MEDDELELSER OM GRØNLAND
UDGIVNE AF
KOMMISSIONEN FOR VIDENSKABELIGE UNDERSØGELSER I GRØNLAND
BD. 92 · NR. 4

PREHISTORY OF THE ANGMAGSSALIK ESKIMOS

BY

THERKEL MATHIASSEN

WITH 64 FIGURES IN THE TEXT AND 11 PLATES

KØBENHAVN
C. A. REITZELS FORLAG
BIANCO LUNOS BOGTRYKKERI A/S
1933

I. INTRODUCTION

It caused a great stir in the ethnographical and geographical world when Captain Gustav Holm, Ph. D. (then Lieutenant, R. N.) while on the umiak expedition to the east coast of Greenland in 1884, discovered a hitherto unknown group of Eskimos at Angmagssalik, in lat. $65^1/_2{}^\circ$ N., a tribe that had lived its own life, entirely untouched by European civilization — or nearly so. Holm wrote an exemplary ethnographic description of this tribe in 1888, a work which must be labelled the first systematic description of an Eskimo group. In 1914 W. Thalbitzer published a large work on the Angmagssalik Eskimos, partly comprising new editions of the publications of the Holm expedition (Holm, Søren Hansen, Johannes Hansen, H. Rink), and partly a complete description of the large collections of ethnographic objects that had come from Angmagssalik in the course of time and now preserved in ethnographical museums — principally in the National Museum in Copenhagen (Ryder, Amdrup and Johan Petersen collections). In 1914 Thalbitzer, in collaboration with H. Thuren, sent out a treatise on the music of the East Greenlanders, and finally, in 1923 a large work on the language of the Angmagssaliks and their intellectual culture. And in 1921 Knud Rasmussen published a collection of legends from Angmagssalik. Accordingly, the Angmagssalik Eskimos may be said to be one of the most thoroughly studied and — scientifically — best known Eskimo groups.

On one important point concerning the Angmagssalik Eskimos great uncertainty has prevailed hitherto: their origin and prehistory. No archaeological investigations had been undertaken in the region: only few old relics, from which very little could be gleaned, had been secured there, picked up by Eskimos: and the theories which had been set up regarding the past of the Angmagssaliks were therefore built upon other material: ethnographic, linguistic, folk lore, geographic, or upon archaeological material from outside their part of the country.

Thalbitzer's work contains a comprehensive reference to these theories prior to 1914; hence we can here make it suffice to recapitulate briefly:

As early as in 1866 Rink[1]) mentions it as a possibility that the Greenlanders of the East Coast (at that time nothing was known of the Angmagssaliks) had immigrated north about Greenland, an opinion which he supported by further arguments in 1886[2]). Holm associated himself with this view in 1888[3]), and Ryder did the same in 1895[4]), supported by a certain similarity between specimens from Scoresby Sound and Point Barrow. In 1904 Schultz-Lorentzen[5]) presented several arguments in its favour, but went even farther, holding the view that the people on the southern West Coast had immigrated along the same path. After a study of the ruins north of Angmagssalik Amdrup[6]) also came to the conclusion that the immigration had been from the north. And finally, Thalbitzer[7]) made a deep analysis of the Angmagssalik culture and arrived at the same result; to him the vital point was their ice-hunting culture, which could not be imagined as having come to Angmagssalik from the most southerly West Greenland regions; at the same time, however, Thalbitzer realized that Angmagssalik had received a number of implement types from West Greenland, presumably in fairly recent times. As will be seen, this immigration from the north was long the prevailing belief, especially among all those who knew the Angmagssaliks best, from the evidence of their own eyes.

Meantime, one or two voices had been raised in favour of the idea that the immigration had proceeded in the opposite direction, from the south, from West Greenland. The first was that of Fridtjof Nansen in 1891[8]), but he advanced no reasons to support his argument. In 1899 Kroeber[9]) pointed out the ethnographic similarity between the West Greenlanders and the Angmagssaliks, and, on the basis of a study of their harpoon heads, Swenander 1906[10]) expressed the view that the northern and southern East Coast had been populated from two sides. Solberg said in 1907[11]) that the immigration to Northeast Greenland had probably had something to do with the migrations that led to the

[1]) 1866, p. 44.
[2]) Rink 1886, pp. 144—145.
[3]) 1888, pp. 153—154.
[4]) 1895, pp. 340—343.
[5]) 1904.
[6]) 1909, pp. 323—326.
[7]) 1914, pp. 713—720.
[8]) 1891, p. 12.
[9]) 1899, p. 321.
[10]) 1906, p. 41.
[11]) 1907, p. 56.

destruction of the Norse colonies, and Steensby agreed with this in 1917[1]). Thomsen in 1917[2]) furthermore pointed to the great difference between the cultures of the northern and southern East Coast. Birket-Smith[3]) that same year maintained that the Angmagssaliks' ice-hunting need not necessarily mean a northern origin, as a more arctic culture had presumably prevailed earlier on the southern West Coast; and in 1928[4]) he advanced further arguments in favour of the southern origin of the Angmagssaliks. In my work on the Archaeology of the Central Eskimos in 1927[5]) I expressed the opinion that the Angmagssalik culture is a very locally-fashioned form of the West-Greenland culture and thus came from West Greenland, and this I found confirmed by a study of the collections of the Cambridge Expedition in 1929[6]). The theory of the southerly immigration received strong support from Knud Rasmussen's assertion[7]) that an immigration north about Greenland was impracticable, an assertion which, however, has since been contradicted by Lauge Koch[8]).

The one thing that could settle these questions was an archaeological investigation of the Angmagssalik region, and thus it was for that purpose that in 1931 I was sent out by the Commission on Scientific Research in Greenland. On two former journeys to the districts of Upernivik and Sukkertoppen a preliminary opinion had been formed of the evolution of the culture on Greenland's west coast — an absolute necessity before one could start upon the work at Angmagssalik.

I set out on the "Gertrud Rask" on 11th July 1931; from 20th to 24th July I stayed in Scoresby Sound, where I had the opportunity of making brief visits to the ancient ruins at Cape Tobin and Cape Hope. The colony of Angmagssalik was reached via Isafjord on 1st August. Mr. Hans Bruun, who was on his way home from the "Nanok" Fur-Hunting Company, was engaged as my assistant until he returned home on 2nd September with Dr. Knud Rasmussen's Sixth Thule Expedition.

From 8th to 16th August I made an umiak expedition round Angmagssalik Fjord in order to survey the ruins there, and on the 18th August we left for the spot which I had selected for the first large-scale excavation, Misigtoq (and the adjacent Pôrtusoq) near the head of the fjord; there we carried on digging operations until 22nd September, when the weather forced me to go into winter quarters in the colony,

[1]) 1917, p. 216.
[2]) 1917, p. 481 seq.
[3]) 1917, p. 34.
[4]) 1928, pp. 40—41.
[5]) 1927, p. 173.
[6]) 1929, p. 164.
[7]) 1919, p. 577 seq.
[8]) 1923, p. 73.

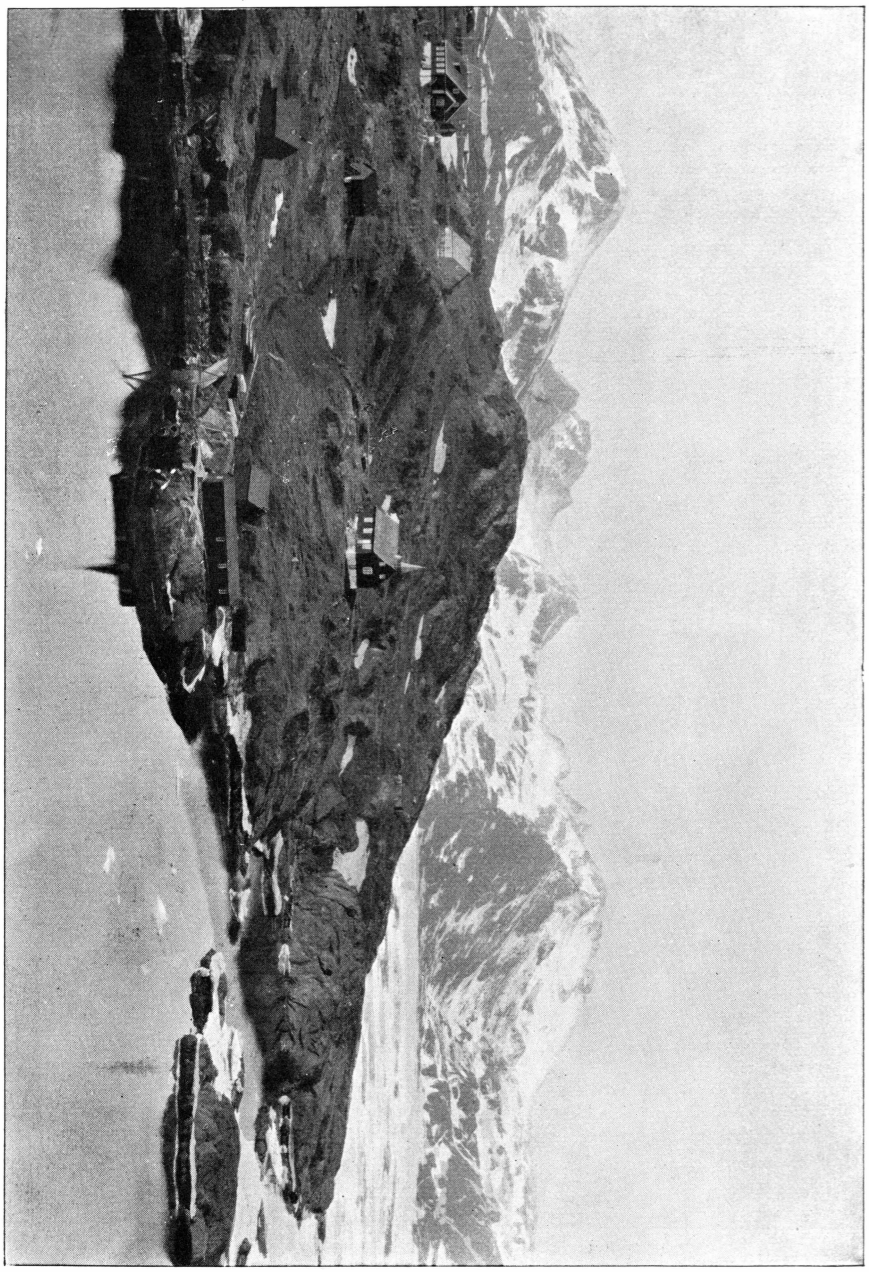


Fig. 1. The Angmagssalik Colony.

where the Greenland Administration had very kindly placed the former manager's dwelling at the disposal of myself and family. During the winter I purchased a number of ethnographic specimens to supplement the rich collections of the National Museum. For the purpose of acquiring ethnographica and to study the ethnography of the population I also made several sledge journeys in the spring of 1932, as for instance 13th—15th March to Ukîvajik and Íkáteq in Sermilik; 24th—30th March via Tîteqilaq and Paornakajît in Sermilik to Kûngmiut and Kulusuk, thence via Qernertivartivit back to the colony; and finally, the 2nd—4th May to Íkáteq.

On 17th May excavation could begin again, at Kangârtik in Angmagssalik Fjord, where we remained till 8th June; 8th—21st June we made an umiak trip to Sermiligaq Fjord, where two small excavations were made (Utorqarmiut, Isigsit, Pusisaraq). On 23rd June I left for Sermilik Fjord, likewise by umiak, whence I returned on 13th July; I made a round trip to all the ruin sites in the fjord, and also made some excavations at Sûkersit (26th—29th June) and Savanganeq (2nd—11th July). Finally, the work was completed in the Angmagssalik district with an excavation at Sivtsingaleq, near Cape Dan, 15th—19th July. On August 9th I sailed on the M.S. "Th. Stauning" to join Dr. Knud Rasmussen's 7th Thule Expedition, which was exploring the coast between Angmagssalik and Cape Farewell[1]).

Below is a summary of the archaeological work done in the Angmagssalik district:

Locality		No. of excavated house-ruins	graves	Midden area in sq.m.	No of specimens found
1931.					
Qivtalivarajivit...	Angmagssalik Fjord	1	..	..	2
Qêrtâlaq.....		1	..	..	..
Misigtoq.....		5	3	459	3678
Pôrtusoq		4	..	52	91
Qârtuluk		..	1	..	..
1932.					
Kangârtik.....	Angm. Fjord	4	4	256	1494
Kûngmiut.....		1	..	..	1
Pusisaraq.....	Sermiligaq Fjord	2	..	9	17
Isigsit.....		..	..	28	37
Utorqarmiut.....		2	..	24	74
Sûkersit	Sermilik Fjord	9	6	124	234
Savanganeq		5	1	244	829
Sivtsingaleq, C. Dan.....		5	..	24	49
	Total...	39	15	1220	6506

[1]) The results will be published elsewhere.

The collections also include a number of human skeletons from the graves and animal bones from the settlements.

Besides these ruin-localities where excavations were made, 79 other localities were visited, where the work necessarily was restricted to measuring, photographing and small sample excavations for the purpose of ascertaining the extent of the culture deposit and its nature. In all, 92 of the 95 ruin localities in the district were visited; the three that I did not see have only one ruin each, and lay some distance from my itinerary, so that it would have consumed relatively too much time to go there.

By means of these sample excavations and visits I collected 112 specimens; through the Greenlanders I also acquired 271 specimens, which naturally are not of the same value as the others; nevertheless, some of them are of interest. Among them are 69 specimens from a house ruin at Igtitalik, near Cape Dan, inhabited about the year 1870, and 27 from an older ruin at Ikâsagtivaq. All in all, then, there is a collection of 6889 specimens to assist in forming an estimate of the evolution of the culture in the Angmagssalik district. This collection is in the National Museum in Copenhagen.

With the exception of the month of August 1931, the excavation work was done exclusively with local Greenland labour; in 1931 I had four, in 1932 five or six Greenlanders to help me, and I can say that I have never had more industrious and more interested Greenland workmen than these in Angmagssalik. The excavations themselves were done in the usual manner, by digging in layers of 10 cm thickness, in the middens in square fields of 4 sq.m. It was only in the spring of 1932, at Kangârtik, that frost hindered the work; there does not seem to be permanently frozen ground in the district.

Some general observations on the state of preservation of the specimens may be interposed here.

The chances of preservation in the Angmagssalik district are not good. As I have said, there is no permanently frozen ground, and the frequent changing of the climate from frost to thaw, even in winter, is most inimical to the preservation of old objects of bone, baleen and wood; in addition, there is the vigorous vegetation at the settlements, the roots of which gradually split and rot the bones and absorb the organic substances; the gravelly soil in which the houses often were dug greatly facilitates the disintegrating activities of the seep. The result is that the older ruins often contain almost nothing; all bones and pieces of wood are decomposed, only the few stone objects are preserved — or nothing at all. It was only exceptionally that the oldest house ruins contained objects of bone; and in many of the later ruins, too, the bones were entirely or partly converted into powder; even in

18th century ruins they were often badly disintegrated, especially near the outer coast, near Cape Dan or in the mouth of the large fjords, where the climate is very changeable. Well up the large fjords conditions were somewhat better, especially near the head of Angmagssalik Fjord, but even there the oldest ruins usually contained very little.

The poor state of preservation is the first thing that stamps the specimens from Angmagssalik; the next is the poor material that has been available. Wood has been abundant, but is only exceptionally preserved; the same applies to baleen. Most of the specimens are of bone and stone. The bone bears evidence of a lack of good, handsome materials, walrus and narwhal ivory and horn, which have only been available in very small quantities. There has been a quantity of whale bones, especially in earlier times, but most of the objects are fashioned out of poor material, principally the bones of seals and bears, which are responsible for their often plain and irregular form. Nor has the stone material been particularly good; there is an abundance of soapstone, it is true[1]), and asbestos[2]) for pots, lamps and lamp-trimmers; but the material for weapon, knife and scraper blades is bad on the whole. There is a little silicious slate — the grey angmaq known in West Greenland and a darker kind; but there are only small pieces and these not at all common; there is still less flint and chalcedony. Otherwise they have had to manage with a rather soft slate which splits into prismatic fragments (Fig. 2), rock crystal, which occurs frequently but only in small pieces, or with still poorer materials such as quartzite and quartz; for hammer stones and whetstones they have mostly used — apart from slate — a dark basalt or diabase rock, as well as boulders of gneiss, granite or sandstone; graphite is often met with[3]).

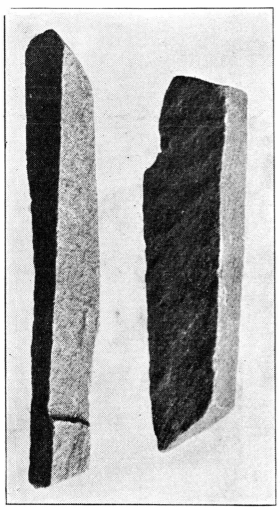


Fig. 2. Prismatic slate fragments. 2 : 3.

As a result of these circumstances, the specimens from Angmagssalik, compared with other Eskimo relics, are usually of a poor and poverty-stricken character.

[1]) Found at Inigssalik, in the most westerly part of the district, and at Isik in Sermilik (Grønland II, p. 576); is also said to occur near Kûngmiut.

[2]) Found at Ivnartivaq in Sermilik (Grønland II, p. 577; also mentioned by Rüttel).

[3]) Found at Tîteqilaq in Sermilik and at North Ikerssuaq (Grønland II, p. 576-77).

II. RUIN LOCALITIES IN ANGMAGSSALIK DISTRICT

Review of settlements and house-types.

The Angmagssalik district in its narrowest sense[1]), the area that has been the subject of these investigations, comprises the three large fjords Sermilik, Angmagssalik Fjord and Sermiligaq, and the peninsulas and islands lying between them. It is a region that stretches from lat. 65°30′ to 66°30′ N., and from long. 36° to 38° W. As a whole, the ice cap lies fairly close to the west side of Sermilik, and several actively calving glaciers run into it, especially at its head. The rock, granite and gneiss, forms the substratum everywhere. Along the west side of Sermilik, especially in the inner part of it, we find fairly quiet forms of terrain; otherwise most of the district consists of a high mountainous country with summits from 1000 to 2000 metres high, often alpine in form, and large local glaciers; the heights are greatest round the head of the fjords. But on islands and points, in river valleys and on moraine terraces there are smooth patches which are suitable for the establishment of settlements.

In the entire district there are 99 settlements in all, places where there are or have been winter houses. Of these, four have only houses that are inhabited today, so that there are 95 settlements which may be called ruin localities; and on them there are 230 ruins of winter houses.

The map (at the back of this volume) shows the situation of these settlements. It was drawn by Karl Andreassen[2]) in Kûngmiut with the official map as a basis, but with a large number of corrections and many details that are not on that map; I have added a few minor corrections myself. During my two summers' journeys round about the area I constantly used this map, and may say that it is a map of practical

[1]) In the wider sense the district comprises the region between Northern and Southern Ikerssuaq.

[2]) Known as Karâle, Knud Rasmussen's illustrator in "Myter og Sagn I".

usefulness, one that may be relied upon even in its details; Karl Andreasson's remarkable knowledge of the land — he was born and bred there — and his skill at drawing have been most useful to me. On the map are shown, with a special signature and also by name, the places that were inhabited in the winter of 1931—32; the localities where large excavations were made are also indicated by name; otherwise all the ruin localities are shown by numbers, which refer to the list below.

As will be seen, habitation is almost exclusively associated with the shores of the three great fjords; in the straits which connect them, in their ramifications, or down towards the open sea, there are only very few settlements, and most of these seem to have been used but little — if anything as experiments that were quickly abandoned. The innermost parts of the three large fjords are entirely uninhabited; the great masses of calf ice in Sermilik and Sermiligaq make sealing impossible, and in the innermost end of Angmagssalik Fjord hunting conditions are not good either. It is the possibilities of getting game that of course govern the habitation of a district above all, the seal first and foremost. The habitations are especially dense on the west side of Cape Dan islands, in the inner part of Angmagssalik Fjord between Kangârtik and Misigtoq, and at the eastern outlet of Sermilik Fjord; there we find the three present main settlements too: Kulusuk, Kûngmiut and Íkáteq respectively; the colony of Angmagssalik, on the other hand, is an artificial creation of modern times, lying in an area where game is scarce.

According to their form, size and state of preservation the house ruins in the district of Angmagssalik may be divided into 4 main types:

1. Quite small, round, rounded, or irregularly angled houses, usually for one family only; these ruins are in most cases very much flattened out and overgrown, mostly so as to be almost unrecognizable, and the sparse vegetation on and round about them indicates that most of the organic matter in them has long since perished. And consequently they rarely contain objects of wood and bone.

2. Small, distinctly four-sided houses, usually for one family. Their greatest dimension is in the direction of the passage-way. These, too, are often almost entirely demolished and overgrown, although the vegetation on them is most frequently more luxuriant. In many cases, however, it will be impossible without an excavation to decide to which of these two types a ruin belongs. The oldest houses of this type, too, have only few bone objects as a rule.

3. Large, distinctly four-sided houses for several families (common houses), of the same type as is still used in the Angmagssalik district;

their greatest dimension is at right-angles to the passage-way. In some cases these, too, are fairly thickly overgrown, but as a rule have a luxuriant vegetation, indicating much organic refuse both in and out of the house. The oldest of them do not seem to be so old as the oldest of Group 2, but otherwise these two groups seem to have been in use contemporaneously.

4. Houses known to have been inhabited within living memory or tradition, presumably mostly in the 19th—20th Centuries. They are of the same type as Group 3, but on an average are larger, especially wider, and they are better preserved, mostly still with good walls and passage-way. The vegetation in and around them is very luxuriant, and bones and wood in them are well preserved.

Examples of these various types of houses will be described in greater detail when dealing with the settlements that have been closely examined.

Below is a list of all ruin-sites in Angmagssalik District, with the numbers of ruins of the four types. Where a close examination has not been made, the distinction between the types 1 and 2 is simply a matter of judgment; in some cases it may be wrong; on the whole, however, this list presumably gives a fairly reliable idea of the proportions between the numbers of the four types in the district. Behind the number of ruins of the last group the year of the last habitation of the spot as a winter settlement is indicated in brackets; if there are no ruins of this type, but houses still inhabited, the year 1931 is shown.

Regarding the names of the settlements, these are given as close to the local pronunciation as possible, but spelt in the Kleinschmidt orthography[1]); in brackets after the name are other ways of spelling the settlement as given in other publications, especially Holm's or Thalbitzer's, or on maps.

Serial No.		Number of ruins			
		Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4
	Sermiligaq Fjord.				
1.	Nakarfík	..	..	1	..
2.	Pusisaraq (Puisak)	..	2	1	1 (1908)
3.	Avateq	1	..	2	..
4.	Qerpik (Qierfik)	..	..	..	1 (1915)
5.	Isigsit	2	2	1	..
6.	Ukîvajik (Ukivirajik, Ukeewáain)	..	1	1	..
7.	Nunakitsit (Nunakitsin)	1	1	..	1 (1924)
8.	Upernivik	2	3	..	1 (1925)
9.	Utorqarmiut (Utorqarmeen)	..	2	1	1 (1931)
10.	Kûngmiut	..	1	2	..
11.	Itivdtiartik (Itivdliarsuk)	..	..	2	..

[1]) In this I have been helped by Pastor P. Rosing and Karl Andreassen.

Serial No.		Number of ruins				
		Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	
	Between Angmagssalik Fjord and Sermiligaq.					
12.	Igtaijik (Igdlerajik, Iwttwáaik)	..	..	1	1	(1930)
13.	Igtaijik tugteq	..	1(?)	..	..	
14.	Nápat	..	1(?)	..	..	
15.	Igtaijik	..	1(?)	..	..	
	Angmagssalik Fjord.					
16.	Igtitalik (Ittitalik)	..	..	1	1	(ca. 1870)
17.	Nôrsit (Noorseet)	1(?)	..	..	1	(1927)
18.	Pûlortusoq	..	2	..	1	(1922)
19.	Sîseq	..	..	1	1	(ca. 1870)
20.	Ingmikêrtoq (Immikeertoq)	..	..	..	1	(1929)
21.	Akinaitsât	..	..	1	..	(1931)
22.	Sûnajik (Sujunerajik)	2	..	..	2	(1931)
23.	Sivtsingaleq	1	3	2	..	(1931)
24.	Kangârtik (Kangarsik, Kangáarting)	..	..	..	1	(1924)
25.	Agtereq (Atteqin)	..	..	1	..	
26.	Nunakitsit (Nunakitsin)	..	..	..	1	(1910)
27.	Igtivata	..	..	1	..	
28.	Qîeqe	..	..	2	..	
29.	Sierartêq	..	..	1	1	(1927)
30.	Kîtaijik (Kingigtorajik)	..	..	1	1	(1926)
31.	Akernenarajik	..	1	2	..	
32.	Umîvik (Umeewing)	1	..	1	1	(1924)
33.	Sârsia	..	1	..	..	
34.	Ikâsak (Ikerasak, Ikaasaq)	..	..	1	1	(1923)
35.	Ingmikêrtoq (Immikeertoq)	1	1(?)	..	1	(1925)
36.	Quarmiut (Kumarmiut, Quármeen)	..	..	1	1	(1930)
37.	Igtikasak	..	1	..	1	(1897)
38.	Kangârtik (Kangarsik, Kangáarting)	2	1	2	2	(1907)
39.	Eqe	..	..	..	1	(ca. 1830)
40.	Nôrajik (Nooraing)	..	2	1	1	(1925)
41.	Ijerquatsat	..	..	..	1	(1927)
42.	Kûngmiut	1(?)	2(?)	..	..	(1931)
43.	Simîtaq (Simiutaq)	..	..	..	1	(1931)
44.	Ilerfit	..	..	1	1	(1930)
45.	Itertak (Iterdleq)	..	1	..	..	
46.	Misigtoq (Misutok, Misugteq, Misíttorng)	..	2	5	1	(1917)

Serial No.		Number of ruins			
		Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4
47.	Pôrtusoq	5	..	..	..
48.	Qíngeq (Kingak, Qingáaq)	..	..	1	1 (1907)
49.	Qertâlaq (Kekertausak, Qeertáaleq)	..	1	..	..
50.	Igalilik	..	..	1	..
51.	Igalâqángitseq (Ingalaaqangitseq)	..	1	..	..
52.	Ingmikêrtoq (Immikertoq)	..	..	1	..
53.	Upernivik	..	1	2	..
54.	Kîtaijik (Kingigtorajik)	..	..	..	1 (ca. 1870)
55.	Qínajivit (Qernerajivit, Kingnerajuit)	..	2	1	1 (1915)
56.	Nutsugarajivit (Kujanilik, Kujännilik)	..	1	..	..
57.	Nûgâtsiakajik	..	..	1	..
58.	Salivarsijaq (Saluarsiwaq)	..	..	1(?)	1 (ca. 1860)
59.	Ikâsagtivaq (Ikerasagssuaq)	..	1(?)	1	.. (1931)
60.	Qernertivartivit (Kernertuarsuit, Qernertuartiwin)	..	1	..	.. (1931)
61.	Neqernaq	..	1	..	..
62.	Qivtalivarajivit (Kasigiarmiut, Qasigiáaiwin)	..	1	..	1 (1924)
63.	Tasîsartik kangigteq (Tasiusarsik kangigdlek, Täsuláartik)	1(?)	..	1	1 (1897)
64.	Tasîsartik kigteq (T. kitdleq)	..	1	..	1 (1897)
65.	Amitsivartik (Amitsuarsik, Amitsuartik)	..	..	2	1 (1894)
66.	Igtaijik (Igdlorajik)	..	1	..	..
67.	Igtumiut (Igdlumiut)	..	..	..	5 (1931)
68.	Angmagssalik colony	..	..	..	3 (1931)
	Sermilik Fjord.				
69.	Manginersiorfik (Naujatalik)	2	..	..	..
70.	Qartit (Kardlit, Qarteen)	1	..	1	..
71.	Tunuteq	1	..	2	..
72.	Agtereq (Atteqin)	1	..	..	1 (ca. 1890)
73.	Savanganartik (Sivinganarsik, Sawaranaartik)	..	2(?)	..	1 (1920)
74.	Íkáteq (Ikagteq, Ikkätterng)	..	..	1	.. (1931)
75.	Igtitalik (Igdlitalik, Ittitalik)	..	..	2	1 (1923)
76.	Angmât (Ammaain)	..	..	..	1 (1913)
77.	Nunartik	..	2	2	..

Serial No.		Number of ruins			
		Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4
78.	Savanganeq (Sivinganeq, Sawaraneq)	3	1	1	1 (1910)
79.	Sagtertuaq (Sagdlerssuaq)	..	2	1	..
80.	Kûgtuvaq (Kugssuaq)	..	1	1	..
81.	Ukîvajik (Ukivirajik, Ukeewáain)	..	1(?)	1(?)	(1931)
82.	Akernernaq (Akerninak, Akernnak)	..	..	1	1 (1930)
83.	Pupik	..	..	..	1 (1915)
84.	Ingmikêrtajik (Ingmikertorajik, Immikéertwáain)	..	..	1	1 (1905)
85.	Sarfaq (Sarpaq)	..	2	..	.. (1931)
86.	Isik (Isi, Ising)	..	1	..	..
87.	Ivnartivaq (Ivnarssuaq)	1	2(?)	..	1 (1926)
88.	Igtaijik (Igdlerajik, Iwttwáaik)	..	..	1	..
89.	Qipa (Kipak)	..	..	1	1 (1929)
90.	Sûkersit	6	2	1	..
91.	Ivnartalik	1	1	2	1 (1929)
92.	Qêrtartivatsiaq (Kekertarsuarsiak, Qeertartuättiaq)	..	..	1	1 (1930)
93.	Iserpalikitseq (Iserpalukittoq)	..	..	..	1 (1929)
94.	Kakalik	..	1(?)	..	1 (1929)
95.	Ajangiteq (Ajagitâq)	..	..	..	1 (1914)

This list does not include four settlements which are now inhabited, but where there are no house ruins: Kulusuk, the principal settlement at Cape Dan; when this was inhabited on the establishment of the Mission in 1907, several ancient house ruins were found there, but new houses were built on top of them. Tîteqilaq (Tiningtekilaq) in Sermilik has no ruins now either, but is a very old settlement. Paornakajît and Umigtivartivit, both in Sermilik, are new settlements, only taken into use in 1931.

As will be seen from the list, most of the settlements have only one or two ruins, viz. 33 and 28 settlements respectively; 17 settlements have 3, 7 have 4, 4 have 5, 3 have 6 and one each has 7, 8 and 9 ruins. But if we disregard the 61 ruins of Group 4, which as more recent are of little archaeological interest, there remain 81 settlements with in all 169 old house ruins; of these 37 are placed to Type 1, 62 to Type 2, and 70 to Type 3. Most settlements have ruins of more than one type; of the large settlements, however, this does not apply to Pôrtusoq, which only has 5 ruins of Type 1. The largest settlements in the district are: Sûkersit (with 9 ruins, all old); Misigtoq (8 ruins, 7 of them old), Kangârtik (7 ruins, 5 of them old), Sivtsingaleq, Savanganeq and Uperni-

vik (in Sermiligaq) (each with 6 ruins, all old at the first, 5 old at the others), Pôrtusoq, Isigsit and Ivnartalik (each 5 ruins, all old at the first two, 4 old at the last one). It will be noticed particularly that of the oldest ruins (Group 1), 22 of the 37 are at these large settlements, and two of these, Sūkersit and Pôrtusoq, have 6 and 5 ruins respectively of this type. The houses of Types 2 and 3 on the whole are rather scattered; only at Misigtoq are there 7 ruins of these types; but, as we shall see later, these lie distributed over three places, though with only a short distance between them. All in all, however, it must be said that the earlier habitation in the Angmagssalik district was of a very scattered nature, which corresponds to conditions nowadays, where the greater part of the population lives spread about in small settlements; the establishment of the trading and mission stations, however, has made some change in this respect.

We will now proceed to describe some of the settlements.

Misigtoq and Pôrtusoq.

Misigtoq is the very prominent point that separates the two innermost branches of Angmagssalik Fjord, Qíngerssuaq and Tasîsaq; it lies nearly opposite Qíngeq, the famous angmagssat summer camping place, which once used to collect almost the whole of the district population in early summer to fish for the angmagssat, the small salmonide that has given the whole of this region its name. Misigtoq point is rocky, rather high and rugged; on its west side, however, there is a fairly smooth stretch, and a low spit, Nûk, runs eastwards out from its head; at the root of the point lies a flat grassy plain that is called Qaumartik; a ridge separates this from the adjacent settlement of Pôrtusoq on the east side. Over the whole rises the enormous pinnacle Mount Napariaq (the sledge-upstander); the terrain there in the inner part of Angmagssalik Fjord on the whole is very wild and grand, with heights of over 2000 metres.

Since very early days Misigtoq Point has been an important centre of habitation; on a rather smooth terrain sloping towards the west, on the west side of the point is the settlement of Misigtoq itself; here are 4 house ruins, one of Type 2 (house VII), two of Type 3 (VIII—IX) and one of Type 4 (X). On the low spit that projects eastwards from the point lies the settlement of Nûk, with 3 house ruins, all of Type 3 (XI—XIII), besides several more recent tent-rings. Fairly high up, on the east side of the point, but some distance from the head, lies an isolated ruin of Type 2, called Qarqilâtsiaq (house VI); near it is a grave. At the isthmus of the peninsula, on a gravel flat, lies the summer-camp Qaumartik with 9, principally more recent tent-rings and two

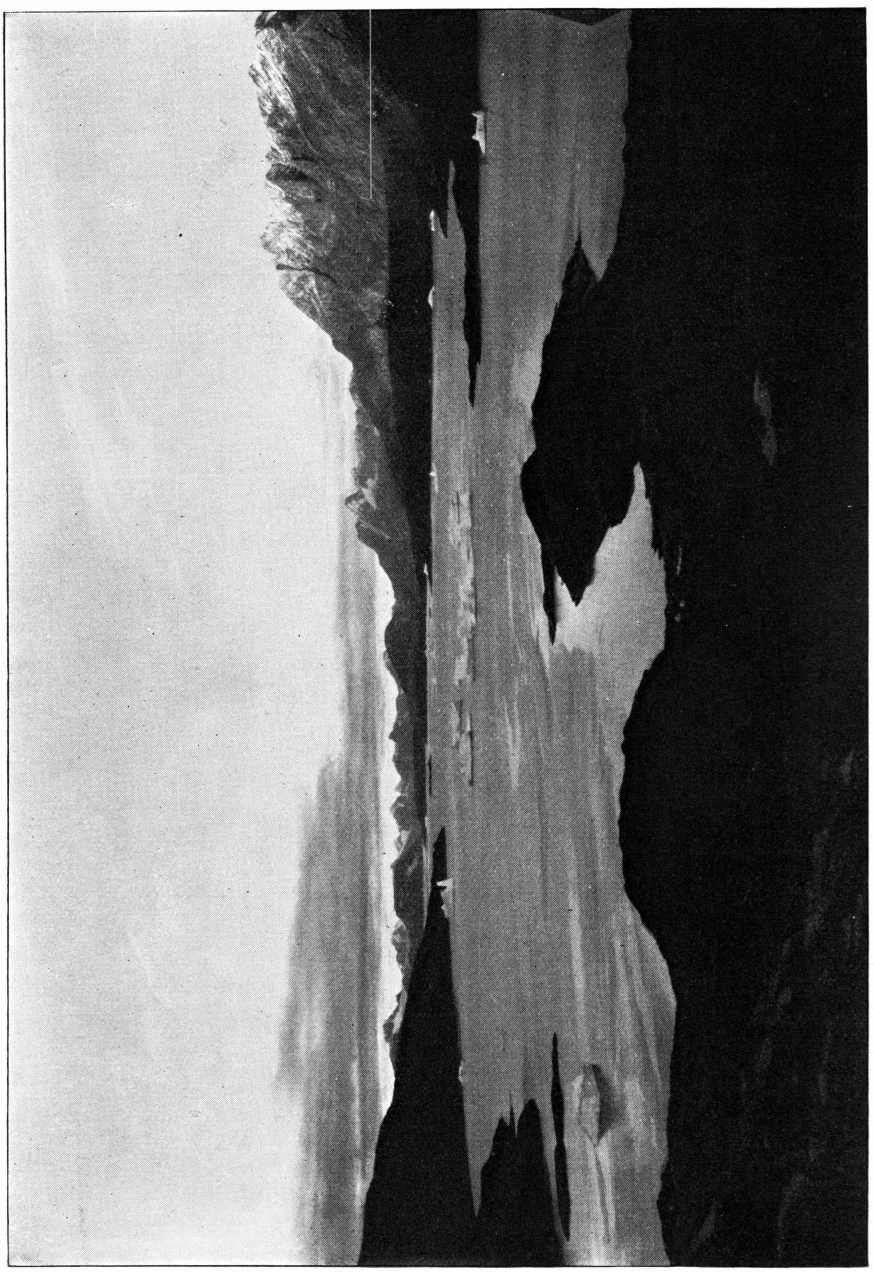


Fig. 3. Misigtoq point from the North; the point on the right is Qingeq, the angmagssat place.

graves. And finally, somewhat more to the east, on a gravel flat east of a ridge, is the settlement Pôrtusoq, with 5 house ruins (I—V) and a grave.

Pôrtusoq.

This is the settlement in the Angmagssalik district that seemed to be the oldest. Built down into a gravel terrace, 13—14 m above sea level, close together and in a row lie 4 house ruins (I—IV), all very much overgrown and demolished, so that shape and size were impossible

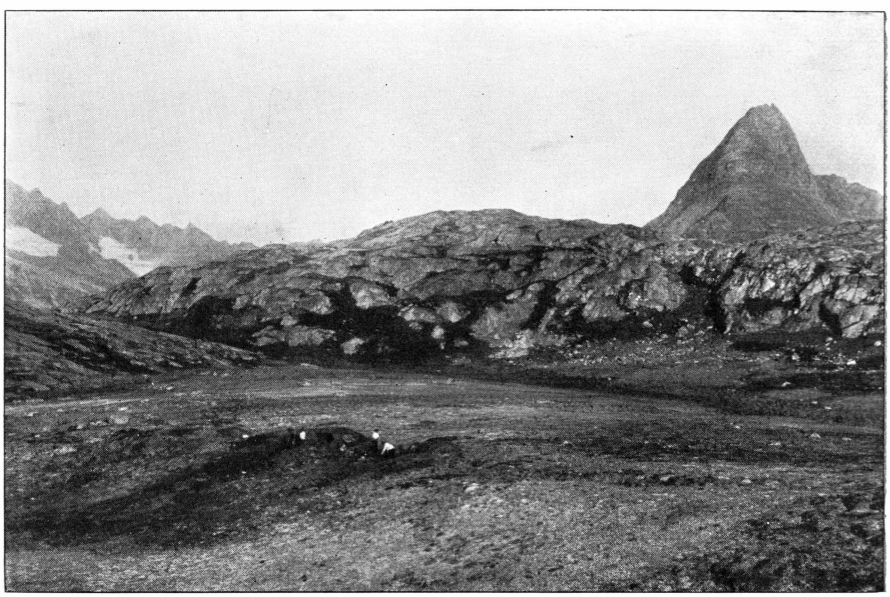


Fig. 4. The ancient settlement of Pôrtusoq.

to determine without closer inspection; the passages all opened towards the south. A little more to the east, and higher up, 18 m above sea level, lies a solitary ruin (V), with its passage facing west. The vegetation in and round the ruins was very sparse everywhere.

House ruin I prior to excavation appeared as a round, quite flat depression in the terrain, with the passage leading from it; it was overgrown with crowberry and lichen. Excavation brought to light a floor covered with flat stones forming an oval 2.4 by 1.2 m, bordered by a wall of 1—2 courses of stones; the floor lay about a metre lower than the ground outside. The limits of the house were impossible to determine; it had been built down into sand, which has fallen in over it. In size, however, it can only have been quite small. The house yielded up no specimens or bones; only here and there under the floor was a little bone powder. A sample excavation in front of the house showed that

there was no midden either; in an area of 4 sq.m only two very decomposed pieces of bone were found.

House ruin II. In a state of preservation similar to I, and apparently containing no refuse. However, it is much larger, $6^1/_2$ m long (measured across the passage) and 3—4 m wide; a natural rock formed one end wall. Judging by its shape it seemed if anything to be a double house of a kind similar to those found in the Kangâmiut region[1]). This ruin was not excavated.

House ruin III. Its shape after excavation will be seen in Fig. 5; it is oval if anything, with the walls fallen in, and several flat platform stones; the floor, on which there are also two flat stones, lies about

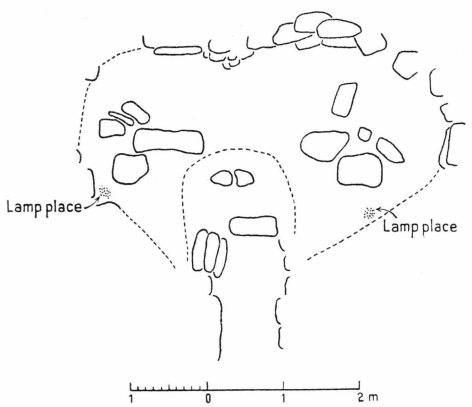


Fig. 5. Plan of House Ruin III, Pôrtusoq.

25 cm lower than the platform, and the entrance passage, which is stone-built, is another 25 cm lower. At both ends of the platform blubber and soot indicated the position of the lamp. The vegetation on this ruin was more luxuriant than on I and II, and in fact it proved to contain a number of specimens (29 in all) and bones, principally seal, but also including dog, two large pieces of whale bone, and a bear's lower jaw; there were also some pieces of waste slate and fragments of mussel shells.

There were also refuse deposits outside this house, although thin and unproductive (Excavation field A); almost all this midden was excavated, and it yielded 48 specimens, often in a bad state of preservation, as well as bones and stone chips.

House ruin IV. A thickly overgrown depression in the ground, almost square, about 2.1 by 2.5 m; even excavation did not reveal the shape clearly as there were hardly any stones in the walls. There were no floor stones either, merely sand; the floor of the passage was 30 cm lower than that of the house. The culture deposit inside the house was

[1]) See for instance Mathiassen, Kangâmiut, Figg. 5 and 8.

quite thin; besides a few bones 10 specimens were found; there was no midden outside.

House ruin V. This ruin, which lies by itself, had a peculiar form, consisting of two narrow rooms, 1.3 by 2.5 and 1.0 by 2.5 m respectively and separated by a partition wall of stone 0.5 m wide and 0.7 m high; one side of the house was formed by large natural boulder; the passage, 4 m long and 1 m wide, runs first N.W. and then bends westwards; only a single flat floor stone was found inside the house. Inside there



Fig. 6. House Ruin V, Pôrtusoq.

was only little refuse, a few seal bones and mussel shells, a single whale bone and some stone chips; outside were only a few bones in the sandy ground.

On a rock shelf above House V was a disturbed grave, with no skeletal parts.

The situation, nature and state of preservation of the Pôrtusoq houses distinctly indicate that they are contemporaneous and among the oldest in the district; this is confirmed by the specimens found.

Qarqilâtsiaq. This ruin, House VI, lies isolated as already mentioned, rather high up (18 m above sea level) on the east side of Misigtoq spit. It is rectangular, 2.7 m long; the width at the rear wall is 2.7, at the front wall 2.3 m; the walls are 1.2 m high, set with stones, fairly well preserved. On the floor were a few flat stones; on the site of the platform was one large stone, about 30 cm above the floor, which,

together with two smaller ones, has apparently supported the wooden platform. Inside the house were 14 specimens as well as a number of bones; the midden, however, covering an area of about 9 by 5 m, was very rich in bones (mostly seal, but also bear, dog, bird and fish) and mussel shells; the culture layers were only 10—20 cm thick, but very rich; 84 specimens were found in them.

Misigtoq itself. House ruin VII. This ruin, which lies a little apart from and above the others (15 m above the sea), is oblong, 4.1 by 3.6 m, its longest dimension being at right-angles to the passage; part of the rear wall was formed of a large boulder; there did not seem to be a stone floor. A sample excavation showed that the house contained hardly anything, and the bones were almost entirely decomposed; two human bones were found, as well as unworked pieces of slate.

Of the midden, however, almost the whole area where there was refuse, about 10 by 5 m, was excavated; the culture deposit was not especially rich and no more than 10 cm thick; still, 43 specimens were found besides bones and mussel shells.

House ruin VIII. Lies about 11 m above the sea. Very much demolished and overgrown with a thick carpet of grass; excavation showed it to be an oblong house, 4.2 by 2.9 m; a partition wall had been built 2.6 m from one end wall, apparently to make the house smaller; hardly any floor stones were found, while the walls contained very few; these have apparently been removed to built the later houses. The refuse in this house was very decayed and only 3 specimens were found in it, including a glass bead.

In front of this house we excavated 38 sq.m of the midden (Field B), which had a maximum thickness of 30 cm, but was poor, sandy, with very decayed bones; 67 specimens were found in it.

House ruin IX. This house, too, which lies about 8 m above sea level, was badly fallen in and overgrown, and on excavation it proved to be only badly preserved. The length is 7.5 m, the width varies between 4.1 and 3.2 m, a large boulder on the south side narrowing the house there; still, the form is distinctly quadrangular, with walls up to 1.3 m high; there is a regular floor paving only in the S.E. end. The middle part of the house in front of the passage, 2.1 m wide, is divided from the rest of the house by two partition walls, about 1 m high; that they are later than the other walls is to be seen from the fact that there is a culture deposit below them; this house has thus been made smaller, too, a feature that was extremely common in the Angmagssalik district. The passage is 6.2 m long, and slopes considerably. In the house were a number of bones in an advanced state of decay, just over the floor two large pieces of wood, and 37 specimens.

In front of this house was a midden of considerable size, of which

the central and thickest part, in all 126 sq.m, was excavated (Field C); this midden proved to be one of the richest finding places in the whole district; a total of 1442 specimens was found. It lay on a southwest

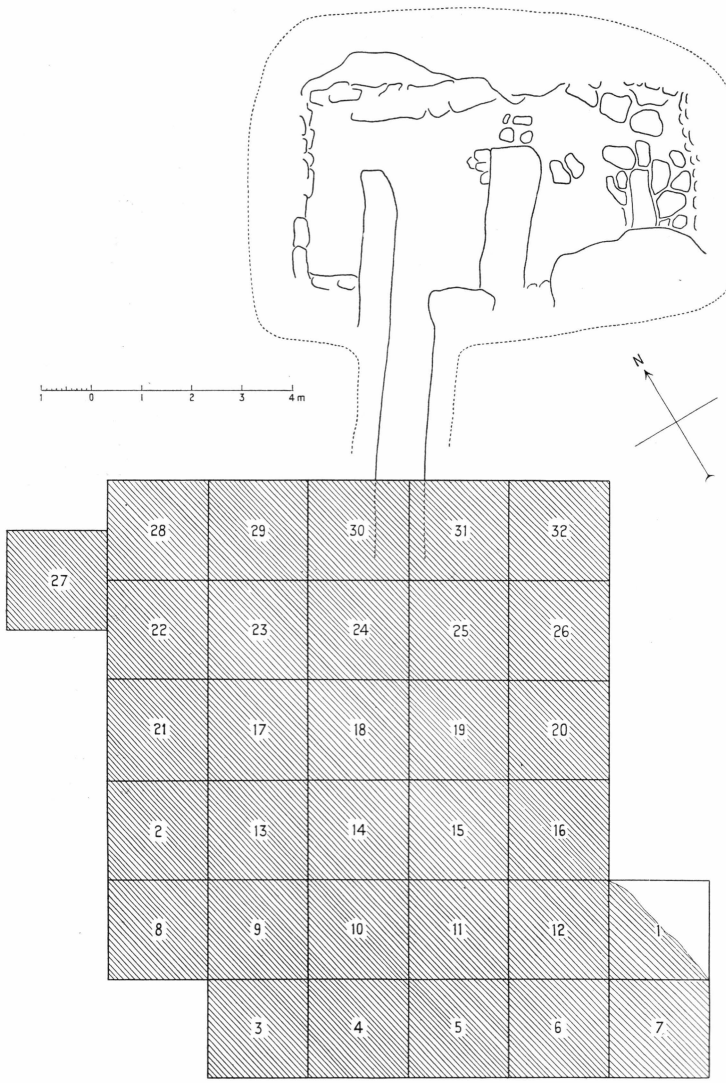


Fig. 7. Plan of House Ruin IX and Field C, Misigtoq.

slope, from 4 to 6 m above the sea. The thickness at the middle was 40 cm, but decreased out towards the sides. The layers in it were extremely rich in well-preserved animal bones, mostly seal, but including bear, seal, bird, fish; there were also a number of smashed mussel shells and stone chips. At the bottom, however, the bones were often very decayed. Below the turf in Field C several human bones were found.

