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THE SCORESBY SOUND COMMITTEE'S 2ND EAST GREENLAND
EXPEDITION IN 1932 TO KING CHRISTIAN IX'S LAND

LEADER: EJNAR MIKKELSEN

ESKIMO FINDS FROM THE
KANGERDLUGSSUAQ REGION

BY

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WITH 4 FIGURES IN THE TEXT AND 2 PLATES

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PREFACE

Due to its isolation the region round about Kangerdlugssuak, the large fjord almost midway between Angmagssalik and Scoresby Sound, occupies a very interesting position from the point of view of culture. Large trackless stretches separate it from the neighbouring areas on both sides; it lies north of the regions of which the Angmagssalik Eskimos had any knowledge when, in 1884, Gustav Holm visited Angmagssalik, and a very long uninviting coast almost without traces of Eskimo habitations separates it from Scoresby Sound. No one has ever fallen in with living Eskimos in this fjord; the only earlier expedition to come into the region, Amdrup's in 1900, found nothing but ancient traces of Eskimo habitations; the collection of specimens which Amdrup brought home (from Skærgaardshalvø), was described by Thalbitzer in 1909.

On the second East Greenland Expedition in charge of Ejnar Mikkelsen, sent out by the Scoresby Sound Committee in 1932, the archaeological work was entrusted to the zoologist, Dr. M. Degerbøl, who had acquired contact with Eskimo archaeology through his many identifications of animal bones from old Eskimo settlements in the past. Dr. Degerbøl himself will describe the localities and the ruins in a paper in this series. In the present paper only the specimens will be dealt with. In addition to a description of them, an attempt will be made to determine the cultural position of the region on the basis of these finds and the earlier material from there.

The *material* is of bone, stone and wood, as well as a little metal (iron, bell metal) and mussel shell. The bone material is mainly narwhal and walrus ivory, as well as whale bone; occasionally various bones of the seal have been employed, and also animal teeth (principally bear, seal and dog); in addition, there is a little baleen, although this material has only exceptionally been preserved.

Without exception the wood is driftwood (Siberian conifer). The only material which necessarily must have been brought in from the outside is the metal.

[illegible]

	Mikis Fjord								Kangerdlugssuaq					Total	Andrup's Finds
	House 1	House 2a	House 2b	House 3	House 4	House 5	Grave	Scatt. Finds	House 1	House 2	Grave 1	Grave 2	Scatt. Finds		
Harpoon wing	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..
Line tension piece	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Harpoon swivel	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..
Ituartit harpoon head	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Leister prong(?)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
Sledge shoe	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	3	..
Knife handle, end blade ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1 ²	1	..	..	..	..	2	2
Knife, blade groove on side	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..
Knife blade, single-edged, slate	2	8	..	1	3	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	15	1
Knife blade, two-edged, slate	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..
Adze blade	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..
Whetstone	..	6	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	9	..
Drill	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..
Drill bit-holder	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Drill bit, slate	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..
Drill mouthpiece	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3
Chisel with iron blade	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Ulo handle	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Ulo blade, slate	1	4	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	1
Scraper, narwhal jaw	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..
Boot creaser, with eye	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	4	1
Needle case	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	1
Sewing needle	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	2	..
Thimble holder	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3
Bodkin	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..
Lamp	..	1	..	3	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..
Cooking pot	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Coopered vessel	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	1
Wooden ladle	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	2	..
Meat fork	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Blubber carrier	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2
Snow beater(?)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..
Comb	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Trinket box	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..
Ornamental bodkins	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	12	..	..	15	12
Chain ornament	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	4	2
Drop pendant	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	..
Stone beads	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	13	..	1	17	..
Mussel beads	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	87	..	..	87	..
Pierced teeth	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	62	..	..	65	53
Pierced bear teeth	1	7	..	2	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	13	1
Oval ornaments	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	4	..
Large cylindrical beads ...	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Metal bead	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..

	Mikis Fjord								Kangerdlugssuaq					Total	Andrup's Finds
	House 1	House 2a	House 2b	House 3	House 4	House 5	Grave	Scatt. Finds	House 1	House 2	Grave 1	Grave 2	Scatt. Finds		
Bladder-skin bag.....	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Ajagaq, seal penis bone...	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..
Ajagaq stick.....	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Wooden doll.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..
Toy sledge.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	1
Toy leister.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..
Toy lamp, wick ledge....	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
— no wick ledge..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..
Toy cooking pot.....	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Toy leister harpoon head..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Toy ulo blade.....	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..
Bone mounting.....	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	3	..
Drilled and carved bone..	..	8	..	3	..	1	..	..	..	..	5	..	2	19	1
Amdrup's find also contained:															
Harpoon head, thin, bladeless	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Wound pin.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Toggle for harpoon bladder	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Ulo with two arms.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Oval baleen bowl.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Small toggle.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1

The Woman's Grave at Kangerdlugssuaq.

Two graves were examined on a point behind Skærgaardshalvø. One of them (grave 1), a large and well-built woman's grave, yielded one of the largest and best grave finds yet made in Greenland. This find, which has its value in the fact that it belonged to one and the same person and thus forms a complete whole, will first be described collectively.

As will be seen from the list, the find contains 199 worked specimens, or more than half of the total finds made. These objects are either women's tools and ornaments or household utensils, and most of them are in a very good state of preservation, as is often the case with grave goods which have lain in a relatively dry place. The greater part of this grave find is illustrated on Pl. 1 and Figs. 1—2.

