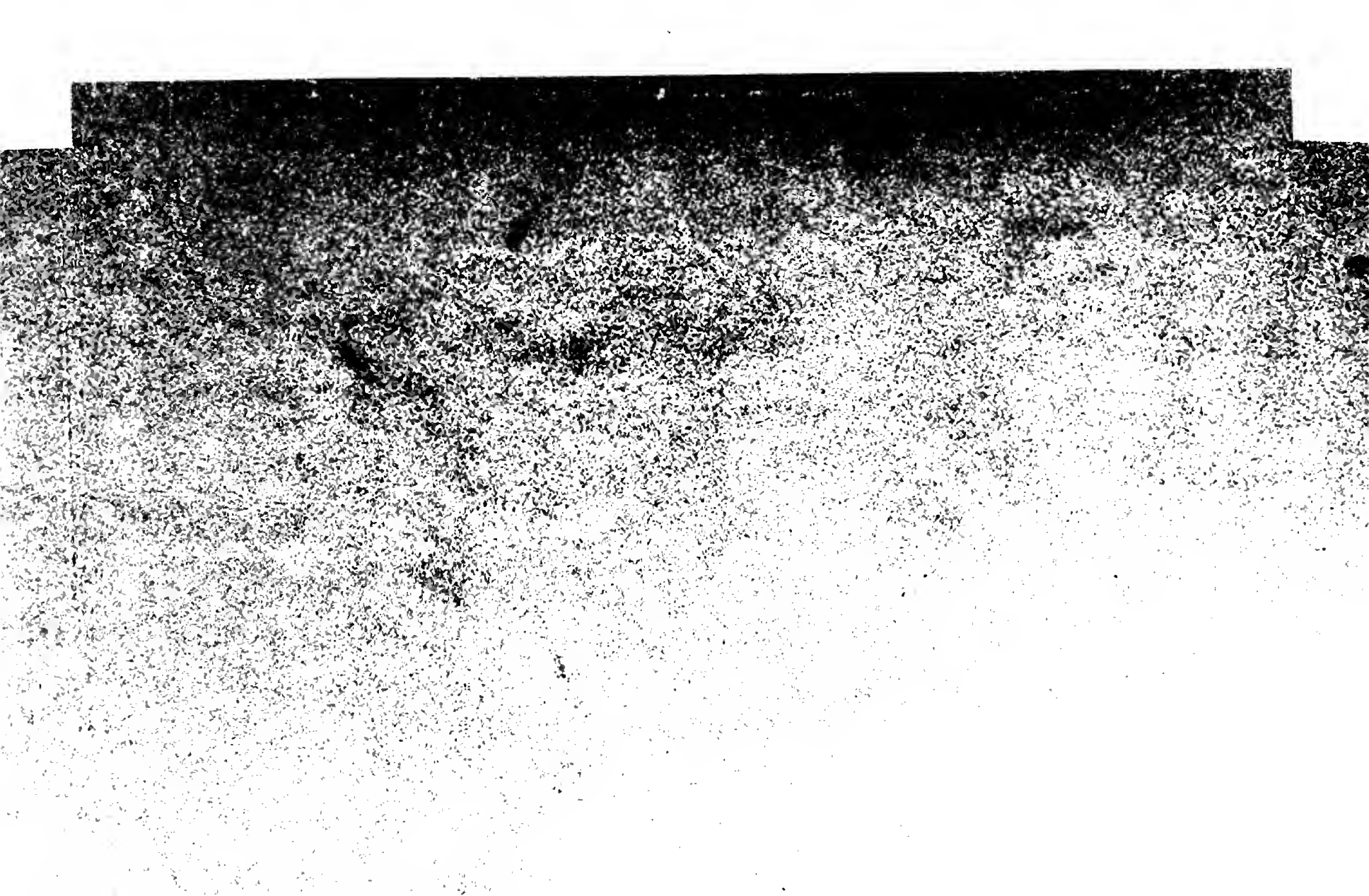

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THE AMMASSALIK ESKIMO

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ETHNOLOGY OF
THE EAST GREENLAND NATIVES

BY

WILLIAM THALBITZER

IN TWO PARTS

SECOND PART

SECOND HALF-VOLUME

PUBLISHED AT THE EXPENSE OF THE CARLSBERG FOND

KØBENHAVN
C. A. REITZELS FORLAG
BIANCO LUNOS BOGTRYKKERI A/S
1941

Pris: Kr. 10.00.

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NR. 4. WILLIAM THALBITZER: SOCIAL CUSTOMS AND MUTUAL AID

Fig. 152. The drum singer *Nakvelor Kooitse*, the great hunter dancing, singing, drumming against his enemy. (Cf. Frontispiece of the first half-volume)

Statuette (bronze) made in plastelina on the spot by Mrs. E. Locher Thalbitzer in the spring 1906.

PREFACE

OF THE SECOND HALF-VOLUME

Habent sua fata libelli.

After a pause of 18 years this work is now continued. It is 35 years since I collected my material on the East Coast of Greenland among the natives of the Ammattalik Fjord. The old folks, my sources, are now long since dead. Our patience was put to a severe test.

In the mean time I have extended the scope of my studies of the Arctic peoples. I have revisited West Greenland several times. When the great war broke out in 1914 I was at Sammissoq near Cape Farewell. In 1924 I travelled by motor boat up the coast, calling at many settlements on the stretch between the main colonies Godthab and Godhavn to gather fresh information. Since 1930 I have spent another four summers on up and down trips between Julianehab in the south and Tasiussaq north of Upernawik (72° N.). Again and again I had the pleasure of meeting old acquaintances in whose huts I had lived long ago on my first journey through North Greenland (1900—1901)—at a time when Greenland was very different, a land steeped in old traditions.

All these journeys have contributed to throw light on my material. Once each fjord had its own style; I recollect special variants of dialects and customs, of belief and behaviour, now much mixed, on the west coast, with European usage, yet of a modern Greenlandish kind. I have seen the past on both coasts, and also what is called modern progress up there.

So far I have been able to publish about half of my east coast material, see First Half-Volume. Late, though not too late, this

Second Half-Volume will now gradually appear, grown slowly to maturity.

As a matter of fact, the first six chapters were finished twenty years ago, but I postponed the printing of them then, because I wished them to form part of a larger whole which is now finally maturing. So as to bring these very old parts up to date I have added *postscripts* to some of them.

I wonder whether I shall be fortunate enough to be able to publish the rest of my material before my death. When I was young I was prepared for a quick publication. My work should have been completed in 1914. The Great War put a bar to that. Or maybe just as much, certain resistances I had to meet in my own inner world. Life is one long chain of delays.

Now this result will appear as a much retarded explosion. That my work is revived is not only a proof that I exist, but what is more, that the friends of my work and not its enemies have had their way. May it prosper!

To *the Carlsberg Foundation*, which has always supported my studies and my journeys in the service of research, I feel an unbounded gratitude. Next I recall the many kind people who by their hospitality and interest helped on my work both in Greenland and in Denmark. I have already mentioned most of them in my earlier preface dated 1923.

Captain *Gustav Holm*, Dr. phil. h. c., died in March 1940, aged 91 years. He was the founder of a Danish branch of modern ethnology in continuation of Rink's Eskimo researches. He seemed to me like one of the progenitors of my own work. Honoured be his memory!

The English translation of the earlier parts to follow (chapt. I—VI) as well as of most of The First Half-Volume was done by *Norman Heath Beale* (who died in 1927); the translation of the preface, the introduction, the postscripts and the parts added later has been done by Miss *Annie I. Fausboll*, M. A.

Gurre, January 1941.

W. T.

Sailing in.

Late in August 1905 we rounded Cape Farvel (Farewell) and fought our way against gales and currents into Danmark Strait between Iceland and Greenland, bound for the Angmagssalik Colony.

We had arrived from Denmark two months earlier via the colony Egedesminde, having crossed the Atlantic in the steamer "Hans Egede" belonging to "Den Kgl. Grønlandske Handel" (The Royal Greenland Trading Department), and it was the vessel's first journey to Greenland. In Disco Bay we had waited for over a month for the arrival of the small coastal steamer from the south which was to take us round to the promised land of the east coast. At Egedesminde we spent some days in the company of KNUD RASMUSSEN and a still longer time with Mr. DAUGAARD-JENSEN, then inspector of North Greenland. But they were bound for other parts. Only we—my wife and myself—were on our way to the east coast to winter among the heathens. On the west coast, at Egedesminde and Iginiarfik, we prepared for our task and our journey, dressed in Eskimo furs, skin clothes, kamiks, and so forth.

"Godthåb" ('Good Hope') was the name of the schooner which was to take us on board. A few West Greenlanders were among the passengers, a mother with her three boys, and our servant Abigael Brandt a young native of Egedesminde. The Godthåb had been built as a sailing vessel, only small in size, but in its old age it had been fitted with a propeller and a steam engine of some few horse power. Even with all sails set and the engine at full speed the schooner only made small headway, unless the wind was quite favourable, for she was no good at beating up against the wind; and unfortunately we had mostly contrary gales in the Danmark Strait.

The pack ice along the east coast proved to be unusually troublesome for the season. At long last, however, we had reached the parallel of our destination, but the worst part remained: the entry through the belt of ice. In clear weather we could just see from the deck the edge of the pack stretching for miles along the coast; a swarming belt of broken pieces coming in an endless stream from the north, drifting

southward along this coast. They are the huge ice masses from the pole itself which are carried down this way to their destruction (figs. 34- 35). The little schooner went full steam ahead, fighting against the strong current like a swimming ice-bear.

The captain was a farmer from the island of Læsø in the Kattegat. Like the vikings of old he sailed to Greenland in the summer leaving his wife to look after the land. Captain S. was now for the first time to take a vessel through the pack-ice. On the east coast you are in perilous waters compared with the west coast. The dangerous white enemy continually blocking this coast seemed to him invincible; it surprised him and made him melancholy and uneasy.

One day our Captain had finally made up his mind to attempt to force the outer belt; the ice was a little more scattered than usual, and from the mast-head, it was said, open water could be sighted near land. But our poor vessel was immediately caught between a couple of heavy floes and for a while lay captured in the teeth of the icy current like a prisoner with no will of her own. The pack churned round and round, and the ship went round with it. The propeller was exposed to the risk of being smashed. It was too dangerous to sail here. The vessel was steered back into the open sea. Again we retreated miles away from the edge of the pack.

Nine days had gradually passed while we had drifted about out there. Onboard hope was at a low ebb and patience strained to the breaking point. The only passengers besides ourselves were the Greenlandish family, the wife of the missionary and her children. The missionary was a native of West Greenland, Pastor CHRISTIAN ROSING, who had been trained at the college of Godthåb on the west coast where he had been appointed the year before to take the place of the first missionary of the station (RÜTTEL). Rosing was now on land awaiting the arrival of his wife and children. They were coming to their new home, and from the ship I could see my future field of study. In there the Danish manager of the colony, JOHAN PETERSEN, and his wife were every day gazing out to sea, no less impatient than we were outside, both longing equally for their countrymen and for fresh supplies and news.

In those days wireless was not known. There were no signal stations, nor lighthouses or sea-marks to get one's bearings by, only the snowy mountain peaks behind the drift ice which seemed never to separate and open a way in. Our undertaking bid fair to turn out a failure. The captain had orders only to attempt entry for a certain time. He might soon be obliged to return to Europe without having been at the colony. Then, to be sure, the colony would receive no supplies that year, but that had happened once before.—Only one ship

comes to this place every year. It is one of the most isolated spots in the world.

The next day the air was so hazy that the mountains ashore could not be seen, only the outer edge of the pack-ice was visible. On board we could hear in the distance the droning and hissing of the ice fragments as they crept by, it was like a faint murmur, or rather like a soft laughter.

But at the gray of dawn something like a miracle happened. From an invisible gate, through a hidden channel in the ice, five kaiaks shot out and approached us rapidly and silently, their paddles going up and down like see-saws[1]. Soon they were alongside. One after another they were hauled on board, man and boat all in one, with a noose round the stem and stern. At last five kaiaks were lying on the deck like wet sea animals, with spears, harpoons, and bladders, and five resolute hunters clad in furs stood looking at us and laughing at each other. Only one of the pastor's sons understood what they were saying. Their dialect was strange, at that time I myself only knew West Greenlandish. The captain had a meal served to them and let them rest. They stayed the night on board and were given a Danish letter to the Manager on land. Early the next morning they returned.

But a couple of hours later the next act began. This time it was only a single kaiak-man who came out of the pack. He, too, was hauled on board and his eyes shone with disdain; he had the air of a being who could turn the wind. He proved to be one of their angakkut, his name was *Ajukutooq*, one of the mighty ones. He was also noted for having repeatedly been pilot to the ship when it was to enter the harbour. Now he had passed the other kaiak-men in the pack, they were still on their way to the shore. He himself had hurried out to the ship in virtue of his office. He calmly went up to the captain and standing before him, looking him up and down, he flung at him in his East Greenland dialect: "What sort of a captain are you? Here we come out to you in our small wretched kaiaks made of skin, manœuvring through the pack, while you with your big ship dare not approach land. You are no great captain!" The captain I am sure did not understand what Ajukutooq was saying to him, but the boy soon translated it. In the meanwhile the angakok lost no time in mounting the bridge (fig. 153). He at once took command of everything, the captain, the sailors, the passengers, the pack. And lo, a marvel! The ice opened, we found a lane, ten miles long, through the drifting pack, and near land there was plenty of open water. At noon the Godthåb cast anchor

[1] Illustrations of these kaiaking ice breakers, scenes from our waiting time outside the entrance to our destination are seen in fig. 14 (p. 155), figs. 34—35 (p. 222), and fig. 44 (p. 244).

in a small round inlet forming a natural harbour and named *Täseelaq* (W. Gr. Täsiussaq), 'the lake-like bay'.

This was the safe harbour where the colony was established in 1894; now it is the centre of trade and human traffic on this coast.

Ajukutooq received his fee for his services as pilot, and had besides established more firmly his reputation as a great angakok[1].

He was soon to become one of my best sources in my study of his countrymen's faith, traditions, and customs.

[1] Illustrations fig. 13 (p. 154), fig. 83 (p. 339), same as Atakak. First Part fig. 17 (p 31).

Fig. 153. The angakok *Ajakulooq* on the bridge piloting our ship to the colony through the drifting pack (cf. figs. 14, 43—44 and 34—35. September 7, 1905. W. Thalbitzer phot.)

Fig. 154. The "Godthab", the only ship visiting the colony every year, which took us to the place in 1905. Here seen riding at anchor in the harbour. (September 8, 1905. W. Thalbitzer phot.)

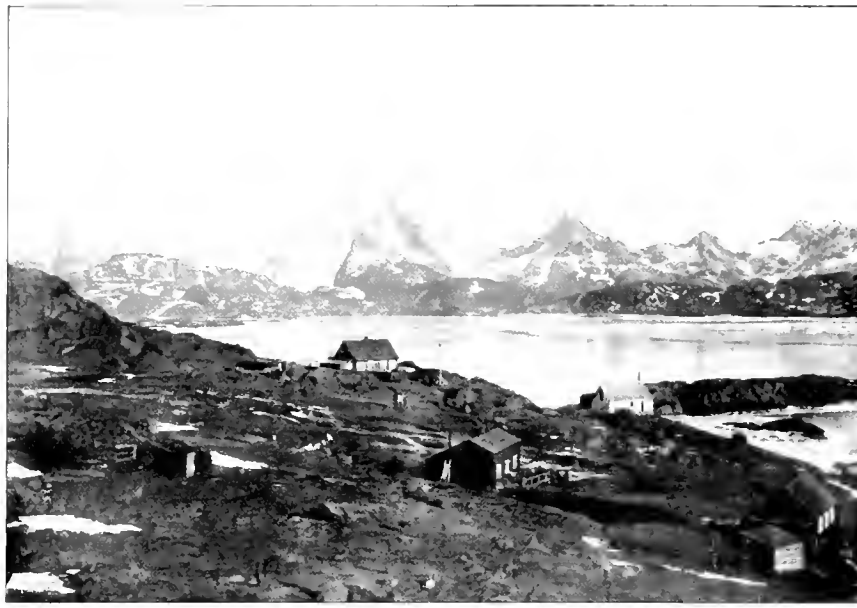

Fig. 155. The colony Angmagssalik (pronounced in WGr. Ammassalik, EGr. Ammattalik), as it was twelwe years after its foundation. The timber church, which is seen below the house of the manager, had just been sent up in the ship, was still unpainted and was not consecrated until the year after our return from East Greenland. (November 5, 1905. W. T. phot.).