House X, which lies $6^1/_2$ m above sea level[1]), is quite a modern house, inhabited in 1917; it is oblong, 8.5 by 4.5 m, with a passage 7.5 m long; in front is a large midden with a thick growth of grass.

Nûk. On this rather low spit, which is almost covered with grass, lie 3 house ruins, 4—5 m above sea level; near House XI is a round earth mound that is probably the remains of an earlier house, into which XI is partly built. There are also several tent-rings, and the whole spit is covered with refuse, bones and mussel shells.

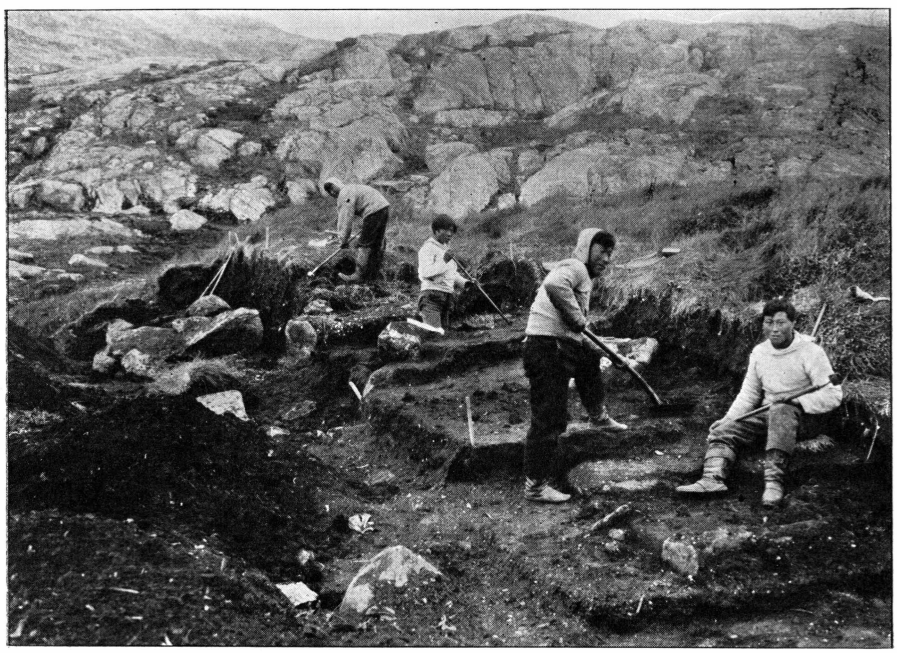


Fig. 8. Work in Field E, Misigtoq.

House ruin XI was not excavated; it is an oblong house, 7 by $3^1/_2$ m, with very overgrown, low walls, from which the stones do not jut out; the passage is 8 m long. In front of this ruin and the older house that has been there, a large midden was found (Field E), of which 112 sq.m were excavated. The terrain falls steeply towards the south where the lower edge of the Field reaches right out to a small bluff and lies only a couple of metres above high-water mark. Towards the northwest the thickness of the deposit was considerable, up to 1.10 m; it gradually thinned out towards the east (10—20 cm). In the thicker part of this midden the bones were often very decayed, whereas they were better preserved towards the east. The nature of the midden

[1]) The heights are measured to the floor inside the house.

otherwise corresponded to Field C. In Field E a total of 1491 specimens was found. In Fields E 28 and 29 appeared the wall of the older house, and in E 26 and 27 an entrance-passage was uncovered; its stone floor rested upon the ground under the midden and thus presumably belongs to this older house (Fig. 9). In order to avoid moving the stones in this passage, the passage of House XI was built at an angle to the house. If this passage belongs to the same house as the wall, this house has also belonged to the large type.



Fig. 9. Old entrance-passage in Field E, Misigtoq.

House ruin XII was also much overgrown; an oblong house, 4.8 by 3.0 m; in front of the fairly deep-sunk passage was a regular stone floor; otherwise the floor was of gravel; at the rear, where the platform was, the ground was 30 cm higher; the walls reached about 1 m above the floor. This house contained a number of bones and 59 specimens.

House ruin XIII, which lies by the side of XII, is of similar shape, but smaller, 4 by 2.3 m; only the rear wall was more or less preserved for a stretch of $2^1/_2$ m, the rest having entirely collapsed; there were some floor stones. The house seemed to be somewhat older than XII, and many of the bones were very decomposed. In it were found 49 specimens; there was also a whale vertebra.

Field D is the midden in front of houses XII and XIII, of which we excavated an area of 72 sq.m; at the thickest parts it measured

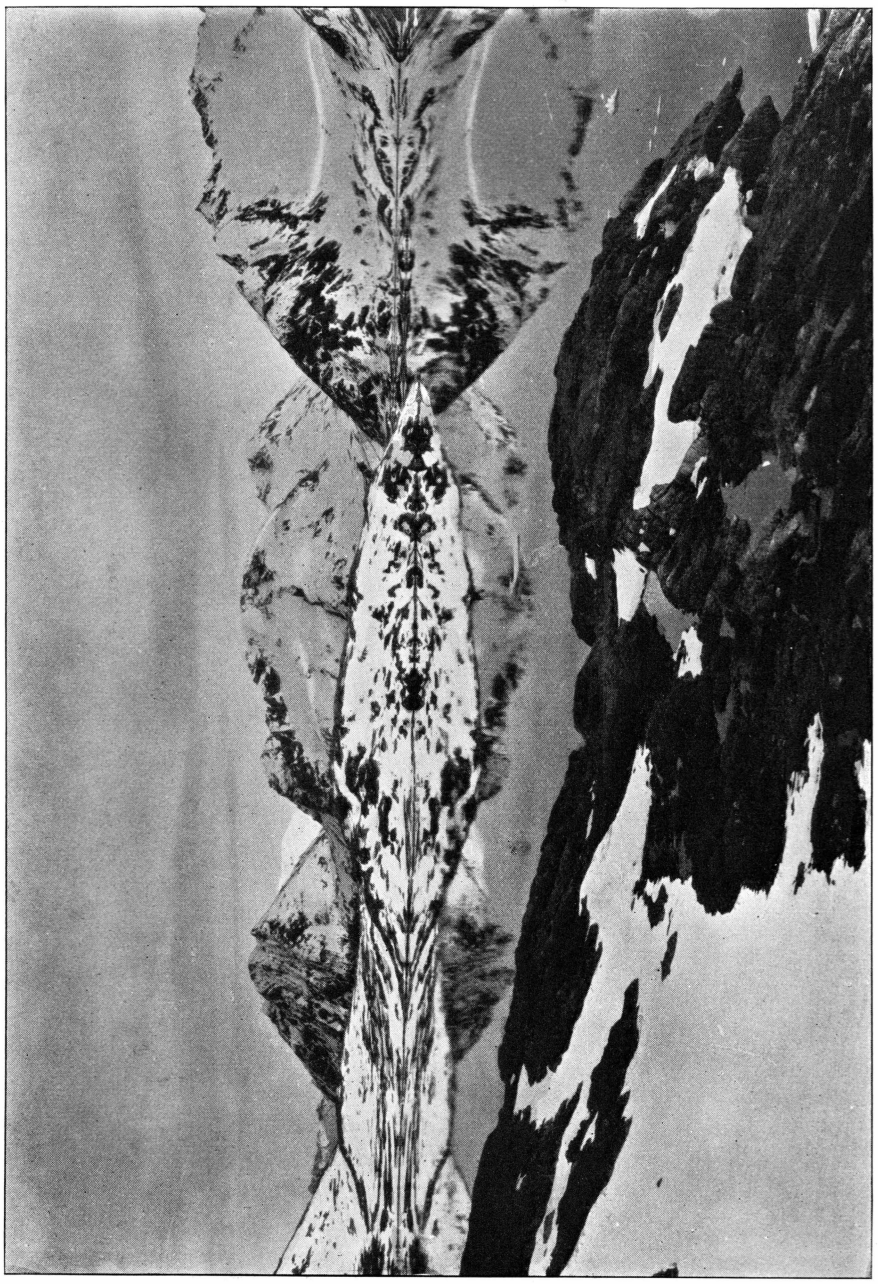


Fig. 10. The old settlement of Kangârtik from W.N.W.

60 cm, but it was mostly only 30—40 cm deep; bones and mussel shells as a rule were fairly well preserved. 383 specimens were found in this Field.

Of graves only two were found at Misigtoq, one near house VII and one slightly to the west of house VI; two were also found in a gully at Qaumartik, and somewhat higher up this gully were two fox traps of the box variety.

Kangârtik.

The settlement of Kangârtik at Kûngmiut — not to be confused with the one of the same name at Cape Dan — lies on a point jutting out from the north shore of the strait which leads to Sermiligaq Fjord from Angmagssalik Fjord[1]). Fig. 10 shows this settlement from WNW. In a hollow which stretches across the point, about $6^1/_2$ m above sea level, lies a large, recent ruin (III); on a small ridge south of it lie two older ruins, I — that on the west — and II, which are 8 and 7 m respectively above sea level; and behind III, about 9 m above sea level, lie two houses, IV and V. Finally, about 400 m from House ruin V, lie two small old houses, VI and VII, 6 and 7 m respectively above the sea.

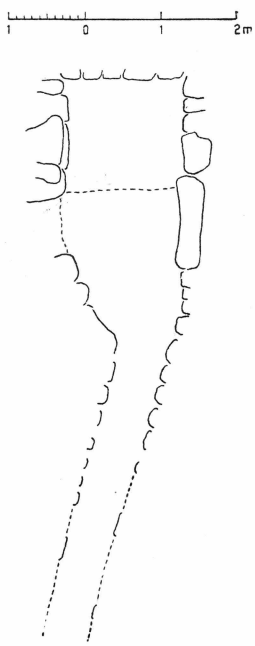


Fig. 11. Plan of House II, Kangârtik.

House ruin I prior to excavation appeared as an oblong, very flattened mound of earth, covered with overgrowth. Excavation proved it to be a quadrangular house, 7 by 4 m, with a regular stone floor and walls more or less collapsed. The east end wall curves slightly, the rear wall as usual being longer than the front wall.

In front of this house was a rather large midden, of which the central part, in all 36 sq.m, was excavated (Field A). The terrain slopes steeply; the deposits lay upon rather uneven rocky ground and have a thickness varying between 30 and 50 cm; here and there, in holes in the rock, the culture deposits were rather rich, including some objects of wood and baleen; otherwise bones and objects of bone were very decomposed; in one of these holes the thickness of the deposit was 80 cm. In House ruin I were 107, in Field A 244 specimens.

House ruin II lay near House I and, judging from the state of preservation, seemed to be of similar age. A ground plan of it is given in Fig. 11, a photograph on Fig. 12. It is a small, quadrangular house,

[1]) This place is mentioned by Kruuse p. 85.

very narrow, with walls about half a metre high; the side walls converge towards the entrance passage and pass into it almost imperceptibly; the floor was a rock shelf, and about 30 cm higher is a platform, covered with flat stones. Up to 3 m west of the house stretches a grass-covered elevation with a pit in it; possibly the house has been larger originally,



Fig. 12. House Ruin II, Kangârtik.

but has been made smaller by building a partition wall. Under the floor of the passage was a hole in the rock, half a metre deep, full of refuse, including a lot of wood; the 26 specimens found there differ considerably from the 51 found inside the house, as they belong to the oldest culture in the district; apparently there was an older house on this site before House II was built.

In front of this house, on a very steeply sloping terrain, were rather extensive but mostly thin rubbish deposits, of which 84 sq.m were excavated (Field B). The deposits, which rarely exceeded 30 cm in depth, were here and there — especially nearest the bottom, — very



Fig. 13. Kangârtik: House Ruins III and IV (above on the right).

rich in bones (mostly seal, dog, fox, bird) and mussel shells, especially *Mytilus*. 251 specimens were found in Field B.

House ruin III is a fairly large, oblong, rather well-preserved house, 10 by 5 m, with fairly high walls, 3 window openings and a number of the roofing stones of the passage still in position (Fig. 13);



Fig. 14. Kangârtik. House Ruin VI.

it was last inhabited in 1907 and otherwise is known to have been tenanted in 1899 and 1883, on the latter occasion by the notorious murderer Ilisimârtoq. In front of this house was a very large midden, in which a series of 3 squares, in all 12 sq.m, was excavated as a sample right through the deposits, which proved to be from 40 to 120 cm deep. Much the greater part of the very rich deposits proved to belong to recent times; but in the lower parts we found objects which showed that this ruin has also been inhabited in early times (18th Century). In Field C, as this was called, we found in all 215 specimens, besides a quantity of

broken bottle-glass, pieces of earthenware and tin cans, as well as fragments of wood and bone, etc., which were not taken up.

House ruin IV was of the same type as III, but slightly more overgrown; its size was $6^1/_2$ by 4 m; it was last inhabited in 1879, and will be seen at the top on the right on Fig. 13. It was not excavated, but 60 sq.m of the midden (Field D) were; the deposits were fairly rich, about 30 cm deep; the uppermost layers naturally belonged to the 19th Century, but those below are older, from the 18th Century. In all 347 specimens were found there.

House ruin V is very like IV, but is smaller, 5 by $3^1/_2$ m, and rather more overgrown; it was not excavated; 48 sq. m of its midden were excavated (Field E); the thickness varied from 20 to 50 cm, and the deposits were on the whole rich in bones (seal, bear, dog, bird, fish) and mussel shells (*Mytilus*, *Mya*, *Saxicava*). 212 specimens were found, presumably dating from the 18th Century.

The two small houses, VI and VII, which lie by themselves some way to the NE of the settlement, in a small bay, by their shape and state of preservation gave the impression of being much older than the rest; there was no luxuriant vegetation round them, and the houses were not easy to distinguish from the surrounding terrain.

House ruin VI prior to excavation will be seen on Fig. 14; Fig. 15 is a plan of it after excavation. It is a very small, round house, built down into the ground, 2.6 m each way, with stone-built walls up to 1 m high. The rearmost 90 cm of the house consist of a rock shelf that drops 30 cm to the floor, which was of gravel; the entrance passage was full of large stones. Outside the house a little refuse was found in the sandy ground, and this midden was excavated as far as the deposits extended. In and outside of the house we found 22 specimens, and inside the house 185 bones (mainly seal, but including bear), as well as 85 pieces of unworked slate; in the midden were 289 animal bones and a quantity of stone chips (mostly slate, and also angmaq and rock crystal).

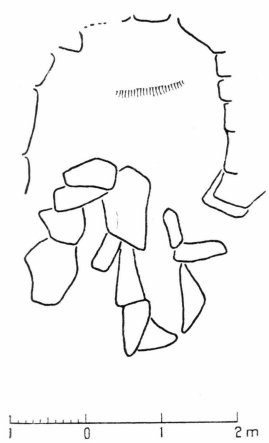


Fig. 15. Plan of House Ruin VI, Kangârtík.

House ruin VII in size and state of preservation looked just like VI, to which it lies very close. The shape is four-sided with rounded corners. The length is 2.8 m, of which the platform, which is paved with stones and somewhat higher than the floor, formed of a rock shelf, occupies 1.5 m. The width at the middle is 2.3 m; the walls rise about 80 m above the floor. The passage, 2.2 m long, lies a good deal lower

than the floor, and its bottom is also solid rock, which also appears in one side of it. Fig. 16 shows this house after excavation. Here, too, the thin deposits of rubbish outside the house were excavated. This house gave in all 19 specimens; in the house itself were found 120 bones (seal, whale) and 19 pieces of slate, and outside 310 bones (seal, whale, dog)



Fig. 16. Kangârtik, House VII.

and 22 pieces of slate. As in the foregoing house, the bones were badly decomposed.

These two ruins undoubtedly belong to the earliest culture of the district.

Round about the Kangârtik settlement we found a number of graves; there were 5 about two hundred metres from the settlement, and 2 on the hill behind houses IV and V; there was also a badly disturbed grave almost midway between the settlement and the houses VI and VII, near to four recent tent rings. None of the graves contained any grave goods.

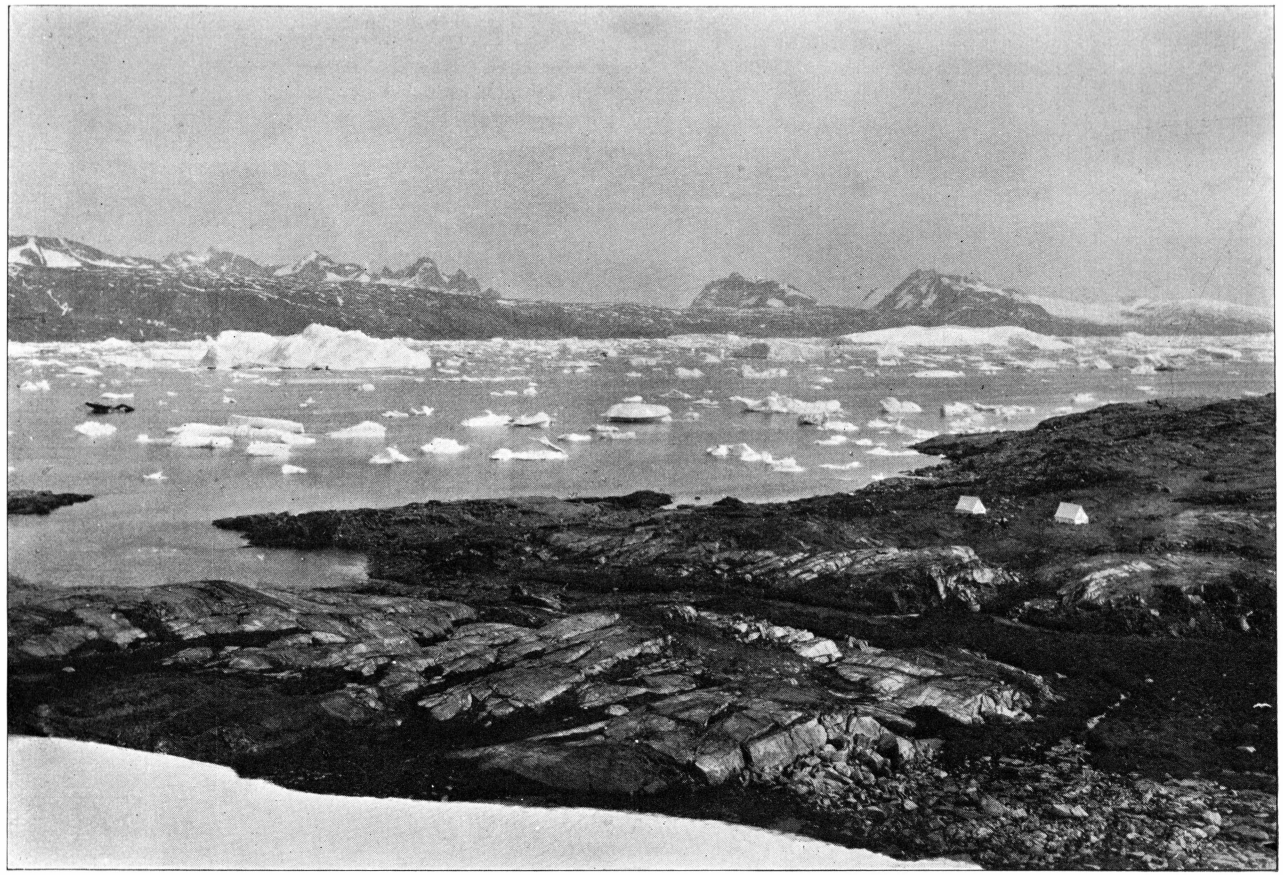


Fig. 17. The old settlement of Sũkersit, Sermilik Fjord.

Sûkersit.

Sûkersit is the largest ruin site in the Angmagssalik district and, what is more, one of the oldest; no thick vegetation betrays that a settlement lies at this spot. It lies on the west side of Sermilik Fjord, fairly high up it. Fig. 17 shows its situation (seen from NW.). In front of the high, rather steep land which forms this part of the west shore of Sermilik Fjord lies a low rocky foreland, through which runs a stream. South of this stream is the settlement. Fig. 18 gives a plan of it; in all there

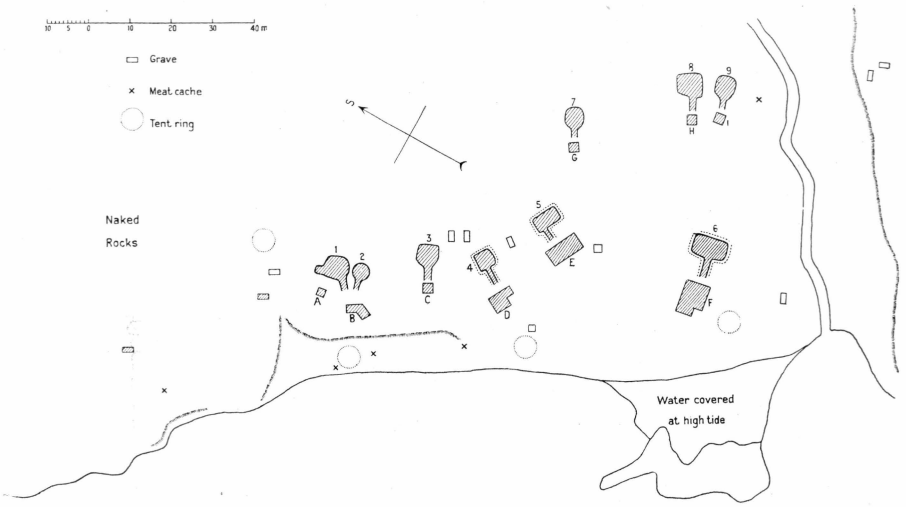


Fig. 18. Plan of the ruined settlement of Sûkersit.

are 9 house ruins, 7 graves, 4 tent rings, 6 meat caches, a pair of boat-supports and some settings of stones made by playing children. House ruins I and II lie 8 metres above sea level, III and IV lie 7—7½ m, V and VII are 5, VI is 4, VIII and IX are 3—3½ m above sea level.

Fig. 19 gives the ground plans of the house ruins at Sûkersit.

House ruin I is irregular in shape, with a sharp corner, but otherwise rounded. The south wall is best preserved, built of stones, about 1 m high; the others are lower, more collapsed, but still distinct, and containing stones. In the whole of the north and west part of the house the bottom is formed of a flat rock sloping southeast, presumably the platform. Most of the floor area is covered with flat stones. On the south side is an extension, the floor of which, lying at the same level as the rest of the floor, is full of slag from cooking with bones and blubber; in here were two large fragments of a cooking pot; apparently this extension has been a kind of kitchen[1]). In the east wall was a niche, in which were

[1]) Compare Kangâmiut, p. 16, House 11 at Utorqait.

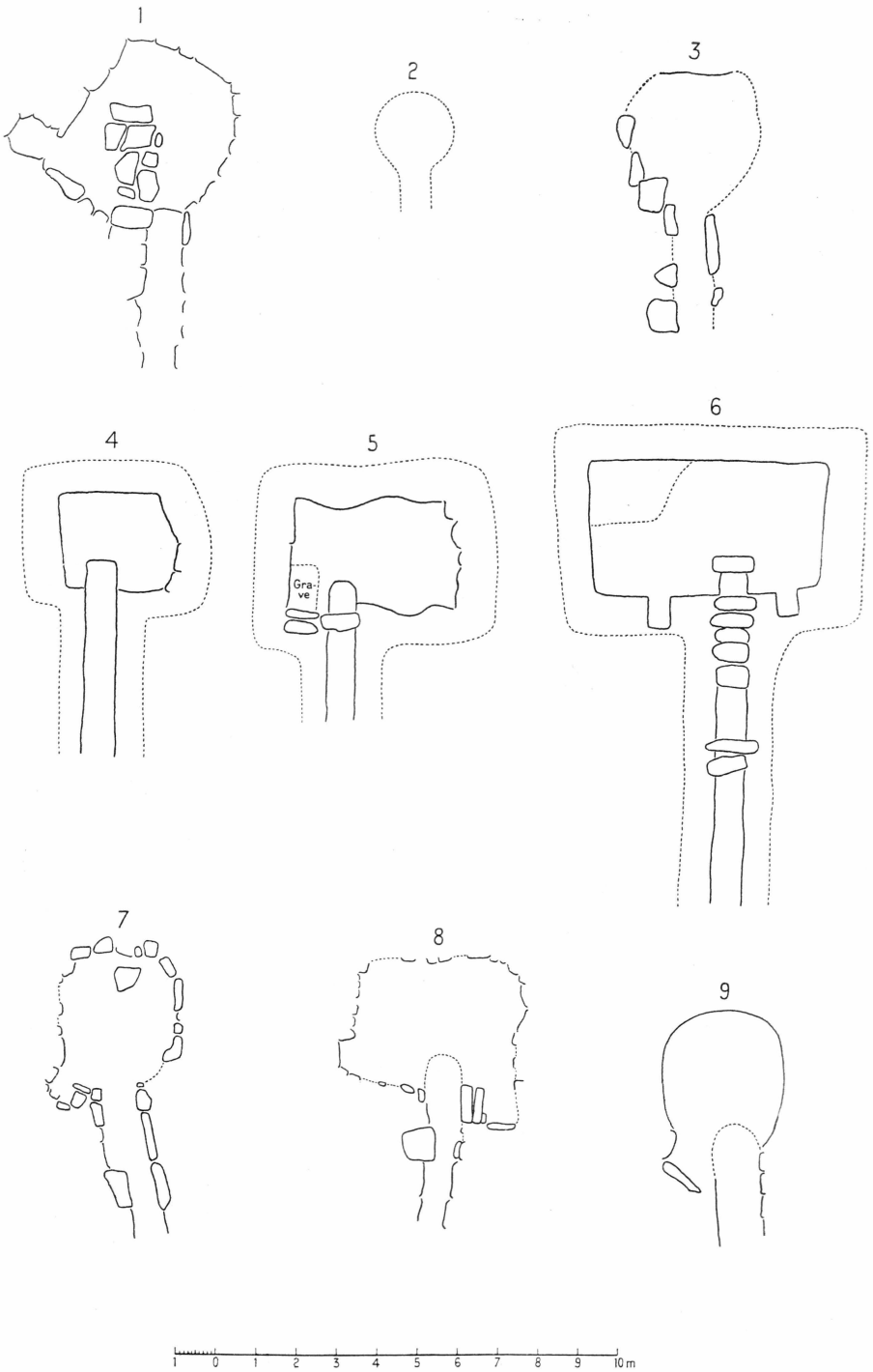


Fig. 19. Plan of the House Ruins, Sũkersit.

a number of objects. The floor of the passage was 50 cm lower than that in the house; its upper end had a rather deep culture layer, and in it were found many specimens; a fragment of a human skull also lay there.

This house yielded a rich find dating from the earliest culture in the district, the best collective find we have from that time. Besides a number of bones (mostly seal, but also some whale bones and those of bear and dog), chips of slate and a few pieces of baleen, we found 65 specimens, some of them well preserved; in the deeper culture deposits found in this house, i.e. in the niche and the passage, the conditions for preserving have been better than in most other ruins of this period. There was no midden outside the house; in 4 sq.m we only found 4 badly decomposed bones.

House ruin II, which lies alongside I, was only recognizable as a house after excavation, so collapsed was it; it proved to be a very small round house, only 2 m in diameter, with very low walls and a passage 2 m long; the floor of the house was solid rock, in the passage flat stones. In the 20 cm layer of mould that filled the house were bones of seal, whale and dog, baleen, and 6 specimens. There was no refuse outside.

House ruin III was merely an oval depression in the gravel, $3^1/_2$ m long, 3.3 m wide, the rear wall being formed of solid rock; the bottom was gravel; only in the passage were there a few stones in position. In this house, which presumably, like the foregoing, belongs to the earliest habitation, were 48 animal bones (a whale bone, otherwise seal) and chips of slate, but no specimens. A sample excavation outside gave only one badly decomposed bone.

House ruin IV is of the small, four-sided type; in shape it is a little irregular on account of having a rock as part of the north wall. The walls were well preserved, 1 m high; the floor is of solid rock, in which hollows here and there were full of gravel and covered with flat stones. The long passage has a floor of flat stones, which lie 30 cm lower than that of the house.

This house did not yield many bones, and those found were badly decomposed; we also found two large pieces of wood and 3 specimens.

Outside we found a few scattered bones; an area of 20 sq. m (Field D) was excavated, and in it were found 8 specimens, including a glass bead; this house is later than I—III.

House ruin V is one of the oblong type, though it is only small ($4^1/_2$ by 3 m). The south and west walls were well preserved, built with stones, more than 1 m high; at one place, however, the west wall had fallen into the house a little, thus making the curved form seen on the plan. The north and east walls were more collapsed, lower. In a small

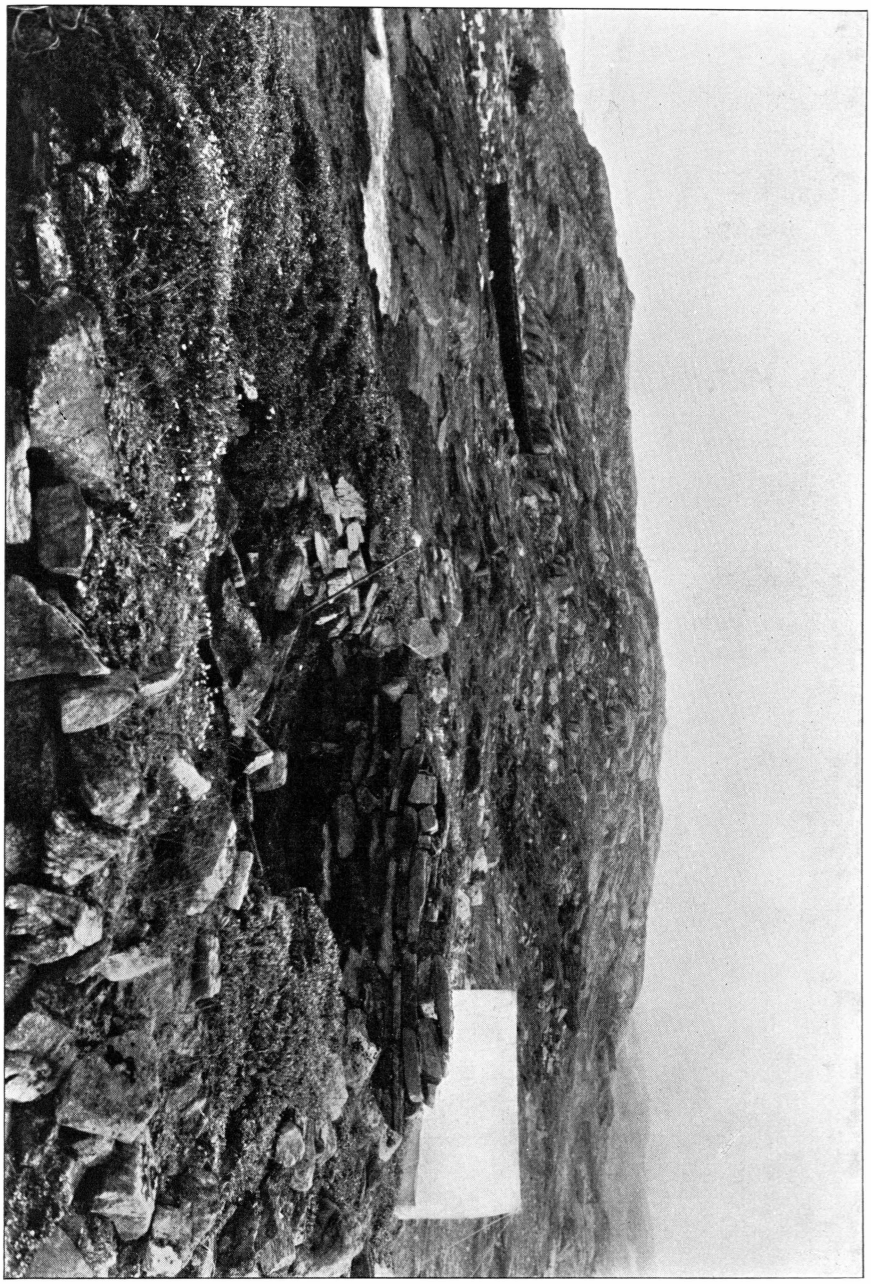


Fig. 20. Sükersit, House Ruin VI.

bulge in the east wall was a cooking place with slag. On the floor were flat stones, though they did not cover it all; the floor of the passage was 30 cm lower; most of its roofing stones were in position. In one corner of the house was a grave containing a skeleton. House V contained a number of bones (seal, and a whale vertebra and large pieces of whale bone), some fragments of slate and 17 specimens.

Outside was a very thin, rather unproductive deposit of refuse, of which we excavated 32 sq.m (Field E); there we found 17 specimens. Both these and those from inside the house are of a later period.



Fig. 21. Sūkersit, House Ruin VI after excavation.

House ruin VI, the best preserved of the older of the large common houses I saw at Angmagssalik. Fig. 20 is this house before excavation, Fig. 21 a part of it after the floor stones had been uncovered. It is an oblong house, 6 by $3^1/_2$ m; the rear wall is slightly longer than the front wall, and the north wall a little shorter than the south wall. The walls are well preserved, built with stones, about 1.2 m high, somewhat overgrown with willow bush. In the east wall, on each side of the passage opening, was a niche, 70—80 cm deep. In the southwest corner of the house, on the platform, was an irregular hummock; otherwise the floor had a regular stone covering. The passage, with some of its roofing stones in position, opened out a little way into the house, and its floor — of flat stones — lay about 40 cm lower than that of the house; above

the passage opening the wall of the house was lower — the window has probably been there.

Inside the house, near the north end, lay a human skeleton. Otherwise it contained many animal bones, though most of them were decomposed, seal mainly, but also whale, walrus and dog. It gave a good yield of 48 specimens, among which were several of interest: an ear drop of bell-metal, toy sledge and dogs of seal bone, glass beads.

Outside was a fairly extensive but rather unproductive midden,



Fig. 22. Sūkersit, House Ruin VII.

of which 44 sq.m (Field F) were excavated; in it were found 19 specimens besides some cleaved slate pieces.

House VII is oval, $3^1/_2$ by $2^1/_2$ m, with low walls of stone, kitchen extension, and passage, the floor of which is 30 cm lower than that of the house. The bottom of both house and passage was of gravel; still, on the platform lay a whale scapula. Fig. 22 shows this ruin before excavation.

This ruin yielded no fewer than 600 animal bones, though 480 of them were in and just outside the "kitchen"; they were nearly all seal, but a piece of antler was found in the kitchen. In the house were 12 specimens. Outside there was no refuse, nothing but clean gravel.

House ruin VIII was in a bad state of collapse, and irregularly-

foursided in form; on the south the walls were 60 cm high in places, whereas elsewhere they were low and indistinct; there was a cooking niche and a gravel floor; the passage lay 20 cm lower than the floor. It contained 104 animal bones, badly decomposed, mostly seal; there was, however, a piece of a large whale rib, 80 cm long. This house contained only 6 specimens; nothing was found outside.

House ruin IX was better preserved than the foregoing; it was distinctly round, with well-preserved walls 1 m high, a cooking niche,



Fig. 23. Sūkersit, House Ruin IX.

a number of floor stones, and a passage sunk 40 cm (Fig. 23). It contained 110 bones, many of them very decomposed, mostly seal, but including 4 dog bones, a bear tooth and a number of pieces of whale bone, including a piece of rib 60 cm long and a larger piece of a very massive jaw. The house contained 14 specimens, among which were several of interest (adze blades, knife with side groove).

There was no refuse outside.

All the graves were examined and provided some skeletal material, but only one had any grave goods. It was a child's grave, built together with two adult graves on a rocky crag southeast of the settlement (Grave 1). The two adult graves measured 1.5 by 0.8 and 1.35 and 0.7 m respectively; the former contained only faint traces of bones, the latter

two fairly well preserved skeletons. The child's grave was 0.9 by 0.5 m and contained a skeleton in a well-advanced stage of decomposition; in it, mostly at the head end, were a number of ornaments (ornamental bodkins, pierced teeth, etc.) and toys (lamps, cooking pots, etc.) and, in a small chamber outside the grave, at the head end, stood a toy sledge (the whole find is shown on Pl. 4).

In the bottom of a large meat cache, likewise SE of the settlement, was a layer of blubber containing 5 seal bones and 29 strips of baleen, most of them quite thin, cut; two of them had knots in them.



Fig. 24. Sũkersit. Boat supports and kayak-shaped stone settings.

A pair of boat-supports, formed of high stones set on end, and two kayak-shaped stone settings, used by children as toy kayaks, are seen on Fig. 24.

Conditions at Sũkersit are unusually clear; there have been two habitation periods, an early one, represented by the six small, round houses; the specimens from them distinctly show that they date from the earliest population of the district. A curious feature is the kitchen extension on four of the houses, one that we know of in houses of similar type on the southern West Coast. Then we have the three square houses, one of them of the small, the other two of the larger type; shape, state of preservation and the specimens found show that they represent a later period, to which we must presumably place most of the graves,

the boat supports and the kayak-formed stone settings. This period, too, lies well back in time; Sūkersit has scarcely been inhabited the last two hundred years. The finds of skeletons in several of the ruins indicate that the place probably has been deserted on account of famine, epidemic, or some such catastrophe.

Savanganeq.

Savanganeq is a point on the east side of Sermilik Fjord, not far from the mouth. Fig. 25 is a plan of the settlement. The ground is very

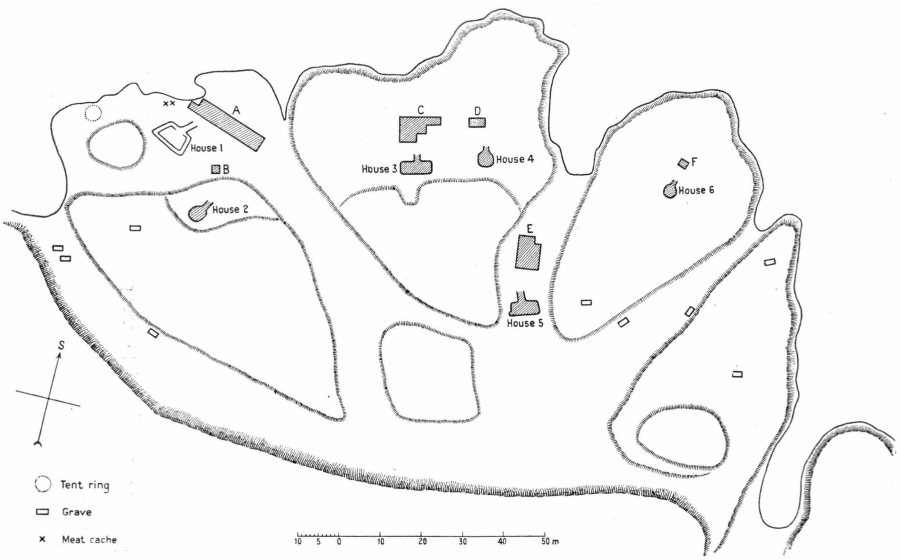


Fig. 25. Plan of the old settlement of Savanganeq.

rugged and consists of a number of ridges separated by valleys; the soil is very dry and gravelly and there is no running water in the vicinity. On this terrain lie 6 houses of very different ages.

Farthest south, on the largest area of flat ground, and 6 m above sea level, lies one of the large common houses, House ruin I, 10 by 5 m, with markedly converging side walls; this house was last inhabited in 1910, but has also been tenanted in other years in recent times, at any rate in 1884, 1894, 1904 and 1906. In front of it is a very large midden with a thick growth of grass. A strip of it, 4 m wide, was excavated right across the spit that stretches out from there, in all 60 sq.m (Field A); the intention was to discover whether there were old deposits below the modern refuse. In the middle of the Field the deposits were rather thin (30—50 cm) and decomposed; even on the surface the bones were often weathered. But down towards the sides the depth increased

considerably, especially towards the west in Fields A 1—3 and 7—9, where in a fissure it was 1.4 m; the lowest two layers contained hardly anything else than stone objects, but the others, which had been kept moist by seep, contained numbers of objects of wood as well as of baleen, these having kept well even from rather early times. In Field A we found 456 specimens.

House ruins III and V are of the older, square type; III is one of the larger ones, 5 by $3^1/_2$ m, with a well-preserved stone floor, but in a state of collapse, both walls and passage; on the bottom was a fairly rich culture deposit, containing 66 specimens. The midden (Field C) was rather extensive and deep (30—40 cm), but bone had almost disappeared; 52 sq.m were excavated, yielding 141 specimens.

House V was 3.4 by 4.0 m; walls and passage had fallen in; the floor was of the solid rock, a few flat stones, otherwise gravel. It yielded 28 specimens, almost all of stone; the same applies to the midden (Field E), 30—40 cm thick, which contained 76 specimens on an area of 44 sq.m; near the bottom, throughout almost the whole expanse of the midden, was a thin layer of ashes with many burnt bones.

Ruins II, IV and VI are of the older, round type; after excavation they all proved to be round or oval hollows in the gravel, 2—3 m in diameter, with not many stones in the walls and passage; none of them had a floor. House II lies $8^1/_2$ m above sea level, whereas IV and VI lie relatively high, 15 and 21 m respectively. These houses contained very little of interest, only stone objects and a few almost entirely decomposed bones; II yielded 6, IV 5 and VI 9 specimens. None of them had a midden.

Rather a considerable number of graves was found at Savanganeq. At the settlement itself there were 9, two of which contained people who were still known; Grave 7 was examined and yielded 3 specimens, including a handsome little arrow head (Pl. 5. 33); the others were disturbed. But on the rock plateau above the settlement, about 40 m above sea level, were 11 graves, all old; they had all been destroyed, however[1]).

Sivtsingaleq.

This settlement lies near Cape Dan at the mouth of Angmagssalik Fjord; it is still inhabited. Quite close is another settlement, also inhabited now, Sûnajik. On the whole the region here round Cape Dan is an important centre of habitation; large numbers of ruin sites lie on the point and islands in the neighbourhood; and Kulusuk on Cape Dan Island is still the largest settlement in the Angmagssalik district.

[1]) Dr. Quervain is said to have collected skulls here (Quervain p. 269).

A sketch of these two settlements is shown on Fig. 26. A ridge stretches north of it, and along the foot of this ridge lies Sivtsingaleq, 6 house ruins and one inhabited house; of these I—V were excavated. Ruins III—IV lie about 3, and I—II and V about 6 m above sea level.

House ruin I is quite a small, rectangular house, 1.2 by 2.2 m, with a passage $3^1/_2$ m long; the walls were well preserved, about 80 cm

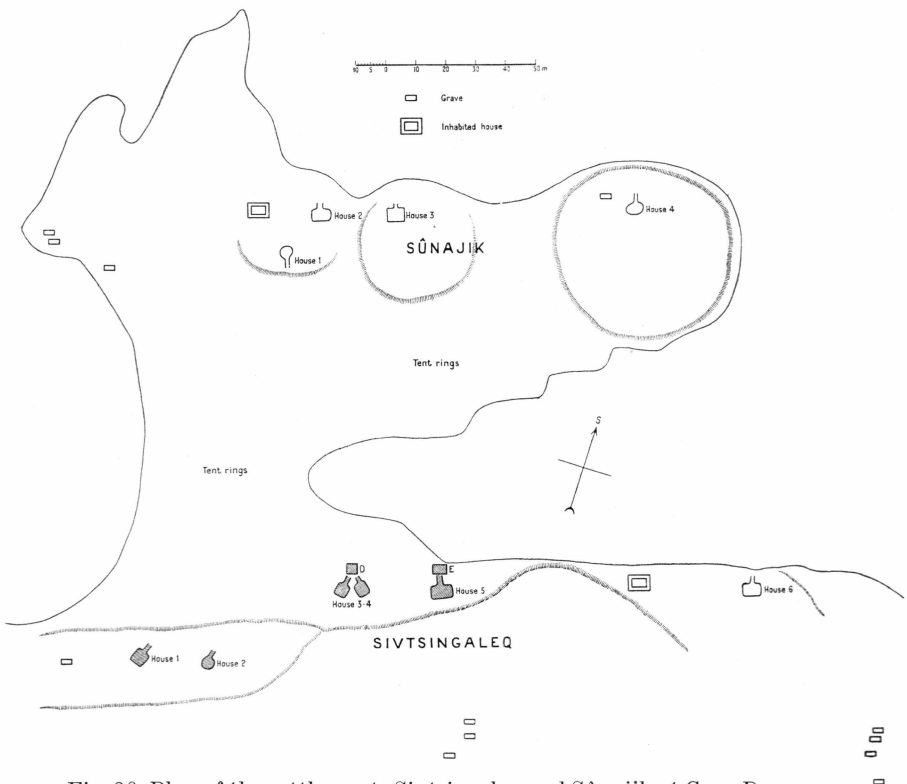


Fig. 26. Plan of the settlements Sivtsingaleq and Sûnajik at Cape Dan.

high; it had a regular stone floor; it contained some few seal bones and 4 specimens; there was no midden.

House ruin II was round, 2.7 by 3 m, with a 5 m passage. The walls were set with stones; the house was dug a metre down into the ground, and there were a few flat stones on the floor. It contained a few decomposed bones, including seal ossicles and a large whale bone, besides 7 specimens, all of stone; these, and the form of the house, indicate that they date from the earliest habitation.

House ruins III and IV lie close together — small, rectangular, measuring 1.6 by 2.5 and 2.2 by 3 m respectively, thickly overgrown; only III had a stone floor; the two passages converge. They contained

bones of seal and whale; III yielded 9, IV 10 specimens; there was no midden.

House ruin V is one of the large quadrangular houses, $5^1/_2$ by 3 m, with a partly paved floor, well preserved walls and passage; it contained 13 specimens, and, in the thin refuse deposits outside, of which 24 sq.m were excavated (Field E), 6 specimens were found.

Of the ruins at Sûnajik, I and IV apparently belong to the oldest type, whereas II and III are quite new sites. None of these was excavated.

Ruin localities in Sermiligaq.

In Sermiligaq Fjord excavations of a less extensive character were made at three localities, Pusisaraq, Isigsit and Utorqarmiut; none of them revealed anything of especial interest, and therefore their description may be quite brief.