Among the *tools* there is first and foremost a handsome needle case of the winged type (Pl. 1. 18), in which were two sewing needles (Pl. 1. 19); the needle case is of walrus ivory, without ornamentation and having a cylindrical cavity. Both needles are of walrus ivory, very thin, four-sided; one is 3.2 cm long and has a very small, round eye; the other is broken at the eye.

Whereas needle cases of this type are common everywhere in Greenland's early culture, this is the first time bone sewing needles have been found in Greenland, even if we know that they have been used¹⁾; small fragile objects like this are only rarely preserved. From the Central Eskimo Thule Culture, however, we know of several bone sewing needles, and some of them, from Southampton Island²⁾, are of exactly the same shape as these, of walrus ivory, four-sided, with a small round eye.

Another working implement is a large, round bodkin of walrus ivory (Pl. 1. 1); similar specimens are contained in the Inugsuk find³⁾.

Pl. 1. 20 is a small implement of walrus ivory which at the top has a ring and at the bottom a sharp transverse edge; another specimen (Pl. 1. 21) is slightly smaller and has a pair of knobs on the side of the shank. A third specimen (Pl. 1. 17) lacks the ring but has the transverse edge. There is an exactly similar specimen with the ring in Amdrup's find from Skærgaardshalvø⁴⁾, an implement which Thalbitzer has described as a boot creaser for crimping kamik soles, an interpretation that undoubtedly is correct. From house ruin 2 in Mikis Fjord there is a similar creaser with the ring; this is a type that has not been found in other regions, whereas other forms of boot creasers are well known in Greenland from both ancient and modern times.

A small whetstone with a fracture at both ends is of sandstone and polished on all four sides.

Of *household utensils* this grave find contained two handsome, well-preserved wooden vessels. Fig. 1a is a small tub (water pail or urine tub); it consists of an oval wooden bottom, 13.5×11 cm, and five staves up to 18 cm high, held together by a hoop of baleen; the staves had fallen apart but it has been possible to reassemble them in the Museum laboratory, although two of the staves and the hoop are rather defective. Two staves run up into handles, each pierced by two holes, presumably for a cord of baleen. The sides of the tub have a distinct curve outwards. The bottom has been split lengthwise, but lashed together, as there are two holes connected by a groove.

This tub is exactly like the one found by Amdrup on Skærgaardshalvø⁵⁾; here, again, we have the very curved sides, and the grooves running round the middle show that it has been held together by a hoop. Like the former specimen, this has not the bone mounting for holding the staves together, such as that used on the modern Angmagssalik vessels, a feature that is also missing from the earlier coopered vessels

1) Birket-Smith, 1924, p. 109.

2) Mathiassen, 1927, I, Pl. 69. 9-10.

3) Mathiassen, 1930, Pl. 14. 12.

4) Thalbitzer, 1909, Fig. 20.

5) Ibid., Fig. 27.

from that district¹⁾, and the same applies to most of the vessels in the West Greenland Inugsuk Culture; the only complete tub known from there was held together by two hoops of baleen²⁾; by the way, it has handles like the present one and a short length of baleen cord.

Fig. 1b is a dipper of wood, almost spherical, with a loose circular bottom and a separately inserted handle of wood, pierced by a hole; a piece is missing and the specimen has been repaired with sinew thread. The diameter of the dipper is about 11 cm. Fragments of wooden dippers are not uncommon in old Greenland finds, but we know of no other specimen exactly like the present one.

Most of the objects in the grave find, however, are *ornaments*; the



Fig. 1. Tub and dipper; grave in Kangerdlugssuaq.

buried woman has had a rich store of handsomely-made trinkets of various kinds.

Of ornamental bodkins we have twelve (Pl. 1. 2-12 and 16), with lengths from 6.2 to 11.3 cm. Seven of them are decorated with transversal grooves, although one has only one; of these specimens, five have a projecting eye, whereas two have holes drilled through one end; all are rather thick and cylindrical. Two are of exactly the same shape, with an eye at the top but with no grooves. One is merely a flat splinter of bone, and two are flat, terminating at the top in human busts, one with a woman's hair tuft. From house 3 in Mikis Fjord there are two ornamental bodkins, each with four grooves and an eye.

The ornamental bodkin has its exact counterpart in Amdrup's

¹⁾ Mathiasen, 1933, p. 94.

²⁾ Ibid., 1930, Fig. 30.

³⁾ Thalbitzer, 1909, Fig. 18.

find from Skærgaardshalvø; otherwise they are known in the West Greenland Inugsuk Culture, with both grooves and busts¹).

The wooden box, Fig. 2, contained the following trinkets: three chain ornaments, each with three links and a single link of one of these; a swivel; two drop pendants; three small, oval bone buttons; a large number of beads, viz. seven of calcareous spar, three of black slate, one of serpentine, two of reddish slate, one of metal, and eighty-seven of mussel shell.

The box, which is 24 cm long and 3.6 cm wide, is hollowed out of wood and has a lid which has been fastened on along one side by two hinges, apparently cords passing through pairs of holes, and a clasp on the middle of one side, presumably also consisting of a cord.