Fig. 156. The river falling into the harbour just frozen. It supplied the inhabitants with water all the year round, under a cover of deep snow in the winter. Yellow dandelion and dark blue violets grew on its grassy slopes in the summer. (November 14, 1905. W. T phot.).

Fig. 157. The house of the catechist, Henrik Lund and his wife are seen at the entrance. (November 1906. W. T. phot.)

Fig. 158. Our house covered with snow after a winter storm. Old *Ukullíaq* in the foreground (seen as a young man in First Part, fig. 40). (April 9, 1906. W. T. phot.).

Fig. 159. View of the colony and Taseessaq Fjord (November 14, 1905. W. T. phot.).

INTRODUCTION. CULTURE WAVES

Since 1923, when the First Half-Volume of this book appeared, our knowledge of the *Eskimos*, as well as of the other arctic peoples of the globe, has been to some extent enlarged. More light has been thrown on the language and culture of the Finnish-Ugrian peoples; with increasing clearness we see a connection between the northern Eurasian cultures and the Oriental-Siberian peoples, consisting especially in ethnographic and religio-ideal parallels which in many instances can be traced southward and westward into Asia, partly along the Pacific coast, partly to the very heart of the continent. But below these manifestations of a wide coherence, due especially to the migration of technical loans and ideas, lie, deeper down, the physico-anthropological and linguistic distinctions between the groups.

For purposes of comparison these peoples: Samoyede, Yakut (Turkish branch), Tunguse, Yukaghir, Chukchi, Koryak, Itelm, Gilyak, Ainu, and several Amur River groups must on geographical grounds be considered in connection with the northern American peoples: *Eskimo*, Aleut, Tinné, Eyak, and Thlingit etc. All these groups, linked together in their present geographical situation, speak each its own language, and Eskimo does not seem to be nearly related to any of them. The attempts occasionally made to show closer affinities between Eskimo and one or the other of these tongues have not resulted in the final establishment of any true relationship, except perhaps on one point. The *Aleut* language without doubt contains a substratum of Eskimo, but it only appears distinctly in some few details, especially in certain morphological criteria; the dual and plural endings, certain case-endings, and a small number of words. The great remainder of the Aleut language seems to be unconnected with Eskimo. These languages may be likened to a pair of children, each of its own root, that have been brought together. Hence the resemblance between Eskimo and Aleut is rather superficial, and the idea of an original relationship does not appear to be confirmed on closer study.

There is more of it between Koryak and Eskimo. These peoples

have a great many myths and a few cult customs in common, for instance the cult of the deity Big-Raven[1], though perhaps this was a late transfer to the Alaskan Eskimos, the Chukchi being the intermediate link. But certain elements in the language testify to an earlier fairly intimate contact.

In Koryak a large number of verbs end in *-pok*, *-vok*, or *-tok* according to Ignac Radlinsky[2], e. g. *apavok* 'haurire', *akagipok* 'fatigare', *alxapok* 'claudere', *aitatok* 'sequi, expellere', endings showing a striking resemblance to Eskimo verbs. Many nouns, too, have a curious Eskimo character in Koryak, e. g. *motkon* 'adeps' (blubber), *aggagkok* 'ad deum, deo', *evik* 'lilium Kamtschaticum' (cf. Eskimo *ivik* 'leaf of grass'), *yayaril* 'tympanum' cf. the Eskimo *iayak* or *iajâk* (P. Egede and Fabricius)[3], E. Greenl. *jaja'q* 'drum (tambourin)' in the holy language of the angakok. In the latter cases we may be concerned with old loan words from Koryak to Eskimo. In Esk. *niviaq* (rare) denotes an unmarried woman, from which is derived *niviarsiaq* (common) 'virgin', literally an 'acquired or raped (*-siaq*) niviaq'; in Koryak *nevek* is a term for 'daughter', *navajpok* 'virgo adulta'; *neve(k)* is a word also known in Samoyede. *Niviaq*, however, is most likely an original Eskimo word, since it is comparable to primitive verbal stems in Eskimo.

Radlinsky's Vocabulary, however, leaves an impression very different from Steller's earlier and Bogoras' later specimens of Koryak. According to Bogoras this language consists of four branches and his description is chiefly based on the western branch near the Penshina Bay, in part also on the Kamchatka branch. But Radlinsky's vocabulary is designated as NE Koryak, i. e. probably from the Maritime Koryaks who are called *Kerek* and inhabit the coast north of Kamchatka between Cape Anannon and Cape Navarin. This group reaches northward up to the vicinity of the Asiatic Eskimos on Bering Strait and might be of much interest by way of comparison but unfortunately Bogoras has taken very little notice of the Kerek dialect in his grammatical sketch of the NE Siberian languages. His own comparisons have led him to the conclusion that the languages of the Chukchi, the Koryak and the Kamchadals are but members of one great linguistic family. Only the Kerek dialect is stamped by a lot of Eskimo-like traits in its words

[1] See especially Waldemar Jochelson, *The Mythology of the Koryak* (AA. n. s. vol. 6) 1904, and *The Koryak* (New York 1908).

[2] Ignacy Radlinsky: *Słowniki Narzeczy Ludów Kamczackich*, ze zbiorów Prof. B Dybowskiego (no. V, Koryaków) w Krakowie 1891—1894. I cite from his Latin translations.

[3] Paul Egede, *Dictionarium Grønlandico-Danico-Latinum*, Hafnia 1750 (p. 34); Otto Fabricius, *Den Grønlandske Ordbog*, Kjøbenhavn 1804 (p. 88).

and word-endings, but all the same I have not succeeded in discovering more than two or three pairs which show an apparent Kerek-Eskimo congruity. Nearly all of the seemingly parallel forms (e. g. *pivok*) bear greatly deviating meanings. I think I have made a careful investigation but without finding any proofs of a genetic connection.

I append a small selection of samples from my comparative research work which will show both resemblances and discrepancies.

And if it is difficult to find as much as two or three pairs of stems which might reveal a relationship the same is true of the Koryak and Chukchi grammars compared with Eskimo: there are only a very few indications of an old connection. But a few such there are. E. g. Bogoras states that in Chukchi a subjective form of the noun is found as against an absolute one and that it is used not only as a genitive, but as the subject of an actually transitive verb[1] (in Esk. *Peelip takuvaa* P. sees him). And further the absolute form of the noun is used to express the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive one. Exactly as in Eskimo. In Koryak, too, some of the Imperative and "Subjunctive" (i. e. Optative) endings bear a certain resemblance to the Eskimo Imperative (Optative) suffixes, e. g. the 2. per. plur. endings in *-látik* (object 'you')[2] remind one of several endings in the Eskimo Imperative-Optative (*-itik*, *-lavtik*, *-lata*). It would seem as if this formative *la-* also were the same in both systems, but Bogoras considers the Kor. *-la-* as a plural mark whereas the Esk. has decidedly an optional meaning. Examples:

Koryak imperative	Eskimo imperative	
(Bogoras)	Alaska (Barnum)	Greenland
sing. *qimlâwe* dance!	2. p. *pe* do!	*qitigit* dance!
„ *qâlqathi* go away.	„ *iye* a'ji] go!	*pe rit* go (sing.) away!
plur. *qanlötik* go ye outside.	plur. *peche* you do!	*pe ritse* (you) go away!
	dual *petük* you two do!	
„ *qalqalâtik* go away.	„ *pikkâhtük* do quickly!	*pe ritik* you (two) go away!
1. p. *minilqalâmik* let us go!	1. p. *pikkâlhlâ* let us do!	*pe'rlanuk* let us (two) go!
	3. p. *pilel* let them do!	*pe'rlata* let us go!

The plural of nouns is often formed by *-t* in Chukchi (and, partially at least, in southern Kamchatka-Kamchadal)[3] as in Eskimo where the rule is without any exception. In Koryak the plural mark is either *-t* or *-u* (*ŋawakku* daughters).

[1] Bogoras, *Chukchee* (in Handbook pp. 686, 697 and 779—780).

[2] Plural and dual in *-tik*, Bogoras I p. 742 and 753.

[3] Bogoras pp. 694—696.

Koryak			Chukchi	Eskimo	
Kerek dialect? (Radlinsky (Dybowsky))	(Steller)	(Bogoras. Jochelson)	(Nordquist. Bogoras)	Alaska (Barnum. Jenness)	Greenland
evk Lilium kamtshaticum	*cuek* Lilien *wi-ai* Grass	.	*ve'i, va'i* grass	*üik, üvüq, ivik*	*iwik* grass
alvol, elvol dies	*allo* Tag			*ubluq, uvloq*	*uvhloq* day
			ekalkódlin little-finger	*ikkilhkok*	*eqerqoq* little-finger
akašan, pl. *akašavgi* hostis	*aetckongelan* Feindschaft			*akenaurtoa* I take revenge	
	tangetang Feind			*ak ia, akia* its other side	*akik* barb *akeraq* opponent, foe
allgon pollex *llgolgon* digitus, pl. *llgvgi*	*jilgalgin* Finger *marilgan* Arm	*yilŋ* finger *yilyekin* he counts	*ri'lhin* fingers	*aɹiqaq, aixgal*	*agcsaq, agcsail* hand, fingers
eggeg deus *aggagkok* deo; *aggagken* deum, ad deum	*kamakaelin*; *aenigo*	*ayim* chief *vaqe'yen* deity	*oč* chief; *va'irgin* deity, being	*ayalkoq ay'aɹokak* chief (B)	*ayak'oq* shaman
gvgan lapis	*gowgan* Stein	*va'gvin* stone	*wa'kwun*	*ogaraq*	*ujarak* stone
jajaril tympanum	. . . .	*yayai* shaman's drum	*yárar*	*iayaq*	*iaja'q* tambourine
jailgen luna, mensis	*jailgin* Mond			*eralok, erralok* (B)	moon
	kyk (or *wojem*) Fluss	*kix'* (Kamtsh.)		*kwe-, kwi'k, kuik*	*ko'k* river
motkon adeps (blubber)	*mutkamael* Fett, Tran			*o'kŏk* (B)	*orssoq* blubber
nutelku terra, continens		*nu'lanut* country, land	*nu'lenut*	*nuna*	*nuna* land
milgemil or *milchemil*, ignis	*milgal* Feuer	*qanga, qángaqan*	*di'ndin* (= *yin*) fire	*ükna, igniq kinax*	*ingneq* fire
mimel aqua	*mimal* Wasser	. . . . .	*mi'mil* < *iml*	*moq*; *imeq*	*imeq* freshwater
nkinok nox	*necking* Nacht	. . . . .	. . . . .	*u'nuk*	*un'uk* night

nevan uxor *nevin* uxorius *nevek* lilia	*newan, gewan* Weibsperson *newokapil* Jungfrau *gewael* Weib	*ŋawako'k* daughter, pl. *ŋawa'kku*	*ŋe'ekik* (< **ŋewekik*) pl. *ŋe'wäntli*	*niviaq, niviarsiaq*	*niviarsiaq* girl, maiden
nejnej mons pl. *nejŋgi*	*nirwel* Berg	*ŋaï'ŋai* (*ŋai*)		*iŋrik*	*iŋ'ik* (*qaq'aq*) mountain peak
ulout, arbor pl. *ulovgi*	*ullout* Baum (*ollogol* Blatt)	*u'lh*, tree *olkamak* (*okkamak*) wooden "kamak"	*ómkoom*, willow	*uqpiq, uqfik*, willow, Salix	*orpik* tree
ilygim planta pedis pl. *ilyvangit*				*lumak*	*ilumaq* planta manus
	kúmakúm Floh (*momul* Laus)			*komak(q)*	*kumak* louse
inug mare, Oceanus					
ilaavok certare, pugnare	*jungi* Wallfisch		*ran* whale	*aqveq, aɹuveq*	*arfeq* whale
popavok siccare			*rérka* walrus	*aiviq, aiguvaq*	*auveq* walrus
tapavok siccavisse	*lupaeullouet* Schwan		*nerku* swan	*quq.uk*	*quqssuk* swan
tumgi alienus, externus			*tu'mgin* stranger *tu'mgitum* companion	*tunrit*	*tornit* giants, legendary people
tyl'ku sol *tylkin* solarius; solis			*tirkilir* (B) sun *tirkir* (N) »	*siq'niq* (J) *a'karla* (B)	*seqineq* sun
	paan Erdschwamme		*po'mpo* mushroom	*puvik, pupik*	*pupik* mushroom
ualek exspectare *ualok* rem differre, exspectare				*uwalciaq* a little while ago	*uwatse* wait a little
(*vojal'kok* cunctari)			*puq* float of sealskin	*po'q* (J)	*po'q* bag
velolgon auris	*wölolug* Ohr	*iauin*, pl. *ivut* ears	*vélö'lhin* ear	*teiw'n* the ear	*siut* ear
		ugä'quĕ husband	*uwä'quĕ* husband	*uwük, uiya*	*uwia* her husband

G. W. Steller, *Beschreibung von Kamtschatka* Vocabulary in the Supplement (*Anhang*). Lpz 1774. — W. Bogoras, *Chukchee* (includ. Koryak) in F. Boas' Handbook Amer. Ind. Lang. (BAE, bull. 40, pt. 2). Washington 1922. — F. Barnum, *Inuit Language* (Grammatical Fundamentals). Boston & London 1901. — D. Jenness, *Comparative Vocabulary* of the Western Eskimo Dialects. RCAE, vol. XV. Ottawa 1928. — S. Kleinschmidt, *Grammatik der grönländischen sprache*. Berlin 1851. — *Den grønlandske Ordbog*. Kjøbenhavn 1871. — Schultz-Lorentzen, *Dictionary of the West Greenland Eskimo Language*. Copenhagen 1927. — Several Central Eskimo Vocabularies have successively appeared in Knud Rasmussen's *Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition* 1921—24, in vols. III, VII—IX. Copenhagen 1928—32.

All in all, there is only a minimum of evidence for a relationship between Eskimo and these East Siberian languages. There is a very distant connection if any. The Eskimoid traits in the Kerek words (especially verb endings) leave an enigmatical impression and may testify to an ethnic hybridism, of very uncertain date.

The most recent attempts to draw parallels between Eskimo and Finnish-Ugrian, by A. SAUVAGEOT, and between Eskimo and Indo-European, by C. C. UHLENBECK, do not seem to me convincing. Both authors appear to fail in their knowledge of the etymology of Eskimo vocables. Nevertheless, I must admit that there remain some few examples for the sake of which there might be good reason to devote some attention and interest to the possibilities brought to light.

If we disregard the relationship of the languages, which is still obscure, it is clear enough that these North-Asiatic-Amerind peoples are upholders of a common *shamanism*, which has presumably spread to them, or has followed them on their migrations from more southerly regions. In this cult-form I see a type which posits a Supreme Being above, in the sky or air, usually also another or some few below, in the interior of the earth or the ocean, but which leaves the worship of these supreme powers to well-trained priests endowed with a visionary faculty. These *shaman priests* are each of them assisted by *familiar spirits*, with whom they commune in secret or more often at religious festivals, using the shaman drum, amidst singing and dancing by the congregation present. Shamanism further implies a system recognising a soul (or rather: souls) within each human being, spirits in nature, in rivers, rocks, human-like stones etc., and tabu in the community. Thus the possibility emerges of an interplay between the individual and the spiritual community within the larger world of nature, an interaction which it is to the interest of the Supreme Deity to uphold. Sickness and distress in the world originate from individuals infringing this order by the breach of tabus, or of custom and usage, or they are caused by the arbitrary use of hostile magic, which brings down evil on one or many in the neighbourhood. These and several similar conceptions are peculiar to the Siberian form of shamanism which has been transmitted to the Eskimos and the northern Indian tribes. I conjecture that it is derived from Central Asia, e. g. from Mongols or Turks (to mention well-known peoples), having probably arisen under the influence of still more southerly forms of belief and cult in the vicinity of Tibet, India, or perhaps even Mesopotamia. The origin of Asiatic shamanism must date back to remote ages. Some of the earliest and nearest representatives of this world-embracing cult are probably to be found in the cave dwellers of western Europe, some of the later in the *völvur*, *seiðkonur* and *seið-men* of the vikings (called

witches and sorcerers in the Middle Ages), and the *noietes* (also, but inaccurately, written *noaide*) of the Lapps.

