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LEADER: KNUD RASMUSSEN

THE FORMER ESKIMO SETTLEMENTS
ON FREDERIK VI'S COAST

BY

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WITH 28 FIGURES IN THE TEXT

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I. INTRODUCTION

One of the main objects of the Sixth and Seventh Thule Expeditions, 1931—1933, in charge of Dr. Knud Rasmussen, was a study of the former Eskimo settlements on Frederik VI's Coast, the stretch of East Greenland's coast between Prince Christian Sound near Cape Farewell on the south and Ikerssuaq, the boundary of the Angmagssalik district, on the north. From the voyages of Graah, Holm and Garde we knew that many Eskimos had lived on that coast, but just what these settlements consisted of, and their character, was not known.

The Expeditions attempted to dispel that obscurity, partly by making inspections of as many of the old settlements as possible, partly by making excavations here and there. The first part of these tasks was carried out especially by Knud Rasmussen himself, most frequently in the company of the Greenlander Christian Poulsen (Autdaruta) of Frederiksdal, one of the last of the East Coast dwellers, who migrated to the West Coast in 1900; Christian Poulsen knew the coast as his own hand, and this local knowledge of his made him a valuable man to the Expedition, as also the many tales he could tell and all the information he was able to give concerning many of the settlements. This reconnaissance work, however, was also shared by other members of the Expedition.

Excavations in 1931 were undertaken by Erik Holtved, who camped in Lindenows Fjord together with two Greenlanders from the middle of August to the middle of September; he excavated 12 house ruins (7 at Narssaq, 2 at Igdlukulik, 1 at Stendalen and 2 at Nanûseq) and found 72 artefacts and other specimens.

In 1932 the direction of the Eskimo-archaeological investigations was entrusted to me; I was met at Angmagssalik on the 9th of August by Knud Rasmussen on board the m. s. "Th. Stauning". I inspected a number of ruined settlements and also, in company with Emil Rasmussen and two Greenlanders, made excavations at several places: Nûgârfik (1 day: 1 ruin); Ruinnæsset at Skjoldungen (7 days: 6 ruins);

Tingmiarmiut (3 days: 5 ruins); Itsarnisarmiut (1 day: 2 ruins); Anoritôq (1 day: 1 ruin); Auarqat's south fjord (1 day: 4 ruins); Igutsat Fjord (2 days: 2 ruins). In all by means of these excavations 526 specimens were found.

Prior to this time the only artefacts known from this coast were three specimens brought home by Graah from his expedition, as well as a collection of 89 specimens from Ũmánaq and Tingmiarmiut, mostly more recent in date, collected by Eskimos and acquired through Mr. A. T. Hedegaard, the colony manager at Angmagssalik.

The photographs of specimens appearing in the text were made by Mr. S. Bengtsson, whereas where nothing else is stated the others are my own. Mr. W. E. Calvert has made the translation.

II. A SUMMARY OF THE SETTLEMENTS

In the following will be given a schematic summary of all known winter settlements in the area, their size, age and character. The coast is divided according to the various centres of habitation, which on the whole conform to the natural geographic division of the coast. The situation of the settlements will be seen on the map which will appear in vol. 106. 1 of this series. At each settlement I have added the number of house ruins of each type — in so far as this was known — as well as the sum total; even this latter, however, is not known in all cases. The house types are the same as those into which the ruins at Angmagssalik district are divided:¹⁾ 1) Small, rounded, much overgrown and flattened-out houses. 2) Small, four-sided, partly flattened-out houses. 3) Large, four-sided, partly overgrown houses. 4) Houses known to or seeming to have been inhabited in the 19th or 20th century. Where it has been possible, the year of the last habitation of the settlement has also been added.

Finally, the source or sources of the particulars are given. The written sources are confined to Graah's book of 1832, Holm & Garde's report in *Meddelelser om Grønland*, Vol. 9, 1889, and my book, *The Prehistory of the Angmagssalik Eskimos*, in *Meddelelser om Grønland*, 92 No. 4, 1933. A summary of the habitations after Graah & Holm is given in "Grønland" II, pp. 598—607, and finally, Ejnar Mikkelsen has recently published a summary of the history of the East Greenlanders.

The letters in the last column of the summary indicate which member of the Expedition supplied the information: R — Dr. Knud Rasmussen, G — Captain C. C. A. Gabel-Jørgensen, T — Captain-Lieutenant J. V. Tegner, W — Lieutenant H. Wittrup Hansen., B — R. Bøgvad, M. Sc., H — Erik Holtved, M — myself.

Places marked C and N were not visited by members of the Expedition, the information having been secured from Greenlanders:

¹⁾ Mathiassen, *Angmagssalik*, p. 11.

Christian Poulsen and Nikodemus respectively, the latter of whom in 1931 was living at Patsajuk in the Umivik district, where Knud Rasmussen visited him. It has not been possible to localize some of these places with accuracy, and the same in fact applies to some of the localities inspected by Knud Rasmussen together with Christian Poulsen.

The list also includes the settlements in the Inigssâlik district, though actually it lies inside the still inhabited Angmagssalik district. In a geographic sense, however, it forms a continuation of Frederik VI's Coast, and the settlements in it were not included in my list of the Angmagssalik settlements, as I have not visited that area myself.

List of Settlements on Frederik VI's Coast.

	Number of House Ruins				Total	Inhabited	Source
	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4			
Lindenows Fjord Region.							
1. Aluk.....	..	1	2	..	3	..	H
2. Kanajôrartôq.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	W
3. Kûgârmiut	..	3	4	..	7	..	M.o.G. 9, 158. H
4. Stendalen	..	1	..	..	1	..	H
5. Igdlukulik.....	..	3	..	..	3	..	M.o.G. 9, 160. H
6. Narssaq.....	3	4	2	2	11	1925	Graah 71. M.o.G. 9, 160. H M
7. Nunatsuk	..	..	1	1	2	..	Graah 71. H
8. Pamiagdluk	..	..	1	..	1	..	H
9. Nanûseq	..	..	2	..	2	..	H
10. Cape Walloe, small island 2 miles W of...	..	..	..	..	..	..	M.o.G. 9, 162
Iluleq Region.							
11. Iluliânguit.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	M.o.G. 9, 163
12. Ingerdlarsiutit	..	..	..	..	3	..	M.o.G. 9, 163. R
13. Kûteq	..	..	..	..	..	..	Graah 72. B
14. Fjord NW of Kûteq .	..	..	..	..	3	..	W B
15. Iluigdlup Qeqertâ....	..	..	3	..	3	..	M
16. Iluleq	..	..	3	2	5	1899	M.o.G. 9, 164. M
17. Tunorqutsormiut.....	..	..	1	..	1	..	M
18. Nûgâlik.....	..	..	..	..	1	..	R
19. Sarqap nûa	..	..	..	..	2	..	Graah 75. M.o.G. 9 171. B
Auarqat Region.							
20. Qajartalik, small island south of mouth of...	..	2	2	..	4	..	B
21. Kangerdluluk	1	5	..	..	6	..	B
22. Syenitnæs	1	3	3	..	7	..	B

	Number of House Ruins				Total	Inhabited	Source
	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4			
23. Igutsat Fjord, south side	..	..	..	..	16	..	Graah 153
24. Igutsat Fjord, north side	..	1	1	..	2	..	M
25. Tâterait	..	1	..	2	3	..	M
26. Auarqat's south fjord.	5	1	2	..	8	..	M
27. Auarqat	..	..	1	2	3	1899	M.o.G. 9, 173. M
Anoritôq Region.							
28. Akia	..	..	2	..	2	..	B
29. Anoritûp Qeqertâ	1	..	3	..	4	..	M
30. Anoritôq	..	1	1	2	4	1896	M.o.G. 9, 176. M
31. Sermitsiarmit	7	2	2	..	11	..	M
32. Qutsigsormiut	..	..	3	..	3	..	M
33. Qutdlit	1	..	1	..	2	..	M
34. Kaniorqat	..	..	..	..	2	..	C
35. Inugssuit	..	..	..	..	..	..	M.o.G. 9, 178
36. Cape Rantzau, north side	..	..	..	..	..	..	W
Tingmiarmiut Region.							
37. Ikermit	..	..	..	..	2	..	C
38. Maligissat	..	..	..	..	1	..	Graah 85
39. Mogens Heinesens Fjord, mouth	..	..	..	..	..	..	M.o.G. 9, 184
40. Eqalungmiut	..	..	..	2?	3	..	M.o.G. 9, 119. B
41. Igdlorssuartalik	1	..	1	..	2	..	M
42. Inukasingmiut	..	..	2	..	2	..	M
43. Tingmiarmiut	1	5	..	1	7	1928	M.o.G. 9, 189. M
44. Sanerarmiut	..	..	..	1	1	..	M.o.G. 9, 189. R
45. Qernertorajuk	..	..	..	..	1	..	R
46. Igdlumiut	1	1	..	..	2	..	R
47. Itsarnisarmit	6	1	..	..	7	..	M
48. Qeqertarmiut	1	2	..	..	3	..	R
49. Ikerasak	..	..	..	..	..	..	B
50. Igdlut	..	..	..	..	..	..	B
51. Nunarssuaq's north side ..	..	..	..	..	7—9	..	B
52. Qeqertakasik	..	..	..	..	2	..	C
53. Ukiagssivik	..	..	..	..	1	..	C
54. Qeqertaq angissoq ...	..	..	..	..	1	..	C
55. Aqigssermit	..	..	..	..	2	..	C
56. Ortît	..	..	..	..	2	..	C
Ūmánaq Region.							
57. Alángoq } Ūmánaq	..	..	..	..	2	..	R
58. Ituvssâlik }	..	..	..	2	2	1882	M.o.G. 9, 190. R
59. Qeqertâraq }	..	..	..	..	2	..	R

	Number of House Ruins				Total	Inhabited	Source
	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4			
60. Sanerqat	..	..	..	..	..	..	B W
61. Sehesteds Fjord.....	..	..	..	..	1—2	..	W
62. Igdluvigkat	..	..	..	..	1?	..	M.o.G. 9, 192
63. Uivaq	..	..	..	..	1	..	M.o.G. 9, 196
64. Qutsigsormiut	2?	2?	1	..	5	..	G
Akorninarmiut Region.	..	..	..	..	..	..	W
65. Qajorfik.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	W
66. Anarnitsoq	..	..	..	..	..	..	W
67. Inugssuarmiut	..	..	..	1	1	1896	B
68. Qôrnoq	..	..	..	1	2	..	Graah 112. W
69. Ruinnæsset.....	..	2	4	..	6	..	M
70. Itivdlerssûp akia.....	..	..	..	1	1	..	M
71. Qeqertarmiut	2	1	1	..	4	..	M
72. Tinuteqissâq.....	..	3	..	2	5	1926	M
73. Nûgârfik	..	2	..	1	3	ca. 1900	Graah 111. M.o.G. 9, 197. M
74. Nûgârsigssuk	..	..	..	1	1	..	R
Igdluluarssuk Region.							
75. Orqua	..	1	3	4	8	1885	M.o.G. 9, 197. R
76. Kangitdlorajik.....	..	1	3	..	4	..	R
77. Najugtât.....	..	2	..	..	2	..	R
78. Kitdlarajik	..	1	2	..	3	..	R
79. Qeqertarssuaq	1	..	..	1	2	..	R
80. Siorartussoq	1	1	1	1	4	..	R
81. Qeqertaq.....	9	1	2	..	12	..	R
82. Itsit	1	..	..	1	2	..	R
83. Imertît	4	..	3	3	10	..	R
84. Ikârsârfik	1	1	..	..	2	..	R
85. Qimisâ	4	4	3	..	11	..	R. M.o.G. 9, 87
86. Íkátormiut	..	..	..	1	1	..	R. Graah 135
87. Sagdliaruseq.....	..	..	..	1	1	..	R T
88. Anorardluarssik.....	..	1	..	1	2	..	R
89. Qíngortôq	1	..	..	1	2	ca. 1890	R
90. Ítuvssâlik	..	1	..	1	2	..	R
Umívik Region.							
91. Patsajuk	..	..	2	1	3	1931	M.o.G. 9, 200. R
92. Utermiut.....	..	..	..	..	3	..	M.o.G. 9, 200. N
93. Qeqertat	..	..	2	..	2	..	G
94. Kiataq	..	1	1	..	2	..	R
95. Ítivsâq	..	..	..	..	2	..	M.o.G. 9, 200. R
96. Umíviutâ	..	..	..	..	1	..	N
97. Pukúngnaq.....	..	..	..	..	1	..	N
98. Nunakitsut.....	..	..	..	..	1	..	N

