is one of the two

known oar-type arrowheads (Oshibkina, 1997, Appendix 6). The selectivity of this shape is clear and it is possible that it had a meaning.

Surface drawings or engravings were placed on the outer part of wide-bladed knives (Fig 5, 8), on knives of various shapes, on plates made of bone and antlers. They are complicated and diverse while their meaning and contents remain unclear. For example, the cross-type drawing on a knife may be considered a solar symbol (Fig. 5, 2), the other resembles a hedge of a fishing net (Fig. 5, 3). One of the knives bears a drawing where 8 carved lines run from one point within a sector of 180 degrees.

Of particular interest is the object cut from a moose jaw. It is polished and the jaw cavity is made wider. The other side of it bears three signs presenting three crossing lines placed at an angle, while the other side bears one carved figure (Fig. 5, 9). This object was

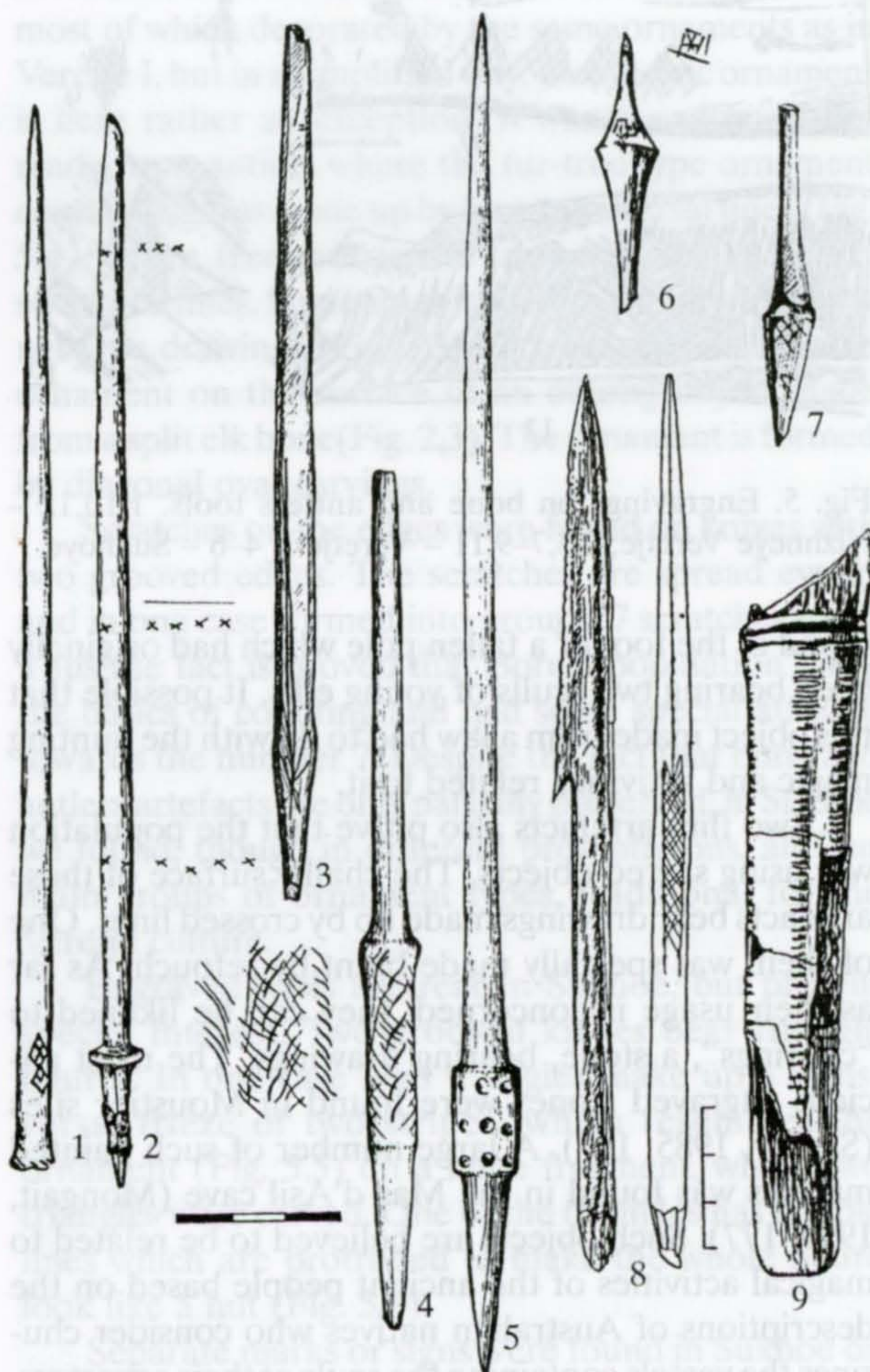


Fig. 4. Marked and ornamented artifacts. 1 – Sukhoye; 2–9 – Veretje I. 1–8 – arrowheads; 9 – hollow capacity.