This form of cult, shamanism, is no doubt a secondary historical phenomenon among all these people — secondary to a pre-shamanistic state of matters. We know shamanism best in the Eskimo angakok form. I have treated the subject in papers written in Danish, German, and English; and in the German edition[1] I have intimated that the Eskimo angakkoq's familiar spirit, called in West Eskimo (in the north) *tungra*, in Greenlandish *torngaq* or *tornaq*, in South-Alaskan *tunera-*, perhaps has its name directly from one of the well-known sky- or fire-deities in Siberia; indeed, it may be recognised as far as Europe in the name of our thunder or sky god. Yakut *Tanara*, Mongol-Buryat *Tengeri*, Old Turkish *Tengri* are evidently variants of the same migrant god-name which in O. English obtained the form *Thunar*, in O. German *Thonar*, O. Keltic *Tanarus*, in the Scandinavian North contracted to *Thórr*, an old sky god who produces the thunder (*Thórs dyn*) when he travels over the sky[2]. There is nothing unlikely in this conjecture; it is a hypothesis which is fairly probable if we consider that shamanism in the just described form has left traces in Old Scandinavian, perhaps even throughout Ancient European culture, spreading world-wide, like other earlier or later religions[3].

Among the Eskimos shamanism may have been introduced from Asia in early times[4]. I imagine that it met and absorbed an earlier,

[1] *Die kultischen Gottheiten der Eskimos*. Archiv für Religionswissenschaft. XXVI (Leipzig, Berlin 1928). In Danish, Copenhagen 1926; briefly mentioned in English at the 12th Americanist Congress at Rome 1926 (printed Roma 1928).

[2] Cf. my paper, German edition (only in this), pp. 422—423. — A remarkable parallel is mentioned by G. Sandschejew in his paper, *Weltanschauung und Schamanismus der Alaren-Burjaten* (Anthropos, 1928). These Mongol Buryat believe in a deity of heaven called *Tengri*, who was originally identical with the blue sky itself, but further deified as *Esege-Malay-Tengri*. In the course of time he has become the lord of a great many *tengris*; thus the westerly heaven is the abode of 55 "white" tengris. He has also nine sons and nine daughters. *Jasal-Sagan-Tengri* is a great hunter of evil spirits, such as persecute the souls of men. He slays his victims with fiery arrows while driving in a huge car, the rattling of which we hear as thunder (*tegri-in dūy*), see l. c. pp. 974—976.

[3] I find support for the Central and Southern Asiatic influence referred to above both in the NE and the SW, in the following facts. Tokharic uses the word *shaman* about 'a monk' (translated from the Sanskr. *bhikshis*); Sumerian has *Dingir* about their god (for this information I am indebted to Professor Holger Pedersen) and the Buryat have their name *Tengri* from Sogdic, see G. Sandschejew, in Anthropos, vol. 23 (Wien 1928) p. 976.

[4] J. Stadling, *Shamanismen i Norra Asien* (1912). — M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia* (1914). — V. Gronbech, *Primitiv Religion* (1915, and 1919). — A. Irving Hallowell, *Bear Ceremonialism in the Northern Hemisphere* (1926). — Waldemar Jochelson, *Peoples of Asiatic Russia* (1928). — A. Gahs, *Kopf-, Schädel- und Langknochenopfer bei Rentiervolkern* (1928).

more primitive cult, congenial with the habits of roaming hunters and associated with the belief in: an interrelationship or comradeship with the animals hunted; in magic prayers, a lot of which have the effect of attracting or propitiating the dangerous wild animals; in sacrifices to the dead animals, especially the bear and the large seals; in amulets and fetishes, serving partly to ensure security from the perils of life, partly to attack one's enemies. A good deal more might be said about this primitive *pre-shamanistic* faith, but I shall refrain from doing so here. I think it likely that the Eskimo *sila* idea, *Sila* the deity of the air and the weather (and in addition "the spirit of personal strength") as well as the Eskimo *qila* idea, associated with the more primitive form of invocation of an unknown nature spirit, both belong to the pre-shamanistic stage. I have previously developed this idea in more detail in a lecture I delivered at Oslo (Norway) in 1916, and with some additions in English at the Americanist Congress at Rio Janeiro in 1922. *Qila* is an underground spirit (a spirit of 'expectation'?) privately attached to the expert, most often female, who solicits the answers of the spirit by lifting (i. e. weighing) the head of a medium. *Sila* is an ancient air god peculiar to the Eskimos and common to all of them – from those living in the extreme southwest on Kadiak Island to the east coast of Greenland, worshipped everywhere in a living faith, but especially known from the primitive Central Eskimos west of Hudson Bay[1]. In the later shamanistic period, when two new deities occupied the Eskimo mind, Sila fell somewhat into the background.

The two new deities were the Moon-god and the Sea-woman, presumably both introduced from Asia across Bering Strait, but each from its own part of the world. And it must not be imagined that the two deities know each other or that they have anything to do with each other. They function independently of each other in Eskimo mythology. The idea of the sea-woman, the world house-wife, who lives in her large house at the bottom of the sea, recurs, though in an obscured form, in Chukchi mythology, and in a still vaguer form among the maritime Koryak; but it is fairly clear on the coast of northern Siberia among the Samoyedes near the mouth of the river Obj. There she is called the ruling spirit of the sea, who is attached to the navel of the earth; there—according to Donner[2]—she rules over

[1] On Sila in these regions see Jennes, *Copper Eskimos* (1922) pp. 179 and 189; and Knud Rasmussen, *Intellectual Culture of the Caribou Eskimos* (1930) pp. 48—52, 56; — *of the Hudson Bay Eskimos* (1930) pp. 71—72; — *of the Copper Eskimos* (1932) pp. 22—23; 31—23; 35—37; *The Nelsilik Eskimos* (1931) pp. 229—230. Cf Pat. W. Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee* vol III (1931) pp. 496—509; vol. VI (1935) pp. 561—564.

K Donner, *Bei den Samojeden*, Stuttgart 1926.

the water spirits, and controls human births and deaths. But as the Greenlanders' ideas of their shamans' spirit flight to the sea-woman and their business with her—to offer sacrifice and propitiate her—coincides still more closely with the Turkish Altai Siberian people's *gam* (or *kam*)'s journeys to Erlik, the god of the underworld, according to Potanin's description, I infer that the common origin of this cult is in Central Asia. The Eskimos have evidently received it directly from the heart of Asia. The Greenland Eskimo's many particulars of the angakkuts' journeys to the mistress of the sea, of the obstacles encountered on the way, the deity's body-guard of dogs, the hair-thin bridge and the ever-rolling wheel the angakkoq has to pass before he can come into the presence of the wrathful sea-woman, show a striking agreement with the beliefs of the Altai people. The idea of the wheel especially is remarkable among the Eskimos, even though it is ever so rudely conceived without spokes or a ring, since every form of a wheel-like element was otherwise quite foreign to the people.

Sila (*Silam inua* "the air its spirit") is probably the earliest Eskimo form of a supreme god, a power raised above the numerous spirits inhabiting nature. She (or he) is strongly reminiscent of the weather god Num of the Samoyedes[1] and of the supreme deity Pon of the Yukaghir[2]. To the Reindeer Eskimos her power consists in controlling men's treatment of the killed reindeer and punishing transgressions of the rules of tabu[3]. In early Greenland, as late as the period depicted to us by Hans Egede and his son (the 18th century), the air god Sila was regarded as the stern controller who punishes human transgressions, and amongst other things is offended at presumptuous noises, hammer-strokes or any other loud noise, on the holy days following a death. "The air is angered" (*qigarpoq*) and raises a gale. In the Greenlandish myth Sila is also invoked as "the lord of strength". The orphan boy (Kaasashsuk) goes into the mountain deserts and calls on the god to help him to acquire the strength of a giant. Among the Kaniagmiut of southern Alaska, according to Pinart[4], the kaiak-man, when in distress at sea, calls upon the ancient deity named in the

[1] Cf. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia* (Oxford 1914) p. 289. W. Jochelson, *The Yukaghir* (JN Pacif. Exp. Vol. 9, no. 2, p. 140, Leiden 1924).

[2] See Jochelson. I may add that "air and wind gods" are also mentioned from the Iroquian Indians (Onondaga, cf. J. N. B. Hewitt in RBAE vol. 45, pp. 4 and 6), the Mexicans and other Indian peoples. Knud Rasmussen, *Intellectual Culture of the Copper Eskimos* (1930) p. 36; *Fra Grønland til Stillehavet* (1925) vol. I, pp. 177—178; *Rasmussens Thulefart*. Zwei Jahre im Schlitten durch unerforschtes Eskimoland (Frankfurt a. M. 1926) p. 142. — *Sila* und *Pinga* seem to mean the same (spirit of the air); *pinga* is a demonstrative pronoun., "the one up there".

[3] Knud Rasmussen (1930) p. 50.

[4] A. L. Pinart (Paris 1873).

local dialect *hlam-tshua*, two words identical with Central Eskimo *hilam-inua*. *Hilam* corresponds to Greenlandish *silap* (-p genetive) and *tshua* is called *yua* about Bering Strait, corresponding to Greenlandish *inua* "its spirit", from *inuk*, man or spirit. Thus Gr. *silap inua* = Alaska *hlam tshua*. But in southern Alaska the Eskimos are influenced by the mythology of the neighbouring Thlingit, whose chief deity is *Big-Raven*; and the same native Kaniagmio (of Eskimo nationality) who when in distress at sea calls upon the *Hla* (*Sila*) of the weather and the air, will in daily life invoke Big Raven. The name of the latter in the Thlingit language is *Kanhlaxpak*, from *kanhlak* 'raven' and *-pak*[1].

The whole Eskimo population of Alaska has in the course of time not only acquired a knowledge of Big-Raven as the heavengod, or rather as the son of an older heavenly being, but also worship him at periodical festivals. Big-Raven, Esk. *Tulukaugoq*, is to be regarded as the cultural hero, descended from heaven, who institutes all benefits, game animals and institutions which mankind is proud to possess and on which their existence depends. This cult is common to the Thlingit people south of Alaska, the Chukchi, and the Koryak in the extreme north-east of Asia.

Asiatic shamanism reaches its climax in this Raven mythology and cult. To the Koryak *Big-Raven* is "the first man". He was sent down by their "Supreme Being" (also called The One-on-High, or Dawn), in the shape of a superhuman shaman to reorganise the human community. After carrying out his important task in life, Big-Raven returned to "his abode in the zenith"[2]. To the Chukchi he was the companion and assistant of the creator of the world, the "mighty grandfather". To the Alaskan Eskimos he was the same. The latter possess a detailed cosmogony, noted down at the close of last century by E. W. Nelson[3]. According to the Eskimo Bible the Raven was the creator of the first heaven-folk, as well as of the animals and men (*inuit*) of this world. Sacrifice is still offered to the raven in the tundras of Alaska, the worshipper expecting in return fine weather for the hunt. The heavenly galaxy is called "the trail of the Raven's snow-shoes"[4]. According to the myth all ravens were originally white.

A Greenlandish song tells us how the raven was painted black by an Arctic loon. All knowledge of the Raven mythology and Raven cult, however, comes eastwards to an end at Mackenzie River. The eastern Eskimos did not worship the raven as a deity.

kanhlak might be identical with Eskimo (Greenl.) *kagdleq* (KALLEQ), which means thunder. *Kanhlak*, Big-Raven, would then mean the Big Thunderer.

[2] W. Jochelson, *The Mythology of the Koryak* (1904).

[3] E. W. Nelson, *The Eskimo about Bering Strait* (1899) p. 452 ff.

[4] F. Barnum (1901) p. 369. Nelson, l. c. pp. 449 and 499, foot-note

Big Raven is doubtless the latest element in the religious history of the *Inuit* people. They adopted it as it filtered in from their neighbours on the Pacific coast and in Siberia. The common Eskimo ideas of a moon-god and the sea-woman must be of earlier date than the belief in the raven. Both these supreme gods are worshipped by the Eskimos from East Greenland to Bering Strait, although the cult of the sea-woman seems to be obscured in Alaska where the moon appears to have partially taken over her functions. Both decidedly belong to shamanism. In this connection several problems arise, as for instance: By what route has the cult of the moon reached the Inuit (Eskimos)? Where has the old myth taken shape which refers to the moon and the sun as a brother and sister who met each other in the dark during a light-extinguishing game in the men's house or festival house (*qashse*)[1]? And how is the same myth connected with the Thlingit myth about *Jelkh*, their name for Big-Raven (Kanhlaxpak), who in their opinion too is a brother of the sun, that is to say, himself identical with the moon? According to the Thlingit belief the moon is a thunder god who rose out of the sea and chased his sister down into it, where she became the ruler of the sea animals forever. Jelkh, the raven, who had hitherto been white, then turned black[2].

The Inuit people, whose rationalistic sense often appears, have several ætiological myths whose explanations point in other directions than the corresponding ones among the neighbouring groups. The flight of the sun into the sky is explained by them in their national winter cult in the *qashse*. During the flight her brother, or rather "elder brother" as the name of the moon means, became her lover and pursued her into the sky with the sooty marks of her fingers on his body—both holding high in their hands torches of flaming moss like that used at the lighting of the lamps in the huts. This is the adaptation of the myth to Arctic conditions. The origin of the sea-woman and the marine animals is also explained in a peculiar and characteristic way by the Eskimos[3]. Another and probably older chapter concerns the transmigration through animals of a human soul, which is at last reborn in his mother and receives his original name at birth; among the eastern Greenlanders this is the subject of the myth about *Niwaanjaq* (the name denotes the beat of the seal's tail as it dives down from the surface), in its fundamental idea identical with similar myths

[1] A similar myth about the sun and moon is recorded from Australia. Martin P. Nilsson, *Primitiv Religion* (1911) p. 194.

[2] A. Kranse (1885) p. 268, cf. 259 and 261.

[3] The myths in question are to be found in the First Half-Volume of this work pp. 296—403.

recorded from Cape York, Baffin Land, and Alaska[1]. Among the Alaskan Eskimos this motive has the character of a myth explaining the origin of their culture. The idea of the migrating soul is ancient and known from distant regions, but here it has been naturalised, i. e. Eskimoicised. In Greenland especially it has assumed a didactic form showing the migration of the human soul and the Eskimo name through the world of nature (i. e. the animals) before the soul and the name reach their common final abode in the child of a human mother.

One of the earliest myths of the Inuit is doubtless that of the origin of their own and the other nations by the marriage of Woman and the Dog[2]. I have called attention to the wide diffusion of this myth, amongst others the Ainu have a similar legend of their own origin. But there is a conspicuous difference. In the Eskimo myth the woman who becomes the first ancestress of the "puppies", lives in the same house as her mighty father, and in her arrogance refuses all suitors until at length she has to yield to her angry father's will and marry the dog coming from outside. In the Ainu myth, on the other hand, a high-born woman comes sailing to their land and there finds the swimming dog. If *inuk* (plur. *inuit*) is conceived to be derived from Japanese *inu* 'a dog', more especially 'a bitch', the name *ainu* might be formed after Japanese *oinu* 'a he-dog'. As is well known, the Ainu came from Japan and were driven northward by the Japanese[3]. The Eskimos, if we consider that they are born with the "Mongolian spot" (of pigment) like the Japanese, might be supposed to have obtained a name from the language of the Japanese which denoted their original position within (or without?) the Japanese realm. *Inuit* "the bitches"?? Whether these names of people are primary or secondary in relation to the Japanese words is another matter. This theme: a woman married to a dog (or some other animal) as the first ancestress of a litter of puppies (or other animals) and of various nations has, as we know from Koppers' and Freda Kretschmar's later investigations, proved to be so remarkably widely diffused in almost all parts of the world that it must belong to the earliest ideas and conceptions of mankind con-

[1] Ibid. pp. 408—413. Cf. concerning all the myths mentioned here my *Kultischen Gottheiten* (1928) pp. 393, 411, 419, 426.