	Number of House Ruins				Total	Inhabited	Source
	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4			
99. Ikerasak	..	..	..	..	1	..	N
100. Kûk	..	..	..	..	1	..	N
101. Igdlutalik	..	..	..	..	1	..	N
102. Tasiussarajik	..	..	..	..	1	..	N
103. Upernagssivik	..	..	..	..	1	..	N
104. Qusêrtalik	..	..	..	..	1	..	N
105. Iliarssuit	..	2	..	1	4	ca. 1875	R
Pikiutdleq Region.							
106. Pamiagdûssaq	..	..	..	..	1	..	N
107. Ukîverajik	..	..	..	..	1	..	M.o.G. 9, 200. N
108. Ikermiut	..	..	..	..	1	..	N
109. Nuerniagartôq	..	..	..	..	1	..	N
110. Igdlut (Pikiutiuta) ..	..	..	..	1	3	1932	Graah 104. N
111. Siaqissoq	..	..	..	..	1	..	N
112. Pamiagdlok	..	..	..	2	2	ca. 1920	N
113. Manivigtoq	..	..	..	1	2	1932	N
114. Âlue	..	..	..	..	1	..	N
115. Aqitsoq	..	..	1	1	2	ca. 1910	R
116. Nunârssuk	..	..	..	1	7	1932	Graah 101. N
117. Avqusiarajik	..	..	..	..	1	..	N
118. Ukîverajik	..	..	..	..	1	..	N
119. Tasiussarajik	..	..	..	..	1	..	N
120. Qardlit	..	..	..	..	..	..	M.o.G. 9, 203
121. Ortit	..	..	..	..	1	..	N
122. Igdlut	..	..	..	1	2	1932	N
123. Igtugtuluk	..	..	..	..	1	..	M.o.G. 9, 203. N
Inigssâlik Region.							
124. Sujunikajik	..	..	..	1	2	1924	M.o.G. 92. 4, 130. N
125. Qeqertaq	..	..	..	..	1	..	N
126. Sapangaq	..	..	..	..	1	..	N
127. Akuliaruseq	..	..	..	..	1	..	N
128. Isortoq	..	..	..	..	2	Still	M.o.G. 92. 4, 130. N
129. Inigssâlik	..	..	..	1	2	1930	M.o.G. 9, 205 og 92. 4, 130. N
130. Nûkunia	..	..	..	1	1	..	M.o.G. 9, 205
131. Tovqussaq	..	..	..	1	2	1915	M.o.G. 92. 4, 130. N
132. Íkâtuaq	..	..	..	..	1	..	N
133. Narssârssuk	..	..	..	..	2	..	M.o.G. 9, 205. N
134. Ilarqat	..	..	..	..	..	..	M.o.G. 9, 205
135. Ivssorigssog	..	..	..	..	2	..	N
136. Nagssuit	..	..	..	..	..	..	M.o.G. 92. 4, 130
137. Natsivik	..	..	..	..	2	..	N
138. Qeqertaussaq	..	..	..	2	2	1931	M.o.G. 92. 4, 130. N

Summary of Settlements in the Various Regions.

Below are given the numbers of house ruins within the various habitation regions; in the totals it has been assumed that settlements whose number of ruins is not known have two ruins each.

Region	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Total
Lindenows Fjord.....	3	8	16	3	34
Iluileq	..	..	7	2	22
Auarqat.....	7	13	9	4	49
Anoritôq	9	3	12	2	32
Tingmiarmiut.....	10	9	3	4	53
Ůmánaq	2	2	1	2	16
Akorninarmiut.....	2	8	5	7	27
Igdlularssuk	22	14	17	15	68
Umívik	..	3	5	2	25
Pikiutdleq.....	..	..	1	7	31
Inigssálik.....	..	..	..	6	25
	55	60	77	54	382

III. DESCRIPTION OF THE SETTLEMENTS AND FINDS

Settlements which are of interest in one respect or another will be described, as also the finds that have been made. As regards some of the settlements, especially those of which we do not know much, nothing else will be said of them beyond what is contained in the foregoing list.

1. Lindenows Fjord Region.

1. Aluk.

From olden times this island has been known as the place where East and West Greenlanders came together in order to trade; it is via Aluk that most of the European commodities have found their way up the east coast. Naturally, it was in summer that the "Aluk Market" was held. On the island, however, are also the ruins of a winter settlement, near the harbour on the south side, where there are three winter houses, all of the 17—18th century rectangular or trapeziform type. One is 7×4 metres, another $5\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ metres, whereas the third is smaller, $3 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ metres, with a large meat cache at one end. Two of the houses open towards the east, the third towards the west. On the same site there are also four tent foundations of the common type: a rounded-triangular mound of earth, as well as 12 meat caches and 4 graves.

2. Kûgârmiut.

A fairly large settlement on the south side of Lindenows Fjord¹⁾. With an interval of two kilometres between them lie two groups of houses, one to the east with 4 and one to the west with 3 houses, all of them four-sided, almost trapeziform type; one of them lies so low that the sea at high tide washes into the house. In the west group was found an unusually large house, 18.40 metres long, 4 metres wide, with three

¹⁾ Presumably the one which is called Qorormiut in Medd. om Grønland 9, p. 158.

partition walls running right through and seven windows; apparently the house has several times been made smaller and in the end has been $5\frac{1}{2}$ metres long. The last narrow room, however, is presumably a meat cache which has never been in direct connection with the house itself; in that case the house has been 16 m long inside. It is a well-preserved house, scarcely very old, and still in use now and then for sleeping purposes by Greenlanders when hunting.

At Kûgârmiut were also 7 tent foundations, 6 graves, some meat caches, kayak supports, sleeping shelters and the like. Some worked pieces of wood and a small white glass bead were found.

4. Stendalen (Stone Valley).

One house ruin, trapezium in shape, 3.9×3.5 m, rather overgrown. There were also 4 tent foundations.

Found: in the house a large potsherd and a hollowed-out piece of sandstone, possibly used as a lamp.

Scattered about were found a fragment of a slender quartzite blade, a small oval toy cooking-pot, a piece of a whetstone of red sandstone, and number of glass beads, black glass buttons and sherds of earthenware dishes.

5. Igdlukulik.

Three house ruins, all of the large, four-sided type:

1. Near the beach, above a 3 m high bluff, originally 7.7×4.0 m, but a partition wall has reduced the length to 4.8 m; the passage is 6.5 m long. Natural rock formed a part of the floor, the remainder was paved; it had a well-preserved stone platform.

Inside were found: a piece of wood for fire drilling, a fragment of a cooking pot, 3 toy lamps, one with a partition at the back, a sherd of a Chinese cup of faience with a red pattern, several pieces of iron, sawn bones and pieces of wood. The finds indicate the first half of the 19th century.

2. Lies fairly high, 35 m from the beach, 5.5×3.5 m, but built into an earlier house 9.3 m long; the floor was paved; the passage faced south, 6.3 m long, with the outer end turning east-wards.

In it were found: 2 hammer stones, soapstone fragments, some glass beads, pieces of iron and brass (including a thimble). Presumably dating from the close of the 18th or the beginning of the 19th century.

The third house, which lies still higher, was not excavated; it is 3.3×3.0 m, but is built into an earlier one, 6.3 m long. It was badly collapsed.

On this site were also 2 tent foundations, 3 graves, 5 meat caches, kayak and umiak supports, 2 fox traps. Several scattered finds were

made: a wooden handle for a towing line; a lamp stand; a meat fork of seal rib; a cross-beam, 38 cm long, to fit in front of the manhole in a kayak, with a hand-grip; a hammer stone; a doll, male, without face and arms; 2 toy lamps; some glass beads and an object of copper.

6. Narssaq.

This is the main settlement in Lindenows Fjord. It lies on a flat terrace on the east side of a small bay, into the head of which a fair-sized river empties over a waterfall. The place is often mentioned in

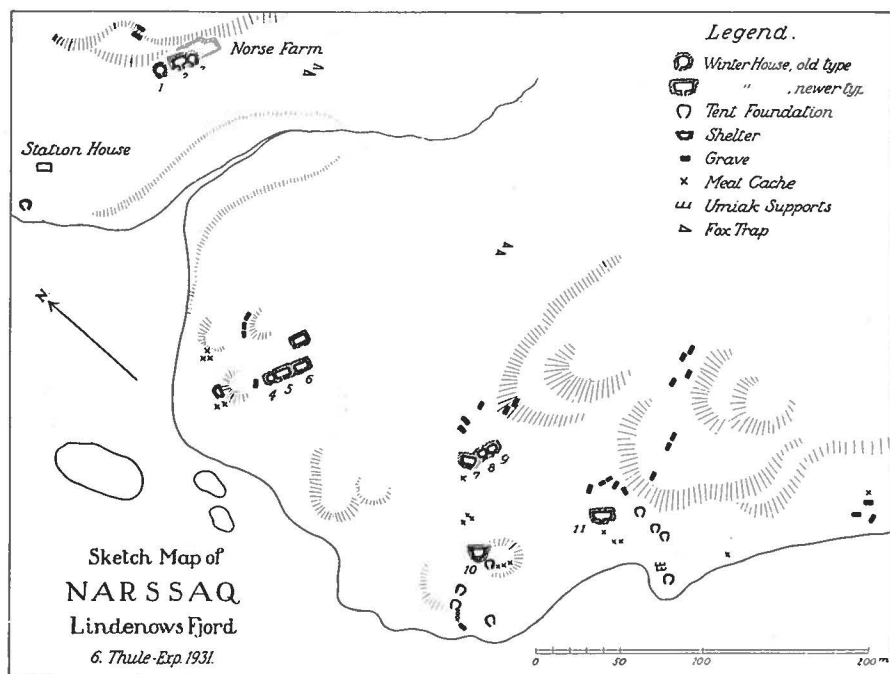


Fig. 1. Plan of the Narssaq village. Surveyed and drawn by Erik Holtved.

the literature. The first time is in 1799, when a manuscript by Merchant Mørch mentions a Norse ruin there¹). Graah says that the place was inhabited by four families who, however, were thinking of travelling over to the west coast soon²). Holm & Garde say that there are many ruins there³), and Bendixen gives a description of the locality and a plan of the Norse ruin⁴).

Fig. 1 is a plan of the settlement, drawn from Holtved's survey;

¹) MS. in Royal Library, Copenhagen.

²) Graah, p. 71.

³) M. o. G. 9, p. 160.

⁴) Geogr. Tidsskr. 1929, p. 167.

in all there are 11 house ruins, 9 tent foundations, 26 graves, 20 meat caches, two sets of umiak supports, 3 fox traps.

North of the small watercourse — apart from the house in which Tutein and Knudsen wintered in 1925—26 and Østergaard and Rasmussen in 1932—33 — are the Norse ruin ("Rolf's Ruin") and three Eskimo houses, which must be placed among the earliest types.

House 1 is a small round house, 2.35×2.30 m and a passage 3.5 m long; the walls are of earth with scattered stones, and the whole house was greatly collapsed; there was a paved floor. No specimens were found in it.

Houses 2 and 3 lie close together, built into the west part of the Norse ruin, as Bendixen's drawing¹⁾ shows. They are rounded, roughly built houses; No. 2 is almost oval, 5×3.2 m, No. 3 is 1.9×3.10 m. It is not clear whether the latter has had a passage of its own, or a connecting passage to No. 2 and thus must be regarded as an annexe to it. Their character and state of preservation, however, most certainly indicate that they are of the earliest type. The only find made in them is a piece of soapstone.

South of the river lie first of all (in front of the house built by the wintering Greenlanders in 1925—26) three houses, Nos. 4—6.

No. 4 is a small, four-sided, very flattened-out house, 2.5×3 m. No. 5 is a rather large, four-sided house, 6×3 m, with a passage $4\frac{1}{2}$ m long. It was badly collapsed. No. 6 is a four-sided house, $6 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ m, with a transversal partition dividing off the 4.10 m room last inhabited. It was in a very collapsed state, and a quantity of stones had been taken from it, as from Nos. 4 and 5, to build the new house.

Excavation in House 5 yielded a fragment of a small polished slate blade and some pieces of wood, in House 6 a toy cooking pot, a limestone bead, a soapstone bead and a piece of porcelain, besides a very new-looking bone head for a stiletto.

This house group presumably belongs to the 18th century.

A little more to the south, likewise close together, is House group 7—9. House 7 is fairly new, trapeziform, 7.5×4 m, with a passage 5 m long, with two windows and a well-preserved wall. Possibly this house has been used by the last East Greenlanders, who left Narssaq in 1900 for the west coast.

