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ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS
IN KNUD RASMUSSENS LAND

BY

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WITH 25 FIGURES IN THE TEXT AND 3 PLATES

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INTRODUCTION

The investigations reported here were carried out in the summer of 1935 as a part of the work of "The Anglo-Danish East Greenland Expedition". This expedition, which had for its main purpose the investigation of the Watkins Alps, including the climb of their highest point, was directed by Mr. AUGUSTINE COURTAULD. The inclusion of archaeological investigations in the programme of this expedition is due partly to Captain EJNAR MIKKELSEN, but first and foremost to Mr. AUGUSTINE COURTAULD's kindness and great interest in the study of Eskimo culture. The Rask-Ørsted Foundation provided the means which made it possible for two archaeologists to take part in the expedition. Count EIGIL KNUTH took part as an assistant, and was of great help to me both during the excavations and in measuring and making plans of the ruins.

The region round Kangerdlugssuaq, or Knud Rasmussens Land as it is called now, is archaeologically by no means terra incognita. As early as 1900, Admiral G. C. AMDRUP brought home a collection of archaeological objects originating from graves in Skærgaardshalvø. The finds were later described by W. THALBITZER¹). In 1932 "The Scoresby Sound Committee's 2nd East Greenland Expedition" travelled over these regions under the leadership of Captain EJNAR MIKKELSEN. On this expedition archaeological investigations of both house ruins and graves were carried out under the direction of Dr. M. DEGERBØL, who published the investigations in the field himself²), while Dr. THERKEL MATHIASSEN has described the finds³).

In spite of this previous work, I seized with pleasure the opportunity offered to carry out further investigations in these rarely visited regions of East Greenland. The reasons for my decision were various. In the first place, the material which the earlier expeditions had brought home, though otherwise excellent, was not particularly extensive, comprising only 446 specimens. Secondly, the want was felt of more

¹) Meddelelser om Grønland, Vol. 28.

²) Meddelelser om Grønland, Vol. 104, No. 10.

³) Meddelelser om Grønland, Vol. 104, No. 9.

extensive finds from house ruins, 138 specimens only of the above-mentioned number having come from houses, while the rest were grave finds. Finally, an opportunity was offered here to ascertain whether the settlements extended farther east than to Mikis Fjord, as the idea was for the ship of the expedition to enter the hitherto unexplored I. C. Jacobsens Fjord. My main task, therefore, was to excavate as many house ruins as possible and to see if ruins were to be found in Jacobsens Fjord.

As to the history of the expedition, I may briefly state that on the 12th July we were taken on board in Reykjavik by the Norwegian ship "Quest", chartered by the expedition. We arrived at Angmagssalik on the 17th and at Kangerdlugssuaq on the 4th August. Here, we were put ashore on Skærgaardshalvø, where we worked until the 21st except for one day's visit to the little island of Ivnarmitut. After a brief visit in Mikis Fjord we arrived on the 23rd at the settlement in Jacobsens Fjord, where we worked until the 26th. The 27th we spent in excavating the settlement on Cape Irminger, and on the 30th we left Greenland again¹).

The excavations yielded 1037 specimens in all, 748 of which came from house ruins, 263 from graves, while 26 were found scattered on the surface of the ground. Besides archaeological material, samples of animal bones were brought home from the houses in Jacobsens Fjord and skeletal remains from 11 graves and 2 houses)².

¹) A preliminary report of the results of the expedition has been given in a lecture before the Royal Geographical Society in London and printed in the Geographical Journal Vol. 88, No. 3.

²) The archaeological material brought home is to be found in the National Museum, the animal bones in the Zoological Museum, and the human bones in the Normal Anatomical Institute in Copenhagen.

II. DESCRIPTION OF THE SETTLEMENTS

1. Skærgaardshalvø.

As mentioned in the introduction, Skærgaardshalvø is well known as an archaeological site, since it was from here that Admiral AMDRUP brought home the fine collection of archaeological specimens which until a few years ago was the only one from this part of Greenland. In 1932 the place was visited by "The Scoresby Sound Committee's 2nd East Greenland Expedition", and in 1933 by Dr. KNUD RASMUSSEN, in whose diaries from the 7th Thule Expedition sketches of some of the ruins have been found.

Since Amdrup has already given an account of the geographical conditions¹⁾, a description of the position and appearance of the peninsula is superfluous. Traces of the now extinct population are found almost everywhere. Most frequently they are meat depots, i. e. bigger or smaller heaps of large stones below which the Eskimos have at some time hidden quarry for which they had no immediate use. While some are small, having an accidental character, as if they were made only for this one occasion, others look as if they were made for more permanent use. These are often of very considerable dimensions, either built against a rock, or else standing isolated, with thick stone walls surrounding a cavity in the middle. Here and there a more or less collapsed fox trap of the common Eskimo type is standing, a stone box with a trap door at one end. Finally one finds graves and tent rings surrounding the settlements.

There are two settlements. One, consisting of two house ruins and situated at the base of the peninsula, has been examined by the expedition of 1932²⁾. The other, which we chose for our first working ground, is the one described by AMDRUP, and is located on the south side. To avoid mistakes I shall in the following designate the first of these places

¹⁾ AMDRUP, pp. 312—13.

²⁾ DEGERBØL, pp. 40—45. On the map of Skærgaardshalvø (Fig. 27) Houses 1 and 2 are placed by mistake at the head of the little bay formed by the peninsula and the mainland. In reality the settlement is situated more to the south, on the other side of the peninsula.

by the name given it by KNUD RASMUSSEN, i. e. Sarfalik Ikerasârsuk (See Fig. 2).

From the highest point of the peninsula, which lies 120 m above sea-level, the ground slopes down to the south towards the sea. On this slope is situated the settlement, which comprises 7 ruins of winter houses as well as tent rings, graves and meat depots. The ground surrounding the house ruins has almost the character of a desert. The subsoil consists of gabbro, whose disintegration product, fine gravel, covers the solid



Fig. 1. The Eskimo settlement on the south coast of Skærgaardshalvø.

rock in vast stretches and is in several places of considerable thickness. The gravel areas are interrupted by stretches where the solid rock projects, and finally the whole region is cut through by deep ravines, of which most are at right angles to the longitudinal direction of the peninsula. The ravines have been formed by disintegration of basalt dikes. In this desert of gravel and stone the ruins are lying like small oases with their growth of *Salix*, *Polygonum* and *Carex*.

House Ruins.

The house ruins lie at a distance of more than 100 m from the beach and at a height of from 13 to 28 m above high-water mark (Fig. 3). The situation of the ruins at this rather considerable height is possibly due to the total absence of disintegrated material below this height. The fact that this comparatively small settlement extends over a length of

more than 300 m proves that suitable building grounds on the whole have been scarce. In spite of the bad building conditions, however, the largest settlement hitherto known in these regions grew up in this place. This is no doubt due to the excellent position on a southern slope facing the open sea, where, at any rate in 1935, seals were extremely abundant, and where the chances of catching bear were undoubtedly also good.

The house ruins being rather different from each other both as regards shape and state of preservation, it is necessary to describe them

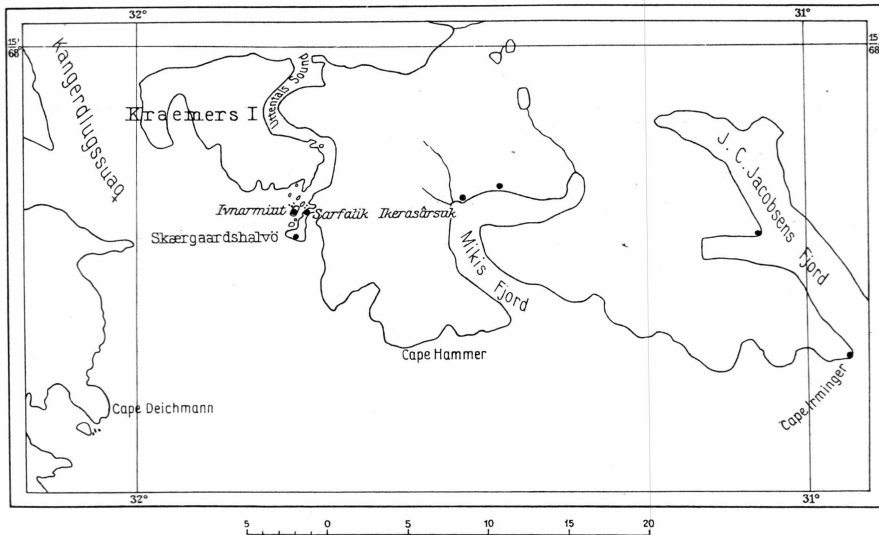


Fig. 2. Map showing the Eskimo settlements mentioned in the text.

separately. We will begin the description at the extreme west of the settlement, with house 1.

House 1 lies on the west side of a ravine 3—4 m deep, with perpendicular walls. It is so near this ravine that the house passage ends right on the edge. Judging from the precipitated stone blocks, however, the ravine has moved nearer to the house since the time of the Eskimos. The house is built on top of the naked rock and is very well preserved¹). The walls consist entirely of stones. They are more than 1 m thick and towards the inside form even, perpendicular walls of up to nine courses of flat stones. On the outside the stones are lying about loosely, giving the impression of a random heap of stones. Inside, the house is rectangular, with somewhat rounded corners, 2.60 m long and 2.10 m wide. In the east wall near the front wall is a niche, the bottom of which is on a level with the floor, and which is 0.6 m wide, 0.5 m deep and 0.45 m high. The southwest corner is covered, so that a niche 0.4 m deep has been

¹) Larsen 1936, the lower figure on the plate facing p. 204.

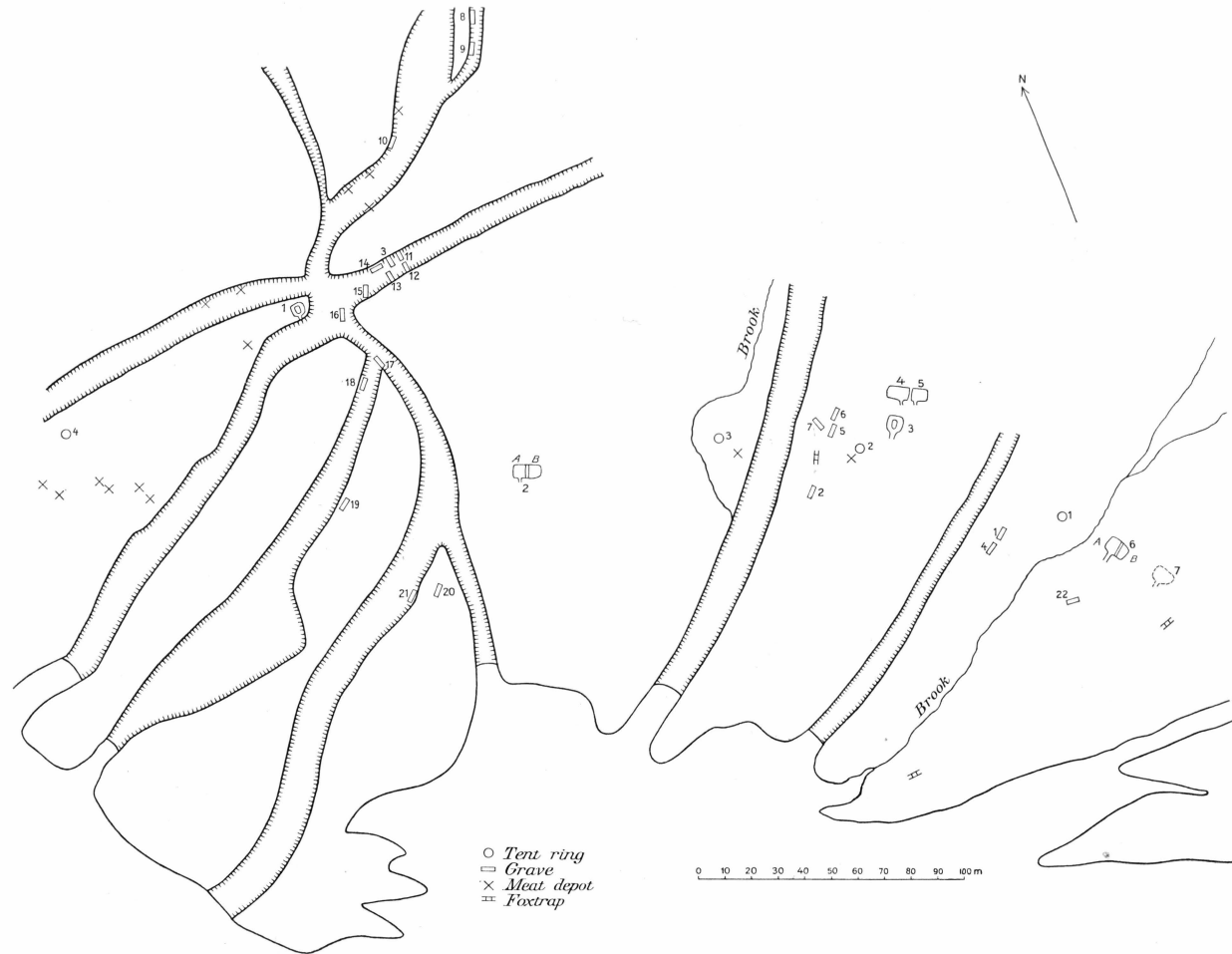


Fig. 3. Plan of the settlement on the south coast of Skærgaardshalvø.

formed here. The walls are all more than 1 m high, measuring from the floor, the highest being 1.35 m. The floor is entirely paved with flat stones lying on the same level. There is no platform.

The house passage opens towards the south and is built of large flat stones. One roofing stone is in place. The floor of the passage, rising evenly from the entrance towards the house, is formed partly of the rock and partly of flat stones which have been placed on top of depressions in the surface of the rock. From the innermost part of the house passage to the floor of the house is a step 0.45 m high. The passage is 2.9 m long and up to 0.75 m wide.

The passage yielded 26 specimens, among which was a two-armed ulo.

House 2 is situated about 70 m farther east, on a lower level and nearer the sea. It lies on a slope of gravel with intermittent bare stretches of rock. This house does not give the impression of being single, but rather has the appearance of two square houses situated side by side with a common wall. While excavating this group, we were convinced that we were dealing with two houses until it occurred to us to pull down a part of the common wall. We then found that this wall was resting on floor stones, and that the front wall extended without interruption from one house into the other. Thus we have here a common-house 7.5 m long, separated into two rooms by a cross-wall, a fact we observed during the excavation of House 6. In the following we shall designate the two rooms A and B, A being the more westerly.

The house passage, 5.30 m long, issues from A. It runs southwards for the first 1.5 m, and then turns SSW. It is partly dug into the gravel, the sides being formed by large flat stones. One roofing stone is still in its original position. The passage floor, which is covered with flagstones, rises gently towards the house and extends into it a little. The floor stones of the house are placed about 0.5 m above the bottom of the passage.

Room A is rectangular with sharp corners, 2.75 m long in the direction of the house passage and 3.30 m wide. The floor is almost entirely paved with flat stones and there is no platform. In the west wall are two niches next to each other. The bottoms of both are covered with flagstones; they are 0.7 and 0.6 m deep respectively. The common wall is 1.5 m wide and about 0.8 m high.

After the separation room B, probably has not served as a habitation. The fact that we did not succeed in finding any house passage giving access to this room supports this supposition. It is true that we found stone pavings in front of the house which might be interpreted as the remains of a house passage, but we did not, on the other hand, succeed in finding their connection with the room. If these stone pavings were really a house passage, they are more likely to have been remains from

an earlier house. It is more probable that B has served as a meat depot to the inhabitants of A. In fact, within the walls of B accumulations of stones and low secondary walls were found that can have served only this purpose. It is evident that the walls of B have supplied the material for the construction of the meat depot, and probably also for the common wall. After the removal of the aforementioned stones from the house, a floor appeared under a layer of gravel. As in A, the floor was paved with flat stones and there was no platform.



Fig. 4. House 3, Skærgaardshalvø.

The house passage yielded fourteen specimens, A 59, and B 27. Among the stones forming the meat depot in B a flat harpoon head and two two-armed ulos were found. These objects, at least, date from the period after the division of the house. They have probably belonged to the inhabitants of A.

House 3 (Fig. 4) is situated about 150 m east of House 2. Judging from its state of preservation, one would consider this house as belonging to the same period as the latest inhabited houses in Knud Rasmussen's Land. Apart from the fact that the roof is missing and the platform disturbed, this house undoubtedly still stands in the same state as when it was left by its last inhabitants, and an Eskimo family would not take long in making it habitable again. It is not, however, the state of preservation of this house, but its construction, that makes it stand out above the others in this part of Greenland.

The house is built on the naked surface of the rock, 26 m above

sea-level. With its high, meter-thick walls, it suggests at a distance more a medieval watch-tower than an Eskimo ruin. The Eskimos could not have chosen a more beautiful site. Directly in front of the house the ground drops abruptly towards the sea, and from their house passage the Eskimos have had a magnificent view of the vast ice-filled mouth of the fjord from the proud profile of Cape Hammer in east to Cape Deichmann in west. A beautiful situation indeed, but a cold one. One wonders how it could be possible to keep warm in the house when the wind blew in from the open sea. The walls are certainly thick, but their outside is not covered with the protective layer of earth usually employed in the construction of Eskimo houses.

The walls are very elaborately built of rectangular stones. Probably in order to support these walls, another wall, 0.5 m high and 1 m wide, has been constructed at their base. East of the house passage a cavity has been made in this supporting wall, measuring 1.5 m in length and 0.75 m in breadth, presumably a storeroom (Fig. 5). In the northeast corner is a child's grave, about 1 m long and 0.5 m wide, and outside this another grave about the same size containing a skull. On top of this was a heap of bones lying in one corner.

The house passage, which runs southwards, is 3.5 m long and 0.5—0.75 m wide. It is built of large stones on edge, and is roofed over on the innermost 1.5 m. Whether this roofing, which consisted of 4 long flat stones, on top of which the front wall was continued, originally extended farther out could not be decided with certainty. The outermost 1.5 m, at any rate, have never been covered; a form of construction that is known also from Northeast Greenland¹). About 1 m from the entrance, in the left side of the passage, a covered niche was found, 0.4 m wide, 0.55 m high and 0.55 m deep. The floor of the passage was formed by the rock itself and rose regularly towards the house.