[2] First Half-Vol. p. 389 ff. The subject has later been taken up for fuller treatment by Wilh. Koppers (1930) and by Freda Kretschmar (1938). Koppers already has been able to place this "dog-theme" in a larger connection within the Eastern Asiatic and Amerind area.

[3] G. Montandon (*La Civilisation Ainou et les cultures arctiques*. Paris 1937, p. 10) thinks himself justified in maintaining that *Ainou* (thus spelled by him) originally meant 'human beings', but that the Japanese when they drove them out of Japan, called them *ainu* 'sons of dog', more fully explained as 'fils de croisement de la femme et du chien'.

cerning "the first men". If the Japanese called the Eskimos *dogs* (or bitches), it may have been a term of abuse or a reminiscence of an ancient belief or myth. The expelled and despised people may have adopted this name for themselves without really understanding the meaning of it, but how? The word has a deep and wide meaning in Eskimo: it forms the stem not only of the word *inuk* 'human being', especially Eskimo, but of the verb 'to live' (to be *inuk*: *inuuvoq*), and of a number of its derivates (nouns and verbs). Thus the problem is still rather complicated. Is the resemblance referred to due to accident? Or is the people's name derived from the Japanese word *inu*? Or the Japanese word *inu* 'dog' derived from the Eskimo? The question must be left open. Among not a few peoples we find the same tale with the variation that the woman marries a bear or a tiger (this latter among the Golds, of the Amur river, their offspring being birds, human beings, spirits, who spread all over the world)[1].

Since 1916 the excavation of ruins and graves has been carried on by many different archaeologists, Danish as well as American. The distribution of the Eskimos in earlier times as recorded by travellers, is seen on my map of 1901[2]; but further insight has been added to our knowledge of the Eskimo settlements on the Northern continent since then. In some parts of the vast area the excavations have been pretty thorough, in Greenland especially they have been systematically planned to include the supposed ancient main settlements. At Point Barrow, too, as also on St. Lawrence and other islands near Bering Strait, the excavations have been carried down to the deeper strata though locally rather limited. But everywhere these scattered excavations, viewed in relation to the large areas not yet investigated, have the character of random samples. As yet they far from exhaust the possibilities of fresh surprises in the intermediate areas. A deficiency from which they all suffer is the small attention paid to festival- and assembly-houses (*qashse*). No archaeologist seems to have given a thought to these accessories of the settlements, although they are (or were) peculiar in an architectural respect and socially of signal importance. They are often mentioned in the works of travelling ethnographers. I have myself pointed out some few examples hitherto unknown in Greenland (in what follows in chapt. IV).

As far as the common habitations are concerned we are in need of a general view of the grouping and the local distribution of the

[1] W. Grube, "Das Schamanentum bei den Golden". — Globus, Vol. 71 (No. 6, legend 4).

[2] MoG 31 (1904), end of the book.

types. We must reckon with large lacunae on account of the rises and subsidences of the land on these northern coasts, not to speak of the violent climatic changes which destroy much.

A mere accident gave Collins the clue to the deepest and oldest strata at Gambell on St. Lawrence Island. From inner criteria of the uncovered layers he was able to point out a plausible series of stages in the local development of the Old Bering Sea Culture. We may perhaps infer the age of the deepest layer when we consider that this culture must be regarded as older than the Thule culture, the ruins of which are situated farther north. The Bering Sea Culture population, who judging by the nature of their implements must have been the same kind of people as the propagators of the Thule culture, may easily have flourished 2000 years ago[1]. Therkel Mathiassen has demonstrated traces of the Thule culture from the north-east coast of the Chukchi Peninsula (in the west) right over to northeastern Greenland, the northernmost chain of ruins found on the globe. He explains the route of the Thule Eskimos from Bering Strait, perhaps even from Koliushin Bay, to Smith Sound, where the *Inuit kalaalhlit* [kalaaLLit], the ancestors of the Greenland Eskimos, may be supposed to have crossed over to Greenland about a thousand years ago. The migration to this place from Bering Strait need not have taken long for a people accustomed to travelling, but there is no reason to believe that the Inuit hurried. These northern tracts were uninhabited, and for that reason all the more rich in game. H. P. Steensby surmised that the Eskimos on the islands north of Hudson Bay (from Melville Peninsula) had discovered Greenland by hunting musk oxen and following the routes of these animals northward. The musk oxen no doubt discovered Greenland before man did.

On the other hand, Greenland is, as Th. Mathiassen says, a cul-de-sac. The migrations of the people in the interior of Greenland and the local adaptation of the Eskimo culture will hardly be of importance for the history of the Eskimos outside Greenland, though this is not entirely excluded. At any rate, some excavation results from Point Barrow (the Birnik harpoon type in the Van Valin Collection) have induced Collins to suggest that a *reflux* might have taken place of objects belonging to the Thule culture from the eastern regions (hence possibly from Greenland) to Point Barrow. For on the coast round this point and on the islands (Prince of Wales, Diomede) traces have been found (especially by Jenness) of Thule culture types of rather a late character[2]. Collins therefore assigns an eastern provenance

[1] Th. Mathiassen, MoG 118 (1936) p. 128. D. Jenness (1933) p. 387.

[2] After the appearance of this possibility of an ancient reflux in the direction east—west, I of course retract my doubts of 1909 (MoG 28) p. 336 concerning the

to these types, while Mathiassen points to an immigration from Siberia.

Th. Mathiassen has succeeded in giving us a summary of the transformation of the technical culture of the arctic immigrants during their slow southward movement along the coasts of Greenland. The chief data are:

Immigration across Smith Sound about the year 900 A.D.

The first Greenland Eskimos stayed for a long time in the Cape York district near Thule. This is evidenced by *Comer's Midden*, one of the most considerable ruined settlements in Greenland (first ransacked by Wissler[1]). This formation is typical of the Thule culture.

1200–1300 A.D. Farther south on the west coast, the Inugsuk culture (Upernawik), a slightly modified Thule culture.

1300–1400 A.D. Far to the south, down in the Norsemen's colonies (the Godthaab and Julianehaab districts), Thule culture with not a few modifications.

1350–1500 A.D. Immediately after the Norsemen's colonies had been overrun, a group of Eskimos rounded Cape Farewell and wandered up along the east coast which gradually became populated as far as Ammattalik, and even farther north.

1600–1700 A.D. West coast culture propagated from the south along the east coast as far as Clavering Island (74° N.), perhaps even right up to the region of Danmarkshavn. This immigration up along the east coast seems to have taken place in two stages: according to Helge Larsen's excavations on Clavering Island the first stage, an almost pure Inugsuk culture, was in the 16th century, the second stage about 1650–1850. The last stage is a mixed culture, Inugsuk from the south, Thule from the north; the latter group "immigrated north about Greenland"[2].

1600–1700 A.D. Immigration eastward round the *north* of Greenland which has left traces in some few winter houses and considerably more tent places on the northern side, and a fair number of house ruins in the northernmost part of the east coast. This high-arctic and north-eastern colonization in East Greenland (now extinct) presents itself with an admixture of many local innovations.

The northern route to the east coast—the shortest stretch of the

correspondences previously noted by Ryder between certain forms of implements from the ruins in Scoresby Sound, E. Greenland, and from Pt. Barrow in Alaska. These correspondences already then conjectured (cf. Ryder 1895) may now even be said to be interesting and plausible.

[1] Clark Wissler, *Archaeology of the Polar Eskimo*, AMNH, 22, N.Y. 1918.

[2] Mathiassen (1936) pp. 122—123. Helge Larsen, *Dodemandsbugten, An Eskimo Settlement on Clavering Island* (1934).

Eskimo emigration via Smith Sound or northward from Kane Basin to Independence Fjord and the Nordostrunding—could only be proved by archaeological findings, that is to say, by the discovery of the northernmost regions of Greenland and of ruins north or south of Peary Land[1]. But already in the last century both Rink and Holm had had this idea, giving proofs of another kind[2]. After my examination of the Amdrup Collection from the east coast I arrived at the same result and formed my theory of a "north-easterly group" of Eskimos in Greenland[3]. For several reasons I cannot quite abandon the idea that both language and technique (implements, methods of hunting, folklore and so forth) of the Ammassalik Eskimos contain elements from this north-eastern culture which give evidence of a direct immigration from the north. When even the most recent archaeologists consider it proved that the ancestors of the Ammassalik people have been able to travel northward along this coast right up to 74° N., I cannot see why it should not have been possible too for them to travel the same way southward, which is the easier course.—Finally, as regards the date of the first settlement of Greenland by Eskimos, it would seem strange that the archaeological criteria cannot fix this settlement at an earlier date than the 16th century, seeing that several ancient writers mention a certain part of Greenland's east coast as inhabited, e. g. Bjorn Einarson Jorsalafari in the 14th century, and Pining and Potthorst in the 15th century.

Collins inclines to the inference that the earliest Eskimo culture on American soil is found in Alaska; that ethnographically, if we take into account the most typical implements, its earliest roots are to be found in the Old World. Harpoon types closely resembling the oldest Eskimo types are recorded from northern Norway, the Kola Peninsula —and from the stone age of Japan[4]. Collins, too, accepts without reserve the North Siberian origin of the Eskimo culture.

As will be seen, recent archaeological discoveries in all essentials confirm my conclusions in the First Part of this work (1914), p. 717:

". . . . *that the common Eskimo mother-group has at one time lived to the west at the Bering Strait, coming originally from the coasts of Siberia*".

[1] See also Th. Kornerup, *Oversigt over Meddelelser om Grønland* 1876—1926 (Copenhagen 1926) pp. 75—77.

[2] G. Holm in MoG 10 (1888) pp. 153—154. See also First Part 711—712.

[3] See my arguments in MoG (1909) pp. 337—343 and First Part (MoG 39) pp. 713—714, cf. 730—732. See also GSAa (Grønlandske Selskabs arsskrift) for 1938 pp. 192—194. Finally I may also refer to the new finds made in NE Greenland by Eigil Knuth, see MoG vol. 127, no. 1.

[4] Th. Mathiassen, MoG 118, p. 129.

My conclusion was then a result of an ethnographical investigation occasioned by my publications on and of G. Holm's and G. Amdrup's ethnographical collections from East Greenland. And the comparisons I drew were especially induced by my study of Bogoras', Jochelson's, Sirelius', Sölberg's, and Stadling's works as well as others[1]. The above-cited passage from my argumentation has unfortunately been wrongly quoted on several occasions—an error which has crept in from the English translation of Steensby's work[2]. Both Collins and Mathiassen have taken the erroneous quotation from Steensby instead of quoting correctly from the source itself, my work (see above). What I have said and still maintain is this: I have had in mind the Siberian coast just opposite Alaska as a way, a station on the way, which the earliest Eskimos once followed, but without indicating whether they came by the northern, eastern, western, or southern route. I have temporarily stopped at the Asiatic side of Bering Strait without fixing on just that coast as the first home of the Eskimos. We do not as yet know whether their route ran from remoter regions in the direction south—north, east—north, or east—west.

Collins' comparative investigations have thrown fresh light on the specific culture forms of the Eskimos. He arrives at the result that the Old Bering Sea Culture has been one of several old coastal cultures in northern Eurasia. He supposes the Eskimo culture to have originated from a similar one which characterised the peoples who first followed the rivers to the arctic coasts, and who in some place between the Kara Sea and Bering Strait developed a culture which possessed the same general features as that of the Eskimos. The unknown *mother culture* originally came into existence between the mouths of Anadyr and Kolyma. So far Collins.

The whole area around Bering Strait and the Okhotsk Sea shows a kaleidoscopic picture of peoples which in the course of time have penetrated to or gathered in these regions, perhaps first attracted by the hunting there: the Chukchi, Yukaghir, Koryak, Itelm, Ainu—and in the New World just opposite them the Eskimo, Aleut, Tinné (= Athapask), Eyak, Thlingit. Nowadays not only the Bering Strait is taken into account as a passage from Asia to America, but also the *Aleutian Islands* are considered as a bridge between the continents. If the Eskimos alone crossed the Bering Strait—and so far no archaeological

[1] Cf. also Murdoch, "On the Siberian Origin of some Customs of the Western Eskimos". Am. Anthropologist I, 1888.

[2] This error occurs in Steensby, *The Origin of the Eskimo Culture*. MoG 53 (Copenhagen 1916) pp. 59—60. He cites from a non-existent p. 917 (should be p. 717): "to the west of the Bering Strait", but I had "to the west *at* the Bering Strait" (etc.).

traces of other peoples have been found up here—it seems most reasonable to suppose that the immigration of the Northern Indians took place from the coast of Kamschatka via the Aleutian Islands[1].—Further, it is the fashion to designate the first-mentioned peoples as palæasiatic, a rather unmeaning term, seeing that we know nothing else about them except that their cultures resemble each other in certain peculiarities as opposed to those of the Turkish Yakuts, Tunguse, Mongols, Manchus, Japanese etc. If the first-mentioned palæarctic peoples, e. g. the Chukchi, have expelled the Ancient Eskimos from the outermost arctic peninsula, the Eskimos must be termed a palæasiatic people.

The science dealing with the rise of a new group of people is as yet not greatly developed; we know virtually nothing. A certain school has begun to graduate *culture circles* according to age, a proceeding which has presumably only value as an experiment. So far no one has succeeded in producing the formula of the origin of any people, much less a general formula for use in comparisons. Since nothing is known of the origin of the Eskimos nor about the "beginnings" of other peoples, it is hazy talk to speak of their age.

We can speak of certain periods or phases in the cultural manifestations of a people. The Eskimos may have had a *pre-shamanistic* past before they obtained their angakkut and their supreme gods. We are under the impression that the part of Asia that is most free from shamanism and where pre-shamanistic conditions have survived the longest is to be found on a line from the Kuriles to Formosa (to mention only two points on a longer line). It strikes us that the idea of a "transmigration of souls" (the soul of Chunguthluk, the same elsewhere called Awowang, Nawagijaq etc.) may have followed a northward route not very far from the line above referred to; further, that the belief in the moon-god belongs to a wide Central Asiatic belt stretching from the south-west to the north-east; and that the idea of a heaven-god of fire and light has run parallel with that of a "prince" of the underworld, spreading fanlike northward to the west and the east from a Central Asiatic group. Among the Eskimos the heaven god cannot have been the sun, but must have been the moon-man. His influence on the Eskimo mind out at the Bering Strait, on the Asiatic side, was so great that he absorbed the image and functions of the specifically N.O.Asiatic Big-Raven (Koryak?). But even before this latter notion penetrated it, the Eskimo mind was no doubt fixed

[1] Another possibility is that N. America may have been populated from the south (the Gulf and Mexico) or partly *via* one or several landing-places on the Pacific coast.

in the belief in a sea goddess, the same that we hear about from the Chukchi as their walrus mother and the wife of Keretkun; among the Eskimo called "the woman of the deep sea" (Sedna), "the holy ancestress" of the Greenlanders (Arnaquassaaq) or, as she is called by the Polar Eskimos, "the food trough" (Nerhriwik).

Among the Eskimos the belief in *Sila*, the deity of the air and the weather, seems to be most exclusively and tenaciously maintained among the southernmost groups in Alaska, among the central inland Eskimos, and on the sub-arctic coasts of Greenland. This being the case, I believe that an archaic feature has been preserved in these areas which marks the southern limits of the Inuit. Nearly allied to *Sila* is presumably in some way or other the Eskimo rain god *Asiaq*, known from East Greenland and the Copper Eskimos, and apparently still worshipped too among the Koryak. However, the rain god, of importance to the Eskimos as the snow-melter who provides good going for the hunters, more probably belongs to the shamanistic phase, whereas *Sila* may be a pre-shamanistic deity[1].