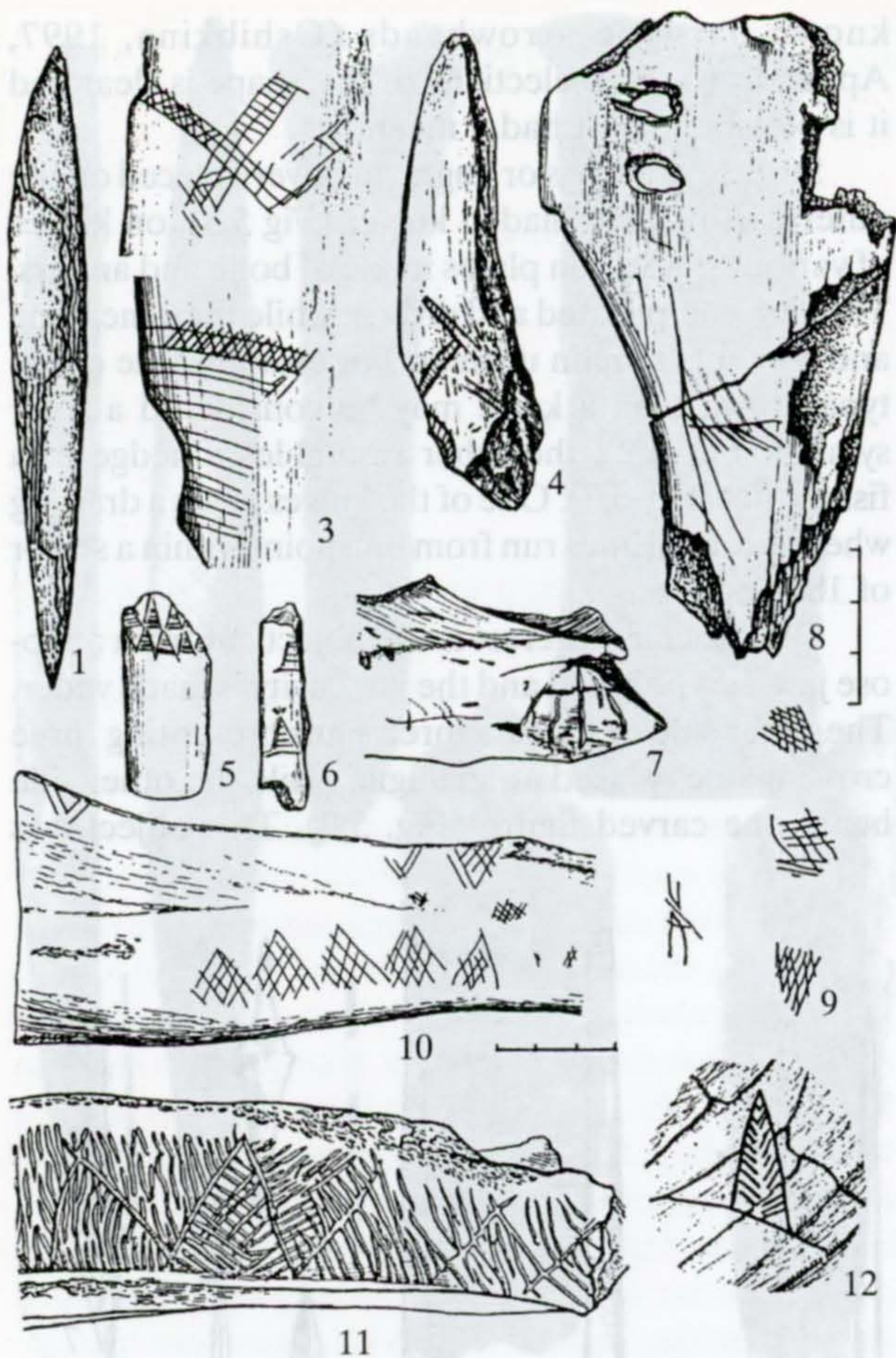


Fig. 5. Engravings on bone and antlers tools. 1,10,12 – Nizhneye Veretje; 2,3,7–9,11 – Veretje I; 4–6 – Sukhoje.

found at the foot of a fallen pole which had originally been bearing two skulls of young elks. It possible that this object made from a law had to do with the hunting magic and activities related to it.

Two flint artefacts also prove that the population was using sacred objects. The chalky surface of these artefacts bear drawings made up by crossed lines. One of them was specially made blunt by retouch. As far as their usage is concerned, they can be likened to “churings”, a stone, bearing drawings. The most ancient engraved stones were found in Moustier sites (Stoliar, 1985, 127). A large number of such painted marbles was found in the Mas d’Asil cave (Mongait, 1973, 177). Such objects are believed to be related to magical activities of the ancient people based on the descriptions of Australian natives who consider churings the vessels containing the souls of their ancestors.

In Boreal of forest zone the engraved stones were extremely rear until recently. One of such samples is the sandstone plate from grave 44 of the Olene-

ostrovskii cemetery (Gurina, 1956, fig. 121). Recently a series of 46 stones was found at Zamostje 2 and is believed to originate from the late Boreal layer. These drawing can be characterised by the use of few elements, which in combination make complicated ornaments (Lozovskii, 1997) which strikingly differs from the simple drawings of Veretje I.

Marks or signs on personal weapons make a separate group. They can be found on arrow heads and knives but they were never seen on household tools and harpoons. Laconic character is their specific feature. They are diagonal crosses or series of them, framed crosses, network-type drawings and crossed