Nos. 8 and 9 are two small four-sided houses close together, measuring 3.7×3 and 3×3 m, very much collapsed. In them were found: 2 hammer stones, 5 cooking-pot sherds and 3 smaller soapstone sherds, a flat, round, pendant of slate, 3.8 cm long, and a small white glass bead. These houses seem to belong to the 17th or the beginning of the 18th century.

¹⁾ Geografisk Tidsskrift 1929, p. 167.

Nearer to the beach lies House 10, also a new house, 7.5×4.5 m, with two windows. And finally, farthest east we have House 11, a badly collapsed, fairly large house, 12.7×4.3 m, which, by the erection of a transversal partition wall, has had its length reduced to 6.7 m. These two houses were not excavated.

A few scattered finds were made at Narssaq, including a small convex-edged scraper blade of rock crystal, a male doll of wood, without arms, with facial features, scarcely very old, and a large opalescent glass bead.

Narssaq has accordingly been inhabited at very different periods right from the earliest times till the last of the East Greenlanders migrated to the west coast.

7. Nunatsuk.

At this place, which is mentioned by Graah as having been inhabited earlier¹⁾, there are two four-sided house ruins. One is rather new, with much of the roof timbering in place, 4×3 m, and with a large meat cache in prolongation of the building. The other house, more collapsed, is $5 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ m. There are also a tent ring, a set of boat supports and two meat caches.

8. Pamiagdluk.

One ruin only, 6 m long, lying above a bluff 2 or 3 m high which is being undermined by the sea, so that the passage and front wall of the house have fallen in. There are also some meat caches.

9. Nanûseq.

Two house ruins, both of the large, four-sided type, lying rather high up; one is not facing the sea. One was in a very collapsed state, measured 10×3.8 m, but shortened to 4 m by the building of two partition walls. In it were some worked pieces of wood and broken glass. The other house was more recent, $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ m, well-preserved, with walls 1.3 m high and a stone platform. Up against the front wall, just south of the entrance (the passage faces east) a kind of chimney or air duct of stone had been built to the same height as the wall; in front of this wall, at a height of half a metre, was a wide, flat stone in the form of a kind of shelf.

Inside the house was a thick lamp of soapstone, roughly made, segment-shaped with rounded corners, 36×22 cm.

The Nanûseq settlement also yielded two tent rings, 4 graves, umiak and kayak supports, 3 "play kayaks" of stones and 5 meat caches. In two rock crevices to the west of a grave were two wooden dippers and remains of a coopered vessel.

¹⁾ p. 71.

2. Iluileq Region.

15. Iluigdlup Qeqertâ.

On this site (Holm's Ivimiut¹⁾) are three ruins:

1. Just at the water-edge is an oblong ruin, 9×4 m, inside which is built a newer house, $2\frac{1}{2}$ m long.

2. A house 13 m long, right down at the water-edge, the front wall having been washed away; here again a smaller house has been built inside, 3.7 m long.

3. An oblong house, $8 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ m, of which the passage and part of the front wall are washed away.



Fig. 2. The village site of Iluileq.

16. Iluileq.

The main settlement in this district lies at the south end of the rather large island of Iluileq. It has five ruins. Two of them, close together, about 1 m above sea level, are new, inhabited by Christian Poulsen and his brother in 1899, 5.8 and 5 m long respectively; the first winter Christian lived there it was one large house, but later it was divided into two.

Six m above sea-level, above the other, lies a ruin 5 m long and much more overgrown, of the same type, and above this a rather long, luxuriously overgrown terrain, which may also be a house ruin. Finally,

¹⁾ M. o. G. 9, p. 164.

right down on the beach are the remains of a partly washed-away house, used as a meat cache.

Fig. 2 is the settlement, seen from above; fig. 3 the partly water-washed ruin.

Christian described the hunting here at Iluileq as good; there is a lot of surf in the autumn months, but good ice extends to the outer islands before Christmas, when the winter ice comes, till the end of April. The drift ice does not get into the fjord much, so as a rule the kayak can be used all the summer. Inside the fjord there are unusually



Fig. 3. The partly sea-demolished ruin at Iluileq.

large numbers of fjord seals, and also Greenland seals, bearded seals, spotted seals and bladdernose.

3. Auarqat Region.

20. Small island south of Qajartalik.

On this site, which has four house ruins, apparently all four-sided, was found a lamp-stand, $27 \times 11\frac{1}{2}$ cm.

23. Igutsat Fjord.

While Graah was in this area in 1830 he examined deserted houses at several places on the banks, "at one place as many as 16 in the same spot, a number higher than I have otherwise seen on the east coast and showing that the region round this fjord has once had a considerable

population"¹⁾). We did not succeed in finding this large settlement; the only place at which we found house ruins was

24. The North Side of Igutsat Fjord.

On a point, almost opposite the most westerly of the line of islands that follows the coast for some distance in from the mouth, lie two house ruins as well as two graves and two fox traps.

1. About 1 m above sea-level. An oblong ruin, 7×3 m, with an S-shaped passage leading SE. This house was so constructed that ex-



Fig. 4. Igutsat, House ruin 1.

tensive use was made of the native rock: rear wall, west wall, most of the main platform, and the west side platform, as well as the floor, all being of the rock; it was only necessary to build a front wall, a wall and platform at the east end, and the passage of stones, but both on the north and the west the native rock has been heightened from 40 to 50—80 cm by means of flat stones. The floor is 30 cm lower than the platform. The bottom of the passage is partly the rock, partly of flat stones.

In this house were found: a fragment of a paddle end mounting of wood; 3 hammer stones and 2 whetstones; a bow-drill mouthpiece, of seal astragalus; a toy lamp, two pieces of iron; 10 glass beads; there

¹⁾ Graah, p. 153.

were also some worked and unworked bones (seal, dog), often much decomposed.

Fig. 4 is a photograph of the house, which apparently dates from the first half of the 18th century.

2. A smaller, four-sided house, 4×3 m, with a passage 5 m long. The west wall was formed of a natural rock wall which had been prolonged westwards by means of piled stones, and in the floor the rock crops out in several places.

In the house were found 7 elongated pebbles, but only one with bruised facets showing that it had been used for hammering; there

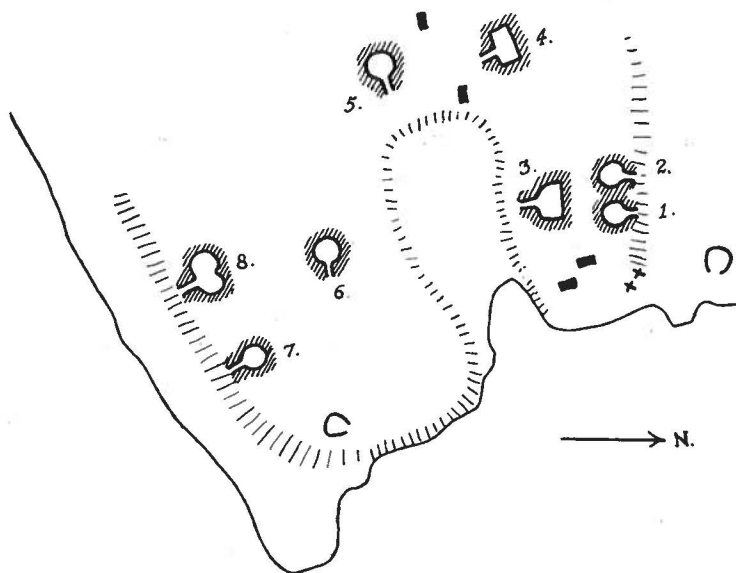


Fig. 5. Plan of the village site in Auarqat's South Fjord.

were also 22 seal bones, most of them much decomposed. Probably these two houses are contemporaneous.

26. Auarqat's South Fjord.

On the fairly high point between this fjord and the main fjord is a fairly large, very old settlement with 8 house ruins; a wide diabase dyke runs through the terrain at this spot, and apparently this is responsible firstly for the handsome, steep terrain forms, and secondly for the luxuriant character of the spot, the ruins being overgrown with thick willow scrub.

Fig. 5. is a sketch of the settlement and its various ruins; houses 1—5 lie almost at the same height, about 7 m above sea-level, 6—8 a little higher, about 10 m.

House 1 prior to excavation appeared in the form of a round,

fairly deep depression, thickly overgrown with willow scrub. It turned out to be an oval house, 2.4×3 m, with a passage 2 m long running northwards. The east wall was about 60 cm high, regularly built of stones in a curve; to the south it consisted of a single large stone set on edge; on the south and west the walls were of a few stones on edge which have supported the loose earth wall. The floor was partly paved with two layers of flat stones. The house contained nothing but 32 badly decomposed seal bones.

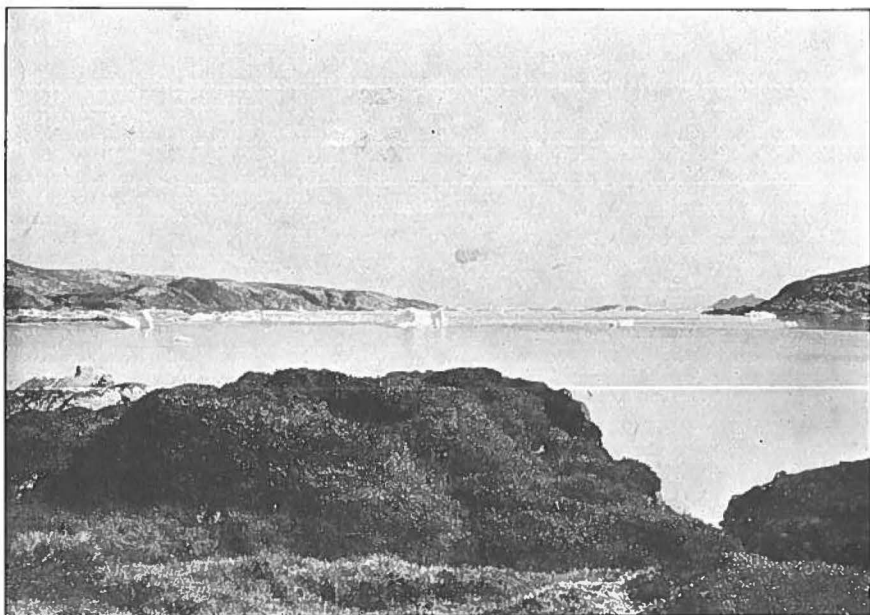


Fig. 6. House ruin 2, Auarqat's South Fjord.

House 2 was similar in appearance (Fig. 6) but more regular, about 3×3 m. It was not excavated.

House 3, the passage of which was in exactly the opposite direction to Nos. 1 and 2, facing southwards, was one of the later, large trapeziform houses, 5.2×3 m, with stone walls 1 m high and several passage roof stones still in place.

House 4 was also four-sided, but smaller, 4×2.8 m, with lower, more overgrown stone walls.

Neither 3 nor 4 was excavated.

House 5 had the form of a very shallow depression, round, and overgrown with moss, lichen and *Empetrum* and with the passage turning east. On excavation it proved to be round, 3.5×3.2 m, with stone walls 30—40 cm high and stone flags on the floor. Some badly decomposed strips of baleen were all it contained.

House 6 was also quite a shallow, round depression, overgrown with *Empetrum* and lichen. This, too, proved to be a small round house, 2.8×2.7 m; on the NW and SW sides the wall was of the native rock, otherwise of loose stones, low, fairly irregular; the passage was 2 m long. In the north side of the house was a cooking offshoot with bone ash, slag and sooty stones. Both house and passage had flags on the floor.

In it were found: A whetstone of micaceous slate and a chopping block of whale vertebra; in the house itself were two, in the passage 4 decomposed seal bones.

House 7 was a deep, round depression which, after excavation, proved to be a round house dug 80 cm down into the surrounding terrain; there were only few stones to support the walls, a regular stone floor and a fairly well-preserved passage with several roofing stones in position.

In this house, rather better preserved than in the others excavated, were: two soapstone sherds, 2 toy cooking pots, a rather flat soapstone bead, a sharpened seal bone and 72 bones, mostly seal, one of dog.

House 8 was an elongated hollow in the ground, about 5×3 m, possibly a double house of early type; it was thickly overgrown with willow and *Empetrum*.

In and around the settlement were 7 graves, four of which were examined. One contained three skulls, all in the NW end of the cist, which measured 1.4×1 m; of grave goods there was a thimble holder of narwhal ivory. Another, with one decomposed skull, had as grave goods merely a lump of rock crystal.

27. Auarqat.

The main settlement of the district lies in a small cove near a river mouth at the northern entrance to the fjord. There are three ruins:

1. Most to the east, just at the high-water mark, up against a rock wall which forms the back, is an entirely overgrown ruin, $5 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ m, the shape of which it is impossible to decide; one end has been used as a kennel, the other as a meat cache.