The idea of *tornaq* (or *torŋaq*), plur. *tornat* (or *torŋat*), the familiar spirit of the angakok, which I have derived from Alaskan Esk. *tuŋra* and compared with Old Turkish *tengri* etc. and thus pointed out as a loan word in Eskimo, I must then, in accordance with the preceding considerations, ascribe to Asiatic shamanism as transferred to Eskimo thought. Here, however, I must emphasise the same dualism in the development as Stadling points out for the corresponding Asiatic notion; among the Mongols *tengri* denoted 'spirits' as a collective term for all kinds of spirit powers; among other peoples (e. g. the Turks), on the other hand, it denoted the heaven-god (only in the singular)[2]. Among the Eskimos, similarly to the Mongols, *tornat* is not a nomen proprium, but an appellative used about familiar spirits, namely the nature spirits acquired by the angakok, or spirits from Indian peoples or from a mythic historical people, which are called *tornit*.

Tornit are the inhabitants of the interior, according to the East Greenlanders' view; sometimes called *Tunerit*, an obsolete form of the name, in the singular *Tuneq*; a word common to southern Greenland and Labrador[3]. I suppose that this word has been adopted in the cult by a pristine Eskimo shamanism in close contact with that of the Mongols. But already then the Eskimos must have been familiar with the notion of nature spirits under another name, an earlier word

[1] Cf. my paper *Die kultischen Gottheiten* (1928) p. 414.

[2] Stadling (1912) p. 20. Cf. here p. 581. — I may remind the reader of the Old Turkish *Teŋri* on the Orkhon inscription.

[3] See First Part p. 690 (cf. p 700).

of their own language, namely *inuk* 'human being' with a possessive suffix *-a* added, thus *inua* literally 'his or its *inuk*', e. g. that (*inua*) of the stone, the river, the rock etc.; the same in the plural *inuat* 'their spirits', thus an old terminus technicus for the same thing (a human being), and still used everywhere.

The two terms *inuat* and *tornat* are by no means equivalent. They reflect the revolution in Eskimo thought from the earlier animistic to the later shamanistic belief in spirits. And pre-shamanistic animism did not of course disappear; no, it was continued in the form of animism which came in with the shamans from Asia. In this way I would explain the Eskimos' own sublimation of the *tornaq* idea to a semi-supreme god, attached to the angakok's staff of familiar spirits. The Eskimos seem to have undergone a similar development to that of the Asiatic peoples. Their first shamans got their familiar spirits from the foreign *tornit* (*tungrit*); the shaman's familiar spirit is called his *torna* (or *tungra*). His strength grew when he secured several such *tornit* (*tungrit*) as familiar spirits, five, ten, or more. As supreme master of this flock he needed a leading spirit, a general figure of the same kind. Thus followed the development within Eskimo culture of *tornaarssuk*, the shaman's special oracular spirit. This "Supreme" Deity is a sublimation of the concept *torna(q)* "his, i. e. one of the shaman's spirits", to which is added the ending *-arssuk* 'the special, the prominent and characteristic' (an obsolete, but common suffix used especially in place-names or pet-names). In this selective use of the foreign word, in this limitation of the name from an appellative to a nomen proprium, the Eskimo language thus reflects a reformation of a similar kind to the Asiatic step from the Mongolian crowd of spirits (*tengri*) to the supreme deity and heaven-god of the same name.

Postcript. Americanistics is the name given to a branch of study which is the younger sister of Orientalism. While the elder sister is concerned with the languages and literature of which the East has had plenty from the earliest times, the younger has united with modern science in a certain empirical method. Here the literary material available is the living language of the peoples, the orally transmitted traditions. Only among the Incas and some Mexican peoples is there a script, but their literature is not comparable to that of the Oriental peoples. Further, Americanistics early took into her service archæology and material ethnology, and most recently has gone into such subjects as "origins" (Rivet, Collins, the Danish school); anthropology (Hrdlicka, E. M. Weyer); folklore (Jenness, Knud Rasmussen) "Kulturkreisen", and the origin of the idea of God (W. Schmidt).

Culture waves come from the remote unknown. They carry new forms and elements to the peoples in their abodes. Sweeping over them they renew the communities, destroying old forms and making room for new ones. We note their destructive as well as their constructive effect in the ethnic complexes.

We have viewed in retrospect the western regions of the *Inuit* race. From Asia culture waves swept over the northern peoples of America. What did the Inuit people gain thereby? Gain and loss are words which science prefers to disregard. Archaeologists have discovered that Eskimo ornamentation was at its height in the earliest times at Bering Strait. Indeed, it seems increasingly clear that already in ancient times a change of religion took place among the Eskimos; shamanism came to them as a spiritual enrichment (it is to be hoped). We have pointed out a change in style. New temples, forms of houses, vehicles, and new forms of implements were carried eastward across Bering Strait; some few things were perhaps first invented in the eastern regions where intelligence flourished. One culture superseded another at the same time as the tribal groups were divided up[1]). The northern and southern Greenlanders met for drum matches every summer on Perutussut Island; the East Greenlanders were regarded as an alien tribe, an object of suspicion.—The interior and the islands developed several variants in character, provincial types became established. The dialects give us a variegated picture of these ethnological groups or tribes among the Eskimos from southern Alaska as far as East Greenland.

The culture waves of *modern arctic science* bear witness to the interest taken by the Aryan race in the peoples on the northernmost fringe of the populated world (Randvölker), and among them in the first place the *Inuit*. What had been started in the previous centuries by men like the two Egedes, the Danish and Norwegian missionaries, the German preachers of the United Brethren who preached the gospel in Greenland and Labrador, the Frenchman Petitot, the Russian Veniaminow, the Danes H. C. Glahn, O. Fabricius, Rink etc., was carried on in our own century by more and more exact and comprehensive investigations.

M. Mauss (and Beuchat) wrote the modern sociological mono-

[1] Cf. First Part, pp. 359—364, and 716 ff. Thalbitzer: *Ethnografiske paralleler indenfor Polarfolkene* (16. Skandinav. Naturforskermøde, Kristiania 1916). Idem: *Parallels within the Culture of the Arctic Peoples* (20. Congresso Internacional do Americanistas, vol. I, p. 283 ff. with four plates) Rio Janeiro 1922; and Gudmund Hatt: *North American and Eurasian Culture Connections* (Fifth Pacific Science Congress, Proceedings, vol. 4) Toronto 1933.

graph on the Eskimos (1905). LÉVY-BRUHL included them in his world-embracing and weighty comparative investigation of the mentality of the primitive peoples (*Naturvölker*).

But from quite another angle the searchlight was thrown on the Inuit people from the Scandinavian countries. In his work "*In Northern Mists*" (1911) FRIDTJOF NANSEN described in the light of history the first discoveries in the north and west in the Middle Ages, the *landnam* of the Norsemen, the chartings and beginnings of modern geography. When the first settlers nearly 1000 years ago discovered the natives of Wineland and Greenland, the Icelandic historians described them by the name of *Skrælinger* and brought back the first specimens of their language (names), thus foreshadowing the later Americanistic studies. Knud Rasmussen carried on Nansen's work in a modern *Saga of Polar Exploration* in 1932.

In the field of physical anthropology Americanistics is hardly so old, though it has blossomed earlier than HRDLICKA seems to know in his learned work[1]). In his book *Fauna Groenlandica* appearing in 1780 Otho Fabricius gives *Homo Grœnlandus* as the first of Greenland's 468 species of animals (followed directly by walrus, seal, and the rest of the mammals), and—be it noted—among the synonyms of the "species" he mentions *Homo Americanus*, quoting Linné, and *Esquimaux*, quoting Ellis. In this way the Greenlanders and with them the rest of the Eskimos are for the first time designated as a special race belonging to the American "species". His diagnosis runs as follows: *Homo sapiens, diurnus, sordide rufus, pilis nigris, rectis, crassis, mento subimberbi*, to which he adds a further "descriptio" with information of the customs and manners of the Greenlanders, all in the Linnean lapidary style.— Hrdlicka's work, however, sums up all later hypotheses about the origin and first migrations of the Eskimos, and carries research in physical anthropology down to 1930.

In the ethnological field KNUD RASMUSSEN and his scientific coworkers have no doubt procured costly material, matchless in our day. It constitutes a splendid supplement to what had been previously obtained by VILHJÁLMUR STEFANSSON and his men by their large collections from the west central regions. Knud Rasmussen's vocabularies of east and south Central Eskimo dialects (including Birket-Smith's *Five Hundred Eskimo Words*. Copenhagen 1928) is of the same high standard as DIAMOND JENNESS' copious and useful *Comparative Vocabulary of the Western Eskimo Dialects*, Ottawa 1928. This idea had been tried once before, namely in Rink's *Comparative Vocabulary of the Eskimo Dialects*, constituting the main part of his book of

[1]) Alex. Hrdlicka: *Anthropological Survey in Alaska* (ARBAE 46. Washington 1930, p. 333)

1887—91 (The Eskimo Tribes, a work which is now perhaps somewhat out of date, though it still contains valuable material)[1]. Jenness' comparative work denotes progress as to exactitude and consistent spelling. But Knud Rasmussen's contribution contains a lot of original new matter, the fruit of a more intimate contact, and with a better phonetic transcription than the material collected by Jenness.

Knud Rasmussen's ethnological and linguistic contributions from East and West Greenland, beginning with his book "*Nye Mennesker*" (*The People of the Polar North*, London 1908), and continued especially in his seven Thule Expeditions, the fifth of which, the most famous one, took him to Bering Strait through the whole of the Eskimo world, embrace and contain the whole Eskimo soul as it were, in one deep and deep-seeing human consciousness. His great harvest on his long journey through the world of the Eskimos has not yet been fully sifted and utilised. His trawl gathered in light and heavy, new and old plankton in these vast waters. I am thinking especially of his numerous investigations and statements gathered in from place to place, about myths and beliefs in spirits and magic agencies, tabu and rites, social customs, peculiar notions and usages, folk tales and poems, legendary reminiscences, individual conceptions etc. Some of Knud Rasmussen's finds give the impression of being fragments, some of being local developments, but they rarely strike one as dispensable or irrelevant. Of special value are the autobiographical statements of certain old persons (Aua etc.). In all these records Knud Rasmussen has looked into the depths of the soul and traditions of the people and saved from destruction what would otherwise have been transient and irreplaceable. These traditions would hardly have survived locally beyond our day, for the steam-roller of modern technique obliterates all spiritual traditions of the primitive peoples.

In America modern Eskimology was especially developed by Franz Boas, Murdoch, and E. W. Nelson 10 years ago, later carried on by D. Jenness and Collins; several other names should perhaps be mentioned. The large expeditions have acted as stimulants. The same applies to the Reports and Bulletins sent out by scientific institutions in the service of the Governments, such as the American Museum of Natural History; the Bureau of American Ethnology (Smithsonian Institution); the Department of Mines, Geological Survey (Ottawa). They have saved from extinction the material from America's primeval ages and promoted research on the American Indians. This research also flourished in the well-known ethnological and folkloristic periodicals and the large handbooks on similar themes; it is superfluous to quote them.

[1] H. Rink; *The Eskimo Tribes* I—II. M. o. G. vol. 11 (Copenhagen 1891).

By my presence at the *international Americanist congresses* I had the good fortune to learn how important is an exchange of ideas at these meetings, the mutual competition and criticism, but also the mutual help. A single lecture, a brief remark, may strike and illuminate like a ray of sunlight, calling forth new ideas. What a debt of gratitude I myself owe to men whom I met there! such as the Russians W. BOGORAS, LEO STERNBERG, and last not least FRANZ BOAS, the investigator of the Baffinlanders. The ways may be multitudinous, but there is only one goal. Below all the stir of scientific life one common will is at work, the love of truth.

The Danish school to which I belong has, I hope, contributed to the results of Eskimology as they appear in our era. It builds on an old foundation. We have recently published new editions of the journals of the pioneers. Dr. LOUIS BOBÉ has done excellent service by admirably annotated editions of H. and P. Egede's *Gronlandske Relationer* as well as those of Lars Dalager; and by his *Diplomatarium Groenlandicum* (1936) with introductory surveys of the History of the Greenland Mission and of the Greenland Trade. Similar modern work has been done by the Rev. H. OSTERMANN in his new edition of H. C. Glahn's interesting journals, a continuation of Egede's "Relations" etc. Go to these men with any question as to the colonisation, topography, or history of Greenland, place-names, personal names, genealogy etc. and they will rarely fail you. Dr. A. BERTHELSEN has completed a large Greenland *Nosography* (1940), "30 years' experience as a practitioner in Greenland", often giving folkloristic contributions as well. Linguistic works are Rev. SCHULTZ-LORENTZEN's *Dictionary of the West Greenland Eskimo Language* (1927); and Dr. LOUIS HAMMERICH's *Personalendungen und Verbalsystem im Eskimoischen* (1936).

On the problem of Eskimo immigration into America many will be glad to turn to Dr. GUDMUND HATT's ingenious researches. His mind is open to other criteria than harpoon points. The ecology of the Arctics is to him the field on which to focus attention. Comparative ethnology must collect all kinds of criteria and select the most essential and typical[1].

Alles Vergängliche
ist nur ein Gleichnis
(as Goethe has it)

and the *spectrum* of ethnology has not yet been fully cleared up. Who shall say what will be our future outlook on life?

[1] Cf p. 595 (note). Other examples are E. v. Hornbostel: *Über ein akustisches Kriterium für Kulturzusammenhänge* (ZfE 1911). H. Konig: *Das Recht der Polarvolker* Anthropos 1929 W. Bogoras: *Early Migrations of the Eskimo* (etc.) 21st. Int. Congr. Americanists (Göteborg 1924).

Fig. 160. Mother and son. Her name was *Tälʷlaqujuk Usoorqe*, the son's name was *Tammuttarajik*. (June 28, 1906. W. T. phot.).

Fig. 161. The game of pulling arms. Two West Greenland boys, photographed by Jon Möller at the colony of Godthab. The game is also well known on the east coast of Greenland.

Fig. 162. Family life out of doors. *Milätteeq* and his wife with their child. (July 10, 1906. W. T. phot.).

CHAPTER I

PARENTS AND CHILDREN

The child's cradle is the hood, or amaut (*amaᵛᵗ*) of the mother's anorak, and this hood is nothing else than an entire seal-skin, which is sewn on to the anorak in such a way that it forms the characteristic bag-like back of this. It widens from the hips upwards, but is contracted at the top into the form of a pointed cap, which, in bad weather, can receive and protect the child's head. The seal's head turns upwards, the snout just forming the point of the hood, so that the eye-holes, which are sewn up, are about on a level with the child's eyes when the latter puts its head into the cap.

Thus the Eskimo infant spends its early days in the slough of a seal. The child's head is in the seal's head, and its back in the seal's back. A juvenile and primeval friendship exists between the people and this animal.

When the mother wishes to lull her child to sleep, she sets the upper part of her body rocking, whether sitting on the platform or standing in the open air[1], and croons the long-drawn, monotonous lullaby (*a'ra'* 'she sings a lulling tune')[2]. I still hear it whenever I think of the small Eskimo huts in East Greenland where I spent my days many years ago. By these primitive notes, sung by a mother's voice, the life of every genuine Eskimo is inaugurated; by them his first sorrows are soothed and by them his first dreams are evoked. A father or grandfather may also take the child and lull it to sleep, placing it in his arms and rocking it backwards and forwards while he sings over it (*maᵛcsarpa'*, W Gr. *mavsarpa'*, cf. pp. 162, cf. 243). This custom has a magic character, and it is repeated whenever the child gets a new costume, or a new kaiak and new weapons. The song is a magic song, which shall endow the child with the qualities of an efficient hunter. Ajukutooq's father used to sing over Mitsuarniaŋŋa's son. When he died, Mitsuarniaŋŋa himself, holding the boy in his

[1] See figs. 8 and 9 (cf. First Part, fig. 303 and pp. 580 sqq.).