Pusisaraq, last inhabited in 1908, besides this recent ruin has three older ones, thickly overgrown, one of the large, quadrangular type, and two small quadrangular; the latter two were excavated. I, which had completely fallen in, was 2.4 by 2.8 m; rear wall and floor in house and passage were of the solid rock. House IV was likewise thickly overgown, 3 by 3 m. The few specimens contained in these houses (in all 13) were not particularly old.

Isigsit, which lies on the north point of the same island as Pusisaraq, has not been inhabited recently; it has five house ruins, two of the earliest type, two of the small quadrangular, and one large quadrangular. Some areas of the middens were excavated in front of the two small, quadrangular houses, producing 12 specimens.

The two oldest ruins lay a little higher up and farther from the water than the others; from a sample excavation there seemed to be no culture deposit in either of them; they were quite small, 3 by 3 and 1.7 by 2.7 m respectively, and so demolished that it was impossible to determine their shape.

Utorqarmiut is now the principal settlement in Sermiligaq, its inhabitants mostly being descendants of the notorious murderer and shaman Maratse. Since 1917 — with the exception of 1921 — Utorqarmiut has been inhabited every winter. Besides the three still tenanted houses there are four ruins. One of these is quite recent; another, which also belongs to the large type, has since been built over; the other two, both of the small, quadrangular type, were excavated.

House ruin I, farthest out on the point running southwards, was so collapsed as to be unrecognizable. It proved to be quite small, 1.8 by 2 m, with a few floor stones and quite low walls. There was a rather extensive midden around it, containing numbers of stone objects (46)



Fig. 27. The settlement of Utorqarmiut in Sermiligaq Fjord.

and stone chips, but of bone only a piece of whale bone and a strip of baleen.

House ruin II lies rather high up a rocky slope above the settlement; it is much better preserved, 1.6 by 3.6 m, with a very curved passage 4 m long. Both inside and outside was a quantity of refuse, and it yielded 11 specimens, presumably dating from the 18th Century.

Fig. 27 shows the settlement of Utorqarmiut from the south.

In the settlement of Upernivik, the largest ruin locality in Sermiligaq, is a badly collapsed ruin which seems to be a double house with two platform spaces, presumably part of the earliest habitation; by its side lay a single house, apparently of the same period. Judging from the vegetation they had no refuse, and conditions did not permit of a closer inspection.

This completes the description of the ruin localities worth dealing with in detail. The others contain nothing of particular interest, and I will merely refer to the list of how many ruins of each type they contain.

The chronology and origin of the different types of houses will be discussed when dealing with the various culture periods. One thing more need be mentioned here: in a conspicuous number of places in the Angmagssalik district one meets with house ruins on a high situation. In many cases this is a result of the form of the terrain, as for instance House VI at Savanganeq, but this does not explain all of them by any means. In the settlement of Sierartêq at Cape Dan there is, for instance, in the middle of the island, about 40 m above sea level, a large house ruin. It would seem as if the many feuds that have caused bloodshed in this district have induced the people to build on sites from which they had a good outlook on the approach of strangers.

Ruins lying so low that one must assume there has been a submergence of the land since they were built were not seen in the Angmagssalik district.

III. THE EARLIEST CULTURE

The house ruins of the first and oldest group, the small, round or rounded houses, were, as stated in the foregoing, often poor in archaeological specimens. But as the elucidation of the earliest culture in the district had to be considered as one of the principal tasks, a rather large number of houses of this type were excavated, viz.: Pôrtusoq 4 (I, III—V), Kangârtik 2 (VI—VII), Kûngmiut 1, Sũkersit 6 (I—III, VII—IX), Savanganeq 3 (II, IV, VI), and Sivtsingaleq 1 (II), that is to say 17 houses in all. Four of these contained nothing, and others extremely little; but, thanks especially to House ruin III at Pôrtusoq and Houses I and IX at Sũkersit — and the find in the hole under the passage to House II at Kangârtik — the finds dating from this earliest period give a very good idea of the culture. To enable us to judge of this we have a collection of 282 specimens: 91 from Pôrtusoq, 68 from Kangârtik, 96 from Sũkersit, 19 from Savanganeq, 7 from Sivtsingaleq and 1 from Kûngmiut.

Below is a list of the types taken from these earliest houses; the number of specimens of each type is also shown next to the different localities.

Harpoon Heads.	Pôrtu-soq	Kangâr-tik	Sũker-sit	Savan-ganeq	Sivtsing-aleq
Thin, bladeless, barbless	..	..	1	..	..
— blade at right-angles to line hole	1	..	..	..	..
— blade parallel to line hole (Inugsuk Type)	..	2	1	..	..
— 1 barb	..	1	..	..	..
— defective	..	..	2	..	..
Other Harpoon Parts.					
Blade, of bone	..	..	2	..	..
Foreshaft of ice-hunting harpoon	..	..	1(?)	..	..
— kayak-harpoon, 1 hole	1(?)	..	..	..	..

	Pôrtu-soq	Kangâr-tik	Sûker-sit	Savan-ganeq	Sivtsing-aleq
Cylindrical mounting for fore-end of harpoon-shaft	..	1	4	..	..
End block for wing-harpoon	..	..	1	..	..
Ice pick	..	1	1	..	..
Stopper for harpoon line	1	..	..	..	..
Other Hunting Implements.					
Wound pin of bone	..	1	..	..	..
Lanceolate stone arrow-head	..	..	..	3	..
Leister prongs, barbed	2	..	..	..	..
— — barbless	1	..	1	..	..
Barb for salmon spear	..	..	2	..	..
Means of Conveyance.					
Sledge shoe	7	3	5	..	..
Line toggles of seal phalange	2	2	..	..	..
Men's Tools.					
Knife with blade socket in end	1	..	2	..	..
Knife with blade groove in side	..	1	1	..	..
Two-edged stone knife blade	..	1	..	1	..
Single-edged stone knife blade	2	..	1	..	..
Whetstone	1	5	16	1	1
Adze head, of bone	..	1	..	..	..
Adze blade, of stone	..	1	2	..	..
Adze handle	..	1(?)	..	..	..
Hammer stone	1	1	3	..	..
Mattock blade	..	..	1(?)	..	..
Wedge	2	1	2	..	..
Drill shank	..	..	1	..	..
Drill-mouthpiece of astragalus (seal)	..	1	..	..	..
Women's Tools.					
Ulo handle, no tang	..	..	1	..	..
Ulo blade, of stone	..	..	..	..	1
Convex-edged stone scraper blade	..	2	..	5	1
Winged needle case	..	..	1	..	..
Household Utensils.					
Lamp with wick ledge	..	..	..	1	..
Round-cornered cooking pot with:					
inside cord hole	..	..	4	..	..
cord hole from side to side	..	1	..	..	..
Unidentifiable pot sherds	..	..	4[1])	..	..

[1]) And one from Kùngmiut, the only specimen found in that ruin.

	Pôrtu-soq	Kangâr-tik	Sûker-sit	Savan-ganeq	Sivtsing-aleq
Lamp trimmer of asbestos	1	2	3	..	..
Wooden stick for fire-drilling	..	1	1	..	..
Oval bowl bottom	..	..	2	1	..
Spoon, of bone	..	1	2	..	..
Ladle, of wood	..	1	..	..	..
Clothing, Ornaments etc.					
Toggles, small, of bone	..	1	2	..	..
Pierced teeth	..	1	1	..	..
Drop pendant, of bone	..	1	1(?)	..	..
Pendant, of bone	1	..	..	..	..
— of slate	1	1	..	..	2
Bead, round, of stone	1	..	..	..	1
Games and Pastimes.					
Ajagaq, of seal radius	1	..	..	..	..
— — penis bone	..	1	..	..	..
— walrus penis bone	..	1	..	..	..
Toy harpoon head	1	..	1	..	..
— lamp, with wick ledge	1	..	1	..	..
— — without wick ledge	1	1	..	..	1
— cooking pot	1	1	1	..	..
Sundries.					
Mounting, of bone	..	1	1	..	..
Toggle, for stretching seal thong	..	..	1	..	..
Wooden implement with hand-grip, purpose unknown	..	1(?)	..	..	..
Graphite, ground pieces	2	..	2	..	..
Baleen cord, with knots	..	..	3	..	..

It will be observed from this list that there are very few objects of wood and scarcely any of baleen; most of the few wooden objects in the collection were found in the hole under the passage to House II, Kangârtik, where the humidity had preserved them. It will also be seen that there are no bone objects from the ruins at Savanganeq and Sivtsingaleq.

One circumstance that is worth noting is the conspicuous part played by whale bone as a material. Of the 139 worked pieces of bone that form the total of specimens from these ruins, 87 are of whale bone. Another feature of interest is that 7 specimens, all from Sûkersit, are of antler. This is the first definite evidence that caribou have lived in the Angmagssalik district in former times. Four of these specimens

are objects that might of course have been brought from the West Coast; but the other three are waste pieces, pieces of tines that have been cut away and scrapped as useless, and it can scarcely be imagined that they were imported. Fig. 28 shows two of these. The other osseous material consists of the bones and teeth of seal, bear and walrus.



Fig. 28. Worked antler pieces, Sūkersit. 2:5.

Observations on the various Types.

Harpoon Heads.

All the 8 harpoon heads, and the two small specimens that have been toys, belong to the thin guide group. Pl. 1. 1-3 shows three of the types we have here, all of whale bone: 1 has neither blade nor barb, 3 seems to have had its blade at right angles to the line hole, and a reinforcing lashing round the shaft socket, while 2 is the Inugsuk type, with the blade slit (presumably for a stone or bone blade) parallel to the line hole; this specimen has the spur bifurcated, whereas on another, rather smaller specimen of the same type the spur is whole. A very defective head has been barbed.

This harpoon complex in itself indicates a considerable age; the number of specimens is not so large that one can set up statistics on them; but with them all of the thin type, and the Inugsuk type as the guide form, these objects seem to be closely related to the West Greenland, mediaeval, Inugsuk Culture[1]).

Other Parts of Harpoons.

Pl. 3. 1 is a harpoon blade of bone, of the usual type, triangular, with a hole for a peg.

Pl. 1. 13 is one of the cylindrical shaft mountings (socket pieces) for the fore end of the harpoon shaft, of whale bone, with a large round socket in the rear end and a smaller one in the fore end. All these specimens are of this type, which also is the predominating form in the earliest culture in the Kangâmiut area[2]), and has also been found in Northeast Greenland[3]). This is the harpoon-shaft mounting type of the Inugsuk Culture, whereas that of the Thule Culture is heavier and has a scarf face at the rear, while the modern West and East Greenland types are quite short and flat.

---

[1]) See Inugsuk, p. 182 seq.; Kangâmiut, p. 71 seq.
[2]) Kangâmiut, p. 77.
[3]) Cambridge Exp., Fig. 2. 2.

Pl. 1. 20 is an end block for a winged harpoon, the bone piece that is fixed between the wings and holds them together, and has a hole for the stud on the throwing board; in the other side is a deep socket for the shaft. No similar specimen has previously been found in the West-Greenland Inugsuk Culture, but presumably this is merely accidental; in the National Museum is an ancient similar specimen from West Greenland, and even in Comer's Midden we had what undoubtedly was a harpoon wing[1]). The discussion on the winged harpoon and its evolution will be taken in conjunction with the description of the harpoon wings in the find from the 18th Century (p. 78).

Pl. 2. 1 is a very heavy ice pick of whale bone, much longer and more massive than these implements usually are; possibly it is for a whale harpoon. The other ice pick is of the usual size and shape.

Pl. 3. 2 is a stopper for the harpoon line, of whale bone. None of these were found in the Inugsuk Culture — but this may be merely accidental; we have it in the Thule Culture of the Central Eskimos[2]).

Other Hunting Implements.

Pl. 1. 4 is a wound pin of bone; in contrast to most specimens of this widespread little implement, this one has a hole through the head, a feature that we find in the modern Angmagssalik Culture and in Scoresby Sound[3]).

Pl. 3. 3 is a lanceolate arrow head of angmaq, only slightly ground on one side, with a pointed tang; the point of the head is broken off. This is a type that is familiar in the West Greenland Inugsuk Culture and "Stone Age"[4]). Two fragments seem to have been of similar heads.

Of leister prongs, one is quite a small, slender specimen, with bilateral barbs, the other unfinished, with unilateral barbs[5]). Two slender bone points with a scarf face in the rear end are presumably middle prongs of leisters.

Pl. 3.4 is presumably the barb of a salmon spear, of the same type as is still used in Angmagssalik[6]); it is of whale bone, rather flat, somewhat curved, and at the butt has been thinned to make it hold more firmly in the wooden side prongs; the hole is for a peg to hold the barb on to the side prong. The other specimen, however, lacks this hole.

Barbs for salmon spears of this type seem to be a special southeast-

[1]) Wissler, Fig. 30.
[2]) M 1927 I, p. 30.
[3]) Thalbitzer 1914, Fig. 157d; Ryder, Fig. 18.
[4]) Solberg, Pl. 12. 1-22; Inugsuk, Pl. 8. 2; Kangâmiut, Pl. 1. 19.
[5]) One figured Geogr. Tidskrift 1932, Fig. 1. 4.
[6]) Thalbitzer 1914, Fig. 141a.

coast form; they are not known in West Greenland, Northeast Greenland or the Thule Culture; the latter's salmon-spear barbs are of another type[1]) which we also know of from Northeast Greenland — lashed on, not slotted into the side prong, which in this case has been of bone.

Means of Communication.

Sledge shoes are present in fairly large numbers, but almost all are broken. They are of whale bone. The width varies from $3^1/_2$ to $5^1/_2$ cm, but in most cases is just over 4 cm; this corresponds more or less to the usual width of sledge shoes in early West and Northeast Greenland finds, but is much wider than that used in later times in West and East Greenland[2]); Pl. 2. 6 shows one of these sledge shoes.

Pl. 3. 6 is a toggle button formed of a seal phalange; it is pierced with three holes, one of which opens into the end. These toggle buttons, of the same bone or of others, are in general use in the Angmagssalik district today, partly to hold the dog harness to the trace[3]), partly for other purposes, for instance on sledges and umiaks, where the load-lashing lines often terminate in such buttons, which are easy to push in under thongs, thus facilitating making them fast. Such toggle buttons are not known on the West Coast or on the northern part of the East Coast; probably it is a special Southeast Greenland form which has come into use in very early times.

Men's Tools.

Pl. 1. 5 is a knife haft of antler, with a hole for the thong and a blade socket in the end, through which is a bone peg; it is decorated with longitudinal grooves, an ornamentation which, though less well marked, has been found on several knives of the early culture at Inugsuk[4]) and in the Kangâmiut area[5]).

Pl. 1. 7 is a large knife haft of whale bone, at the fore end terminating in a thinner part; in the end of this is a deep, but defective socket for a blade.

The other main type of knife haft is represented by Pl. 1. 6 and 8. No. 6 is a haft of whale bone formed by drilling, in one side at the end having a narrow blade groove, 3.7 cm long. No. 8 is a haft of antler, in which is a blade of whale bone, held fast by a bone peg; in one edge of this is a groove for the cutting edge, which probably has been of iron chips.

[1]) M 1927 II, pp. 55—56.
[2]) See Inugsuk, p. 202. Thomsen 1917, p. 413.
[3]) See Thalbitzer 1914, Fig. 77.
[4]) Inugsuk, p. 211.
[5]) Kangâmiut, p. 89.

Whereas the former knife, with the blade in the end, is universally distributed over Eskimo Culture, the latter, with a long edge-groove in one edge, is characteristic of the early, West Greenland Inugsuk Culture; this applies especially to the knives in which there is an edge-groove in a thinner blade-part of bone[1]), whereas the others (here represented by Pl. 1. 6) are known in both the Thule Culture and North East Greenland[2]).

Pl. 3. 5 is a knife blade of angmaq[3]) with one edge; it is polished and has a rather broad tang. Knives of this material and form have been met with in the West Greenland "Stone Age"[4]); otherwise, of course, single-edged stone knives are widely distributed within Eskimo Culture[5]). Besides this specimen there are only three small fragments, of single and two-edged knife blades of polished slate and unpolished quartz.

Whetstones are among the commonest objects in the early ruins. As a rule the material is slate, especially argillaceous slate, which splits into prismatic pieces, so that the form of these pieces determines the shape of the whetstone; sometimes they have only one ground side, other times several. Pl. 2. 4 is a handsome whetstone of this rock, ground on all sides, tapering out to a point at one end. Other whetstones are of other rocks: red sandstone, micaceous schist, etc. Some have one rubbing surface (Pl. 2. 5), others several; many are small and prismatic, with rubbing surfaces on all four sides (Pl. 1. 12).

Of adzes, besides small fragments of a bone head and a handle, we have two well-preserved stone blades. Pl. 2. 2 is one of these; it is a piece of split slate, at one end ground to an almost symmetrical, slightly convex edge. Another specimen (Pl. 2. 3) is four-sided, with a damaged edge. These adze blades cannot have been set in bone heads as is usually the case with Eskimo adzes, but must have been lashed direct to the handle; such adzes also occur, though rarely, in West Greenland[6]), where, however, it is another material.

Pl. 2. 8 is a hammer stone of the usual form, a rounded pebble of a diabase rock with a facet caused by hammering on one end.

Of the various parts of the bow drill we have a drill shank (Pl. 1. 9) of whale bone with a rather small-dimensioned, four-sided socket, and a badly decomposed mouth-piece of the form most common on the southern East Coast, of seal astragalus, a type that is also known on

---

[1]) See Inugsuk, Pl. 10. 17; Kangâmiut, Pl. 3. 6.
[2]) See M 1927 II, p. 69 seq. Thomsen 1917, p. 430.
[3]) The grey silicious slate so well-known in West Greenland.
[4]) Solberg, Pl. 4. 7.
[5]) M 1927 II, p. 73.
[6]) Solberg, Pl. 8. 1 and 7.

the West Coast[1]), even if so far it has not occurred in the large collective finds of the Inugsuk Culture, where another bone, the caribou astragalus, is used; this latter bone, however, is not to be had (or at any rate only rarely) on the southern East Coast. The great importance of drill-technique is to be seen in the many pieces of bone that have been split or broken by means of drilling (for instance Pl. 1. 6 and 2. 14).

Women's Tools.

Pl. 1. 14 is the only ulo handle we have of the earliest period; it is of the type well-known in the Thule and Inugsuk Cultures, tangless, but with a very thick back; in the other edge is the blade groove. The present specimen is badly decomposed, and there are traces of rust in the blade groove. Pl. 3. 7 is a small defective ulo blade of polished slate.

Pl. 3. 9 is a small scraper blade with a convex edge, of quartz. These small, poorly made scraper blades occur in relatively larger numbers, viz. 4 of quartz, 2 of rock crystal and 1 of angmaq; they all have a flat and a rounded side, and usually the edge is rather obtuse-angled. It is a form that is very common in early Eskimo Culture as a whole[2]), though mostly it is larger and of better material.

Pl. 1. 17 is a specimen of the "winged" needle case, of whale bone. The distribution of this type has often been discussed: the Thule Culture, Inugsuk Culture, Northeast Greenland; and now we find it on the southern East Coast.

Household Utensils.

In order to judge the lamps of the earliest culture we must include the five miniature lamps. Of these, three have a wick ledge; only one of these, Pl. 3. 8, is complete; the wick ledge is continuous and runs right out to the sides, as it also does on the two fragments. Pl. 2. 19 has just inside the front edge a groove as a sort of vestigal wick ledge. The last toy lamp is rather roughly made and has no wick ledge[3]).

Fig. 29 is the only large lamp found; but as it has been made out of the corner of a large cooking pot, its form must not be regarded as typical. Thus it has not been possible to make a wick ledge, but in return the craftsman cut a groove a little way inside the front edge, and parallel to it; a distinct sign that the idea of a wick ledge was still predominant.

The lamp with a wick ledge is thus the dominating form here as

[1]) In National Museum, Lc 836, from Perdlertut, Disko, and another with no particulars.

[2]) M 1927 II, p. 90.

[3]) Figured Geogr. Tids. 1932, Fig. 1. 19.

it is in the Thule and the Inugsuk Cultures[1]); hitherto only a fragment of a lamp of this type had been found on the East Coast, at Scoresby Sound[2]).

The cooking pots have been round-cornered, and most have had suspension holes passing through an inside projection like Pl. 2. 7. Two fragments which can be matched together, 25 by 20 cm, are of what has been a very large pot, which has been held together by lashings through holes in the edges of each piece.

These cooking pots with inside suspension holes predominated in



Fig. 29. Lamp with vestigal wick ledge. Savanganeq. 2:5.

the West Greenland Inugsuk Culture[3]), from which they have passed into the modern culture, both in West Greenland[4]) and at Angmagssalik[5]).

As to asbestos lamp-trimmers (Pl. 1. 10) and fire-drilling sticks (Pl. 2. 10) there is nothing particular to remark. Of the oval bowl bottoms one is of whale bone, the others of wood; all are badly defective.

Pl. 1. 18 is a spoon of bone, consisting of two pieces lashed together, a handle and an egg-shaped, oval bowl; these two parts lay close together. Another very similar bowl is made out of a seal cranium. These spoons are apparently the Inugsuk Culture's well-shaped spoons of antler with egg-shaped bowl[6]), transplanted to the East Coast and adapted to the poorer material; we do not know these spoons from the northern East Coast.

---

[1]) See for instance Kangâmiut, p. 97.
[2]) Thomsen 1928, p. 314.
[3]) Kangâmiut, p. 100.
[4]) Birket-Smith 1924, p. 382.
[5]) Holm 1888, Pl. XXIV.
[6]) Inugsuk, Pl. 13. 8 and 10-12; Kangâmiut, Pl. 5. 3-5.

A peculiar little spoon, made of the upper end of a bear's jaw, is shown on Pl. 1. 21. In the National Museum are two ancient spoons made of exactly the same bone, from West Greenland, one of them (L 6760) from a very old grave at Arpaitsivik in Julianehaab, the other having no particulars; thus this form has also been known in West Greenland.

The flat wooden ladle Pl. 2. 9 is an individually-formed specimen, of which we have no counterpart from any locality.

Dress, Ornaments, etc.

Pl. 3. 12 is a small strap-tag or toggle, made of the canine tooth of one of the large seals, presumably tied to the end of a dress thong or the like; a similar one was found near it, whilst a third small toggle, formed of a seal phalange, was found elsewhere.

Of pierced animals' teeth we have only one, a badly decomposed seal canine tooth, and one of a larger, split tooth (Pl. 3. 13). Pl. 3. 10 is a drop pendant, possibly an ear-drop, cut out of a tooth; the hole is drilled from the end out to one side.

Pl. 3. 11 is the fragment of a pendant of bone; it is flat on one side, rounded on the other, where it is decorated with a row of dots along the edge; it also looks as if there had been a hollow in the middle. Pl. 3. 16-17 are two pendants of slate, both having one flat and one rounded side; No. 16, which is of a very dark-coloured rock, is decorated with a number of transversal cuts along the edge; to find a parallel to this specimen we must go as far as to the mouth of the Mackenzie[1]). Pl. 3. 18, which is of the same light-coloured slate as No. 17, is presumably an unfinished pendant, the suspension hole being lacking. A slate ornament of the same shape, but with the hole, was found at the ruin locality of Amitsivartik. Otherwise, slate ornaments are known to us from the Central Thule Culture[2]).

Pl. 3. 15 and 19 are two round stone beads; No. 19 is of soapstone, a material which, used for beads, is only known from an Inugsuk-Culture settlement in the district of Sukkertoppen[3]). Pl. 3. 15 is of a still more unusual material, graphite. Pl. 3. 14 is a flat bead of soapstone, presumably an ornament too.

Games and Pastimes.

Of the ajagaq we have, firstly, two of the typical form of the West Greenland Inugsuk Culture, of seal radius and penis bone (Pl. 2. 11-12)[4]);

[1]) M 1930, Pl. 4. 17-18.
[2]) M 1927 I, Pl. 31. 1-7.
[3]) Kangâmiut, p. 104.
[4]) See Kangâmiut, p. 104.

neither of these has been found on the northern East Coast, and only the former from the Cape York district (Thule Culture)[1]); secondly, we have Pl. 2. 14, which is made of an unusual bone, a piece of a walrus penis-bone severed by drilling, and made into an ajagaq by hollowing out the ends and boring an eye in the back.

As to toys, besides the harpoon heads and lamps already referred to, we only have two soapstone cooking pots; one is a fragment of a very small, oval pot, the other a slightly hollowed-out sherd.

Sundries.

Of a few narrow pieces of bone mounting with holes in them, one, shown in Pl. 1. 11, is of antler.

Pl. 2. 13 is the humerus of one of the large seals; at the middle is a roughened belt where a thong or something similar has apparently been made fast. We have similar specimens from Inugsuk[2]); apparently they have been used for stretching seal-thongs or the like.

Pl. 1. 15 is the broken-off, rather flat point of a wooden implement; two barbs are faintly indicated on the sides. Presumably this is one of the unidentifiable wooden implements with a cut-out handle (sling handle?) that occur in the Thule and Inugsuk Cultures, common especially in Northeast Greenland[3]); this implement terminates in a point like the present specimen.

Pieces of ground graphite, possibly for use as crayons, occurred in several of the ruins; one of them is shown in Pl. 1. 16. Of other stone material is a piece of rose quartz.

There are no baleen objects from the earliest group of ruins, despite the large quantity of whale bone found; the frailer baleen has decomposed. At the bottom of a meat cache at Sūkersit, near two houses of the earliest type, some baleen cords were found in a layer of blubber; some had knots in them and others were thin, cut strips.

General Observations on the Earliest Culture.

Now is it beyond question that the finds described in the foregoing are related, are of the same age, and belong to the same culture period? In the first place, they were found in or near house ruins of the same form, size and state of preservation; next, however, there is a certain inner relationship between the finds from the different localities. This appears most clearly if we make a comparison between the finds from

[1]) M 1927 I, Fig. 102.

[2]) Inugsuk, p. 263.

[3]) M 1927 II, p. 125; Inugsuk, p. 260; Thalbitzer 1909, pp. 481 and 484. Thomsen 1917, p. 469.

GRØNLANDS STYRELSE

the three localities whence we have a number of bone objects: Pôrtusoq, Kangârtik and Sũkersit. From all three places we have the thin harpoon heads and the wide whale-bone sledge shoes, both characteristic of the earliest culture of this district; from Kangârtik and Sũkersit we have such characteristic types as the cylindrical harpoon shaft mountings and the knives with the blade-grooves in the side. In addition, however, the two smaller finds of stone objects, Savanganeq and Sivtsingaleq, are connected with the others by types like lamps with a wick ledge, slate pendants and stone beads.

Accordingly, there can scarcely be any doubt that these finds are culturally related. And that they are the oldest in the district is seen from several circumstances: the state of preservation of the houses; the absence of glass beads and other objects of European origin; and next, the very culture that is represented in the finds. If we would examine the question as to where this culture has its closest associations, the answer is not open to doubt: it is the West Greenland Inugsuk Culture, as we know it from the earliest culture in the Kangâmiut area on the southern West Coast.

Of the 61 types of implements which we have represented here and which we have named in the list on p. 48-49, 54 of them occur in the West Greenland Inugsuk Culture. Of the other 7, the stopper for the harpoon line, the end mounting for the winged harpoon, and the slate pendants have not hitherto been found in the Inugsuk Culture, it is true, but this is probably a mere matter of chance, as they are all known in the Thule Culture, both in and outside of Greenland. The bow-drill mouthpiece of seal astragalus, and the spoon of bear's jaw are also known in West Greenland. The ajagaq of walrus penis bone is a unique specimen from which no conclusions can be drawn. The type of barb for salmon spears represented here has not been found elsewhere, certainly; but the three-pronged salmon spear is a well-known element of the Thule Culture. The toggle button of seal phalange is a form peculiar to Angmagssalik.

The occurrence of these two objects, the salmon-spear barb and the toggle button, is the only factor that tells us we are on the East Coast; otherwise the culture is quite identical with the West Greenland Inugsuk Culture, and thus shows us this culture transplanted to Southeast Greenland soil. The close relationship is especially demonstrated by such types as the harpoon heads, the cylindrical shaft-mountings, the lanceolate arrow heads of stone, the knives with the long blade groove in the side, the tangless ulo handle, the winged needle case, the lamps with the wick ledge, cooking pots with inside suspension holes, bone spoons with oval bowls, the soapstone beads and the ajagaqs of seal radius and penis bone, types which are all characteristic of the Inugsuk

Culture. And finally we have the house forms, which also are the same as the Inugsuk Culture houses in the Kangâmiut area, a descendant of the whale-bone house of the Thule Culture.

Thus there can scarcely be any doubt that the earliest culture in the Angmagssalik district originates from the West Greenland Inugsuk Culture. And the path of its migration must have lain round Cape Farewell — it must have reached Angmagssalik from the south. This appears from a number of circumstances:

First, the culture here is nearer to the South Greenland form of the Inugsuk Culture (Kangâmiut Area's First Culture Stage) than to the North Greenland form (the Inugsuk Find); this is shown by such types as harpoon heads, cooking pots, soapstone beads and ajagaqs. Second, a migration north about Greenland is unthinkable, for this reason alone: at Cape York it is scarcely possible that there has ever been a stage corresponding to the Inugsuk Culture. Furthermore, some of the ancient types of implements found here in the Angmagssalik district are not known at all in Northeast Greenland through which the migration would have to pass; this means such types as the lanceolate arrow heads of stone, knives with long blade groove in the side, cooking pots with inside suspension holes, bone spoons with oval bowls, and the ajagaqs. There can be no doubt that the first settlers at Angmagssalik came from the south.

When did these pioneers come to Angmagssalik? The West Greenland Culture from which it emanated, the First Culture Stage of the Kangâmiut Area, has been estimated by the writer to date from about 1350—1500[1]). It must be assumed that the Angmagssalik district received its first population within that period. We can get no nearer by means of archaeology.

We will, however, try if history will enable us to approach the question a little closer.

According to Gustav Holm[2]), the Angmagssalik district was known to the old Norsemen under the name of Gunbjørns Skær and Korsøer, and he gives a list[3]) of the reports available from historical sources on these regions:

About 877 Gunbjørn's Skær were discovered by Gunbjørn, the son of Ulf Krage, who was on a voyage from Norway to Iceland, but was blown westwards by the wind; he did not go ashore, however.

About 970 Snæbjørn Galte and Rolf of Rødenæs sought out the land discovered by Gunbjørn and wintered there.

About 1028 Finn Fegin, the nephew of Olaf the Pious, was ship-

[1]) Kangâmiut, p. 125.
[2]) Holm 1918.
[3]) l. c. p. 306.

wrecked at Finnbudir; Finn and several others were drowned, and the survivors raised large stone crosses on their graves. Later on Lodin was sent out by the King to bring the bodies home; he was afterwards called Corpse-Lodin.

In 1189 Asmund Kastanraste came from Greenland and Korsøer to Iceland, after having called at Finnbudir; the ship was almost exclusively put together with wooden nails.

1285 Adalbrand and Thorvald, the sons of Helge, discovered Nyland, also called Dunøer, on the east coast of Greenland, west of Iceland.

1385—87. Bjørn Einarsson of Vatnsfjord, Iceland, also called Bjørn Jorsalfar, was blown out of his course to Greenland; they ran to Gunbjørn's Skær, which were then inhabited; he sent eight of his men on shore on the largest of the islands. They are said to have counted 18 farms (sic!), but did not venture to inspect them closely.

About 1476. King Christian I sent out Pining and Pothorst to discover new land; they write that on the rock Hvitsærk off Greenland and lying towards Snefjælds-Jökel on Iceland out to sea they had erected a landmark for the sake of the Greenland pirates, who attack the ships with many small boats without a keel.

Holm considers that all these events have taken place in the Angmagssalik district[1]).

It will be noticed that the first time these regions are mentioned as being inhabited was by Bjørn Jorsalfar in 1385; he does not say that the people were Eskimos, it is true; but the remark about the 18 "farms" which they could not approach, does not indicate that it was Norsemen who lived there. And in 1476 it is obvious that it is Eskimos in kayaks that are mentioned by Pining and Pothorst.

The question is now how much stress we can lay upon Bjørn Jorsalfar's narrative; according to Dr. Nørlund it is not too much. As to the archaeological material there are however certain facts (all the harpoon heads are thin) which point towards the beginning of the period in question 1350—1500. This, combined with Bjørn Jorsalfar's narrative, brings me to the assumption that Angmagssalik got its first Eskimo population in the latter part of the forteenth century. Thus the first immigration to the Angmagssalik district apparently is connected with the migration of considerable numbers of Eskimos in the 14th Century who went from northern West Greenland and settled on the southern West Coast, where it involved the destruction of the Norsemen's West Settlement about the middle of the 14th Century and in 1379 gave rise to the first attacks upon the

[1]) Whether these localities have all been in the Angmagssalik district or a little more to the north or south, is of no consequence in this connection, as the whole of the southeast coast has probably been populated at about the same time.

East Settlement. This migration has then apparently continued southwards and over to the East Coast, where it reached the Angmagssalik district fairly quickly. As a first result we may thus say that Angmagssalik has received its first population from a migration from the southern West Coast round Cape Farewell, most probably in the latter part of the 14th Century[1]).

It has scarcely been a numerous population that lived at Angmagssalik in the later centuries of the Middle Ages. Only 37 house ruins are ascribed to that earliest population, and some of these are uncertain; they are small houses, which as a rule have scarcely accommodated more than one family; and these houses have hardly all been contemporaneous. At the same time it must be remembered that many of the later houses may have been built upon old sites, as was apparently the case at House II at Kangârtik. Thus these 37 ruins scarcely represent the whole of the mediaeval habitation of Angmagssalik.

Regarding their mode of living, we have nothing to go upon except the ruins and the finds; and, as already stated, the culture is exactly the same as that which existed at the same time on the southern West Coast. Whaling must have been an important occupation, seeing how predominating whale bone is in the implement material; in this respect the Angmagssalik finds resemble the other early finds of the Inugsuk and Thule Cultures. Sealing, however, has presumably been the chief occupation then as now, carried on both from the ice and from kayaks; there have been caribou, but scarcely very many; bears were killed too, now and then. The dog sledge has been much in evidence. There have only been very small quantities of metal, presumably brought there from the West Coast; otherwise they have managed to get along with stone for blades of weapons and tools. The name of "Stone Age", however, is not a particularly apt one for this culture; there have been small quantities of iron, and the finds are more characterized by bone than by stone[2]).

Regarding the character of the habitation in that earliest period, attention has already been drawn to the fact that the greater part of the ruins of that time are in the larger settlements, and this applies especially to all the ruins that have been identified with certainty as

[1]) In a paper published after this was written (Norsk Geogr. Tidsskrift 1932) O. Solberg has dated the first immigration to Angmagssalik to a hundred years later, at the earliest about 1500. As will be seen above any definite settling of this question is not possible with the material at disposal. On the other hand I agree with Solberg that too much credence must not be placed in the goblin-like "Troll women" in the Floamanna-saga.

[2]) Cf. Thalbitzer 1914, p. 494: "These stone objects.... entirely corroborate our previous suspicion as to the existence of a fully developed stone age in this part of East Greenland."

being of the earliest type; in the earliest days the people have undoubtedly lived in large settlements with several houses. The two largest settlements of that period, Sūkersit with 6, and Pôrtusoq with 5 houses, both lie a good way in the fjord; probably the habitations have been more in the fjords then than now, on account of the importance of hunting the seal from the ice.

This first immigration to the Angmagssalik district also became of significance to the more northerly part of the East Coast. I have repeatedly pointed out the close relationship of Amdrup's find on Skærgaardshalvø, almost half way to Scoresby Sound, to the Inugsuk Culture[1]). In reality, that find represents precisely the same culture as the earliest in Angmagssalik district, except that a new southeast form has been added there: the two-armed ulo.

The immigration that brought the first inhabitants to Angmagssalik must thus have got so much farther north as to Skærgaardshalvø at any rate. That its influence extends much more to the north I have already pointed out[2]). Several of the elements of the northern East Coast, such as the Inugsuk harpoon heads, the two-handed scrapers and the ornamental bodkins have their roots in the Inugsuk Culture and must have got up there via Angmagssalik. Naturally, not all the types in Angmagssalik's Inugsuk Culture have been brought to light in these relatively poor finds.

[1]) See Thalbitzer 1909, p. 386—425. Inugsuk, p. 282. Kangâmiut, p. 126.
[2]) Inugsuk, p. 282.

IV.
THE CULTURE OF THE XVI AND XVII CENTURIES

On the southern part of the West Coast the Inugsuk Culture seems to have lasted until about 1500. How long it continued on the southern East Coast we are unable to say with any certainty, but there are circumstances that would seem to indicate that the culture changes taking place in West Greenland towards the close of the period have been transplanted to the east side, even if the material to enable us to form our judgment is very sparse.

As I have said in the chapter on the ruins, it seems as if the small rectangular houses have been in use in this district before the large, common houses; there are houses of this small, rectangular type that are almost just as much obliterated and overgrown as the houses of the earliest period, and consequently must be of very old age.

Among those which most probably may be placed to this period is first of all House ruin I at Utorqarmiut. This very small, rectangular ruin was in a complete state of collapse, and in the culture deposits in and round about it almost all bone was decomposed; the only objects that had been formed by man were a cut piece of whale bone and a piece of baleen; on the other hand a large number of stone objects was found, viz. 39 blades for weapons and tools (and fragments of same), a whetstone, 4 soapstone sherds, a piece of ground graphite, and a quantity of stone chips, principally angmaq and rock crystal, but also including flint, chalcedony, quartzite and slate.

Fig. 30 illustrates the types of stone blades found: Arrow head (1), single and two-edged knife blades (2—4), drill bits (9—10), adze blade (5), scraper blades (6—8) and two small oblique-edged blades, presumably boot creasers (11—12); all these objects with the exception of No. 8 are of angmaq. The latter element, the creaser, is one of those which in West Greenland separate the Inugsuk Culture from the next period[1]).

[1]) Kangâmiut, p. 127.

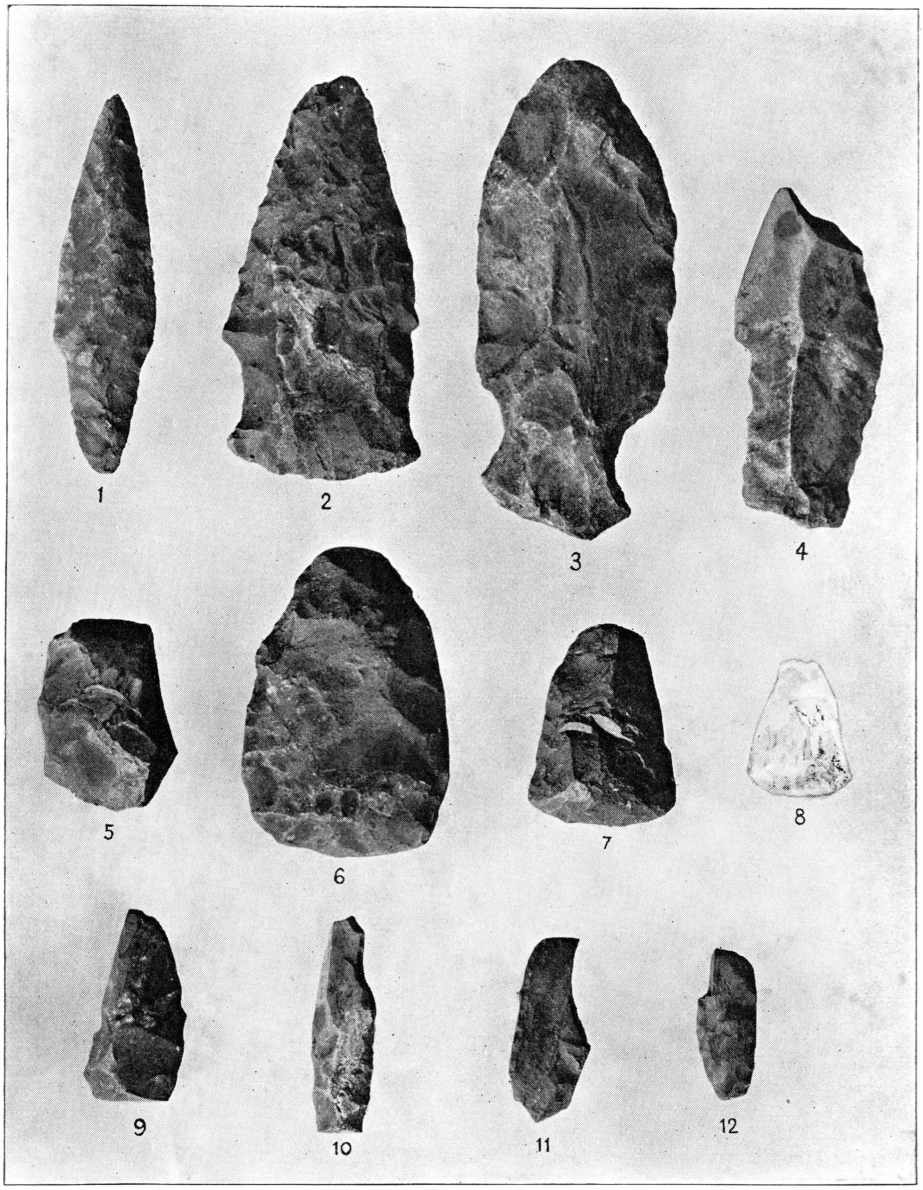


Fig. 30. Stone implements from House I, Utorqarmiut. 1:1.

In its typical form the drill bit, with its three-sided, ground point, is not found in the Inugsuk Culture either, nor in the earliest culture at Angmagssalik, so this, too, is something new that has been added. It is interesting to see that this find contains two rather large scraper blades with a convex, ground edge (Fig. 30. 6); as a rule these blades are not polished, but a specimen was found in House ruin 23 at Utor-

qait[1]), which belongs to the Second Culture Stage in the Kangâmiut area (presumably circa 1500—1650).

At Sivtsingaleq, Ruins I and the two that lie together, III—IV, possibly belong to this period. They are all small, rectangular, and badly collapsed, and judging from both their type and state of preservation the specimens they contained seem very old. House I yielded only a tangless ulo (whale bone), a whetstone and two soapstone sherds, one of which had been made into a miniature lamp (with no wick ledge).

House ruin III contained, i.a., a fragment of a flat harpoon head, a knife handle of seal bone, a convex-edged scraper blade, of quartz, a fragment of a miniature lamp with a wick ledge, and a tooth, drilled from side to end.

House ruin IV contained a whetstone, a tangless ulo handle of whale-bone with an oval hole in the middle, a convex-edged scraper blade, of quartz, some large cooking pot sherds, one of which has suspension holes opening on the inner side, ground graphite, a broken wooden point with a carved screw-thread, and a piece of bone that has been drilled; the screw is also one of the elements that separate the First and the Second Stages in the Kangâmiut area[2]).

A small, rectangular ruin at Qivtalavarajivit possibly belongs to this period too; the bones had almost mouldered away, and all that was found was a few pieces of baleen, one with two holes drilled in it.

We have no definite evidence that these ruins and finds belong to any special period; certain features seem to argue that they do, however. That they are later than the earliest culture is evident, firstly, from the distinctly rectangular form of the houses, and secondly, from the types of some of the elements found (the creaser, drill, screw, harpoon head). It is more difficult to decide whether or not they are earlier than the small rectangular ruins of the subsequent period. Nevertheless, the absence of glass beads and iron, the relatively large quantity of whale bone, and the state of preservation of the specimens seem to point in that direction. Even if the slight material precludes any definite conclusion as to this, it is probable that these ruins and finds represent the culture of the XVI and XVII Centuries in the Angmagssalik district.

Has this culture stage been of any significance to the people farther north on the East Coast? The types which especially characterize this stage in contrast to the earliest[3]) are: Heavy weapon heads with belts of barbs; screw on the rear end of weapon heads; wound plugs of wood; ring-shaped kayak stand; boot creaser of stone; in addition, the fact that the thin harpoon heads and the lamps with a wick ledge now give

[1]) Kangâmiut, Pl. 3. 12.

[2]) l. c. p. 127.

[3]) l. c. pp. 62 and 126—27.

way before the flat heads and the lamps without a wick ledge. Of the five first-named types there is only one that has travelled up to the northern East Coast, the screw, which occurs as a vestige on the tang of arrow heads; the other four types are not known north of Angmagssalik district, which presumably means that they are later than the screw, possibly occurring in the later part of the stage. As to the harpoon heads, the complex of heads we find in Scoresby Sound and north of it are strongly reminiscent of this stage; here, then, it is the barbless flat harpoon heads that predominate; and the principle type of this stage, the slightly flat type with blade slit, is in fact one of the main types in Northeast Greenland.

And finally, we have the type of house. In Northeast Greenland, indeed as far down as to Skærgaardshalvø, all the houses are of the small, rectangular type — except for those which are so flattened out that they appear as a round depression in the ground. Where has this house type come from? It can hardly have come from Cape York district north about Greenland; there the houses are round, and that seems to be the case everywhere in arctic Canada. Then they must have come from the south. In West Greenland's Inugsuk Culture the round houses seem to have been the principal form; but, towards the close of the period, houses of rectangular form begin to appear[1]), even if as a rule they are combined with rounded corners. In the district of Angmagssalik we also find houses of this foursided-rounded type in the earliest period; at Pôrtusoq, Kangârtik and Sũkersit we have examples of them. In the subsequent period, however, the houses there — in contrast to conditions in the Kangâmiut area — are distinctly rectangular. It would seem as if passing through the district inhabited by the Norsemen in South Greenland has been of import to this transition from the round to the rectangular type, as if the appearance of the latter were due to the influence of the Norsemen's architecture.

From the Angmagssalik district, then, this small, rectangular house type has been transplanted northwards and has become the prevailing form in the whole of Northeast Greenland; only farthest north is it influenced by the Cape York house, which must have come in north about Greenland, whereby arose the mixed types that mark the region round about Danmarks Havn[2]).

I consider, then, that in the house type, the flat harpoon heads and the screw we see reflected in Northeast Greenland the influence of this culture period; on the other hand, with this the southern influence ceases; the later forms of this period and the types of the subsequent periods have not extended beyond the borders of the Angmagssalik district.

[1]) See for instance Kangâmiut, p. 32, House 2 at Igdlutalik.

[2]) See Thostrup, Pl. II.

V. THE CULTURE OF THE XVIII CENTURY

The finds from the large, rectangular, common houses and those of the small rectangular houses which, through the specimens they contained, appear to be contemporaneous with the former, represent the greater part of the collections from the Angmagssalik district. They differ from the older finds in that they almost always include glass beads and some iron; in addition, we find that they contain a long series of new types of implements. They differ from the following period, the XIX Century, in that quite a lot of the characteristic, modern Angmagssalik types have not yet appeared, and, in addition, there is no tradition that the houses where the finds were made have been inhabited.

The material at our disposal for forming our opinion of this period is as follows: First and foremost the large find from Misigtoq (with Nûk and Qarqilâtsiaq), comprising 3679 specimens; then, from Kangârtik the finds from Houses I—II and their middens, Fields A—B, the lower half of Fields C and D and the whole of Field E, in all 1016 specimens; next, from Sūkersit, the finds from Ruins IV (with Field D), V (with Field E), and VII (with Field F), as well as Grave 1, in all 128 specimens; from Savanganeq the lower part of Field A, and the Ruins III and V with their middens (Fields C, D and E), in all 511 specimens; finally, a number of smaller finds from Sivtsingaleq (House V, Field E), Utorqarmiut (House II), Isigsit, Pusisaraq and Ikâsagtivaq, plus some few sporadic finds. We have in all 5430 specimens representing this period.