The interior of the house is almost rectangular, 3 m long, 2.10 m wide at the ends, and 2.60 m at the front edge of the platform. The larger part of the floor is covered with flat stones. Where these are lacking, solid rock has formed the floor. In front of the opening lies a particularly large sill-stone.

The rearmost half of the house has been occupied by the platform, the east side of which is almost entirely well-preserved. On the west side, on the contrary, only a single cover stone remains. In the construction of the platform only stones have been employed. From the rear wall of the house three rows of high stones on edge have extended like pillars, one along each side wall, and one in the middle. On top of the pillars, in the longitudinal direction of the house, long flat stones have been placed

¹) Dødemandsbugten, p. 22.

Section: A-B

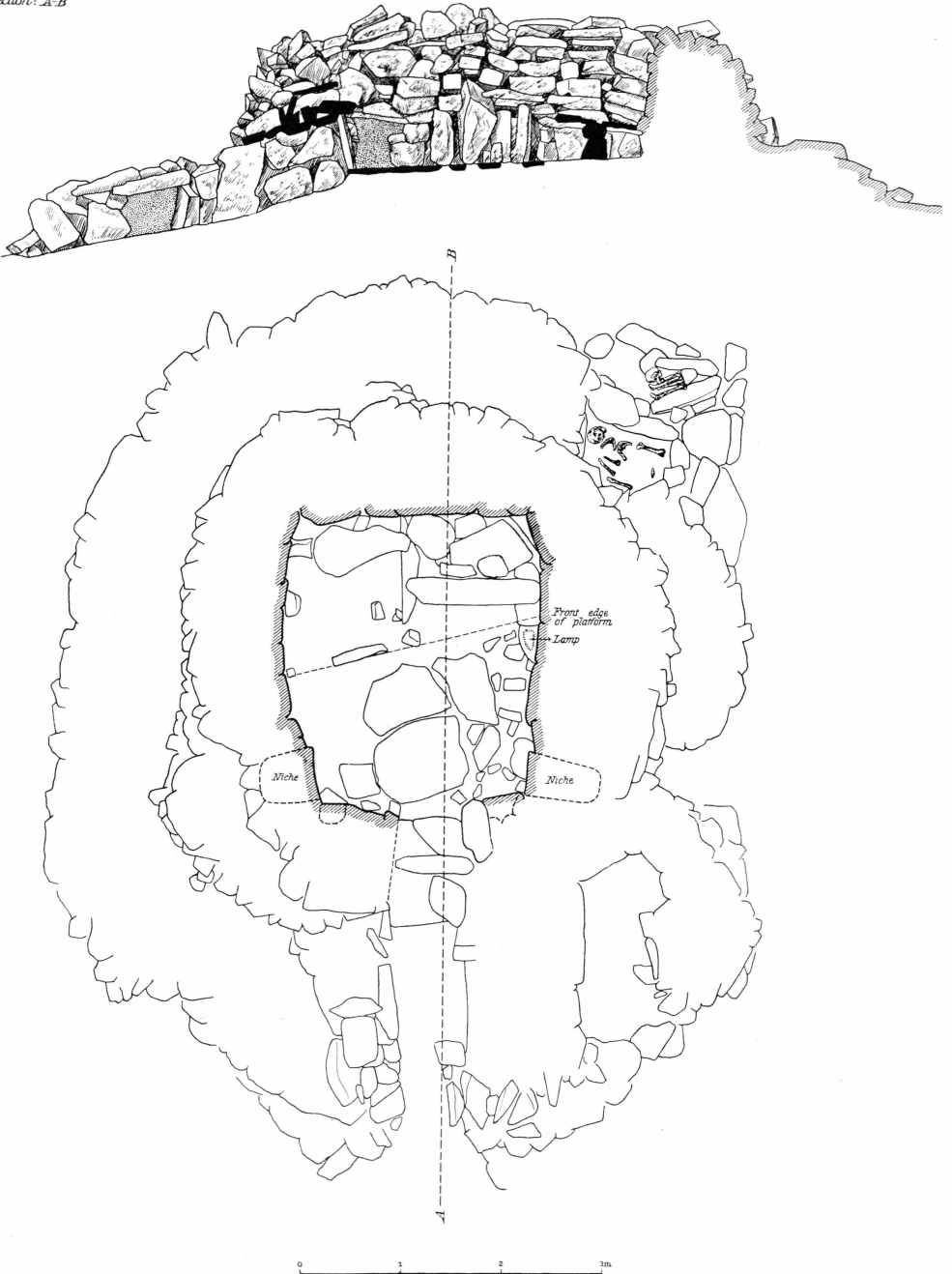


Fig. 5. Section and plan of House 3, Skærgaardshalvø.

which in turn have supported the flat cover stones. The platform has been from 0.5 to 0.6 m high and at least 1.3 m wide. Probably the edge of the platform has not been at right angles to the longitudinal direction of the house, but has formed an oblique line across the house. The presence of three "pillars" — one at either side wall and one in the middle — which stand (measuring from the west wall) at a distance of 1.6, 1.3 and 1.0 m from the rear wall, supports this supposition. Furthermore, in front of the most easterly of the "pillars" a flat stone was found which has served as a lamp owing to its somewhat concave surface, and this lamp naturally had its position in front of the platform.

In the walls of the front part of the house there are no less than four niches, i. e. two in the front wall and one in either side wall. They were all filled with bones and remains of meat and blubber. The two in the front wall are fairly small, the right one being closed in the direction of the floor by stones set on edge. The two others are larger, the right one 0.4 m wide, 0.7 m deep and 0.4 m high, the left one 0.5 m wide, 0.65 m deep and 0.5 m high. These niches, the bottoms of which are covered with flat stones, are probably store-rooms.

Near the right side wall, midway between the front wall and the platform, are two stones set on edge, placed at a distance of 0.22 m from one another. Some burnt blubber was found between these stones, suggesting that a lamp has been standing in this place.

The walls are very carefully built of up to eight courses of flat, angular stones. The front wall (measured from the floor stones) is up to 1.3 m high, the left side wall up to 1.4 m, the right side wall up to 1.2 m, and the rear wall up to 1.3 m high.

Among the stones in the retaining wall ten specimens were found, and in the outer grave a harpoon blade. The passage yielded two specimens, and the house 30.

As far as the state of preservation of the houses is concerned, House 3 is the very opposite of Houses 4 and 5, which lie immediately behind it. The contrast is plainly to be seen from Fig. 6. In the foreground appears House 5 as yet unexcavated, to the right of it the excavated House 4, and behind it, House 3. Prior to excavation only the passage of House 4 was distinctly visible, the houses themselves appearing only as shallow gravel-covered depressions in which heaps of stones were lying. In House 4 the walls consist only of a single row of stones, and in some places there are no stones at all. In House 5 the wall stones never occur in more than 3 courses. Being dug only a little into the ground, the houses must originally have had stone walls. The missing stones must have been removed by the Eskimos, and the conclusion is readily drawn that these stones have been employed in the construction of House 3, for which a very large quantity of stones has been needed. Both houses have their

largest dimension at right angles to the house passage, and, accordingly, they belong to the type of common-houses well known from West Greenland and Southeast Greenland. In the following, a short description of the two houses is given. For further information the reader is referred to Fig. 7.

House 4 is 7.05 m long and 3.40 m wide. The house passage, running southwards, is 2.5 m long and 0.6 m wide. The innermost 1.5 m are roofed over by long flat stones. The floor of the passage is entirely paved with flat stones and is 0.96 m below the level of the house floor. The passage extends 0.5 m into the house. The floor of the house is



Fig. 6. Houses 3, 4 and 5, Skærgaardshalvø. For particulars, see the text.

partly covered with flat stones. In the rear part, these are placed at a somewhat higher level; still, they do not appear as a distinctly outlined platform. The difference in level between the floor at the passage and at the rear wall is 0.34 m. Below the floor a hard layer was found, consisting of gravel cemented together with blubber. In the corner east of the passage a layer of blubber intermingled with bones was found.

The house passage yielded nineteen specimens, including the foreshaft of a kayak harpoon with two holes. In the house were found 68 specimens, mainly of slate, and in addition a wound plug of wood.

House 5 is 5.30 m long and 2.35 m wide. The house passage is 4 m long and opens to the south. One roofing stone is still in position. The passage extends a little into the house. Only the southwest corner of the floor is covered with flat stones. In addition to these a few are lying scattered about. Sterile gravel was found under the floor stones.

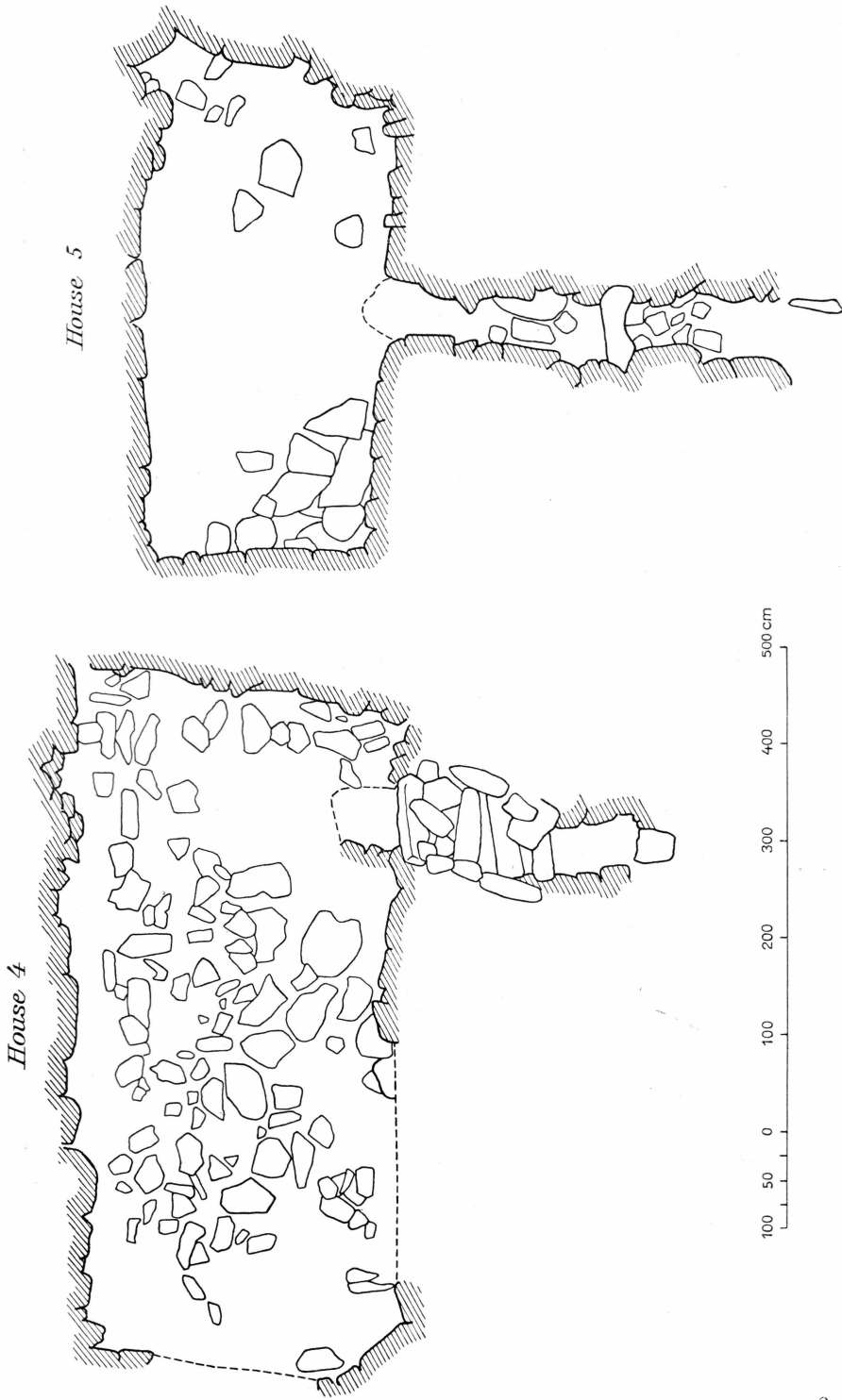


Fig. 7. Plan of Houses 4 and 5, Skærgaardshalvø.

This shows that the house was probably not inhabited as long as House 4. However, layers up to 0.3 m thick of blubber and bones were found in a region west of the entrance along the front wall. The deposit was partly covered by stones fallen from this wall. Below the fallen wall several objects were found, including a fragment of a two-handed scraper. In addition, the house yielded 35 specimens, and the passage three.

House 6 is situated on a slope covered with willow, about 70 m farther east, nearer the beach and on a lower level (13 m above high-



Fig. 8. House 6, Skærgaardshalvø. Room B and part of A are seen from the rear wall. The partition wall has been partly pulled down.

water mark) than House 5. Our first impression was that of a small well-preserved house with a trapeziform ground plan. During the course of excavation, however, we noticed that the floor stones continued below the east wall and, investigating the matter more closely, found that 1.5 m outside the east wall there was a low wall, overgrown with willow, running parallel to the east wall. The space between the two walls was entirely filled with large stones covered by a thick growth of willow. In order to ascertain if the two walls were in any way connected with each other, this interspace was cleared, revealing a floor paved with flagstones. The paving extended below the more westerly of the two walls, and on pulling this wall down we found that the floor stones in the two rooms actually belonged to the same floor, on which a partition wall had been constructed (Figs. 8 and 9). It was this find which led to a similar discovery in House 2. As we did in the description of

House 2, we shall in the following designate the westerly room by A and the easterly one by B.

Apart from the partition wall we have here a common-house similar to Houses 4 and 5. It is 6 m long and 3 m wide. The house passage, issuing from A, opens towards SSW. It is 4 m long and 0.75—1 m wide. The innermost 1.6 m were covered, but the roof stones fell in during



Fig. 9. Plan of House 6, Skærgaardshalvø. The partition wall has been partly pulled down.

excavation. The walls of the house passage, built of large flat stones, increased in height towards the house. The outer portion of the passage had probably never been covered. The inner part extends 0.6 m into the house, where its floor lies 0.5 m below the level of the floor stones.

The house has been dug into the ground somewhat. The larger part of the floor is covered with flat stones. In the places where there are no stones, the floor consists of gravel cemented together with blubber into a very hard layer. On either side of the entrance the floor stones were lying in several layers intermingled with blubber and bones. Particularly

thick deposits of blubber as well as many bones were found near the west wall, where the cooking-place was probably located. In the east end of the house, below the floor stones, was a hard impenetrable paste of blubber intermingled with hairs, baleen cords, and fragments of wood and bone. There was no trace of a platform. The walls in A were high and well built, the rear wall, for example, being 1.5 m high and built of up to nine courses of angular stones. The other walls were somewhat lower. On the other hand the walls in B, with the exception of the partition wall, are quite low (see Fig. 9), part of the missing stones having no doubt served in the construction of the latter.

The house passage yielded 20 specimens, A 75, and B 51. A particularly large number of the objects found were of slate. In addition, a quantity of baleen was found at various places in the house.

House 7 was not excavated. It lies immediately east of 6 and was entirely overgrown with willow. A partial excavation of this house revealed, in connection with the house passage, a very small house built into a bigger group of houses. As far as could be judged, we are dealing here with a group of houses resembling House 5 in I. C. Jacobsens Fjord (see page 29).

Graves.

A comparatively large number of graves, about 20 in all, were found in this settlement. Indication of the exact number is not possible on account of the large quantity of meat caches, which were often difficult to distinguish from disturbed graves. Only three of the graves were entirely untouched. As to the rest, some were lacking the covering stones, while others were so destroyed that only their contents of human bones or grave goods betrayed the presence of a grave.

However, they do not differ from other graves in Greenland. Their ground plan is rectangular, as a rule, though it may be of different shape. In several cases the solid rock forms one or more sides of the grave. This applies especially to the graves built in the crevices, where the basalt blocks have provided an excellent material for their construction.

Only the graves containing skeletal parts or grave goods will be subjected to a more detailed description. Fig. 3 shows the location of the graves.

Grave 1 was built against a rock, which formed one length of the grave. The cover stones had been removed from the cist, which was rectangular, about 1.4 m long and 0.8 m wide. It contained very few human bones. At one end of the grave, however, was a large heap of stones which proved on closer investigation to cover a cavity, 0.76 m long and 0.55 m wide, containing grave goods (Fig. 10). The objects were lying in three portions. At one end was a large flat tray roughly

carved in wood, but plant roots had grown into it and it was so badly decomposed that it was impossible to remove it. In the other end, in an oval wooden dish with edge mountings, were a large wooden scoop, a bigger and a smaller slate knife, an ulo entirely of slate, a meat fork, and two seal bones. In an oval tray with a wooden bottom and baleen sides were another wooden scoop, a composite ulo with a handle of wood and an intermediate piece of whalebone — the edge has probably been



Fig. 10. The cavity with the grave goods outside Grave 1, Skærgaardshalvø.

of metal, but was missing—in addition, a scraper of narwhal jaw, a bodkin, a mussel-shell, and a piece of calcareous spar. The grave is no doubt a woman's grave, and has possibly contained the mortal remains of two women.

Only so few stones were left of Grave 2 that no idea could be formed about its original appearance. However, a number of objects suggestive of a woman's grave were found among the stones. There were four beads of black slate, two of calcareous spar, one of mussel-shell, and one of ivory; further, a drop pendant of lime and one of ivory, and the remains of a comb.

Grave 3 was unopened. It was built of large angular stones and covered by large flat ones. It was approximately rectangular, 1.6 m long and 0.5 m wide, with the longitudinal axis lying N-S. The grave contained fragments of two skeletons. One of these, at any rate, was of a woman. In front of the east side of the grave lay an ulo blade and a whetstone.

Grave 9 was likewise unopened. It was built against a rocky wall which formed one length of the grave, and was very solidly constructed of large stones. The cist, facing SSW, was rounded in form at the upper end and was otherwise almost rectangular (1.4 m long, 0.46 m wide at the upper end, and 0.33 m at the lower end). The grave contained a whole skeleton lying outstretched on its back, and fragments of another, among other things the skull. At the lower end, between the stones outside the grave, two harpoon heads and a foreshaft for a kayak harpoon were found along with an oval bowl bottom of wood. One of the skeletons, at any rate, evidently must be that of a man.