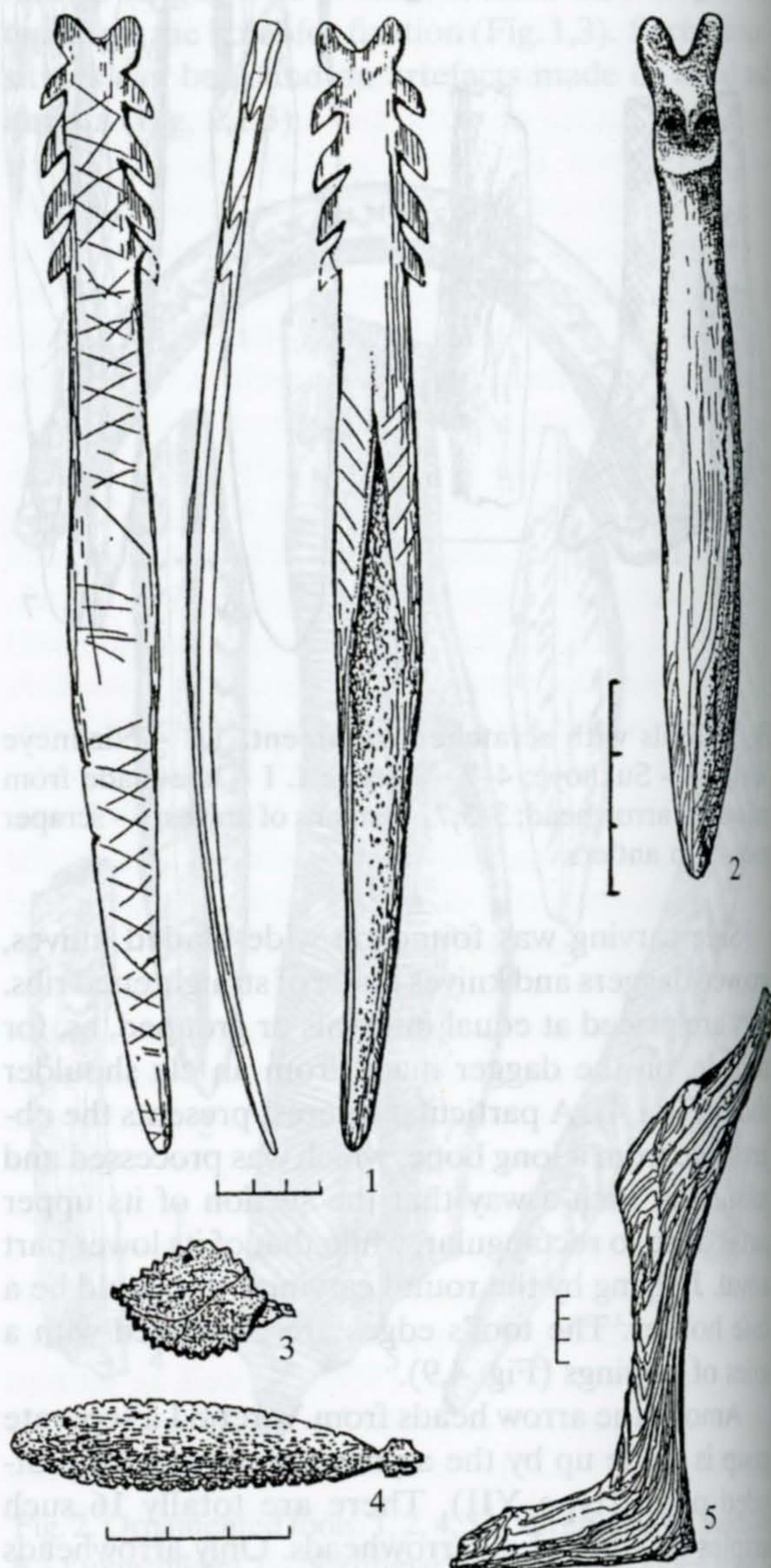


Fig. 6. Pieces of art made of bone (1–4) and wood (5). 1,5 – Veretje I; 2–4 – Nizhneye Veretje.

lines (Fig. 1,5; 4,2-5,7). On arrowheads these signs are located before the fixation area or the dent before the fixation area is marked by characteristic ornament, which does not go further to the stem. In these cases the signs or ornaments were bearing no decorative meaning, but served to identify the weapon if needed. Crosses on knives are located under the winding and the layer of resin or on the weapon's edge. Such signs could be the result of counting the trophies, could serve as protection or have magical character (Oshibkina, 1992, 24-26).

Some simple signs are repeated several times, but should not be considered family signs or the marks of a clan like "tamga". The latter emerged much later in groups with a different structure and another meaning. Personal marks of Boreal hunters proves that the most skilled members of society occupied a special position, were entitled to the better portion or some definite portion of the collective trophy and enjoyed special respect. Marked weapons is the first sign of social differentiation of Boreal clans.

Sculptures of Veretje I were made of bone, antlers and wood. As far as the way of rendering the details and features of the original are concerned they are primitive and symbolic. Their plots have to do with the natural environment. They depict elk, birds and animals, totally 7 sculptures. Two of them made of bone and antlers are the head of a bird, most probable waterfowl. One of them is more detailed. It depicts a bird (27.3 cm.) with the beak raised and the neck protruded. The hull serves as the foot. One can identify one eye and the beak, widened at the end, which makes the sculpture resemble a swan. It should be noted that swan bones were found among the hunting trophies and some tools were made from them, for example needle holders. The sculpture was found in a dwelling where it could be standing, judging by the form of its foot (Fig. 6,5).