2—3. Lie 2 or 3 m above sea-level. Two recent houses, measuring $6\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ and 4×3 m respectively; the former was inhabited by Christian and his family in 1897; the other is scarcely much older.

Near these two houses lay the remains of two sledges abandoned there by the last tenants. A pair of runners were 1.78×0.15 m, with rather upturned noses; they had bone shoeing both on the underside and on the sides near it; the under shoes were $3-3\frac{1}{2}$ cm wide, the side shoes $1\frac{1}{2}-2$ cm, all of bone with tree nails; in the upper edge of the runner were 6 holes, opening out to the outer side, for the load-lashing line, and 7 pairs of smaller holes for the cross-slat lashings. There was also an upstander of the wide Angmagssalik type, 40 cm high, 35 cm

wide at the bottom. A third runner, more decomposed, is 1.51×0.14 m. We also found the remains of two almost decomposed, four-sided drying racks of wood, about 70×75 cm, and a large whetstone of red slate.

Behind the settlement we examined a grave with two skeletons, containing a spherical and an oval bone bead; a little to the rear were other two graves. More to the west, on a plain, were two heavy tent foundations and some meat caches.

At Auarqat lay the cannon — no doubt from a wrecked whaler — that is mentioned by Graah¹); in 1932 it was taken to Julianehaab by Dr. Poul Nørlund.

4. Anoritôq Region.

28. Akia.

On this point in Anoritôq Fjord there are, apart from a new-looking house, 7×4 m, the remains of a house partly demolished by the sea; it has been 12 m long, but divided into two by a partition wall (though it may be two independent houses); the entire front wall and part of the side walls have been washed away.

In it was found a pierced seal phalange.

29. Anoritûp Qeqertâ.

This settlement, which lies on a small island just off Anoritôq, has 4 ruins, 4 tent rings, 6 meat caches and a grave. Judging from pieces of wood found the place seems to have been inhabited at any rate one summer in recent times. The three houses are oblong, $7\frac{1}{2}$, 5 and $7\frac{1}{2}$ m long respectively, rather well preserved; the fourth is a small, entirely overgrown depression in the ground, 3 m in diameter, possibly a house of the earliest type.

30. Anoritôq.

This settlement lies at the northern side of the mouth of the fjord on a fairly large plain below a steep cliff (Fig. 7). There are 4 house ruins, 13 tent rings, a number of graves, a "nângissat", and a kayak-shaped setting of stones (Fig. 8.).

1. Farthest east, two metres or so above sea-level, lies a small, four-sided house ruin, thickly overgrown; it was excavated. It was $3\frac{1}{2} \times 3$ m, with a passage 5 m long, low stone walls, rock floor. Inside were found a long mouthpiece plug for a bladder dart, 5 soapstone sherds, 10 glass beads, 3 faience sherds and two sherds of earthenware. It dates presumably from the close of the 18th century.

2. Beside it lies the house in which Christian lived in 1896, the last time the place was inhabited; it measures $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ m (Fig. 9). It has

¹) Graah, p. 77.



Fig. 7. The settlement of Anoritôq, from the east.



Fig. 8. Kayak-shaped stone setting; Anoritôq.

high, stone-set walls, a main platform and a window platform of flat stones, and a passage 5 m long.

Near it lay a number of objects left behind by the last inhabitants: the remains of an umiak which belonged to Aviaja, who was murdered that winter, including a stem post 1.4 m long, two rib fragments notched in the side for the stringers; a kayak oar, two-bladed, 1.64 m long, with no end mounting; a large stone slab, 40×33 cm, of fine-grained, grey gneiss, somewhat hollowed by wear — according to Christian for grinding snuff; almost half of a small, segment-shaped lamp; a kayak-harpoon rest; a flat stick of wood having on the end a flat plate of wood with a semi-circular cut in the top; a fragment of the side-prong of a bird dart.

3. Lies about two hundred metres more to the west. A recent house, $7 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ m, inhabited by Christian's brother in 1896.

4. Near it, just near the beach and only a half to one metre above high-water mark, is a rather uneven, thickly overgrown area, about 7 m long, which presumably is an early house ruin.

The tent rings here at Anoritôq are built of unusually large stones, often a solid mound, in order to cope with the fierce gales which blow here (Fig. 10) (the name means "the place where it blows"). Up on the moraine ridge which borders the plain on the west is a shelter-wall 90 cm high, built of heavy stones and forming an angle, and in the corner is a large, firmly embedded stone; inside this shelter are two tent rings.

Anoritôq has the name of being a bad place for hunting. In 1895 Christian and four umiak crews came there from the north to spend the winter. It proved to be an unusually severe winter; a hard south-easter blew throughout the autumn and winter months. They tried living on seaweed, mussels, a few berries, after which they ate all the dogs, bearskins, tent and umiak skins. Fifteen died of hunger, one was drowned, five committed suicide, and one, Aviaja, was killed. He was the younger brother of a dreaded shaman at Umîvik, and they had left there out of fear of him without collecting sufficient stores of dried meat for the winter. He promised them bad weather at the new settlement, and, as they actually did have terrible weather there, they took vengeance upon Aviaja¹). They were only able to get away in two umiaks in August, sailing for Auarqat.

31. Sermitsiarmiut.

About 3 kilometres above Anoritôq, close to a large glacier, Knud Rasmussen found a settlement which he called Sermitsiarmiut, "the glacier dwellers". There we found first 4 four-sided houses, one of which was rather large, 11×3 m, with much overgrown walls, the others small, apparently older. On the far side of a small cove is a pebble terrace,

¹) Knud Rasmussen: *Under Nordenvindens Svøbe*, p. 130.



Fig. 9. Christian's house at Anoritôq.

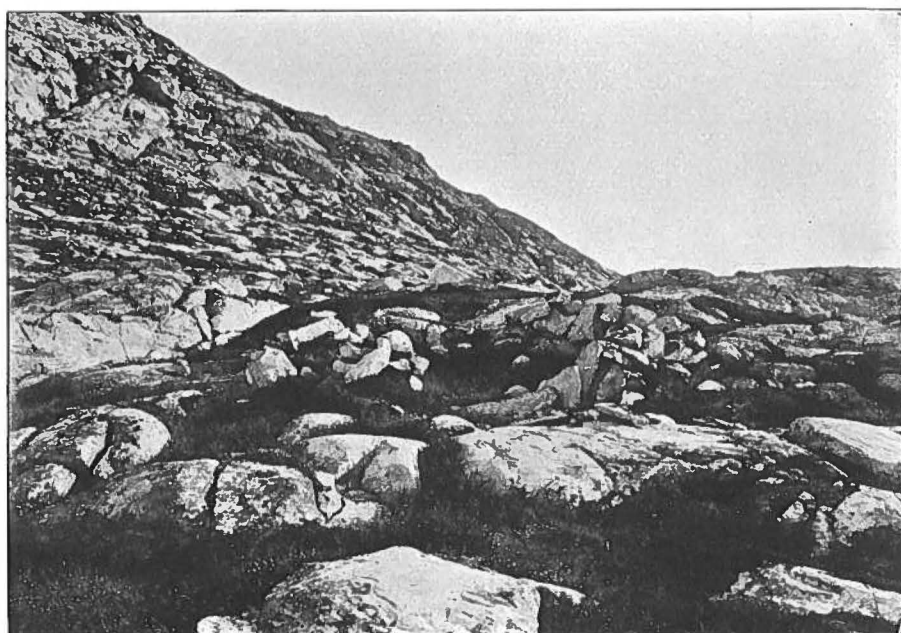


Fig. 10. Anoritôq; tent foundation.

rising 6 to 8 m above sea-level, and dug down in it were 7 very ancient house ruins, their presence indicated merely by very shallow, round depressions, $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 m in diameter, with the passage running SE, overgrown with lichen and arctic willow; six of them were in a row, one about two metres higher up; in the latter house alone we saw a few stones in the passage. These are undoubtedly among the very earliest houses on this coast. Christian, who had lived a winter at Anoritôq, did not know them.

Fig. 11 is a picture of this settlement from SE.



Fig. 11. The village site of Sermitsiarmit.

33. Qutdlit.

On a small island just south of the main island are two ruins. One of them, lying about 8 m above sea-level, has originally been 9 m long, but now reduced to 5 m at the rear (only 2 m at the front) by a crooked partition wall; the recent house has walls a metre high. The other ruin lies about two metres below it and is partly covered by its refuse; it is so overgrown and flattened out that the form cannot be discerned; it is rather small, however, about 3×4 m, and possibly is one of the earliest type.

5. Tingmiarmiut Region.

This comprises one of the largest fjord complexes and one of the largest ice-free regions on this coast; it is also one of the best hunting districts, and consequently has been most densely populated. Christian

informs me that it was known for its calm weather. There was good winter ice in the fjords and many fjord seals, as well as a number of bearded seals and good bladdernose hunting; in summer they lived in tents on the outer islands.

41. Igdlorssuartalik.

On a small island just to the north of the large Takisoq Island Knud Rasmussen found a settlement which, on account of the uncommon size of one of the houses, he called Igdlorssuartalik — "The place of the big house".

There were two house ruins, about 6 m above sea-level. One was 16×4 m, but had twice been made less by building partition walls, first to 13 m, last to 9 m. There had been four windows. The last inhabited house has well preserved walls. Christian reckoned that there had been 12 platform-spaces in the house and 12 sleeping places on window platforms, corresponding to 70 or 80 tenants.

The other house was small, barely more than 4 m in diameter, and entirely flattened out; there seemed to be a cooking recess near the passage; possibly this house is of the earliest type.

Six graves, of which one had three, another four skulls, were seen on this island.

42. Inukasingmiut.

This settlement, lying on a small island just south of Tingmiarmiut, has two house ruins, both of the large 18th century type, 6.4 and 6 m long respectively. There was also a grave, which was examined; it contained a skeleton, and of grave goods a lamp stand, a wooden ladle, and 122 small blue glass beads; apparently it must have been a well-to-do woman that was buried there.

43. Tingmiarmiut.

On a plain east of the very high, steep bird cliff which has given the place its name lies the large settlement with 7 house ruins, 9 graves, a number of meat caches, boat supports, and a nāngissat, formed of 30 stones (Fig. 12).

House 1. Lies right down at the edge of the beach so that most of the front wall is washed away; four-sided, $3\frac{1}{2}$ m long, with stone-set but very collapsed walls. Later inhabitants have used it as a workshop and blubber-pit, so that the upper part was full of wood shavings, grease and recent refuse. In the deeper layers, over and round about the paved floor, were 2 hammer stones, 2 whetstones, 2 fragments of a cooking pot, 2 fragments of the bottom of a large, oval chip-tray, a bow-drill mouthpiece of seal astragalus, and 2 toy lamps without the wick-ledge.



Fig. 12. Nångissat, Tingmiarmiut.

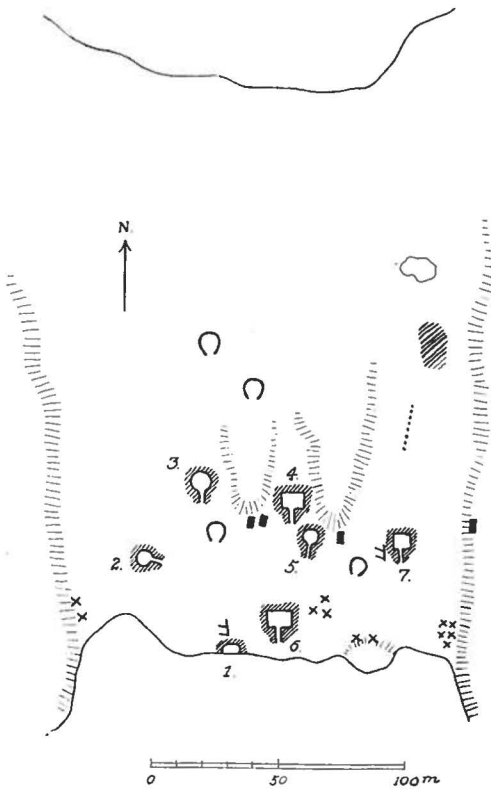


Fig. 13. Sketch of the village site of Tingmiarmiut.

House 2 lies rather more to the southwest, and a little way inland; on excavation it proved to be four-sided, 2.3×3 m, with stone walls half a metre high; the passage was dug well down. It contained only 2 small whetstones and 5 soapstone sherds.

House 3, still more inland, turned out to be of similar character, 3.8×3.5 m. Inside were a wedge of whale bone, 2 hammer stones, 2 lamps, one segment-shaped, without a wick ledge, the other thick, oval, 1 fragment of a cooking pot, 4 other soapstone sherds, 2 toy cooking pots, and a piece of baleen.