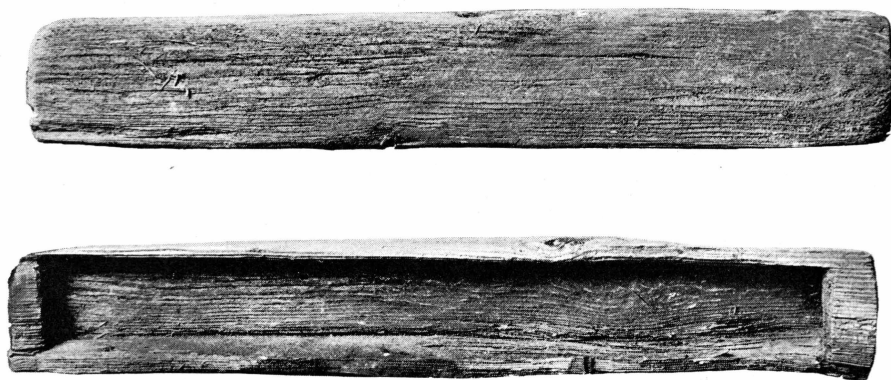


Fig. 2. Trinket box; grave in Kangerdlugssuaq.

Of the chain ornaments one (Pl. 1. 13) consists of a round centrepiece drilled from the end out to the side, to which two bead pendants are hooked on. The other two (Pl. 1. 14-15), the links of which are partly separated from one another but whose appearance clearly indicates how they have belonged to each other, are of a somewhat different kind. They consist of an upper cylindrical link with a hole from the side out through the end and a loop at the other, in which the centrepiece, which is cylindrical and has a loop at both ends, is hooked; the third and last piece is hung on the latter. These ornaments are all carved out of one piece of walrus ivory.

Both types of chain ornaments occur in Amdrup's find²), and the first type occurs in exactly the same form in the West Greenland Inugsuk Culture³), at Qeqertarmiut strangely enough also in a woman's trinket

¹) Mathiassen, 1930, Pl. 14. 14-15, and 1931, Pl. 6. 1-2.

²) Thalbitzer, 1909, Fig. 31.

³) Mathiassen, 1930, Pl. 18. 11, and 1931, Pl. 4. 8.

box; the other type, however, has not been found in West Greenland, whereas the Central Eskimo Naujan find has a rather similar specimen¹).

The swivel (Pl. 1. 30) is a surprising item in a woman's trinket box; presumably it has been made for practical use but has been found suitable as a drop pendant. Of the other two drop pendants, one (Pl. 1. 35) is of lime, a little polished and having a hole from the side to the end. The other is of ivory and consists of a stalk with a hole in it and a lower end which is oval; inserted in this end is a small piece of patinated metal (bell metal?). From house 2 in Mikis Fjord there is a large drop pendant of calcareous spar (Pl. 2. 16).

A small ornament not known from any other locality is shown on Pl. 1. 31, a small oval plate of walrus ivory, domed on one side, flat on the other, and with holes through the edges of the broad side. There are three of these in this grave find, and a similar one was recovered from house 2 in Mikis Fjord.

Of the beads of calcareous spar, six are well polished and are exactly like dull glass beads (Pl. 1. 22); one is more rough, as is also a bead from house 2 in Mikis Fjord. We have a similar crude bead of this mineral from Inugsuk²); these beads are not otherwise known.

Half of a round bead (Pl. 1. 32) is of an almost black, fairly hard slate, and the same material has been employed for two rather flat, circular beads (Pl. 1. 25), a type very familiar in Northeast Greenland³), both from Scoresby Sound and farther north; there is a similar flat bead from house 1 in Mikis Fjord. Two beads of red slate (Pl. 1. 27) are of the same shape, as also one of serpentine (Pl. 1. 26), and one of grey metal (Pl. 1. 23), apparently bell metal. It is strange to find 84 beads (apart from three fragments) made of mussel shell, small, white circular disks (some of them shown on Pl. 1. 36); this is the first time this element has been found in the Eskimo Culture.

Besides the ornaments in the box, the grave contained 62 pierced teeth, as well as five small unidentifiable pieces of bone, an unworked dog tooth, two small fragments of teeth, and four small caudal vertebrae of seal.

Of these teeth two, each of which has two holes through it, are dog canines (Pl. 1. 34), and two are the canines of the bladder-nose seal (Pl. 1. 33) (*Cystophora cristata*); all the other 58 are bear teeth and have apparently been threaded on a necklace as shown on Pl. 1. 37.

¹) Mathiasen, 1927, I, Pl. 33. 1.

²) Ibid., 1930, Pl. 18. 1.

³) Ryder, Fig. 39 d; Thomsen, Pl. VII. s.

Dr. Degerbøl, who has identified these teeth, writes regarding them:

Of *polar bear* the following teeth have been employed:

- 1) Lateral left incisor of *upper jaw*, (i3):9, several rather small.
- 2) — right — — — (i3):9, — — —
- 3) Next lateral left incisor of — (i2):6, — — —
- 4) — — right — - — (i2):6, — — —
- 5) Innermost left — - — (i1):1.
- 6) — right — - — (i1):2.

Of the *lower jaw*:

- 7) Outer, right incisor (i3):7.
- 8) — left — (i3):5.
- 9) Next lateral right incisor (i2):3.
- 10) — — left — (i2):5.
- 11) Innermost right — (i1):2.
- 12) — left — (i1):2.
- 13) Back left premolar (p4):1.

It will be seen from the foregoing that only those teeth have been chosen that have a single root: incisors and canines, and, curiously enough, a single lower back premolar of polar bear. As a rule this tooth has two separate roots, but on this specimen they are fused together into one, with a longitudinal groove at the point of fusion.

It is obvious that a certain symmetry has been aimed at, as of each type there has been an effort to get the same number from the two sides of the jaw, right and left. This has been done for the outermost and next incisors in the upper jaw. Of the innermost upper incisor, however, there are two from the right side, but only one from the left; this, apparently, has been remedied by inserting the single-rooted lower premolar, a tooth which otherwise is not represented on account of its two roots. Nor has the symmetry been strictly kept as regards the lower jaw teeth, as there are seven right lateral incisors but only five left. This, however, is balanced by the fact that of the next outermost there are only three from the right side but five from the left. Thus these two teeth have been considered to be the same, so that there are ten from each side.