[2] Literally 'she sings *ah* . . .' with a certain melodious pitch. I recorded the melody (only two tones) on my phonogram. See Melodies no. 12, here p. 65 (Cf. p. 161).

arms, continued this singing over it, to ensure strength, health, and a long life (*e·ïsa·nik pit·iŋo*)[1]. This custom is observed until a child is between 8 and 9 years old. The custom continues until the boy for the first time gets a large kaiak and a harpoon of an adult.—Doubtless many of the children's songs and petting songs which I recorded on the east coast have been composed for this use, and some of the nursery rhymes which I recorded in 1901 on the northern west coast come within the same category. In 1914, in the district of Cape Farewell, I recorded a number of petting songs for children, pertaining to the same kind of poetry (pp. 184—206, cf. 497—503).

At an early age children are trained by games, especially trials of strength, wrestling, and pulling with the arms to become strong. Umeerinneq said to one of his pupils: I shall make you strong as I formerly trained *Quniŋŋe* in becoming strong (*kum·arsarniarpagit, san·ersa·raluarpara Quniŋŋe*). A favourite trial of strength consisted in lifting a great stone. Aŋutiŋŋuaq relates in Hansêrak's journal that as a youth he practised himself in lifting large pieces of rock[2]. The same sport is mentioned in the sagas about strong heroes, Kaashashuk and Kunuk for example (see First Part p. 240).

The Eskimo does not punish his child[3]. At its baptism the child gets the name of some deceased person, and, with this, inherits the soul of the deceased (or, more correctly, one of the souls). To scold the child, or to punish it, would in most cases be equivalent to provoking the deceased, the child's namesake. It would be an act of profanity, and might cause one of the souls to leave the child in anger, and so bring sickness to the child.

But exceptions were mentioned. My authorities (Ajukutooq, Mitsuarniaŋŋa) were able to mention certain women who were known not only to have severely scolded their naughty children but also to have beaten them. Here, of course, a good deal depends on the temperament of the women concerned, but how nearly related the child's deceased namesake was to the mother does not seem to be quite without importance. It is inconceivable that a mother should chastise, or even scold, her child if it is named after one of her former brothers or sisters.

A mother thus scolded her tormenting and weeping child (recorded on my phonograph):

iŋ·a suäteqa·˙q! sua·rniarparama-ila· naŋa·nertiwa·joanik utorqa·ralnartiwa·ioanik. utorqaraluariŋ"arniarin, sulortoa·iüna!

"How that there (the child) is naughty! One (I) would become

[1] In WGr. *inûnigssânik pivdlugo.*

[2] Hansêrak's Dagbog, ed 1933, p. 139.

[3] C. Saabye (1816) p 120 G. Holm (1888) p. 92 (First Part, p. 63). V. Stefánsson (1913) p. 397.

desirous of scolding him, indeed, for his naughty obstinacy, because he does not know what he wants. He (indeed) ought to be old enough. —Now kindly try to behave like a grown uppers on (do, please), what is the matter! what a manner to behave for such a little person!"

As an expedient for the quieting of naughty or continuously crying children, it was formerly the custom to frighten them with wooden masks representing deceased, or still living, persons[1]. One of the grown-ups would then go out into the passage, secretly taking the mask with him, in order, a little later, to return with it on his face. "It is the mask (*ke'apak*)" says the mother, or "it is the spirit of the passage". When, later, the mother says: "The mask will come in", the child stops crying (*cilalilérser*).

That in East Greenland, also, the Eskimos used to kill the destitute infant out of charity, e. g. by placing it out in the grave with the dead mother, or in other ways, has been mentioned previously[2]. I was told, for instance, that a mother had given birth to twins, of which the one died. As, by her child's death, all rich food was taboo for her, she lacked milk for the surviving child, which was therefore buried along with the dead one.

The most general means of protection for the child against sickness and danger is its amulets. They are placed in the double straps hanging on the shoulders of the naked body (*qit'uta't*), which cross each other in front and behind, with one small pocket in the cross over the chest and another in the corresponding cross of the back. In each of these pockets is hidden an amulet, generally a small flat wooden doll (*e'lor*) (See illustration, First Part fig. 348).

A special means for insuring life, best known from East Greenland, is to make the child a "piaarqusiaq", a word probably connected with the verb *pia'ra'oq* 'he does something purposely'; *pia'rqusiaq* then, literally means 'a child who demands determined and vigilant treatment or who requires to be well taken care of', i. e. who is 'destined for a privileged position in life, sacrosanct'[3]. The word signified a person distinguished and protected by being dressed in a costume which in some way or another differs from the prevalent costume[4]. The child

[1] Illustrations in First Part, figs. 357—358.

[2] G. Holm in First Part p. 62. Cf. Mylius Erichsen, Greenland, p. 324: "The mother then placed a strap round the little boy's neck and strangled him. 'And this was good for the child' said Arnarlik".

[3] The word occurs apparently, although in a varied form, in one of the West-Greenland legends in which an orphan boy who had no kaiak, "trained himself in becoming a piaarqusaaq" ("pijarusaursârnialerpok". Kalâtdlit okalukt. 1863. IV, pp. 42—43).

[4] Dalager (ed. Bobé, pp. 62—63) mentions, from West Greenland, similar peculiarities of costume as a magic means of protection for the angakok pupil. After

is brought up to wear a loose hood of a particular cut (illustrated in First Part, fig. 313) instead of one sewn fast, somewhat resembling a helmet and closing tightly round the neck and shoulders[1]. The intention most probably is to make the child undistinguishable to the hostile spirit which pursues it to steal its soul. The costume is given to children who are born after the first-born brother or sister has died in infancy. Besides by the loose hood mentioned, the piaarqusiaq is characterized by one or two other features, which vary somewhat according to the taste or traditions of the parents, e. g., by a dog's tail being sewed at the back of the anorak[2], or by the anorak being cut open in front throughout its entire length, and being provided with a row of closely placed buttons, and by the one boot being sewed from hairless skin while the other is hairy on the outside. These individual peculiarities in the costume, which are carried out by the parents from the child's earliest years, are maintained by the same individual during the whole of his life and probably are considered by the nearest relations as a religious mark of distinction, whereas strangers who have not seen them before will find them ridiculous[3]. It would be interesting to know whether there is any connection between the piaarqusiaq costume and the peculiarities in the cut of the hair and in the flaps of their frocks as previously mentioned by Holm[4]. Another fact is indicated by Rosing, who relates that *piaarqusiät* are met with, who, though they are women, wear male attire[5]. This reminds me of a case of a con-

having first related that such a pupil is destined for the office of angakok 'from the womb', he describes the outer appearance of the young person. "The same is also distinguished in costume from others thus: that ever since birth he has worn trousers and boots in one piece. On the other hand, the hood is separated from the jacket, contrary to the usual fashion. "Without doubt Dalager here describes a piaarqusiaq.

[1] Here compare with the previously mentioned mourning hood for the use of a mother who has lost her child, a kind of high calotte (skull-cap) sewed together with dark and white strips of skin, or otherwise ornamented (See First Part, pp. 31 and 590, and fig. 51). This is also a hood with magic significance.

[2] G. Holm mentions a fox's tail hanging loosely down behind, from the back of the men's ordinary summer caps. First Part, p. 31.

[3] A number of these details are found in Rosing (1906) p. 80.

[4] Cf. Holm, First Part, p. 32, and ibid. p. 49 where the author talks of a certain kind of initiation for beginning sealers of boy-hood age. This initiation, which is distinctive for certain individuals, is combined with the offering to the sea of the boy's cut-off hair and the paws of the first caught seal. Possibly it is limited to *piaarqusiät* children who are destined from birth for this exceptional position in life

Rosing (1906), p. 80. — I wonder whether the women mentioned by Holm from the southern part of the east coast, who had trained like men to row the kaiak and hunt seals were piaarqusiät? See Holm in this work First Part, p. 67 footnote, M. o. G., Vol. 9 (1889), pp. 86—87.

verse kind, viz., where a young man, whom I often saw at Ammassalik, whose hair was cut short and whose costume was somewhat odd was known to be clever at all kinds of woman's work (sewing etc.). He was in the employ of the missionary as a cook. This was not a unique instance. Mitsuarniaŋŋa had in his mind two men, both skilful sealers, who were clever at doing woman's work. The one was called Taajee, he used to sew soles on his boots; the other was Nuliäkkaatuar Naa^{w}ŋilar.

Possibly the remains of an old custom is hidden in these substitutions (vicariates) of sex, which are also known from other people verging on the Eskimos[1].—Unfortunately our information on this point is very deficient as regards Greenland.

The earlier presence of piaarqusiät in West Greenland is, as it seems, confirmed by Cranz as he reports that some of the young men who were trained for future angakut were distinguished by an odd child's-dress, which enabled them more easily to perfect themselves in the art of an angakoq[2]. I myself, in Southern West Greenland, made enquiries in 1914 as to the reminiscence of piaarqusiät there. I met Aawtaaritaa who had immigrated to the west coast, and who corroborated the earlier custom of clothing a newly born child, after the death of its brothers and sisters, in a special dress, to be worn during the whole youth of the child; sometimes, indeed, retaining the same special cut and the same peculiarity in dress during its whole life. The anorak, for example, is made from a whole skin, which is cut and sewn together in a special way, being cut off below without the usual flap, or even provided with a tail-like extension (*no'ätsiaraq*). The hood is sewn from the skin of a seal's stomach, and separated from the anorak like a helmet (though it is sometimes sewn fast, as usual), and is often provided on the top with an okusuk (*okucuk*) 'a projecting patch or lap, a beak of skin' characteristic only of people with such a hood.

The significance of these pious endeavours is probably that with

[1] Cf. the tale about *Ukuamaaq*, the unnatural mother-in law, reported from Southern East Greenland. First Part pp. 511—515 (no. 260).

A sex-transformation is frequently mentioned from some of the peoples near Bering Strait, e. g., among the inhabitants of the Aliaska Peninsular and Kadiak Island. On this Dall writes (Alaska, p. 402): "The most revolting of the ancient customs of the Kaniàqmiut (also common to the Aleuts) was that of keeping *shûpans*, or men who were dressed and brought up like females and supplied their places". From the Chuckchees and Koryaks in North-east Siberia, Bogoras and Jochelson report a similar substitution of the sexes, so far as regards the shamans (Jochelson, The Koryak, 1906, pp. 52—53). The topic is further dealt with by Stadling (1912) and Czaplicka (1914).

[2] Cranz (1770), III. p. 269.

this particular dress the piaarqusiaq is thought to be unrecognizable to the spirits, or the souls of the dead, who wish to pursue and take possession of him. In any case we are faced with some proved symbology or formalism; the change in the cut and form of the dress is to be understood as just so palpable and solid a precaution as the provision of amulets, exorcisms, and petting songs. A new and touching proof is here given of the parents' concern for a child's life which seems exposed to a previously tried and constantly threatening risk.

The onset of puberty (*kajisulerser* 'he or she comes to feel ashamed', *e'rip'oq* 'is mature') at the age of 15—16 years evinces itself, as formerly mentioned, only by the adopting of short trousers (*na'tse'n* or *na'tsin*)[1], which are of two distinct forms, one for boys and one for girls. In addition, the girls adopt a toupee (their hair in a tuft), tatooing having generally been performed at an earlier age. This change does not take place from any extraneous prompting, the children themselves taking the initiative; and according to their wishes their mother or elder sister sews the trousers for them. No other ceremony takes place on the occasion of the commencement of puberty.

As a rule it is not long before the young man selects his future wife, without, however, there being anything openly noticeable about either of them. The declaration is of a sudden character, and the Eskimo wedding takes the form of a rape, an abduction. Sometimes a young man will select as his bride a girl who is not yet so grown up that she has put up her hair in a tuft, but she adopts this style when she gets married. They kiss each other by rubbing noses: *kunit'er* 'one who kisses', *kunin'eq* 'a kiss' < *kunip'ut* 'to kiss each other'; the word properly means 'to smell each other by rubbing noses'.

Foster-children (*qiternarsiän*) are not unusual. Mitsuarniaŋŋa had had at least four adopted children or foster-children, e. g., one foster-son (*ernersiaq*) who was his cousin Quttuiaain, and three foster-daughters (*panisiän*), of whom one was his cousin-german, another a daughter of his second cousin, and the third unrelated to him[2]. They speak of *ittersia'* 'his adopted cousin' and *awiarsia'* 'his adopted second cousin'. In later life, good foster-children will return by gifts and services the goodness of their foster-parents.

[1] Former authors called them *natit*, as G. Holm, in First Part, p. 64, cf. (1888) p. 93, (1889), p. 91. Kleinschmidt gives the word the West Greenland form *naitsut*, from the verb *nâipoq* 'is short' (a pair of short trousers, in particular woman's drawers). According to Holm *natit* is used on the east coast both about men's and women's short trousers. The form *ts*, instead of *t*, as given above by me, is more correct.

[2] According to Glahn (1771) p. 243, foster-children in West Greenland were considered near relations of the family, and it would be a disgrace for them to enter into marriage with the foster-parents' children.

Fig. 163. Ajukutooq's two wives, *Eekeeleuk* (left) and *Igimarajik* (right). Between them his youngest son *Niŋaauva* with his amulet case hanging on his breast fastened to skin corns round his neck and body. On the right, behind him, Ukuttiaq's daughter. (July 20, 1906. W. T. phot.).

Fig. 164. *Teemiartissaq* drawn by Mrs. Ellen Locher Thalbitzer in 1906 (cf. First Part fig. 53). Also as a young woman photographed by Knutsen, 1884.

The eldest son inherits (*keornuta'te'wa'*) his father's sledge and dogs, his umiak, tent, and the house timber, and sometimes, also, some of his hunting weapons (the lance and birdspear). The dead father himself keeps (*näc'arpa'*) literally 'he takes it along with him' all his garments, his kaiak and oar, his harpoon, and the rest of his hunting weapons, including throwing stick, harpoon-line, buoy and hunting-knife, which articles are supplied him in his grave[1].

As regards the lance, the bird-dart, and the haft of the harpoon (*e'ma'*), it is a matter for doubt whether these are deposited in the grave, or not. Only the greatest piety on the part of the heir will induce him to relinquish these things. (I owe this information to Mitsuarniaŋŋa). In the graves in East Greenland, as everywhere else where these customs prevailed, one very often finds, as is well known, only miniature facsimiles of the articles in place of the articles used.

Besides these material goods the eldest son likewise inherits (according to Mitsuarniaŋŋa) his father's name, which he possesses until his first child is born.

[1] According to Dalager (1752), p. 63, the foster-son in a family where there were no sons becomes the lawful and only heir to his foster-father. The house timber goes with the inheritance, see Holm (1889), p. 97.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATION. PROPAGATION OF THE TRADITIONS

The traditions, ability, learning and art of the people were propagated in two ways, partly by spontaneous imitation and conception, and partly by direct instruction. Neither schools nor written literature were known, but there were plenty of teachers and pupils.

Every hunter could give me information regarding his teachers in kaiaking, in the hunting of the various seals, in the use of his weapons, and the magic expedients necessary to secure a successful catch; and if in his youth a man had had *angakoq training* (*agakicsarneq*) he generally would mention several older *angakoks* as his teachers in the subject. Instruction took place amongst old and young in *iliseeneq* (knowledge of cunning magic, e. g. with the aim of procuring helpful expedients against the plots of enemies), in the subject of *qilaneq* (the more primitive ways of treating illness, abstract form of the verb *qilawoq* 'executes the art of a *qilaleq*'), and in all sorts of witchcraft which might benefit the perpetrator and harm his enemies. While the instruction in hunting more or less corresponded with what we, with our idea of culture, would require for ordinary, practical (e. g., industrial or agrarian) training, and the instruction in magic expedients (magic prayers and amulets) contained elements of a specialized sociology and of dietetics, the Greenland *angakoq* and *qilaleq* instruction (*agakicsarneq* and *qilaneq*) was understood to be a sort of academical training in theological and medical knowledge. The time occupied by the angakoq disciple for his training varied from 5—12 years, and he often had had half a score of professors for his teachers, viz., the completed old angakut in the neighbourhood where he had grown up.

For almost all kind of instruction and "good advice" *payment*, sometimes very dear payment, was given, as will be seen from the following examples; only the practical and elementary training in kaiaking and hunting given to the son by his father, was gratis.