House 4, a little more to the east, was distinctly four-sided, 4.3×3.3 m, with stone walls a half metre high and a paved floor; it gave the impression of being very old, and contained a large piece of a cooking pot, 3 other soapstone sherds, a poorly-made, oblong pendant of soapstone, 3.1 cm long, a toy lamp with a groove just at the front rim, a pointed knife blade of iron, and a piece of broken faience.

House 5, just in front of House 4, looked like an oval depression in the shingle plain, with arctic willow growing on it; there was only a very thin culture deposit over the flat floor stones. It contained merely three fragments of a cooking pot and a little bone powder.

House 6 is a recent house, 4.55×3.60 m, inhabited in 1928.

House 7, which was not excavated either, was four-sided, 2.8×3.6 m, thickly overgrown, partly rebuilt into a meat cache.

Of these ruins at Tingmiarmiut one (No. 5) presumably is of the earliest type, five (Nos. 1—4 and 7) to the 16th or 17th, or perhaps the beginning of the 18th century, and one (No. 6) is quite recent.

All the graves were examined, and from them were taken 4 skeletons and the remnants of still more; several of the graves were empty. Only one contained grave goods; it was a badly built grave, 1.30×0.70 m, lying SW—NE, with two skeletons, one an adult, the other a child; the former lay with the head to the SW, the child to the NE. In the NE end were: a thong hook, formed of a seal canine tooth, a small sinker for a fish-hook, a toy lamp without a wick ledge, a fragment of a hollow bone ferrule, a seal claw, and a piece of stitched seal skin.

Outside the grave, in a small cavity at the west end: a harpoon foreshaft of wood, having at the rear end a mounting and tenon of bone and one small hole; at the fore end there seems to have been a bone cap. An unfinished, flat harpoon head of seal bone. A wooden rest for a kayak harpoon (Type: Kangâmiut Pl. 3. 3). A drill bow of bear fibula. An ulu handle of bear tooth, with two iron rivets. A fire-drilling stick. Two thong toggles of seal phalange (Type: Angmagssalik Pl. 6. 34). Six bone buttons of various shapes. A buckle for the kayak half-frock, 2 drop pendants of bone, 3 pieces of worked wood, 8 small pieces of worked bone, and 4 unworked seal phalanges.

This grave find is presumably from the 18th century.

Among the collection acquired from the colony manager Mr. Hede-gaard from Tingmiarmiut are 4 stone blades for weapons (2 of angmag with a tang, one polished, one unpolished, and 2 of slate), 3 pendants of stone, 2 of them anchor-shaped, a drop pendant of bell metal, and a toy lamp with a wick ledge.

47. Itsarnisarmiut.

This considerable settlement a good way up Tingmiarmiut Fjord was discovered by Knud Rasmussen while on a reconnaissance; Christian



Fig. 14. House ruin 1, Itsarnisarmiut.

did not know of it. It being by far the oldest looking ruin site in the district Knud Rasmussen called it Itsarnisarmiut, "The people of olden times".

On a grass plain sloping gently to the south were 7 house ruins, in the last stages of collapse and overgrown with the same sparse vegetation as the surrounding plain.

1. Nearest the beach, about 3 m above sea-level (Fig. 14). Two shallow round depressions, $2\frac{1}{2} \times 3$ and 2×2 m respectively, with one passage for both; in the largest room a later meat cache seems to have been built.

2. A shallow round depression about 5 m above sea-level, 3 m in diameter, with smaller depressions, presumably meat caches, at both sides; the passage had several roof beams in position.



Fig. 15. House ruin 6, Itsarnisarmit.

3. About 6 m above sea-level. Was excavated. A rounded, foursided house, 2×2.6 m, with a small cooking annexe with charcoal in the SE corner. Paved floor. It contained only two seal ossicles. The vegetation suggests that it was a little later than the other houses on this site.

4. A shallow, irregularly round depression, 3 m in diameter; at one place are remains of a wall, formed of two courses of stones.

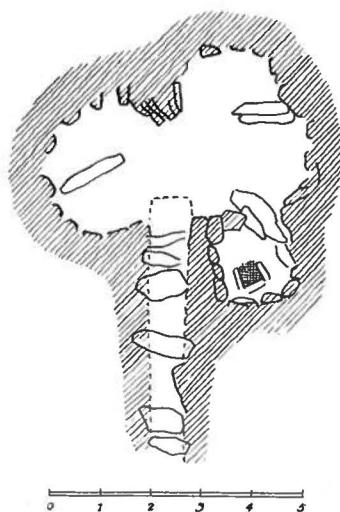


Fig. 16. Plan of house 6, Itsarnisarmit.

5. A trilobate depression with a passage, apparently a double house with a cooking annexe; only a single wall stone could be seen. Total size 6×3 m.

6. A plan of this house (Fig. 15), which was excavated, is given on Fig. 16. It is a double house of the old, round type, with a large cooking annexe with bone slag, flat floor stones, platform edging stones, and a number of roof stones over the passage. The bottom of the house lay about 1 m lower than the outside surface. In the corner between the two main rooms was a stone pillar, formed of seven or eight large, flat stones laid one over the other. In the house were found merely a lump of chrysoprase, 5 seal bones, a bear tooth and a large piece of whale bone; everything else was decomposed.

7. A house consisting of three round rooms, a cooking annexe and a passage; 7×3 m.

Houses 4—7 lie in a row, about 7 m above sea-level.

Of these houses at any rate six are of the earliest type, whereas one, No. 3, may be a little later. The shape of the houses and the state of preservation both characterize this settlement as one of the oldest on the coast.

6. Ũmánaq Region.

As to hunting and ice, Christian states that ice never forms outside of Ũmánaq, so that the kayak can be used for hunting all the year round. Up the fjord smooth ice hunting was profitable, but hunting at the breathing holes was also practised; the ice often formed before Christmas in the narrow arms. There were many fjord seals; in the winter-ice season there were many bladder-noses, whilst in autumn the speckled seals often came ashore there, so that they could be stalked. There was salmon in the fjord. Sledge trails led both to Akorninarmiut and on to Igdlularssuk (over the glacier behind Cape Moltke), and to Tingmiarmiut.

Of the three settlements at Ũmánaq itself Ítuvssâlik and Qeqertâraq were on small islands and Alángoq on Ũmánaq Island. Itugssalik at any rate is known to have been inhabited in recent times¹⁾.

Through Mr. Hedegaard the National Museum has received a number of objects from Ũmánaq, collected by Greenlanders. Most of them, however, are quite recent, presumably from the close of the 19th century, displaying typical Angmagssalik culture. Of older objects there are only a blade of polished angmaq with a tang and broken point, and a small pendant, made out of an irregularly shaped, domed piece of bell metal.

Some objects received as a gift from the Norwegian hunter H. Rudi

¹⁾ Medd. om Grønland 9, p. 190.

show that the place was inhabited in the 19th century: a knife with a wooden haft and an iron blade, fragments of lamps, a mitten-drying hook of wood, a hearth for fire drilling, three dolls of the Angmagssalik type.

64. West of Qutsigsormiut.

In a valley behind Mount Bikuben are a fairly recent, four-sided house and the remains of four other very old houses, all in a row; two seem to be older than the other two.

7. Akorninarmiut Region.

67. Inugssuarmiut.

Here are the ruins of the house in which Christian's enemy, the shaman Kunigssarfik, with all his family, 22 people in all, died of starvation in 1896, the same winter when Christian himself almost died of hunger at Anoritoq.

68. Qôrnoq.

Here, too, people have perished from hunger. Graah writes: "On a point, called Kornouk, we found two dilapidated Greenland houses, in which were a large number of skulls and skeletons of human beings, and close by were a number of graves, all except two empty and uncovered. Without doubt the unhappy inhabitants of this place have all perished from hunger during a severe winter"¹).

Queen Marie's Valley.

At this magnificent spot, lying at the head of Skjoldunge Fjord, there are no house ruins but a number of tent rings, a curious sleeping shelter under a large boulder, and a grave. At this place, called Eqalungmiut by the Greenlanders, all the population of the district used to gather for salmon fishing in former days. When Graah was there he saw 30 Greenland tents with 200 to 250 people, who spent their time fishing for salmon and settling old disputes by means of the drum dance²). There is a very good find from this locality, received as a gift from the Norwegian hunter G. K. Knoph:

Under the boulder which had been arranged as a sleeping shelter the following objects were found in a small wooden bowl: a whale-bone foreshaft of an Ituartit harpoon, slightly curved, 8.5 cm long, slightly flat at the rear, with two holes; a single-edged, pointed iron knife blade with tang and two rivet holes, one with an iron rivet in it; a flint scraper

¹) Graah, p. 112.

²) l. c., p. 109.

blade with a convex edge; a bone spoon, of which the bowl passes imperceptibly into the handle, which terminates in a round, pierced disk; 5 drop pendants of bone, the two longest measuring 4.2 and 3.3 cm and at the bottom pointed, whilst at the top is a head, whereas the others terminate at the top in a small unilateral point; 2 small flat beads of mussel shell (diameter 0.4 cm); a peculiar ornament of walrus ivory (Type: Helge Larsen Pl. 7. 1); a lump of bell metal; 2 thin strips of tin with small holes in each end; a miniature needle case of the winged type; 3 toy lamps, one with a wick ledge; 2 toy cooking pots.



Fig. 17. The settlement at Ruinnæsset; the large ruin is seen on the right.

If all these objects form one find (the particulars of the finding are not quite definite), it is presumably from the 17th or 18th century. It is interesting to see mussel beads here, as in Greenland they have otherwise only been found at Kangerdlugssuaq, more to the north on the east coast¹).

69. Ruinnæsset.

Of all the localities on the whole of the coast this spot, a point of land far up on the north side of Nordre Skjoldunge Fjord, has been most thoroughly examined in an archaeological respect and has given the largest find of objects, in all 329 specimens.

Knud Rasmussen discovered the settlement on Ruinnæsset in 1931 and was immediately struck by the peculiar character of the great

¹) Mathiasen, Kangerdlugssuaq, Pl. 1. 36.

house complex; he and his companions commenced to excavate it, and the work was completed in 1932, when we stayed a week at the spot; the large complex and the two detached houses were excavated, and also 10 graves were examined.

Near the head of North Skjoldunge Fjord (Akorninap kangerdlua) a wide spit juts out from the north side; it is fairly flat, consisting of native rock partly covered with shingle. In the middle of the spit is a rather swampy plain, and there is the large ruin complex, according to Wittrup Hansen's survey 32 m above sea-level, with a distance from

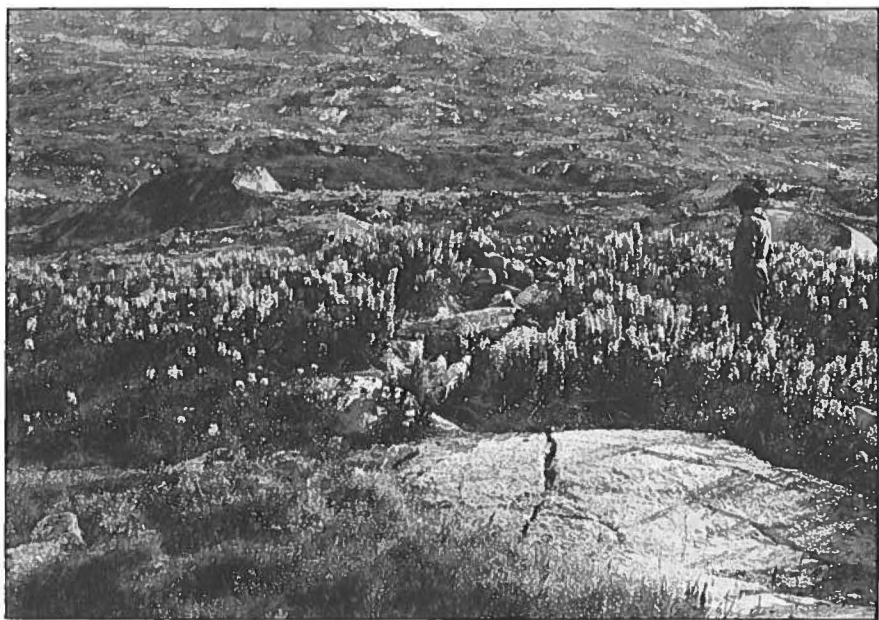


Fig. 18. The large complex on Ruinnæsset, overgrown with rose-bay.

the sea to the west of 160 m, to ESE 216 m. Prior to excavation the complex was thickly overgrown with a fine growth of red rose-bay (*Chamaenerium latifolium*). In appearance it was a confused complex of rooms of various sizes, very un-Eskimo to the eye and causing one to think involuntarily of a Norse house; this in fact was Knud Rasmussen's first idea.