List of the Specimens.

Below is a list of the number of specimens of the various types found in the different localities. The following abbreviations are employed: M — Misigtoq; K — Kangârtik; Su — Sūkersit; Sa — Savanganeq; Si — Sivtsingaleq; Ut — Utorqarmiut; Pu — Pusisaraq; Is — Isigtit; Ik — Ikâsagtivaq.

Harpoon Heads.	M	K	Su	Sa	Smaller finds
Thin, barbless, bladeless	4	1	..	..	..
Inugsuk type	18	..	..	..	..
Thin, barbed, bladeless	2	..	..	..	..
— — blade	1	2	..	..	Kûngmiut
— barb in plane of line hole	2	..	..	..	..
— defective or unfinished	12	2	..	..	..
Flat, barbless, bladeless	2	1	..	..	..
— — blade, 2 spurs	38	16	..	1	Ut
— — — 1 spur	..	1	..	..	..
— — — 2 line holes	1	..	..	..	..
— blade, 2 barbs	3	..	..	..	..
— — barb on upper side	2	1	..	..	..
— defective or unfinished	19	3	2	..	Ut, Is, Ik
Ituartit-harpoon head	3	..	..	..	Ut
Leister-harpoon head	5	2	..	..	..
Other Parts of Harpoons.					
Blade of stone	2	1	2	2	..
— bone	21	10	..	..	..
— iron	1	1	..	..	..
Foreshaft for ice-hunting harpoon	2	1	..	1	..
— kayak harpoon, conical butt	3	..	..	..	..
— kayak harpoon, 2 holes, short tenon	14	6	..	..	..
— harpoon, unidentifiable fragments	2	...	..	..	..
Shaft mountings, cylindrical	3	2	..	..	..
— flat	14	3	..	1	Pu
End block for butt of wing harpoon	2	2	..	..	..
Harpoon wings	3	1	1	..	..
Finger rest	3	1	..	..	..
Ice pick	25	3	1	1	..
Stopper for harpoon line	3	..	..	..	..
Tension piece for harpoon line	3	3	..	..	..
Swivel for harpoon line	7	2	..	..	..
Mouthpiece for harpoon bladder	8	4	..	..	..
Plug for harpoon bladder	2	..	..	..	..
Foreshaft for Ituartit harpoon	6	..	..	..	..
Shaft mounting for Ituartit harpoon (or bladder dart)	5	1	..	..	..
Throwing board	..	..	..	1	..
End mounting for throwing board	1	1	..	..	..

Other Hunting Implements.	M	K	Su	Sa	Smaller finds
Bladder-dart head, with bilateral barbs	..	1	..	..	..
Weapon head, heavy, with belt of barbs	1	..	..		Kulusuk, Simitaq
Bird-dart head, butt end, with screw	6	4	..	..	..
Bird-dart side prongs	33	13	..	..	Si
Ferrule for butt end of weapon shaft	1	1	..	..	..
Wound pin	11	1	..	..	..
Wound plug	7	..	..	10	..
Towing gear, neck piece	11	7	..	..	..
Arrow head, bone	1	1	..	..	..
— stone, lanceolate	1	2	..	1	..
— stone, triangular	..	..	..	2	..
Gorge	14	2	..	..	..
Salmon spear, side prong	1	..	..	1	..
— barb	31	11	..	1	..
— middle prong	2	..	..	..	..
Leister prongs	466	64	1	3	Ut, Ik (5)
Fish decoy of bear tooth	1	2	..	..	..
— soapstone, elongated	3	2	1	1	..
— soapstone, flat, rounded, triangular	3	1	..	..	..
Fish hook, bone	3	..	..	..	..
— bone shank for	19	..	..	..	Ik
— barb for	37	7	..	..	..
— sinker for	24	..	1	1	..
Trout needle	7	..	..	..	..
Angmagssat scoop	1	..	..	..	..
Angmagssat needle	2	..	..	..	Is
Laminaria hook	4	5	..	..	..
Means of Communication.					
Sledge shoes	121	47	3	2	Si, Ut
Toggle, wood, for draught line	..	..	..	1	..
Trace buckle	20	2	..	..	..
Umiak rib	..	2	..	..	..
Umiak oar blade	1	..	..	..	..
Kayak deck beam	..	..	..	2	..
Kayak rib	..	..	..	1	..
Kayak, rest for harpoon	1	..	..	1	..
Kayak-paddle, mounting for	24	7	..	..	..
Line toggle	29	16	1	2	Ut, Pu, Ik
Button for kayak-frock cord	5	6	..	..	..
Strap-hook	2	1	..	..	..

Tools.	M	K	Su	Sa	Smaller finds
Knife haft, blade socket in end	66	22	2	1	Si (2), Ut, Ik
— blade groove in side....	14	2	..	1	Ik
Knife blade, two-edged, of stone ...	21	30	2	29	Ik
— single-edged, of stone..	15	8	2	5	..
— of iron.....	..	..	..	1	Is
Saw blade, of brass	1	..	..	1	..
Whetstone.....	130	53	17	43	Is
Hammer stone.....	12	9	2	3	Ut (2), Pu
Adze head.....	4	5	..	..	..
Adze blade.....	6	5	1	5	..
Hammer head, of bone.....	..	..	1	..	..
Wedge	50	8	2	2	Ut
Mattock blade	..	4	1	..	..
Drill shank.....	8	3	..	1	..
Drill bit, of bone	2	2	..	..	..
— of stone, ground, 4 facets.	1	2	..	2	..
— — ground, 3 facets.	3	4	..	23	..
— — others.....	..	2	..	2	Ik
Bow-drill mouthpiece, seal astragalus	15	6	2	..	Pu
— — others.....	2	2	..	..	..
Thong smoother	1	..	..	..	..
Ulo handle, armless	3	..	1	..	Kûngmiut
— with intermediate piece.	6	2	..	1	..
— with 2 arms	7	2	1	..	Ut, Ik
Ulo blade, of stone	..	2	..	..	..
— of iron.....	..	1	..	..	..
Scraper blade, stone, convex edge ..	15	32	..	101	Si, Is (2)
— — concave edge..	14	3	..	6	Is
Boot creaser, stone.....	2	3	..	7	..
Bodkins and other pointed bones...	38	5	..	..	..
Needle case.....	1	..	..	..	..
Thimble holder.....	1	..	..	..	..
Household Utensiîs.					
Lamp, with wick ledge, fragments..	3	..	..	1	..
— without wick ledge, fragments	10	2	..	1	..
— unidentifiable fragments.....	..	2	..	3	..
Cooking pots, soapstone, fragments..	31	13	4	12	..
Lamp trimmer, asbestos	26	7	7	4	Ik
Dish, wooden, rounded, fragments ..	12	2	..	8	Pu
Bowl bottom, oval	7	3	..	2	..
Bowl, oval, side of.....	2	..	..	1	..

	M	K	Su	Sa	Smaller finds
Tub stave	3	1	..	3	..
Fire hearth, for fire drilling	7	7	..	4	..
Bone piece for fire drilling	..	..	1	..	..
Spoon, of bone	4	..	1	..	..
Scoop, of wood	1	1	..	..	..
Meat fork	21	10	..	1	..
Toilet, Dress, Ornament.					
Comb	16	2	..	..	Ut, Ik, Sarfaq
Button, bone	3	1	..	..	..
Toggle, bone, small	17	6	1	..	Ut, Ik
Bear teeth, pierced	3	7	1	..	Si, Ik
Pierced teeth	86	22	18	1	..
Drop pendant, bone	8	2	..	..	..
— bone, cleft	2	2	..	..	..
Pendant, bone	3	1	..	..	..
— stone	5	2	..	2	..
— metal	1	2	3	..	Ut, Is
Bodkin, ornamental	3	3	7	..	..
Pendants of pierced bone	11	7	4	..	Pu
Beads, stone	2	1	..	2	..
— bone	4	2	..	1	..
Games and Pastimes.					
Ajagaq, of seal radius	6	3	2	..	..
— — penis bone	20	12	2	..	Si, Ut, Is
— — humerus	8	5	..	..	..
— — fibula and other hollow bones	18	23	3	1	Ut, Pu
— — phalange and similar bones	2	1	..	..	..
— of whale bone	1	..	..	..	..
— stick	2	..	..	..	..
Nuglutang	1	..	..	..	..
Top disk	6	2	..	1	..
Buzz	..	..	..	1	..
Drum handle	..	1	..	..	..
Dolls	3	1	..	3	..
Animal figures	3	1	..	1	..
Toys.					
Harpoon head, thin	5	7	..	..	Si
— flat	9	7	..	1	Si, Ut

	M	K	Su	Sa	Smaller finds
Whale-harpoon head	..	1	..	..	..
Foreshaft for ice-hunting harpoon	3	..	..	..	..
— kayak harpoon	12	4	..	..	Ik
Ituartit harpoon head	4	..	..	..	..
— — foreshaft	7	..	..	..	..
— — shaft mounting	1	..	..	..	..
Lance head	1	..	..	..	..
Swivel	1	..	..	..	..
Harpoon wings	7	6	..	1	..
Bladder-dart head	4	4	..	..	..
Bird-dart head with barb-belt and screw	3	..	..	..	..
Bird-dart side prongs	17	7	..	1	..
Arrow head	1	..	..	..	..
Towing gear, neck piece	1	..	..	..	..
Leister prongs	14	..	..	..	..
Sledge, of wood	1	..	1	2	..
— of dog mandible	4	4	..	..	..
Sledge and dogs, of seal bones	..	..	1	..	..
Trace buckles	1	..	..	..	..
Kayak	..	2	..	1	..
Kayak-paddle bone mounting	1	..	..	..	..
Knife	..	2	..	..	Ik
Ulo blade, of stone	2	3	..	..	..
Lamp, with wick ledge	2	..	..	4	Si
— without wick ledge	12	5	1	3	Si, Ik
— with partition near rear edge	..	1	..	2	..
— unfinished, fragments etc.	6	3	1	7	Si, Ut
Cooking pot	23	11	3	11	Si
Sundries.					
Bone mounting	211	57	..	..	Si, Ut, Pu
Ferrule, of bone, hollow	5	1	..	..	..
Baleen knots	..	..	..	15	..
Graphite, ground	6	3	2	6	..
Beads, glass	18	14	8	4	Si, Ut (3)
Button, glass	..	1	..	..	..
Metal, pieces of	6	5	..	2	..

Observations on the Various Types.

Harpoon Heads.

These finds contain no fewer than 139 harpoon heads. The material is mostly whale, seal and bear bone; one or two are of antler, one of a bear's tooth. Pl. 5. 15 is an unfinished harpoon head formed of a seal bone (metatarsal). Four have an inserted blade of bone, five of iron and one of brass.

Of the 139 heads, 45 are of the thin, 94 of the flat main group, all having a closed socket. The principal forms within the two main groups are: Inugsuk harpoon head, represented by Pl. 5. 2, which is of whale bone, with a wide blade slit and a pair of holes for lashing the blade in; this type is represented in the finds by 18 specimens. The other — and most important — main group is the flat one, with 2 spurs and a blade; it is represented by 56 specimens in all, Pl. 5. 8 and 10 being typical specimens. No. 8 is of the slightly flat kind, with a blade of bone and a groove round the broken shaft socket; No. 10 is very flat and has an iron blade; both are of whale bone.

Most of the other forms of harpoon head in the collection are shown on Pl. 5: No. 1 is the most primitive form, thin, bladeless and barbless; it is of whale bone; presumably it is large enough to have been used for sealing; on the other hand, one such as No. 45, which is of bone, has apparently been used for salmon, employed as a leister harpoon head. Pl. 5. 3-4 are thin harpoon heads with barbs, both of whale bone; No. 3 has not a separate blade, but a shaft socket which, though it has had a reinforcing lashing round it, is broken; No. 4 has had a blade at right-angles to the line hole, and is peculiar in having two barbs that are both on the same side (the back) and at the same height; here, presumably, we see the influence of the heavy bladder or bird-dart heads with a belt of barbs (see Pl. 5. 26).

Pl. 5. 5-6 are two peculiar, but very defective, harpoon heads, thin, but with one barb in the plane of the line hole; one has had a separate blade, the other has not.

Pl. 5. 7 is the most primitive of the flat harpoon heads, without blade or barbs. Pl. 5. 9 is a transitional stage between the thin and the flat, though more closely approaching the latter, but differing from most of them in having only one spur; it is of whale bone and has a bone blade. Pl. 5. 12 is flat, with opposed barbs and a blade at right-angles to the line hole; another of the same type is much larger, 11.4 cm long.

Pl. 5. 11, which is of whale bone with an iron blade, is flat with a barb on the upper side, corresponding to the thin specimens Pl. 5. 5-6.

Pl. 5. 13-14 are a pair of remarkable heads which differ from the others in having more than one line hole. No. 13 is of antler, thin, with

GRØNLANDS STYRELSE

a blade slit at right-angles to the three line holes; No. 14 is slightly flat with a blade slit and two line holes.

These finds thus have a percentage of 32 thin and 68 flat harpoon heads; the flat ones are decidedly in the majority, in contrast to what was the case in the earliest culture in the district, where the thin ones entirely prevail. If we were to examine the question of when in West Greenland we have a similar "Harpoon-head spectrum"[1]), we would find in the Kangâmiut Area's Second Culture Stage (about 1500—1650) 40 per cent. of thin and 60 per cent. of flat, and in the 18th Century 29 per cent. thin and 71 per cent. flat. These figures show that the harpoon heads of our East Coast find in development lie between these two periods, though nearest the latter. A closer comparison with the forms of harpoon heads on the West Coast shows, however, that these Angmagssalik forms on the whole look older than the harpoon-head types of 18th Century West Greenland. Most of them greatly resemble the harpoon heads of the Kangâmiut Area of the first two stages[2]), but especially the second; not only are the types themselves the same, but if we look at them closely we shall find a great similarity of shape, size, etc. There is one type, however, (apart from the few specimens with several line holes) that we do not know in West Greenland: the one with the barb on the upper side (Pl. 5. 11), or, in the case of the thin types, in the plane of the line hole (Pl. 5. 5-6). It is true that we find this feature on a single harpoon head from the West Coast[3]), but it was found in the far south, south of Nanortalik, and presumably has come over from the East Coast. Thus we must regard this feature as being peculiar to the southern East Coast.

The harpoon heads which particularly characterize the culture of the 18th Century on the West Coast do not occur in our finds at Angmagssalik; these are the very flat heads with a pronounced shoulder behind the barbs, with one spur which sometimes is on the side, sometimes on the back[4]); it would seem as if these had never reached round to the East Coast.

Accordingly we must say that the harpoon heads in these Angmagssalik finds for the most part have their root in the culture of 16th—17th Century West Greenland.

It is also necessary to make a comparison with the harpoon heads in the present day culture at Angmagssalik[5]). It will then be seen that the modern Angmagssalik harpoon heads, taking them as a whole, have

---

[1]) See Kangâmiut, p. 74.

[2]) Kangâmiut, Pl. 1. 2-7.

[3]) National Mus. Lb 344.

[4]) See for instance Inugsuk, Pl. 23. 1-4, Kangâmiut, Pl. 7. 1.

[5]) See for instance Thalbitzer 1914, Fig. 131—35.

many more special features than the older ones; they are all very flat, and, apart from the most simple type[1]), are very characteristic by their lateral spurs, the peculiar form of barbs and line hole, and the very long, pointed blade. In reality, the only feature that connects the modern and the ancient harpoon heads at all is the type with the barb on the upper side, which we sometimes meet with in modern times[2]). All in all, however, it must be said that, as far as the harpoon heads are concerned, the particular Angmagssalik character has only begun to show itself to a small extent as yet.

And finally, it must be observed that whereas most of the harpoon types we know of have also been found in Northeast Greenland, this does not hold good of the individual form with the barb on the upper side, which has not been revealed farther north than the Angmagssalik district.

We see then, that the harpoon heads of this period occupy a midway position between the earliest culture in the district and the modern culture; the Inugsuk harpoon head, the guide form of the old culture, still continues as an important type; and that the idea of thin harpoon heads is not quite dead in recent times is to be seen from a wooden model carved by an Angmagssalik Eskimo for Thalbitzer[3]). But the predominating types, the flat heads, have come from West Greenland, and therefore they still have the stamp of the West Coast about them; it is only later that they change and develop special characteristics. As yet there are only the very beginnings of a special development.

Pl. 5. 16 is an Ituartit harpoon head of whale bone. The Ituartit head, which does not come loose from the shaft but turns on an axle, was long considered to be one of the most characteristic special forms of the Angmagssalik Eskimos[4]). Later finds have shown, however, that in earlier times it has been much more widely distributed, as we have it both from Comer's Midden[5]) (Thule Culture), the district of Upernivik, and the Kangâmiut area (Inugsuk Culture)[6]). On the East Coast it has been found as far north as Skærgaardshalvø[7]). It is not known outside of Greenland, however.

---

[1]) Thalbitzer Fig. 131a.
[2]) l. c. Figg. 134b and 135f.
[3]) l. c. 1914, Fig. 136.
[4]) l. c. pp. 422 and 728.
[5]) M 1927 I, Pl. 78. 6.
[6]) Kangâmiut, p. 75.
[7]) Thalbitzer 1909, Fig. 7.

Other Parts of the Harpoon.

The collection contains harpoon blades of stone, bone and iron; they are of the usual triangular form with convex sides and as a rule are furnished with holes. Pl. 5. 18 is a blade of dark slate with two holes, which have not been drilled right through. Pl. 5. 17 is a larger blade of ivory with four lashing holes, possibly for a lance. There are bone blades right down to a length of 2.2 cm. Of stone blades there is one of slate, with no hole, whereas another is of angmaq, with a tang. Of the bone blades only very few are of ivory; most are of massive leg bone, perhaps of bear in most cases.

Pl. 6. 4 is the foreshaft of an ice-hunting harpoon of asbestos, a material not hitherto known to have been used for this purpose; in section it is rounded rectangular, and at the butt has a stepped scarf-face, at the fore end rounded, slightly flattened; the dark colour at the butt might indicate that it was made out of a lamp trimmer. Another specimen, likewise of asbestos, is smaller, only 10 cm long, round, and also has a stepped scarf face at the butt. The other ice-hunting harpoon foreshafts are of bone. Naturally, it is the abundance of asbestos that has led to this experiment in its use for foreshafts, an experiment which seems to have had a very satisfactory result; nevertheless, it has not been used in modern times in Angmagssalik, where the foreshaft is of bone or wood[1]).

Of kayak-harpoon foreshafts we have only one complete specimen of the old-fashioned type with one hole and conical butt; this is Pl. 6. 3, which is of whale bone and rather small; it is from the rather old-looking House VIII at Misigtoq. The other two specimens are broken-off butts, which may be of bladder-dart heads.

The common type of foreshaft is the later one, with two holes and a short tenon in the butt. Pl. 6. 1 is an unusually large and well-formed specimen, of whale bone, whilst Pl. 6. 2 is a small, poorly made shaft, made out of a seal bone; on this the tenon is a separate piece of bone that has been inserted; this particular foreshaft is characteristic of the poverty of suitable bone material prevailing in the Angmagssalik district. One foreshaft was made by splicing two pieces together, a feature which we see in the modern Angmagssalik Culture[2]).

Whereas foreshafts with one hole and a conical butt are ancient, and belong to the Thule Culture, from which they have passed into the Inugsuk Culture[3]), the other type, with two holes and a short tenon, only occurs later; it seems to begin in the Second Culture Stage of the

[1]) Thalbitzer 1914, Fig. 116.
[2]) l. c. Fig. 119a.
[3]) Inugsuk, Pl. 6. 3-4.

Kangâmiut area[1]), predominates in the second half of the 17th and the first half of the 18th Centuries, whereafter it changes to the type with the socket in the butt-face; in Angmagssalik, however, it has remained in use to this day. It has also reached Northeast Greenland, though rather modified in some respects[2]). There, however, the main form has one hole and a short tenon, a type that predominates in West Greenland in the 16th and the first half of the 17th Centuries (Kangâmiut area, Second Culture Stage)[3]).

Shaft mountings, for the fore end of harpoon shafts, have passed through a course of development similar to that of the foreshafts. In the earliest culture of the district we still find the rather long, cylindrical mounting of the Inugsuk Culture (Pl. 1. 13). These we still meet occasionally with those like Pl. 6. 6, which is of whale bone; but they have become still shorter. Most of them, however, are of the later type, the flat, cap-shaped mounting with a small round socket for the tenon of the foreshaft in the fore end, and an oblong socket for the shaft in the rear end. Pl. 6. 5 is one of these; the socket at the rear has been drilled out. Others are still flatter than this one, oval disks with four peg holes and a small, round central hole.

In West Greenland we still find the short, cylindrical mountings in the latter half of the 17th Century[4]); but they soon give place to the flat type, with a socket, which seems to be the dominating form from the end of the 17th to the end of the 18th Centuries; only then are they replaced by the modern type with the tenon. In the modern Angmagssalik Culture, however, the earlier form with the hole has held out till the present time[5]). The flat form does not seem to have ever reached Northeast Greenland; there, however, we find the short cylindrical form[6]), besides the longer and heavier form of the Thule Culture[7]).

Wing harpoons have been used; we find both wings and the blocks of bone that have been placed between them to receive the stud of the throwing board. Pl. 6. 8 is almost the half of a harpoon wing of whale bone, of a rather broad, elliptical form; it has a large, rectangular opening in the middle, a feature that we find again on a very similar specimen (from Sūkersit); it has been fractured and lashed together again. We find the elliptical form repeated in several other specimens; only one, from Misigtoq, seems to be of the same shape that we see

---

[1]) Kangâmiut, p. 76.
[2]) Thomsen 1917, Pl. XV. 1.
[3]) Cf. Kangâmiut, Pl. 2. 2.
[4]) Utorqait. See Kangâmiut, p. 117.
[5]) Thalbitzer 1914, Fig. 109.
[6]) Mathiassen, Cambr. Exp., Fig. 2. 2.
[7]) Thalbitzer 1909, Fig. 45. Thomsen, Pl. X. 4.

on toy harpoon-wings (Pl. 10. 40) and on the modern Angmagssalik harpoons.

This elliptical form is the most common type of earlier West Greenland harpoon wings[1]), such as that of a winged harpoon from the first half of the 18th Century in the National Museum[2]). A specimen from Comer's Midden is also of the same form; it is figured by Wissler[3]) and undoubtedly is a harpoon wing. Finally, we find it on the only specimens that show us harpoon wings in Northeast Greenland, a child's harpoon from Scoresby Sound[4]).

Pl. 1. 20 is the picture of a specimen of the earliest culture, previously described as a block for the rear end of a winged harpoon. Pl. 9. 33 is the corresponding object in the later culture. It is of whale bone and, like the earlier one, consists of a "body" and a pair of "wings"; but whereas the body on the early specimen was narrow, cylindrical, it is wide, flat, four-sided; the large flat "wings" on the early specimen have been changed to short, oblique, four-sided studs which can engage in the large holes of the harpoon wings; the slot on the old specimen, for the stud of the throwing board, has here been replaced by an inclined plane for the broad hook that has now taken the place of the stud on the throwing board. Two other specimens are just like this one, but have a segment-shaped socket in the inclined plane; the miniature specimen Pl. 9. 34 (apparently a toy) has in the back neither inclined plane nor socket. But in the front they all have a deep socket for the tenon of the wooden shaft, oblong on the large specimens, round on the small one. One specimen, just like these, also with a segment-shaped socket in the inclined plane, was found at Agto, Egedesminde district[5]), a proof that this form must also have been used on the West Coast. From Scoresby Sound we have a specimen that apparently was for the same purpose, a four-sided piece of bone with a deep four-sided socket in one end, a shallow socket in the other; on one side is a longitudinal ridge; there are no "wings", but two holes have served to lash the harpoon wings on.

Peculiarly enough, nothing has so far appeared in the West Greenland Inugsuk Culture to show that the winged harpoon has been known there. This, however, is doubtless merely accidental; even in Comer's Midden we found it, and the finds have shown that it has also been known in the earliest culture at Angmagssalik, whence it has been transplanted to Scoresby Sound. The earliest winged harpoons have

[1]) Cf. Porsild 1915, Fig. 16b—c. B.-S. 1924, Fig. 36 and p. 298.
[2]) Thomsen 1928, p. 311, Fig. 23a.
[3]) Wissler, Fig. 30.
[4]) Ryder, Fig. 14.
[5]) Nat. Mus. Lc 672.
[6]) B-S. 1924, p. 299.

had elliptical wings and massive blocks of bone. As time went on these blocks have become smaller and have been given an inclined plane, which they still retain in Angmagssalik; and the "wings" have become smaller, on both West and East Coast. On the West Coast most winged harpoons now, instead of the block, have a stud on the underside to engage in the hole of the throwing board. In the areas farthest south, however, we sometimes see the Angmagssalik method used, presumably taken along with the Eastlanders round about 1900[1]). The specimen from Agto, however, shows that a similar device has been known on the West Coast too.

Pl. 5. 20 is a finger rest for a harpoon, made of a seal bone, and Pl. 6. 7 is an ice pick, short, massive, formed out of a bear bone; other ice picks are of whale bone and seal bone. Pl. 5. 21, 22 and 25 are three sundries for the harpoon line: the tension piece (21), the swivel (25) and the stopper (22); whereas the first two are familiar objects in West Greenland, in the Inugsuk Culture too, the stopper has not hitherto been found there although this is probably a casual circumstance; as already mentioned, it was found in Angmagssalik's earliest culture. The bladder mouth-piece (Pl. 5. 23) and the oval wooden plug are also well-known types.

Of Ituartit harpoons we have, besides the heads, several foreshafts — all badly broken, however — and shaft mountings. One of the latter is shown on Pl. 5. 27; at the rear it has a scarf face and at the front a deep socket; others are quite small, conical; as a matter of fact they are difficult to distinguish from the mountings of the bladder-dart heads. Of foreshafts there are two fragments of which the heads themselves have not been turnable, but simply have been a blade set in the foreshaft: behind the blade, however, a piece of bone has been able to turn and thereby prevent the point from falling out; we do not know this arrangement among the present Angmagssalik Eskimos or anywhere else.

Pl. 6. 13 is the only specimen of a throwing board that has been preserved, and Pl. 5. 29 is a mounting of bone for the rear end of such a throwing board. We only know of these bone mountings in West Greenland, where they seem to make their appearance in the latter half of the 17th Century[2]). They are still used in Angmagssalik.

Other Hunting Implements.

Pl. 6. 10 is the only specimen of the old form of bladder-dart head, fairly short, with two rows of barbs; the toy specimen, Pl. 10. 43, otherwise shows that this form has been known. It is of a type that has its

[1]) Birket-Smith 1917, p. 27.

[2]) Kangâmiut p. 129.

source in the Thule Culture and from there has passed into the Inugsuk Culture[1]); in former times these heads had only one hole; now, however, heads with several holes are known, in West Greenland too. This is a form that has not hitherto been found on the East Coast.

It is possible that the West Coast's later form of bladder dart head, the longer one with several belts of barbs, has also been used here; in any case we find fragments of thick bone points with belts of only slightly prominent barbs, such as shown on Pl. 5. 26; there is the possibility, however, that they may be of bird darts, as the miniature specimen Pl. 10. 32 shows us a bird-dart head with two belts of barbs and a screw thread on the tang.

We have representatives of these heavy bird-dart heads with a screw on the conical tang in our finds (Pl. 5. 28), but only in the form of broken-off butts. Like the heavy bladder-dart heads, in West Greenland they belong to the Second Culture Stage of the Kangâmiut area[2]); but as none of them have got up to Northeast Greenland, they have probably not appeared until the latter part of the period. Thus on the West Coast they seem to belong to the 17th and 18th Centuries.

Side prongs of bird darts were found in large numbers (Pl. 6. 19); they all have barbs on the inner side only, most of them two, some one, and others three; a single specimen has a notch on the rear part of the inner side, a feature that is fairly common in the finds from Kangâmiut area[3]). Instead of barbs another has two oblique holes, in which the barbs could be fixed.

Pl. 5. 24 is one of the small ferrules for a bird or bladder dart, against which the stud of the throwing board rests, a form that is well known in both the Thule and the Inugsuk Cultures[4]) and also used on modern West and East Greenland bird darts[5]).

Pl. 5. 30 is a wound pin of bone; like the specimen from the earliest culture (Pl. 1. 4) it has a hole through the head, a feature we often see on the East Coast; other wound pins in the find lack this hole, however. Pl. 6. 11-12 are two wound plugs of wood, both of the flat, pointed type; No. 11 is very flat, with two pairs of shallow notches in the edge, whereas 12 is more rounded and has three pronounced rolls; others again are slender, flat, entirely without notches or rolls.

Whereas the wound pin is an ancient and widely distributed implement, the wound plug of wood does not seem to appear in West Greenland until the Second Culture Stage of the Kangâmiut area[6]);

[1]) Inugsuk p. 190.
[2]) Kangâmiut, p. 127.
[3]) l. c., p. 83.
[4]) Inugsuk, p. 200.
[5]) Thalbitzer 1914, p. 442.
[6]) Kangâmiut, p. 80.

but as it has never reached Northeast Greenland, it has probably only made its appearance in the latter part of that period, towards the year 1600. In Angmagssalik it is still a much used accessory; every kayak has a bundle of them.

Of towing gear we have only some neck-pieces (Pl. 6. 9), flat, pointed, with three holes (less frequently two), and often with the seal-tail ornament in the rear end. The neck-piece in this form is also one of the types that in West Greenland first seem to made their appearance in the 16th—17th Century[1]), but later has been in general use on both the West and the East Coast; but it does not seem to have got as far as Northeast Greenland.

The bow and arrow does not seem ever to have played any great role at Angmagssalik, naturally as a consequence of the absence of big game on land. Caribou have once lived in the district, however, even if their numbers were not great; and for these the bow and arrow has been used, no doubt. The finds do in fact contain a few specimens which must be interpreted as arrow heads.

Pl. 5. 31 is a fragment of a rather powerful-looking arrow head with one barb; at the fore end it has been cut square; it is of antler. Pl. 5. 32 on the other hand can hardly be other than a toy; it has the form of an arrow head with three faint, unilateral barbs and two knobs on the butt (turned upwards on the picture). Pl. 5. 34 is a broken tang with a raised screw-thread, presumably of an arrow head. Whereas the head with two knobs belongs to the Inugsuk Culture, heads with a screw on the tang do not occur until the Second Culture Stage in the Kangâmiut area. This is the first time, however, that such an arrow head with a real screw thread has been found on the East Coast; the Northeast Greenland arrow heads have something between a screw and knobs, two knobs forming a sort of vestigal screw, as Ryder has already pointed out[2]). It is to be assumed that the migration (or culture influence) that proceeded to Northeast Greenland in the 16th Century, brought along with it the screw, which was then used in West Greenland.

We have two types of stone arrow heads: the lanceolate (Pl. 5. 35), mostly unpolished, of angmaq, which we have found in the earliest culture (Pl. 3. 3) and which occurs in the Inugsuk Culture[3]). The other type (Pl. 5. 33) is a small triangular head of angmaq, slightly polished in the middle but finely hewn along the edges. It is a type that does not occur in the Inugsuk Culture, but otherwise is common on the West Coast[4]).

[1]) Kangâmiut, p. 80.
[2]) Ryder, p. 310.
[3]) Kangâmiut, Pl. 1. 19.
[4]) Solberg, Pl. 12. 33-36.

Pl. 5. 36 is a gorge for gull-catching, of bone, rather curved, widening out like a blade, and sharp at one end, with two central holes; this is the most common form and also the one that is still in use in Angmagssalik[1]). Other gorges have one hole or a pair of notches in the edge instead of two holes; we know these from the Thule Culture and the Inugsuk Culture[2]), whereas the form with the two holes seems to be peculiar to Angmagssalik.

Pl. 5. 44 is the broken end of a side prong for a salmon spear, of wood with an inserted barb of bone, held fast by a bone peg; loose barbs of this type are very common, pointed, slightly curved, with one or two holes; Pl. 5. 43 is a typical specimen. We have similar barbs from the earliest culture of the district (Pl. 3. 4), and they are still in use in Angmagssalik[3]). On the other hand we have found them neither in West Greenland nor the Northeast Coast; this seems to be a special, old Angmagssalik form. The salmon-spear barbs that are familiar to us from the Thule Culture are of other forms[4]).

Pl. 6. 24 is a point of whale bone, round, four-sided at the butt, apparently the middle prong of a salmon spear or other leister.

Of leister prongs of bone, with barbs, there is an enormous number, 466 from Misigtoq alone. More rare is the powerful point, such as Pl. 6. 20, of whale bone and with a long scarf face with lashing holes at the butt. Most of them are quite thin points, usually of seal leg bones; some of them have two rows of barbs, wedge-shaped or four-sided at the butt (Pl. 6. 21), others have only one row of barbs and a scarf face and unilateral shoulder at the butt (Pl. 6. 22-23). The number of barbs varies from 1 to 12; for the single-rowed specimens the most common number is two or three, for the two-rowed four to six barbs. As to the use of these many small leisters, one naturally thinks of salmon trout; this is indicated by the distribution over the finding places, as quite predominantly they were found at the localities Misigtoq and Kangârtik up the Angmagssalik Fjord, which abounds in trout; the few leister prongs that were found in Sermilik, at Sûkersit and Savanganeq, are heavier, of bone or wood. Of course, some of them, especially the smaller ones, have doubtless been used by children for catching sea scorpions, fjord cod and small trout.

From the earliest culture in the district we also have a small, slender leister prong, from Pôrtusoq. The leisters now used in Angmagssalik usually have more powerful prongs[5]), although one does come across

[1]) Thalbitzer 1914, Fig. 175b.
[2]) See for instance Kangâmiut, p. 83.
[3]) Thalbitzer 1914, Fig. 141a.
[4]) See M 1927 II, p. 55 seq.
[5]) Thalbitzer 1914, Fig. 140.

prongs that are no larger than these, but this is particularly on leisters used by children.

Leister prongs occur in almost every phase of Eskimo Culture, and they vary too little to allow of much constructive reasoning; these large numbers of small, slender bone leister prongs seem to be a feature that is characteristic of settlements up Angmagssalik Fjord.

Of fish decoys, used for enticing the trout when fishing with the leister, we have three forms: The most simple is a bear tooth with a hole bored through one side; sometimes the other side has holes in it for attaching the appendages that flutter and attract the fish. Another form is of soapstone; sometimes, as Pl. 6. 15, the fish form is still distinct; but in most cases it is simply a long piece of soapstone with a hole in the back and a number of holes for the appendages (Pl. 6. 16-17). Finally, we have a third form in Pl. 6. 14, a flat, rounded-triangular piece of soapstone with a line hole at the top and holes along the edge.

The two latter forms are still used in Angmagssalik[1]); but whereas the fish decoy in the form of a fish is ancient in Eskimo Culture[2]), the latter form is peculiar to Angmagssalik. I therefore doubt whether Thalbitzer is right in calling these accessories "a rudimentary fishing-apparatus" — by which is meant a fish-hook with its sinker; fishing with the leister and decoy is at least just as ancient in Eskimo Culture as the fish-hook.

The fish-hook, remarkably enough, was not used in Angmagssalik when Holm in 1884 went there; it was used further south, however, as for instance at Ũmánaq[3]). Nowadays it is used at Angmagssalik for jigging for sea scorpion and cod, and for halibut; this fishery, however, was introduced from West Greenland.

Our finds here, however, show that in former days the fish-hook has been known — indeed, in common use, in the Angmagssalik district; Pl. 5. 37-41 undoubtedly are parts of fish-hooks. No. 39 is a sinker of soapstone, long, with three holes and a longitudinal groove; the hook has been made fast to one end, the line to the other[4]). Nos. 37-38 are two bone shanks for fish-hooks; at the upper end, which is square cut and pierced, they have been fastened to the sinker, whereas the lower end has borne the hook itself. No. 37 has in the lower end two holes at different heights, for iron hooks, whereas No. 38 ends in four plane surfaces and an end knob; presumably a hook or barb has been made fast to each of these surfaces, such as Nos. 40-41, small bone hooks, of which there are large numbers, with from 0—4 barbs on the inner side.

[1]) Thalbitzer 1914, Figg. 172a and 173.
[2]) M 1927 II, p. 57. Inugsuk, p. 201.
[3]) Thalbitzer 1914, p. 466.
[4]) A fragment of a similar sinker is also shown on Pl. 4. 11.

Fish-hooks with a sinker and bone shank with separate hooks seem to appear first in West Greenland about 1700[1]). Whereas the form with the barb of iron is common, the commonest form at Angmagssalik, with the lashed-on barb of bone, is not mentioned in the literature on West Greenland — nor any other place. In the National Museum, however, there are some specimens which show that this form has been known in West Greenland, viz. the end of a bone shank[2]) like Pl. 5. 38, but with only two flat surfaces, and 6 loose hooks of bone with one barb or none at all[3]); they have not been dated, however.

Pl. 6. 18 is a small hook of bone, like the corresponding specimens from the Kangâmiut area[4]) formed of seal pelvis, the orifice forming the inner edge of the hook. Presumably this is also a fish-hook, although there is a possibility that it may have been a hook for sinew thread, like Thalbitzer 1914, Fig. 242c.

Pl. 5. 42 is a fish needle of bone, rather slender. Pl. 6. 25 is an Angmagssat needle, used for stringing angmagssats on a cord[5]). Whereas the former is old and widely distributed in Eskimo Culture, the angmagssat needle is an implement found only at Angmagssalik. The same applies to the angmagssat scoop[6]), of which we only have the wooden stay for the basket, a piece of stick, rather flat, 31 cm long, pierced with many holes in two rows for the cord.

Another implement peculiar to Angmagssalik is the laminaria hook (Pl. 8. 9) which, placed on a pole, is used for cutting and drawing in the thick stalks of laminaria seaweed, a favourite food of the Angmagssalik Eskimos. It is a powerful hook, formed of a seal pelvis; the inner edge is cut sharp, and at the back is a bifurcated scarf face for the pole. Specimens of this implement, which is not in use now, but could still be remembered by the people, were found in no small numbers, all made in the same way.

A number of soapstone sinkers have only one hole and thus seem to have been used neither together with a fish-hook nor as a fish decoy; perhaps they have been net sinkers; it is impossible to say with certainty.

The leister harpoon head Pl. 5. 45 has already been mentioned; it is an earlier type than the modern leister harpoon heads in East and West Greenland[7]), but well-known in the Inugsuk Culture[8]).

[1]) Kangâmiut, p. 130. B-S. 1924, Fig. 268.

[2]) L2. 670.

[3]) L1593 (Disko), L2. 142, 670 (Nusaq) and 864; two without number (one Jakobshavn).

[4]) Kangâmiut, p. 84.

[5]) Thalbitzer 1914, Fig. 234.

[6]) Ibidem, p. 467.

[7]) Cf. Fig. 40 and B-S 1924, Fig. 259c.

[8]) Kangâmiut, p. 75.

Means of Communication.

Practically all that is preserved of the dog sledge is sledge shoeing of bone; on the other hand the specimens of it are very numerous. Pl. 6. 26 is a wide, heavy sledge shoe of whale bone; Pl. 6. 27 is of baleen, a material only used in one or two cases, and Pl. 6. 28 is a narrower piece of shoeing, of bone. The material is whale bone in most cases, but many of the specimens found are of other bone, mostly bear bone. On some the width is about 3—4 cm, on others about 2—$2^1/_2$ cm. It will be seen, then, that on the whole the sledge shoeing is narrower than in the earliest culture, but wider than in recent times in both West and East Greenland.

What the dog sledge has looked like in early times in Angmagssalik is to be seen from the miniature sledge on Pl. 4. 16, which is part of a grave find from Sūkersit, probably belonging to the first half of this period. It is badly decomposed, but still in such a condition that its shape can be seen. The runners are only slightly upturned at the front and have bone mountings; the cross slats are very wide, with narrow ends; and the upstanders have the same low, broad form that is still used; the lashings are of baleen cord. In other words, this is exactly the same type of sledge that is used in the district today[1]), and this find shows that it has been in continual use at any rate during the past two hundred years. This type is not used outside Angmagssalik.

A pair of badly decayed toy-sledge upstanders from Savanganeq are of the same form.

Pl. 6. 29 is a trace buckle of whale bone; these buckles, which are of the ordinary ancient Eskimo form, are fairly common, especially at Misigtoq; usually they are small (4—5 cm long) and mostly of whale bone; one is decorated with drilled holes. Pl. 6. 32 is a toggle for fastening the sledge draught line, a type that is well known in the Thule Culture, but — no doubt accidentally — not hitherto found in the Inugsuk Culture.

Of umiaks we have merely two fragmentary ribs; one is of the ancient West Greenland form with a shoulder instead of a hole[3]) as a bed for the stringers whereas the other has had a hole. From Misigtoq we also have a fragment of an umiak paddle-blade, of whale bone, with three pairs of holes for lashings.

Of kayaks we have, besides a few fragments of ribs and beams, two deck rests for the harpoon, Pl. 6. 30 and 31; the former is of bone and lacks one arm, the other is of wood. They are different to those

---

[1]) Thalbitzer 1914, Fig. 71.

[2]) See for instance M 1927 I, Pl. 14. 1-2.

[3]) Kangâmiut, p. 86.

now used at Angmagssalik and are much more like specimens from the earlier culture at Inugsuk[1]).

Kayak paddle mountings of bone occur in large numbers; mostly they are segment shaped (Pl. 6. 33), though sometimes four-sided; as a rule they are smaller than those that are used today. In West Greenland these paddle mountings seem to have become general only in the Third or Fourth Culture Stage of the Kangâmiut area (presumably about 1700)[2]).

Pl. 6. 34-37 illustrate a number of small bone buckles, etc. used in connection with lines on sledges and boats. No. 34 is the line toggle that we know of in the earliest culture, formed of a seal phalange and pierced by three holes; here we have large numbers of them, some made of the same bone, others of another seal bone (35). As already stated, these line toggles are not known outside of Angmagssalik. No. 36 is another Angmagssalik element, a small line hook of bone, to be fastened to the end of thongs in umiaks, on clothing or elsewhere, on sledges, where thongs have to be held together[3]). No. 37 is supposedly a button for the end of the cord of the kayak frock, similar to those still used in Angmagssalik[4]) and on the West Coast[5]).

Tools.

We know of no definite snow knife from Angmagssalik, where in fact the snow is scarcely suitable for building snow houses. A single fragment from Kangârtik may be a snow-knife handle with one shoulder, through which the owner has commenced to bore a hole; it is of whale bone; nothing certain can be said of this specimen, however.

Of knives the collection contains a great number, divisible into two main types: one with a blade or blade-socket at the end, and one with the blade or blade-groove at the side. The material is seal, dog or bear bone, and also whale bone, in some cases wood; ten of them have an iron blade, two a blade of brass.

The first type, with end blade, is the most common. Pl. 7. 1 is a powerful specimen of this form, with a haft of whale bone and a single-edged iron blade held in by two iron rivets. Pl. 7. 2 is a poorer specimen with a small iron blade set into the broken end of a seal fibula, a bone that is often used for knife hafts. Pl. 7. 3 is a seal tibia used as a knife haft; the blade socket is broken; it is decorated with carved longitudinal grooves, an ornament that occurs in two other specimens not figured,

[1]) Inugsuk, Pl. 8. 26, 20. 21 and 21. 12.
[2]) Kangâmiut, pp. 88 & 130.
[3]) Cf. Thalbitzer 1914, Figg. 171 & 301.
[4]) Ibidem, Fig. 296.
[5]) Inugsuk, Pl. 23. 18.

and on Pl. 7. 4, a handsomely-made knife haft of whale bone with a pronounced unilateral end knob that has a hole through it; besides the longitudinal stripes there is a double transversal line. Another knife haft of this type is at the rear end ornamented with four transversal lines and a double, curved line; on the edge of another there are alternate flat and raised notched fields.

Pl. 5. 19 is presumably the "foreshaft" of a knife of this type (or possibly of a lance); it is of whale bone and at one end has a deep socket for the blade, in the other a tenon to fit into the shaft.

The other main type, with side blade, is represented by Pl. 7. 5-6. No. 5 is of whale bone and consists of a thicker haft with a unilateral end knob and a thinner blade-part, in one edge of which is the blade slot. No. 6 is the blade part of one of these knives, of whale bone and with an iron blade; at the rear end is a tenon with two holes for inserting in the shaft, and in one edge is a long blade slot which only in the foremost end has an iron blade, held in by iron rivets. Knives of this type, which require a long, straight edge for the blade, are all of whale bone with one exception, which is of wood.

Both types were already found in Angmagssalik's earliest culture; their distribution was dealt with while discussing it. But whereas the first one is still in use in Angmagssalik, the second, which suffered under a scarcity of iron, has long fallen into discuse.

There are quantities of knife blades of stone, two-edged and single-edged; the former are represented by Pl. 7. 11, 12, 15 and 24, the latter by Pl. 7. 13, 14, 16 and 17. Nos. 12, 13, 15 and 16 are handsomely polished blades of slate, 17 is a polished blade of angmaq, 11 and 14 are unpolished, of dark flinty slate, and 24 an unpolished blade of flint. These are the most important types of knife blades found; the material may not be the same — quartz, quartzite, chalcedony also being used; but the forms are.

Single and two-edged knife blades of stone are met with everywhere in the early Eskimo culture[2]), also in the earliest Angmagssalik culture and in the Inugsuk culture[3]), where we find specimens just like Pl. 7. 13, 16 and 24. Even in the 19th Century stone knife blades were still in use in Angmagssalik[4]).

Two fragments are of small saw blades of brass; the largest is 5.7 cm long, 1.6 wide, with small, irregular teeth in one edge and two holes in the other. Presumably the saw is the result of European influence;

[1]) Grey silicious slate.

[2]) M 1927 II, p. 73.

[3]) Inugsuk, Pl. 5. 17 and 10. 10-11. Kangâmiut, Pl. 3. 8. See also Solberg, Pl. 3. 16 and 4. 7.

[4]) Thalbitzer 1914, Fig. 204.

in the original Eskimo Culture they do not seem to have had a place, even if they do occur as early as at Inugsuk[1]). When the Angmagssaliks were visited by Holm in 1884 they were using the saw[2]).

Whetstones are among the most commonly occuring objects, for one reason because they last so well. They are present in many different sizes and shapes. The material in most cases is slate, especially the black variety which splits into prismatic pieces; grey, blue or reddish varieties have also been used, however, and we furthermore find micaceous slate, sandstone, diabase, gneiss, etc. as whetstones. The form is mostly very irregular, all according to the shape of the piece of rock; sometimes it is rubbed on one side, sometimes on two, on three, or even on all four sides. Pl. 7. 7 is a slender whetstone of grey slate, rubbed on all four sides, whereas Pl. 7. 8 is a smaller specimen, also rubbed on all sides, of red slate; it has a suspension hole, a very frequent feature. On two specimens we recognize a definitely aimed-at form, flat, with convex sides.

Whetstone are so generally distributed throughout the Eskimo Culture that they allow of no conclusions to be drawn from them; they have been in use from the earliest times, and are still.