The teeth are bored from side to side in the tip of the root. This work has not been done with the same drill, as the diameter of the holes varies from 1.6 to 4.2 mm. Some of the specimens distinctly show that the holes have been drilled from both sides. Besides the usual hole, an extra one has been drilled in a next-outermost, left upper incisor, in an oblique direction down to the other hole from one side, where there are two holes. On an outermost left incisor from the lower jaw there is a similar hole, but unfinished.

It may be of interest to underline that the necklace is formed of the teeth of polar bears, the biggest game of these regions, and not, for instance, of dog-teeth.

In addition the find contains two dog canines, left and right of upper jaw. On both the crown is so damaged that the pulp cavity can be seen. On both the root is drilled with two holes.

Two canines of the bladder-nose seal have also been used. Like all those referred to above, one is drilled from side to side through the root; the other is drilled from the middle of the root end out to one side.

M. Degerbøl.

In Amdrup's collection¹⁾ there is a very similar necklace consisting of 53 teeth. Two houses in Mikis Fjord yielded drilled seal-teeth.

The Child's Grave at Kangerdlugssuaq.

In the same locality was a child's grave which, in addition to a piece of curved bone mounting, and a doubtful snow beater of wood, contained two interesting specimens: a toy leister and a toy sledge.

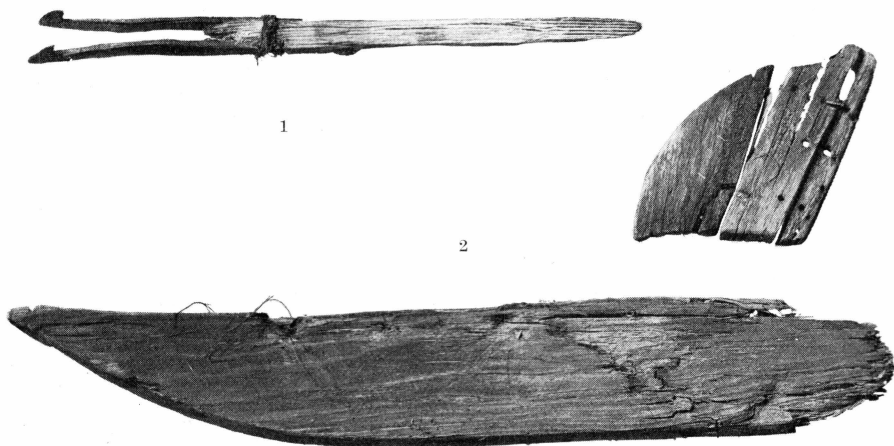


Fig. 3. Find from child's grave, Kangerdlugssuaq.

The leister (Fig. 3. 1) is a piece of wood 16 cm long, having at one end two prongs of baleen, about 9 cm long, each with a barb and lashed on with baleen cord. Baleen prongs with barbs are fairly common, also miniatures, in the West Greenland Inugsuk Culture²⁾.

Only the two runners and upstanders are left of the sledge, which is badly decomposed (Fig. 3. 2); the runners have a maximum length of 30 cm, are 5 cm high and 1.2 cm thick; the noses are only slightly

¹⁾ Thalbitzer, 1909, Fig. 34.

²⁾ Mathiasen, 1930, Pl. 19. 14 and 21. 17-18.

turned up; a piece of whale bone shoeing is 23 cm long and 2 cm wide. The upstanders are of the broad Angmagssalik type. Hitherto these broad upstanders have never been found north of the Angmagssalik district, but the distribution of the holes on the toy sledge found by Amstrup on Skærgaardshalvø would seem to indicate that it has also had similar broad upstanders¹).

The Grave Find from Mikis Fjord.

A grave which lay alongside house ruin 1 had only one object as grave goods, the harpoon head Pl. 2. 1. It is of whale bone and of the Inugsuk type: thin, with closed socket and the blade parallel with the line hole. As it is now, the socket is open, but it has been closed by a lashed-on piece which is now missing. The bone blade is large, with two holes and two points like barbs at the rear corners.

The Other Finds.

The remaining finds, which do not form a complete whole as do the grave finds, will be described together, and only those types which are of particular interest and not referred to in the foregoing will be specially dealt with. They consist of specimens taken from six houses in Mikis Fjord and two in Kangerdlugssuaq, as well as various scattered finds from these two localities. The list shows what types and how many of each were found.

Of the *harpoon heads*, three belong to the Inugsuk type, one with a bone blade, whereas one (Pl. 2. 2) is of the type which very closely approaches it, almost round, with two spurs and a large blade of bone.

The only *harpoon foreshaft* (Pl. 2. 8) is of the earlier type with one hole and an only indistinct tenon in the butt. Of *ferrules* for the fore end of the harpoon shaft we have a cylindrical one, 3.5 cm long, of narwhal ivory, and a rather slender one, longer, with a stepped scarf face at the rear (Pl. 2. 4). Both types occurred at Inugsuk²). It should be observed in respect of the latter type that similar ferrules with a stepped scarf face were found at Dunholm³), just south of Scoresby Sound; the present specimen, however, is so slender that it has more probably been used on a bladder dart.

It is interesting to find here the broad *harpoon wing* (Pl. 2. 5) that we have from the earlier culture in Angmagssalik and whose distribution I discussed there⁴); it is the same wide, oval form that we see here in both specimens; the one not illustrated is slightly smaller, 9.4 cm long.