Grave 10 contained three human bones. It was built against a rocky wall, and was 1.4 m long and 0.77 m wide. It lay NNE—SSW.

Grave 15 was untouched, with a rectangular cist lying NNE—SSW (1.5 × 0.7 m). It contained the remains of one skeleton. This grave differs from most of the others in being rather loosely and carelessly constructed.

Grave 17. Opened, but otherwise a very carefully built grave, constructed against the solid rock. In the grave a good deal of wood was found, having probably been used for the covering. The bottom was paved with flat stones like a house floor. In the cist, which was 1.2 × 0.6 m, were the remains of at least one skeleton. The longitudinal direction of the grave was N—S.

Grave 18. Large and well-built, lying against a rock. The covering stones were missing. The cist, which was 1.9 × 0.6 m, contained at least two skeletons of women, moreover was found a seal tooth pierced at one end. Outside the grave was a small additional cist containing a swivel and a piece of drilled bone.

Grave 19. A child's grave, little disturbed, built alongside a large stone. Four covering stones were in position, supported by long bars of wood. The cist itself was nearly six-sided, 1.1 × 1.0 m, and contained a child's skeleton.

Only a few stones were left of Grave 22. Among these were found remains of human bones and a knife blade of slate.

In addition to the graves described above, mention should be made of the two burials in the foundation of House 3 (see p. 13).

Other Stone Remains.

To complete the description, I am finally going to mention the other stone remains found in this settlement, viz. tent rings, fox traps and meat depots.

Tent rings were found to a number of four. Their position is seen from Fig. 3, where they are designated by Tr. 1—4. The tent rings are

of the same type as for instance those in Northeast Greenland¹⁾, consisting simply of a ring of large stones. In Trs. 2 and 3 part of the space within the ring is covered with flat stones, possibly the platform cover was lying on these.

Tr. 1 was circular with a diameter of 3—4 m; Tr. 2 was quite small, only about 2 m in diameter, while Trs. 3 and 4 were too incomplete for measurement.

Within the area of the settlement were two fox traps of the common Eskimo type, viz. the box-trap. Both were rather badly collapsed.

As has been mentioned, a considerable number of meat depots were found, part of which have been indicated on Fig. 3. The larger part looked permanent. They were very carefully built of large angular stones, either lying detached or built alongside walls of rock. Their shape varies from circular to rectangular. As I have already stated, the rectangular ones are difficult to tell from the graves.

In the immediate vicinity of Tr. 3 was a four-sided pavement of small flat stones resembling strongly the Northeast Greenland toy houses²⁾. A real toy house made of coloured stones was found in the southeast corner of the peninsula.

2. Ivnarmit.

Besides the two settlements on Skærgaardshalvø mentioned in the foregoing, in the southeastern part of Kangerdlugssuaq only a single ruin was found. It was situated on the island of Ivnarmit³⁾, the largest of the many islands lying west of Skærgaardshalvø.

The ruin lies on the southwest corner of the island and is visible at a long distance, being situated on the top of a rounded rock, about 30 m above sea-level. At the three sides of the house the rock drops steeply down. The house is standing so near the edge that only a space of 1.35 m is left outside the west wall, while the distance from the rear wall to the edge is 5 m. The house passage, facing south, issues from a small terrace in the rock. It rises more than 2 m on a length of 3.3 m (see Fig. 11). In addition to the support offered by the natural inequalities of the rock, stones had been placed to facilitate the approach, so that the passage had more or less the appearance of a flight of stairs. The passage was 0.5 m wide; the three innermost roofing stones were in position. The height was here 0.47 m.

¹⁾ Dødemandsbugten, p. 63 and Fig. 20.

²⁾ Dødemandsbugten, p. 75 and Fig. 24.

³⁾ The name, which signifies "those who live on the slope", is found in KNUD RASMUSSEN's diary from the 7th Thule Expedition.

The house itself was distinctly rectangular. Inside, it was 2.44 m long and 2.22 m wide, its greatest dimension being in the direction of the house passage. The floor, entirely paved with flat stones, occupied the front half of the house, and the platform the rear part. The platform was well-built. It was raised 0.5 m above the level of the floor, and consisted of very large, flat stones resting on long narrow ones lying horizontally in the longitudinal direction of the house. These in turn were sup-



Fig. 11. The house ruin, Ivnarmitut.

ported by other stones placed in a vertical position. The walls, consisting entirely of stones, were 1.25 m thick and up to 1.10 m high. A niche, 0.6 m deep, 0.5 m high and wide, had been built into the west wall, near the front wall. The walls, consisting entirely of stones, were 1.25 m thick and up to 1.10 m high.

A number of well-preserved objects were found in the house, among other things several harpoon heads, two wound plugs, and two lamps of soapstone without a wick ledge.

West of the house were some stone settings. One of these at any rate were the remains of a grave, the others were probably meat caches.

According to information supplied by Mr. L. R. WAGER, there are in Kangerdlugssuaq in addition to the three settlements mentioned here, two others, situated on the west side of the fjord. Unfortunately, lack of time prevented our examining these.

3. I. C. Jacobsens Fjord.

Travelling eastwards from Kangerdlugssuaq one first passes the mouth of Mikis Fjord, and then arrives at I. C. Jacobsens Fjord. While the former of these fjords has been thoroughly investigated from an archaeological point of view by "The Scoresby Sound Committee's 2nd East Greenland Expedition¹⁾, this expedition did not succeed in entering Jacobsens Fjord. Since to our knowledge white men had not visited



Fig. 12. The settlement in I. C. Jacobsens Fjord, seen from the north.

this fjord before, we were interested to ascertain if traces of former Eskimo settlements were to be found here, and to investigate the possible finds.

However, the Eskimo settlement in Jacobsens Fjord was not first discovered by the archaeologists. As a matter of fact, while we were working on Skærgaardshalvø, the ship proceeded to the end of Jacobsens Fjord, where the group chosen to mount the Watkins Alps was put ashore; and during the ship's stay in the fjord, two Eskimo settlements were discovered, one about the middle, and another at the mouth of the fjord, on Cape Irminger. On our arrival in Jacobsens Fjord, therefore, we were able to begin the excavations immediately. Unfortunately it was not possible for us to excavate all the houses, nor to measure the settlement, the time at our disposal here being too short. On the other

¹⁾ DEGERBØL.



Fig. 13. Plan of the settlement in I. C. Jacobsens Fjord.

hand the ruins excavated yielded such good results that these drawbacks were partly compensated.

With its high rocks rising steeply from the water, Jacobsens Fjord seems a rather uninviting place for Eskimos to settle in. Really good building grounds—southern slopes with a low shore in front—are absent. Only extraordinarily good hunting conditions could have induced Eskimos to settle in the two places to be described here.

About half-way up the fjord, a side-fjord comes in from the west. The largest of the settlements mentioned is situated on the north side of this fjord, directly where it opens out in the main fjord (Fig. 12). The coast off the settlement consists of a rocky wall, 5—10 metres high, rising vertically from the water. Above this the ground rises regularly, at first gently and a bit terrace-like, afterwards more steeply, ending finally in a large mountain, rising above the settlement. The ground surrounding the houses consists partly of naked rock and partly of loose fragments of rock interspaced in several places by a rich vegetation. No running water is found in the neighbourhood. No doubt a snow-patch in a ravine looking on to the main fjord as well as glacial ice from the fjord provided water for the inhabitants of the settlement during the dry season.

There are five house ruins. Of these, House 1 lies so near the water that the end of the house passage is immediately above the perpendicular rocky wall, which has probably been moved closer by erosion than when the house was inhabited. House 2 lies immediately behind House 1, House 3 a bit higher and farther east, while Houses 4 and 5 are situated on a terrace about 15 metres higher (Fig. 13). In addition to the houses, the settlement contains two graves, two fox traps (a third was found high on the mountain behind), and a number of meat depots, five of which are situated in a row and are leaning against a low vertical rocky wall.

The House Ruins.

House 1 was not excavated. It was rectangular, 3.1 m long and 2.7 m wide, having high, well-preserved walls. Outside the east wall was the indistinct outline of an older house.

House 2 is rectangular, though very nearly square. It is 2.8 m long, the front wall is 2.62 m and the rear wall 2.70 m. The walls are built of up to seven courses of flat stones. The highest of the walls (the rear one) is 0.9 m high, and the front wall 0.4 m high. The house passage, facing the south, is 3.7 m long and 0.5 m wide. The sides of the passage, built of large stones, were partly collapsed. The solid rock forms the passage floor, which rises towards the house, where it lies below the level of the floor stones. The house floor is almost entirely paved with flat stones. Before excavation a heap of large stones—possibly the collapsed plat-

form—was found in the rearmost part of the house. Between these stones was the skeleton of a man. Judging from the position of the bones, he had been lying on the platform against the east wall, his head towards the floor. Foot bones and bones of the lower leg were found partly hidden beneath the rear wall, which is collapsed into the house (Fig. 14).

53 objects were found in the house itself, 8 in the passage, and 4 in a meat cache constructed outside the house against the west wall.



Fig. 14. The human skeleton in House 2, I. C. Jacobsens Fjord.

House 3 is trapeziform and widest at the front, where it measures 3.00 m. The rear width is 2.80 m and the length 3.45 m. The walls are well-preserved and built of up to 8 courses of large flat stones. The front wall, the least well-preserved, is 0.80 m high, the rear one 1.10 m, and the side-walls 1.10 and 1.0 m high respectively. Niches have been built into the walls, a small one in the southwest corner of the front wall, in the west wall a bigger one (0.45 m long and 0.4 m deep), and in the east wall a triangular one, 25 cm deep. The surface of the floor is almost entirely covered with flat stones. Prior to excavation these were covered by a layer of well-preserved animal bones. Only at the very back there were no floor stones.

The house passage, opening to the south, has been built of very large stones, but is now to a large extent collapsed. One roofing stone, the innermost one, is in position. The house passage is 3.90 m long and about 0.5 m wide. It rises smoothly from the entrance towards the house,

where its floor is 0.55 m below the level of the house floor. The passage floor is formed partly by the solid rock.

The house yielded 60 specimens, including a wound plug, and the passage 19 specimens, among which 3 arrow heads.

House 4 was not excavated. It is a fairly well-preserved, four-sided house, its greatest extension being at right angles to the house passage;

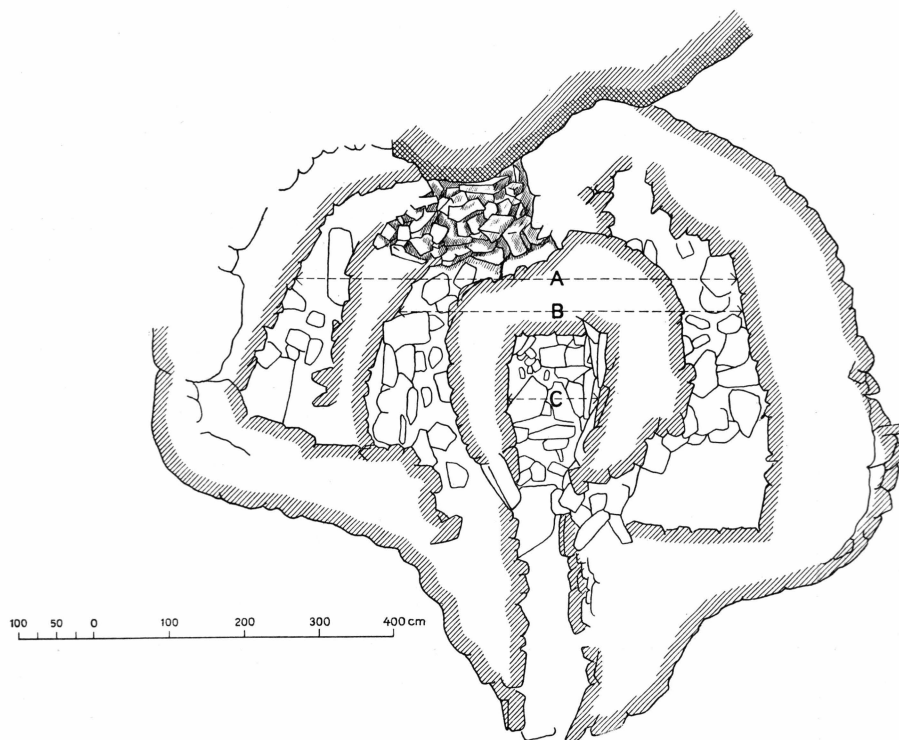


Fig. 15. Plan of House 5, I. C. Jacobsens Fjord.

it is 2.55 m long and 3.60 m wide. The passage, running SSE, is roofed over on the innermost 1.5 m.

House 5 was a very peculiar ruin or rather group of ruins, appearing prior to excavation as a large heap of stones. As excavation proceeded, however, it turned out to be three houses built one inside the other. For clarity's sake it is necessary to describe the three houses separately. According to their age they are designated as A, B and C, A being the oldest. The first house constructed in this place, house A, is a common-house with its greatest dimension at right angles to the direction of the house passage. It measures 7 m one way and 3.75 m the other. As will be seen from Fig. 15, it is of a peculiar shape, having the greatest breadth at the front and rounded corners at the back. The greater part of the

east wall is well-preserved and consists of up to 7 courses of flat stones. The front wall, on the other hand, is in a very bad state of preservation. As will be seen from Fig. 16, the west side consists of a single row of fairly large stones set on edge. It is natural to suppose that these are the last remains of a wall which was originally built of several layers of stones. The missing stones have no doubt been employed in the later houses. The rear wall, forming part of the ground behind, is violently disturbed



Fig. 16. House 5, I. C. Jacobsens Fjord, after excavation. Seen from rear.

by collapse into the house. The house passage, which has been used throughout the three different periods of construction, will be mentioned under the description of house C. The floor in house A has been paved with flat stones. On top of these floor stones, between the west wall and house C, a wall extending from the front wall to the rear wall has later been constructed. In the upper part of this wall the stones were lying about in a disorderly manner, but nearer the bottom it was evident that it was no accidental heap of stones, but a carefully constructed wall, the west wall of house B. The position of the east wall cannot be accurately ascertained. It is probable, however, that the east wall of A has been also the east wall of B; in that case B has been about 5 m long.

House C, the one used last (Fig. 17), is constructed entirely inside B as a continuation of the house passage. This, which faces SSE, is 4.00 m long and about 0.5 m wide. It is built of comparatively small stones, and its floor rises evenly towards the house. On the last stretch the

passage floor is formed by the solid rock. Outside, the house is nearly egg-shaped, its greatest breadth being at the back. The wall is up to 1.40 m thick and built of several rows of flat stones in up to seven courses. The room itself is cut off straight at the rear, and narrows towards the house passage. It is about 2 m long and 0.95 m wide at the back. The rearmost 1.50 metres of the house are occupied by the platform, which lies a bit higher than the floor, and is formed by the super-

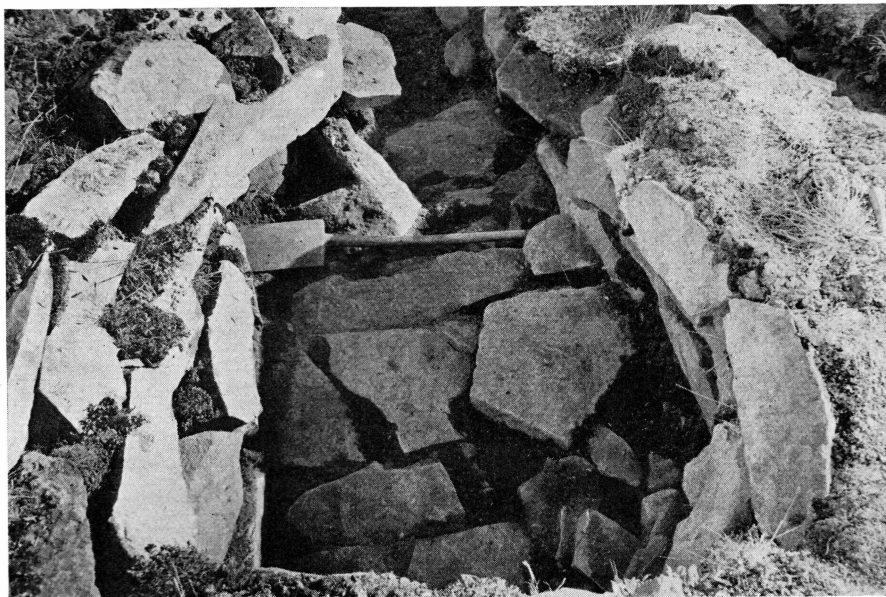


Fig. 17. House 5 C, I. C. Jacobsens Fjord, after excavation. Seen from the rear wall. In the background, the house passage.

position of fairly large, flat stones on the original floor stones. In the east wall just in front of the platform was a little niche containing a number of animal bones, and on one of the platform stones just in front was some very hard-burnt blubber. This leaves no doubt that the house has been inhabited, though more than one or at most two people could not have lived here.

A yielded 9 objects, C 13.

Other Stone Remains.

As previously mentioned, there are two graves in the settlement. Grave 1 had been opened, probably by bears, whereas Grave 2 was untouched. Grave 1 lies about 50 m west of the winter houses, and looks very much like a huge heap of stones. The cist, which is 1.55 m long and 1.0 m wide, and lies E—W, only contained few and very badly preserved

bones. In addition to the cist, the heap contained a smaller cavity in shape similar to the cist and with the same longitudinal direction. It was lying northeast of the cist and was 1.2 m long and 0.6 m wide. It was covered by stones and contained a large number of rather badly preserved grave goods, viz. 36 pierced teeth, ten ornamental bodkins, two drop pendants of slate, one ivory bead, one wound pin, two whetstones, two oval bowl bottoms, parts of a wooden dish, seven tub staves, a piece of calcareous spar, pieces of soapstone and mussel-shells, and two pieces of worked bone. Scattered among the stones were further nineteen worked pieces of wood, chiefly thin pointed sticks. We need no skeleton to see that a woman is buried here. The presence of the ornaments and the household utensils are evidence enough.