Hammer stones, too, are common; these are rounded pebbles, mostly of a diabase rock, but sometimes of gneiss or granite, which have developed one or more facets through hammering (Pl. 8. 3). In this district we have them right from the earliest culture (Pl. 2. 8) up to Holm's time[3]); in West Greenland they are commonly found in the ruins of the Inugsuk Culture[4]).

Of adzes we have both bone heads and stone blades. Pl. 6. 41 is a head of whale bone, with a blade socket in the wide end and four vertical holes for lashing on the handle in the narrow end. Pl. 6. 40 is a very primitive adze head, formed of the fibula of a large seal; in the wide end is the blade socket, in the other a flat surface and three holes for the handle-lashing. In a fragment is a piece of a blade of flinty slate in the blade socket.

Pl. 6. 38-39 are two adze blades; No. 38 is a small blade, polished at the edge, of dark flinty slate, for setting in a bone head, whereas No. 39 is the broken-off fore end of a large slate blade like Pl. 2. 2-3, which are of the earliest culture.

Adzes with bone heads and stone blades are familiar implements in the Thule Culture and the Inugsuk Culture, and also in Northeast

---

[1]) Inugsuk, p. 297.
[2]) Thalbitzer 1914, Figg. 188, 199.
[3]) Ibidem, Figg. 215—16.
[4]) Inugsuk, p. 216. Kangâmiut, p. 91.

Greenland[1]). We found it in the earliest culture at Angmagssalik, and now we find it again in rather large numbers in this later period. Peculiarly enough, the adze seems to have gone entirely (or partly) out of use when Holm came to Angmagssalik; Thalbitzer[2]), however, figures two adze blades as evidence that it has been in use formerly.

Pl. 8. 1 is a wedge of that often-used material here — seal tibia; others, somewhat larger, are of whale bone. Fig. 31 is the blade of a mattock, of whale bone. Both these implements are ancient types which spring from the Thule and Inugsuk Cultures[3]), but since have disappeared in the Angmagssalik district.



Fig. 31.
Mattock blade.
1:3.

That the bow drill has been a much used implement is to be seen not merely from the many pieces of bone cut and split by drilling (see for instance Pl. 9. 36, a rib split by this means), but from the many drill shanks (fragments only), mouthpieces and bits.

Of the mouthpieces, most are of the well-known form, even in the earliest culture, of seal astragalus (Pl. 7. 9), a form which has doubtless been borrowed from the West Coast, but which here on the southern East Coast has become general right up to our day[4]). Of the other mouthpieces, two are of whale bone and two, like Pl. 7. 10, of the upper end of a seal radius, on which the concave articulation cavity is used as a socket.

There are large numbers of drill bits. Some of them are of bone (Pl. 7. 18), with a broad shank and a thin, usually wedge-shaped point. But most are of stone; of these again there are several types: Pl. 7.22-23, both of dark flinty slate, have the point ground into four facets, as is most frequently the case in the Thule Culture[5]), and as is also known in the Inugsuk Culture; the broad end of No. 23 is wedge-shaped, obliquely ground, as if it were one of the double drill bits found in Baffin Land and Northeast Greenland.

Pl. 7. 21, which is of angmaq, also has a four-facetted point, but it is much more slender.

The commonest type of bit is represented by Pl. 7. 19-20; they are

---

[1]) M 1927 II, p. 75. Inugsuk, p. 215. Ryder, Fig. 24a—b. Thalbitzer 1909, Fig. 46. Thomsen 1917, Pl. X. 10.

[2]) Thalbitzer 1914, p. 495 and Fig. 208.

[3]) See M 1927 II, p. 78. Inugsuk, pp. 215 and 217.

[4]) Thalbitzer 1914, Fig. 191b.

[5]) M 1927 II, p. 79. Inugsuk, p. 218.

of angmaq and have a wedge-shaped edge; they are also ground on a third side, on one edge, so that the point is three-sided. Sometimes the point is rather narrow, like No. 20, sometimes wider, like 19; indeed, in some cases it is so wide that one begins to doubt whether they really are drill bits; but as there is every kind of transitional form, and apparently they are the same implement in all cases, it is probable that they are all drills. Outside West Greenland these three-sided angmaq drills are not otherwise known; there they are among the most commonly occurring stone implements[1]). We have it in the finds of the Inugsuk Culture, but no more than a few not very typical specimens[2]).

Pl. 7. 25 is a drill bit of flint, unground, with so large a shank that it may have been used as a hand drill.

Pl. 8. 2 is the only specimen we have of a thong smoother, of the ulna of one of the large seals. These implements, which are still in general use in Angmagssalik[3]) (cf. Fig. 44), does not appear in West Greenland until recent times[4]) — we cannot with certainty say when.

Of ulos, women's knives, we have three types represented. The first is the old Thule Culture form, on which the blade is fixed direct into a slot in the handle — a type that was also found in Angmagssalik's earliest culture (Pl. 1. 14). The small ulo Pl. 7. 30 is of this type, having a handle of whale bone and a blade of iron; the handle Pl. 7. 27 has originally been of this type too; it is also of whale bone and has a blade slot in the lower edge, but afterwards it has been converted into the later form with two arms, two deep, oblique holes for the arms having been drilled into the edge side.

The next form consists of a handle, an intermediate piece, and the blade. A typical, well-preserved specimen is Pl. 7. 28; both handle and intermediate piece are of whale bone, the latter being inserted in a slot in the handle and held there by bone pegs; in it is the iron blade. Pl. 7. 26 is a loose intermediate piece, of whale bone, which has been lashed on to the handle. These ulos with an intermediate piece make their first appearance in West Greenland in the Inugsuk Culture[5]); like the knives with the blade in the side, it is a form adapted to the lack of iron or other material for blades; in Northeast Greenland, where there is plenty of good slate for blades, this form has never obtained a footing.

The two-armed ulo, the characteristic ulo form of the Angmagssaliks, is represented by the handle Pl. 7. 29, of whale bone, and the two arms Pl. 7. 31-32. No. 31 is of bone and has a slot with two peg holes

[1]) Solberg, Pl. 5.
[2]) Inugsuk, Pl. 12. 7; Kangâmiut, p. 92.
[3]) Thalbitzer 1914, p. ....
[4]) Inugsuk, p. 312.
[5]) Kangâmiut, Pl. 3. 11.

for the blade; No. 32 is of whale bone and has three holes at the bottom, presumably for lashing on an intermediate piece. Two other handles are of bear teeth. The ulo with two arms, which is still the form used in Angmagssalik today[1]), has thus long been the prevailing form there; it does not occur in the earliest culture of the district, but we have it with an intermediate piece and slate blade in Amdrup's find from Skærgaardshalvø[2]), which is very closely associated with this culture; it has never got as far as the northern East Coast, however.

Of loose ulo blades we have only a trapezoid iron blade and a few fragments of slate blades.

Scraper blades with convex edge are exceedingly numerous, especially in Fields C and E and the lowest part of A at Savanganeq, which contained stone implements to the exclusion of almost everything else. Typical specimens are Pl. 9. 1-3. No. 1 is one of the large, better made blades, of flint; No. 2 is of rock crystal, and No. 3 of a still poorer material, quartz. Not a few of these scrapers, especially the larger and best-made, are of angmaq; one large angmaq scraper is ground at the edge. Others are of quartzite, one of rose quartz; very small, poorly made scraper blades of quartz and rock crystal are very common. These scrapers are widely distributed in the early Eskimo Culture: Alaska, Thule Culture, Inugsuk Culture, the later West Greenland Culture, Northeast Greenland[3]). It is seldom, however, that so many are found as was the case here. The present Angmagssalik Eskimos do not know them, do not even know what they have been used for; this being so, several of the specimens found among the objects of the 19th Century in the upper part of Midden A at Savanganeq, must presumably have been disturbed in some way in earlier layers and mixed in with later ones.

The other form of scraper, with concave edge, is not so numerous. Pl. 9. 4-6 illustrate three of them, the first of flint, the other two of rock crystal. Nos. 4-5 show the oft-recurring S-form. The concave-edged scraper is a form that is peculiar to West Greenland, beginning in the Inugsuk Culture[5]) but attaining rich development in the West Greenland Stone Age[4]); here we find exactly the same forms as those from Angmagssalik.

Another West Greenland form which we now find at Angmagssalik is the small oblique-edged boot creaser (or crimping tool) of angmaq Pl. 9. 7-8, specimens of which we already had from House I at Utorqarmiut (Fig. 29. 11-12). As stated in the foregoing, it is one of the elements

[1]) Thalbitzer 1914, p. 507 seq.
[2]) Thalbitzer 1909, Fig. 21.
[3]) See for instance M 1927 II, p. 90.
[4]) Inugsuk, Pl. 13. 5.
[5]) Solberg, Pl. 2.

that draw the line between the First and the Second Culture Stage on the southern West Coast[1]); as it has not reached Northeast Greenland, it has probably only made its appearance in the later part of this Second Stage like the heavy weapon heads and the wound plug.

A large number of bones, mostly seal fibula, but also dog ulna, etc. are pointed at the end or simply show signs of hard wear at the end. On some, such as Pl. 9. 23 (of seal fibula) and Pl. 8. 18 (dog bone) the point has been so painstakingly made that the bone has presumably been used as a bodkin for sewing work; others, which are only worn at the end, have doubtless been used as stretchers for stretching skins or for digging up edible roots. The use of seal fibula as a bodkin, indeed, goes right back to the time of the Thule Culture[2]). One of these fibulae has a short, cross edge as if it had been used as a crimping tool.

Pl. 9. 9 is the only needle case found, cylindrical, of narwhal ivory, and decorated with three bands of drilled holes. The thimble holder Pl. 9. 10, which is of whale bone and badly broken, is the only specimen of this object found. The needle case is not used by present-day Angmagssaliks, who have a triangular piece of skin for holding their needles. In the earliest culture of the district the "winged" needle case (Pl. 1. 17) was used; this specimen shows that the needle case has also been in use much later at Angmagssalik, in a form familiar to us from West Greenland[4]). The thimble holder, also an ancient Eskimo culture element[5]) is well known in the modern Angmagssalik culture[6]), but the present specimen has not yet reached the form of the modern thimble holder (and the closely related sinew-thread holder) in Angmagssalik.

Household Utensils.

Of lamps we have only a few fragments; most of them are rather small, but it is possible to see from them that the majority have been segment-shaped soapstone lamps without a wick ledge. Fig. 32. 1 is a large piece of one of these lamps, which has been rather narrow. Some fragments are of lamps with a wick ledge. Fig. 32. 2 is a lamp of a very loose radiolitic rock, which is apparently responsible for the oval form and great thickness. A large fragment is of a segment-shaped lamp formed of a slab of gneiss, and along the back there has been an edging of clay.

In addition, we are able to glean some facts concerning the shape

---

[1]) Kangâmiut, p. 93—94.
[2]) M 1927 II, p. 98.
[3]) Thalbitzer 1914, p. 520 seq.
[4]) B-S 1924, Fig. 82a.
[5]) See for instance M 1927 II, p. 97.
[6]) Thalbitzer 1914, p. 520 seq.

of the lamps from the miniatures found, of which we have a large number (Pl. 4. 13 and Pl. 9. 25-26). Seven of these have a wick ledge, two have a longitudinal partition near the back, and 23 have neither wick ledge nor partition. It is surprising to find the lamp with the wick ledge, the ancient form of the Thule and Inugsuk cultures, so richly represented in a find of so late a date; on the west coast it seems to have disappeared in the course of the Kangâmiut area's Second Culture Stage[1]) (estimated at about 1500—1650); in the more remote Ang-

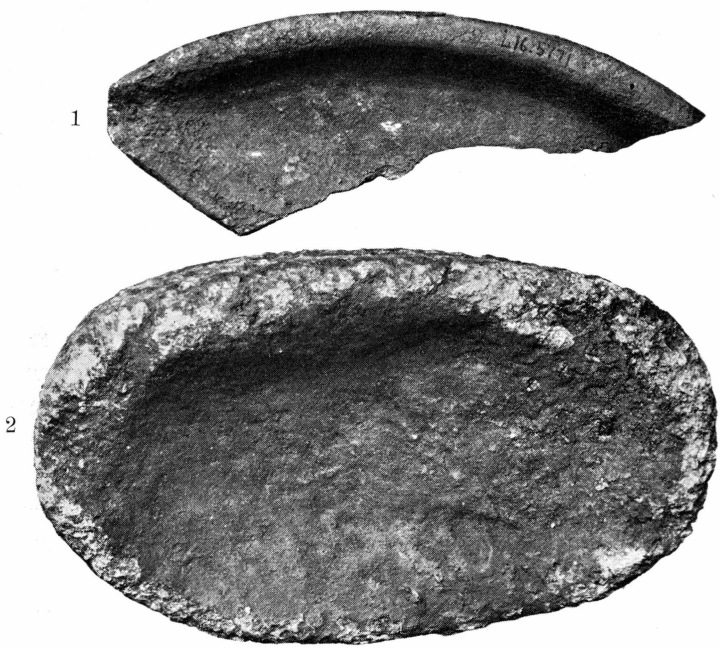


Fig. 32. Soapstone lamps. 1:3.

magssalik region this old form has remained longer in use, but there, too, the later West Greenland form, without the wick ledge, has become predominant; the lamp with the partition also occurs in very old finds on the West Coast, but has remained in use throughout a much longer period[2]).

Lamp trimmers of asbestos are very common; it is a material that occurs in quantities in Sermilik Fjord. Most of these lamp trimmers have not been shaped, but are merely naturally split fragments, blackened at one end; some, however, have been smoothened and are round or flat, like Pl. 8. 6. Peculiarly enough, asbestos lamp trimmers, as we also have them from the earliest culture here, seem to have fallen into

[1]) Kangâmiut, p. 97 seq.
[2]) Ibidem, p. 98. Inugsuk, p. 313.

disuse in Angmagssalik in recent times[1]), when flat trimmers of iron are used. In West Greenland those of asbestos have been commonly used from the time of the Inugsuk Culture[2]).

Of cooking pots there are large numbers of fragments, though most of them are too small to provide any idea of the shape and size of the pots. As a rule they have been rounded, with a flat bottom and suspension holes in a lug on the inner side, a feature that we find in both the earliest culture (Pl. 2. 7) and in the present day culture at Angmagssalik. Pl. 8. 4 is a small rim-sherd of one of these. Others, especially smaller pots, have the openings of the suspension holes on the outer side. Miniature pots, three of which are shown Pl. 4. 12, 14 and 15 and two on Pl. 9. 27-28, are both oval and round-cornered forms.

Besides these lamps and cooking pots, the finds naturally contain a very large number of soapstone sherds that cannot be identified. On the whole there has been no lack of soapstone, and it is said to occur in the mountains behind Kûngmiut in Angmagssalik Fjord, besides at Inigssalik to the south.



Fig. 33. Tub stave. 1:3.

There is nothing special to remark about fragments of rounded, hollowed-out wooden dishes, oval bowl bottoms for wooden and baleen vessels (of wood, one of whale bone), wooden sides for such vessels, as well as fire-drilling wood, some for the drill-stick, others hearths. These are forms that are known in the early West Greenland Culture (Inugsuk) and the later culture in West Greenland and Angmagssalik. A large piece of bone has a large hole made by drilling in the middle of one flat surface; it may have been used as a rest for the upper end of the fire-drilling stick.

Fig. 33 is a large tub stave, with a number of wooden nails at the bottom to hold it. It is 23 cm long. Other staves are of small cups, 6 or 11 cm long. None of the staves found have had any bone edging at the top, such as we almost always find on the later water and urine tubs at Angmagssalik[3]); nor do we find among the many pieces of bone mounting the bent pieces that are now used for edging wooden vessels and which actually are necessary in order to hold them together; apparently this is a fairly late element and peculiar to Angmagssalik.

[1]) Thalbitzer 1914, p. 535.
[2]) Kangâmiut, p. 100.
[3]) Thalbitzer 1914, p. 549 seq.

In West Greenland stave-vessels do not seem to have had a bone edging as a rule, and it does not seem to have played any important part, at any rate in holding the vessel together; on the only complete specimen we know of from West Greenland (from Inugsuk)[1]) this is secured by means of two bands of baleen.

Pl. 9. 12 is a spoon of bone with a large, egg-shaped but defective bowl and a narrow handle; several others are of similar shape; these are spoons which go back to the Inugsuk Culture[2]) and are also represented in the earliest culture in the Angmagssalik district (Pl. 1. 18); on the other hand, they are not known from the northern part of the East Coast, and the bone spoons now used by the Angmagssalik Eskimos are of other forms. Pl. 8. 8 is a large spoon made out of the scapula of a large seal.

Of wooden ladles we have only one or two broken handles. On the other hand there are many meat forks, all made by pointing a seal rib (Pl. 8. 5). The use of this bone for meat forks is also known in modern Angmagssalik[4]), and it has often been put to the same use in West Greenland[5]).

Toilet, Clothing, Ornaments.

Combs occur in good numbers and in greatly varying forms, of which Pl. 9. 13-19 give an impression; of these figured specimens Nos. 13 and 17-19 are of whale-bone, the others of other bones; 19 is unfinished. Some of these combs are familiar to us from West Greenland[6]); others bear the stamp of great individuality. But we observe one thing: the forms of combs used by the present day Angmagssalik Eskimos[7]) do not occur in these earlier finds; they must have made their appearance later.

A number of bone buttons and small toggles, sometimes made of seal phalange (Pl. 9. 21), others of teeth or other bone, have possibly been used on clothing. Pl. 9. 22 is a button of whale bone with a flat and a rounded side, and an eye formed of two drilled holes.

Besides a number of pierced bear teeth we have numbers of other animal teeth with holes in them, tooth beads, used as ornaments, for necklaces or the like. In a girl's grave (Pl. 4. 9-10) we found 18 of these, 8 of them being bear incisors, 9 dog incisors, and one dog molar. Otherwise seal canines are common among these beads (Pl. 10. 4), but

[1]) Inugsuk, Fig. 30.
[2]) Ibidem, p. 239 seq.
[3]) Thalbitzer 1914, Fig. 265.
[4]) Thalbitzer 1914, p. 543.
[5]) Inugsuk, p. 240.
[6]) Compare Inugsuk, Pl. 14. 20. Kangâmiut, Pl. 4. 6.
[7]) Thalbitzer 1914, Figg. 331 and 333.

we also find canines of dog and fox, incisors and molars of dog and bear; some of the teeth have been split.

Whereas the tooth beads as a rule have not been worked beyond a drilled hole in the root end, we find a number which have either been cut over or worked in some other way, so that they may be called drop pendants, or, when large and having more specialized forms, pendants. Pl. 10. 5-6 are two drop pendants made of split teeth and decorated with drilled holes on the rounded side. Pl. 10. 7, which is also a tooth, is distinctly profiled and ornamented with cross bands, whereas Pl. 10. 8 is pointed, of ivory. Pl. 10. 9-10 are two pendants of ivory; No. 10 is rather flat, rounded, has several drilled holes in it and in the middle an inset stone. Pl. 10. 13 is a peculiar, deeply-cleft drop pendant of bone, whereas three specimens are like Pl. 10. 12, obviously a related form to the foregoing. Two long drop pendants end at the bottom in the seal tail ornament.

Stone, too, is the material of a number of pendants; a number of the best made and most typical are Pl. 10. 15-19 and 22. No. 15 is rather large, of slate, flat; No. 17 is also flat, of green serpentine, roughly ground to shape; No. 16 (which lacks the suspension hole) and No. 18 are of soapstone; No. 19 is of red slate and 22 of graphite.

Pl. 10. 25-31 illustrate a number of pendants of metal. Of these Nos. 29 and 30, which were found together with 26 and seven white porcelain beads in House VI at Sūkersit, are presumably of tin, whereas No. 31, from Kangârtik, seems to be of silver; it looks as if it were a fragment of a harpoon blade which, after being broken, has been drilled and used as a pendant. Nos. 25-28, on the other hand, are of church bell metal, a material surprising to see in these finds on the East Coast. No. 25, which is rather thick and triangular, is from Field C at Misigtoq; the flat, oval specimen No. 26 is, as stated, from Sūkersit; No. 27, which is a fragment of a thin-walled bell, is from House II, Utorqarmiut, and No. 28 is from Field B, Kangârtik; from Isigsit, too, we have a small, sharply oval specimen that has not yet been drilled.

Thus at five different settlements in the Angmagssalik district bell metal has been found, in all cases worked into pendants and probably used as ear drops. These are not the only finds, however. From Mr. Janus Sørensen, of the Danish Navy, the National Museum has received the gift of an ear drop of bell metal[1]) similar to Pl. 10. 26, found at Angmagssalik; and among a collection of objects found on Frederik VI's Coast, between Angmagssalik and Cape Farewell, and acquired by the colony manager Mr. A. T. Hedegaard, are two similar ear drops of bell metal[2]), a small oval one found at Tingmiarmiut, and a large, irregular,

[1]) L 9522.

[2]) L 9653 and 9623.

rounded one like Pl. 10. 27, from Ũmánaq. It would thus seem as if there had been a large export of bell metal to the East Coast from the old Norse Settlements on the southern West Coast, but not until later times, after the Norsemen had perished; in the oldest ruins of the Angmagssalik district no bell metal has been found. On the West Coast[1]), too, bell metal is scattered far and wide.

Of the other drop pendants and pendants of bone and stone we recognize a number of the types on the West Coast, especially in the earlier finds[2]), whereas others, like the cleft pendants and that of graphite, have no parallel elsewhere; we already have both drop pendants and pendants of bone and the slate ornaments in the earliest culture of the district (Pl. 3. 10-11, 16-18).

Another kind of decorative object is the ornamental bodkin of bone. In the grave of the little girl at Sũkersit (Pl. 4) we found eight of these bodkins. No. 1 is the form with an eye and, below this, a number of transversal rolls, the form that prevails in the Inugsuk Culture of southern West Greenland[3]), and has been transplanted to Northwest Greenland[4]). The others are of the presumably younger form, with the hole lower down and at the top ending in a head — on three, however, broken off; two still have the rolls; six have the women's top knot. Two other ornamental bodkins are shown Pl. 10. 2-3; both are rather flat and end in a female head; only one has two transversal lines as a vestige of the rolls.

The history of the evolution of these ornamental bodkins has been examined on a previous occasion[5]): how they appear as tools in the early Inugsuk Culture, but gradually become a purely ornamental pendant, on which the bodkin form gradually becomes entirely lost. The specimens now found principally belong to the later links of this chain of development. The very last link is taken to be the flat appendages, with a head at the top, which sometimes hang on the needle-skins of the Angmagssaliks[6]); one of these was found in the upper layers of Field D at Kangârtik.

Another pendant not found elsewhere is a seal phalange or similar bone which has simply been drilled through one end, but otherwise quite unworked. They are rarely decorated, as Pl. 10. 1, the ornamentation of which consists of holes drilled into it. These pierced seal bones are fairly common and vary considerably in size; one of the largest is

[1]) Inugsuk, p. 285.
[2]) Cf. Inugsuk, Pl. 18. 2-5 and 8. Kangâmiut, Pl. 6. 6 and 7. 11.
[3]) Kangâmiut, Pl. 4. 9 and 6. 1.
[4]) See for instance Thomsen 1917, Pl. VII. 1-5.
[5]) Inugsuk, p. 227 and 297.
[6]) Holm 1888, Pl. XXVIII and XXXX. Thalbitzer 1914, Fig. 345.

shown Pl. 9. 11. More rare are those of other bones, such as Pl. 4. 8, which is of dog, and a very small ptarmigan bone. That they really have been used for ornament is first of all indicated by the decorated piece Pl. 10. 1, then Pl. 4. 9, which was found together with the ornamental bodkins and tooth beads in the girl's grave at Sūkersit.

Beads are also represented, some of bone, some of stone. Pl. 10. 14 is a round bone bead; other cylindrical bone beads are made of a sawn-off leg bone or a tooth.

Pl. 10. 21 is a round bead of soap-stone, a type which has also been found in the earliest culture (Pl. 3. 19); Pl. 10. 24 is quite a small bead of calcareous spar, a material also used for a bead at Inugsuk[1]). Pl. 10. 20 and 23 are two beads that are unfinished; No. 20 is of a greyish-blue slate, whereas No. 23 is of smoky topaz; there has been an attempt to grind it on one side and to drill it from the other, but the material has proved to be too hard.

Pl. 10. 11 is a small bust of ivory; at the bottom it terminates in a tenon, which shows that it has been inserted as an ornament in some tool or utensil.

Games and Pastimes.

The game of ajagaq has been much in use, as it is in Angmagssalik to this day. Various bones have been used for it. In the first place we meet with the same two bones that we know from the earliest culture, radius and penis bone of seal (Pl. 8. 12 and 14); but whereas in the earliest culture and also in ancient times in West Greenland they have had only few holes, mostly only one in one end, here we also see specimens with many holes, like the two figured. Whereas the penis bone is no longer used for this game in Angmagssalik, the radius is not at all uncommon (Fig. 50b), and it always has a number of holes.

Seal humerus is also used now and then, not only that of the large seals as we found at Inugsuk[2]) and many other places, but also of smaller species (Pl. 8. 13, which is of the harp seal) and furnished with numbers of holes, a form that has not been met with anywhere else. The same applies to the ajagaqs of seal phalange (Pl. 8. 15), some which, like the one figured, have a large number of holes, while others are hollowed out at one end; one small ajagaq of whale bone is of this latter description.

The commonest ajagaqs in these finds, however, are a hollow, more or less tubular bone, most frequently the lower end of a seal tibia (Pl. 8. 16), but also of other bones such as seal fibula or metatarsal bone (Pl. 8. 17). As a rule these have only a hole for the cord, which runs into the hollow inside. It is a form similar to that still used in Angmagssalik (Fig. 50a)[3]), but one that is not known elsewhere.

[1]) Inugsuk, Pl. 18. 1.

[2]) Ibidem, p. 252.

[3]) Thalbitzer 1914, Figg. 381 and 387.

A specimen that is strikingly similar to the Central Eskimo nuglutang[1]) is Pl. 9. 29; it is an oval piece of whale bone with cord holes in both ends and pierced by two holes at right-angles to each other. The nuglutang is not known in Greenland, but it is not precluded that it may have come in with the Thule Culture, whereafter it may have remained in use a long time at such a remote place as Angmagssalik.

Pl. 8. 10 is the disk of a top, of whale bone; other top disks are of wood, one with the peg still in it. Pl. 8. 7 is a defective buzz of wood. Both top and buzz are ancient Eskimo types which are still in use in Angmagssalik[2]). The same applies to the drum; Pl. 9. 31 is a drum handle, made out of a seal bone.

All the dolls we have of this period — owing to the unfavourable conditions for preserving wood their total is only 7 — are of the old, primitive type with flat face, no features, and without arms (Pl. 9.24), the type that predominates in the West Greenland Inugsuk Culture[3]); the later Angmagssalik dolls are more remarkable, formed more vigorously[4]). Of animal figures the collection includes a few poorly carved, small seal figures in wood.

Toy — miniature — implements were found in large numbers; quantities of weapons, implements and utensils are represented in bone, more rarely in stone, and great care has often been expended on these trifles for the children; in many cases these toy specimens make a valuable supplement to our knowledge of the various types of implements; reference has already been made to some of them in the foregoing (bladder and bird-dart heads, harpoon wings, sledges, lamps, cooking pots, etc.).

The most important of these toy objects are figured: Pl. 10. 33-37 are harpoon heads, the first two thin, the next two flat, and the last with a barb on the upper side. Pl. 10. 38 is undoubtedly a whaling-harpoon head, not before found at Angmagssalik, but recently found in Northeast Greenland[5]); the very thin body and the blade slit at right-angles to the line hole in every respect reproduce the whaling-harpoon heads of both the Thule Culture and West Greenland[6]). Pl. 10. 44 is a foreshaft with a point and No. 45 is the shaft mounting of an Ituartit harpoon. Pl. 10. 39 is a foreshaft for a kayak harpoon, No. 42 for an ice-hunting harpoon. No. 40 is a harpoon wing and 47 a swivel for a harpoon line. Pl. 10. 32 is a bird-dart head

[1]) M 1927 II, p. 120.
[2]) See for instance Inugsuk, pp. 253—54. Thalbitzer 1914, Figg. 375 and 376b.
[3]) Inugsuk, Pl. 18. 12-23.
[4]) Thalbitzer 1914, Fig. 366.
[5]) Bartlett and Bird, Fig. 14. 7.
[6]) See for instance Kangâmiut, p. 75.

with two belts of barbs and a screw on the butt end, No. 41 the neck-piece of a set of towing gear, Nos. 43 and 48 are bladder-dart heads, No. 46 a side prong for a bird dart, No. 49 is possibly an arrow head and No. 50 a leister prong. Toy lamps are represented by Pl. 9. 25-26 and Pl. 4. 13, toy cooking pots Pl. 9. 27-28 and Pl. 4. 12 and 14-15. Pl. 9. 29

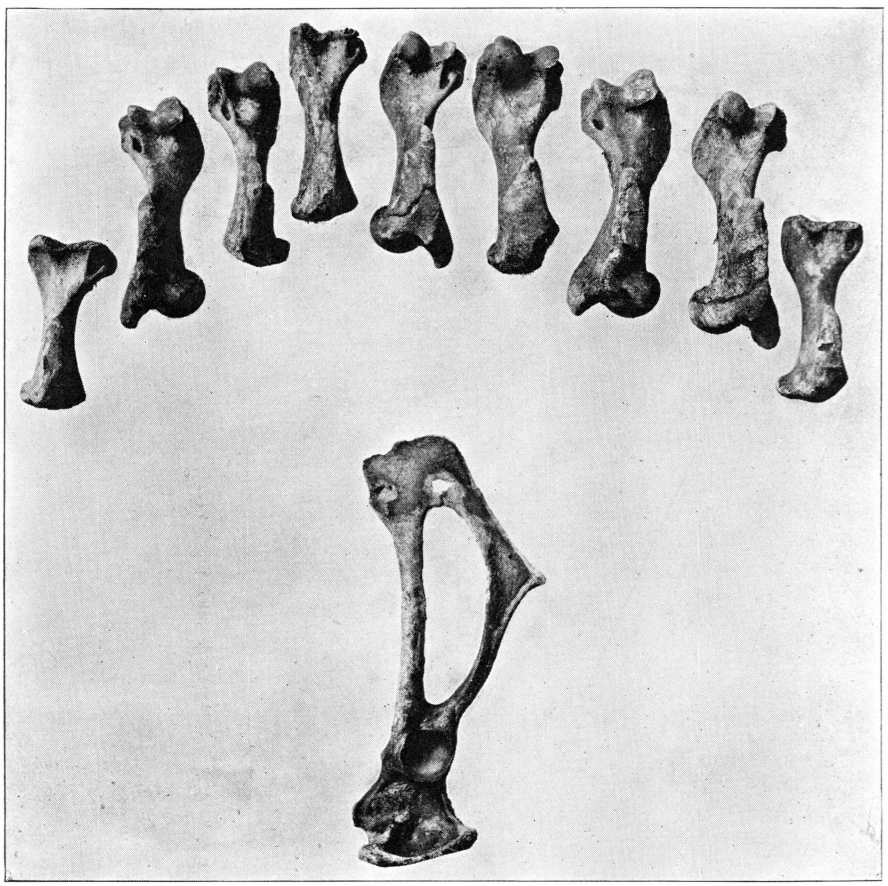


Fig. 34. Toy dog sledge with dogs of seal bones. Sūkersit.

is an ulo blade of angmaq and Pl. 9. 34 is a mounting for the butt of a winged harpoon.

The sledge Pl. 4. 16 has already been referred to. Pl. 8. 11 is half a dog mandible drilled through the upper angle; several of these were found, and one of the Greenlanders working for me said that as children they used to play sledges with two of them, a stick being pushed through the two rami, which acted as upstanders. Another toy sledge, with its dogs, was found in House VI at Sūkersit (Fig. 34); it is a seal pelvic bone which lay together with 9 seal humeri; these bones he had also

seen used as dog sledges. We do not know these forms of "sledges" elsewhere.

Sundries.

Bone mountings of various kinds are very common; some are edgings for paddles, etc., others for reinforcing various wooden objects; often the wooden pegs are still in position, as the bone edging Pl. 9. 35. Pl. 9. 32 is an angular piece of mounting for the corner of a wooden box or the like. The material of these mountings is sometimes whale bone, and all kinds of bones besides.

Mountings of this kind are very frequently met with in both early and late finds in West Greenland[1]) and also among the present-day Angmagssalik Eskimos; as has been mentioned, the curved pieces of bone mounting used so much by them for wooden tubs do not occur in these finds.

Pl. 9. 30 is a broken ferrule of bone for a wooden shaft; a peg through two holes has held it on; there are several of these, but what has been their purpose cannot be definitely established; the large specimens may have been tip ferrules for kayaks.

From the lower layers at Savanganeq — practically the only place — we have baleen, some lengths of cord with knots and some cut pieces, including Fig. 35, which is 42 cm long and in shape rather recalls the snow-beater from Inugsuk[2]); but it is more roughly made and its identity is uncertain.

As in the earliest culture, we have a number of pieces of ground graphite, apparently used for crayons.

Apart from some pieces of iron and brass, the European objects in the finds include, first and foremost, a number of glass beads. Nearly all the ruins and middens of this period yielded beads of this kind. And as these glass beads are of certain significance as showing which ruins are contemporaneous, and also as showing the connection with West Greenland, the localities where the different kinds will be given below.



Fig. 35. Snow beater (?) of baleen.

The large spherical, opalescent beads, which are very common in West Greenland in ruins dating from the 18th Century and especially from its first half[3]), are very pre-

[1]) See for instance Inugsuk, p. 262.

[2]) Inugsuk, Pl. 19. 2-6.

[3]) See Kangâmiut, p. 119 and Pl. 7. 15; also mentioned Inugsuk, p. 319.

valent. In Angmagssalik these beads were found in Fields C and E at Misigtoq, House ruin I and Fields C and D at Kangârtik, House ruin II at Utorqarmiut. Another of the 18th Century's easily recognisable bead types, the large, facetted, clear or yellow[1]), was found in Field E at Misigtoq, Sivtsingaleq and Utorqarmiut. Large black, spherical beads, also well known in 18th Century finds in West Greenland[2]), were found in Field C at Misigtoq, Field E at Kangârtik, Field D at Sūkersit and Field D at Savanganeq. The small dull blue beads, which seem to be among the oldest glass beads in West Greenland, where they date back to the 17th Century[3]), were present here in fairly large numbers: at Misigtoq: House ruin VIII, Fields B, C and E; Kangârtik: House ruins I and II, Fields A and B; Savanganeq: Field C; Utorqarmiut: House ruin II. In House VI at Sūkersit, together with the three afore-mentioned metal ornaments (Pl. 10. 26 and 29-30), we found 7 fairly large, elongated beads of porcelain[4]); and we have similar beads, though smaller, from Misigtoq (Field E), Kangârtik (Fields D and E) and Savanganeq (Fields C and D). From Misigtoq, Field C, we have a few blue beads with white stripes[5]).

It will be seen that all the forms of glass beads found in this period in Angmagssalik are known from West Greenland ruins of the 18th and latter half of the 17th Centuries; especially the first half of that period, prior to the Danish colonization; these are the beads that were taken to Greenland by foreign whalers, especially the Dutch. Naturally, we cannot say whether these beads have come to Angmagssalik from the West Coast or through direct trading with the whalers; presumably most of them came from the West Coast, but of course one cannot deny the possibility that the East-Coast Greenlanders now and then traded direct with the whalers.

In Field A at Kangârtik we found a black glass button with the remains of an iron eye; one very similar was found in that part of Midden B which originated from House ruin 19, Utorqait in the Kangâmiut area, i. e. the latter half of the 17th Century.

A few words still remain to be said about the ornamentation we find on these objects. It is very poor, comprises very few elements, and occurs on very few specimens. The engraved designs we meet with are: dot ornaments, mostly formed by drilling small holes; we have this on a needle case (Pl. 9. 9) and some pendants (Pl. 10. 1 and 5-6). Longitudinal lines we find on a few knife hafts (Pl. 7. 3-4), transversal

[1]) Kangâmiut, p. 119 and Pl. 7. 14 and 17; Inugsuk, p. 319.
[2]) Kangâmiut, Pl. 7. 16 (this one with yellow stripes).
[3]) Ibidem, p. 119.
[4]) Ibidem, p. 119.
[5]) Inugsuk, p. 319.

lines on a few knife hafts (Pl. 7. 4), ornamental bodkins (Pl. 4. 1-3 and Pl. 10. 2); edge cutting we find on the pendant Pl. 10. 9.

Three of these elements, the dots, longitudinal lines, and edge cutting, we find already used in the earliest culture of the district (Pl. 1. 5, Pl. 3. 11 and 16); and it is merely accidental that we did not find the transversal lines. All the elements belong to the West Greenland Inugsuk Culture[1]); in modern Angmagssalik we find the dots, the transversal lines and the edge cutting[2]).

On the other hand the seal-tail ornament, which we have on the neck piece for a set of towing gear, Pl. 6. 9, the miniature specimen Pl. 10. 41, and on one or two pendants, has not been found in the district's earliest culture or in the Inugsuk Culture; it seems to have first made its appearance in West Greenland in the latter half of the 17th Century[3]), but has thereafter become an important decorative element both in West Greenland and in Angmagssalik[4]); the variant of the seal-tail ornament that is so frequently used in present-day Angmagssalik, with a third point in between the two rounded projections (for instance Holm 1888, Pl. XXIX) is not known in West Greenland, nor is it contained in the earlier Angmagssalik finds dealt with above.

Another important negative feature is that the decorating of wooden objects (throwing board, eye-shade, tubs, etc.) with relief figures in bone, which is so prominent among modern Angmagssalik Eskimos, has not been found at all in the culture now being described; even if the wood of the objects would have perished, it should be possible to find the bone figures lying loose. It would seem, then, that this ornamentation has not appeared in Angmagssalik until after the period under discussion[5]).

Houses and Other Permanent Remains.

The houses from which the specimens described above came from are all rectangular, some of them being large common houses (Misigtoq, House IX and XI, Kangârtik, House I, Sûkersit, House VI, Savanganeq, House III, Sivtsingaleq, House V), others the small, rectangular houses (Misigtoq, House VI, Kangârtik, House II, Sûkersit, House III, Savanganeq, House V, Utorqarmiut, House II, the ruins at Isigsit and Pusisaraq), and others an intermediate form in which the longest dimension lies at right-angles to the entrance passage, but in which the whole size

[1]) See Kangâmiut, p. 112.

[2]) See for instance Thalbitzer 1914, Figg. 239, 335—36 and 340.

[3]) Kangâmiut, p. 129.

[4]) B-S 1924, p. 120. Thalbitzer 1914, p. 624.

[5]) It should be observed that this ornament is not mentioned at all by Graah; if it had been in common use at the time he made his journey (1828—31) he would certainly have referred to it.

of the house is rather small (not 5 m long); to this latter group belong a number of houses: at Misigtoq, Houses VII, VIII, XII and XIII, Kangârtik, House V and Sûkersit, House V. At this time the large common houses are being used, but have not yet attained anything like the dominating position which they later on acquired in the Angmagssalik district, which they had at Holm's time and still to some extent have. Of the houses excavated the longest was 7.5 m, but many of the houses at the settlements of that period which were not excavated were larger. At Igtivata, near Kulusuk, there is a ruin 12 m long, and at the adjacent settlement of Qieqe is one $10^1/_2$ m long, made shorter by building two partitions in it, a feature one often meets with.

We already knew the small, rectangular houses in this district, where they began to appear in earliest times. The larger ones, however, are something new, from West Greenland. In the Kangâmiut area they commenced to appear in the latter half of the 17th Century[1]), and they were predominant throughout the 18th; one of the excavated ruins of the earliest part of that period, at Utorqait near Kangâmiut[2]), in form, size, and the niches in the walls, strongly resembles the best preserved of the excavated houses in Angmagssalik, House VI at Sûkersit.

These large, rectangular houses have not been found in Northeast Greenland; their northern boundary, according to Amdrup[3]), lies at North Aputiteq, which, according to Holm[4]), is the most northerly place known to have been inhabited by Angmagssalik Eskimos.

Graves, meat caches and tent rings differ in no way from those common throughout Greenland. At Sûkersit we found boat supports, toy houses of stone, and kayak-shaped settings of stone, all presumably belonging to this period. The latter, a kind of plaything, are known both in West Greenland and the Central Eskimo regions[5]).

General Remarks: Cultural Position, Period, Life.

We have now gone through the implement types and other culture elements represented in the finds of this period in the Angmagssalik district. On this basis we shall now form an estimate of the position of this culture, and by that means endeavour to date it.

If we make an analysis of the culture as we know it through these finds, we will see that its elements are divisible into different groups, each with its origin.

[1]) See Kangâmiut, p. 129.
[2]) Ibidem, p. 21.
[3]) Amdrup, p. 311.
[4]) Holm 1888, p. 222.
[5]) M 1927 II, p. 130.

1. Types already known from Angmagssalik's earliest culture. These include: Harpoon heads — thin, with and without barbs, with and without blades; harpoon blades of bone; foreshaft for ice-hunting harpoon and for kayak harpoon, with one hole; cylindrical mounting for the fore end of the harpoon shaft; ice pick; stopper for harpoon line; wing block for winged harpoon; wound pin; lanceolate stone arrow head; barb for salmon spear of a special type; middle and side prongs for leisters; wide sledge shoeing; line toggle; knives with end and side blades; single and two-edged knife blades of stone; whetstone and hammer stone; adze head and blade; wedge; mattock; shank and mouthpiece (of seal astragalus) for drills; ulo handle without arms and ulo blade of stone; stone scraper with convex edge; needle case; lamps with and without wick ledge; lamp trimmer of asbestos; cooking pot; oval bowl; fire-drilling stick; bone spoon; wooden ladle; small toggles; pierced teeth; drop pendants of bone; pendants of bone and stone; stone beads; ajagaq of seal radius and penis bone; bone mountings; ground graphite; dot ornament; ornamental longitudinal lines; edge cuts.

All these elements — 56 in all — thus continue from the earliest culture into the later one; in reality, it comprises nearly all the types known in the earliest culture; only very few and unimportant are lacking. This group, then, displays the continuity in the culture of the Angmagssalik District. Most of them, however, are also known from the West Coast — with the exception of certain types, such as line toggles, barbs for salmon spears, and slate pendants, which thus represent an Angmagssalik provincialism which has existed from earliest times.

Besides these elements of the old culture, however, there is a large number of others:

2. Types not found in the earliest Angmagssalik culture, but in the West Greenland Inugsuk Culture. Among these are: Flat harpoon heads, with or without barbs and blades; Ituartit harpoon heads and foreshafts; leister harpoon head; harpoon blade of stone; wide harpoon wing; finger rest, tension piece and swivel for harpoons; mouthpiece and plug for harpoon bladders; throwing board; bladder-dart head with two-rowed barbs and mounting for bladder darts; side prong for bird dart; ferrule for butt of weapon shafts; bone arrow head; gorge with one hole or notch; fish decoy in the form of a fish; fish hook of bone; fish needle; wooden toggle for sledge draught-line; trace buckle; kayak and umiak; deck-rest for kayak harpoon; rounded paddle mounting; drill bits of bone and of stone with four facets; ulo handle with intermediate piece; stone scraper with concave edge; bodkin; anchor-shaped thimble holder; rounded wooden dish; coopered tub; meat fork; comb; pierced bear tooth; ornamental bodkin; bone bead; nuglutang; top; buzz; drum handle; doll without arms and face; whaling-harpoon

GRØNLANDS STYRELSE

head; lamp with partition near rear edge; ornamental transversal line; kayak-formed settings of stones.

These types — 50 in all — belong to the West Greenland Inugsuk Culture, the culture from which the earliest Angmagssalik culture has emanated; thus they might very well have been present in that latter culture, only — they have not been found in it; the material we have from the earliest culture is not so large. There are five of these elements, however, which have not been found in the West Greenland Inugsuk Culture but nevertheless have been placed to that group: foreshaft for the Ituartit harpoon and the wooden toggle for the sledge draught line, both elements that undoubtedly came from the Inugsuk Culture, but so far have not been found in it. The harpoon wing is known from the Cape York district and from early West Greenland finds, and we have the block for the winged harpoon in the earliest culture at Angmagssalik. The nuglutang has been found in the Central Thule Culture.

All the elements so far referred to could have come into the Angmagssalik district with the first immigration. These finds, however, also contain a number of objects of undoubtedly later age:

3. Types of the period 1500—1650, the Second Culture Stage on the southern West Coast. Of these we have six elements, viz: the small, rectangular house; the boot creaser of stone; heavy weapon heads with belts of barbs and with screw thread; wound plug of wood; neck piece for towing gear. Of these the first two seem to have found their way to Angmagssalik earlier, whereas we do not know that the last four have been in the district prior to the time represented by these finds.

4. Types of the latter half of the 17th Century on the West Coast: harpoon foreshafts with 2 holes and a short tenon and the corresponding flat mountings; end mounting for throwing board; narrow sledge shoeing; seal-tail ornament; the large, rectangular, common house.

5. Types of the 18th Century on the West Coast: soapstone sinker for fish-hooks; four-sided ferrule for kayak paddles; button for thong of kayak frock; thong smoother.

6. West Greenland types whose age is uncertain: small, triangular stone arrow heads; three-facetted stone drill-bits; bone shank and barbs for fish-hooks.

We have, then, a number of later West Greenland types, 20 in all. Most of these were known in West Greenland before the year 1700; and the West Greenland types in the collection from the 18th Century are not so certain that much in the way of conclusions can be built upon them.

In the course of the 16th, 17th and part of the 18th Centuries a

number of West Greenland types have come over to Angmagssalik. Has this happened by means of a slow percolation of new elements, or by means of an immigration of new people? It is probable that both have taken place; but it looks as if the introduction of the large, rectangular house had been brought about by means of a new immigration from the West Coast. Simultaneously with this house appeared a rather large number of the 17th Century West-Coast types, both the later and the older (the heavy weapon heads, wound plugs, etc.), which do not seem to have been known in the Angmagssalik district before then. And at the same time some iron, glass beads and bell metal intrude; the glass beads are of the kind brought to the West Coast by the whalers in the latter half of the 17th and the first half of the 18th Century, while the bell metal must have come from the old Norse settlements which, after their destruction (presumably towards the end of the 15th Century), lay exposed to plunder. In this period there seems to have been a great increase of the population in Angmagssalik. Whereas we can only place 37 small house ruins to the earliest period, we have 70 old, large rectangular houses besides 60 small rectangular ones, most of which doubtless belong to the same period as the large; as the large houses especially each represent several families, it will be seen that in this period the district seems to have sheltered a much greater population than in the earliest period, which also supports the immigration theory.

The time of this immigration must be presumed to lie about the year 1700. The large houses seem to have only been introduced into West Greenland about the middle of the 17th Century; and the types which this immigration has brought along to the East Coast principally belong to the 17th Century. That it cannot have happened far into the 18th Century is proved by the fact that most of those of the West Coast forms which made their appearance in the 18th Century have never got round to the East Coast; this holds good first and foremost of the various later forms of harpoon heads, with sharp shoulders and one lateral or median spur[1]); other types are foreshafts with a socket instead of a tenon, the bone boot creaser, etc.