¹) Thalbitzer, 1909, Fig. 17.

²) Mathiassen, 1930, Pl. 6. 6-7.

³) Thalbitzer, 1909, Fig. 45.

⁴) Mathiassen, 1933, p. 77.

The line tension piece is 5.9 cm long and has four holes, one of which is very small.

A handsome and curious specimen is the *Ituartit harpoon head* (Pl. 2. 7). It is a foreshaft of narwhal ivory, with a short tenon at the butt and two holes, and a small iron blade in the fore end. In a slot near the fore end a bone toggle 9.5 cm long can turn about a bone pivot; when this toggle is set in prolongation of the shaft it offers no resistance when the harpoon penetrates the animal, but when it is to be withdrawn the lower corner of the toggle catches on, the toggle turns and lies across in the hole. This is another system than that of the usual Ituartit harpoon, where it is the harpoon head itself that turns and holds the animal¹⁾. In the eighteenth-century find from Angmagssalik we have two small fragments of Ituartit harpoon heads with a similar device²⁾, which has not been found elsewhere. This handsome, well-preserved specimen, which was found in house ruin 2 in Mikis Fjord, is unique.

Of *leister harpoon heads* we have two specimens, both characterised by the fact that they have been fastened to a line ending in a knot which rested in the wider orifice of the line hole. One specimen (Pl. 2. 3) is almost round, without a separate blade and with two line holes; it also has a hole running transversally. The other is 4.8 cm long, also without a separate blade, but with only one line hole; a toy specimen has two spurs and one hole. A similar specimen was found by Amdrup³⁾ and there is one from the West Greenland Inugsuk Culture⁴⁾.

Of *sledge shoes* the collection contains only small fragments, of whale bone.

Pl. 2. 9 is an uncommonly fine specimen of a *knife handle*, found in house 3, Mikis Fjord. It is of narwhal ivory and consists of a hand grip with four indentations for the fingers, and a long, thin part for the blade held on by a bone rivet and having in one edge a narrow groove, presumably for a row of flakes of iron, which are missing.

The type is well-known both from the West Greenland Inugsuk Culture and the earliest culture in Angmagssalik⁵⁾. Another specimen from the same house is a loose end piece for the blade with a groove in the side, ending at the rear in a pointed flat tenon with a rivet hole. On the other hand it is doubtful whether a third specimen with indentations for the fingers has had a side groove or a blade in the end, as it is very defective. Exactly similar knife handles with finger grips are

¹⁾ There is a similar specimen in Amdrup's find from Skærgaardshalvø; see Thalbitzer, 1909, Fig. 7.

²⁾ Mathiasen, 1933, p. 79.

³⁾ Thalbitzer, 1909, Fig. 3.

⁴⁾ Mathiasen, 1930, Pl. 5. 20.

⁵⁾ Mathiasen, 1933, pp. 52—53.

included in Amdrup's find¹⁾; their wide blade socket might well indicate that they have had a blade part of bone. One knife handle with a blade socket in the end is formed of the lower end of the radius of a large seal. It is only 8.8 cm long.

Knife blades of slate are present in rather large numbers, mostly fragmentary; the majority are single-edged, and ground. Of the complete specimens the largest (Pl. 2. 6) is 11 cm long, pointed, and has a tang, whereas another, which is also pointed, is 10.6 cm long and rounded at the butt end.

The *whetstones* are of slate, mostly irregular in shape.

In house 3 at Mikis Fjord four complete *bow-drills* were found, all of narwhal ivory with an iron bit; on all the specimens the end nearest the bit is slightly thickened, this thickness being limited upwards by a shoulder; round the middle one has a groove for the thong of the bow; the bits are of various thicknesses; the lengths are from 13.8 to 20.5 cm. Two specimens are shown on Pl. 2. 10-11.

The only mouthpiece in the collection is of seal astragalus, like the two found by Amdrup²⁾ and the only one occurring in the earliest Angmagssalik Culture³⁾.

The *adze* blades are of dark slate; the two finished specimens are roughly made, only slightly ground at the edge; one is only 4.6 cm long, the other (Pl. 2. 14) 7.1 cm; three others are only unfinished specimens.

Pl. 2. 12 is a small piece of iron like a *chisel* inserted in a handle of seal bone; it may have been used as a hand drill.

Of *ulos* there is a handle (Pl. 2. 18) of bone with a piece of the broken slate blade held in place by a lashing of sinew thread, and also two trapeziform slate blades (the largest 7.5 × 6.3 cm), as well as several fragments. A miniature specimen, presumably a toy, 3.9 × 3.0 cm, is of the same shape and has a hole in the top for the lashing.

Pl. 2. 15 is a *scraper*, formed of a four-sided piece of a narwhal lower jaw, the thick bent edge forming the handle, whereas the thin part has been sharpened into an edge, so that the tool can be used for scraping fat from a skin, etc. Another specimen is of exactly the same shape and size, and there is also a fragment of a third one. These scrapers of narwhal lower jaw are not known from any other locality.

A *thimble holder*, 3 cm long, is of the same form as those found by Amdrup⁴⁾.

Of the *lamps* three are of the usual segment shape, whereas two are

¹⁾ Thalbitzer, 1909, Fig. 29.

²⁾ Thalbitzer 1909, fig. 47.

³⁾ Mathiassen 1933, p. 53.