Grave 2 lies east of the houses. It is unusually high and well built, measuring 1 m from the bottom to the covering stones. It is built against a vertical rocky wall, which forms one entire length of the grave and half of one end wall. The cist is 1.4 m long and 0.7 m wide and contained a skeleton and a wooden scoop (Fig. 23), standing at the feet of the corpse.

The meat depots, occurring in a comparatively large number, are large well built stone caches, giving the impression of being permanent.

The fox traps are the common type of box-trap.

4. Cape Irminger.

Cape Irminger is the name indicating the west corner of the mouth of I. C. Jacobsens Fjord. As previously mentioned, a settlement was found at this place when "Quest" first entered Jacobsens Fjord. However, it is still a mystery to me how it occurred to anyone to look for Eskimo house ruins here. It seems in advance entirely unfitted for habitation. Like a headland, Cape Irminger juts out from the high, steep mountains behind (Fig. 18). On arriving here by the sea, one looks in vain for a suitable place for landing. The whole way round, one finds only steep walls of rock, in most places entirely vertical, and the top, which lies about 20—25 m above the level of the sea, is only reached with the greatest difficulty. Further, the heavy swell running almost permanently in this place quite open to the sea makes the approach even more difficult. One should consider it an impossibility for the Eskimos to transport kayaks, sledges, and even umiaks up on to this point of land. However, it must have been possible, since ruins of two Eskimo winter houses are lying here.

Apart from a few projecting fragments of rock, the top of the cape is fairly level. Here, the ruins lie with a distance of about 50 m from one another. Both are common-houses made shorter by the construction of a transversal wall inside the house, like the houses found on Skær-

gaardshalvø and in Jacobsens Fjord. Judging from their state of preservation, they were inhabited simultaneously at any rate in the last period; and from various facts it seems probable that they belong to the houses most recently inhabited in this region.

House 1 is the smallest and simplest of the two. It is extremely well-preserved, with solid walls up to 1.3 m high and an almost complete house passage. The length of the whole house is 4.4 m, the breadth 3.15 m

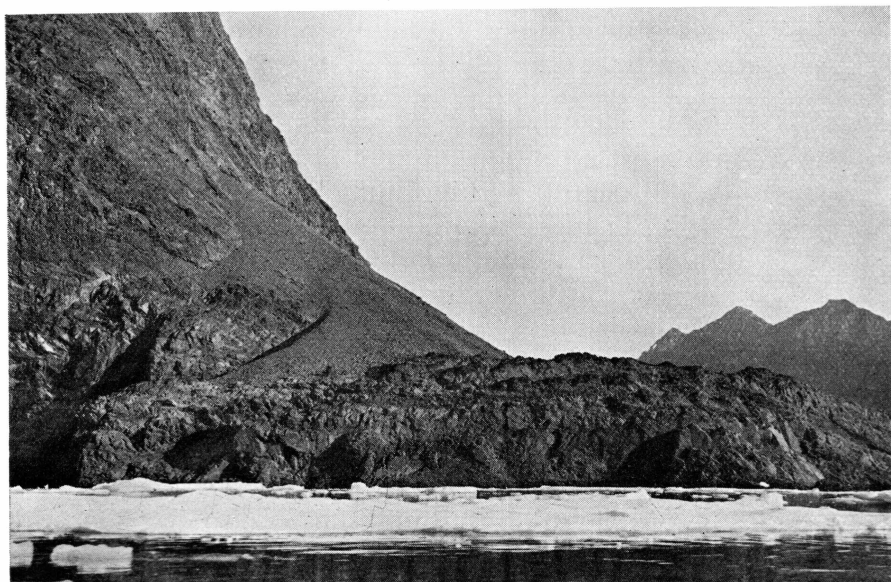


Fig. 18. Cape Irminger, seen from the south.

at the west end and 2.40 m at the east end. The partition wall, of the same height as the outer walls and 0.9 m wide, is constructed on top of the floor stones 1.0 m from the west wall. In room B, the one separated from the rest of the house by the partition wall, is a niche, about 0.5 m deep and equally wide, built into the west wall. The niche is covered, and its bottom is on a level with the floor. The floor of room A is square and entirely paved with large flat stones. Before excavation a very large number of well-preserved animal bones were lying on the floor, covered by a layer of moss. There was almost no earth. This fact, in connection with the good state of preservation of the house, conveyed the impression that it had been left not so very long ago. The rear half of the house has been occupied by the platform (Fig. 19), which has extended at least 1.20 m into the house from the rear wall. It is raised 0.45 m above the floor stones and consists entirely of stones. Only the eastern end is whole, the rear part only of the other end being preserved. The surface of the platform consists of flat stones, some of them very

large, which lie quite closely together, forming a fairly even surface. These covering stones rest upon four long stones which lie horizontally at right angles to the longitudinal direction of the platform. The horizontal stones are in turn supported by pillars consisting of stones on edge. These are standing on the floor stones, which continue beneath the platform. At the east wall, immediately in front of the platform, was a lamp place, consisting of a flat stone supported in three corners by head-size stones.



Fig. 19. The rear part of House 1, Cape Irminger. The platform, and to the right, a part of the lamp place.

A layer of blubber was found on the stone and around it, so that there could be no doubt that our interpretation was correct.

The house passage runs southwards and is built of large stones most of which are in position. It is 3.20 m long, of which the innermost 2.10 m are covered with long flat stones, while the outer part only consists of two stone walls which have probably never been covered over, but only served as a shelter (compare House 3 on Skærgaardshalvø). The passage reaches some distance into the house, where its bottom lies considerably below the level of the house floor, how far could not be decided, as the inner part was filled with ice.

A yielded 35 specimens, B 5.

Of House 2 (Fig. 20) was excavated only the eastern room A, which is well preserved, while of B, except for the transversal wall, only parts of the walls remain. It was possible, however, to establish that the rear wall of A continued without interruption into that of B. At the front

wall no connection between the walls could be found, but this might be due to a later reconstruction of A. The whole house was originally about 8 m long (internal measurements). A, the part most recently inhabited, is about 3.50 m long (i. e. at right angles to the direction of the house passage) and about 2.60 m wide. The walls are about 1.40 m high

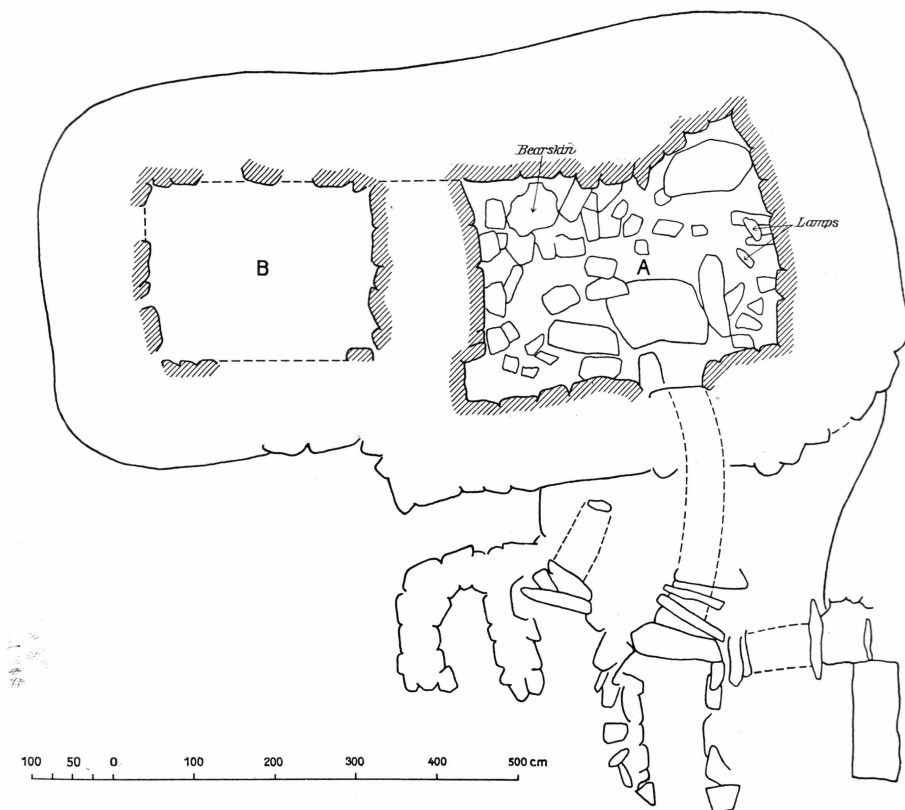


Fig. 20. Plan of House 2, Cape Irminger.

and well-preserved apart from the rear wall, which has collapsed a little into the house. On the floor are a number of flat stones, but they do not form any continuous flooring. A very disturbed platform, consisting of flat stones supported by pillars, occupies the rear part of the house. Remains of a bearskin that may originally have covered the stone platform were lying on the platform. While remains of the roofing have been found in none of the other houses from this area, in this house, on the floor below some very large, flat stones, were some heavy pieces of wood, which may formerly have supported the roof. A lamp was standing near the east wall in front of the platform on top of two stones set on edge; a rough stone with a shallow depression in the surface. Near this lamp was another of unusual shape (Fig. 21).

The most remarkable feature of this house, however, is the passage. It runs southwards and changes its direction twice. It is 5.5 m long in all, 3.75 m of which are covered, while the outer part only consists of two stone walls. The breadth is 65 cm at the outer entrance, and 46 cm at the opening into the house. Here, the height to the roofing stones is 87 cm, and to the floor stones 38 cm. Niches of large stones have been built about the entrance of the house passage at both sides. Some of them are open and some covered. East of the passage is a covered one, 84 cm high and 78 cm wide, at right angles to the direction of the passage. West of the passage are two, parallel to the passage, one open, the other open at the outer part and covered at the inner part, and behind these is an open niche at right angles to the passage. For what purpose these niches have been used is not quite clear, but one might imagine that the covered ones at least served as meat depots. Possibly the open ones are shelters for the dogs.

House 2 yielded 57 specimens and, in addition, the lower jaw of a child.

In addition to the houses there are two graves on Cape Irminger. Both are untouched, rectangular, and very elaborately built of large flat stones. Both contained the skeleton of a grown woman. Grave 1 was 1.8 m long and 0.7 m wide and was built against a rock which formed one of its sides. The bottom was laid with flat stones, and on top of these was a bearskin, which had either covered the bottom or enveloped the corpse. A wooden scoop and a thimble guard were found at the feet of the corpse, and at the neck 139 ivory beads, thirteen ornamental bodkins, and a winged needle-case. Further were found in the grave an ajagaq and a piece of calcareous spar. A knife-handle was found among the covering stones of Grave 2, but nothing in the grave itself.

III. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE HOUSE RUINS

As a feature common to the houses described in the foregoing we may establish that they are all four-sided. One house, i. e. House 1 on Skærgaardshalvø, has somewhat rounded corners, but straight walls. Further, all are built of stones, turf having only been employed to a small extent as a material of construction. The small number of stones found in the walls of Houses 4 and 5 on Skærgaardshalvø was no doubt due to stones having been removed, probably to be used in the construction of House 3.

The most important differences are found in the size of the houses. Considering the two extremes, viz. the large common-houses with their greatest extension at right angles to the direction of the house passage, and the small rectangular ones having their greatest breadth in the opposite direction, we naturally find that these types differ greatly as to shape as well. However, looking on the houses as a whole, we find all stages of transition between the two extremes. This is seen clearly from the following table. Here the houses are grouped according to the proportion between their length and breadth, counting as the length the distance between the side walls. In this connection we only consider the original houses, not counting the partition walls that have been constructed later.

Houses	Length in metres:	Breadth in metres:	Proportion between length and breadth, stated in per cent:
Cape Irminger House 2.....	8.00	2.60	33
Skærgaardshalvø House 2.....	7.50	2.75	37
— — 5.....	5.30	2.35	44
— — 4.....	7.05	3.40	48
— — 6.....	6.00	3.00	50
Cape Irminger House 1.....	6.10	3.15	52
I. C. Jacobsens Fjord House 5....	7.00	3.75	53
— — 4....	3.60	2.55	71

Houses	Length in metres:	Breadth in metres:	Proportion between length and breadth, stated in per cent:
I. C. Jacobsens Fjord House 3....	3.00	2.45	81
— — 2....	2.80	2.70	96
Ivnarmiut.....	2.20	2.40	109
I. C. Jacobsens Fjord House 1....	2.70	3.10	115
Skærgaardshalvø House 3.....	2.60	3.00	115
— — 1.....	2.10	2.60	124

As will be seen from the table, every kind of transitional form occurs from the long common-house to the small rectangular one.

As to the reciprocal age of the houses, their state of conservation seems to indicate at least some difference in age, even if this is not apparent from the finds. Houses 4 and 5 on Skærgaardshalvø are the least well-preserved of the houses. They are the only large common-houses which have not been made smaller by the construction of a partition wall inside the house. As to the other common-houses, the most recently inhabited part of these is fairly well-preserved. The houses on Cape Irminger, in fact, I should consider among the latest inhabited ones in the region, judging from their state of preservation. However, if we consider the remains of the original houses that lie outside the latest inhabited part, these give the impression of having a considerably greater age. The fact that only few stones are left in the walls is not of great importance, since the stones have undoubtedly in most cases been employed in the construction of the partition wall, but the dense growth of willow is unmistakable. As regards the remainder of the houses, i. e. what might be termed the short common-houses and the small rectangular houses, these must be characterized as well-preserved, especially the latter.

Accordingly, of the houses examined here, the long common-houses are older than the smaller houses and the reduced common-houses, judging from the state of preservation. Probably the latter, in their original form, were contemporaneous with Houses 4 and 5 on Skærgaardshalvø. The development is easy to follow, and is a consequence of the fate of the Kangerdlugssuaq Eskimos. Originally numerous, several families of them lived together in large common-houses. In the course of time, however, various causes have contributed to their decimation. The houses became too big, the Eskimos simply had not lamps enough to heat them, and for this reason it became necessary to make them smaller by constructing a new side wall within the original one. Houses which have been made smaller are known also from Mikis Fjord, and in Ang-

magssalik they are likewise extremely common¹). When new houses were built, they were naturally constructed in conformity with the number of families that were to live there; and so the short common-houses and the small rectangular ones have come into existence. The latter were probably inhabited by only one family. One house in particular, i. e. House 5 in Jacobsens Fjord, bears a clear testimony to the sad fate of a small group of Eskimos. One sees the originally large common-house at first reduced by part of its length, and finally ending as a small stone cave with room for two people at most. We ultimately find the last surviving as skeletons in the houses.

That the presence of the common-house in Knud Rasmussens Land is due to influence from the south is unquestionable. It originated in West Greenland in the middle of the 17th century, and came to Angmagssalik about 1700²) and probably not long after that has come to Knud Rasmussens Land. As was seen above, the smaller houses are dating from a later period and are derivatives of the common-house. Thus BIRKET-SMITH'S theory that the four-sided houses on the northern east coast are derivatives of the common-house³) has been confirmed as far as this region is concerned, but does it apply also to the remaining part of East Greenland?

The long common-houses have never been encountered in Northeast Greenland, and since this region is archaeologically one of the best explored in Greenland, we may take it for granted that it never got so far north. The most northerly common-houses known on the east coast are those in Knud Rasmussens Land. Evidently, the development from common-houses to small rectangular houses cannot have taken place in Northeast Greenland, and in consequence, if BIRKET-SMITH'S theory holds good, the latter must have come there from the south. If it is the rectangular house type of Knud Rasmussens Land that has been transplanted to Northeast Greenland, this must have taken place in the eighteenth century at the earliest. The fact, however, that not a single type of implement indicating so late an immigration has been found in Northeast Greenland eliminates this possibility. The remaining alternatives are either that the rectangular houses have come to Northeast Greenland during an immigration occurring before the year 1700, or that they have come into existence independently within the region, without any relation whatsoever to the long common-houses.

Let us look at the various house types that have been in use in Angmagssalik. In his "Prehistory of the Angmagssalik Eskimos",

¹) DEGERBØL, p. 33 and MATHIASSEN 1933, p. 21.

²) MATHIASSEN 1933, p. 107.

³) BIRKET-SMITH 1917, pp. 11 and 34.

MATHIASSEN divides the houses into four groups¹⁾. Group 1 comprises quite small, round or rounded houses, or houses with irregular angles, Group 2 small rectangular houses, Group 3 the older common-houses, and Group 4 common-houses which have presumably been inhabited in the 19th and 20th centuries. It is the small rectangular houses in Group 2 which MATHIASSEN considers as having been transferred to Northeast Greenland²⁾.

The chronological position of Group 2 is, however, somewhat uncertain. Thus, in the description of Group 3 MATHIASSEN says: "The oldest of them do not seem to be so old as the oldest of Group 2, but otherwise these two groups seem to have been in use contemporaneously"³⁾. Having seen along what lines the development in Knud Rasmussens Land has proceeded, it is natural to conclude that at least those of the small rectangular houses that are contemporaneous with the common-houses have originated from these, just as in Knud Rasmussens Land. The more so, as in Angmagssalik we also find common-houses made smaller by the construction of partition walls inside the house. Whether the rectangular houses in Angmagssalik which seem to be older than the common-houses really are so only the finds can decide. Unfortunately these are so bad owing to the bad conditions of preservation that the information they provide contributes little to the solution of the problem. As a matter of fact, MATHIASSEN only with some reservation places these houses to a definite period, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The possibility that they actually do belong to this period naturally cannot be entirely dismissed, but in my opinion it is opposed by the fact that in Southwest Greenland, from where Angmagssalik has received its culture, no small rectangular houses are found between the oldest round houses and the four-sided houses of the 17th and 18th centuries. Of these only very few are small, most of them being common-houses. Furthermore, if the occurrence of four-sided houses was due to influence from Norse architecture, as MATHIASSEN suggests⁴⁾, one should expect them to appear in the Julianehaab district earlier than in Angmagssalik. Thus various facts seem to indicate that Groups 2 and 3 belong to the same stage of culture, i. e. the eighteenth century; and it follows that the round houses in Angmagssalik were in use right up to the year 1700. This eliminates the possibility that the small rectangular houses should have come to Northeast Greenland through an immigration from the south. Consequently, we must

¹⁾ MATHIASSEN 1933, pp. 11—12.

²⁾ I. c., p. 66.

³⁾ I. c., p. 12.