7. Special Angmagssalik forms: Harpoon heads, thin, with a barb in the plane of the line hole and with several line holes; laminaria hook; pendant of seal bone; ajagaq of seal humerus and phalange; cleft drop pendants; harpoon heads, flat, with barbs on the upper side; gorge with two holes; rounded-triangular fish decoy; angmagssat needle and scoop; line hook; ulo with two arms; ajagaq of hollow bone; sledge

---

[1]) See for instance Inugsuk, Pl. 23.2-4, Kangâmiut, Pl. 7.1.

of the Angmagssalik type (with broad upstanders); toy sledges of mandible and pelvic bones.

Besides a large number of types which descend direct from the earliest culture of the district of the corresponding period on the West Coast, and a number of later West Coast types, in these finds we thus see 18 types not known outside the Angmagssalik district, thus proving that a local development has commenced. The first seven of these types are in fact only known from these present finds, whereas the last 11 are also known in the modern Angmagssalik culture.

But if we compare the finds with the later Angmagssalik culture as it was in Holm's time, we will see that this local development as yet has not proceeded far in comparison to what was the case later. A large number of modern Angmagssalik's special forms are not represented in these finds; naturally, the material of which they were made, wood, skin, etc. would be all against their preservation, but one might have expected to find the following types if they had been in use: the stiletto; large bone beads for whips; umiak cleaner; the modern harpoon heads with sharp shoulder, two line holes and lateral spurs[1]), a few special forms of throat plugs; abdomen plug for seals; shark-tooth knife; thimble and sinew-thread holder of special type; sinew-thread twister; fish ladle; wooden tub held together by the bone edging; eye shade; comb of special form; doll of the Angmagssalik type, with well-marked contours; jointed doll; animal figures with dot ornament; seal figures of wood for targets (Fig. 53); spindle buzz; seal-tail ornament with a point between the two flukes; and finally, the ornamentation with nailed-on figures in relief.

The absence of all these types shows that what gives the Angmagssalik culture its characteristic stamp is not developed very far as yet. The culture represented by these finds is really surprisingly like the culture which we find in West Greenland in the latter half of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th Centuries.

How Old are these Finds?

The elements of which the culture is composed are:

1. A main contingent from the Inugsuk Culture, as represented by the earliest finds in the district. 2. An intrusion of later West Greenland elements, principally from the 16th and 17th Centuries and perhaps some from the beginning of the 18th Century. 3. A number of local forms, evolved in Angmagssalik district, but not nearly so many as we find in the later Angmagssalik culture.

These Eskimo implement types thus principally indicate that these

---

[1]) Thalbitzer 1914, Figg. 131—35.

[2]) Ibidem, Figg. 158c and f, 160b.

finds date from the 18th Century, some perhaps from the end of the 17th. The same thing is indicated by the European objects found: the glass beads and the glass button; on the West Coast they mostly belong to the period 1650—1750. That the finds scarcely extend into the 19th Century appears from the fact that there is no tradition of the excavated ruins ever having been inhabited, and also from the stage to which the culture had reached, as obviously a long time must have elapsed between these finds and Holm's time for all the new forms, especially the ornamentation, to develop. As developments on the East Coast are presumably somewhat behind those on the West Coast, we are thus scarcely in error in classing these finds as the culture of the 18th Century at Angmagssalik.

But are all these finds contemporaneous? Or can we differentiate between early and late finds within this period? If we glance down the list of the occurrence of the different specimens, it might be thought that there was a rather big difference between the various localities. The finds from Misigtoq and Kangârtik resemble each other closely; it is mostly the same types of implements in both. The finds from Sermilik Fjord apparently differ very considerably from these two finds, which lay fairly close to one another up in Angmagssalik Fjord. Thus Sūkersit differs in its lack of small leister prongs and its abundance of pierced teeth and ornamental bodkins; the former, however, is presumably due to the natural conditions — absence of trout — and the latter is due to the grave find Pl. 4, which greatly increases the numbers of these two types. Savanganeq stands out owing to its paucity of bone objects, but its wealth of stone objects (Ruins III and V and the lowest layers in Field A) and wood (Field A); this, however, has its natural explanation in the conditions for preservation, as bone objects have decomposed in III and V, while wood and baleen have as an exception been preserved in A; the stone objects in this find are the same as those which we have seen at Misigtoq and Kangârtik.

Nor do the glass beads indicate any marked age difference; they are mostly the same types that we find everywhere, as our investigations have shown; presumably it was simply a matter of chance that we found no glass beads in House V and Field A at Savanganeq.

Furthermore, a careful examination of the occurrence of the various types of implements in the different ruins and the different layers of the middens does not reveal any great age difference. The stage of preservation of the ruins and the middens would indicate that the ruins at Sūkersit, Ruin VIII at Misigtoq and Ruins III and V at Savanganeq are among the earliest in this period. The occurrence of ornamental bodkins with transversal rolls but no head in the grave find at Sūkersit seems to point in the same direction, and the same applies to the relatively

many toy lamps with a wick ledge in the said ruins at Savanganeq and the wealth of whale bone in the Sūkersit ruins. Thus it seems probable that these ruins belong to the first part of this period, the beginning of the 18th or the close of the 17th Century.

Mode of Living.

In conclusion, some remarks on the mode of living of the population of Angmagssalik in the 18th Century. It will be noticed that the ruins of this period lie very scattered; the large houses are distributed over 53 ruin localities, and of these Misigtoq alone has more than two houses of this type; the small rectangular houses, many of which of course have been inhabited in the same period, will alter these figures somewhat, but the main impression remains the same: That the people have lived at many small settlements, whereas in the earliest period they lived at relatively few, large settlements, just as we found in the Kangâmiut area[1]). Naturally, this does not mean that all these ruin localities have been inhabited at the same time; the people have undoubtedly moved about often, as they do now.

As to their occupations, sealing has apparently been the principal form of industry. Much the greater part of the bones found in the middens are of various kinds of seals: fjord seal, harp seal, bladder-nose and bearded seal. Bear bones are also fairly common. Whaling is still of importance, though less so than in the earliest period; there are still many implements made of whale bone, and in the only find where there was a possibility of its being preserved, quite a lot of worked baleen occurred; here, as everywhere in Greenland in former times, it seems to have been used especially for binding and lashing. The smaller whales, narwhal and white whale, and the walrus are only sparsely represented. Foxes have been caught in box traps, which are often found round about the settlements. Birds do not seem to have been of much importance, whereas the many leister prongs indicate much salmon fishing. Mussels have obviously played a great role as a food; there are huge quantities of them in the middens, especially *Mytilus*, but also *Mya truncata* and *Saxicava arctica*. As now, drift wood has been plentiful, while bone (whale, seal, bear) and various kinds of stone (slate, flinty slate, quartz, quartzite, rock crystal, flint, basalt and soapstone) have also been used in making implements and utensils. The great importance of drilling has already been pointed out. Knives and ulos with blades of iron occur, but apparently the metal has been scarce and costly. No doubt the people have traded with the West Coast, whereby they acquired metal, especially iron, glass beads, and bell metal; the "market"

[1]) Kangâmiut, p. 129.

at Aluk has probably been held even then, even if it was only rarely visited by Eskimos from so far north as Angmagssalik. Hans Egede was told that the Greenlanders west of Cape Farewell used to visit those who lived on the East Coast in order to barter; "for as the ice prevents ships from getting in to the East Coast, the people have to barter fox skins and other things for needles and knives and other iron-mongery from the West Coast dwellers"[1]).

[1]) Hans Egede, p. 267.

VI. REMARKS ON THE LATER ANGMAGSSALIK CULTURE

We have now arrived at the 19th Century. We are now at the time when the Greenlanders on the southern part of the East Coast appear in the light of history through Graah's expedition; true, he did not get as far as Angmagssalik, but there is hardly any reason for supposing that the Greenlanders among whom he wintered at Imarsivík differed very much in culture from the Angmagssaliks of that time.

We are now also in the time about which there are still traditions in Angmagssalik today; as far back as to about 1830 there are recollections of some house ruin or other having been inhabited; and for most of the settlements that have been used during the latter half of the 19th Century one may still obtain an approximate indication of the year in which they were abandoned. For this information, which is included in the list of ruin localities, I have above all to thank the first "historian" of Angmagssalik, Karl Andreassen, the schoolmaster in Kûngmiut. Various finds, ethnographical objects collected, own observations, and communications by Greenlanders, particularly Karl Andreassen and the Rev. P. Rosing, provide many new features that throw light upon the culture of the Angmagssaliks, which have been so well described otherwise by Holm and Thalbitzer and elucidated by the large collections from Angmagssalik that are now in the National Museum, brought home by Holm, Ryder, Amdrup and Thalbitzer and also collected by the colony managers Johan Petersen and A. T. Hedegaard.

Finds relating to the 19th Century.

The writer got together a very considerable collection from middens in front of the house ruins which have been inhabited in the 19th or the beginning of the 20th Centuries. Especially does this apply to large numbers of specimens from the upper part of Field A at Savanganeq (last inhabited 1910); but it also applies to the upper parts of Fields C

and D at Kangârtik (last inhabited 1907 and 1879 respectively) and a smaller find at Igtumiut near the colony; the Eskimos have also brought in a number of recent objects found in the ground, especially from Kûngmiut and Igtitalik at Cape Dan, the latter from a ruin that was last tenanted about the year 1870.

To set about a complete description of these finds, which comprise in all about 600 specimens, would be superfluous; the culture we find in it is naturally the same as that described by Holm in 1888. Only certain specimens of particular interest will be figured or referred to.

Fig. 36 is a harpoon ferrule for the butt of a knob harpoon, of soapstone, found at Kûngmiut; it is cylindrical, hollow, with a hole



Fig. 36. Harpoon ferrule of soapstone. 1:2.



Fig. 37. Wooden hook. 1:2.

for a peg. Soapstone is otherwise unknown as a material for harpoon ferrules, which usually are of bone.

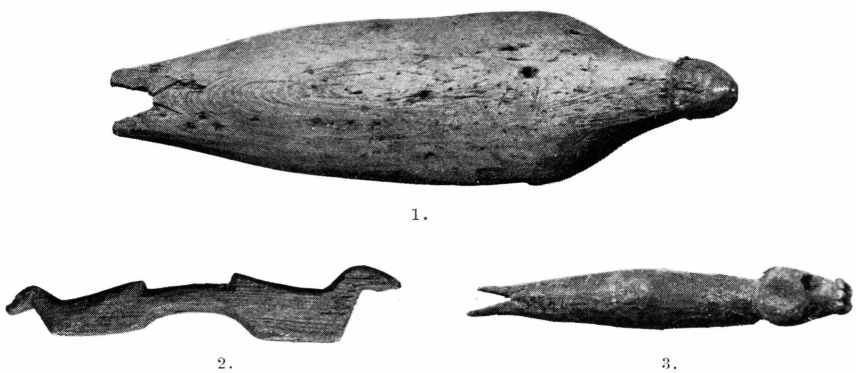
Fig. 37 is a massive hook, made out of a bent willow twig, presumably used for hanging mittens, etc. to dry over the lamp. It was found at Savanganeq.

Fig. 38 shows three carved animal figures of wood: No. 1 is a seal, well carved, rather flat; in the back are several holes, presumably made by arrows (see p. 122). No. 2 is a wooden object having a bird figure at each end, presumably a toy too; in the National Museum there is a very similar specimen from West Greenland, but with no other particulars. No. 3 is a fantastically carved seal, thin, curved, with large eyes and muzzle, possibly a magic animal, Tupileq or the like.

A pendant of seal phalange was found in $A1^4$ at Savanganeq, a layer that must be taken as belonging to the 19th Century; thus this ornament has also been used in that century.

The Igtitalik Find, which is a collective find from one ruin a

little before Holm's time, about 1870, but excavated by Eskimos, contains no especially outstanding specimens, but is of interest on account of the types it contains. These are: harpoon head of the modern Angmagssalik type with two barbs, two spurs and a long, pointed iron blade; a harpoon head with blade slit and a barb on the upper side; harpoon foreshaft with two holes and a short tenon and the corresponding mounting, flat, with a socket; three wound pins of bone; three wound plugs of wood and one throat plug (see p. 116); bladder holder, for securing harpoon bladder to kayak deck-thong; two bird-dart side prongs; leister harpoon head with two lateral barbs and the line hole drilled straight through (as Fig. 40); two gorges, one 17 cm long; segment-



1.

2. 3.

Fig. 38. Wooden animal figures. 1:2.

shaped kayak paddle mounting; two bone knife-hafts with blade socket on the end; drill bit with wood shank and iron point; hammer stones and whetstones; ulo arm (for two-armed ulo); small, pointed-oval soapstone lamp; fish ladle of wood; bone comb with wide handle with holes in the corners; line toggle; two ajagaqs of seal astragalus and three of hollow seal bones; ajagaq stick; side prong for miniature bird dart; cross-bow; toy sledge-upstanders, wide; toy wooden-bowl; 21 cylindrical bone beads; lanceolate flint blade; large wooden doll without arms, but with facial features indicated; 8 smaller wooden dolls of greatly varying form: one representing a very thin woman, two others pronouncedly female, three male; two probably represent kayak men, as they have no legs; 7 seal figures with arrow marks in the back, and 5 smaller seal figures, bear, fox, seal and bird figures of wood; a conical bullet with copper envelope; 40 glass beads, mostly medium size, angular, clear and blue, of forms not met with in the earlier finds.

This find, of course, reveals the modern Angmagssalik culture fully developed; but it is of interest in showing what a house ruin dating just prior to Holm's time can contain (compare Nualik).



Fig. 39. Small lance.

Ethnographical Objects.

I have already mentioned that during the year I spent at Angmagssalik I got together a comprehensive ethnographical collection for the purpose of supplementing the large collections already in the National Museum. Some of the specimens will be treated of below.

Fig. 39 is a fine specimen of the small lance[1]), or stiletto, as now used from the kayak to give the *coup de grace* to a wounded seal. In the fore end it has a sharp iron blade, inserted in a foreshaft of bone; the wooden shaft at the rear end is decorated with a number of round beads, carved out of seal canine teeth; in the butt it has a hook, cut in the form of a bear. The total length is 60 cm.

Fig. 40 is the fore end of a leister harpoon, the total length of which was 3.05 metres, used for salmon fishing. It consists of a long wooden shaft, of two pieces spliced together, on the forepart having a side prong nailed on and lashed with sinew thread; the side prong is of the same length as the main prong, and each one bears a harpoon head of bone with two lateral spurs and the line hole drilled from side to side, the two harpoon heads are at the ends of the same line, which passes through a hole in the shaft almost at the spot where the side prong is joined on; the heads are held on to this line by a knot.



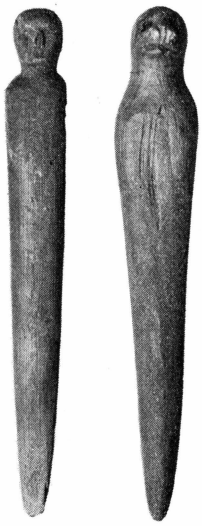
Fig. 40. Fore end of leister harpoon.

Strangely enough, this leister harpoon has not previously been mentioned as being at Angmagssalik, nor is it in the collections from there. The people say it has always been known and used, especially up Angmagssalik Fjord; on my journeys I myself saw several of them, and always with the same arrangement of the side prong. That it cannot be something new, due to influence from West Greenland, is clear from the fact that heads for such leister harpoons have been found in several places, at Savanganeq (Field A 2), Igtumiut near the Colony, and in the find from Igtitalik (circa 1870) described above. Leister harpoons have

[1]) Thalbitzer 1914, Fig. 151.

also been used in earlier times in Angmagssalik (see Pl. 5. 45); their heads, however, have had a rather different appearance.

Fig. 41 shows two throat plugs of wood; they are used when a seal has been killed and is to be towed home — a plug is inserted in its throat as a stopper after the lungs have been blown up in order to prevent it from sinking; it is the same implement which Thalbitzer, 1914, Figg. 158c, 160b and 168a describes as a wound plug, with which they actually are used, and are placed together under one of the deck-thongs of the kayak ready for use. Fig. 41a is carved at the top like a human face, b like a seal head.



a b
Fig. 41. Throat plugs. 1:2.

These wound and throat plugs on the whole are often very handsomely carved, usually with a human head on the wide end. We have one of these from Nualik[1]). Fig. 42 shows the head-end of seven specimens; Nos. 1-3 and 7 are throat plugs, 4-6 flat, curved, wound plugs, like Thalbitzer, 1914, Figg. 158 seqq. Nos. 6-7 are old, used specimens, whereas 1-5 are new, carved by one and the same man; these especially display baroque fantasy in the treatment of the facial features, of which first one, then another is grotesquely enlarged or contracted, while lines emphasize the effect.

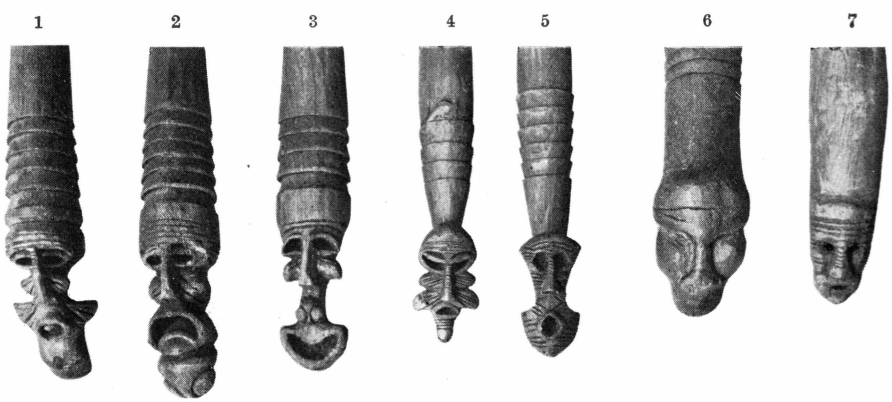


Fig. 42. Throat plugs. 1:2.

Adzes have not been referred to before from Angmagssalik either. Thalbitzer[2]), however, mentions that the famous shaman Avgo once had used a stone adze with a handle, which he had found in a house

[1]) Thalbitzer 1914, Fig. 168c.
[2]) Ibidem, p. 495.

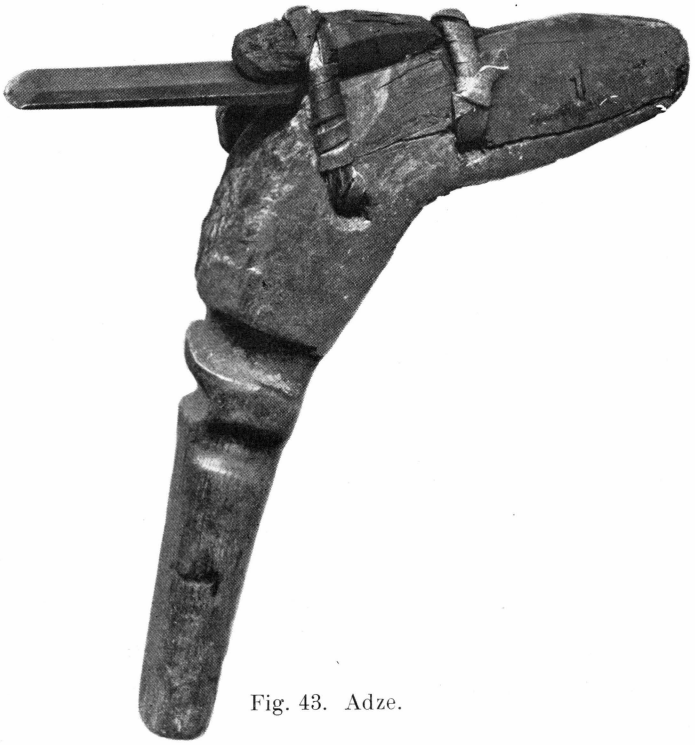


Fig. 43. Adze.



Fig. 44. Thong smoother. 1:3.

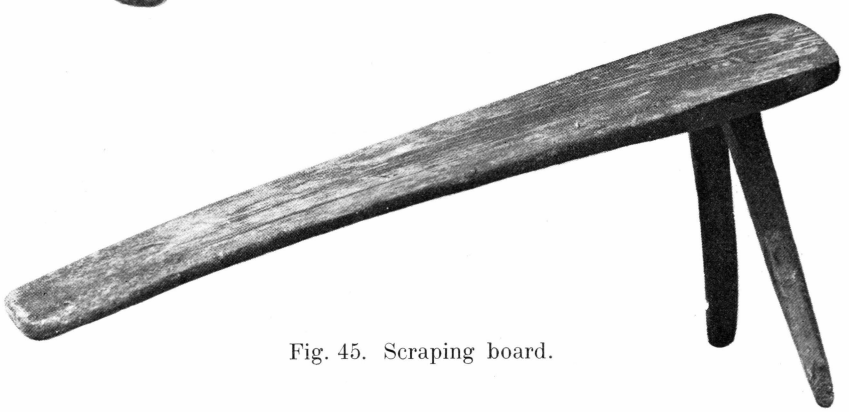


Fig. 45. Scraping board.

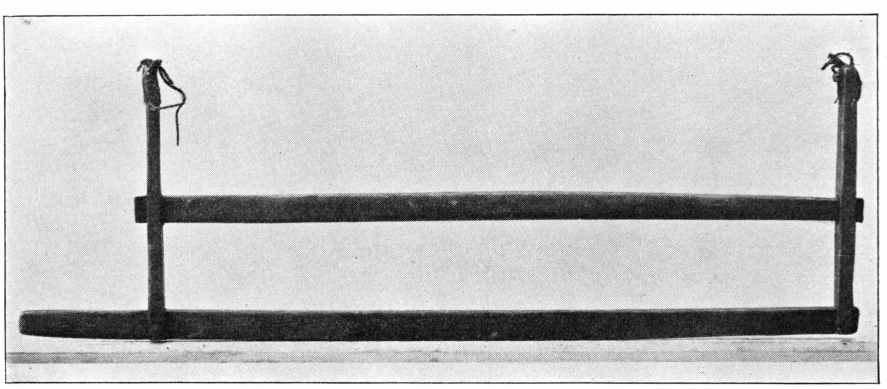


Fig. 46. Drying frame for thongs etc.

ruin, and that others also remembered having seen such adzes[1]). Fig. 43 is an adze as used today and owned by almost every man in the Colony; it is a European firmer-chisel which, by means of two seal-thong lashings, is made fast to the wooden handle, on which there are finger grips, it being very thick at the fore end; the total length is 35 cm. Several elderly men told me that the adze had always been known and used at Angmagssalik, at any rate as far back as they could remember; but in any case when iron was hard to get it was perhaps not such a common tool as it is now.

Fig. 44 is a thong smoother of wood, with a good handle; whereas those previously illustrated[2]) have had the handle at one end, this — and several others which I acquired — have it at the middle.

The scraping board, which the women use when treating skins, has not been figured from Angmagssalik before. Thalbitzer refers to it as a board with two legs[2]); but remarkably enough it is not contained in the large collections hitherto brought from Angmagssalik. Fig. 45 is a scraping board from Angmagssalik of the usual type, one that is also common in West Greenland[3]); nowadays all women at Angmagssalik have one or more of these; the one figured is rather small, used for scraping harpoon-bladders, 55 cm long, 17 cm wide; many are much larger, however (mostly about 70 cm).

Fig. 46 is a drying frame for drying thongs, seal gut, etc. of a form that is now to be found above almost every lamp together with the large, four-sided drying rack. It measures 72 by 24 cm, and is made of four wooden sticks; the side pieces run through holes in the cross pieces and are nailed fast. These drying frames, which differ a good deal from the other thong racks that we know of in both East and West Greenland[4]), are said to have only come into use at Angmagssalik about the year 1900; now, as I have said, they are in general use, and thus are a new local form that has appeared.

Suspended from the drying rack there are usually a number of different kinds of hooks, some of them pot-hooks, mostly of bone, others hooks of wood and bone for drying mittens and other small articles of clothing. Fig. 47 is a very common form with two upturned branches, one for each mitten; it is made out of a bent branch, the distance between the two branches being 32 cm; others are of straighter wood and are more regular in form. Fig. 48 is a bone hook, 16 cm long, made out of seal pelvic bone, also used for drying mittens etc.; a similar wooden hook is shown Fig. 37.

[1]) Thalbitzer 1914, Figg. 196—97.

[2]) Ibidem, p. 504. The specimen which Thalbitzer has illustrated Fig. 226, found in a grave, is scarcely a scraping board, but a cutting board.

[3]) B-S 1924, Fig. 73.

[4]) Thalbitzer 1914, Fig. 259. B-S 1924, Fig. 79.



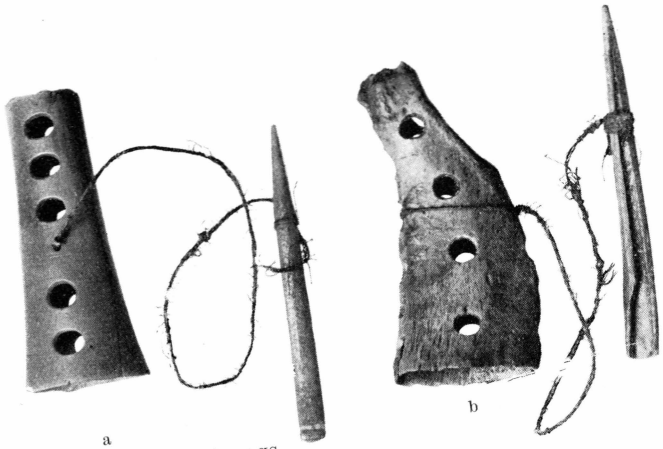
Fig. 47. Mitten drying hook.



Fig. 48.
Bone hook for drying.



Fig. 49.
Blubber carrier.



a b

Fig. 50. Ajagaqs.



a b

Fig. 51a—b. Wooden dolls.



Fig. 52. Dolls to carry in the back ponch.

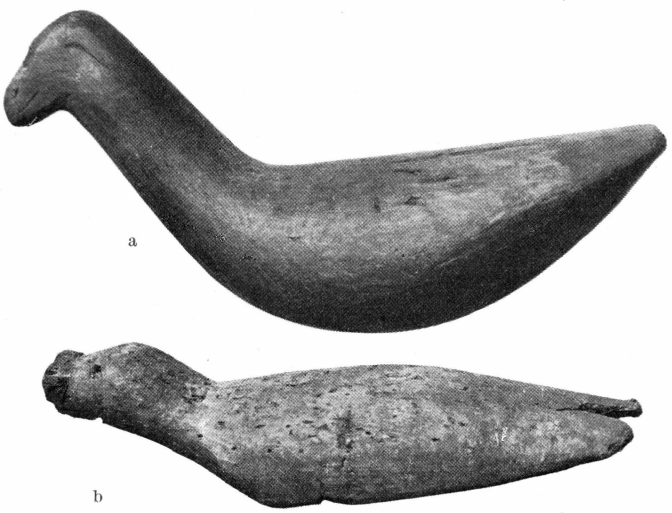


Fig. 53a—b. Animal figures.

Fig. 49 is a blubber carrier of wood, 22.5 cm long, used for lifting blubber to replenish the lamp, etc. Similar specimens, of bone, have been figured previously[1]), and the type is well known in West Greenland[2]).

Fig. 50 are two ajagaqs as now used at Angmagssalik. a is of a hollow seal bone pierced with five large holes besides the small one in which the cord is fastened; the cord is of sinew thread and the stick of bone. This form of ajagaq, of a hollow seal bone with a greater or smaller number of holes, sometimes with none at all except the cord hole, is by far the one most commonly used[3]), as it was even in the 18th Century. b is the form known from ancient times, of seal radius, but made almost unrecognizable by its having been hollowed out and one of the ends broken off; it is pierced with four holes, and the cord takes a turn round it before passing through its hole. Thus Angmagssalik is the only place where this bone — greatly used in the days of the Thule and Inugsuk Cultures — is still used as an ajagaq; it is also contained in Amdrup's find from the dead house at Nualik.

The collection has a large number of dolls of wood, some of forms that have previously been figured from Angmagssalik. Fig. 51 shows two fairly large dolls, 45 and 49 cm high respectively. a is a male doll without arms, but with well-marked facial features; b has no arms either, but facial features, and one leg has been made out of a side branch.

Fig. 52a—b are two dolls of a type that is very common, used by little girls to carry in their amaut; thus they have no legs — a very practical idea for this purpose — in addition to the usual absence of arms; on the other hand the face is very distinctly formed, sometimes caricatured, as on the exaggeratedly thin doll a. The height of these two specimens is 21 and 27 cm respectively; this is the usual size for dolls of this sort.

Fig. 53 are two animal figures, carved in wood. a is a bird, probably ptarmigan, with no legs, 25 cm long. b is a seal figure, presumably a bladder-nose, 23 cm long; the back and part of the belly are covered with arrow holes, children having used it as a target with cross-bow arrows; these arrow-shot seals are to be found everywhere in the settlements; that it is no new game is to be seen from the fact that the figures occur in finds from the 19th Century (Savanganeq, Fig. 38. 1; Igtitalik).

---

[1]) Thalbitzer 1914, Fig. 261.

[2]) B-S 1924, Fig. 273.

[3]) Thalbitzer 1914, Figg. 381 and 387.

Cultural Position.

With the archaeological finds as a background some observations may now be made on the position of the whole modern Angmagssalik culture — by which, as on previous occasions, is solely meant the material culture; archaeological material throws only brief light upon intellectual culture and provides no basis for a comparison between former times and now. The cultural position of the Angmagssaliks among the Eskimos has previously been discussed at length by Thalbitzer[1]); several of his observations and conclusions, however, have been opposed by Porsild[2]), Thomsen[3]) and Birket-Smith[4]). In addition, in the nineteen years that have passed since Thalbitzer wrote his book, so much that is new has become known regarding the material culture of the Eskimos, both ethnographical and archaeological, that much must now be viewed in quite another light.

We will first undertake a comparison between the modern Angmagssalik culture and the earlier culture in the district, from the 18th Century, as we know it through the finds described in the foregoing. The position of that earlier culture has already been established: In the main it was built upon the West Greenland mediaeval Inugsuk Culture, but in addition has received a considerable contribution of later forms, partly through immigration from West Greenland. We will now see that, of the types of the 18th Century culture, a large number continue in the modern Angmagssalik culture; of the culture elements, about 140 in all, which we know from this district in the 18th Century, we recognize over a hundred in the modern culture. The types which have disappeared in the meantime are mostly early types from the time of the Inugsuk Culture, such as the thin harpoon heads, the oldfashioned harpoon foreshafts and mountings, the heavy weapon heads with screw and belt of barbs, knives with blade on the side, ulos without a tang, lamps with a wick ledge, the old-time combs; furthermore, arrow heads, which, with the disappearance of the caribou, are used no longer, and a number of stone implements which fell out of use with the improved access to iron: drill bits, scrapers, boot creaser, etc. And finally, for incomprehensible reasons, types such as the fish hook, needle case and asbestos lamp trimmer.

But in spite of this, there is still a large number of types — about 25 — which continue in the Angmagssalik district from the earliest habitation and thus form a continuous element in the culture of the district; among these are two of Angmagssalik's special forms: barbs

[1]) 1914, p. 710 seq.
[2]) 1915, p. 240 seq.
[3]) The Angmagsalik Eskimo, 1916.
[4]) Det grønlandske Selskabs Aarskrift 1915.

for salmon spear and line toggle of seal bone. And if we take the types which have not been found here, but which belong to the West Greenland Inugsuk Culture and thus have probably been known too in the earliest culture, this figure will be increased considerably.

Besides all these elements of the modern culture that have been directly established as also having been used in the earlier culture, there are naturally very many which were there but simply have not been found archaeologically, whether due to the nature of the material or simply to chance. As types of this kind, which must be presumed to have already existed in the culture of the 18th Century, we may mention the gut-skin window, the shelter-shaped tent, dog harness, cruciform kayak stand (which presumably dates back to the Inugsuk Culture), lance with loose foreshaft, throwing board with hole for the index-finger (also dates far back), skin thimble holder, tattooing, top-knot, chain links, amulets, etc.

In the modern culture besides we find a rather numerous group of types which we have not found in the earlier one. This may again be divided into two groups:

1. West Greenland types which once have migrated to Angmagssalik. This comprises: the ring-shaped kayak stand[1]), kayak scraper, knob harpoon, the modern rest for the kayak harpoon (a semi-cylindrical block of bone), stiletto, wound trimmer, cross-bow, knee protector, scraping board, boot creaser of bone, lamp stand, thong-drying frame, the four-sided drying rack, kayak frock, eye shade, back-scratcher, toy with the two eating birds, spindle buzz, jointed dolls.

How old these types are in West Greenland we do not know, at any rate with certainty; in Angmagssalik, however, they do not seem to have been known prior to the 19th Century. They thus indicate a certain cultural connection with West Greenland throughout the 19th Century — a very natural thing having regard to the trading intercourse between the two coasts. But even if by this means a number of West Greenland forms reached round to the East Coast, this intercourse was nothing like intimate enough to swamp the characteristic stamp of the Angmagssaliks. For the second main group is much greater:

2. Forms peculiar to Angmagssalik. The whip with the bone beads[2]) and bone pick, umiak cleaner with bear's claw, kayak-paddle holder, sealing stool[3]), the harpoon heads that are used now, leister

[1]) In West Greenland seems to have appeared in the Kangâmiut area's Second Culture Stage, but only reached Angmagssalik very late.

[2]) Porsild (1915, p. 247) says that bone beads are known from Holsteinsborg, but they have never been in general use in West Greenland.

[3]) A similar one is known from Cape York and Point Barrow; possibly the sealing stool is an ancient form that has survived in Angmagssalik.

with turnable head, double harpoon bladder, flat wound plugs, throat plugs, mussel and angmagssat scoop[1]), bird call[1]), fox-trap cleaner, knife sheath, thumb protector, thong smoother of wood, hand drill for sewing needles, the special forms of sinew-thread and thimble holders, sinew-thread twister, needle skin, double mitten hooks, large fish ladles with holes, water and urine pails of special form, many features of the clothing (for instance the women's short under and outer trousers), the caps with fox tail, men's hair band and women's hair band and necklace, triangular ear-rings, combs of special form, amulet bracelet, rattle of bear teeth, seal rattle, string puzzle, seal figures for targets, the peculiar dolls and other carvings in wood; in addition there is their art, the relief figures on pails, eye shades, throwing boards and other objects of wood, the special seal-tail ornament and the special skin embroidery of brown and white skin, sewn into peculiar patterns.

Of course it is very possible that some of these local forms date back to the 18th Century, but we know nothing of it. Even if it should be so, there is no doubt that the greater part of the characteristic stamp of the Angmagssaliks has been produced by a local development, which has proceeded during the 19th Century. More than a third of the culture elements known from modern Angmagssalik do not occur outside the district; and of these only about one-fourth seem to date back to the 18th Century.

It is these many local forms, local variants of otherwise well-known types, and the characteristic ornamentation, which usually make ethnographic specimens from Angmagssalik easily recognizable from other Eskimo — especially West Greenland — objects.

Accordingly we must say that the Angmagssaliks in a relatively late period have created a quantity of new forms which are not known on the West Coast, good evidence of the fertility and vigour of their culture. This is not saying, however, that in all respects the culture of the Angmagssaliks is superior to the West Greenland culture. For it is another important trait of the Angmagssalik culture that in many cases it has stagnated at an earlier stage than the West Greenland culture: types which have long been obsolete in West Greenland — not only objects that have been superseded by European importations, but types that have been abandoned because the West Greenlanders have found another and better form. As examples of old-fashioned types that have remained long in use in Angmagssalik we may mention: the large, common houses, the cruciform kayak stand, harpoon foreshaft with a tenon in the butt, the Ituartit harpoon, wound pin, hammer stone, needle-skin appendage with a head, skin thimble,

[1]) Differs from those of the West Coast.

stave tubs, fire drill, chain link and amulet thong; most of these types are very ancient, dating back to Inugsuk or the Thule Culture's time, and have only remained in use up to the present day at Angmagssalik.

This brings us to the end of our valutation of the cultural position of the Angmagssaliks. The Angmagssalik culture must be regarded as a branch of the West Greenland Culture, which in former times has been separated from the stem, has later on received some contributions from it, but mostly has assumed a markedly local character owing to isolation and local development.

The Settlements of the Angmagssaliks in Recent Years.

The Angmagssaliks lead a very nomadic life, and the number and situation of their settlements vary from winter to winter; at most settlements are ruins of recent houses which are relatively easy to put into repair for tenancy; it is a rule that the roof beams of the house belong to the place and must not be taken away, even if the settlement is abandoned.

As an illustration of this constant moving about a list is given below of the settlements which have been inhabited by Angmagssalik Eskimos, both in and out of the district, since 1904. My principal sources of information are the parish records kept by the incumbent of the district, and a record of the population kept by Mr. A. T. Hedegaard during the years 1915—30 when he was manager of the colony, and kindly lent me by him.

The list includes the names of the settlements, first those inside the district itself (from North to South Ikerssuaq), arranged from north to south, then how many people have inhabited them at the end of the year shown. The total population is also shown for every year. In a few cases where it is known that a place has been inhabited one year or other, but no figures are shown in the records, this is indicated by a cross in the column.

The figures are also given for the inhabited places in the two previous years, 1884 and 1894, where these are known. (See table page 128—131).

It will be seen from this table how changeable the settlements have been; since 1904 only the Colony has been constantly inhabited; a little later came the mission stations at Kulusuk and Kûngmiut in the form of large, permanently inhabited settlements, from 1909 and 1915 respectively; in Sermilik the settlement of Íkatéq, with the Government midwife's dwelling, appears as constantly inhabited since 1914. Of the smaller settlements the small one named Sûnajik at Cape Dan

has been constantly inhabited since 1905; other frequently used places are Tîteqilaq, Akernernaq and Qêrtartivatsiaq in Sermilik; the last two, however, were left in 1930; the same applies to Ilerfit in Angmagssalik Fjord. In Sermiligaq, Utorqarmiut, where Hjalmar Maratse has built a house of West Greenland type, is now the main settlement, inhabited every winter since 1922; before then Nunakitsit was the most frequently used winter settlement. South of Sermilik Isortoq is regularly used, every winter since 1924.

In former days it seems that the various families felt themselves especially attached to a certain area within Angmagssalik district, Angmagssalik Fjord, Sermilik or Sermiligaq, within which they moved about, whereas a removal from one area to another was of rare occurrence. In order to see how matters stood in this respect, I and Karl Andreassen went through the list of all the 58 families of which the population is composed. I found that of these families only 17 still have all their members associated with the same area as they lived in when the Colony was established in 1894; 11 now have only some of the members living in the old area, whereas the remainder, 30 families, have removed right away from them; naturally, the formation of the Colony and the establishment of the missions has made a difference here.

Especial interest attaches to the settlements that lie outside the district proper. Holm[1]) in fact states that the people of Angmagssalik often make journeys that not infrequently last a year or two, both north and south. These journeys have been continued in recent years, both northwards, where the people have wintered at the localities Tasîsaq, Itivssalik and Nualik, and southwards, to Frederik VI's Coast, whose last permanent dwellers went to the West Coast in 1900. The people have mostly visited the nearest settlements, Pikiûteq and Umîvik, but wintering at the more remote Igdlerluarsuit, Akorninarmiut (at Skjoldungen) and Tingmiarmiut is no rare occurrence. Of the 28 years accounted for by the above table, Angmagssalik Eskimos have spent 16 winters in these southerly regions. It will be seen, then, that these hunting trips are of importance to the life of the Angmagssaliks, partly on account of the bear hunting, partly the securing of the bearded-seal skin necessary for thongs, boot soles and boat skins, this particular seal being rare in the district itself. It will be most regrettable if these hunting trips are to be restricted on account of the Norwegian occupation and the wanton hunting methods of the Norwegian hunters; there are now Norwegian hunting posts at Kangerdlugssuaq north of Angmagssalik and in the Skjoldungen region south of it; and five umiak crews from Angmagssalik, who wintered in the south in 1931, have been in communication with a Norwegian ship.

[1]) 1888, p. 56.

Distribution of Population in

The consecutive numbers of the settlements

	1884	1894	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914
Settlements north of Sermiligaq:													
Kangerdlugssuatsiaq...	..	..	..	..	35	..	..	..	38	..	..	..	..
Anâna.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sermiligaq:													
2. Pusisaraq.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	14	..	..	..	..	..	..
4. Qerpik	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	18	20
7. Nunakitsit.....	14	×	27	23	51	..	27	..	..	42	..	32	11
8. Upernivik	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
9. Utorqarmiut.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Between Sermiligaq and Angmagssalik Fjord.													
12. Igtaijik	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Angmagssalik Fjord.													
17. Nôrsit.....	25	..	..	..	..	..	20	11	24	21	21	15	..
18. Pûlortusoq	..	..	21	29	8	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
20. Ingmikêrtoq	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
21. Akinaitsât.....	..	..	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
22. Sûnajik	..	..	..	27	20	18	17	19	9	9	25	21	22
23. Sivtsingaleq	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24. Kangârtik	34	×	39	..	9	15	..	28	33	25	12	16	19
26. Nunakitsit.....	..	..	..	30	24	49	33	32	29	..	..	..	..
29. Sierartêq	..	×	20	..	..	24	47	..	9	35	31	36	28
30. Kîtaijik	..	..	..	13	23	34	39	..	..	9	2	19	18
32. Umîvik	19	..	28	..	..	..	..	35	..	..	..	..	..
Kulusuk.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	53	57	56	52	32	58
15. Igtaijik	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
34. Ikâsak	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21
35. Ingmikêrtoq	37	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	..	..	..	..
36. Quarmiut.....	28	..	26	23	26	23	26	21	..	22	..	..	..
38. Kangârtik.....	..	..	..	..	..	33	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
40. Nôrajik	47	..	16	30	..	..	12	18	20	8	26	22	23
41. Ijerquatsat	..	..	..	..	12	..	23	18	..	..	12	21	14
42. Kûngmiut	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
43. Simîtaq	..	..	..	..	..	32	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
44. Ilerfit	..	..	18	24	33	..	..	..	..	38	31	25	24
46. Misigtoq.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
48. Qingeq.....	..	..	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
55. Qînajivit	..	×	..	..	..	28	..	..	40	..	44	16	..
59. Ikâsagtivaq.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
60. Qernertivartivit ...	..	..	29	..	..	..	..	38	20	..	..	18	16
62. Qivtalivarajivit....	..	..	..	..	18	..	22	..	..	16	..	..	26
63. Tasîsartik kangigteq	35	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Angmagssalik District 1904—1931.

refer to the map at the back of the book.

1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931
..	..	31	..	107	37	..	28	20	22	..	..	..	..	..	12	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	48	..	..	16	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
28	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
22	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	20	..	13	..	28	..	..	..	..	13	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	23	39	..	38	..	25	28	31	19	36	60	48	9	49	52
..	..	..	..	22	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	..
..	..	..	15	28	28	..	14	..	..	..	..	23	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	19	17	12	23	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	×	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	32	31	39	12	..	17	..	25	12
27	9	28	12	7	21	17	12	17	18	13	26	29	19	21	16	15
..	..	..	14	18	..	..	..	..	..	17	..	..	11	14	15	16
5	4	31	8	..	..	..	..	..	19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
17	..	29	28	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	16	..	..	..	..
17	11	..	19	16	..	..	..	..	..	25	23	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	13	..	..	..	23	14	..	19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
76	85	81	69	74	75	40	80	108	101	86	97	102	105	129	165	173
..	24	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	18	..	..	..	..	..	..	24	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	10	10	11	11	12	14	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	26	15	20	24	..	..	..	18	12	..	..	11	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	11	..	19	..	16	27	20	..	..	16	..	..	..	..	..	..
23	18	..	18	25	19	11	33	20	..	..	..	25	..	..	..	..
10	34	35	60	47	62	38	52	30	38	42	62	20	63	114	70	119
26	26	..	..	..	..	..	24	17	20	18	..	..	..	30	..	18
33	29	19	..	..	21	15	17	10	14	27	19	20	20	34	13	..
..	..	25	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
27	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
..	16	..	..	25	10	20	12	15	21	20	27	26	7	21	24	19
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	28	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

92 9

	1884	1894	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914
65. Amitsivartik	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
67-68. The Colony (with Igtumiut)	..	×	59	111	80	97	104	60	68	99	87	94	94
Sermilik.													
73. Savanganartik	31	..	38	24	..	18	26	..	..	24	..	..	..
74. Íkâteq (with Akiliâtseq)	58	×	42	23	24	28	..	20	14	19	21	..	15
75. Igtitalik	..	..	26	..	..	..	..	..	..	19	..	12	..
76. Angmât	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	15	..
78. Savanganeq	31	×	30	..	25	..	..	..	36	..	..	..	..
81. Ukîvajik	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	26	18	30
82. Akernernaq	12	..	..	..	33	32	30	32	34	14	21	29	25
83. Pupik	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
84. Ingmikêrtajik	..	..	..	26	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
85. Sarfaq	..	..	..	37	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tîteqilaq	..	..	..	30	30	16	16	44	..	24	..	22	38
87. Ivnartivaq	..	..	..	..	15	16	..	17	..	..	..	..	..
Paornakajît	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
89. Qipa	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	27	21	13	8
Umigtivartivit	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
91. Ivnartalik	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	39	41	..	..	..	25
92. Qêrtartivatsiaq	..	..	..	14	12	..	..	11	13	11	23	15	19
93. Iserpalikitseq	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
94. Kakalík	..	..	..	..	..	31	..	18	18	..	30	..	17
95. Ajangiteq	..	..	..	..	..	15	..	7	..	..	..	..	9
South of Sermilik.													
Qeqertalaq	..	..	24	8	21	..	35	..	8	..	..	..	..
Isortoq	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	8	12	..	14	19
Inigssalik	..	..	18	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	..	..
Nagssuit	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Torqutaq	..	..	13	18	..	..	25	22	..	47	..	..	..
Sujunikajik	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Outside Angmagssalik Distrikt.													
On the north:													
Tasîsaq	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Itivssalik	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	68	..	..
Nûalik	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
On the south:													
Pikiúteq	..	..	..	..	21	..	29	..	24	..	..	..	..
Umîvik	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	79	..
Igdluluarssuit	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Akorninarmiut	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tingmiarmiut	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total population	413	..	474	501	520	539	545	554	551	577	592	602	599

1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
109	106	96	108	74	91	91	127	98	82	83	80	81	90	83	112	79
..	..	..	21	..	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24	34	31	46	24	30	34	38	48	40	50	24	27	54	47	41	53
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16	15	16	11	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	47
..	27	26	29	..	37	15	29	40	..	38	37	13	32	36	35	..
34	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	34
37	17	23	40	16	..	33	..	36	26	30	21	24	41	35	40	24
13	..	..	..	..	17	10	..	..	..	..	24	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	24
8	8	15	..	..	..	11	9	..	13	..	..	..	..	19	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	23	..	15
..	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21	..	..
10	17	8	11	8	..	14	32	19	17	21	26	10	15	10	17	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22	..	..
..	29	..	..	..	17	28	..	37	..	..	14	27	32	36	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
9	..	22	..	..	18	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17
22	27	19	..	22	..	34	..	..	28	21	45	40	31	38	43	31
19	32	42	..	22	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14	9	..	39	..	..	28	..
15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	13	..	..	..	10	24	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	28	..	..	..	..	..	..	31	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	45	..	..	..	..	..	..	86	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	21	8	..	18	..	..	..	..	18	..	..	..	} 47
..	..	57	27	..	28	..	47	13	24	..	..	..	..	..	..	}
..	..	..	..	27	..	78	34	76	74	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	28	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22	..	20	..	..	..	..
602	615	625	631	642	663	682	703	709	734	658*)	677	696	713	742	771	802

*) In that year Scoresby Sound Colony was established and populated, mainly from Angmagssalik.