We found two sculptures of elks, both symbolic. In one case the handle of a dagger made from a straightened elk rib was headed by carved mane and ears of this animal (Fig. 6,1). The surface of the dagger was polished and thinly ornamented by scratching on both sides. The other sculpture is made from wood and is poorly preserved, ears and the lower jaw are lost. Still, one can see the head of an elk on a long stem. 7 deep carves on the neck which, probably, shows the hair but may have some other meaning as well. The length of the sculpture is 29 cm and the general outlines of it resemble the truncheons with elk heads from the Oleneostrovskii cemetery.

Another sculpture made of wood presents a flat round plate with a dent at one side resembling a bird's

head. All the surface on one side is covered with ornament, made up with oval carvings. One can also see traces of ochre painting, which hints at the non-household nature of this artefact.

Veretje I is the earliest site of the Veretje culture and is dated by the first half of 7<sup>th</sup> millenium B.C. Techniques of artistic decoration of tools and weapons presented here, both as the sculptures were further developed at some later sites of this population.

The Sukhoe site was explored by excavations at the area of about 390 sq. meters. We found 4 Boreal dwellings covered by the later Boreal layer and Atlanticum and Bronze sites. The culture layer locates on sandy soil, that is the reason why artefacts of organic materials preserved only partially. There is no independent dating, but on analogy with other sites of the Veretje culture this site could be dated by the middle of VII millenium B.C.

There were 28 art artefactes found at Sukhoe site, most of which decorated by the same ornaments as in Veretje I, but in a simplified way. Geometric ornament is here rather an exception. It was found on a tool made from antlers where the fur-tree type ornament contains figures made up by long transversal lines (Fig. 5,4). More frequent is the ornament made up by scratched lines. Sometimes it goes in combination with net-type drawings (Fig. 3,3). Very characteristic is the ornament on the surface of an oblong object made from a split elk bone (Fig. 2,3). The ornament is formed by diagonal oval carvings.

Scratches on the edges were found on knives with two grooved edges. The scratches are spread evenly and in one case formed into groups, 7 scratches each. Thus the fact is proved that Boreal population knew the basics of counting and had some special attitude towards the number 7. Despite the fact that bone and antlers artefacts are only partially preserved, in Sukhoe we found, though in different presentations, all four main groups of ornament types, traditional for the Veretje culture.

Engraved tools are rare in Sukhoe, but present special interest. Two grooved knives bear triangle figures. In one case high triangles make up a transversal frieze of two stripes, which resembles the ornament (Fig. 5,5) on a knife fragment, where two triangles were carved. One of the triangles has double lines which are protruded to make the whole figure look like a hut (Fig. 5,6).

Separate marks or signs were found in Sukhoe on two arrowheads, on a short dagger and on the point of a knife. They are not presented on household tools and harpoons. One can see cross-like framed signs on arrowheads (Fig. 4,1,6), a diagonal cross on the dagger

and a rectangle-like figure formed up by carved lines. Nizhneye Veretje is an accepted term for the lower layer of Veretje, a multi-layer site (Foss, 1941, 1952). The remains of a Boreal site were found on an area of 154 sq. meters. In 1989–1990 I carried out further excavations and found spots of the cultural layer near the river bank, which were not covered by later layers. Based on the structure and position of the Boreal layer as compared to Veretje I site, situated nearby, this site may be dated by the second half of VII millenium B.C.

During excavations M.E. Foss collected a number of stone, bone and wooden artefacts, among them four sculptures, three ornamented and engraved plates, several tools bearing ornaments in the form of scratched lines or compositions of scratched lines. Ornaments are much more modest than those of Veretje I or Sukhoye sites. The tradition of scratched ornament can be clearly traced. For example, the hoe made from antlers, square in section. Three surfaces of it bear series of lines made chaotically at first glance, but making a specific ornament. (Fig. 3, 1). A similar drawing or ornament was found on the head of a spear found in a digging by V.I. Smirnov in 1940. (collection of Arkhangelsk museum). Scratched ornaments formed by crossed lines were found on the stretcher for arrows and the arrowhead (Fig. 3, 2).