During the course of the excavations it gradually appeared that the complex was of the form shown in Fig. 20. On the SSW side is a large, four-sided house, House I, $8 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ m, which, by the building of two transversal walls, has been reduced to 3.65 in length; a well-preserved passage, 5 m long, leads into this room from the SW. This last room to be inhabited, A, has regularly built stone walls; the two side walls distinctly appear younger than the back and front walls, as the joins



Fig. 19. Ruinnæsset, House I B.

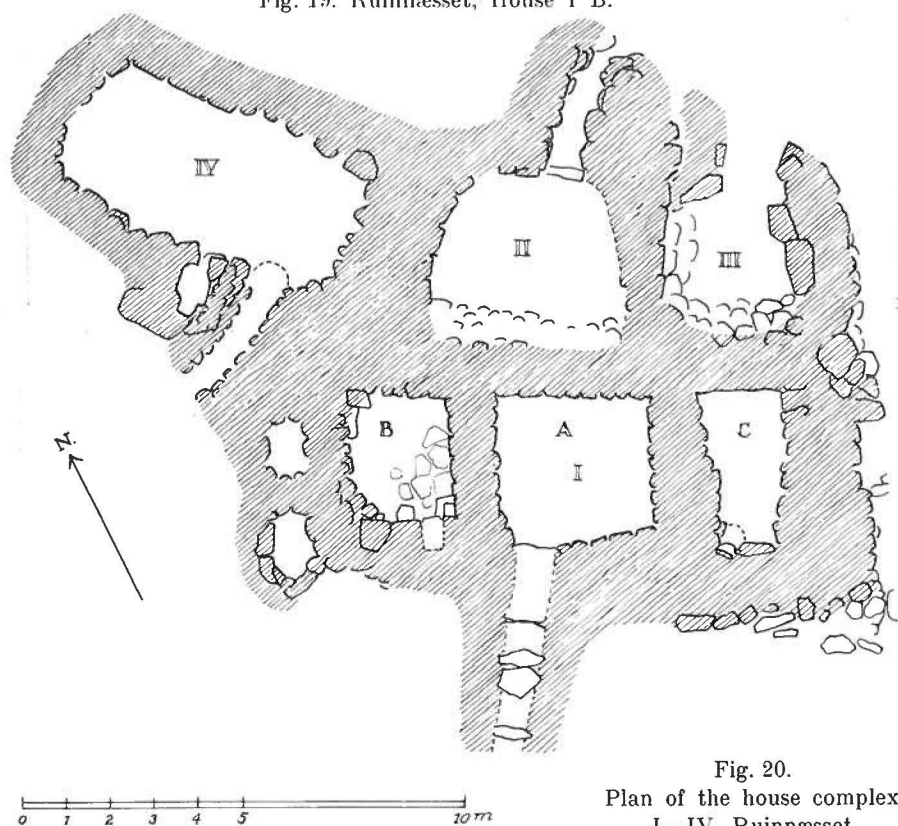


Fig. 20.
Plan of the house complex
I—IV, Ruinnæsset.

with them are not particularly good. Back and side walls are 1.3 m high, the east wall is as much as 1.6 m, and the front wall 1 m. There was a paved floor throughout most of the house.

Rooms B and C have become "blind" through the building of the transversal walls; their walls are lower, from a half to 1 m in height, more collapsed than those of the main room. B's southern half has a paved floor and a lot of grease, and in under the SW wall is a niche 80 cm deep, 45 cm high and 40 cm wide.

Thus in every respect House I is a typical Eskimo dwelling of the large, four-sided 18th century type. This also appears from the objects found:

A slender harpoon head, slightly flat, with one broad dorsal spur and two barbs. The butt end of a bladder-dart head (Fig. 21. 4) of whale bone, with three holes and terminating in a truncated cone with a distinct shoulder. The butt end of a heavy bird-dart head with screw tang. 3 sinkers of soapstone, one (Fig. 22. 1) oval, another oval, slightly flat, drilled lengthwise, the third a fragment with a central hole. 4 whetstones, one red, soft, possibly used for colouring. A hammer stone. A thong smoother made of a split bone 14 cm long, with 4 holes. A boot creaser of seal fibula, with a sharp oblique edge and a pierced head. A fusiform sinew-thread twister of typical Angmagssalik shape (Thalbitzer 1914, Fig. 242a). A lamp fragment, a cooking-pot fragment, 5 indeterminate soapstone sherds. A spoon of seal scapula and an oval, broken spoon bowl. A drop pendant and a small toggle of ivory; an unfinished cylindrical soapstone bead. An ajagaq of a hollow seal bone (Fig. 22. 6) of the same shape as that found at Angmagssalik¹). A wooden doll, without arms, defective, sexless. A seal jawbone with part of the teeth drilled away. 4 sherds of a brown, glazed earthenware dish. There are also several unidentifiable, worked pieces of bone and a quantity of bones: seal, bear, dog.

In front of the passage to House I was a rather thin (10—20 cm) but rich midden deposit with a quantity of bones and mussels; an area 5 × 3 m was excavated, and it yielded:

A harpoon head, very flat, with two spurs and broken point: a fragment of a thin harpoon head. A fragment of a heavy bladder-dart head with two rings of barbs (Fig. 21. 5). An unfinished sinker of soapstone; a broken fish-hook with inserted bone point (Fig. 21. 10); the broken lower end of a bone point for a fish hook, with 4 facets²). A piece of narrow sledge shoeing. A knife handle of whale bone with blade socket in the end. A fragment of a cooking pot and 14 other soapstone sherds. An ornamental bodkin with head and hair-tuft (Fig. 21. 23). A bodkin

¹) Angmagssalik, Pl. 8. 17.

²) l. c., Pl. 5. 38.



Fig. 21. Specimens from Ruinnæset, Skjoldungen. 1 : 2.

of seal fibula (Fig. 22. 3). Five drop pendants, three of bone and two of soapstone (Fig. 21. 27-28). A cylindrical soapstone bead. A toy harpoon head, flat, with one spur, bladeless and barbless. 2 toy cooking pots. 2 pieces of edge-mounting for wooden dishes. 3 drilled seal jaws. 4 glass beads, three of them small, blue, and one large, black. 27 worked pieces of bone (no whale bone).

The most remarkable feature of this complex is, however, that two other houses were built up against the back wall of House I, namely Houses II and III, whose passages run the opposite way.

House II has more collapsed walls than House I, but the shape is distinct enough. It is a four-sided house, at the back 4.5 m long, 3.3 m wide, with rather curved, converging side walls and a passage, rather

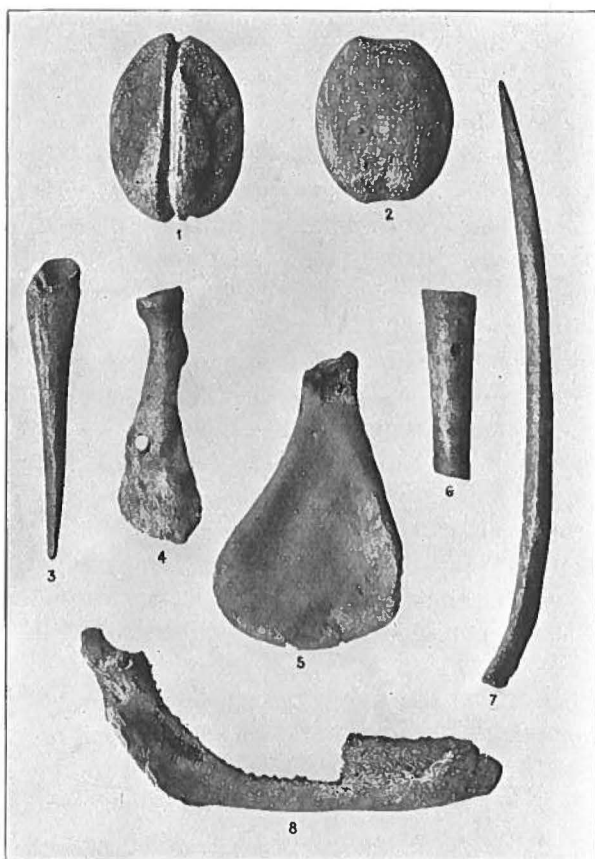


Fig. 22. Specimens from Ruinnæset, Skjoldungen. 1: 3.

curved, $2\frac{1}{2}$ m long. The west wall was stone set, 70 cm high, the east wall 1 m high. The house stood on a gravel bottom. Large stones had been used in the building of the passage, the inner end of which lay 15 cm lower than the house floor. Thus all in all it is a typical Eskimo house of the same type as No. I, but smaller.

Of artefacts it yielded: a harpoon head of bone, thin, bladeless and barbless, possibly a salmon harpoon head, as the line hole is very small (Fig. 21. 1). A wedge, of whale bone. A segment-shaped toy lamp without wick ledge. A drilled seal jaw.

House III is a very irregular, four-sided room with rather collapsed stone walls. The east side is formed of two very large stones and several smaller ones and has a maximum height of 70 cm; the south wall is over 1 m high. The door-opening, which faces NE, is very wide, but apparently has once been narrower, as a stone set on end shows; now it is only $1\frac{1}{2}$ m long and the gravel bottom at the inner end is at the same level as the house floor, and outwards it runs gently upwards. Just to the west of the entrance the floor was slightly sooted (lamp place?).

Of artefacts this house contained only a small blue glass bead lying right on the gravel bottom; there were also some bones, mainly seal.

House IV lies just to the NW of the complex I—III, with which it shares the SW wall. It is a large oblong house with very collapsed walls, 6.7×2.9 m, with a sunken passage 3 m long and a kitchen extension with a fireplace made of three stones set on edge, full of slag, just NW of the entrance to the passage. There were only few paving flags in the house, otherwise gravel.

This house contained: a fragmentary whetstone, a cooking pot sherd and 5 other soapstone sherds; a piece of a long, white china bead. A few seal bones and a single mussel shell.

Southwest of IV and NW of I are two small, rounded, stone-set ruins, presumably meat caches or kennels for pups.

In and round about this complex were also found: a whetstone; a hammer stone; a soapstone sinker (Fig. 21. 12); another soapstone sinker, long, 6.5 cm, four-sided subangular in section and hollow at the top; 2 cooking pot sherds, 2 other soapstone sherds; an ajagaq of seal radius (Fig. 22. 4).

About 25 m SW of the end of the passage of House I A lies House ruin V, a four-sided house, 5×3.8 m with a passage $5\frac{1}{2}$ m long running SW. The house was badly collapsed and overgrown. The platform was formed partly of a rounded rock surface, the floor was paved; the SE end had been shortened by the building of a wall across, reducing the total length to $3\frac{1}{2}$ m. The bottom of the passage was of native rock; several roof stones were in position.

This house and the midden in front of it contained the following specimens:

A harpoon head of whale bone, slightly flat, with two barbs and the blade slit parallel with the line hole; very defective. A fragment of a swivel (Fig. 21. 6). A fragment of a bone point for a fish-hook. A segment-shaped end mounting for a kayak paddle. A fragment of a lamp (without wick ledge), a cooking-pot sherd and four other soapstone sherds; 3 bodkins of seal bone, a spoon of seal bone, a meat fork; 2 small toggles, a pierced tooth of bear molar, a drop pendant of soapstone, a cylindrical

bone bead; an ajagaq of seal radius, a bone disk from a spinning top; a bear tooth with a hole in it; 3 drilled seal mandibles; a large piece of whale bone, six other worked pieces of bone; a dog's jawbone, with two holes at the back; a large blue glass bead.

House VI lies some distance (3—400 m) NNW of the rest of the settlement, about 10 m above sea-level. It was a four-sided house, $5\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ m, with well-preserved stone walls over 1 m high, a paved floor and a passage 5 m long running SW. On each side of the passage in the front wall there seems to have been a window, and on a level with them, towards the ends of the house, niches in the wall. In front of the house was a midden, 20—30 cm thick, with a quantity of bones: seal, white whale, bear, dog, a few mussels.