⁴⁾ Thalbitzer 1909, fig. 22.

thick, hollowed limestone slabs used as lamps. Fig. 4 is a small lamp of soapstone, 24×14 cm, fairly deep; there are drilled holes in both ends and in both front and back edges, so that it has been intended for suspension; as this would be unfeasible in the case of a lamp — the cords would burn — it has probably been used as a cooking pot; the thick crust of food remnants on the inside and the soot on the outside in fact confirm this; nevertheless, its use as a pot is certainly secondary.

A large segment-shaped lamp, rather flat, 37×19 cm, was found in house 2b, whilst half of a very thick-walled lamp, segment shaped,

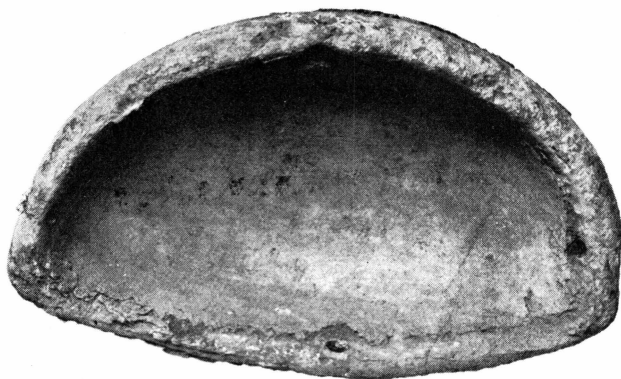


Fig. 4. Lamp; house 3, Mikis Fjord.

20 cm wide, was found in house 3, both in Mikis Fjord; they are of soapstone and have no wick ledge.

Of *cooking pots* only the bottom of a large, rounded vessel was found, in house 3 in Mikis Fjord.

A wooden *dipper*, with handle and bowl all in one piece, is very decomposed and defective.

The *meat fork* is a stick of bone, 20.2 cm long, slender, slightly curved.

A rather curved stick of wood, $31\frac{1}{2}$ cm long, pointed at one end and having several notches in the side, is probably a *blubber carrier*.

The *comb* is of whale bone, rather wide, with nine teeth, but badly decomposed and defective, so that its shape cannot be seen.

A large number of *pierced bear teeth* came from the houses in Mikis Fjord.

Pl. 2. 17 is a large *bead* or similar object, of narwhal ivory, with a cylindrical hole in it. From house 2 in Kangerdlugssuaq there is a rather flat soapstone bead, 2.1 cm in diameter.

Besides the *ornamental bodkins* already referred to, house 1 in Kangerdlugssuaq produced a rounded three-sided stick of walrus ivory,

slightly curved, 9.5 cm long, having at one end a human head with a flat face as well as two holes; the other end is broken.

A small *bag* of bladder skin contains a brownish-mauve substance, identified by the botanist J. Grøntved, M. Sc., as *Ustilago vinosa*, a fungus which is a parasite on the pollen of *Oxyria digyna*. Presumably it has been used as a dye.

All the *Ajagaqs* belong to the Inugsuk Culture's well-known type of seal penis bone (Pl. 2. 13); the *ajagaq* stick is a pointed stick of bone, 12.2 cm long, slightly curved, with two notches at the middle.

Of *toys* various objects have already been mentioned, including leister harpoon heads and ulo blades; there are also three lamps, one of which, slightly defective, has a wick ledge (Pl. 2. 19); the other two are rather small, and one of them, 5.3×2.9 cm, has a projection on the inside of the rear edge for a handle, a feature which recurs on a large lamp in the National Museum, recently presented by the colony manager Mr. H. Høegh of Scoresby Sound and taken from a house ruin in that fjord complex. The third toy lamp measures 5.3×3.2 cm.

Several pieces of bone split or cut over by drilling shows that this technique has been well developed in these localities as everywhere in the old Greenland culture.

CULTURAL POSITION

What culture is it we find represented in these finds from the Kangerdlugssuaq district? Or is it one culture at all? Is it not possible to distinguish between earlier and later stages? As will be gathered from the description of the ruins their state of preservation seems to indicate a marked difference in their ages, a feature that is also reflected in the settlement on Skærgaardshalvø, according to Amdrup's description of it¹).

As regards the finds, it must be said at once that the impression they leave is an extremely homogeneous one, that they all seem to belong to the same culture period. The types are the same as those yielded by the various localities and also by Skærgaardshalvø. We need merely point to: the Inugsuk harpoon heads dominating everywhere; the leister harpoon heads; the knife handles with notches for the fingers; the boot creaser with an eye; the winged needle case; the thimble holder; the same form of coopered vessel; the ornamental bodkins; the very characteristic chain-link ornaments; the tooth beads; the toy sledges. In every respect the similarity is very great, even down to the smallest details. The large grave find (No. 1) is obviously contemporaneous with the find (or finds) from women's graves in Amdrup's collection; and of course the two finding places are quite close to one another. Accordingly, as our first result we must say that *all the objects from Kangerdlugssuaq and Mikis Fjord belong to the same culture* and thus would seem to date from a rather limited period of time.

Then where do we find parallels to this culture? There can be no doubt as to the answer: the *Inugsuk Culture*, as we know it from the Inugsuk find in the district of Upernivik, in the earliest settlements of the Kangâmiut area and in the earliest settlements of the Angmagssalik district. I have repeatedly drawn attention to the fact that the Skærgaardshalvø find is closely associated with the Inugsuk Culture²), and the additional material from there has merely served to consolidate that association.

The majority of the types are already familiar to us from the West

¹) Amdrup, p. 312.

²) Mathiassen 1930, p. 282. Mathiassen 1931, p. 126.