Special interest present two engraved plates. The smaller one presents a typical geometric ornament (Fig. 2, 7). The other plate, which was initially taken for an arrowhead, is covered with complicated ornament on one side. The drawing is formed by spots filled with wave-like lines and vacant zones. On one end the tool bears scratched lines that make the object resemble a fish (Fig. 5, 1). If this was a drawing of a fish it becomes easy to explain the ornament resembling water or scales. In Nizhneye Veretje we found two more drawings of fish: flat bone plates with dented edges, one with a hole for hanging (Fig. 6, 3, 4).

There are several unfinished sculptures and one with an animal-like face, where the upper part of the face and ears can be identified (Fig. 2). Some consider it to be a drawing of an animal or a bird (Foss, 1941, 43), and some take it for a human figure. Most probably, it presents a myth.

In Nizhneye Veretje we found two high triangle figures known from other sites of the Veretje culture. Big plate made from antlers bears a high triangle filled with diagonal lines. It is surrounded by long scratched lines (Fig. 5, 12). The plate is carefully cut on all sides and, clearly, was neither a weapon nor a tool.

On a tool made from a long elk bone, there are five high retouched triangles on one side. Their feet

rest on the object's edge. On the other edge there are three more triangles. In the centre there are three net-like signs. The composition resembles a drawing with a meaning, probably that of a settlement.

We would also like to mention symbolised triangle figures from Veretje I, placed on an elk jaw (Fig. 5, 7). They are triangles within an ornament on a wide-bladed knife and are retouched by wave-like lines (Fig. 5, 11). Similar drawings were found on knives in Sukhoye. This drawing is repeated, which stresses its special meaning for the ancient people. Probably, this drawing had to do with magic activities, could have protective meaning. It could also be the prototype of the first plans of the terrain.

The Lukinchikha site is located at 1.5 km from the north bank of the Lacha lake and relates to the Boreal bank of the lake. Since the site is located in an area that is partially covered by water and access there is very complicated, only 8 sq. meters were explored by excavations (Shevelev, 1999). Same as in Sukhoye and Nizhneye Veretje, the cultural layer is covered by the Atlanticum and Bronze age layers. During the excavations in 1998, in which the author took part, we gathered pollen diagram and samples for C14 analysis. The lower part of the layer is dated by 8250 ± 100 (GIN 10009), which approximately corresponds to the date of Nizhneye Veretje, i.e. the final stage of the Veretje culture.

Despite the small size of the excavated area we found a series of characteristic tools made from flint and bone. Artistic tools were presented by a curved dagger made from split antlers. One of its sides bears a sophisticated fur-tree ornament made up by carved stripes. (Fig. 2, 6). Composition, elements of ornament and the technique are similar to the manner the tools in Veretje I and other sites of this culture were decorated.

## GENERAL NOTES

We found artistically decorated tools at every settlement and every site of the Veretje culture, while in cemeteries Popovo and Pestshanitsa which also belong to the Veretje culture, we found only tools of simple forms, with no ornament. If we look at the Oleneostrovskii cemetery, situated 200 km to the West from basic group of settlements of the Veretje culture, artistically decorated tools are concentrated in a number of graves while most of graves of the giant necropolis contain only simple tools or no tools at all. The comparison of Oleneostrovskii and Veretje culture cemeteries shows that the funeral rite in early

Boreal could be complicated, but the corresponding tools were rather simple. In late Boreal there come about large cemeteries, like Oleneostrovskii and Zveinieki (Zagorskis, 1987) in which the funeral rite seems to be more homogenous and more tools are placed into graves, among them pieces of art including those that have to do with rites, as the explorers think (Rybakov, 1981, 64).