This house and its midden contained a quantity of specimens: 6



Fig. 23. Hammer stone. Ruinnæset. 1 : 4.

harpoon heads; one is thin, with the blade parallel with the line hole (Inugsuk Type); 2 are flat, no separate blade, of seal bone (Fig. 21. 2), just like the Angmagssalik harpoon heads; 3 are flat, unfinished, with two spurs — one of them bifurcated (Fig. 21. 3). A fragment of a flat mounting for the fore end of the harpoon shaft; a fragment of a tension piece of a harpoon line; a small plug for a bladder mouthpiece (Fig. 21. 7). A wound pin with a hole (Fig. 21. 8); two fragmentary neck-pieces for towing gear, one with a seal-tail ornament. 4 side prongs for a bird dart, all with inside barbs. 2 leister prongs (Fig. 21. 9); 3 barbs for fish-hooks, of the familiar Angmagssalik type¹) (Fig. 21. 11). 6 sinkers for fish-hooks; two are large, one, resembling Fig. 22. 1, and Fig. 22. 2, which is of gneiss, have a notch in the ends; 4 are smaller, of soapstone, with a longitudinal groove; a trout needle (?). 13 fragments of sledge shoes, of bone (no whale bone), about $2\frac{1}{2}$ cm wide (Fig. 21. 13). 2 trace buckles (Fig. 21. 17). A rounded end-mounting for a kayak paddle; a kayak-harpoon rest of bone (Fig. 21. 16). 2 small knives with metal blade; one has a wooden handle and a very small iron blade, the other

¹) Angmagssalik, Pl. 5. 40-41.

has a handle of seal bone and a very thin, oblique blade of brass (Fig. 21. 20-21). 2 whetstones; 4 hammer stones, one of which, of diabase, is large, handsome, with finger-grips in the edges and sides, and with hammered facets in both ends (Fig. 23). 3 wedges of seal bone (Fig. 21. 22). 4 drill mouthpieces of seal astragalus (Fig. 21. 18). An arm of a two-armed ulo. 2 lamps, rather narrow, segment-shaped, without wick ledge; one seems to have been about 32×13 cm, but both are slightly defective; a small fragment of a lamp. 4 cooking pot sherds; 20 indeterminable soapstone sherds. 2 fragments of rounded wooden dishes

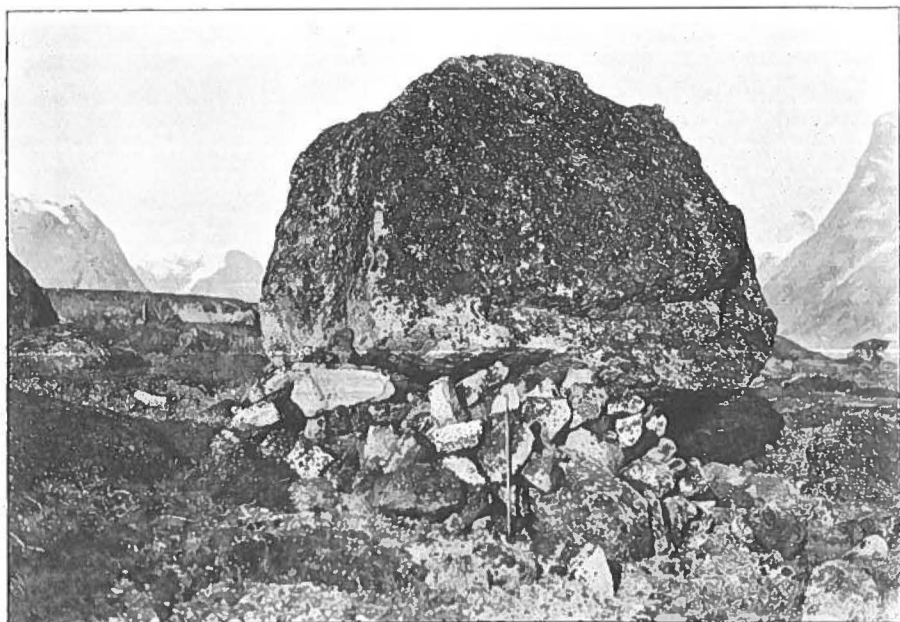


Fig. 24. Ruinnæsset, Grave 2.

with a flat bottom; a spoon of seal scapula (Fig. 22. 5); 3 meat forks of seal rib (Fig. 22. 7). 5 pendants of seal phalange (Fig. 21. 24); an ornamental bodkin with a head, but no hair tuft; a pierced tooth and 5 other drilled teeth; a fragment of a bead of calcareous spar; 2 oval bone ferrules, with a hole running from the side out to the end. 2 ajagaqs of seal radius and one of penis bone. A doll, female, without arms, sexual features prominent. Of toys: a bird dart side prong (Fig. 21. 29); an unfinished, flat harpoon head; 3 leister prongs; a gull hook with central hole; a sledge of drilled dog's jaw¹); 5 lamps, all without wick ledge (Fig. 21. 25); 2 cooking pots (Fig. 21. 26). Furthermore, 9 pieces of curved bone mounting for wooded vessels (Fig. 21. 30); 31 pieces of

¹) Angmagssalik, p. 100.

other mountings; a thong toggle¹). 18 seal jaws, from which a length of the teeth had been drilled away (Fig. 22. 8) (similar specimens were found in the other houses, as stated); the piece drilled off has apparently had some purpose or other, but I am unable to say what. Of European objects: 4 small pieces of iron; a number of sherds of a large, brown-glazed earthenware dish; 43 glass beads, including two large opalescent (Fig. 21. 31), 6 large black, 8 medium white porcelain beads, 3 large, long, light blue, 5 large, cylindrical (2 red, 2 white, 1 blue), 12 smaller blue; 2 black glass buttons with iron eye (Fig. 21. 32). A quantity of bone refuse, a few flakes of slate, asbestos, rose quartz, etc.

In the terrain round about the ruins were 32 graves; many of them were found to be situated by the side of or under the many large stones or boulders strewn about the ground. Ten of these graves were



Fig. 25. Cooking pot. Grave 4, Ruinnæsset.

examined, and 23 skeletons were taken from them. Some of the graves shall be described:

Grave 1. Just behind the large house complex. Placed by the side of a large boulder. The interior measured 1.69×0.60 m; it contained 3 skeletons in a fair state of preservation, one skull at one end, another at the other. In the grave were a wooden stick and two white china beads of exactly the same kind as the one found in House IV. Outside, covered with stones, lay two pieces of wood, one a piece of a bowl. Inserted between the cover stones was a small four-sided whetstone of red slate (Fig. 21. 19).

Grave 2. Lies under an enormous boulder (Fig. 24) not far from Grave 1. Stones were piled up on the outside to seal the grave. It contained three fairly recent-looking skulls.

Grave 4. Just SW of the large complex, not far from the beach. A well-built grave, running SSE—NNW, and measuring 1.40×0.55 . The west side was formed of the solid rock. Part of the cover stones had been removed. It contained 2 skulls (but 3 jaw bones), all in the north end. At the north end a small covered chamber had been built, and in it were: the cooking pot Fig. 25, 23 cm long, with a baleen cord in one

¹) Angmagssalik, Pl. 6. 34.

hole; a small, segment-shaped lamp, 12.5×7 cm; an oval cup with wooden bottom and decomposed baleen sides. Under a large boulder just by the side were: a bow-drill mouthpiece of seal astragalus, 3 fragments of oval bowl bottoms of wood; 2 fragments of hollowed-out wooden dishes, one with a baleen cord; a thin drilled-off piece of whale bone with two rows of holes; a short piece of barrel stave.

Grave 5. A little to the N of Grave 4. Well built, undisturbed, orientated E—W. The north side was of the native rock. 1.10×0.50 m. 3 skeletons with the heads to the west. A fire-drilling stick was the only burial furniture.

Grave 15. A little N of House V, on a sloping rock surface, 1.60×60 cm, orientated NE—SW. 5 skulls lying in the middle of the grave, which had been disturbed somewhat. It contained only a toy lamp.

Grave 28. A little to the NW of House VI. Lay up against a large boulder. 1.50×0.50 cm, NE—SW, with 2 skeletons, the heads to the NE. Near the NE end in the grave were two buttons for the cord of a kayak frock and two small bone buckles, each with 2 holes (Fig. 21. 14-15).

A tent foundation and a fox trap were also seen on the point.

Thus there is no doubt that Ruinnæset has had an Eskimo settlement of considerable dimensions; 6 house ruins and 32 graves is no small settlement for the east coast. Nor is there any doubt about the period: It is exactly the same culture as we find at Angmagssalik in the 18th century; there is nothing at all that does not fit in with that culture. The Eskimo settlement on Ruinnæset seems to have belonged entirely to the 18th century.

The only thing remarkable about the locality is the complex I—III with the two houses built with their rear wall in community with a third one and with their passages running in the opposite direction. This latter feature, however, is not at all unique, not even on this coast, where we find it at the settlement in Auarqat's south fjord; there, however, the houses are not built together. Another curious feature is the distance of the complex from the sea and the height above the water level. At Angmagssalik, however, I saw a house even higher¹⁾.

Taken separately, Houses I and II are typical Eskimo dwellings, but this cannot be said of III, which in the east wall had two large stones, larger than Eskimos usually employ, and which had a passage that was not actually a sunken one. This, however, may be due to the stones having been removed, after which the gravel has collapsed into it. As stated, a glass bead was found right down on the gravel bottom. Accordingly, I see no urgent reason for assuming that this complex was originally erected by Norsemen who wintered on the east coast,

¹⁾ Angmagssalik, p. 46.

and later has been rebuilt by Eskimos. On the other hand the possibility cannot be dismissed entirely; the lay-out is rather unusual.

After the excavation we allowed the whole complex to remain uncovered, without taking the floor stones up and pulling down the walls; thereafter we erected a cairn with the inscription: "Fredet Mindesmærke. Nationalmuseet, København, ved Knud Rasmussen" in order that this interesting structure may be preserved for posterity.



Fig. 26. Memorial cairn, Ruinnæsset.

70. Itivdlerssûp akia.

On a point on the north side of Nordre Skjoldungefjord and about 6 m above sea level is an oblong ruin, 6.3×3 m, well preserved; at the east end it has an extension 6 m long, an earlier house with very low, overgrown walls. On the east side of the house are 3 disturbed graves and on the west side one grave. It was said that the population here died of starvation. There were found: 4 wound plugs, the bottom and 5 staves of a wooden tub, a very large barrel stave, and an ajagaq of a hollow bone.

71. Qeqertarmiut.

On a small island in the sound just outside Imarsivik lie four house ruins, two of which, 3—4 m above sea-level, are so overgrown and flattened out that the shape cannot be indicated; they are fairly small, 3—4 m in diameter, and probably are of the earliest type; in the midden in front of them the bones were fully decomposed.

The other two houses are later, four-sided, but still of great age, 4 and 5—6 m long respectively. In one was a whetstone.

72. Tinuteqissâq.

Two of the houses here are quite recent, one used about the year 1910, the other by Nikodemus in 1926. The other three are all of the small, four-sided type.



Fig. 27. Nûgârfik, Graah's winter quarters.

73. Nûgârfik.

This point on the south side of Imarsivik island was Graah's winter quarters¹⁾. On the rather uneven terrain lie 3 house ruins, two of which are fairly recent (the locality was inhabited in 1885 and about 1900); these two lie some way up the slope, 4 and 10 m respectively above sea-level. Right down by the beach lies a small, earlier house, four-sided, 4 × 3 m, with a stone floor and a passage running right out on to the beach. It yielded: An ice pick of whale bone, 2 sledge shoe fragments, a hammer stone, a wedge, 2 cooking-pot sherds, a pierced tooth, three narrow strips of baleen, a piece of iron, and 2 pieces of rock crystal. The house seems to date from the 17th or beginning of the 18th century.

¹⁾ Graah, p. 111; M. o. G. 9, p. 197.

8. Igdlularssuk Region.

Our knowledge of this region, which seems to have been more densely populated than any on the whole coast, is especially due to Knud Rasmussen who, together with Christian, has inspected most of these settlements in 1932.

75. Orqua.

Christian lived here as a child, and he remembers it as a most agreeable place with plenty of food. Summer was spent at Qeqertarssuaq, where they dried the meat of bladder-nose, bearded and fjord seals. Gulls were caught with the gull hook, eiders with the bird dart in moulting time. Black guillemots were stabbed on the nest and guillemots were caught in large numbers with the bird dart in autumn. In winter they hunted seal on the ice and used the same harpoons as at Angmagssalik; bear hunting was also best there in winter.

Christian could remember many appetising dishes from this place: crowberries preserved with blubber, stone-crop and Archangelica; Qajulât: blood pudding thinned with natural blubber oil; raw, slightly sour blood with seaweed; seaweed leaves dipped in boiling seal soup; raw and boiled mussels and shrimps; raw sea-urchin; sea scorpion and tom cod.

At Orqua there are now eight house ruins in three groups. One of these is a small, very overgrown, probably square house about $4\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ m, situated about 15 m above sea. Three houses belong to the older oblong type and are respectively 7.7 and 9 m long, situated about 15–30 m above sea level. Four houses are quite recent, three of them having been inhabited within Christian's memory; their elevation is from 12 to 30 m.