Greenland Inugsuk Culture: All the types of harpoon heads (here again the Inugsuk type dominating), harpoon blades, foreshafts and mountings, tension piece and swivel, Ituartit harpoon, leister prongs, sledge shoes, knives with end blade and with blade groove, knife and ulo blades, adze blades, whetstones, bow drills, also with a separate bit-holder or foreshaft, drill bits of slate, ulo handle without arms, the winged needle case, thimble holder, bodkin, coopered vessel, wooden ladle, meat fork, blubber carrier¹), snow beater, comb, trinket box, ornamental bodkins, chain-link ornament, drop pendants, stone beads (also of calcareous spar), pierced teeth, pierced bear teeth, bladder-skin bag, ajagaq of seal penis bone, ajagaq stick, wooden doll, toy lamps with wick ledge, toy cooking pots, toy weapons of baleen, wound needle, toggle for harpoon bladder, oval baleen bowl and the small toggle. Many of these types recur in the earliest culture layer in Angmagssalik, which also contains the following types: Broad harpoon wing, bow-drill mouthpiece of seal astragalus, and the lamp without a wick ledge; the wick ledge is disappearing, as it also does gradually in Northeast Greenland. The sewing needle of bone of course has also been known in the Inugsuk Culture, but these fragile little objects have not hitherto been found in it; they are known in quite the same form in the Central Thule Culture, from which the Inugsuk Culture emanated. The small chisel with an iron point can scarcely be called a type, but a specimen brought about by the acquisition of a suitable piece of iron.

Three types: the Ituartit harpoon head with the reversible toggle, the wide sledge upstanders and the ulo with two arms, are known neither from the Inugsuk Culture nor from the earliest culture in Angmagssalik, whereas they do occur in the 17th-18th century culture at the latter place, and thus *might* indicate a later connection with the Angmagssalik district²).

There remain four types that occur neither in the Inugsuk Culture nor in the later Angmagssalik Culture: Scraper of narwhal jaw, boot creaser with a ring, mussel beads and the small oval ornaments. These are types which in exactly their present form have not been met with elsewhere, but are peculiar to the Kangerdlugssuaq district and show that a local development, if very faint, has commenced there.

As an important negative feature it should be observed that none of the forms peculiar to Northeast Greenland have reached Kangerdlugssuaq.

In the Prehistory of the Angmagssalik Eskimos (p. 62) I expressed the opinion with regard to the Skærgaardshalvø find that the two-

¹) Discovered in 1933 in Disko Bay.

²) Mathiassen 1933, p. 61.

armed ulo had already made its appearance in Angmagssalik's earliest culture period, even if it has not been found in it. Now that in addition to this element we also find the Ituartit harpoon head with the toggle and the wide sledge upstanders, which were also absent until the later Angmagssalik Culture, I consider it more natural to explain its occurrence at Kangerdlugssuaq as the result of a later influence from Angmagssalik. These types have scarcely originated in Angmagssalik before the migration passed on northwards, as then we would have found them in Northeast Greenland too.

Whereas the great majority of the types which we now know from the Kangerdlugssuaq region originate in the old Inugsuk Culture, and thus must presumably have come to the region with the first immigrants, there are seven later types — of which three came from Angmagssalik and four have been developed in Kangerdlugssuaq itself. Cannot the distribution of these newer types in the various houses and graves tell us anything about their relative ages? The newer types from Angmagssalik were found in Grave 2 at Kangerdlugssuaq, House 2b in Mikis Fjord and in the Skærgaardshalvø find; the special new forms came from Mikis Fjord, houses 2a, 2b, 3 and 4, Kangerdlugssuaq graves 1 and 2, and Skærgaardshalvø. We see that these various types were found evenly distributed over the different localities; nothing can be deduced from the fact that they did not occur for instance in house 1 in Mikis Fjord and the houses in Kangerdlugssuaq, as the objects from there are few in number, and, judging from its state of preservation, house 1 in Mikis Fjord must be one of the newer houses. Thus we cannot distinguish any definite age difference between the finds from the various localities. This confirms what was said in the foregoing: that the finds give a very homogeneous impression.

With this the history of the Kangerdlugssuaq Eskimos becomes clear: They have come from the south with the migration which, presumably in the latter part of the fourteenth century, carried the first Eskimo population to Angmagssalik¹⁾ from the southern part of the west coast round about Cape Farewell, the migration that continued up along the east coast and conveyed many of the types of the Inugsuk Culture to Northeast Greenland. After the Inugsuk Eskimos reached Angmagssalik and settled in that area, the migration continued northwards to Kangerdlugssuaq, and from there still farther towards the north; some of these people remained at Kangerdlugssuaq, however, for the special forms they developed there were *not* taken on to Northeast Greenland, so that they must have been developed after the emigrants had gone to the north and intercourse with the north was broken off.

¹⁾ Amdrup, p. 311.

Communication southwards, with Angmagssalik, has only been very intermittent; only three of the later Angmagssalik types have got up here, and the intercourse was unable to make any impression upon the main character of the culture. The immigration which I presume brought the large common houses to Angmagssalik somewhere about the year 1700 has stretched its influence northwards only as far as to North Aputiteq, where the most northerly of the large houses was found¹). Neither the large houses nor the other later West Greenland types have reached Kangerdlugssuaq.

The uniform character of the Kangerdlugssuaq finds thus most decidedly indicates that only *one* migration has passed through the area, that only one migration has proceeded northwards from the Angmagssalik district; the three later Angmagssalik forms that have got up here have not proceeded any further north. In support of the determination of the time of that migration it may be stated, on the one hand, that the four-sided type of house seems to have predominated, that the wick ledge on the lamps has gone almost out of use, and that the migration has taken an element so relatively late as the screw to North East Greenland; on the other hand, however, the great similarity of for instance the trinket boxes and contents at Qeqertarmiut (near Kangâmiut) and at Kangerdlugssuaq shows that these two finds cannot be so far removed from each other in time. Accordingly I am inclined to estimate the time of this migration to the latter part of the fifteenth or the early part of the sixteenth century.