The Decay of the Old Angmagssalik Culture.

Has this fine, characteristically Angmagssalik Culture, whose history we have discussed in the foregoing, been capable of holding its own in our day? Only in part; something is still preserved, much has been lost. We shall now have a look at what it is that has been preserved and what lost, and the causes of that process.

There are two things which, each in its own way, are working upon the destruction of the old culture; one is European civilization; the other

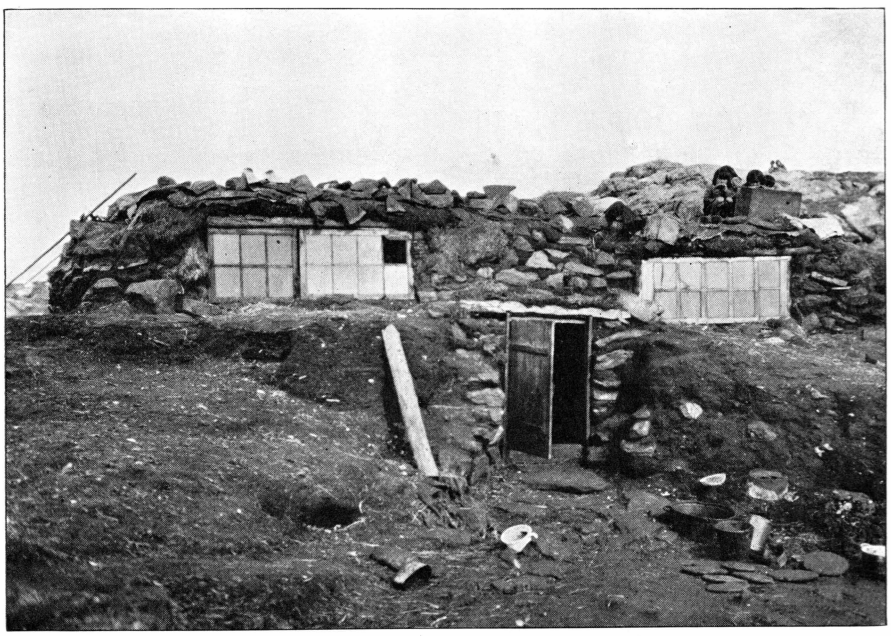


Fig. 54. Modern large common-house at Íkáteq.

is the modern West Greenland culture. The former of these factors works principally through the store, which brings European manufactures, weapons, tools, household utensils, trinkets, clothing, out to the Greenlander who, as a rule, prefers them to his own home-made things; it goes without saying that it is much easier to buy a zinc tub than to make one of their own large wooden tubs out of staves with an edging of bone; what is more, many of these store goods are better than their own; European knives, chisels, saws, axes, drills, thimbles, needles, pans, night-pots, bowls, plates, earthenware, cups, spoons, forks, ladles, matches, combs, snow-goggles and toys are superseding their own; woollen and cotton clothing is widely used; glass beads and cheap brooches are replacing other trinkets and ornaments.

Still more radical is the West Greenland influence. From West Greenland come minister, curate, store assistants; the managers, mid-

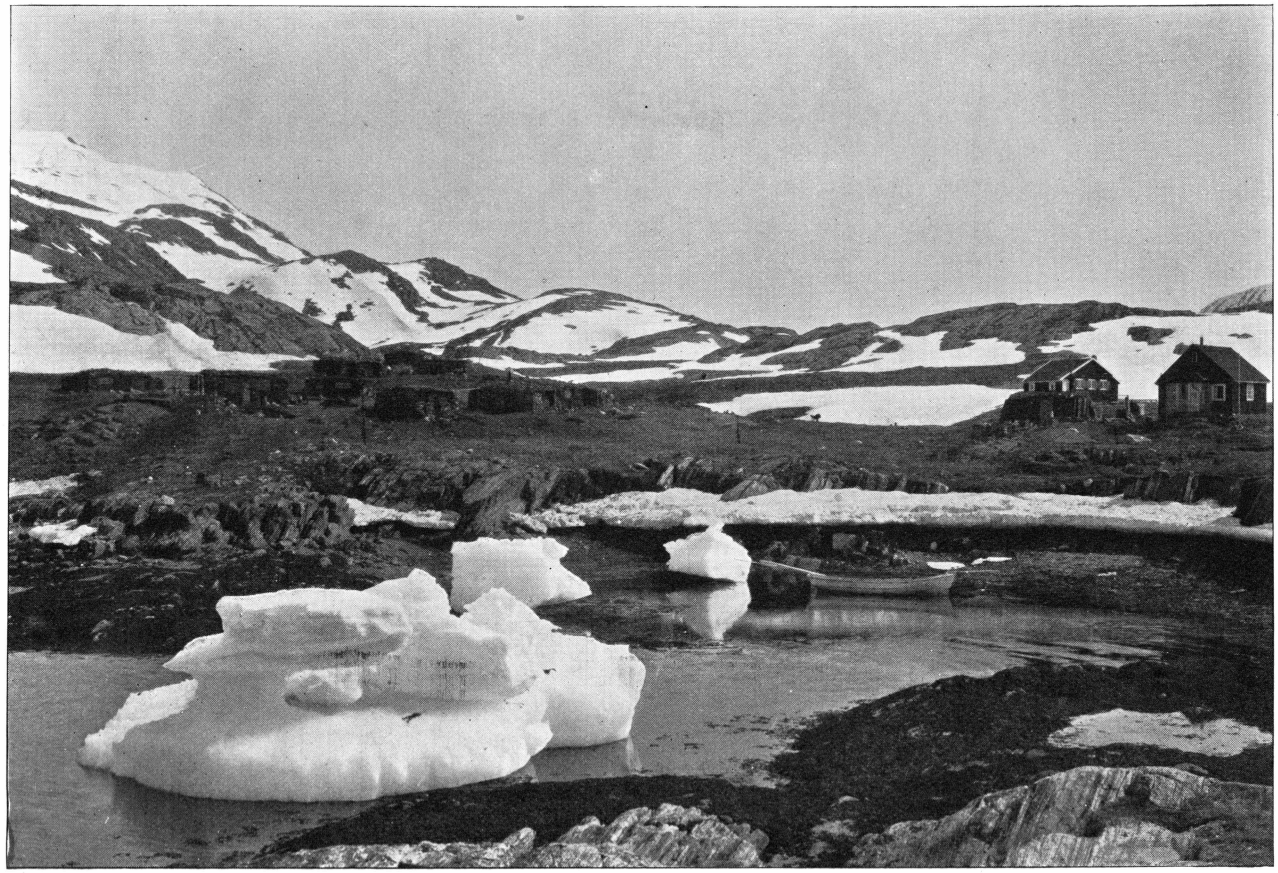


Fig. 55. The settlement of Kùngmiut.

wives and artisans get their training in West Greenland. The houses, dress, sledges and implements of this "upper class" are imitated by the Angmagssaliks, who see in them something "superior" and better. West Greenland is regarded as the centre of fashion, which leads the way and which one must copy if possible. In many respects this imitating has gone very deep, as we will see in the following.

Turning now to the culture of the Angmagssaliks as it is in the year 1932, we will see what has been retained of the old, what has perished, and what has taken its place.

The large, common houses are still to be found in most of the smaller settlements; in the winter of 1931—32 there were in all 15 of them, distributed over 11 settlements in the district; the largest of them, at Ukîvajik, was 9 m long; only two of them had a low entrance passage, most of them having the door opening direct into the house. Fig. 54 is one of these houses at Íkáteq, in which 35 people lived, six families in all. The gut-skin window has been replaced by glass; the entrance has no passage, but it is low, so that one has to take a step up to the floor; in front of the house are various utensils, iron pots, an enamel bowl and the inevitable night-pot. This house has a floor and walls of wood, a feature one often meets with now, and one that makes removing difficult. Inside the house is constructed as in the old days, with a long main platform supported on perpendicular posts of driftwood, and divided by curtains of skin into apartments for the different families; there are also window platforms for the unmarried members of the families.

At the large settlements: the Colony, Kulusuk and Kûngmiut, and at several of the smaller ones, these large common houses have been replaced by small houses of the same type, but for only one or two families. In the whole district there are 32 of these, distributed over 9 settlements; at Kulusuk alone there are 12 — besides two large ones — and at Kûngmiut there are 9. Fig. 55 shows the settlement of Kûngmiut seen from the beach; on the right are the school and the schoolmaster's house, on the left 9 Greenland houses of this type; Fig. 56 is one of them, with large glass windows and no entrance passage; most of these houses are lined inside with wood; a few of them have cooking ranges, but most are still heated by means of the blubber lamp.

The newer West Greenland type of house has also begun to make its appearance. At the Colony several of the permanently employed Greenlanders have built themselves houses of wood, and there is one at Kulusuk; outside these localities there is only one, the house built by the hunter Hjalmar Maratse at Utorqarmiut in Sermiligaq (Fig. 57); this type of house requires a kitchen range.

The skin tent (Fig. 58) is still used by most, but there are many

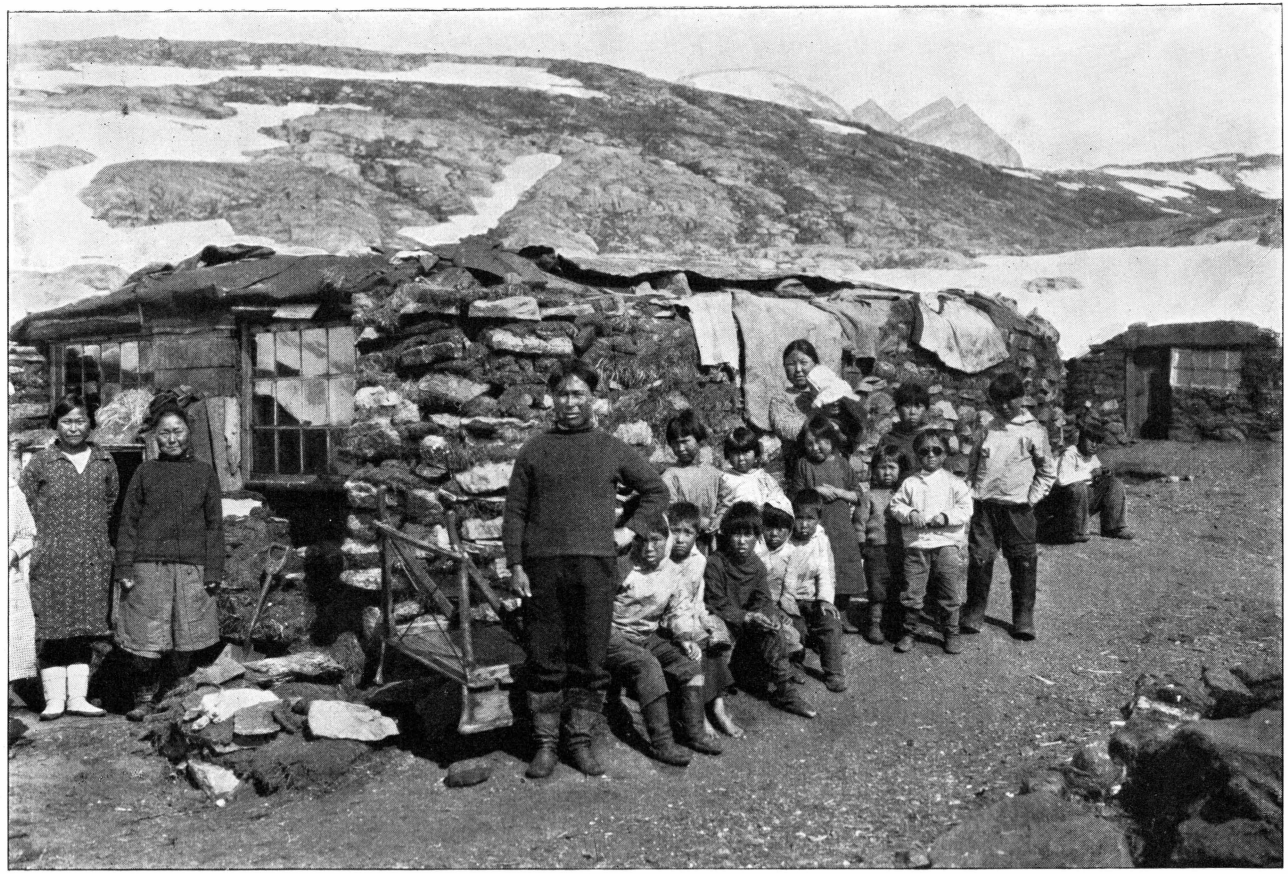


Fig. 56. Modern house at Kûngmiut.

families, especially the younger generation, who have tents of canvas.

The small sledges with wide upstanders are in wide use still; but quite a number, especially the younger, more skilful hunters, have built larger sledges with tall, narrow upstanders of the West Greenland type; an intermediate form is shown on Fig. 56. The whip with bone beads is still in use here and there; most now use the thinner West Greenland



Fig. 57. Hjalmar Maratse's house at Utorqarmiut.

type without beads and with the lash fastened on the end of the handle. Trace buckles and line toggles are still used.

Of umiaks there are still 37 in the district; the custom is still that one or more of these belong to most houses; only a single hunter owns a boat of wood. The umiak cleaner is used no more. The kayak is still the universal possession, but the cruciform kayak stand has now quite disappeared.

Of sealing methods the Ituartit and breathing-hole systems are not used now; on the other hand sealing with the net is coming more and more into use.

Both forms of harpoon — the winged and the knob forms — are in use, and they still have the old arrangement with a tenon in the butt of the foreshaft and not, as in West Greenland, on the shaft mounting; the harpoon heads, too, have preserved their Angmagssalik charac-

ter; but I did not see the type with the barb on the upper side, or entirely of bone, barbless, in use. Lances, bladder darts and bird darts with the throwing board are still in use, whereas ice-hunting harpoons and the other appurtenances like the sealing stool, have naturally fallen into disuse with the method itself.

Salmon leisters and the three-pronged salmon spear are still in general use as is the leister-harpoon described above;

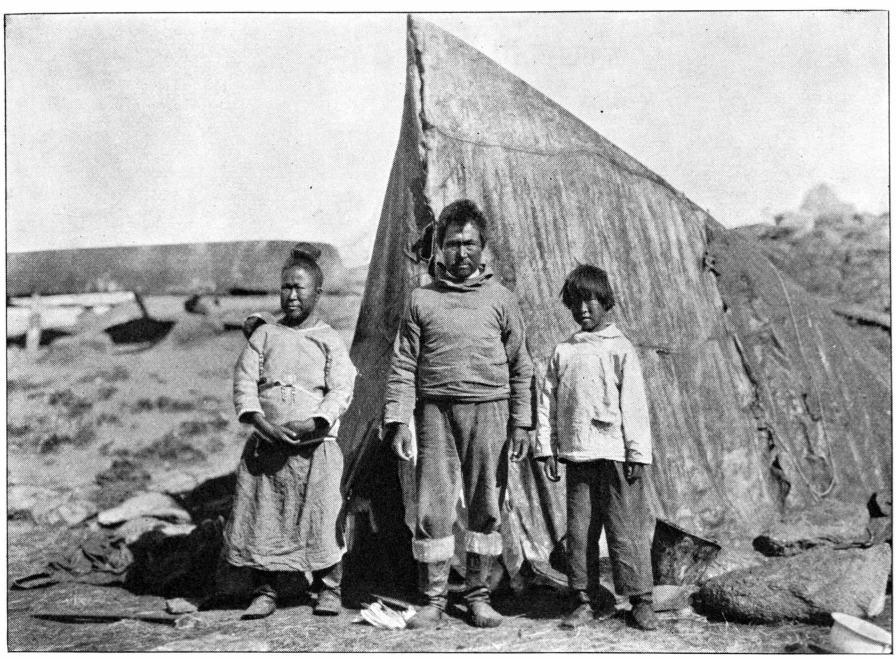


Fig. 58. Greenlanders outside their skin tent.

the leister with turn-over points has, however, gone out of use.

Stillettos, wound trimmers, wound needles and the various kinds of wound plugs of wood, are still in use, and the same applies to towing gear, line hooks, fish decoys, both the long and the rounded-triangular types; fish hooks are now widely used for cod and sea scorpion. The gorge is still met with now and again, but we no longer find the mussel scoop, bird call and the other bird snares; the last angmagssat scoop, which I found standing in a badly knocked-about condition at Misigtoq, I purchased for the collection; I saw one or two fox-trap cleaners; the box-trap itself is still in use. Almost every boy plays with a cross-bow.

One still finds a number of the oldfashioned hunting and whittling knives, but they are no longer made with the fine old decoration and are being substituted more and more with store knives; the handsome knife sheaths are to be found now and then.

The bow drill is still an important implement, but the bow is not nearly so well made, having no end knobs or decoration; as a mouthpiece, seal astragalus is used occasionally, but mostly it is of wood with a bone lining. Finger and knee protectors are seldom seen nowadays, whereas the thong smoother is common. Hammer stones have gone out of use entirely, whereas whetstones naturally are still in use for sharpening iron blades.

The women hold on stubbornly to their two-armed ulo; the one-armed, factory-made ulo sold by the store is not very popular. A bent piece of sheet iron is now used as a fat scraper. Angmagssat needles exist still, but with the disappearance of the angmagssats — these last two years there have hardly been any — they will go out of use. The West Greenland sewing accessories, the boot creaser in boot form and the sewing knife are now used by almost all women, whereas the old sewing materials: needle skin, thimble holder with a skin thimble, the various sinew-thread holders, sinew-thread twisters and bodkins have disappeared and are now only made for sale; European needles, needle cushions and iron thimbles have displaced them.

The beautiful national skin embroidery, as exemplified on skin bags, has quite gone, and I doubt if there is anybody who can do it decently; I tried the experiment of letting an elderly woman make one of these skin bags, but the result was a poor blend of West and East Greenland ornamentation. On the other hand, many East Greenland women are veritable masters at the multicoloured West Greenland skin embroidery, which they use on bags, brush holders and other objects for sale besides their own kamiks.

The old method of making fire by drilling has naturally been entirely superseded by matches. On the other hand, every woman still has her blubber lamp of soapstone, her lamp trimmer (of iron), lamp stand, drying rack and drying hooks; the soapstone cooking pot, however, is no longer in use, having been replaced by store goods.

Of other household utensils one often comes across the large wooden ladles, the flat fish-spoons, and now and then a spoon of bone; they are fast disappearing, however; meat forks of bone are also rare, and the same is true of the flat meat-trays and oval blubber-vessels. The handsome tubs, water pails and urine tubs are now extremely rare; I believe I acquired Angmagssalik's last remaining large water bowl with a handle; I tried to get an elderly man to make one, but his effort was only poor. On the other hand there are several older men who make small water pails decorated with bone figures, for sale. Snuff-horns are still to be met with.

The oldfashioned tool boxes are still used, but are more and more being replaced by boxes from the store.

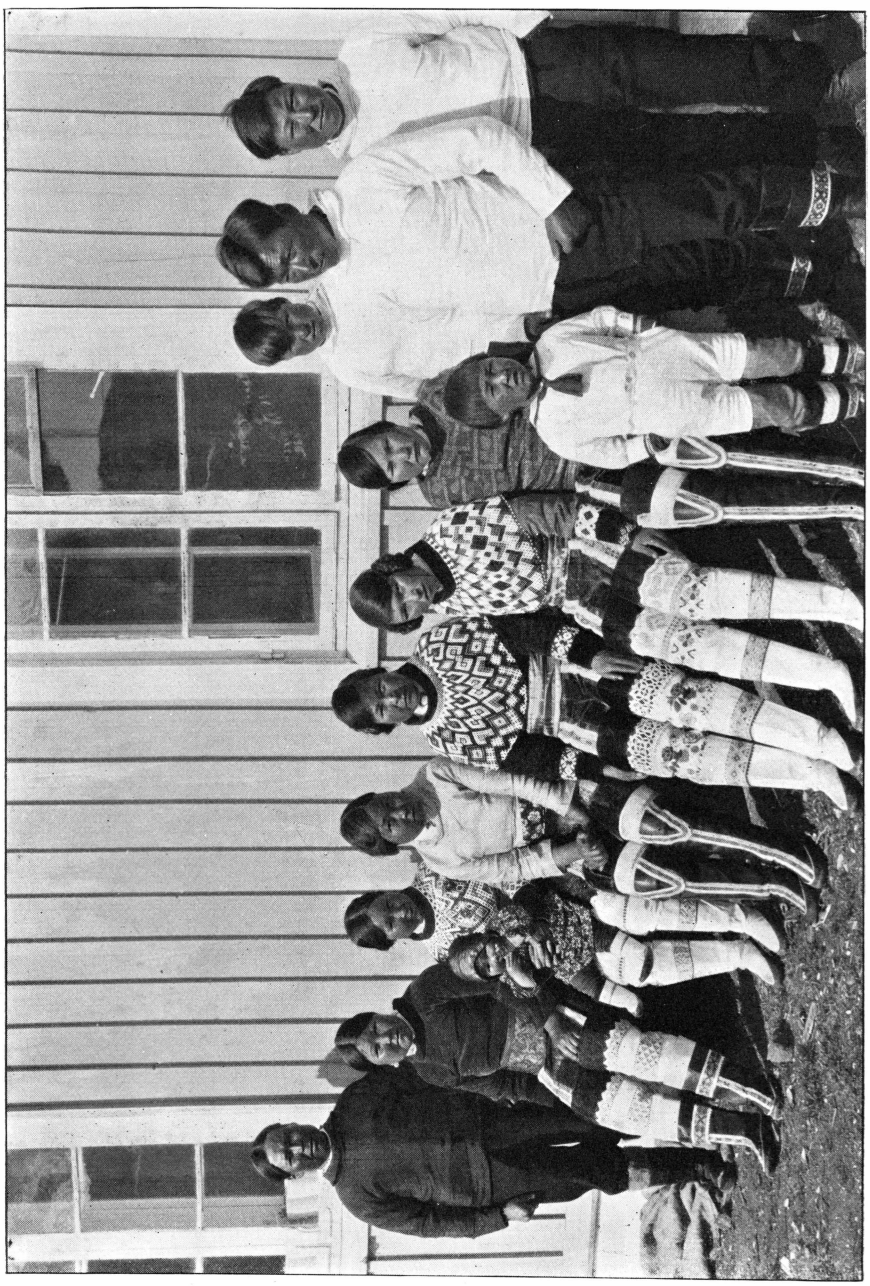


Fig. 59. Kûngmiut Greenlanders in Sunday dress.

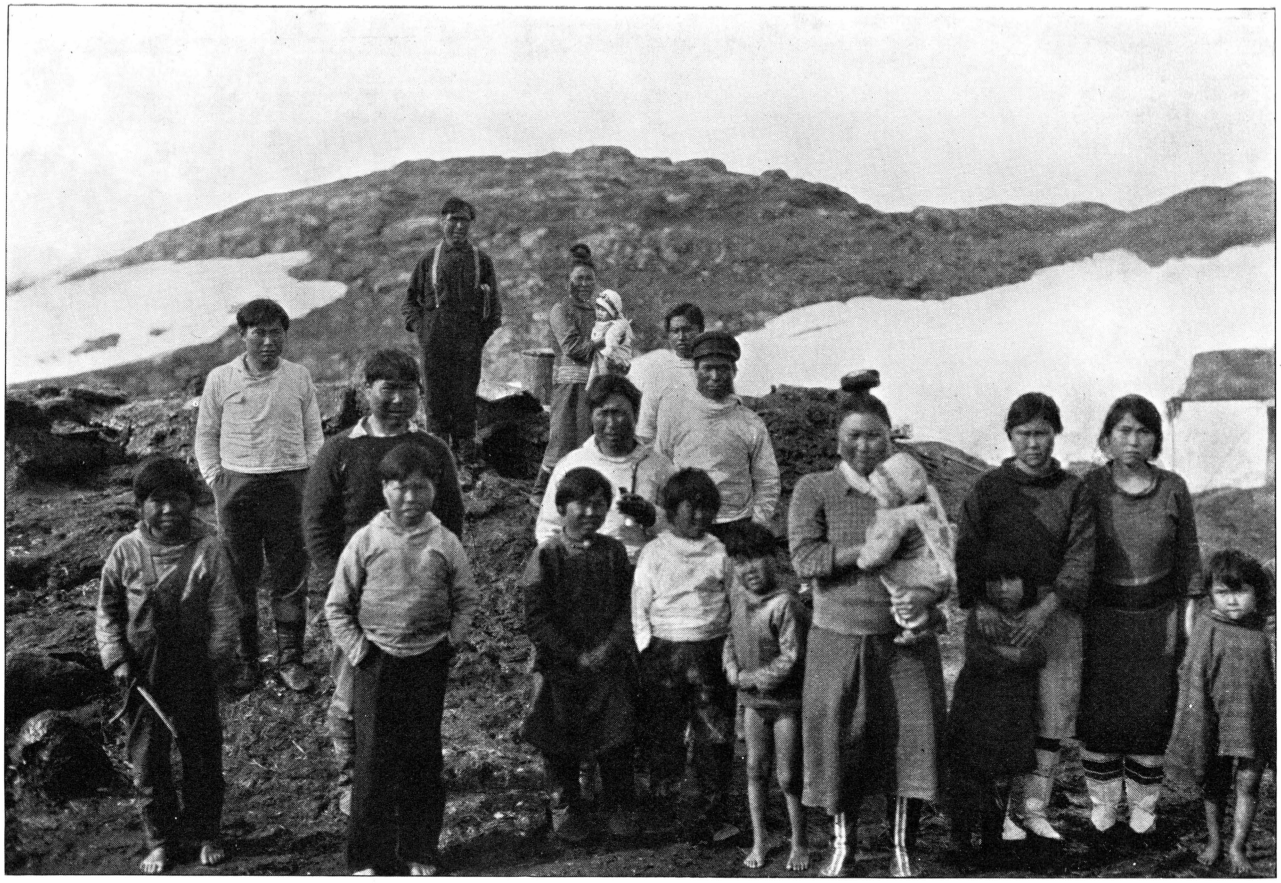


Fig. 60. Sermilik Greenlanders in every-day dress.

Clothing has changed most, however. The only garment in the old style that is still used today is the woman's frock, the amaut, shown on Fig. 58. Otherwise the dress is exactly the same as that used in West Greenland now, a mixture of Eskimo and European. Fig. 59 is a group of young people from Kûngmiut, on a Sunday visit to the Colony. The men have cotton anoraks, store trousers and West Greenland kamiks, one with skin embroidery; the women also have cotton anoraks, large beaded collars, short sealskin trousers and long kamiks with embroidery; there is nothing at all here to indicate that we are in Angmagssalik. Fig. 60 is a group of Greenlanders in every-day dress, in Íkáteq: anorak, sweater, store trousers, gowns, West Greenland kamiks, some of the children without trousers and kamiks. On Figg. 56, 57 and 58, too, we

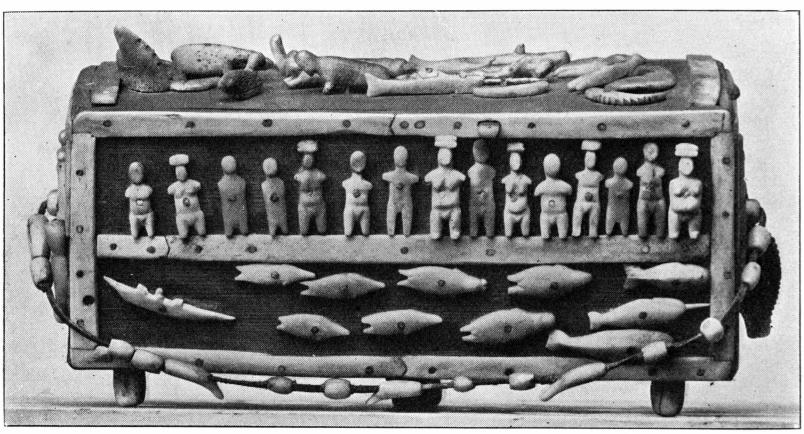


Fig. 61. Wooden casket with bone decoration.

have this West Greenland dress which, more or less ragged and dirty as it almost always is, is anything but nice to look at.

In winter most men still wear sealskin trousers and some have a sealskin frock; these, however, are also of West Greenland type; I saw one old man who had a gut-skin frock for kayak wear, otherwise they use the ordinary kayak-jacket or half-jacket; I saw one half jacket with bone beads on the cord. Nowadays the underclothes are always of wool.

Now and then the genuine Angmagssalik kamiks are made by old women for sale, but those who can make them are becoming fewer and fewer.

The quaint caps with fox tails and skin embroidery have naturally had to give way before the common cloth cap, whilst coloured glass spectacles from the store do duty for the old eye-shades and snow-goggles — and of course the hair band has also disappeared; many women stick to their old triangular ear-rings, and I did see a pair made of bone; necklaces of beads are not rare either. One may still come

across a bone comb, but most people have the horn or celluloid comb sold by the store; the back scratcher is met with here and there.

All the ancient ornamentation with nailed-on bone figures has disappeared; they no longer take the time to decorate their possessions as they once did. Some of the older men have not yet lost the art, and make miniature pails, throwing boards, eye-shades and caskets for sale; the caskets, which are like the old tool boxes, are decorated — indeed plastered — with bone figures, not alone the usual seal and whale figures



Fig. 62. Tupilait (troll animals) carved in wood. 1:2.

but also human beings in all kinds of attitudes, houses, bears, tupilaks and other mystic beings. Fig. 61 is a modern, richly decorated casket. Gradually as the old men die this art will become extinct or degenerate; there are some young men who try to take it up, but as a rule they only turn out poorly made imitations of this fine old art.

One artistic acquisition is the tupileqs and other mystic beings which several people have started to carve in wood in recent years. In former days these were not made; a few poorly made specimens have been made previously[1]), but during the past few years their manufacture — for sale — has grown, often with considerable artistic success. The collection which I acquired contains a lot of small figures of this kind. Figg. 62—64 are some of them, all having names and representing certain figures in their old religion and mythology.

Fig. 62a is uvissoq, a tupileq, who is half man, half woman but has a seal flipper and a dog foot. Fig. 62b is nerrisiaq, a remarkable,

[1]) Thalbitzer 1914, Figg. 354—55.

thin animal with bear forelegs and an enormous undershot jaw. Fig. 62c is qitornaterut, part dog, part dead child. Fig. 63 is nâlilavsiaq, a seal with one fore flipper like a human hand and one hind flipper like a human leg with a kamik; it has been harpooned twice and consequently has two harpoon bladders in tow. Fig. 64 is kîvârsertoq, a lean bear

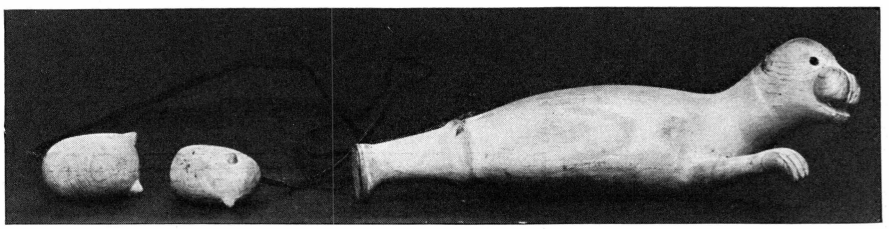


Fig. 63. Tupileq: Nâlilavsiaq. 1:3.

with a strange, ape-like head and one hind leg like a woman's leg, with kamik, short trousers and naked thigh.

Tattooing is only to be found on some old women; on the other hand most women still wear the top-knot of the wide, elegant arrangement used in Angmagssalik. The women of the youngest generation, however, have abandoned it and arrange their hair as they do in West Greenland,



Fig. 64. Tupileq: Kîvârsertoq. 2:5.

with a knot at the nape of the neck; this will be seen on all the young women from Kûngmiut (Fig. 59) and on the youngest from Íkatéq (Fig. 60), of whom the one on the extreme right is married.

The amulet thong, amulet bracelet and other things connected with the ancient religion have naturally disappeared with the introduction of Christianity; since 1921 all Angmagssaliks have been baptized. The drum, on the other hand, is still used at the drum dances which are frequently held as a sort of popular amusement. Masks are still made by one or two old men, but only for sale.

Of toys one still meets with numbers of dolls, made in the customary Angmagssalik style; seal figures as targets have already been referred

to; toy weapons, sledges and kayaks are common; and of other toys I have seen skin balls, various animal figures, the puzzle-game with the two beads, and ajagaqs of hollow seal bone — both fibula and radius; they also have building bricks of a kind, made of the flipper bones of a seal. I have also seen them use a wooden calendar, with holes for the seven days of the week and a wooden peg.

As we have seen, there are still many of the old Angmagssalik elements in use, but they are disappearing rapidly. At the moment an East—West Greenland mixed culture is prevailing; in the course of a decade or so it will be entirely West Greenland.

A similar development is proceeding in the intellectual culture and the language. The introduction of Christianity and the school has involved the disappearance of the ancient religion and the gradual lapsing of the old legends and tales into oblivion. And through church, school and store the West Greenland dialect is exercising slow but sure influence.

It is always sad to see an ancient, individual and fine culture perish, but there is nothing to be done. The steamroller of civilization has no respect for distinctive forms, and the law of culture evolution cannot be broken; when a once isolated culture is drawn into international intercourse it is bound to lose its individuality sooner or later.

That night I spent in the great common house at Ukîvajik on the window platform above a gigantic, old-world, brim-full urine tub, something of the ancient atmosphere rose in me: the slimy stone floor, the walls of turf, the many bright blubber lamps, the drying racks, the women sitting on the platform, sewing or crooning their children to sleep, the men, naked to the waist, flensing a bladder-nose on the floor, their arms covered with blood up to the shoulder; but the zinc bowls, the enamelled dishes and night-pot, and the women's dirty linen chemises and dresses, soon put the illusion to flight.

Or in Kuitse's big house at Kulusuk, when Salomon, the grandson of the great shaman Avgo, held a seance with lamps extinguished and for two hours filled the air with the most remarkable sounds, knocking, drumming, singing, screaming, wheezing, howling, hissing, and distorted speech — and then when the lamps were lighted and a company of about seventy people in cotton anoraks, woollen sweaters, and cloth trousers roared with laughter at Salomon's weirdly amusing performance, and he demanded a packet of rolled oats as his fee — Certainly, the old days have gone for ever in Angmagssalik.

This, then, is the end of the investigation into the history of the culture of the Angmagssaliks. We have seen how Angmagssalik received its first population in the later Mediaeval Ages through an immigration of Eskimos from the West Coast who were at the stage

of the Inugsuk Culture; it was these Eskimos who had taken part in the attacks upon the Norse colonies in South Greenland, resulting in the destruction of the settlements; to this day there is a tradition in Angmagssalik about it, and not so many decades since a fear still lurked in the minds of the people that the Europeans would exact vengeance. It is hardly probable that there were many of these first settlers, and several of them went still farther north along the East Coast. For some hundreds of years these people lived on at Angmagssalik; now and then new people, or new culture elements, percolated in among them from West Coast. The culture gradually changed; towards the close of the 17th Century especially, much that was new made an appearance, probably along with new immigrants; the inhabitants moved together into large common houses, some iron and glass beads were received from the West Coast, and the bell metal of the Norsemen was filed out into ear-rings. An individual development started in this isolated tribe, a development which increased in pace in the 18th Century, when we find a rather numerous population spread over many settlements. New things continue to come in from the West Coast, and the local development proceeds at great speed and produces quite a new ornamentation, besides many peculiar forms of implements; many things that are old and long disappeared elsewhere are still preserved here. Then came Holm's visit in 1884, and ten years later the establishment of the Colony. Christianity was introduced, the store brought European goods, and the modern West Greenland semi-civilization made its entrance; in the face of all this the ancient culture gave way, slowly but surely; its fate was sealed.

But otherwise the Angmagssaliks are thriving well; the population is growing rapidly, and as yet there is sufficient game; if only they are allowed to retain their hunting grounds they will be able to look towards the future with confidence.

The old culture has, as far as we have been able, been preserved in museums and books; the Angmagssaliks have inscribed themselve in the annals of ethnology as one of the most interesting groups of Eskimos alive today.

POSTSCRIPT

My thanks to all who have helped me on my way to Angmagssalik, while there, and in the compiling of this work: First and foremost the indefatigable advocate of the necessity of the journey, the discoverer and founder of Angmagssalik, Captain Gustav Holm, Ph. D.; next, Mr. J. Daugaard-Jensen, the Director of the Greenland Administration, who placed a house at my disposal and in many ways made the journey easier for me.

In Angmagssalik itself I owe special thanks to Karl Andreassen, at Kûngmiut, for information and every kind of assistance; I am also most grateful to the Rev. P. Rosing and ex-Colony-Manager A. T. Hedegaard for valuable information and the present Colony Manager G. Rassow, who often gave us a helping hand.

With his habitual kindness Mr. M. Degerbøl, M.A., of the Zoological Museum, has identified animal bones for me. The photographing of the specimens was undertaken with his customary skill by Mr. S. Bengtsson. The translation is the work of Mr. W. E. Calvert, the drawing of maps and plans that of Mr. A. Andersen.

LIST OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL OBJECTS ILLUSTRATED IN THIS WORK WITH THEIR MUSEUM NUMBER (ALL BEGINNING WITH L 16) AND FINDING PLACE.

The first letter indicates the locality: M = Misigtoq, P = Pôrtusoq, K = Kangârtik, Su = Sũkersit, Sa = Savanganeq, Si = Sivtsingaleq, Ut = Utorqarmiut; the next indicates the house ruin or field; the small figure is the layer, reckoned from the top; the thickness of a layer is 10 cm.

Plate 1.

(Earliest Culture).

1.	Harpoon head	4957	Su	House I
2.	—	4173	K	Ho. II, under passage
3.	—	3	P	House III
4.	Wound pin	4176	K	House II, under pass.
5.	Knife haft	4965	Su	House I
6.	—	4177	K	House II, under pass.
7.	—	4949	Su	House I
8.	—	5128	Su	House IX
9.	Drill shank	4952	Su	House I
10.	Lamp trimmer	30	P	A 1
11.	Mounting	4979	Su	House I
12.	Whetstone	5114	Su	House VII
13.	Harpoon shaft mounting	4946	Su	House I
14.	Ulo handle	5122	Su	House VIII
15.	Point of wooden implement	4191	K	House II, under pass.
16.	Ground graphite	84	P	House IV
17.	Winged needle case	4930	Su	House I
18.	Spoon, handle & bowl	4974	Su	House I
19.	Toy lamp	4902	K	House VI
20.	Unknown bone implement	4980	Su	House I
21.	Spoon	4973	Su	House I

Plate 2.

(Earliest Culture).

1.	Ice pick	4175	K	House II, under pass.
2.	Adze blade	5131	Su	House IX
3.	—	5132	Su	House IX
4.	Whetstone	4927	Su	House I
5.	—	5110	Su	House VII

6.	Sledge shoe	5126	Su	House IX
7.	Potsherd	4931	Su	House I
8.	Hammer stone	4182	K	House II, under pass.
9.	Ladle	4188	K	House II, under pass.
10.	Fire-drill, stick	4189	K	House II, under pass.
11.	Ajagaq	63	P	A 9
12.	—	4190	K	House II, under pass.
13.	Toggle	4972	Su	House I
14.	Ajagaq	4192	K	House II, under pass.

Plate 3.

(Earliest Culture).

1.	Harpoon blade	4960	Su	House I
2.	Stopper for harpoon-line	4	P	House III
3.	Arrow head	5863	Sa	House VI
4.	Barb of salmon spear	4963	Su	House I
5.	Knife blade	18	P	House III
6.	Tension piece	26	P	House III
7.	Ulo blade	5880	Si	House II
8.	Toy lamp	64	P	A 9
9.	Scraper blade	5617	Sa	House II
10.	Drop pendant	4908	K	House VII
11.	Pendant of bone	59	P	A 8
12.	Toggle of tooth	4954	Su	House I
13.	Pendant	4977	Su	House I
14.	Soapstone bead	4933	Su	House I
15.	Graphite bead	5884	Si	House II
16.	Pendant of slate	9	P	House III
17.	— —	4900	K	House VI
18.	— —	5882	Si	House II
19.	Soapstone bead	35	P	A 3

Plate 4.

1—16.	Find from a girl's grave: 7 ornamental bodkins, pierced bones, 17 pierced teeth, soapstone sinker, 3 toy cooking pots, toy lamp, toy sledge	5040—53	Su	Grave 1

Plate 5.

(18th Century).

1.	Harpoon head	951	M	C 14^{5}
2.	—	1017	M	C 15^{6}
3.	—	1980	M	D 5^{4}
4.	—	4011	K	A 6^{2}
5.	—	299	M	B 10^{2}
6.	—	2132	M	D 13^{2}
7.	—	1799	M	House XII
8.	—	3841	K	House I
9.	—	4868	K	E 11^{3}
10.	—	622	M	C 11^{4}
11.	—	882	M	C 14^{3}

12.	Harpoon head	645	M	C 11[5]
13.	—	6090	Kûngmiut	
14.	—	2375	M	E 3[4]
15.	Unfinished harpoon head	106	M	House VI
16.	Ituartit harpoon head	107	M	House VI
17.	Harpoon blade	3726	M	E 29[2]
18.	—	5008	Su	House V
19.	Foreshaft of knife (?)	699	M	C 12[2]
20.	Finger rest	2235	M	D 17[3]
21.	Tension piece	2183	M	D 15[1]
22.	Stopper	544	M	C 10[2]
23.	Mouthpiece	2400	M	E 4[3]
24.	Ferrule for shaft butt	771	M	C 13[1]
25.	Swivel	2997	M	E 15[5]
26.	Weapon head with barb-belt	1537	M	C 22[2]
27.	Mounting for bladder-dart head (?)	421	M	C 5[2]
28.	Butt of bird-dart head	1427	M	C 19[6]
29.	Mounting for throwing board	1614	M	C 24[6]
30.	Wound pin	1464	M	C 19[7]
31.	Arrow head	2434	M	E 4[4]
32.	—	3828	K	House I
33.	—	5872	Sa	Grave 7
34.	—	2136	M	D 13[2]
35.	—	3487	M	E 23[2]
36.	Gorge	4624	K	C 2[8]
37.	Fish-hook	886	M	C 14[3]
38.	—	1466	M	C 19[7]
39.	Sinker	1524	M	C 21[4]
40.	Fish-hook barb	2752	M	E 11[4]
41.	— —	2252	M	D 17[5]
42.	Fish needle	2622	M	E 8[3]
43.	Salmon spear barb	4275	K	B 7[1]
44.	Salmon spear side prong	5318	Sa	A 4[3]
45.	Salmon harpoon head	112	M	House VI

Plate 6.

(18th Century).

1.	Harpoon foreshaft	3243	M	E 19[7]
2.	—	1099	M	C 17[1]
3.	—	283	M	B 7[3]
4.	—	5623	Sa	House III
5.	Harpoon shaft mounting	1802	M	House XII
6.	— —	2478	M	E 6[2]
7.	Ice pick	610	M	C 11[3]
8.	Harpoon wing	3636	M	E 27[5]
9.	Neck-piece for towing gear	2522	M	E 7[2]
10.	Bladder-dart head	4748	K	E 5[7]
11.	Wound plug	5297	Sa	A 3[7]
12.	—	5578	Sa	A 14[5]
13.	Throwing board	5471	Sa	A 8[10]

14.	Fish decoy	4611	K	C 2[6]
15.	—	1760	M	C 17[2]
16.	—	5042	Su	House VI
17.	—	1744	M	C 31[2]
18.	Fish-hook (?)	3624	M	E 26[8]
19.	Side prong for bird dart	2855	M	E 12[3]
20.	Leister prong	2099	M	D 11[2]
21.	—	3171	M	E 19[3]
22.	—	1409	M	C 15[5]
23.	—	626	M	C 11[4]
24.	Middle leister prong	1203	M	C 17[4]
25.	Angmagssat needle	1259	M	C 17[6]
26.	Sledge shoe	3844	K	House I
27.	—	4087	K	A 8[6]
28.	—	2556	M	E 8[1]
29.	Trace buckle	2798	M	E 11[8]
30.	Rest for kayak harpoon	1962	M	D 4[3]
31.	— —	5242	Sa	A 2[10]
32.	Toggle for draught line	5525	Sa	A 10[4]
33.	Kayak-paddle mounting	3625	M	E 26[8]
34.	Line toggle	2503	M	E 6[3]
35.	—	1828	M	House XII
36.	Thong hook	96	M	House VI
37.	Thong button for kayak frock	467	M	C 6[3]
38.	Adze blade	1990	M	D 6[2]
39.	—	1934	M	D 3[4]
40.	Adze head	436	M	C 5[3]
41.	—	5986	Ut	House II

Plate 7.

(18th Century).

1.	Knife	3830	K	House I
2.	—	1486	M	C 20[2]
3.	Knife haft	6118	Ik	
4.	—	843	M	C 13[4]
5.	—	1706	M	C 29[5]
6.	—	3622	M	E 26[7]
7.	Whetstone	3832	K	House I
8.	—	4230	K	B 2[3]
9.	Bowdrill mouthpiece	1159	M	C 17[3]
10.	— —	2599	M	E 8[2]
11.	Knife blade	3261	M	E 19[8]
12.	—	2279	M	E 1[3]
13.	—	1509	M	C 21[1]
14.	—	5587	Sa	A 14[7]
15.	—	5857	Sa	House V
16.	—	5818	Sa	C 11[4]
17.	—	5034	Su	E 7
18.	Drill bit	3626	M	E 26[8]
19.	—	5778	Sa	C 7[3]
20.	—	3847	K	House I

21.	Drill bit	5811	Sa	C 5[2]
22.	—	2620	M	E 5[3]
23.	—	5626	Sa	House III
24.	Knife blade	4092	K	A 9[1]
25.	Drill	4302	K	B 9[1]
26.	Intermediate piece for ulo	1244	M	C 17[5]
27.	Ulo handle	4559	K	C 1[11]
28.	Ulo	4684	K	E 3[2]
29.	Ulo handle	5100	Su	F 7
30.	Ulo	5016	Su	House V
31.	Ulo arm	148	M	House VI
32.	—	2745	M	E 11[3]

Plate 8.

(18th Century).

1.	Wedge	5600	Sa	A 15[3]
2.	Thong smoother	927	M	C 14[4]
3.	Hammer stone	2632	M	E 9[2]
4.	Potsherd	3931	K	A 2[4]
5.	Meat fork	4774	K	E 6[3]
6.	Lamp trimmer	5068	Su	House VI
7.	Buzz	5470	Sa	A 8[9]
8.	Spoon	3156	M	E 19[1]
9.	Laminaria hook	2228	M	D 14[4]
10.	Top disk	296	M	B 9[2]
11.	Toy sledge (dog jaw)	1192	M	C 17[3]
12.	Ajagaq	1761	M	C 17[4]
13.	—	818	M	C 13[3]
14.	—	4789	K	E 7[1]
15.	—	1092	M	C 16[6]
16.	—	4159	K	House II
17.	—	4603	K	C 2[5]
18.	Bodkin	631	M	C 11[4]

Plate 9.

(18th Century).