Besides the house ruins there are many other remains at Orqua: More than 10 graves, 14 tent rings, 30 meat caches, 4 umiaq supports and two fox traps.

76. Kangitdlorajik.

Four houses, all rather old, square, with lengths from 5 to 7 m and elevations above sea level from 15 to 20 m. In addition there are 8 tent rings.

77. Najugtût.

This habitation is situated in a small protected cove at the south side of Cape Moltke. There are two small, square, old houses, $4\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ and 4×5 m, situated about 10 m above sea level, besides 7 tent rings, 8 meat caches and some play structures.

78. Kitdlarajik.

Seven metres above sea is a small, rounded-square ruin, $3 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ m, very overgrown, and two large oblong houses, $5 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ and



Fig. 28. Christian Poulsen, the last of the south East Greenlanders, doing a drum dance.
H. Wittrup Hansen phot.

$7 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ m, are situated 20 m above sea level. Besides there are one tent ring, three graves and two meat caches.

79. Qeqertarssuaq.

Here is a very old, round house ruin and a recent house, inhabited in the nineties.

80. Siorartussoq.

At this place is one of each of the four main types of house ruins. The old, round house is 3 m in diameter; two old, square ruins

are $5 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ and $4\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ m; and a newer house is $11\frac{1}{2}$ m long; all are situated 20—25 m above sea level. Besides there are 7 tent rings, 5 meat caches and several graves.

81. Qeqertaq.

This, the largest and oldest village site in the entire Igdluarssuk district, is a small, grass-clad island, about twenty metres high, situated at the mouth of Bernstorff Fjord, one of the most important population centres of the East Coast of Greenland. Altogether there are 12 house ruins at Qeqertaq; 9 of these belong to the old, round type, with diameters from three to five metres; three are square, with lengths from 5 to 10 m. Their height above sea level is mostly from three to seven metres; three are, however, from 12 to 15 m above. The directions of the entrance passages are very varying: South: two; West: four; Northwest: one; North: three; North-east: one.

Besides the house ruins Qeqertaq has three large grave complexes with about 15 skeletons, three meat caches, a tent ring, two umiaq supports and some play structures.

82. Itsit.

One very old, round house, three metres in diameter, a large, new house and a grave.

83. Imertit.

At this important village site, also situated at the mouth of Bernstorff Fjord, there are four very old, round houses, three to four metres in diameter, and six large, oblong houses, lengths from six to twelve metres, three of them being rather new; all the houses are from three to five metres above sea level. Of other remains there are 11 tent rings, 5—6 meat caches and umiaq supports.

84. Ikârsârfik.

Two old houses, one round and one square, both about five metres long; height above sea level four metres.

85. Qimisâ.

This village, the third in importance in this region, is situated on a very rugged island, and this is responsible for the very often unusual situation of the houses; most of them are situated at heights from 40 to 60 m and often on very inaccessible rocks. Qimisâ contain 11 houses; four are of the old, round type with diameters of three or four metres; four old, square houses are of the same size, while three oblong houses are from 5 to 7 m long. At Qimisâ there were 15 graves.

86. Íkátormiut.

Only one recent ruin, six metres long.

87. Sagdliaruseq.

Only one recent house, inhabited in the eighties.

88. Anorardluarssik.

Two square houses, one small, old, $5 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ m, and a newer one, $10\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ m, both 25 m above sea level; 5 tent rings and 4 large meat caches.

89. Qíngortôq.

One old, round house, three metres in diameter, situated 20 m above sea level, and a new house, in which Christian has dwelt. The place contained 4 tent rings, 10 graves, 11 meat caches, a fox trap and umiaq supports.

90. Ítuvssálik.

A small, square, old ruin, 4×4 m, and a recent one, inhabited in Christian's time, both about ten metres above sea.

9. Umívik Region.

At Patsajuk in 1931 Knud Rasmussen met Nikodemus of Angmagssalik, who had established himself there for the winter. He related the following of the hunting chances in that district: Bearded seals were there all the year round, most in July—September; this also applied to fjord seals; spotted seals occurred sporadically; the bladder-nose migration arrives about June and is usually well out to sea. Narwhal and walrus are rare; bears are mostly caught in winter. The water never freezes over off Patsajuk, but higher up, where the ice forms in January, rarely before, and then it usually remains till May or June.

In the period from 22nd June to 9th September Nikodemus' group, which consisted of three grown men and one woman, using kayaks, caught 33 large and 125 small seals.

The Umívik region has often been populated by Eskimos from Angmagssalik in recent years¹⁾; they come down especially for the purpose of catching bearded seals, which are so important for the supply of thongs, boot soles and boat skins.

10. Píkiutdleq.

The only settlement visited in this region by members of the Expedition is Aqitsoq, where there are two large, four-sided houses, one new, one older. Angmagssaliks often winter in this district too¹⁾.

¹⁾ Angmagssalik, p. 130.

The largest settlement seems to be Nunârssuk on Sneedorff Island, where Graah saw 6 old houses and in a grave two small wooden dolls, scarcely very old¹⁾. The place was inhabited in 1931—32.

11. Inigssâlik.

As stated, this region comes in under the Angmagssalik district; quite a number of places are or have been constantly inhabited²⁾; the most regular settlement is Isortoq.

¹⁾ Graah, p. 101 and figure.

²⁾ Angmagssalik, p. 130.

IV. OBSERVATIONS ON THE SETTLEMENT HISTORY

1. The Earliest Settlement.

The earliest house ruins on this coast are small, round, dug down into the ground, with poorly-built walls, paved floor, sunken passage and often a cooking extension; sometimes two or three of these houses are built together, making the complex clover-leaf shaped.

Ruins of such houses were excavated at Narssaq, Lindenows Fjord, Auarqat's South Fjord, Tingmiarmiut and Itsarnisarmiut, and they have definitely been seen at Sermitsiarmiut, possibly at a number of other places too; without close inspection these houses are difficult to distinguish from thickly overgrown houses of the next type, the small, four-sided one. Of houses placed to this type there were seen 55, distributed over 23 settlements. It will be remarked that most of these houses — 43 — are in large settlements, this indeed applying to all houses which with certainty can be placed to this type. As a matter of fact this corresponds exactly to the conditions at Angmagssalik and on the southern west coast, where the houses of the earliest type are mostly to be found in large settlements¹).

There are not many artefacts to assist in judging of the culture in these earliest houses; those that were found in the excavated ruins of this type are:

A whetstone, a chopping block of a whale vertebra, 3 cooking pot sherds, a soapstone bead, 2 toy cooking pots, 3 indeterminable soapstone sherds, a pointed seal bone, two strips of baleen, a large piece of whale bone, a bear tooth, a lump of chrysoprase and some seal bones.

These finds do not say much; still, we see that there has been some whaling, that there are no glass beads, and that all the types found belong to the culture which we find in houses of the same type at Angmagssalik and on the southern part of the west coast, the Inugsuk Culture. At both these places this is the earliest culture to be found.

¹) Kangâmiut, p. 56; Angmagssalik, p. 61.

Thus there is every reason for assuming that the earliest houses on Frederik VI's Coast are contemporaneous with the earliest houses in Angmagssalik, and on the southern west coast, i.e. from the close of the 14th century or the beginning of the 15th, and this form of house has continued in use till into the middle of the 17th century.

Then is there no possibility that there may have been a still earlier settlement on this coast? We cannot quite dismiss the possibility. There is the strange story of Torgils Orrabeinsfostre who, while wintering on the east coast (where, it is impossible to say) fell in with two "troll women" who were flensing a whale; he hewed the hand off one of them, whereupon they fled. If there is anything in this saga these must have been the remnants of the population whose traces were seen by the first Norse immigrants to South Greenland, who must then have gone round to the east coast. Thus it is not entirely out of the question that the very earliest houses — those at Sermitsiarmit and Itsarnisarmit, whence we have no finds to determine the period — may date so far back. The probability is not great, however. At both Angmagssalik and on the southern west coast houses have been excavated of exactly the same type and state of preservation, and they always seem to contain objects that are later than the Norse settlement, dating from the 14th—15th century. It is thus very probable that the same is the case with the houses on Frederik VI's Coast, and therefore Torgils' "troll women" must be relegated to the realms of fantasy; the account of them, by the way, was not written down until about 400 years after the event is supposed to have taken place, so that it does not seem to be an absolutely reliable historical document.

2. The 17th—18th Century.

A total of 60 small and 77 large houses have been seen on this coast, presumably dating from the 17th—18th century. By this time the houses are distinctly four-sided, first small, of a construction similar to the earlier ones, but with more solidly built walls; later, in the 18th century, we have the large common houses, which seem to have been introduced by a migration from the west coast, which reached as far as Angmagssalik in the early part of the 18th century¹).

The Eskimo settlement spread rapidly in this time; houses thought to belong to that period have been seen at 51 settlements. We know of a similar dispersion of the population out to many small settlements, both at Angmagssalik and on the southern west coast.

The finds provide quite a good picture of the culture in that period. The earlier houses of the period are presumably Narssaq Nos. 8—9 and

¹) Angmagssalik, p. 107.

Tingmiarmiut Nos. 1—3, and the find from Queen Marie's Valley; the later houses include those excavated in Stendalen, Igdlukulik, Narssaq Nos. 4—6, Igutsat, Anoritôq and Ruinnæset.

The culture of the period is particularly well displayed by the considerable find from Ruinnæset. It reveals precisely the same culture as at Angmagssalik in the 18th century: Derived from the contemporaneous Southwest Greenland culture, but with a special southeast coast stamp, characterized by types such as the curious harpoon heads (Fig. 21. 2), wound pins with a hole (Fig. 21. 8), lashed-on barbs of fish-hooks (Fig. 21. 11), bow-drill mouthpieces of seal astragalus (Fig. 21. 18), pendants of seal phalange (Fig. 21. 24), and ajagaqs of hollow seal bones (Fig. 22. 6). This find is given an especial character by the many drilled seal jaws.

3. The 19th Century.

We know of 56 houses on this coast that have been inhabited in the 19th century or later; they lie distributed over 39 settlements, i.e. very widely scattered; the largest number at one place is 4, at Orqua.

Now we have arrived at the time when Graah in 1829—30 performed his voyage up along this coast, as far up as to Dannebrog Island in the Pikiutdleq Region. His sole predecessor on this coast, Peder Olsen Walløe, in 1752 did not get much more to the north than Lindenows Fjord, but nevertheless was in contact with the East Greenlanders and saw that they were not the fearful cannibals which rumour on the west coast made them out to be.

According to Graah, 536 Greenlanders lived on this coast in the summer of 1829¹). They were distributed as follows: Narssaq (Lindenows Fjord) 20, Ivimiut (at Iluileq) 12, Tâterait (at Auarqat) 20, Ukiusorfik (at Anoritôq) 50, Manitsôq (Tingmiarmiut Region) 8, Kinarfik 14 and Griffenfeld Island 9 (both in Ūmánaq Region), Anarnitsôq 20 and an island near Ūmánarssuk 38 (both in Akorninarmiut Region), Qeqertarssuaq 75 and Qimisâ 90 (both in Igdlularssuk Region), and Aluik (Umîvik Region) 130; and 20 were away on journeys.

Even while Graah sojourned on the coast 50 or 60 of these Greenlanders left for the west coast, attracted by the trading posts, and that movement continued in intensity during the following years. According to the parish records of Frederiksdal — which was the most southerly mission station on the west coast — 248 East Greenlanders were baptized there prior to 1828, and other 130 in the years 1829—33, and of these most did not go back again²). The immigration thereupon decreased and ebbed away entirely in 1836; in 1848, when Pamiagdhluk was

¹) Graah, p. 118.

²) Grønland II, p. 606.

established, and in 1859, some small groups again came round to the west coast. In 1884, when Holm visited the coast, the number of inhabitants had shrunk to 135¹⁾. And finally, in 1900 the last South-Easters, 38 in number, moved round to the most southerly part of the west coast, where one of them, Christian, still live at Frederiksdal.

The coast nowadays is visited occasionally by Greenlanders from Angmagssalik, who winter there in order to catch bearded seals, and accordingly it is of great importance to the colony there²⁾. Lindenows Fjord is often visited by sealers from the southern west coast. But there is no doubt that Frederik VI's Coast would be able to provide sustenance for a fairly large number of Greenlanders if they could rely upon one or two bases with stores or depots, in order to escape the famines which time after time have worked havoc on the population along this inhospitable coast.

¹⁾ Holm & Hansen.

²⁾ Angmagssalik, p. 127.

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