⁴⁾ I. c., p. 66.

assume that they have originated within the region itself. According to the above, BIRKET-SMITH's theory applies to the east coast from Knud Rasmussens Land and southwards, but not to Northeast Greenland.

I have previously spoken of Northeast Greenland as one of the best explored regions in Greenland; this, however, only applies to the northern part. The number of fjords generally comprehended under the name of Scoresby Sound are still waiting for a systematic archaeological investigation. In the course of time, it is true, excavations of Eskimo ruins have been carried out here by various expeditions, but these excavations have often had a rather accidental character. A thorough investigation of this region would undoubtedly yield good results. It is even possible that here the solution might be found to the problem regarding the origin of the small houses in Northeast Greenland. In fact, from this region in particular, reports on rectangular houses have come, whereas the later houses farther north (Type 3, Dødemandsbugten) differ to a smaller or greater extent from this type, being generally trapeziform or rectangular, with bulges at the front corners. They only differ from the older Type 2 in being narrower and in having sharp corners at the back (the trapeziform ones have four sharp corners). That the later type is a derivative of the earlier one is clearly seen from the interior arrangement of the house, with a main platform and one or two side platforms¹). The reason for adopting the construction of smaller houses is probably the same as in Knud Rasmussens Land, i. e. the decreasing population. That the practice of making big houses smaller was also known in Northeast Greenland is seen from Fig. 12 in "Dødemandsbugten", showing an almost square house made smaller by the construction of a partition wall inside the house. The result was a rectangular house with a bulge at one corner. In other words, we have exactly the same phenomenon as in Knud Rasmussens Land, only in the former region the small houses have not originated from the long common-houses, but from a distinct Northeast Greenland house type. An investigation in Scoresby Sound would be interesting, therefore, because it would reveal if the houses really differ from the later houses in the remaining part of Northeast Greenland, or whether it is only the schematic character of the earlier sketches that makes them appear rectangular²).

In the summer of 1937 I had the opportunity of examining a few ruins situated on an island at Sydkap in the inner part of Scoresby Sound. The few houses that I managed to excavate during my stay in this place,

¹) Dødemandsbugten, p. 60 ff.

²) RYDER, Fig. 2 and AMDRUP, Fig. 5.

which was of very short duration, did not in any way differ from the above-mentioned Type 3. They were trapeziform, with the greatest breadth at the front wall, the interior being arranged in the usual manner. In making more extensive investigations at Scoresby Sound, one might be able to ascertain whether all the small houses are derivatives of the older, larger Northeast Greenland form, or whether after all there has been a later immigration from the south.

IV. DESCRIPTION OF THE FINDS

The finds from the different settlements, with their houses and graves, having on the whole a uniform character, we shall in the following deal with them in bulk. The distribution of the various types in houses and graves appears from the list below; here, only a short description of the separate types is given. Only the types not previously found in the territory, or those that are of significance with respect to the chronology, will be more elaborately dealt with.

As will be seen from the list below and from the subsequent description, the majority of the objects are of stone. This is due to the fact that the conditions for preservation were extremely bad in most places. Nowhere permanently frozen ground was found. The soil, consisting in most places of coarse gravel, is unfavourable with regard to the conservation of objects of wood and bone. The most favourable conditions were encountered in houses where thick layers of blubber were found on the floor or below it. In such places one could find well-preserved wood and even baleen.

Hunting Implements and Means of Transport.

The harpoon heads, with one exception, all belong to the thin main group. The Inugsuk-type is predominant. A total number of eight can with certainty be placed under this type. Seven of these have one spur, and are fairly small (4.7—6.8 cm). The smallest specimen has a bone blade of the same length as the head. One, Pl. 1.₂, differs from the others in size, and in having a bifurcated spur. It is made of bear bone, and is without the blade 10.4 cm long. The blade, likewise of bear bone, has been held by a lashing which has run through two double holes joined together by a groove.

Pl. 1.₃ is a powerful specimen of whalebone, with a barb and a spur. It has had a blade of stone or bone. The type is known from Angmagssalik in finds from the eighteenth century.

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	Sarfaalik Ikerasarsuk	Skærgaardshalvø										
		House 1	House 2 A	House 2 B	House 3	House 4	House 5	House 6 A	House 6 B	Grave 1	Grave 2	Grave 3
Harpoon Heads.												
Thin, barbless, bladeless	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Thin, barbless, bladeless, for single line, one hole	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Thin, barbless, bladeless, for single line, two holes	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Inugsuk type	1	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..
Thin, blade, one barb.
Flat, barbless, blade	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Other Parts of Harpoon.												
Blade of bone	1	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	..	..	..
Blade of stone	1	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..
Foreshaft for kayak harpoon, conical butt, one hole
Foreshaft for kayak harpoon, short tenon	1	..	..	..
Foreshaft for kayak harpoon, conical butt, two holes	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Foreshaft for ice-hunting harpoon	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Shaft mounting	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Finger rest
Harpoon wing
Swivel for harpoon line
Ice pick	1	..	..	..
Mouthpiece for harp. bladder	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Other Hunting Implements.												
Bladder-dart mounting
Lance foreshaft
Lance blade	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bird-dart, side prong
Wound plug	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wound pin
Arrow head, barbless	1	..	..	..	..
Arrow head, barbed
Gorge	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Leister prong
Salmon spear, side prong	1(?)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Means of Transport.												
Kayak, rest for harpoon	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mounting for kayak-paddle
Sledge shoes	3	1	1	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..

List of Types

	Sarfalik Ikerasruk	Skærgaardshalvø										
		House 1	House 2 A	House 2 B	House 3	House 4	House 5	House 6 A	House 6 B	Grave 1	Grave 2	Grave 3
		Tools.										
Knife, entirely of slate.....	2	..	..	..	1	..	..
Knife, with end blade.....	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Knife handle with blade socket in end	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Knife handle with blade groove in side	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Knife with blade socket in end and in side.....	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Knife handle, wood.....
Knife blade, single-edged.....	..	2	10	1	..	11	6	4	13	1	..	..
Knife blade, two-edged.....	..	1	4	1	..	2	1	..	1	..	..	..
Indeterminable fragments of knife blades.....	..	1	6	..	..	1	..	1	2	..	..	..
Drill mouthpiece.....	..	1	1	1	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..
Drill shank.....	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Drill bit, slate.....	1	..	2	1	..	6	1	..	..	..
Adze head.....
Adze blade.....	..	2	2	1	4	3	..	2	2	..	..	..
Whetstone.....	..	8	15	5	9	21	11	13	18	..	..	1
Hammer stone.....
Wedge.....
Ulo entirely of slate.....	1	..	..	3	..	1	2	1	..	..
Ulo with slate blade.....
Ulo handle, armless.....
Ulo handle, with intermediate piece.	1	..	..
Ulo handle, with two arms.....	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ulo blade for two-armed ulo.....	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ulo blade, others.....	..	3	8	..	..	11	4	3	7	..	..	1
Scraper, narwhal jaw.....	2	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	..
Scraper, bear jaw.....	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Scraper, two-handed.....	1	..	..	..	..	..
Scraper blade, stone, concave edge.
Needle case.....
Thimble holder.....
Household Utensils.												
Lamp.....	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cooking pot.....	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cooking pot, fragments.....	1	..	3	6	2	1	3	..	..	..
Scoop, of wood.....	2	..	..
Scoop, of bone.....	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Spoon.....	..	2	..	..	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Bowl bottom, oval.....	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
Tub stove.....
Meat fork.....	1	..	..

List of Types

	Sarfaik Ikerasarsuk	Skærgaardshalvø										
		House 1	House 2 A	House 2 B	House 3	House 4	House 5	House 6 A	House 6 B	Grave 1	Grave 2	Grave 3
Dress, Ornaments and Toilet.												
"Boot straw"	1	..	..	..	..
Button.....
Toggle.....
Bear teeth, pierced	2	..	2	1	2	1	4	1	..	..	..
Other teeth, pierced	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Ornamental bodkin	1	..	..
Ornamental plate
Pendant, pierced bone
Pendant, slate.....	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pendant, calcareous spar	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Pendant, ivory	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Drop pendant, ivory	1	..
Drop pendant, lime.....	1	..
Bead, ivory	1	..
Bead, slate.....	4	..
Bead, calcareous spar	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	..
Bead, mussel-shell	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Comb.....	1	..
Games and Toys.												
Ajagaq, seal radius	2	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..
Ajagaq, seal humerus	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ajagaq, seal penis bone	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nuglutang	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Doll	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Toy harpoon head	1	..	..	..	..
Toy harpoon shaft mounting	1	..	..	..	..
Toy throwing board
Toy kayak.....
Toy lamp with wick ledge.....	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Toy lamp without wick ledge.....	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Toy cooking pot	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Toy tub	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Toy tray.....	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Toy ulo blade.....
Sundries.												
Mounting, baleen	1	..	..	..	..
Mounting for tray or tub
Mounting, others	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Blubber hook	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cylinder, ivory
Stretcher.....	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Baleen knots	1	..	..	..	..	..	..

One of the slate blades (Pl. 2. 6) has a similar thinner part at the lower end, the others are ground with three more or less distinct facets, as for example those from Northeast Greenland¹). They have one or two holes.

Two foreshafts for the kayak harpoon have one hole. One is of walrus ivory, with a conical butt, and the other is of bone, with a thick tenon at the butt end. This applies also to a third specimen of narwhal ivory, but it cannot be decided whether this has had one or two holes. A foreshaft (Pl. 1. 11) of whalebone has two holes and a conical butt, a combination of an older and a more recent feature, the foreshafts with two holes having generally a tenon at the butt end²). It is probably a transitional form.

We have one almost whole foreshaft for the ice-hunting harpoon of bone, and a very powerful rear end of whalebone. The interpretation of the latter, however, is not quite certain.

Pl. 1. 7 is a shaft mounting of ivory. At the fore end it has a fairly wide and deep socket for the foreshaft, and at the rear end an oval four-sided shaft socket. There are further three of this cylindrical form, all of which are defective. The type is found in the earliest culture of Angmagssalik³), and also in the culture from the eighteenth century⁴). Pl. 1. 18 is a finger rest of ivory of the common type.

A somewhat defective and not entirely finished harpoon wing, 9.5 cm long, is of the same type as the one figured by *THERKEL MATHIASSEN* from Mikis Fjord⁵).

Pl. 1. 23 is a swivel for the harpoon line of a form well known from Angmagssalik. It is of whalebone and has a smaller hole at one end and a larger one at the other end, which is cut off obliquely; at the side it has a hole for the line.

Pl. 1. 12 is a short powerful ice pick of bear bone, another of the same material is longer and more slender.

A heavy shaft mounting with a stepped scarf face similar to the one figured by *MATHIASSEN* from Mikis Fjord⁶) shows that *MATHIASSEN* is correct in his assumption that these mountings are intended for bladder-darts and not for kayak harpoons⁷). As a matter of fact, our specimen is split at the fore end, showing a long narrow socket in which a foreshaft for a kayak harpoon would fit very badly, but which might fit a foreshaft for a bladder-dart.

1) Dødemandsbugten, Pl. 3. 3-10.

2) *MATHIASSEN* 1933, Pl. 6. 1.

3) *MATHIASSEN* 1933, Pl. 1. 13.

4) *MATHIASSEN* 1933, Pl. 6. 6.

5) *MATHIASSEN* 1934 K., Pl. 2. 5.

6) *MATHIASSEN* 1934 K., Pl. 2. 4.

7) *MATHIASSEN* 1934 K., p. 13.

Pl. 1.₅ is a lance blade of bear bone, which has been attached to the foreshaft by a lashing, as seen on the figure. In addition to this specimen there are two defective ones of the same material. In contrast to the usual practice, these blades have not been inserted in a blade groove in the foreshaft, but have been lashed to its side. This appears from the fact that one side of the blade is rather strongly arched, while on the other side a level scarf face has been cut out. The supposition is confirmed by the find of the fore end of a lance head. It is of whalebone, without a blade groove, but with an arched outer side and a level scarf face terminating at the lower end in a step for supporting the blade. There are seven lashing holes, one above the other, the three uppermost ones and the four lower ones being joined together by a groove. This type of lance blade is characteristic of Knud Rasmussens Land.

There is one side prong for a bird dart of whalebone, with two unilateral barbs (Pl. 1.₁₀).

Pl. 1.₂₂ is a wound plug of wood, approximately four-sided, with rounded corners, and four notches running on three sides, the fourth being smooth. Four wound plugs were found in addition, all more or less flat and with up to four notches. They vary in size from 14.8 to 9.1 cm. Wound plugs have not previously occurred in Knud Rasmussens Land, but are known from the eighteenth century in Angmagssalik, and in West Greenland from the 16th to the 17th century¹).

A wound pin of ivory of the common type without a hole through the head occurred curiously enough in a grave find along with a number of ornamental bodkins.

Two whole mouthpieces for harpoon bladders (Pl. 1.₁₇) were found, and half of another.

Pl. 1.₁₃ is probably a leister-prong of bone, another of the same size has three barbs on either side.

Pl. 1.₂₀ is probably a prong for a salmon spear. It is of whalebone, flat, slightly curved, and with an oval hole at the upper end. The hole has been cut in such a way that a barb inserted in the hole would turn downwards a bit. Another more crudely worked specimen may perhaps be interpreted in the same way. Salmon spears of this type are only known from Angmagssalik, where they occur already in the earliest culture²).

A total number of nine arrow heads was found, all without a separate blade. They occur in two forms, a barbed and a barbless. There are five specimens of the first form. Pl. 1.₉ is the smallest of these, the longest being 10.4 cm. They are all, with one exception, furnished with a raised screw thread at the butt end; one has two short screw

¹) MATHIASSEN 1933, pp. 80—81.

²) MATHIASSEN 1933, pp. 51—52.

threads instead. The arrow heads of the second group all have two barbs placed at different heights, as Pl. 1.₈. They vary from 20.8 to 10.6 cm in length. While three have a quite smooth tang or a tang furnished with notches, the fourth, which is flattened, has short screw threads on the two edges. The tang has not been thick enough to permit a continuous screw thread. However, being placed as they are, they function as a complete screw. The origin of these short screw threads has been discussed before¹). In the present case I only think they could have originated from the complete screw. Further, this find of arrow heads with a vestigial screw makes it probable that this type has come to Northeast Greenland from the south, a fact not realized before²). That arrow heads should have been found in Knud Rasmussens Land at all is surprising in view of the fact that bow and arrow were used by the Eskimos almost exclusively for the hunting of reindeer, an animal which, according to our knowledge, has never lived in this region. Various explanations may be given of the occurrence of arrows in Knud Rasmussens Land, but none entirely satisfactory. The arrows may have come here from a region where the reindeer were hunted, that is to say Angmagssalik or Northeast Greenland. Moreover, there is a possibility that other animals, e. g. bears and birds were hunted with bow and arrow, and finally it is possible that reindeer have lived here after all, even if no traces of them have been found.

Two specimens must be interpreted as gorges. One is a piece of bone, 14.1 cm long, rather bent, and pointed at both ends. It has two notches in the edge for a lashing. The other is a smaller, defective specimen with two holes instead of notches. Both forms are known from Angmagssalik (the eighteenth century) and from Northeast Greenland³). The absence of gorges in the earliest Angmagssalik culture is undoubtedly merely accidental (compare *Dødemandsbugten*, p. 105).

Pl. 1.₂₅ is a deck rest for the kayak harpoon of wood. No doubt the presence of the four small holes is due to the piece having been split and joined together again by means of a lashing running through these holes. Deck rests of this form are known from Angmagssalik to finds from the eighteenth century⁴), but doubtless belong to the earliest culture as well, being an old type that occurs both in the earliest finds from West Greenland⁵) and in the Thule Culture⁶).

Pl. 1.₁₉ is an end mounting for a kayak paddle of bone. It has

¹) MATHIASSEN 1929, p. 165, and *Dødemandsbugten*, p. 107.

²) *Dødemandsbugten*, l. c.

³) MATHIASSEN 1933, p. 82, and *Dødemandsbugten*, pp. 105 and 144.

⁴) MATHIASSEN 1933, Pl. 6.₃₁.

⁵) MATHIASSEN 1934 D., Pl. 1.₁₁.

⁶) MATHIASSEN 1927 I, Fig. 51.

been fastened by nails, not only on the surface of the paddle, but on the edge too. Judging from the shape it has been made for the old type of paddle with a broad blade narrowing off towards the end. It is possible, however, that this mounting was intended for a child's paddle. Mountings for kayak paddles do not appear in the earliest culture in Angmagssalik, but a mounting very similar to that described here is known from Inugsuk¹).

Accessories for the sledge are represented in our finds by fifteen fragments of sledge shoes, all of whalebone. They vary in width from 3 to 5 cm.

Tools.

Four of the knives found are entirely of slate. Pl. 2.₁₃ is made of greenish argillaceous slate, it is single-edged, and has quite a short handle. The three others are single-edged too, and made of the same material. Knives entirely of slate are not met with in Angmagssalik but are common in the finds from Northeast Greenland²). The absence of this type of knife in West Greenland and Angmagssalik may no doubt be accounted for by the lack of suitable material.

The remainder of the knives consist of a blade inserted in a handle of bone or wood. The majority of these fall within two main groups according to whether the blade is inserted in the end or in the side of the handle. Five handles belong to the first main group; two of these, however, are only fore ends split off by drilling. Pl. 1.₆ is a very fine specimen of bone in the blade socket of which is inserted the basal part of a two-edged slate blade. As will be seen from the figure, there are at one side four marked notches for the fingers and below these another, less pronounced. At the back of the handle four pairs of knobs have been made, presumably as an ornament, and from the end to the side runs a hole for a cord. Another handle, of narwhal ivory and somewhat defective, has similar deep incisions for the fingers. It is hollow, but the cavity has been filled with wood, which has been fastened by four wooden nails. Two of these are still in position. It has likewise a suspension hole at the rear end, and judging from the shape of the blade socket has had a stone blade. Pl. 1.₁₆ is a simpler handle of bone, with a wide and deep blade socket probably intended for the insertion of a stone blade. One of the separated fore ends has one, the other two nail holes for the attachment of the blade.

Pl. 1.₁₅ is the simplest of the handles in the second main group, handle and blade being all in one piece. It is of whalebone and has a

¹) MATHIASSEN 1930, Pl. 20.₁₄.