One day the angakoq Ajukutooq visited me in my tent accompanied

by his one wife and his favourite son, a small, chubby, big-bellied, six year old boy with clever eyes and the dignified manners of a great hunter. The father proudly informed me that one day the boy would be the supporter of his two sisters and his old mother, and for this reason was the only one to get meat during the famine in the winter, when all the others starved. As yet he had not got a kaiak, but Ajukutooq had begun to instruct him in the use of the kaiak paddle, which he practised while sitting on a stone on land; the next year he was to have a kaiak and learn to use the paddle in the water. Ajukutooq had also begun to instruct him in the use of the gun, viz., to aim at the emerging animal, and had shown him how to adjust the sight in order to give accuracy to the weapon.

In the education of the boys for their practical work in life, all kinds of *models* of boats, sledges and weapons play a great rôle, while in that of the girls the dolls and the *ulo*-models naturally have a similar significance. The children early become accustomed to the use of their small instruments (see First Part p. 63). They learn, in addition, to sing and recite short verses and stories for children; and, in their play, often imitate the life of the grown-ups by building houses and tents of stones, by beating the drum while singing and dancing, and by holding drumming contests, etc.[1]

Once when we met, Umeerinneq reckoned up the number of young men whom he in his time had instructed in kaiaking and hunting. He had taught them, in particular, how to right themselves and come on an even keel when the kaiak capsized, the art of which can be performed in several different ways, whether by the aid of the paddle or the throwing-board (First Part, p. 382). He had, for example, instructed Teemiartissaq's two sons in this art, and for the youngest of them, Kättuaree, had himself made a kaiak. He had, furthermore, instructed his wife's two brothers, as also Qilertaanalik and two deceased friends. By way of payment his pupils were in the habit of frequently presenting him with a share of their catch. In his youth, when he lived in the South at Umeewik, Umeerinneq himself had *received instruction* in kaiaking and all sorts of hunting, viz., in bear-hunting from Qilertaanalik's father, in walrus-hunting from Kookiaat, and in white-whale-hunting from his father's cousin Qaasiaarter, who also instructed him in the catching of the ringed seal and the bearded seal ("for he was very conversant with this").—Umeerineq classified the matter of instruction under seven heads in all, each with various subdivisions. He used to say: *artarserna'ra'* "it is usual to give

[1] As regards the West Greenlanders compare Dalager (1752), pp. 4—6; Cranz (1770), vol. I, pp. 214—215 and 230—231, Glahn (1771), pp. 240—242, Saabye (1816), pp. 119—120.

instruction (or give advice) in the following subjects''—and he mentioned them in the following order. (1) *saqisikin* 'in the use of kaiaks'; (2) *sanʿersartiŋoʾ* 'in trials of strength, exercises' e. g. by wrestling, running races, or lifting stones (*nunʿeʿrsaʿrtit*); (3) *iwʿeʿmik* 'in drum-contest singing'; (4) *seĸʿamik* 'in magic prayers'; (5) *iliseʿneʿmik* 'in witchcraft' (e. g. spells to harm one's enemies or protect oneself against them); (6) *aŋineʿmik* 'in hunting'; (7) *aŋakʿeʿlisaʿnik* 'in the subject of angakoq arts (the means of exercising one's profession as an angakoq)'. Hunting he classified in five subsubjects, according to the various kinds of animals: seal-hunting (which again is subdivided in accordance with the different kinds of seals), bear-hunting, white-whale-hunting, walrus-hunting, and the hunting of large whales.

The old wise woman Teemiartissaq had in her youth studied for angakoq, but without completing the training (cf. pag. 454 ff.), and she enumerated some of the *subjects* which she had learnt during that time. Besides her father one of her teachers was Pikkinnor, who, when alone with her out in the mountains (pag. 465), in one or two days initiated her in the mysteries of ''angakokism'' (the angakoq craft or art). Another day he took her out to teach her spells, and on a third occasion to teach her tales (of two kinds: *oqaluaʿlüt* and *oqalütokʿät*). As far as the instruction in angakoq training was concerned it was a question of initiation in this profession (*aŋakeʿsüaʿme aʿᵐtäsaʿnik*, the initiation in the profession of angakoq).

Besides these subjects, the following one is mentioned as a special subject by Qiwiŋataaq (and others): *atʿiŋaʿniŋ*[1] *artarseraʿ* i. e. he instructed her in the customs of taboo, which is extensively used on the death of a near relation. Part of this is that the father (or mother) informs his children of those things which they shall refrain from eating, in order not to provoke the spirits and the animals when the time comes for them to mourn their parents.

Two facts are noticeable about this transmission of traditions. Firstly that the elders are concerned about the instruction, as it is they who address themselves to the juniors with a view to teaching these, though for this honour and service the juniors pay their elders, buying the knowledge of the latter with a quite concrete payment. Secondly that the instruction is given in deep secrecy, only the two concerned, the teacher and the pupil, knowing about it. This applies to the instruction in the subjects of *angakooneq* and *iliseeneq*, and in magic spells and the knowledge of amulets. When an old hunter or woman desires to instruct a child in the settlement in one of these subjects, the two walk away together to some spot in the neighbourhood—a lake, river or valley, or the foot of some steep cliff—where they are alone,

[1] WGr. *atʟiŋaʿnik* · *atʟerpa.* (agdlerpâ).

and where no one else can listen to their words. Sometimes the teacher holds the pupil's hand while he instructs him. The boy gets his spells at that particular time when he first goes fishing, and the girl when she first puts up her hair in a tuft—at the commencement of puberty.

As an example in the instruction of magic knowledge and religious activity I shall mention the angakoq Mitsuarniaŋŋa's description of his training. From it will be seen the number of the teachers from whom he drew his knowledge, what he paid for it, and of what the payment consisted. I shall not enter into further details as to his angakoq training, which will be described in the section on religion.

It was decided early that Mitsuarniaŋŋa should become an angakoq, because his father died while he was yet a child, so that he had to be helped along by higher powers. He was quite a poor child when the old angakoq Qatik Imaalikuteuk, who was then settled on the island of Kulusuk at the mouth of the Ammattalik Fjord, became interested in him and said: "Come along! I will initiate you in the fundamentals of angakoq". The boy followed the old man, who first ordered him to fetch the green sea-weed on the beach and clean his whole body with it. Thereupon they climbed the inner fell of the island, where lay the little lake and nearby the magic rubbing-stone of the angakoq, under the mountain Saaleqitaa. Here Mitsuarniaŋŋa got instruction in the details of the initiation (*aŋake'lisät*), or, rather, his practical consecration to the profession of angakoq. By reason of his poverty, he at that time had nothing wherewith to pay Imaalikuteuk, so obtained his instruction gratis; but he paid all his subsequent teachers, his payment steadily improving. By degrees he became a great hunter, who could afford to pay well. This will be evident from the following summary.

Mitsuarniaŋŋa's teachers in the profession of angakoq and iliseeneq, arranged chronologically:

Name of teacher	Subject	Payment
Imaalikuteuk (angakoq)	*angakoq*-science	(free).
Peqitâq	*iliseeneq*	repairing of a harpoon-head.
Puteaanaq	*iliseeneq*	harpoon-head of walrus ivory. Point of a narwhal tooth carved for the plaiting of sinew-threads (for the use of *Puteaanaq*'s wife).
Takin^{w}nalikîlseq (angakoq)	*angakoq*-science	a large bearskin.

Name of teacher	Subject	Payment
Perqeetsaq	*iliseeneq*	bone of a bear's thigh for the keel of a sledge.
Sóoisaaq	*angakoq*-science?	?
Ooiän (angakoq)	making of *tupilak*	oar for a kaiak, a piece of bear-skin, and a thong with harpoon-head attached.
Upparágitseq	?	?
Suttuitseq	?	?
Aartuiartik	?	?
Arqarsaaq	*iliseeneq*	a knife, and a hammer with iron head.
Aawtaaiteq	?	?
Takinᵂnalikitseq (see above)	*iliseeneq*	a harpoon line and a buoy.
Qiloqulúk	*iliseeneq*	the skins of two young ringed seals and of three older ones (for trousers).
Qaartuältak	?	two sealskins, a bag filled with blood of seal, a thong, and a lance of walrus-ivory.
Pérqitáaq	?	a sledge and a dog.

This education extended over many years, but scarcely lasted very long at a time. Mitsuarniaqqa told me that Imaalikuteuk, his first teacher, had taught him during the winter; after which Puteaanaq, Imaalikuteuk's son, instructed him in the course of the next summer. In the ensuing winter he received no instruction, but then Takinnalikitseq was his instructor during that summer, Perqeetsaq during the next summer, and Ooian during the following summer, when he taught him to make a tupilak.

His first two instructors in the *observances* which insure good sealing were his father's brother Qanappik, and Milätteeq. Their instruction certainly took place in his early youth, as can be judged from what he paid them. These magic measures naturally constitute an important element in the education of every finished Eskimo sealer; similar measures have previously been mentioned (by G. Holm, see First Part, pp. 48–49). We should characterize these observances as being of a religious nature, but in the Eskimo's own consciousness they probably rank with the natural and practical preparations which

a provident farmer in our countries would make in the spring to make sure of a good harvest. With sealing, to be sure, the measures are not deemed to be real iliseeneq, but verging on this science, as it were a sort of veterinary science along with the academical culture. Here are a couple of examples.

For use when hunting the crested seal Qanappik taught him the following observance.

nay'ilerqa'rnerse'ta' 'initiation-rule in the spring, on the occasion of the first seal being caught'. This rule was said to be a means of catching seven crested seals in the course of the summer.

saqi^{w}t'utit ne'niarteq pila'ri^{w}k'i, umiäta ila' taq'ä^{w}nig nay'ik'una'-rpät. nayilerqa'rnerse''isän'ik puilip pup'isa'nik nay'ilernerme ayiniiar-tivarte''na'rin.

"When you are out in a kaiak and get a crested seal, you must place one of the bristles of its beard in under the cross-straps on the kaiak. By the aid of this observance on your first spring-hunting for the purpose of effecting the seal's emergence you shall be in the position to procure abundant profit from your hunting in the beginning summer."

Milätteeq gave him the following advice, whereby he could get five bearded seals in the course of the summer.

saqi^{w}t'utit, avalätertutit an'eq paip'at na'lükik'e, tiw'uka'tüiak'e, umiäta ila' tan'era'n pe'rtoyo at'ame'rtarïma'rin. ne''ternerse'lisät, an'erniy ayiniartiva'lisät.

"If, when you are kaiaking and standing off-shore, a bearded seal emerges, and you harpoon it and begin to tow in towards land, you must cut off its longest bristle and, on landing, lay it on the dunghill (in front of the house) for the spirits of the dunghill. This shall be your helper in noticing the undulating circles which are formed round the emerging seal, and your means of getting an abundant catch of bearded seals."

The following examples appertain to the subject of *iliseeneq*, i. e., the doctrine of social magic, and magic measures for getting along amongst other people.

Mitsuarniaŋŋa, as already mentioned, had had a succession of teachers in this subject, and it may perhaps be instructive to gather together his particulars regarding it, as a contribution to a representation of the public education of the Eskimos before the arrival of the Europeans. This is perhaps the most typical kind of knowledge of this

people. From time immemorial these doctrines have been transmitted from generation to generation by oral tradition, and at secret meetings between teacher and pupil alone.

"Many of our people are considered unreliable, and full of scandal and evil, and their wicked words and thoughts can harm my soul. *Iliseeneq* is, therefore, essentially the doctrine of how I can take care of my spiritual hygiene by magic means (observances). These partly protect me against the plots of my enemies (their evil thoughts), and are partly used by me to persecute and hurt them."

Ilise'nilisa't (produced iliseeneq) indicates the performance of iliseeneq, the means and the results of this art; *iliseetsoq* the human being (man or woman) who produces the means (*iliseet*) or executes the art.

Every angakoq has received ample instruction about such means; he is a physician who has plenty of these kinds of prescriptions. But also the majority of laymen in the country, especially the old men and women, generally have on hand a good share of such advice, which they have learnt in the course of a long life, and if one will only pay the price, one can always by applying to them procure a supply for insuring one's life.

Mitsuarniaŋŋa was not yet grown up when he got instruction in *iliseeneq* from Peqitaq (Saka's father), who at that time lived at Sermilik Fjord, but I will begin by quoting the iliseeneq instruction which he received not long afterwards from the angakoq *Takin^{w}nalikitseq*. Mitsuarniaŋŋa's report to me on this curriculum in magic knowledge reads as follows.

o'ma sa'paŋ'a: ajeqerse'liteawa^{w}k'in. — akiwara: kisiniŋa? — na''tsera'miŋ. ta'wame e'^{m} at'a ta'ma'ia'rpatin akeŋ'ima'rpat toqoŋalip amoa'ja'nik it'erata sa'iane ileŋima'rpat na''tseralüsa'nik po'saqik'ima'rpat toqoŋalip isiwane awalerpiane ile''ma'rin tumartaliŋ . . . (?) e''süäta kipiät'a'lüsa'nik k$^{c}_{i}$piät'aluipage^{n} toquŋuma'rter taman'a pit'ute''wa. — kise piteawe'n? — nanerq^{w}amiŋ tuniwara. ta'wa.

"He said to me 'I will give you instruction'." "In what?" I asked. "In death-germs. Well, then. If another person offends you in words (abuses you), you shall revenge yourself thus. You shall lay a dead man's intestines on the fore part of your enemy's sleeping-place on the platform[1]. These are his death-germs, which you must wrap up in a bag, formed from the extreme tip of the dead man's hood. You must stuff them into his house-box (chest), or into the drying frame,

[1] Therefore under or close by his head when he lies down; as one sleeps with one's head in towards the room and one's feet pointing towards the wall.

both in front of his place on the platform[1]. When you have stuffed them in, they will become the cause of his death." — "What are you to have for this? said I. — I gave him a bearskin." — Mitsuarnianŋŋa himself regarded this payment as expensive. His teacher, when formerly he bought the advice, had paid for it with a buoy and a thong.

Takin^{w}nalikitseq provided Mitsuarnianŋŋa with the following advice.

sa'pa'ŕa: ajeqerse'litcava^{w}k'in. — kisimiya? — ak'im'iŋ. aŋit^{w}awin ak'is'isa'nik, aŋit^{w}ät piniaŋa'p'at aŋit^{w}a' akeŋima'rpat. aŋit^{w}a'ta a'maqaiäta qilin'era[2] po'rtoŋo iliaŋ[3] o'narqila'rpat, ata'ne pusit'ik'uma'rpat pusit'ik'i^{w}k'e aŋieneq ajülerima'rteq i^{w}t'in aŋ'e'üa'wi$^{t}_{n}$ at'amun a^{w}k'uip'e'n sik'aŋima'ra' sik'art'iŋo aŋi^{w}tät oq(')userima'rin a'^{w}tätsa'rtine.

"He said to me: 'I will give you instruction'. 'In what?' 'In magic reprisals, or counteracting expedients for use against your supporter (e. g., your father). If your supporter catches too much you shall try to counteract his catch. You shall wrap up a small lap[2] of blubber from one of his captured seals, and put it in the fire. When it has crinkled from the heat[3] you shall jam it under him (on the platform under his pillows) with the concave side downward and the convex side upwards. When you have placed it thus, his catch will begin to fall off. If your elder sister conducts the distribution of the seal-meat to the others, she must 'slip away' from him[4]. By her thus 'slipping away' from him, you will procure for yourself a lee side and a sheltered place, inasmuch as he will cease to go hunting."

For this advice Mitsuarnianŋŋa paid with his lance and a large beautiful swivel of walrus ivory.

Ooiän taught Mitsuarnianŋŋa to make a tupilak[5].

sa'pa'ŋa: kajersiwe'nia'^{t}n tim'ia'^{t}me sit'arme'tamit'e na'liwiarte'p qarnata cia'niŋ isiwanit'e pe'rseŋima'rputin; pe'rseŋiwin takilük'ima'-

[1] The intestines are to be hidden under his compartment on the platform, or above him in the drying frame, which hangs under the ceiling. — House chests are seen in the First Part, figs. 288—289, a drying frame in fig. 260 (cf. 66—68).