Ornament compositions characteristic for the Veretje culture differ from the pieces of art from Shigir bog (Tolmachev, 1913), Upper Volga sites (Zhilin 1993, Lozovskii, 1997) and Kunda culture (Indreko, 1948), as far as their style and technique are concerned. The sculptures have more in common which can be explained by the similarity of plots taken from the natural environment of Boreal. The objects of attention were elk, swan or loon, man. These topics are related to the idea of totem and hunting magic. (Tokarev, 1990, 26, 69), some of them clearly reflect mythology.

Drawings of high retouched triangles were found only in the Veretje culture. They are, probably, Boreal symbols of dwellings. Different versions of using the figure "seven" are characteristic only for this culture and had a certain.

In Boreal, especially in late Boreal very often stones with drawings or churings are found. Beside Veretje I and Zamostje 2 such objects are known in Boreal of South Scandinavia. (Larsson, 1990, fig. 12). These stones were very common, which confirms that had to do with the ancient magic (Levi-Brul, 1930, 59).

Ancient pieces of art reflect the system of the ideology and religion of the ancient people, including the totem ones, driven by the hunting magic. This is why the term "pieces of art" and their decorative purpose is very relative. It rather reflects the modern point of view at this group of artefacts.

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# VERETJE KULTŪROS MENAS

Svetlana Viktorovna Ošibkina

## Santrauka

Vienas svarbiausių Veretjės kultūros meno židinių galima laikyti gyvenvietės aptiktas Lačos ežero baseine. Šiose gyvenvietėse aptikta daug smulkiosios plastikos ir ornamentuotų dirbinių. Veretjė 1-ojoje gyvenvietėje aptikti meno dirbiniai skirstomi į 4 grupes: piešiniai arba graviūra, įraižos ant ginklų paviršiaus, skulptūros ir stilizuota skulptūra. Vėlesniu laikotarpiu ornamentika labai supaprastėja, o skulptūra tampa realistiškesnė. Tekstų atkreipti dėmesį į tai, kad Pesčanicos ir Popovo

kapinynuose tarp įkapių meniškų dirbinių nėra. Matyt, tai atspindi šiame šiaurės regione susiklosčiusias tradicijas ankstyvajame ir viduriniajame mezolite. Vėlyvajam mezolito laikotarpiui priskiriamame Elnių salos kapinyne, kuris yra ir meno dirbinių, taip pat ir su tikėjimais susijusių daiktų. Mezolito-neolito laikotarpio riboje menas čia pasiekia aukštą lygį. Apie tai išraiškingai liudija Viso 1-os ir Zamostjės 2-os gyventojų ekonomikos lygis.

## ILIUSTRACIJŲ SĄRAŠAS

1 pav. Archeologinis paminklas Veretjė I. Ornamentuoti įrankiai (1–4) ir ženklai (5). 1, 2 – durklai, 3 – ieties antgalis, 4 – durklas iš briedžio kojos kaulo, 5, 6 – peilio kotas.

2 pav. Ornamentuoti įrankiai. 1, 2, 4, 5 – Veretjė k I; 3 – Suchojė; 6 – Lukinčicha; 7 – Nižneje Veretjė. I – medinis įrankis; 2 – durklas su dviem grioveliais; 3, 7 – elnio rago plokštelės; 4 – peilis iš šonkaulio; 5 – peilis iš elnio kojos kaulo; 6 – durklas iš elnio rago.

3 pav. Įrankiai su įkurtu ornamentu. 1, 2 – Nižneje Veretjė; 3 – Suchojė; 7 – Veretjė I. 1 – kauptukas iš elnio

rago; 2 – strėlės antgalis; 3–5, 7 – peilių liekanos; 6 – gremžtuvas iš elnio rago.

4 pav. Žymėti ir ornamentuoti dirbiniai. 1 – Suchojė; 2–9 – Veretjė I. 1–8 – strėlių antgaliai; 9 – tuščiaviduris indas.

5 pav. Graviūros ant kaulinių ir raginių įrankių. 1, 10, 12 – Nižneje Veretjė; 2, 3, 7–9, 11 – Veretjė I; 4–6 – Suchojė.