At Kangerdlugssuaq a small group of Eskimos have lived an isolated life. They have scarcely been many in number, if the fewness of the ruins be taken as a criterion. They must have lived in fairly good material circumstances in that profitable hunting area; this is also indicated by the fact that they have spent time on making things of beauty: contentment often is conducive to skill at handicrafts; people are not satisfied to be as they are — they acquire a craving for ornament and for handsome implements. In this respect they can hold their own with most other Greenlanders; no other Greenland grave find contains so many ornaments as the large one from Kangerdlugssuaq.

How long did they live there, and what became of them? Of course it is hard to say how long they were there, but we are not devoid of all indications: Even though the culture may seem to have been remarkably stagnant, four special forms have been evolved. Judging by the state of preservation of the houses a considerable time seems to have passed between the earliest and the latest. There is some iron in the finds, and this may have come in with wreckage or from Angmagssalik; whichever is the case, it can scarcely have been earlier than the 17th-18th century, when whaling on a large scale began and when there also was a possi-

bility of receiving quantities of iron from the west coast. Then we have the remarkable tale related by Holm¹⁾ from Angmagssalik (1884): "An elderly man's father had once driven a sledge from north of Aputiteq to the land at Kangerdlugssuaq. There he found a house which not long before had been left by the inhabitants, who had gone off on a sledge. He lay down to sleep in the house, but as while he slept he was stabbed in the leg with a knife, he hurried back to Aputiteq, without seeing anything of the inhabitants." This event can hardly have taken place much farther back in time than about the year 1800 — if the story is to be relied upon. All in all I consider that the Kangerdlugssuaq Eskimos must have lived there about two hundred years and have only disappeared in the eighteenth century. Naturally, there is the possibility that on any such chance encounters with Angmagssaliks they may have stolen iron and an object such as the fine Ituartit harpoon; they may have seen a two-armed ulo and a sledge with wide upstanders; but this takes us out beyond scientific discussion and into romance.

How did they disappear? The human bones in the houses are eloquent enough; they died in their own neighbourhood; they cannot have migrated to Angmagssalik or Scoresby Sound. They have suffered the fate of so many small isolated groups of people: degeneration through isolation, constant inter-marriage, steady decline in numbers and finally extinction, whether by disease, meat poisoning, hunger or other cause. The case is quite analagous with the Southampton Island Eskimos in Hudson Bay and, on a somewhat larger scale, the Eskimos in Northeast Greenland and the Norsemen in South Greenland. Here certainly is substance enough for a novel, but that is not our object, which is merely to establish the fact that this small, isolated group of Eskimos has made a very important contribution to the history of the culture of East Greenland. Our knowledge of what has happened in Northeast Greenland is greatly enlarged when we have seen what took place in this little area, which has been a transit country for the migration northwards.

¹⁾ Holm, *Medd. om Grøn.* 9, p. 222.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATE 1.

Objects from the Woman's Grave in Kangerdlugssuaq.

1. Bodkin.
- 2—12. Ornamental bodkins.
- 13—15. Chain-link ornaments.
16. Ornamental bodkin.
17. Boot creaser.
18. Needle case.
19. Two sewing needles of bone.
- 20—21. Boot creasers.
22. Bead of calcareous spar.
23. Metal bead.
- 24—25. Beads of slate.
26. Bead of serpentine.
27. Three slate beads.
28. Chain link.
29. Bead pendant of walrus ivory with metal inlay.
30. Swivel.
31. Three oval ornaments.
32. Slate bead.
33. Tooth bead of bladder-nose tooth.
34. Pierced dog teeth.
35. Drop pendant of lime.
36. Mussel beads.
37. Necklace of bear teeth.

PLATE 2.

1. Harpoon head. Grave, Mikis Fjord.
2. Harpoon head. House 3, Mikis Fjord.
3. Leister harpoon head. House 1, Mikis Fjord.
4. Shaft mounting for bladder dart? House 2 b, Mikis Fjord.
5. Harpoon wing. House 1, Mikis Fjord.
6. Knife blade of slate. House 4, Mikis Fjord.
7. Ituartit harpoon head. House 2 b, Mikis Fjord.
8. Harpoon foreshaft. Kangerdlugssuaq.
9. Knife handle. House 3, Mikis Fjord.
- 10—11. Bow-drill. House 3, Mikis Fjord.
12. Chisel. House 3, Mikis Fjord.

13. Ajagaq. House 2 a, Mikis Fjord.
14. Adze blade, House 2 a, Mikis Fjord.
15. Scraper of narwhal jaw. House 2 a, Mikis Fjord.
16. Bead pendant of calcareous spar. House 2 a, Mikis Fjord.
17. Bead? House 3, Mikis Fjord.
18. Ulo handle. House 2 a, Mikis Fjord.
19. Toy lamp. House 3, Mikis Fjord.

FIGURES IN THE TEXT.

- Fig. 1. Woman's grave, Kangerdlugssuaq.
- a. Wooden tub.
 - b. Wooden dipper.
- 2. Trinket box. Woman's grave, Kangerdlugssuaq.
- 3. Child's grave, Kangerdlugssuaq.
1. Toy leister.
 2. Toy sledge.
- 4. Lamp, house 3, Mikis Fjord.
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