²) Dødemandsbugten, Pl. 3._{13, 15} and ₁₆, GLOB, Pl. 5.₄ and ₅, and RICHTER, Figs. 58 and 120.₄.

somewhat thicker handle furnished with coarse transversal notches, and a thinner blade piece with a blade groove that could only have had an iron blade. This form is known both from the earliest culture in Angmagssalik and from the culture of the eighteenth century¹). Pl. 2.₁₁ is composed of three pieces, a handle of bone, a blade piece of whalebone, and a blade of slate. The handle, which is somewhat defective, has like Pl. 1.₆ deep notches for the fingers and terminates in a dilatation at the back, a feature known from other knife handles from this region²). To add to the strength of the handle, the hollow bone has been filled with wood. The blade piece has been fastened on the handle with two nails, and at the edge of the rather wide blade groove are two nail holes, through which the blade has been attached. Whether the blade of black slate is the original one is not quite certain, but in any case it had been used here, as it was found in situ and has two small holes corresponding to the uppermost nail holes in the blade piece. At present, seven knife handles with incisions for the fingers have been found altogether, viz. three in these finds, two on the Scoresby Sound Committee's 2nd East Greenland Expedition³), while two were brought home by AMDRUP⁴). This relatively large number of specimens, in connection with the very elaborate execution, establishes this feature as characteristic of Knud Rasmussens Land, even if it probably did not originate here. A knife handle with similar, but less pronounced notches for the fingers is known from Comer's Midden⁵), and from Inugsuk we know a bone handle with knobs that are doubtless intended for the same purpose⁶). Those bearing the closest resemblance to the Kangerdlugssuaq form are, however, two slate knives from Dødemandsbugten⁷), a fact which might indicate that this feature has come to Northeast Greenland from the south. In addition to the above-mentioned knife reproduced Pl. 2.₁₁, four blade pieces belonging to this type were found, viz. two almost complete specimens, of narwhal ivory and whalebone respectively, and two very defective ones, a fore end and a rear end.

Pl. 2.₁₂, a knife with a bone handle and a slate blade, comes under neither of the two main groups. The blade, of black slate and single-edged, is inserted into the handle in a slit extending from the end of the handle down on to the side. It has been fastened on by two nails. This type has not previously been found outside of Northeast Greenland, for

1) MATHIASSEN 1933, Pl. 1.₆ and Pl. 7.₅.

2) MATHIASSEN 1934 K., Pl. 2.₉ and THALBITZER 1909, Fig. 29 b.

3) MATHIASSEN 1934 K., p. 14.

4) THALBITZER 1909, Fig. 29 a—b.

5) MATHIASSEN 1927, Pl. 78.₉.

6) MATHIASSEN 1930, Pl. 6.₂₀.

7) Pl. 3.₁₃ and 14.

which reason I have assumed that it originated there¹). It is more probable, however, that it originated in Knud Rasmussens Land and from there has come to Northeast Greenland. Pl. 1.₂₈ must no doubt also be interpreted as a knife handle. It is of wood and has probably had a slate blade fastened by a nail and presumably also by a lashing. This form is not known from other finds.

97 knife blades of slate were found in all, but very few of these are whole. By far the greater number is made of black argillaceous slate, while a few are of greenish or reddish argillaceous slate very similar to that frequently used in Northeast Greenland. Both single-edged and two-edged blades occur. The former type is predominant. In fact, 69 specimens in all may be identified as single-edged blades. Only ten are two-edged, while eighteen are rear ends which cannot be identified. From the blades the rear ends of which are preserved it appears that by far the greater number terminate in a tang having one or, more rarely, two holes for nails. Only four rather small blades have no tang, but a hole for a nail in the lower part of the blade.

In this region, as in Northeast Greenland, the technique of drilling has played a very important part. This appears from the large quantity of drilled bones and the comparatively large number of implements belonging to this technique. Eight bow drill mouthpieces were found, all of seal astralagus, the dominating form on the southern east coast²). Drill shanks were found to the number of seven. One is of wood, the remainder of bone or ivory. One has a bit of iron, and two have such a small socket that they must necessarily have had an iron bit, while three probably have had a bit of stone. There are thirteen drill bits of stone, all of black or red slate as the knife blades. They vary in shape from long slender ones like Pl. 1.₁₄ to short ones with a broad shank and a thin point like Pl. 3.₈. The most common form, however, is an intermediate form between these, viz. a thick four-sided shank running evenly into a thick round point (like Dødemandsbugten Pl. 3.₃₄). The point is in three cases cuneiform with a curved edge. Pl. 1.₁₄ has a point ground with four facets. Both forms are known from the culture of the eighteenth century in Angmagssalik and from Inugsuk³).

One adze head of whalebone was found. It has a wide and deep blade socket and six holes, through which the lashing for the handle has been passed. We found 27 adze blades in all. Four of these, however, are probably not finished. They are all made of hard black slate, are coarsely hewn at the rear end, and have a ground convex edge, more curved on the upper side than at the underside. They vary in length

¹) Dødemandsbugten, p. 147.

²) MATHIASSEN 1933, p. 53.

³) MATHIASSEN 1933, p. 89 and 1930, p. 218.

from 4 to 10.7 cm. The larger ones being very thick as a rule, it is probable that they have not been inserted in a separate head, but have been fastened directly to the handle.

As might be expected in a country where slate is so widely used as a material for edged tools, the finds contain a very large number of whetstones, viz. 158 in all. This percentage is higher than in the Northeast Greenland finds, where the whetstones belong to the most frequently occurring objects, but while those from Northeast Greenland have as a rule been shaped into a definite form, generally prismatic, these are with very few exceptions unworked or very coarsely hewn stones with one or several whetting surfaces. The material most commonly employed for the whetstones is the same kind of slate as that used for knife blades and ulo blades, but also other minerals, as sandstone and basalt, have been employed.

A stone, 11.4 cm long and 7.4 cm wide, has at both ends distinct marks from crushing, showing that it has served as a hammer stone.

One wedge of bear bone was found.

Women's knives (ulos) are comparatively numerous in these finds, and furthermore occur in various forms. The simplest form is a piece of slate shaped with the well-known curved edge and without a separate handle. Pl. 2.₈ shows one of these. It is shaped like an ordinary ulo blade, but is too thick at the upper end to have fitted into a handle. Two others have a dilatation at the upper end, which has served as a hand grip. Whether these two are really ulos is not quite certain, the edge of one being quite round and that of the other unsymmetrical in section, a fact which might indicate the possibility of their having served as skin scrapers. In addition to these three there are eleven with a ground curved edge, but which have otherwise a more or less accidental form. Ulos made of slate slabs and with no separate handle are known also from Northeast Greenland¹).

We found three whole specimens of the Thule type with the blade inserted directly into the handle. All of these have a slate blade. Pl. 2.₁ has a handle of whalebone, with a hole and a groove for a lashing. The blade, which has two holes, narrows evenly towards the top and has no separate tang. Another ulo has a handle made of a bear's tooth which has been split up and joined together by a lashing, and a small blade with a tang not half as broad as the edge. The ulo is 4.2 cm high altogether and 4.7 cm broad. The third ulo, 8.2 cm high and 10.2 cm broad, has a handle of wood. At the upper end the blade terminates in a tang, which stands out distinctly from the other part of the blade and fits into the groove on the underside of the handle. Similar slate blades

¹) Dødemandsbugten, p. 119.

with a tang occur to the number of thirteen, varying in size from 7.8×10.4 cm to 3.8×2.9 cm. Four of these have holes for a lashing in the tang itself.

An ulo handle of narwhal ivory, 6 cm long and 3.9 cm high, is of the same type as those described above, though different in appearance. It has a thick back almost circular in section, and a thinner part, in which the blade has been inserted and in which there is a central hole for a lashing. The only ulo handle known from the earliest culture in Angmagssalik is of this type¹). Another handle (6.2×5.7 cm) of whalebone resembles this handle, but differs from it in the fact that the thick back is more curved and longer than the blade piece, in which feature it recalls forms from the eighteenth century in Angmagssalik²). It has either had an intermediate piece of bone with an iron blade, or a slate blade lashed direct on to the handle. This appears from the fact that the blade groove is substituted by an even scarf face with three holes near the edge.

Pl. 2.₃ has had an intermediate piece, but otherwise greatly resembles the above-mentioned handle as to shape. The back and the blade piece run smoothly into each other. The boundary between the handle and the blade piece is marked by a scratched line corresponding to the division between the thicker back and the thinner blade piece in the others. However, the most remarkable feature of this handle is the arrangement for fastening the intermediate piece, which differs from the methods previously known. As will be seen from the figure, the handle terminates at the lower end in a thinner and shorter tang with two holes. This tang must have fitted into a corresponding groove in the intermediate piece, while ordinarily the reverse is the case. Pl. 2.₂ consists of a handle of wood and an intermediate piece of whalebone with a very thin slit, which must have been intended for an iron blade. The intermediate piece is inserted in a groove in the handle. Probably the hole in the middle of this has been made only for conventional reasons. Ulo handles with an intermediate piece are known from Angmagssalik from the eighteenth century³) and also occur in the Inugsuk Culture of West Greenland⁴). In addition to those mentioned above, there is a defective specimen of whalebone with an intermediate piece of the same material, and another, reproduced Pl. 2.₄, which has a handle of ivory and an intermediate piece of whalebone inserted in a groove in the handle and fastened by a bone nail. The hole in the intermediate piece is here so large that the intermediate piece is actually only a frame.

If we compare a type like this with the two-armed ulo found by

1) MATHIASSEN 1933, Pl. 1.₁₄.

2) MATHIASSEN 1933, Pl. 7._{27, 28} and 30.

3) MATHIASSEN 1933, Pl. 7.₂₈.

4) MATHIASSEN 1931, Pl. 3.₁₁.

AMDRUP on Skærgaardshalvø¹), it is natural to presume that the latter is derived from the former. The chief difference between these forms is that in the latter the upper side of the frame is lacking. According to BIRKET-SMITH and MATHIASSEN the two-armed ulo is developed from a handle in one piece, the lower part of which has the form of a frame²). One could imagine this to be the case of the type found in the early culture of the Julianehaab district, with handle and arms cut all in one piece³); but as to ulos with loose arms, i. e. arms inserted in a separate handle and fastened by nails, I do not think this type could have originated directly from the above-mentioned one; it is more probable that the ulo with an intermediate piece has formed a transitional type between the two. In that case Pl. 2.₂, Pl. 2.₄, AMDRUP's ulo, and Pl. 2.₇ should form the final links in this development series.

The two-armed ulo was found in three specimens. Pl. 2.₇ is made of narwhal ivory. The handle is tubular in shape, the cavity having been filled with wood, a piece of which is still in position. The arms are inserted in two elongated holes at the underside and attached by one or two bone nails respectively. The elongated shape of the holes is due to the fact that the arms, which are four-sided in section, are considerably broader on the part inserted in the handle. Another specimen, likewise of narwhal ivory, has quite short arms, oval in section. Both of these are fastened by a bone nail. This ulo has doubtless had a blade of slate, the groove in the lower end of the arms being rather wide. The blade has been secured by a bone nail. The third specimen has a handle made of a bear canine. The arms have been fastened by a thin nail. Ulos with two arms are known from Angmagssalik from the eighteenth century, and from the Julianehaab district from the seventeenth century⁴).

We found five slate blades which may have been used in two-armed ulos. They are quite narrow and have two holes for a lashing. It is just possible, however, that some of these have been used in ulos with an intermediate piece. In addition to the slate blades with a tang previously mentioned, fourteen were found without a tang, but with one or two holes for a lashing. Further were found seventeen more or less defective specimens without holes.

Pl. 1.₂₆ is a scraper made of the lower jaw of a narwhal. Scrapers of this type have been described by MATHIASSEN in his discussion of the material from the Scoresby Sound Committee's 2nd East Greenland Expedition, but while the scraper figured by MATHIASSEN⁵) is four-sided,

1) THALBITZER 1909, Fig. 21.

2) BIRKET-SMITH 1924, p. 94 and MATHIASSEN 1927 II, p. 87.

3) MATHIASSEN 1936 J., Fig. 38._s.

4) MATHIASSEN 1936 J., p. 75.

5) 1934 K., Pl. 2.₁₅.

Pl. 1.₂₆ is triangular. This is due to the fact that the two specimens have been cut off from different parts of the jaw. Pl. 1.₂₆ has been cut off right back at the articulation head, which forms the short side of the triangle. It appears from the finds that this type occurs in three forms, viz. the four-sided form described by MATHIASSEN, the triangular one as seen on Pl. 1.₂₆, and a four-sided form one side of which is formed by the articulation head and the opposite by the scraping edge. We found fourteen scrapers of this type, six of which are of the first form, one of the second, and six of the third, while one cannot with certainty be placed under any definite form. The third form is generally larger than the two others, the largest specimen being 10×9.7 cm. MATHIASSEN's statement that this type is not met with elsewhere¹), is not quite correct, as it is known both from Northeast Greenland and Angmagssalik. One specimen from the former region, found at Cape Hope in Scoresby Sound²), is now in the National Museum in Copenhagen. RICHTER has figured another, from Dødemandsbugten, excavated by Dr. A. HOEL³). In Angmagssalik it is not known from archaeological finds, but GUSTAV HOLM's ethnographical collections contain one specimen of the first, four-sided form⁴). In MATHIASSEN's collections of ethnographical objects from Angmagssalik we finally have a specimen of the same form, but made of a bear humerus⁵). As will be seen, this type is known from Angmagssalik to Clavering Island on the east coast of Greenland, but is unknown on the west coast. Where it originated is difficult to say. However, since it cannot be said to be common anywhere but in Knud Rasmussens Land, it probably originated there. The absence of this type in the earliest culture in Angmagssalik is not surprising, considering that only a small number of bone objects has been found from this stage, but the fact that it does not occur in the rich finds from the eighteenth century might indicate that it had come later, and possibly from Knud Rasmussens Land.

Pl. 2.₅ I take to be a scraper intended for a similar use as those above. It is made of the back part of a bear mandible. The articulation head has probably served as a handle, and both of the slightly curved sides have been fashioned as scraping edges. MATHIASSEN has figured a similar specimen from the earliest culture in Angmagssalik⁶), but has interpreted it as a spoon. My interpretation is based partly on the form, partly on the presence of the distinct scraping edges. The latter feature

¹) 1934 K., p. 15.

²) Mus. No. L. 1. 537.

³) Fig. 65.₁.

⁴) Mus. No. L. c. 949.

⁵) Mus. No. L. 19. 49.

⁶) MATHIASSEN 1933, Pl. 1.₂₁.

recurs in a specimen from West Greenland preserved in the National Museum with no particulars.

Pl. 2.₁₅ is one end of a two-handed scraper of a bear radius. In contrast to what is usually the case, it has been hollowed out from the edge, where there are two scraping-edges. In this it recalls a two-handed scraper from Renskæret in Northeast Greenland¹⁾. This specimen is also made of a bear radius, the edge having been converted into two scraping edges²⁾. Two-handed scrapers have previously been found neither in Knud Rasmussens Land nor in Angmagssalik. That they have not occurred in the latter region is doubtless only chance, since the type is common in the Inugsuk Culture, and has been found as far south as in the Kangâmiut region³⁾.

Pl. 3.₆ is a concave-edged scraper of rock-crystal. Finally, we have two specimens of women's tools, a winged needle case of walrus ivory, 8.6 cm long and 3.5 cm broad, and a thimble-holder of narwhal ivory. It is in shape similar to the largest of those from Skærgaardshalvø figured by THALBITZER⁴⁾, but very weathered.

Household Utensils.

A relatively large number of lamps was found in the houses. However, since the majority of these had been subjected to no special working, and simply consisted of a stone one side of which had the shape of a shallow bowl, and since they were often fairly large, only three specimens were brought home. It is true that Fig. 21, which is of coarse crystalline schist, is worked, an oblong depression having been made in one side,

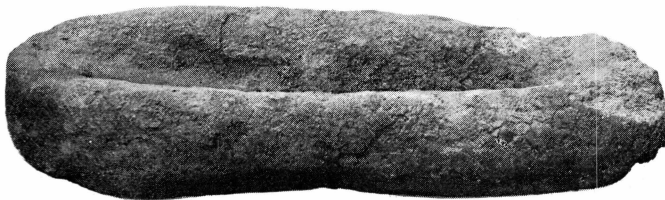


Fig. 21. Lamp.

but still the natural shape of the stone has determined the shape of the lamp. It is 29.5 cm long and 10.8 cm wide. Two whole specimens were

¹⁾ THOMSEN, Pl. XXVI, 5.

²⁾ The former assumption that the groove formed between the edges should have been intended for the insertion of a stone blade is probably incorrect, as the two edges have distinct scraping edges.

³⁾ MATHIASSEN 1931, p. 93.

⁴⁾ THALBITZER 1909, Fig. 22.

found of the common, segment-shaped soapstone lamps, 39.5×19.2 cm and 38×22.9 cm respectively, that is to say with a considerably greater length than breadth. Neither has a wick ledge. They are both flat at the front and have a rather high rim at the back. In one of the lamps there is a groove in the middle of the inner side of this rim, having probably served as a hold for the fingers when the hot greasy lamp had to be moved. A fragment of a lamp has in the same place a fairly large knob



Fig. 22. Cooking pot.

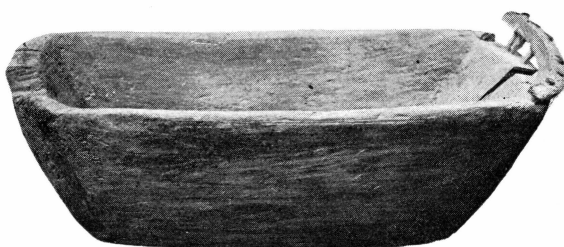


Fig. 23. Wooden scoop.

having no doubt served the same purpose. A toy lamp with a similar projection has previously been mentioned by MATHIASSEN. He also mentions a large lamp with a knob from Scoresby Sound¹⁾.

Only one complete cooking pot was found, the one reproduced on Fig. 22. It is of soapstone, 21.5 cm long and 17.3 cm wide, its sides being up to 4.3 cm thick. Below the rim there are five suspension holes bored from side to side.