6 pav. Kaulinių (1–4) ir medinių (5) dirbinių nuotraukos. 1, 5 – Veretjė I; 2–4 – Nižneje Veretjė.

# ИСКУССТВО КУЛЬТУРЫ ВЕРЕТЬЕ

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## Резюме

Среди известных в настоящее время мезолитических культур или отдельных памятников мезолита Восточной Европы, особенно изученных раскопками на больших участках культурного слоя, встречаются предметы или серии предметов, которые принято относить к художественным изделиям. В действительности они связаны не только с традиционной изобразительной деятельностью мезолитических охотников – собирателей, но отражают их мифологические и магические представления. Одним из очагов древнего искусства является культура Веретье с основными памятниками в бассейне озера Лача, где на всех поселениях найдены орнаментированные изделия или мелкая пластика. Коллекция предметов искусства из Веретья 1 позволяет выделить четыре группы характерных орнаментов, рисунки или гравировки, метки на оружии, скульптурные изображения. На остальных поселениях аналогичные находки встречены в разных комбинациях. При этом в начале бореала более распространены орнаменты и стилизованная скульптура, позднее орнаментация становится скромнее, а скульптура реалистичнее. Обращает на себя внимание тот факт, что в погребениях могильников Песчаница и Попово, относящихся к культуре

Веретье, среди сопровождающего инвентаря художественных изделий нет. Очевидно, это отражает сложившиеся здесь традиции, характерные для раннего и среднего мезолита северного региона вообще. В конце мезолита в 200 км. к западу от территории культуры Веретье возникает большой некрополь – Оленеостровский могильник. Оставившее его население, по археологическому материалу и антропологическим показателям близкое культуре Веретье, сопровождало своих умерших кроме украшений и оружия также художественно оформленными предметами, в том числе культовыми. Очевидно, на рубеже мезолита – неолита художественное творчество населения достигает высокого уровня, о чем говорят находки и в других регионах Восточной Европы – на стоянке Вис 1, в Замостье и других верхневолжских стоянках. Каждый из очагов мезолитического искусства, в том числе находки из Шигирского торфяника в Зауралье, характеризуют особенности культуры в отдельных регионах. Вместе с тем, следует отметить общий высокий уровень мезолитического искусства, что является показателем успешного экономического развития коллективов охотников-собирателей в разных регионах и формирования разных традиций художественного творчества.

## СПИСОК ИЛЛЮСТРАЦИЙ

Рис. 1. Археологический памятник Веретье I. Украшенные орудия труда (1–4) и знаки (5). 1, 2 – кинжалы, 3 – наконечник копья, 4 – кинжал из кости лосиной ноги, 5, 6 – рукоятка ножа.

Рис. 2. Украшенные орудия труда. 1, 2, 4, 5 – Веретье kI; 3 – Сухое; 6 – Лукинчиха; 7 – Нижнее Веретье. 1 – деревянное орудие труда; 2 – кинжал с двумя канавками; 3, 7 – пластинки из оленьего рога; 4 – нож из рёберной кости; 5 – нож из кости оленьей ноги; 6 – кинжал из оленьего рога.

Рис. 3. Орудия труда с орнаментом из зарубок.

1, 2 – Нижнее Веретье; 3 – Сухое; 7 – Веретье I. 1 – мотыга из оленьего рога; 2 – наконечник стрелы; 3–5, 7 – остатки ножей; 6 – скребок из оленьего рога.

Рис. 4. Меченые и орнаментированные изделия. 1 – Сухое; 2–9 – Веретье I. 1–8 – наконечники стрел; 9 – полный сосуд.

Рис. 5. Гравюры на орудиях труда из кости и рога. 1, 10, 12 – Нижнее Веретье; 2, 3, 7–9, 11 – Веретье I; 4–6 – Сухое.

Рис. 6. Обломки костяных (1–4) и деревянных (5) изделий. 1, 5 – Веретье I; 2–4 – Нижнее Веретье.