1.	Scraper blade	3650	M	E 26[10]
2.	—	3850	K	House I
3.	—	5657	Sa	House III
4.	—	5835	Sa	D 1[1]
5.	—	3257	M	E 19[10]
6.	—	4738	K	E 5[5]
7.	Boot creaser	1539	M	C 22[2]
8.	—	5310	Sa	A 3[8]
9.	Needle case	1583	M	C 23[6]
10.	Thimble holder	2344	M	E 2[4]
11.	Pendant	1447	M	C 19[6]
12.	Spoon	2701	M	E 10[5]
13.	Comb	6129	Ik	
14.	—	1725	M	C 30[4]

15.	Comb	3628	M	E 8[2]
16.	—	4095	K	A 9[1]
17.	—	2463	M	E 6[1]
18.	—	2924	M	E 13[4]
19.	—	2864	M	E 12[3]
20.	Nuglutang	1439	M	C 19[6]
21.	Toggle	3203	M	E 19[4]
22.	Button	2126	M	D 12[5]
23.	Bodkin	4104	K	A 9[4]
24.	Doll	5365	Sa	A 6[4]
25.	Toy lamp	5761	Sa	C 6[3]
26.	—	2359	M	E 2[5]
27.	Toy cooking pot	595	M	C 10[5]
28.	— —	3478	M	E 22[6]
29.	Toy ulo blade	4151	K	House II
30.	Ferrule	695	M	C 12[1]
31.	Drum handle	4788	K	E 7[1]
32.	Mounting	528	M	C 9[3]
33.	Block for winged harpoon	4761	K	E 6[1]
34.	— —	824	M	C 13[3]
35.	Mounting	3016	M	E 16[2]
36.	Drilled bone	533	M	C 9[3]

Plate 10.

(18th Century).

1.	Pendant	1167	M	C 17[3]
2.	Ornamental bodkin	4249	K	B 4[2]
3.	— —	813	M	C 13[3]
4.	Pierced tooth	1940	M	D 4[1]
5.	Pendant of bone	814	M	C 13[3]
6.	— —	1265	M	C 18[2]
7.	— —	694	M	C 12[1]
8.	— —	3201	M	E 19[4]
9.	— —	4745	K	E 5[6]
10.	— —	1217	M	C 17[4]
11.	Bone carving	511	M	C
12.	—	4823	K	E 2[1]
13.	Drop pendant	4806	K	E 8[2]
14.	Bone bead	3057	M	E 18[2]
15.	Pendant of stone	5859	Sa	E 12[1]
16.	— —	1673	M	C 26[5]
17.	— —	1590	M	C 24[2]
18.	— —	1672	M	C 26[5]
19.	— —	252	M	B 4
20.	— —	1797	M	House XII
21.	Stone bead	3143	M	E 18[11]
22.	Drop pendant of stone	2238		D 17[3]
23.	Unfinished stone bead	2105	M	D 11[2]
24.	Stone bead	4437	K	B 22[3]
25.	Pendant of bell metal	348	M	C 1[2]
26.	— —	5072	Su	House VI

27.	Pendant of bell metal	5995b	Ut	House II
28.	— —	4332	K	B 16[1]
29.	Pendant of tin	5073	Su	House VI
30.	— —	5074	Su	House VI
31.	Pendant of silver (?)	4670	K	D 14[3]
32.	Toy bird-dart head	3582	M	E 24[3]
33.	— harpoon head	3484	M	E 23[1]
34.	— —	2505	M	E 6[3]
36.	— —	4730	K	E 5[4]
36.	— —	1075	M	C 16[4]
37.	— —	4671	K	D 15[4]
38.	— whaling harpoon head	4278	K	B 7[1]
39.	— harpoon foreshaft	497	M	C 8[1]
40.	— harpoon wing	603	M	C 11[2]
41.	— towing gear	2541	M	E 9[4]
42.	— harpoon foreshaft	536	M	C 9[4]
43.	— bladder-dart head	4105	K	A 9[4]
44.	— Ituartit harpoon	1771	M	C 16[3]
45.	— Ituartit mounting	935	M	C 14[4]
46.	— bird-dart side-prong	621	M	C 11[3]
47.	— swivel	1085	M	C 16[5]
48.	— bladder dart head	1491	M	C 20[2]
49.	— arrow head	822	M	C 13[3]
50.	— leister prong	2049	M	D 9[3]

TEXT FIGURES

Fig. 2.	Piece of cleaved slate	4905	K	House VI
- 28.	Antler	4987—88	Su	House I
- 29.	Lamp	5869	Sa	House VI
- 30.	Stone objects from Utorqarmiut, House ruin I:			
	1. Arrow head	5938		
	2. Knife blade	5943		
	3. —	5942		
	4. —	5945		
	5. Adze blade	5947		
	6. Scraper blade	5952		
	7. Scraper blade	5956		
	8. —	5961		
	9. Drill bit	5948		
	10. —	5950		
	11. Boot creaser	5964		
	12. —	5936		
- 31.	Mattock blade	4110	K	A 9[5]
- 32.	Lamps 1	5771	Sa	C 7[1]
	Lamps 2	2861	M	E 12[3]
- 33.	Tub-stave	5177	Sa	A 1[6]
- 34.	Toy sledge with dogs	5083	Su	House VI
- 35.	Snow beater (?) of baleen	5188	Sa	A 1[9]
- 36.	Harpoon shaft mounting of soapstone	6092	Kûngmiut	
- 37.	Wooden hook	5369	Sa	A 7[2]
- 38.	1. Seal figure	5464	Sa	A 8[8]
	2. Bird figure	5176	Sa	A 1[6]
	3. Tupileq	5102	Kûngmiut	

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Amdrup, G.: The former Eskimo Settlements on the East Coast of Greenland. Medd. om Grønl. 28. 1909.

Bartlett, Robert A., and Junius Bird: The Bartlett East Greenland Expedition. Geographical Review 1932.

Birket-Smith, Kaj: Foreløbigt Bidrag til Kap-Farvel-Distrikternes Kulturhistorie. Medd. om Grønl. 53. 1917.

— Ethnography of the Egedesminde District. Medd. om Grønl. 66. 1924. (cit.: B-S 1924).

— The Greenlanders of the present Day. Greenland II. Copenhagen 1928.

Egede, Hans: Relationer for Grønland 1721—36. Ed. L. Bobé. Medd. om Grønl. 54. 1925.

Graah, W. A.: Undersøgelses-Reise til Østkysten af Grønland. Copenh. 1832.

Grønland i Tohundredaaret for Hans Egedes Landing. I—II. Copenh. 1921.

Holm, G., og Garde, V.: Den danske Konebaads-Expedition til Grønlands Østkyst. Copenh. 1887.

— — Om de geographiske Forhold i Dansk Østgrønland. Medd. om Grønl. 9. 1889.

Holm, G.: Ethnologisk Skizze af Angmagssalikerne. Medd. om Grønl. 10. 1888.

— Gunbjørns Skær og Korsøer. Medd. om Grønl. 56. 1918.

Koch, Lauge: Resultaterne af Jubilæumsekspeditionen Nord om Grønland i 1921. Naturens Verden 1923.

Kroeber, A. L.: The Eskimo of Smith Sound. Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History 12. New York 1900.

Kruuse, C.: Rejser og botaniske Undersøgelser i Øst-Grønland mellem 65°30′ og 67°20′ 1898—1902. Medd. om Grønl. 49. 1912.

Mathiassen, Therkel: Archæology of the Central Eskimo I—II. Rep. of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921—24, Vol. IV. Copenh. 1927 (cit.: M 1927).

— The Archaeological Collection of the Cambridge East Greenland Expedition 1926. Medd. om Grønl. 74. 1929.

— Archaeological Collections from the Western Eskimos. Rep. Fifth Thule Exp. X. 1. 1930.

— Inugsuk, a Mediaeval Eskimo Settlement in Upernivik District, West Greenland. Medd. om Grønl. 77. 1930 (cit.: Inugsuk).

— Ancient Eskimo Settlements in the Kangâmiut Area. Medd. om Grønl. 91. 1931 (cit.: Kangâmiut).

— Bidrag til Angmagssalik-Eskimoernes Forhistorie. Geografisk Tidsskrift 1932.

Nansen, Fridtjof: Eskimoliv. Christiania 1891.

Porsild, Morten P.: Studies on the Material Culture of the Eskimo in West Greenland. Medd. om Grønl. 51. 1915.

Quervain, A. et Mercanton, P.-L.: Résultats Scientifiques de L'Expedition Suisse au Groenland 1912—13. Medd. om Grønl. 59. 1925.

Rasmussen, Knud: Grønland langs Polhavet. Copenh. 1919.

— Myter og Sagn fra Grønland I. Østgrønlændere. Copenh. 1921.

Rink, H.: Eskimoiske Eventyr og Sagn. Vol. I—II. Copenh. 1866—71.

— Østgrønlænderne i deres Forhold til Vestgrønlænderne og de øvrige Eskimostammer. Geografisk Tidsskrift 1886.

Ryder, C. H.: Om den tidligere eskimoiske Bebyggelse af Scoresby Sound. Medd. om Grønl. 17. 1895.

Rüttel, F. C. P.: Ti Aar blandt Østgrønlands Hedninger. Copenh. 1917.

Schultz-Lorentzen: Eskimoernes Indvandring i Grønland. Medd. om Grønl. 26. 1904.

Solberg, O.: Beiträge zur Vorgeschichte der Osteskimo. Videnskabs-Selskabets Skrifter II. Historisk-filosofisk Klasse. Christiania 1907.

Steensby, H. P.: An Anthropogeographical Study of the Origin of the Eskimo Culture. Medd. om Grønl. 53. 1917.

Swenander, Gust.: Harpun-, kastpil- och lansspetsar från Väst-Grönland. Kgl. Svenska Vetenskapsakademiens Handlingar. 40. Uppsala 1906.

Thalbitzer, W.: Ethnological Description of the Amdrup Collection from East Greenland. Medd. om Grønl. 28. 1909.

— The Ammassalik Eskimo. Medd. om Grønl. 39. 1914.

— The Ammassalik Eskimo II. Language and Folklore. Medd. om Grønl. 40. 1923.

— The Ammassalik Eskimo: A Rejoinder. Medd. om Grønl. 53. 1917.

Thalbitzer, W. and Thurén, H.: Melodies from East Greenland. Medd. om Grønl. 40. 1914.

Thomsen, Thomas: Implements and Artefacts of the North-East Greenlanders. Medd. om Grønl. 44. 1917 (cit.: Thomsen 1919).

— The Angmagsalik Eskimo. Medd. om Grønl. 53. 1917.

— Eskimo Archaeology. Greenland II. Copenh. 1928.

Thostrup, Chr. Bendix: Ethnographic Description of the Eskimo Settlements and Stone Remains in North East Greenland. Medd. om Grønl.44. 1917.

Wissler, Clark: Archaeology of the Polar Eskimos. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History 22. New York 1918.

ILLUSTRATIONS

TEXT FIGURES

Page

Fig. 1. The Angmagssalik Colony 6
- 2. Prismatic slate fragmeots 9
- 3. Misigtoq Point, from the north 17
- 4. Pôrtusoq settlement 18
- 5. Plan of house ruin III, Pôrtusoq 19
- 6. House ruin V, Pôrtusoq 20
- 7. Plan of house ruin IX and Field C, Misigtoq 22
- 8. The work in Field E, Nûk, at Misigtoq 23
- 9. House passage in Field E, Nûk, at Misigtoq 24
- 10. Kangârtik settlement, from WNW 25
- 11. Plan of house ruin II, Kangârtik 26
- 12. House ruin II, Kangârtik 27
- 13. House ruins III and IV, Kangârtik 28
- 14. House ruin VI, Kangârtik 29
- 15. Plan of house ruin VI, Kangârtik 30
- 16. House ruin VII, Kangârtik 31
- 17. Sûkersit settlement, from the northwest 32
- 18. Plan of Sûkersit settlement 33
- 19. Plans of house ruins at Sûkersit 34
- 20. House ruin VI, Sûkersit 36
- 21. Floor, niches and passage, House ruin VI, Sûkersit 37
- 22. House ruin VII, Sûkersit 38
- 23. House ruin IX, Sûkersit 39
- 24. Boat supports and kayak-shaped stone settings at Sûkersit 40
- 25. Plan of Savanganeq settlement 41
- 26. Plan of Sivtsingaleq and Sûnajik settlements 43
- 27. Utorqarmiut settlement 45
- 28. Waste pieces of antler, Sûkersit 50
- 29. Lamp, Savanganeq 55
- 30. Stone implements from Utorqarmiut 64
- 31. Mattock blade, Kangârtik 89
- 32. Lamps 93
- 33. Tub stave, Savanganeq 94
- 34. Toy sledge, with dogs of seal bones; Sûkersit 100
- 35. Snow beater(?) of baleen, Savanganeq 101

Page

Fig. 36. Harpoon shaft mounting, of soapstone, Kùngmiut 113
- 37. Wooden hook, Savanganeq 113
- 38. Wooden animal figures 114
- 39. Small lance 115
- 40. Leister harpoon 115
- 41. Two throat plugs 116
- 42. Seven carved heads on throat and wound plugs. 116
- 43. Adze 117
- 44. Thong smoother 117
- 45. Scraping board 117
- 46. Drying frame for thongs 117
- 47. Mitten hook 119
- 48. Drying hook 119
- 49. Blubber carrier 119
- 50. Two ajagaqs 120
- 51. Two dolls 120
- 52. Two dolls for carrying in the amaut 121
- 53. Bird and seal figures 121
- 54. House at Íkatéq 132
- 55. Kùngmiut 133
- 56. House at Kùngmiut 135
- 57. The house of Hjalmar Maratse at Utorqarmiut 136
- 58. Skin tent 137
- 59. Greenlanders from Kùngmiut, in Sunday garb 139
- 60. Greenlanders at Íkatéq 140
- 61. Casket with bone ornaments 141
- 62. Three tupileqs 142
- 62. Tupileq 143
- 64. Tupileq 143

PLATES

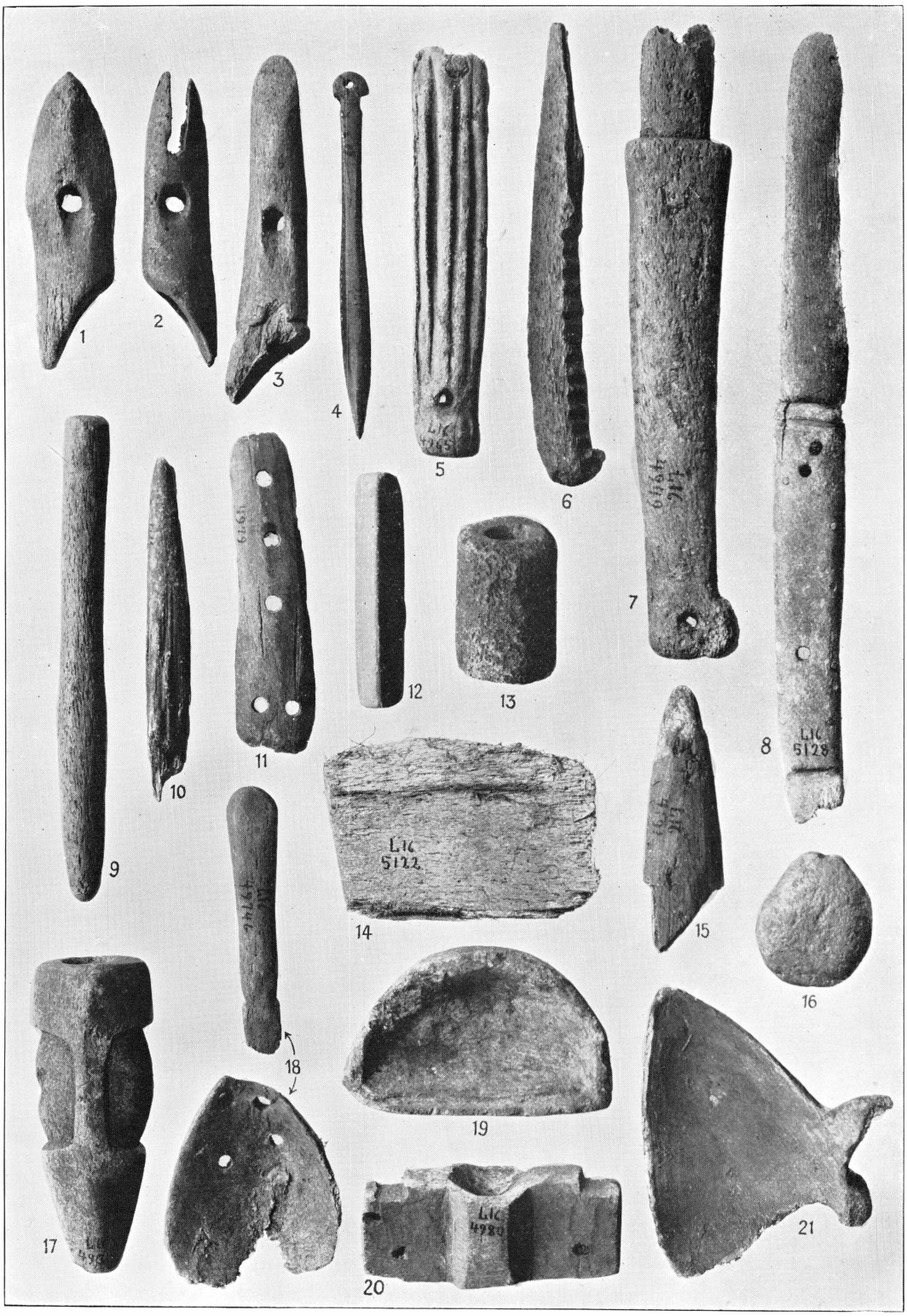
Plate 1. Earliest Culture: Harpoon heads, knives, etc. 3:5.
— 2. — — Adzes, whetstones, ajagaqs, etc. 2:5.
— 3. — — Weapon blades, ornaments, etc. 1:1.
— 4. 18th Century: Grave find from Sũkersit. 2:3.
— 5. — Hunting weapons. 3:5.
— 6. — Hunting weapons, sledge shoes, adzes, etc. 2:5.
— 7. — Tools. 3:5.
— 8. — Household utensils, ajagaqs, etc. 1:2.
— 9. — Scrapers, Combs, etc. 3:5.
— 10. — Ornaments, toys. 1:1.
— 11. Map of the district of Angmagssalik, showing settlements.

CONTENTS

Page

I. INTRODUCTION 3
II. RUIN LOCALITIES IN ANGMAGSSALIK DISTRICT 10
Review of district's ruin localities and house types 10
Misigtoq and Pôrtusoq 16
Kangârtik 26
Sûkersit 33
Savanganeq 41
Sivtsingaleq 42
Ruin localities in Sermiligaq 44
III. THE EARLIEST CULTURE 47
List of specimens of the old culture 47
Observations on the various types:
Harpoon heads p. 50. — Other parts of harpoon p. 50. — Other hunting implements p. 51. — Means of communication p. 52. — Men's tools p. 52. — Women's tools p. 54. — Household utensils p. 54. — Clothing, ornaments p. 56. — Games and pastimes p. 56. — Sundries p. 57.
General remarks on the earliest culture 57
IV. THE CULTURE OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES 63
V. THE CULTURE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY 67
List of specimens 67
Observations on the various types:
Harpoon heads p. 73. — Other parts of harpoons p. 76. — Other hunting implements p. 79. — Means of communication p. 85. — Tools p. 86. — Household utensils p. 92. — Toilet, dress, ornaments p. 95. — Games and pastimes p. 98. — Sundries p. 101. — Houses and other permanent remains p. 103.
General remarks: Cultural position, period, life 104
VI. OBSERVATIONS ON THE LATER ANGMAGSSALIK CULTURE 112
Finds relating to the 19th Century 112
Ethnographical objects 115
Cultural position 123
The Settlements of the Angmagssaliks in recent years 126
The decay of the old Angmagssalik culture 132

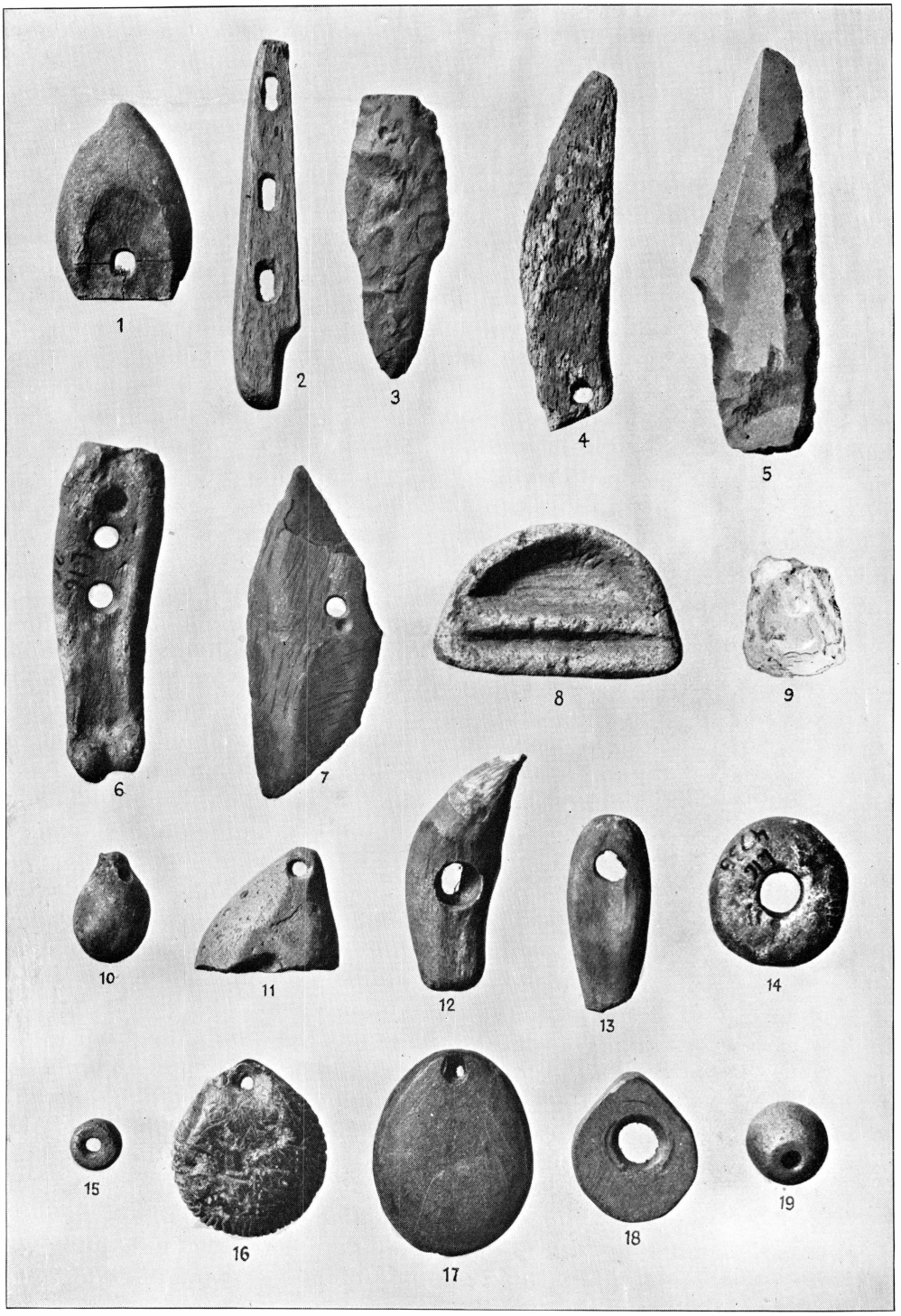
PLATES



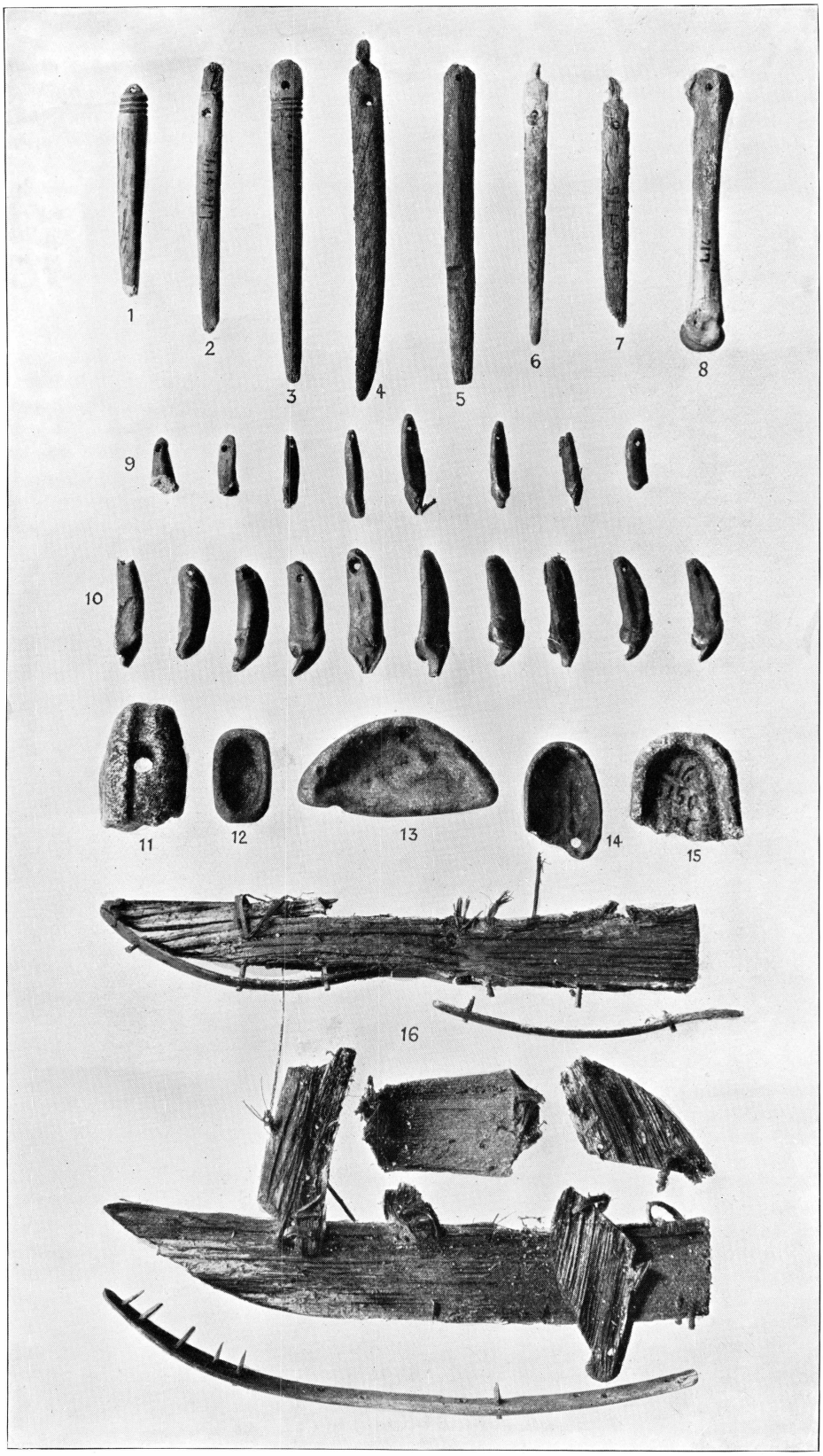
3:5



2:5



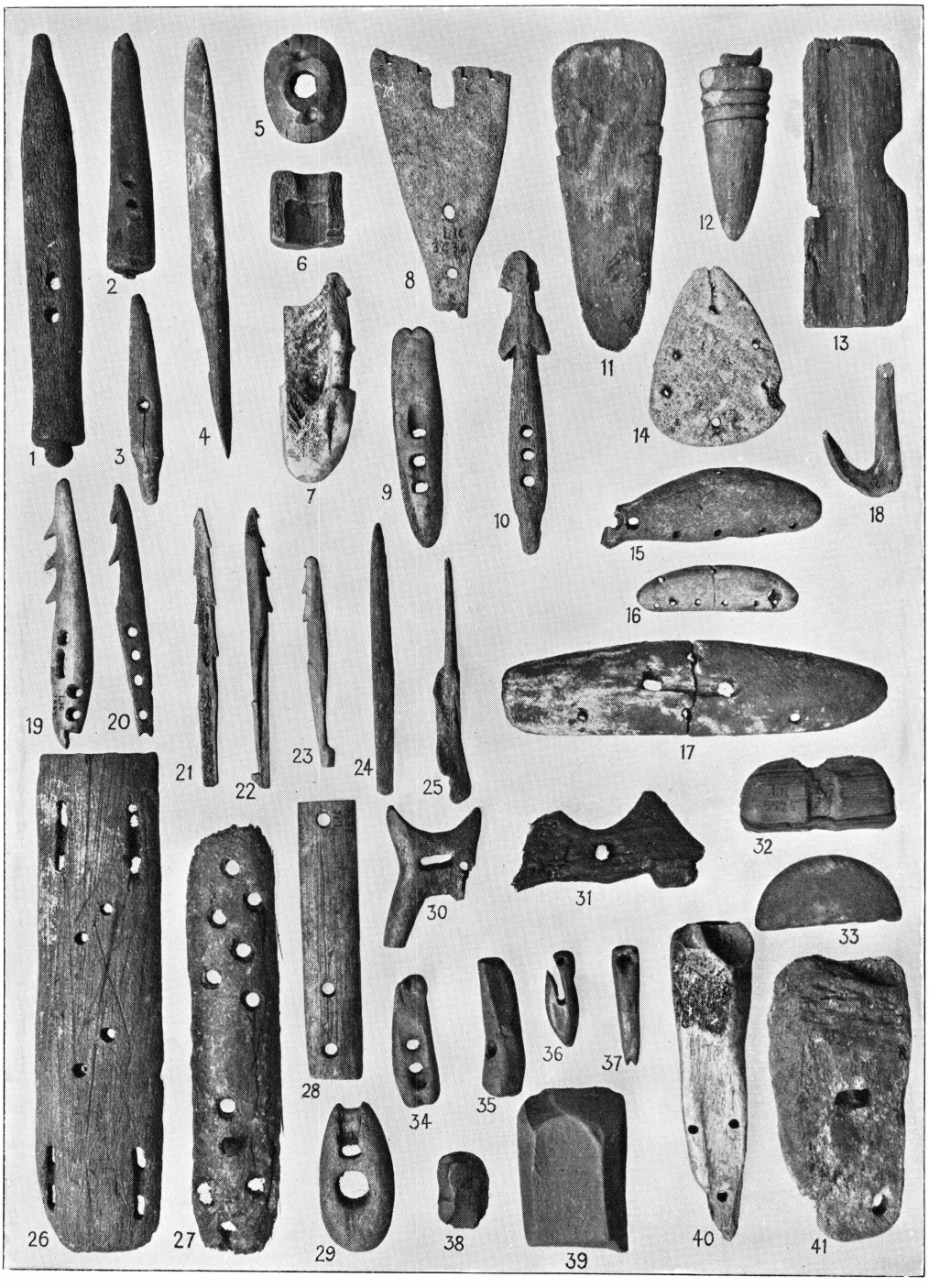
1:1



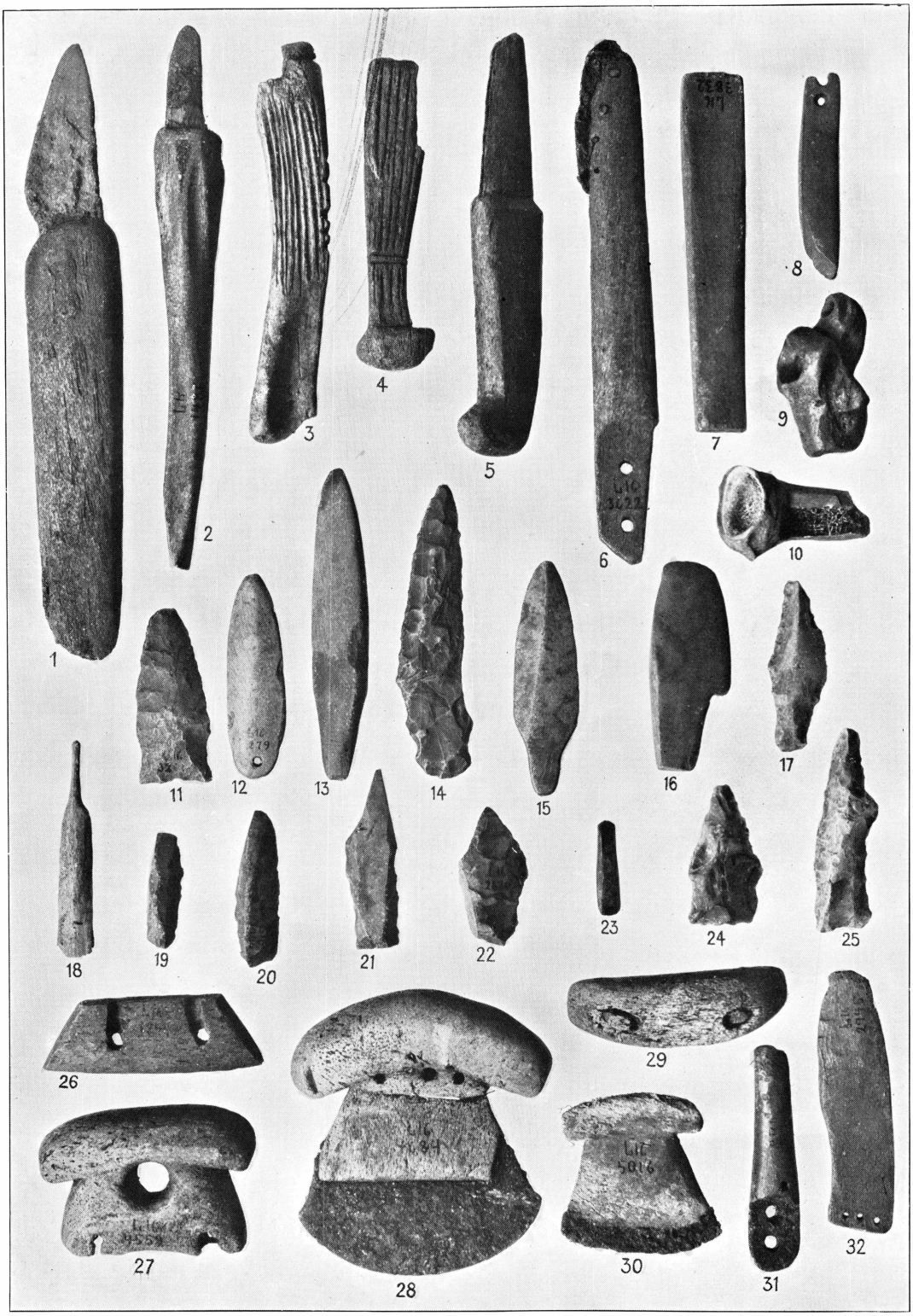
Finds from a child's Grave, Sũkersit. 2:3.


1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45

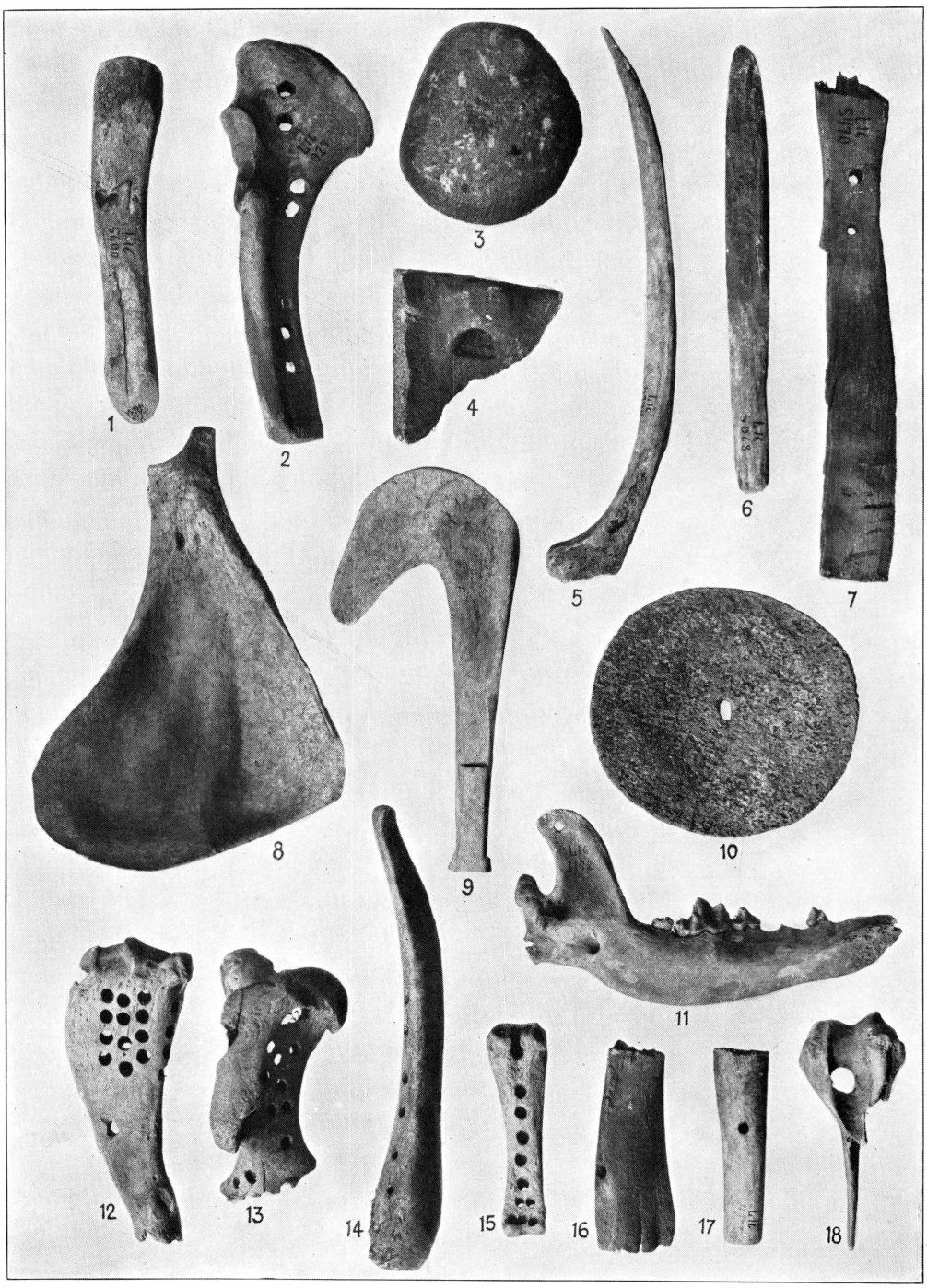
3:5.


1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41

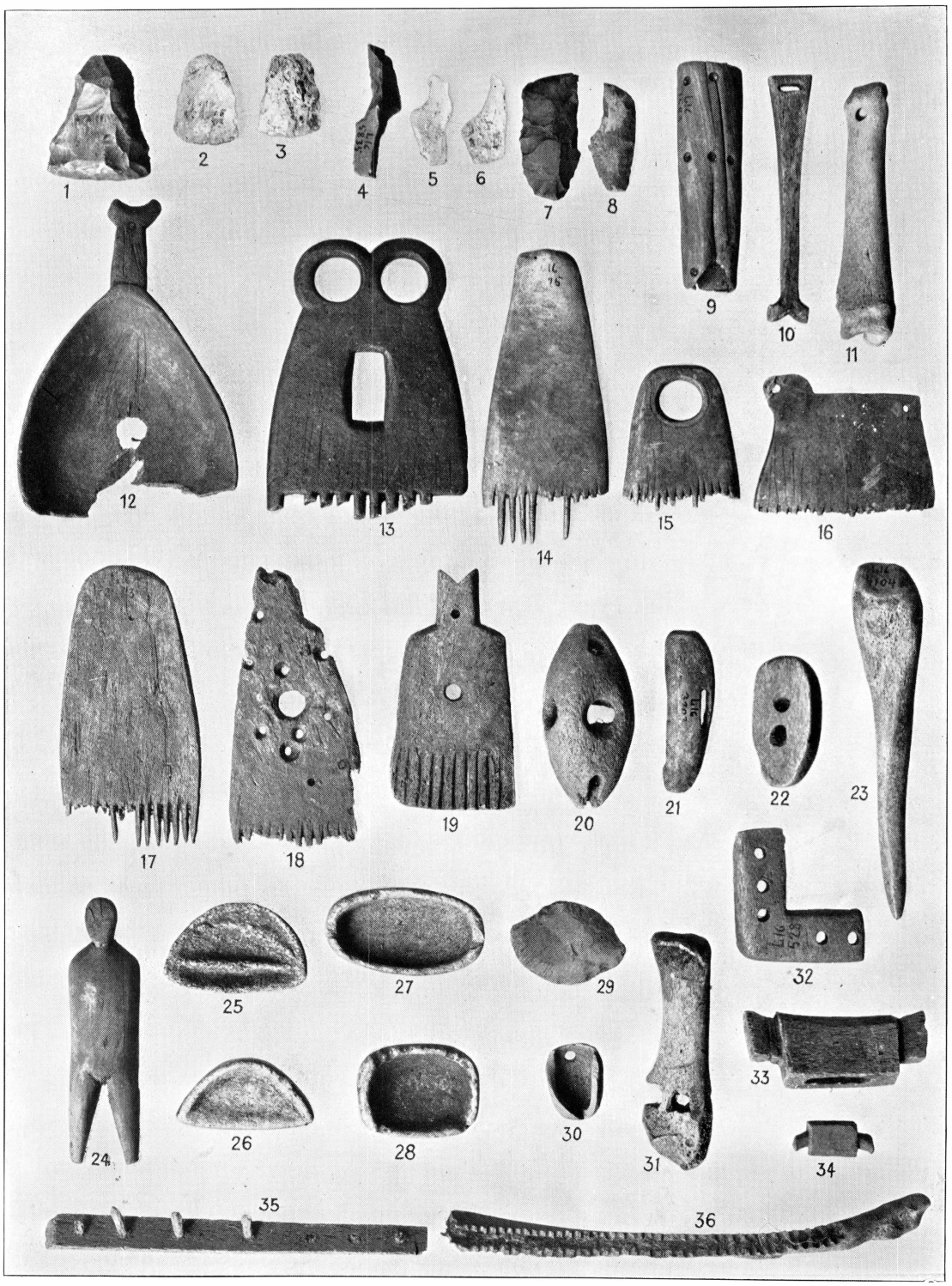
2:5.


1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32

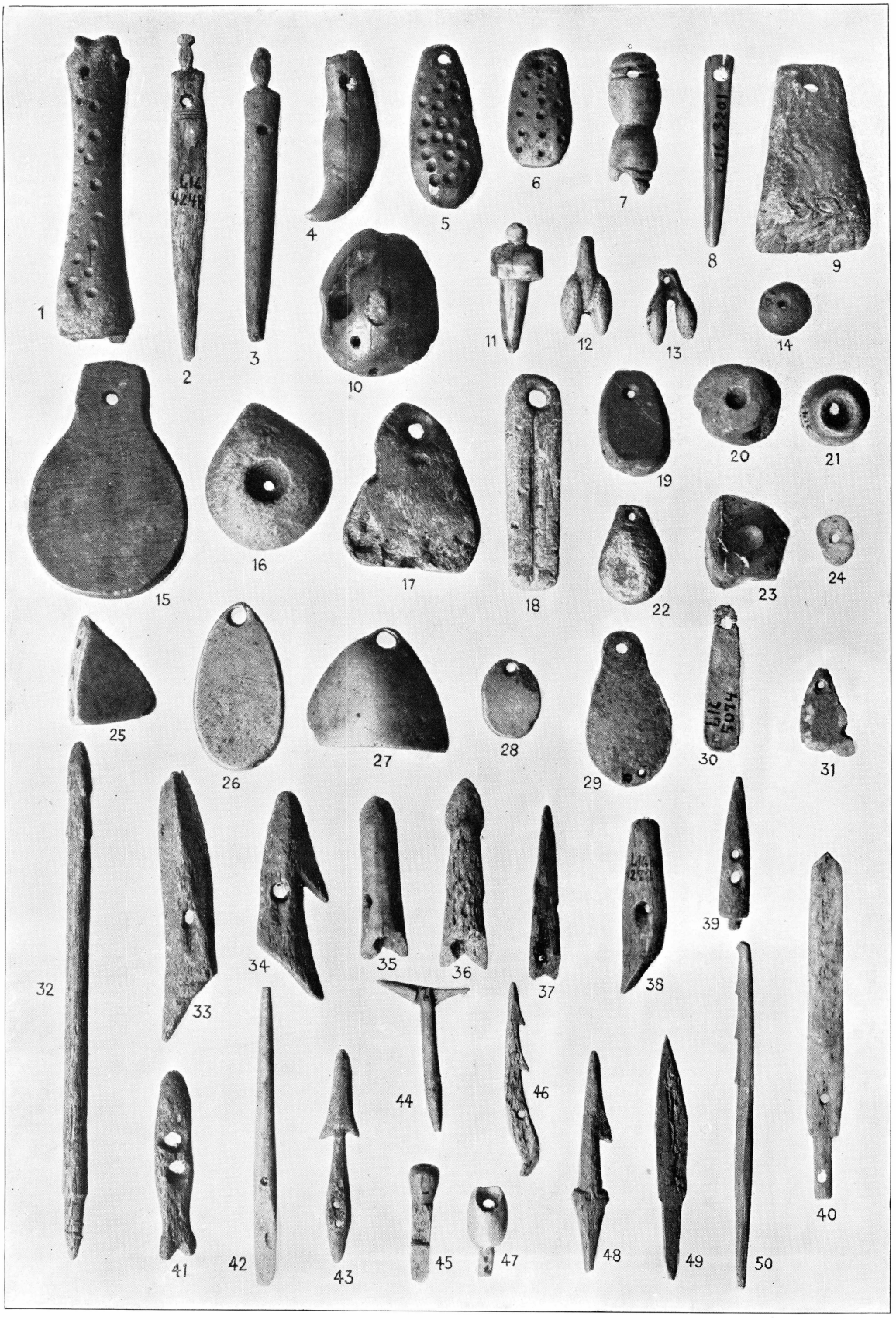
3:5.



2.5.


1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36

3:5.


1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50

1:1.

MAP
OF
SETTLEMENTS IN ANGMAGSSALIK DISTRICT.

Drawn by Karl Andreassen

with the official map as a base.

5 0 5 10 15 km

• Ruined Settlement. ⊙ Inhabited Settlement.

38° 37° 66°

SERMILIK

SERMILIGAQ

ANGMAGSSALIK FJORD

Paornakajît 88 89 90 Sükersit 91 Umiqtivartivit 92 93 94 95

87 86 Titeqilaq 85 Sarfaq 84 83 82 81 Ukîvajik 80 79 Savanganeq 78 77 76a 76b 74 Ikâteq 73 71 72 70 69

ANGMAGSSALIK 68 67 66 65 64 63 62 61 Qernertivartivit 60 59 Ikâsagtivaq

Misiqtoq 47 Pôrtusoq 46 Qingeq 48 45 49 50 51 52 53 44 43 Kungmiut 42 54 41 40 55 39 38 Kangârtik 37 57 56 58 36 35 34 32 33 31 30 29 28 27 Ujusuk 26 25 24 20 23 22 21 19 18 17 16 Cape Dan 15 14 13

12 11 10 9 Utorqarmiut 8 7 Isigsit 5 4 6 2 3 Pusisaraq 1

Longitude West from Greenwich