Figs. 23 and 24 show two different forms of wooden scoops. On the front rim Fig. 23 has a bone mounting fastened by wooden nails; the handle is missing. A third, 21.6×9.6 cm, and somewhat more slender than Fig. 24, has a handle of a characteristic shape, with a hole for the forefinger and over this a hollow for the thumb. Finally there is a fourth specimen, large, but very defective. Fig. 25 is a scoop of bone. It has been drilled off from a bear bone and is closed at one end by a wooden

¹⁾ MATHIASSEN 1934 K., p. 17.

plug. Probably two small holes in the sides were intended for the insertion of a thin handle. Another cup or scoop of narwhal ivory has had a flat bottom fastened by nails. Scoops of this form appear in HOLM's collections from Angmagssalik. Another specimen occurs in the Nualik find¹⁾. In West Greenland the type is not met with in finds from an earlier date than the eighteenth or nineteenth century²⁾.

Pl. 2.₉ is a spoon of the form known from the Inugsuk Culture, with an egg-shaped bowl. Four almost complete specimens of this type were found, all made of the same bone, presumably a bear mandible. Two are somewhat unsymmetrical, like Pl. 2.₉; the two others are quite



Fig. 24. Wooden scoop.



Fig. 25. Scoop of bear bone.

symmetrical and have a finely shaped handle separated from the bowl by an elevated ridge. One of these is very similar to a spoon from Angmagssalik from the eighteenth century³⁾. In addition to the four specimens mentioned, the find contains a defective bowl of a similar spoon. The type is also known from the earliest culture in Angmagssalik⁴⁾ and from the northern east coast⁵⁾. Pl. 2.₁₄ is a spoon made of the lower jaw of a narwhal.

The find contains five oval bottoms for baleen bowls, four of which were found in graves. They are all fairly large, but very defective.

There are eight staves of coopered vessels. Seven of these are straight and were found in a grave. They probably belong to the same vessel. The eighth is strongly curved and in shape similar to that found by AMDRUP on Skærgaardshalvø⁶⁾.

¹⁾ THALBITZER 1914, Figs. 263, 264 and 267.

²⁾ MATHIASSEN 1930, Fig. 50.

³⁾ MATHIASSEN 1933, Pl. 9.₁₂.

⁴⁾ MATHIASSEN 1933, Pl. 1.₁₈.

⁵⁾ Dødemandsbugten, Pl. 14.₂.

⁶⁾ THALBITZER 1909, Fig. 25.

Meat forks occur to the number of three. They are all made of a curved bone sharpened at one end, but otherwise unworked. They are 20.8—15.5 cm long.

Clothing, Ornaments and Toilet.

The only article found directly associated with the clothing was a bundle of thin baleen threads, which were presumably used as boot "straw" like the similar bundle found in Inugsuk¹). Pl. 3.₅ is presumably a button of ivory, and Pl. 1.₂₄ a button or a buckle for the clothing. The latter form, of seal phalange, is known from Angmagssalik from the eighteenth century.

The number of ornaments found, on the contrary, is very large, which is due chiefly to some rich grave finds. However, the finds from Knud Rasmussens Land are distinguished not only by the large number of ornaments, but also by a variety of forms, which is partly the result of the variety of materials employed.

The pierced animal teeth are the most numerous. It is questionable whether the bear canines, of which was found a total number of 31, have served as ornaments, since not a single specimen was found in graves. It is more probable that they were used for rattles of the type known from Angmagssalik²), or have served as amulets. The other teeth, chiefly bear incisors and teeth of the seal and the dog, have, on the other hand, been used as necklaces. A necklace consisting of 139 teeth was found in Grave 1 on Cape Irminger.

26 ornamental bodkins were found. Four have grooves incised into the thick upper end, sixteen are in shape similar to Pl. 1.₁₁ and ₁₂ in the grave find from Kangerdlugssuaq described by MATHIASSEN, one has a small head as Pl. 1.₈ from the same grave find, while the remainder are so weathered that no details can be given with regard to their shape.

Pl. 3.₁ is a seal phalange pierced at one end, a type known from the eighteenth century at Angmagssalik³) and from the sixteenth century in Disko Bay⁴).

Pl. 3.₂ is an ornamental plate of ivory of a type similar to Dødemandsbugten Pl. 7.₁. The upper cylindrical part is lacking, and it is less handsomely carved than those from Northeast Greenland. I have discussed the distribution of this type previously⁵), I shall only add that now it has been found also on Frederik VI's Coast⁶).

¹) MATHIASSEN 1930, Fig. 35.

²) THALBITZER 1914, Fig. 377.

³) MATHIASSEN 1933, p. 97.

⁴) MATHIASSEN 1934 D., Pl. 7.₁₃.

⁵) Dødemandsbugten, pp. 126—27.

⁶) MATHIASSEN 1936 F., p. 34.

Pl. 3.₃ and 4 are pendants of slate with a flat and a curved side, a type also known from Angmagssalik¹). There are five pendants of calcareous spar of the same form (Pl. 3.₁₇), and finally a similar one of narwhal ivory.

The find contains two drop pendants, Pl. 3.₉, of lime, and Pl. 3.₁₀, of ivory; both are pierced by a hole running from the side to the end. A drop pendant of lime also occurs in the grave find from Kangerdlugsuaq previously mentioned (Pl. 1.₃₅), but otherwise drop pendants of lime are known only from the large grave find from Eqaluit in the Umanaq district²), which probably dates from the sixteenth century.

Beads occur in various forms and are made of different materials. There are three long cylindrical beads of ivory similar to Pl. 3.₁₁. The one figured is the most handsomely worked of the specimens, with a small groove at each end. Outside Knud Rasmussens Land cylindrical bone beads are only known from Angmagssalik from the eighteenth century³). Pl. 3.₁₅ is a handsomely ground bead of siliceous slate, and Pl. 3.₁₄ a flat bead of the same material. Both forms occur in the large grave find from Kangerdlugssuaq, and also Pl. 3.₁₆, which is of calcareous spar, and Pl. 3.₁₂, of mussel-shell. The latter type, which was formerly only known from Knud Rasmussens Land, has been found now also on Frederik VI's Coast⁴). Pl. 3.₁₃ shows a bead of calcareous spar of a larger form.

Only one very defective comb of narwhal ivory was found. It has two holes at the top of the handle like a comb from Angmagssalik from the eighteenth century⁵).

Games and Toys.

The find contains seven ajagaqs of seal radius, one of seal humerus, and one of seal penis bone. Only the latter type has been found previously in Knud Rasmussens Land, but all the types are known from Angmagssalik. The ajagaq of seal humerus is known only from the eighteenth century, but no doubt this is merely accidental, as it belongs to the types of the Inugsuk Culture⁶). Four of the ajagaqs of seal radius have several holes. Ajagaqs with several holes do not occur in Angmagssalik until the eighteenth century⁷).

Pl. 1.₂₁ is a nuglutang of bone. It has in each end a hole bored from the side out to the end and two other holes at right angles to each

¹) MATHIASSEN 1933, Pl. 3.₁₇.

²) Mus. No. L. C. 774.

³) MATHIASSEN 1933, p. 98.

⁴) MATHIASSEN 1936 F., p. 34.

⁵) MATHIASSEN 1933, Pl. 9.₁₃.

⁶) MATHIASSEN 1930, p. 252.

⁷) MATHIASSEN 1933, p. 98.

other. Nuglutangs do not occur in Greenland except on the east coast, where they have been found both north and south of Kangerdlugssuaq¹). Apart from the fact that the specimen from Northeast Greenland is pierced only in one end, the holes are arranged in the same manner on the three specimens.

Pl. 3.₂₁ and ₂₀ are two dolls of wood, a male and a female, found in the same house. On neither are the facial features indicated, but unlike the male the female doll has got arms.

There are fourteen miniature implements having been used as toys. Pl. 3.₁₈ is a harpoon head of the thin, bladeless form. Pl. 3.₁₉ is a mounting for a harpoon shaft, with a large and deep socket in one end and a smaller one, less deep, in the other. Pl. 1.₂₇ is a throwing board. It is damaged at the top, but apparently resembles more the West Greenland forms than those from Northeast Greenland, which have most frequently a broad handle and a thin shaft²). Four miniature lamps were found, two with a wick ledge. The wick ledge of Pl. 3.₂₅ is nearest the back rim; in the other specimen it is almost in the middle. In these finds, as in those from Northeast Greenland, only the toy lamps had wick ledges, which shows that the old forms are retained longest in toys. This is probably due to the fact that it is the grand-parents that make the toys for the children.

There are four toy cooking pots. The most complete specimen of these is Pl. 3.₂₂, which has four small holes in the rim.

Pl. 3.₂₃ is a model of a tub. It is cut out in wood and has not been hollowed out. In form it resembles very closely a real tub from the above-mentioned large grave find from Kangerdlugssuaq³).

Pl. 3.₂₆, apparently intended to represent a four-sided meat-tray, was found together with the tub.

Finally there is an ulo blade of slate, so small and thin that it could only have been used in a toy ulo, and a toy kayak of the common type with a flat deck.

Sundries.

Thirteen mountings were found, varying in form, size and material. There are two forms of particular interest. One is of baleen, 30.5 cm long and 2.7 cm wide, with two rows of holes. The other is a curved mounting of whalebone, 9 cm long and 1 cm wide, with a row of holes in which wooden nails are inserted. The latter must have been made either for the edge of a wooden dish or for that of a tub, which, cannot be decided. There are further three edge mountings for dishes or tubs. Two are short

¹) Dødemandsbugten, Pl. 15.₈ and MATHIASSEN 1933, Pl. 9.₂₀.

²) GLOB, Fig. 30.

³) MATHIASSEN 1934 K., Fig. 1.

and straight, with two holes, and the third is slightly curved, with five holes in one row. The two short ones may have been fastened on the edge of tubs for the purpose of holding the staves together (compare the urine tub from Nualik¹). The third has at one end an angular notch like that found on edge mountings of modern Angmagssalik dishes and tubs. Edge mountings like these are not known from archaeological finds in Angmagssalik. This may be either accidental or due to the fact that holding the staves together by edge mountings is a later invention, as MATHIASSEN thinks²). If this assumption is correct, Knud Rasmussens Land must have received influence from Angmagssalik up to a fairly recent date. It is interesting to note in this connection that the four mountings in question were found together in House 2 on Cape Irminger, which I consider as one of the houses most recently inhabited in this region.

Pl. 3.₇ is a hook of bone. It is pierced at the upper end, and a groove no doubt intended for a line runs at both sides from the hole to the top. Four similar hooks were found. Two of them have a hole bored from the side out to the end. To what use these hooks were put is not quite certain. They may have served as fish hooks, hooks for cooking pots, or hooks for sinew thread. To these interpretations, however, so weighty objections may be made that I do not think that they belong to any of these categories. Of the types previously found in Greenland they bear the greatest resemblance to a hook found by Amdrup on Skærgaardshalvø and described by Thalbitzer as a blubber hook³). According to Thalbitzer these hooks were used in Angmagssalik for hanging up a piece of blubber over the lamp, so that the oil dripped down into the lamp. Amdrup's finds from Skærgaardshalvø contain two hooks of this kind, one of which is a double hook. They are made of wood and are almost completely covered with a deposit of soot, a fact which makes this explanation very probable. Blubber hooks do not appear in other finds from Greenland, or at least have not been described as such. Among the Iglulik Eskimos an implement occurs which is used in the same way as the hooks mentioned here, but which has quite a different form.⁴)

Pl. 2.₁₀ is a cylinder of narwhal ivory. It is hollow and has a narrow collar at each end. It is difficult to say for what purpose it may have been used, as it is not known from elsewhere. In shape it recalls the tubular needle-cases which replaced the winged needle-case in West Greenland. However, since to our knowledge the former has been used

1) THALBITZER 1914, Fig. 284.

2) MATHIASSEN 1933, p. 94.

3) THALBITZER 1909, Fig. 24 left and pp. 406—07.

4) MATHIASSEN 1928, Fig. 91 and p. 149.

neither north nor south of Kangerdlugssuaq, it is difficult to imagine that this could be a needle-case. Hence the interpretation must be left over for the present.

A wooden stick, 13.7 cm long, sharpening towards one end, is probably a stretcher, used for stretching the skins on the ground to dry. That this method was used in Knud Rasmussens Land is indicated by the presence of the edge of a skin with holes for a stretcher.

Baleen only occurs sparsely in the finds, a few worked specimens and three cords with knots besides the above-mentioned mounting being the only objects made of this material.

Finally I may mention that in the majority of the houses and in a large number of graves pieces of calcareous spar were found, probably collected to serve as a material for ornaments.

V. CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE CULTURAL POSITION OF THE KANGERDLUGSSUAQ ESKIMOS

In his description of the archaeological material brought home by the Scoresby Sound Committee's 2nd East Greenland Expedition, THERKEL MATHIASSEN has discussed the cultural position of the Kangerdlugssuaq Eskimos on the basis of this material and Admiral AMDRUP's finds from Skærgaardshalvø¹). In his book, MATHIASSEN arrives at the conclusion that the finds possess a very homogenous character and apparently all belong to the same culture, viz. the Inugsuk Culture. To this culture may be ascribed all the types found, with the exception of seven. Four of these are of local origin, while three have developed as a result of later influence from Angmagssalik. The Kangerdlugssuaq Eskimos immigrated from the south during the latter half of the fifteenth century or in the beginning of the sixteenth, and became extinct some time during the eighteenth century.

As to our finds, how do they agree with MATHIASSEN's results? As might be expected, a large number of the types represented in our finds are identical to those described by MATHIASSEN, but in addition to these there are a number of types not previously met with in this region, and which may contribute towards a profounder knowledge of the cultural position of the Kangerdlugssuaq Eskimos.

The majority of the types that are new to Knud Rasmussens Land, i. e. thirty in all, recur in the earliest culture of Angmagssalik or in the Inugsuk Culture of West Greenland. From Angmagssalik we know the following types: foreshaft for the ice-hunting harpoon, ice pick, salmon spear, adze head of bone, hammer stone, wedge, scraper of bear mandible, bone spoon with an oval bowl, pendants of stone and bone, ajagaq of seal radius, and baleen knots. From the Inugsuk Culture of West Greenland we know: Flat harpoon heads, harpoon blade of stone, finger rest, bladder mouthpiece, side prong for bird dart, gorge with a notch,

¹) 1934 K., pp. 18—22.

deck rest for the kayak harpoon, mounting for the kayak paddle, ulo with an intermediate piece, two-handed scraper, scraper blade of stone with a concave edge, wooden scoop, boot "straw" of baleen, beads of bone, ajagaq of seal humerus, toy kayak, baleen mounting, and stretcher. We may add two types, the nuglutang and the gorge with two holes. It is true that these are known from Angmagssalik only in finds from the eighteenth century, but in my opinion it is merely chance that they have not been found in the earliest culture in Angmagssalik. The first-named type is found in the Thule Culture, from which the Inugsuk Culture is developed, and the second in the first stage of the Mixed Culture in Northeast Greenland, and hence must be dating from an earlier period than the eighteenth century.

In discussing the cultural position of the Kangerdlugssuaq Eskimos MATHIASSEN mentions 48 types known from the earliest culture in Angmagssalik and from the Inugsuk Culture of West Greenland. To these we can now add 32. Thus we may ascribe 80 of the types found in Kangerdlugssuaq to the earliest culture of Angmagssalik, assuming that the absence of the above-mentioned West Greenland types in finds from the earliest culture in Angmagssalik is due only to the bad conditions for preservation in that region.

Five types are known from West Greenland from about 1500 to 1650, i. e. foreshaft for the kayak harpoon with two holes, wound plug, arrow head of bone with a screw on the tang, pendant of seal phalange, and drop pendant of lime.

The three types presumed by MATHIASSEN to be due to influence from the Angmagssalik Culture of the eighteenth century are the following: the Ituartit harpoon head with the reversible toggle, the wide sledge upstanders, and the two-armed ulo. To these, five types should in my opinion be added. Three of these, the ajagaq with several holes, the thin harpoon head with a barb and a blade, and the long common-house, are known from Angmagssalik from the eighteenth century. Possibly the scoop of bone and the bead of mussel-shell may also be placed to this period, even if they have not been met with in Angmagssalik. In fact, the latter is known from Frederik VI's Coast in a find presumably dating from the seventeenth or eighteenth century.

Finally we have one type otherwise only found in the later Angmagssalik Culture, the edge mounting for tubs and trays.

To what culture stage is to be referred a type like the ornamental plate with a horizontal cylinder at the upper end cannot as yet be decided. It is true that it occurred along with the bead of mussel-shell in the above-mentioned find on Frederik VI's Coast from the seventeenth or eighteenth century, but, being known also from Northeast Greenland, it is undoubtedly still older.

One of the four types considered by MATHIASSEN to be of local origin, the bead of mussel-shell, has been found later on Frederik VI's Coast, for which reason it seems unlikely that it should have originated in Knud Rasmussens Land. The others are the scraper of narwhal jaw, the boot creaser with a ring, and the small oval ornaments. As groupable with these I reckon the following types: the thin harpoon head for one line, with two holes at right angles to each other, the heavy lance blade with the corresponding head, and the knife handle of wood with a scarf face, these types being unknown outside this region. Finally, types as knives and ulos entirely of slate and slate knives having the blade inserted in the end and side of a handle have doubtlessly originated here too, independently of other regions. The latter three also appear in Northeast Greenland, it is true, and their presence might accordingly be due to influence from the north. However, this is probably not the case. If it were, more types from the characteristic Mixed Culture would have been found. I am more inclined to believe that, on the contrary, these types have their origin in Knud Rasmussens Land and from there have come to Northeast Greenland. The fact that slate implements are found here in a variety of forms is due to the presence of suitable materials; and since on their migration northwards along the east coast the Eskimos arrived first at Kangerdlugssuaq, it is natural that these forms should have developed here.

As a result of our analysis we may thus establish that 80 of the 104 types found in Knud Rasmussens Land are known from the earliest culture in Angmagssalik or from the Inugsuk Culture of West Greenland, and five from West Greenland from the period 1500—1650; eight are known from Angmagssalik from the eighteenth century, and one from Angmagssalik from the nineteenth century, while ten are of local origin. In consideration of the above, and the fact that all the finds with the exception of the grave finds come from common-houses or houses contemporaneous with or later than these, one might jump to the conclusion that the first inhabitants of Knud Rasmussens Land had immigrated from Angmagssalik some time during the eighteenth century. By way of comparison I may mention that 106 of the 144 types belonging to the culture of Angmagssalik in the eighteenth century are known from the earliest culture in Angmagssalik or from the Inugsuk Culture of West Greenland, and six from West Greenland in the period 1500—1650; six are known from the latter half of the seventeenth century on the west coast, and four from the eighteenth century on the west coast; there are four West Greenland types of uncertain age and eighteen types of local origin. For several reasons, however, it is out of the question that Knud Rasmussens Land should have been first inhabited at so late a date. Firstly, the types give the impression of a considerably greater

age, a fact particularly evident from the shape of the harpoon heads. Twenty-three of the total number of twenty-four harpoon-heads found in the Kangerdlugssuaq region are thin, while only one specimen is flat. By way of comparison I may state that 32 % of the total number of harpoon heads in the finds from Angmagssalik from the eighteenth century belong to the thin main group, and 68 % to the flat main group. Secondly, it is probable that the Kangerdlugssuaq Eskimos are a remainder of the group of Eskimos that migrated northwards to Northeast Greenland from Angmagssalik. In the rich finds brought to light in course of time in Northeast Greenland, only one type dates from a later period than the Inugsuk Culture, viz. the arrow head of bone with a screw at the rear end. From this has been concluded that the emigration from Angmagssalik occurred during the fifteenth or in the beginning of the sixteenth century¹⁾, and, accordingly, Knud Rasmussens Land must have been first inhabited during this period.

The inhabitants of Angmagssalik were not acquainted with the long common-house until about 1700²⁾, when this house type was introduced through an immigration from the west coast, and therefore the first immigrants in Knud Rasmussens Land could not have known this house form. The first immigrants in Northeast Greenland had round houses³⁾ as in the earliest culture in Angmagssalik, and in Knud Rasmussens Land this must have been the case too. Among the houses in Mikis Fjord excavated by Dr. DEGERBØL, one house, House 5, had very faint outlines and was dug far into the ground. DEGERBØL thought that possibly this was one of the old, round houses⁴⁾, and on visiting the place myself I felt fairly convinced of dealing with a house of that type. Unfortunately the house yielded only one specimen, a slate knife. It is possible, of course, that there are more houses of this type besides the one found; I should, however, regard it as unlikely. Their absence is probably due to the fact that good building sites were so scarce in this region that the old building lots were used for the construction of new houses, with the result that the old houses were destroyed.

As to the more recent types of implements, how and when did these come to Knud Rasmussens Land? They have come from the south, from Angmagssalik, but has another emigration taken place from there, or did the new types intrude gradually, during the intercourse of the Kangerdlugssuaq Eskimos with their neighbours to the south? If there has been a migration, it must have occurred in the eighteenth century, when the revolution in house building took place and the small round

1) MATHIASSEN 1934 K., p. 21 and Dødemandsbugten, p. 86.

2) MATHIASSEN 1933, p. 107.

3) Dødemandsbugten, p. 85.

4) DEGERBØL, p. 34.

houses were replaced by the large four-sided common-houses. However, an immigration at this time should have brought, besides the common-house, a larger number of the most common types that characterize the culture in Angmagssalik in the eighteenth century. One should expect, accordingly, to find a greater number of the following types: flat harpoon heads, foreshafts for the kayak harpoon with two holes and a short tenon, and the corresponding flat shaft mountings, neck pieces for towing gear, fish decoys of soapstone, bone shanks and barbs for fish hooks, sinkers for fish hooks, drill bits of stone with three facets, boot creasers of stone, ajagaqs of seal fibula and other hollow bones, and glass beads, these being examples of the most commonly occurring types. The absence of these types naturally does not allow of too far-reaching conclusions, the less so because the material is not particularly extensive, and the conditions for preservation not very good. On the other hand, stone implements and glass beads are not exposed to weathering; the absence of the latter in particular is curious, as they have been found at Angmagssalik in almost all the houses and middens from this period¹). I am thus inclined to share the view held by MATHIASSEN that there has been only one immigration to Knud Rasmussens Land²). In that case, the appearance of the later types in this region should be due to the existence of constant relations between the Angmagssalik Eskimos and the Kangerdlugssuaq Eskimos. Having become acquainted with the new forms, the latter assimilated them in their culture. That there should have been intercourse between the two groups of Eskimos is quite natural, as they lived very close to one another. The most northerly place that has been inhabited by Angmagssalik Eskimos is North Aputiteq, an island lying immediately south of the mouth of Kangerdlugssuaq³). We are here confronted with the remarkable phenomenon that in spite of the fact that the two territories are in reality overlapping, the Kangerdlugssuaq Eskimos maintained on the whole their original culture and were only in a few respects influenced by the development proceeding in the neighbouring district. In the domain of house building they entirely abandoned the old practices for the new, but they obstinately stuck to the old types of harpoon heads, to mention only the two most striking examples of this peculiar state of affairs.

MATHIASSEN puts the extinction of the Kangerdlugssuaq Eskimos to some time during the eighteenth century. For various reasons I am inclined to place it to a somewhat later date. Judging from the state of preservation of the houses, the latest were used less than a hundred years ago. Comparing for example the houses on Cape Irminger with house VI

¹) MATHIASSEN 1933, p. 101.

²) MATHIASSEN 1934 K., p. 21.

³) HOLM, p. 222.

in Sùkersit, the best preserved of the large common-houses in Angmagssalik¹⁾, or with House III in Kangârtik²⁾, last inhabited in 1907, one would undoubtedly consider those on Cape Irminger as the youngest. However, I shall not maintain that this is the case, nor do I think that such a comparison can serve as a basis for the determination of the age of the houses, the conditions for preservation differing greatly in the two places. Still, the comparison shows that these ruins cannot date very far back. I attach more importance to the fact that in one of the houses on Cape Irminger was found an edge mounting for a tub or a tray of a form quite identical to those used in the later typical Angmagssalik Culture, and which did not exist in the eighteenth century. For the above reasons I am of opinion that the extinction of the Kangerdlugssuaq Eskimos should be placed to some time during the nineteenth century. If this supposition is correct, there is no objection to believing that the story reported to GUSTAV HOLM in Angmagssalik in 1884, and quoted by MATHIASSEN³⁾, might be true. The report goes that a man who travelled from Aputiteq to Kangerdlugssuaq there found traces of men. The event must have occurred about 1800.

In the concluding chapter on the house ruins has been stated how the inhabitants of Knud Rasmussens Land gradually decreased in numbers and finally died out. MATHIASSEN has already mentioned various circumstances that may have contributed to their disappearance⁴⁾. I shall add only one factor which no doubt played a considerable part, i. e. the blood-feuds. As appears from the description of the house ruins, a comparatively large number of these are situated at a considerable height above the level of the sea. As far as certain houses are concerned, this fact may be accounted for by the absence of suitable building sites on a lower level. This explanation, however, cannot apply to the houses on Cape Irminger and Ivnarmitut. The location of houses in these two places in my opinion can only be due to the fact that the occupants dreaded being attacked and for this reason built their houses in places where nobody could approach unseen. Such fears are easily understood, if the conditions in Knud Rasmussens Land were similar to those prevailing in former days in the Angmagssalik district, where murder and blood-feuds were common events. There is, indeed, no reason for thinking that the Kangerdlugssuaq Eskimos should have been more peaceable. In fact, in the Angmagssalik district we also find houses located at considerable heights. MATHIASSEN says about these: "It would seem as if the many feuds that have caused

1) MATHIASSEN 1933, Figs. 20 and 21.

2) MATHIASSEN 1933, Fig. 13.

3) MATHIASSEN 1934 K., p. 22.

4) l. c.

blood-shed in this district have induced the people to build on sites from which they have a good outlook on the approach of strangers''¹⁾. While in the Angmagssalik district the blood-feuds were not able to threaten the existence of the tribe, this may very well have been the case in Knud Rasmussens Land, which was always very thinly populated.

As a result of these investigations I may finally state that they are on the whole in agreement with the results obtained by THERKEL MATHIASSEN on the basis of material brought home earlier, with the reservation, however, that they seem to indicate that the intercourse between Knud Rasmussens Land and Angmagssalik after the first immigration has been less insignificant than seems to appear from MATHIASSEN'S material. All the house ruins excavated contained elements of the same culture, the Inugsuk Culture, intermingled with a few elements from later culture stages in Angmagssalik. Only in one domain this later influence has been very marked, i. e. in the field of house building. The area of the Kangerdlugssuaq Eskimos has been shown to include Irminger Fjord. In paying attention also to the elevated localities, future investigators would probably succeed in finding ruins farther up the coast and thus be able to fill up the gap that still exists between Knud Rasmussens Land and Christian X's Land.

¹⁾ MATHIASSEN 1933, p. 46.

POSTSCRIPT

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Gentofte, June 1938.

Helge Larsen.

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2. Harpoon head. Ivnammiut.
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4. Harpoon head. Skærgaardshalvø, House 2 B.
5. Lance blade. Skærgaardshalvø, House 2 B.
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13. Leister prong. Cape Irminger, House 2.
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16. Knife handle. Cape Irminger, House 1 A.
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19. Kayak-paddle mounting. Cape Irminger, House 2.
20. Salmon spear, side prong. I. C. Jacobsens Fjord, House 2.
21. Nuglutang. Skærgaardshalvø, House 2 B.
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24. Toggle. I. C. Jacobsens Fjord, House 2.
25. Rest for kayak harpoon. Skærgaardshalvø, House 2 A.
26. Scraper. Cape Irminger, House 1 A.
27. Toy throwing board. Cape Irminger, House 2.
28. Knife handle. I. C. Jacobsens Fjord, House 3.

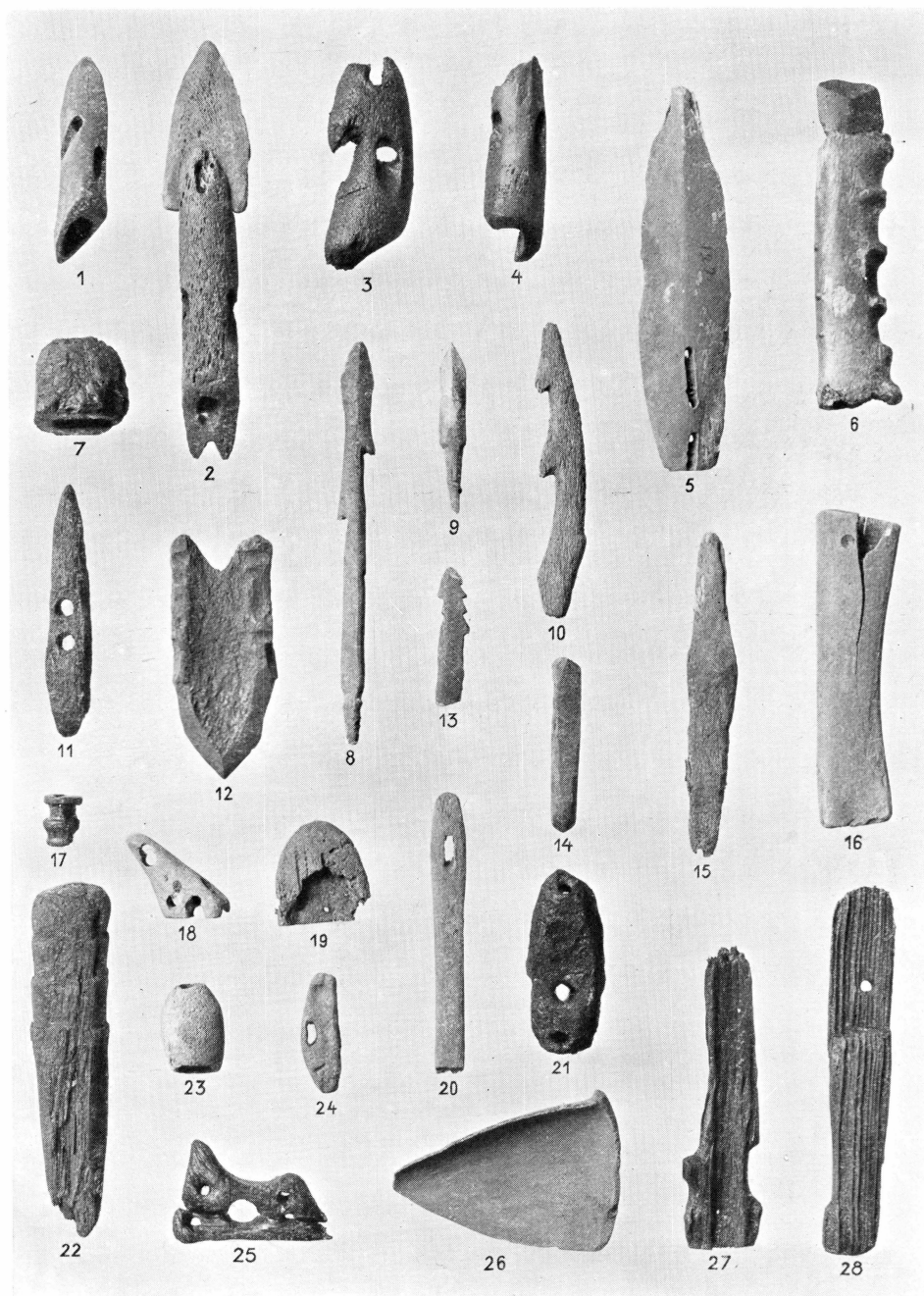


Plate 2.

1. Ulo. I. C. Jacobsens Fjord, House 3.
2. Ulo handle. Skærgaardshalvø, Grave 1.
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5. Scraper. Sarfalik Ikerasårsuk.
6. Harpoon blade. Skærgaardshalvø, found on the surface.
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14. Spoon. Skærgaardshalvø, House 3.
15. Two-handed scraper. Skærgaardshalvø, House 5.

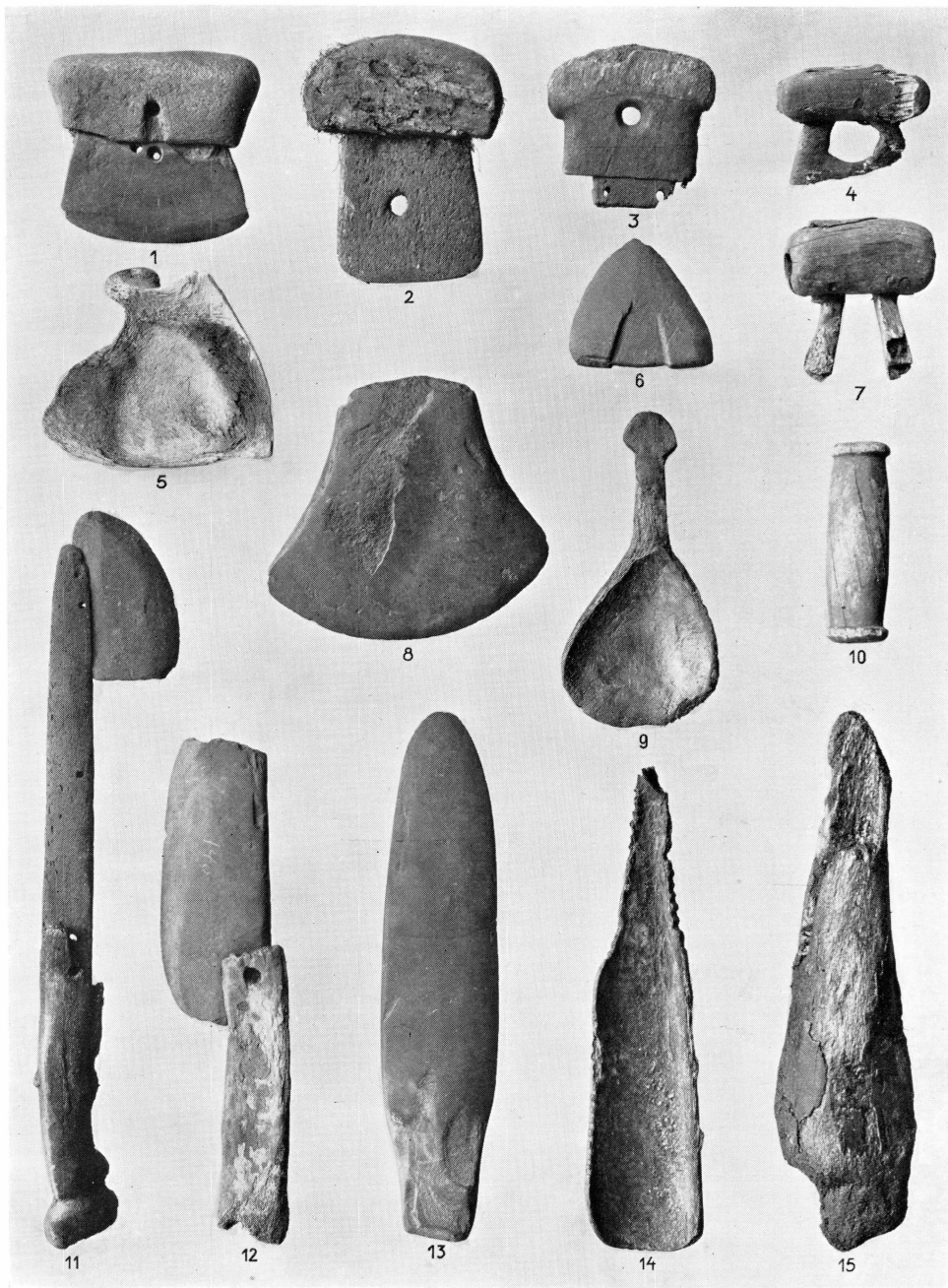


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15. Bead. Skærgaardshalvø, Grave 2.
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17. Pendant. Skærgaardshalvø, House 6 B.
18. Toy harpoon head. Skærgaardshalvø, House 6 B.
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20. Doll. Sarfalik Ikerasârsuk.
21. Doll. Sarfalik Ikerasârsuk.
22. Toy cooking pot. Skærgaardshalvø, House 4.
23. Toy tub. Sarfalik Ikerasârsuk.
24. Toy lamp. Skærgaardshalvø, House 3.
25. Toy lamp. Sarfalik Ikerasârsuk.
26. Toy tray. Sarfalik Ikerasârsuk.