[2] *qilineq* really 'a hangnail'. The torn off or loosely cut piece of blubber has frayed or lobate edges, and such a "lap" is in question here.

[3] *iliaŋ* resembles the word which means needle-eye (*ilia*); but the above word should rather be connected with *ilip'oq* 'has come too near the fire, is burnt or singed' and *iliŋawoq* 'is curly or crinkled', Kleinschmidt's *iliŋpoq* and *ilingawoq* respectively.

[4] The end of the piece cannot with certainty be interpreted because I lack information as to the meaning of *sik'aŋima ra' sik'iartiŋo*; cf. the West Greenland "*sivkarpa'*" 'he glides off that which he was supporting himself onto, with his hand or foot". It seems to refer to a movement or sudden gesture at the distribution of the meat.

[5] An illustration of such a tupilak with the body of a sandpiper and a man's head is seen in First Part, fig. 365 a.

rputin. pe'řiak'ut takilüp'ak'a. sa'p'a'řa: arqise'lütcawän im'ik'e'rtome'-tiqun nanaman at'aman nunatin^{w}ermun piwagun. uja^{w}tatujokajim'un e'ŋartit'iwa at'aman talit'iŋo sa'^{w}naŋ iliwak'a, qile'lüs'araŋ'it'ät qile'lüsa'nik torsoa'rpoq. qile'lüsa' isümame'ŋ tikip'oŋ tikik'ame te''wara. pailin nukeřiwa palamaliwa, a'rqise'lüǧa('')k'o. nipiŋarna makic'üa('')r-poq sat'uartertiŋo ilale'süarpoq. e'arak'o ut'uin'arsiarpara ax'e'kun o'male'iarpara o'mas('')imat qimap'arpoq at'un piŋace't^{w}a'ne ornerqeiar-parput. ta'wa milititciwara, puätarserciwara. e'aqatiŋa owarpoq: e'qe puätarsäcaŋ'ilat. ace'agin poätarsät'aleř. tät'aŋ'a pit'isa'ia'k'o, am'un a^{w}ta'ie'tarpoq oŋa'rt^{w}a'ıəqali^{w}ne tima' na'liwiartik up'ata'k sit'ame'toř ilik'ortuneqa'ŋ. aŋak'e'süla'ma.

"He said to me: 'Realize the object of your longing (Do what you long to!). Get a gull and a redshank and take from a little child's mouth the eye-teeth and end-teeth[1]. The thus extracted and special pieces you shall hide!' I hid them under the tent-stones[2]. He said to me further: 'Now you must put them together!' We crossed the island to another place, Nunatin^{w}neq (it lay to the West at the mouth of the Ammattalik Fjord). I leant against the large boulder and supported my elbows on another. I laid the pieces loose before me. He called the winding-band. The band appeared of its own accord (by the action of his thoughts). When it had come, I took it. It was the tensor sinew of a seal (a sinew stretching inwards, and one of the second best kind). I put it to rights, whereby its appendage (a sinew of medium width and perhaps a lap of the first) rose up in the air. When blown upon it bent right down. I occupied myself with it during the whole day, in order to put it in its right position. Soon afterwards I began to make it living (as if for a tupilak). When it had become living, we left it. Three days afterwards we returned, and then I wanted to make it suck, and to swell up. My companion said 'No, you shall not let it swell up; it is of that kind one makes swell up from the other side'[3]. From that moment I stopped. We went together down to the water (and came) to the interior behind our native place in the country, on the other side of the island. There on the shore lay the thighs of a

[1] I suppose that here there is talk of the teeth from a child's cranium—a dead child. *isiwa* signifies 'the top or the furthest end' possibly meaning the fore-teeth, as I do not perceive how it would be possible to fix molars in a doll's wooden head.

[2] This information is elucidated in an interesting way from a find of ruins in northern East Greenland. B. Thostrup (Geogr. Tidsskr. 1912, p. 182) reports from the Denmark Expedition that, under the stones for the tent-rings, bits of wood and whalebone were found at times: once a new harpoon-head of slate under a large tent-stone, and on another occasion a severed lock of human hair.

ace'agin = *ase* used about 'the other world', i. e. 'the hereafter'.

little child, they made a strong impression on me; then I began to have an inclination to become an angakoq."

Qaartuättak gave Mitsuarniaŋŋa instruction in two means appertaining to the spiritual hygiene.

(1) "If, by chance, you enter a strange house, where the air-hole in the ceiling (*qiŋa'q*) is open, you shall moisten your finger with saliva and smear this on your crown. Because by this way the human's soul is accustomed to depart and leave the house. A house without an air-hole[1], therefore, has no sick occupants, or if one of them happens to get ill, he does not die easily."

The soul, consequently, is supposed to move out through the air-hole in the ceiling, not through the window or the passage.

(2) "If you come into a strange house and a dirty drinking ladle (*imerta'ᵂt*) is passed to you, you shall take care not to use it. Because the dirt will cause your kaiak to lose some of its speed, and you, consequently, some of your skill as a hunter. You revenge his malice thus. You must give him the neck-part of a ringed seal, or harbour seal (with the bones in it), then (if he eats it) his neck will swell up, the result being that he will become sick. This is the reward for his water-ladle."

Qilonguluk taught Mitsuarniaŋŋa "a recipe for the use of the drum-stick" (*katime'saq*)[2].

"Thus shall you use the drum-stick during the juridical singing duel. If your singing opponent thrusts his drum-stick into your mouth in order to suffocate you, you shall revenge this by providing the extreme end of your own drum-stick with a small sea-snail (of a certain kind, *pusiŋalua'rtik*). When you then thrust this into his mouth, in order to distend the gap, it will become impossible for him to continue his singing, because he will lose his voice by suffocation."

Perqitaaq gave him a regular iliseeneq remedy against evil thoughts. If any person in the house slandered him he should revenge the slander (therefore annul the effect) in the following manner.

"From the sea you shall fetch a small animal (fish?) of the species *qut'a'naq*[3], read a magic prayer over it, and inspire it with an evil thought. Then, on a favourable occasion, you shall secretly set it fast in the anorak of your calumniator, and his (her) throat will become affected, and he (she) will be incapable of speaking."

[1] The air hole is called *iLLup qiŋa'*, 'the nostril of the house'. It is a small hole in the roof through which the heat is let out when it becomes too warm inside the house.

[2] < WGr. *katumigpoq* 'works with the *kato* (drum-stick)'.

[3] According to Kleinschmidt's dictionary the WGr. *quwssaunaq* is 'a small narrow fish with sharp scales on the belly (of the blenny family?)'. The above *qut'a'naq* is the East Greenland form of the same word, and exactly corresponds.

Mitsuarniaŋŋa gave a sledge and a dog for this advice. The good payment shows what great importance he placed upon it, and upon his now being an independent and well-to-do man.

All this pertains to the subject of *iliseeneq*, and it is only a part of what Mitsuarniaŋŋa learnt in this subject. His training had carried him further, and he had long been an angakoq of high standing when, in 1894, the missionaries reached this place and began their undermining of the inherited ideas of the nation about the world and life. Mitsuarniaŋŋa was the first aŋákoq who allowed himself to be baptised. His motive was the usual one over there: "We are baptised in order that our soul may be saved when the heavens are about to fall." I often betook myself to him during the year that I travelled about there, because he was full of heathen knowledge, a peculiar mixture of the old time before the discovery and the imported Christianity. At his baptism he had received the name *Andreas* (Andrew), which he could only pronounce as *Ahntereease* [a'ntɛre'ase]. The gleams of the doctrine of Christianity which he had apprehended had taken shape in his perspective of the future, but had in no way ousted his belief that he had been a great angakoq in the past and had known the truth about the world. His "familiar spirits" had really existed, though only in the past. He himself really had made the journey to the moon. He was a taciturn and reserved man, highly gifted, and with a strong belief in a future world, brooding over the unseen powers, and searching for the truest and most genuine expedients which would enable him to be on good terms with them as regards the life of the hereafter; first the Eskimo expedients, and later those of the Europeans.

I have not much to say about Mitsuarniaŋŋa's own work as a teacher. I know that he had had two disciples in iliseeneq (*artarsüiŋa* "my disciple"). From the one he had received in payment a dog and a woollen shirt; and from the other a harpoon-head, a bird-spear, a buoy (sealing bladder), and a piece of bearskin to sit on in the kaiak. He had probably had several more pupils, both in iliseeneq and in other subjects. Mitsuarniaŋŋa died in 1910, poor and crippled. As early as 1906 one of his legs had become stiff, and he could no longer go kaiaking (portr. in fig. 164)[1].

I have here spoken mostly about the spiritual subjects, and those which are propagated directly by conscious instruction. But how much knowledge and how many accomplishments are there not, which, in addition, are propagated by imitation? It is through the conversation of others, through the language, and through the manners and gestures

[1] Other portraits of Mitsuarniaŋŋa are seen in figs. 21 (p. 165) and 51 (p. 283).

Fig. 165. *Mitsuarniayya* as a baptised angakkoq (cf. figs. 21 and 51) (W. T. phot. 1906)

Fig. 166. *Umeerinneq*, the far-travelled, who in his youth visited the south of Greenland and then returned to his native place on the east coast in the company of G. Holm. (In 1884, see Holm & Garde, Konebaadsexpeditionen, pp. 164 and 199—200).

of their elders that the children are influenced, and it is in this way that the younger generation becomes imbued with the inherited conceptions regarding the world, orientation, primitive geography, and natural history.

In some respects the Eskimos have become specialists, and are, no doubt, on an average and relatively, better informed as regards the knowledge of animal life and of many natural phenomena than are our own children after their school training is finished. How much more, for example, does not the growing Eskimo girl know about the anatomy of seals and other game! Hundreds of times she has seen the old women of the house quartering these animals and has, thereby, already almost learnt to perform the same task, which will some day become her own. The men, of course, are equally well informed in the subject. The Eskimo is not only an excellent anatomist but also a surgeon. When a fracture is in question, he possesses remarkable appreciation as to the nature of the injury, and, on the strength of his exact anatomical knowledge understands how to set the injured part; and for the same reason the old women are skilful midwives.

CHAPTER III

THE ESKIMO COMMUNITY IN GREENLAND

The real Eskimo community approximates a condition of communistic anarchy. It knows neither lawfully recognized chiefs nor representative institutions. Only as an exception have there existed Eskimo chiefs, of whom tradition relates. It was a temporary occurrence, not hereditary conditions, which produced a "liberator" like *Kunuk*, a hero in South Greenland tradition[1]. There does not really exist any Eskimo word which answers to our word *chief:* the WGr. *naalagaq* 'master' (inspector, director, chief, Lord etc.) literally means only 'the obeyed one, the one one listens to', and is a genuine Eskimo word which has been given several modern meanings introduced by the whites.—From the western Eskimo districts (Alaska) there is mention of the headmen of the village as those who divide and distribute the presents among their fellow townsmen, being their representatives when foreign guests have to be honoured[2]. Individual examples of real chiefs are also recorded, who, though only for a short period, have gathered a following and forced on the people a mastery based on fear and subtlety.

As a rule the hunter is head only of his own family, and has no authority over the other families in the village. Custom, however, gives the oldest sealer in the village, or in the house, a certain degree of patriarchal authority, but this does not extend beyond the boundary of the village[3]. In W. Greenland he is called *ittoq* (with suffix *ittua't* 'their patriarch' = EGr. *ittiva'n*), and his authority is unshaken so long as he maintains his skill in sealing, and in storing away abundant

[1] Rink, *Tales and Traditions*, pp. 132—143. See also my "Grönlandske Sagn" (1913), pp. 62—63. Eskimo "chiefs" are mentioned in De Poincy's (and Nicolas Tunes') reports on the Davis Straits (1658), see First Part, p. 684; their supposed "kings" are mentioned even earlier, see p. 686. But our information regarding such things as observed by the early pioneers (who did not understand the Eskimo language) is very uncertain.

[2] E. W. Nelson, pp. 286—287 and 296—297.

[3] Cf. also Mauss and Beuchat, p. 109.

supplies for the winter. The son with his family lives in his father's house, and in the summer moves with him and his tent[1].

After the father's death, the grown up sons often continue for the time being to live with his widow, their mother.

At Ammassalik, for example, during the year we wintered there, parents lived with their married children in the same house, as follows:

Sigataaq had his married son in his house and his tent.

Maratté had two married sons in his house and his tent.

Umeerinneq had one married son with him, and his son-in-law Okuenk.

Marhré had two married sons in his house.

Kooitse's mother had her four sons, all married, in her house and tent.

Teemiartissaq had her two married sons in her house.

When Attiartertoq's daughter, Tupaaja, parted from her husband, Perqitaq, who disowned her, she moved from his tent back to her father's.

In the house (and tent) each family has its fixed place on the platform.

As an example I give the following family apportionment in some of the houses near Ammassalik. I also do it to show the personal names of the inmates. They are all named after a considerable number of the dead but the names of the dead must not be mentioned— except at the moment of baptism—so these names are not in everyday use (they were confided to me in whispers). Every person therefore has an epithet or nickname for everyday use, and further they are as a rule named variously *elder brother*, *elder sister*, *uncle*, *aunt* etc.

Five inhabited Houses in the Ammattalik and Sermilik Fjords.

Names of the Inmates and their Distribution in the Houses.

Five ground plans (houses nos. VI, VII, VIII, X, XI) see fig. 167.

The numbers of the houses (top, left) correspond to those used in the list of "Measurements of the Interior of Eleven Inhabited Houses", see First Part pp. 356—357.

The Roman numerals seen on the platforms along the back and front walls indicate adult inmates, Arabic numerals (placed as exponents) denote children.

The names of the inmates are here numbered according to their places on the platforms. No. I on the extreme left is as a rule the place of the master of the house.

[1] First Part, pp. 347—349.

The length of the back and side walls and the breadth of the passage are given in metres.

w on the front wall means window.

Statistic particulars of the East Greenlanders about the years 1884—85 have been given by Holm in the First Part, pp. 183—187, cf. 26—27.

Physical anthropology by Soren Hansen, First Part pp. 149—180.

In the ground plans the main platform (*itter(q)*) is seen against the back wall, and the window platforms (*eepe*) against the front wall. Here are the windows between which the long house passage (*iseeia*) is situated, and its inner opening and ascent (*katak*) are marked. The inner part of the main platform (marked a in no. XI) is called the *kile* of the platform (WGr. *kilo*) and is the sleeping-place of the young children, except the babies who lie with their mothers. Adolescents and all unmarried inmates sleep on the window platforms where guests also are given places. The vertical lines on the main platforms indicate the skin partitions (*talin*) between the special places of the families, their "beds, stalls" (*eaa*, plur. *eaan*, possessive form of *ee* = WGr. *ine* 'the bed, the nest, etc.'). These are the nightly sleeping-places of the parents.

Adult inmates sleep with their heads turned towards the edge of the platform, resting on a pillow consisting of a rolled up skin coat, their feet pointing towards the back wall. For cover there was a seal skin often with an edging of bear skin (*qipe*). The underlying layer (mattress) for the most part consisted of some larger seal skins (Greenland seal or hooded seal) with the hairy side turned up towards the body; as in WGreenland this layer is called *qaaq*.—The space between the floor and the platform is called *qaaneq*. In the day-time the "bed" is the woman's working-place where she will sit for hours in the oriental way with her legs crossed under her, sewing, cutting, winding sinews, cooking meat etc.

At the front edge of the platform the props for the ceiling (pillars bearing the roof) are marked by small circles, and outside them are seen the lamp platforms, e. g. in no. XI, marked *b*, while *c* denotes the window platforms, *d* the katak entrance.—The side or end walls of the house are called *uän*; often a narrow shelf or platform runs along them, a little lower than the main platform. Here implements, boxes, lamps etc. are kept. For more details see First Part, pp. 352 ff.

Personal Names.

(Cf. Hanserak's list of names from 1884—85, First Part, pp. 189—202.)

Each person has several names, most of them being the names of dead people after whom they have been called, which, accordingly, are never used and therefore must never be mentioned aloud.

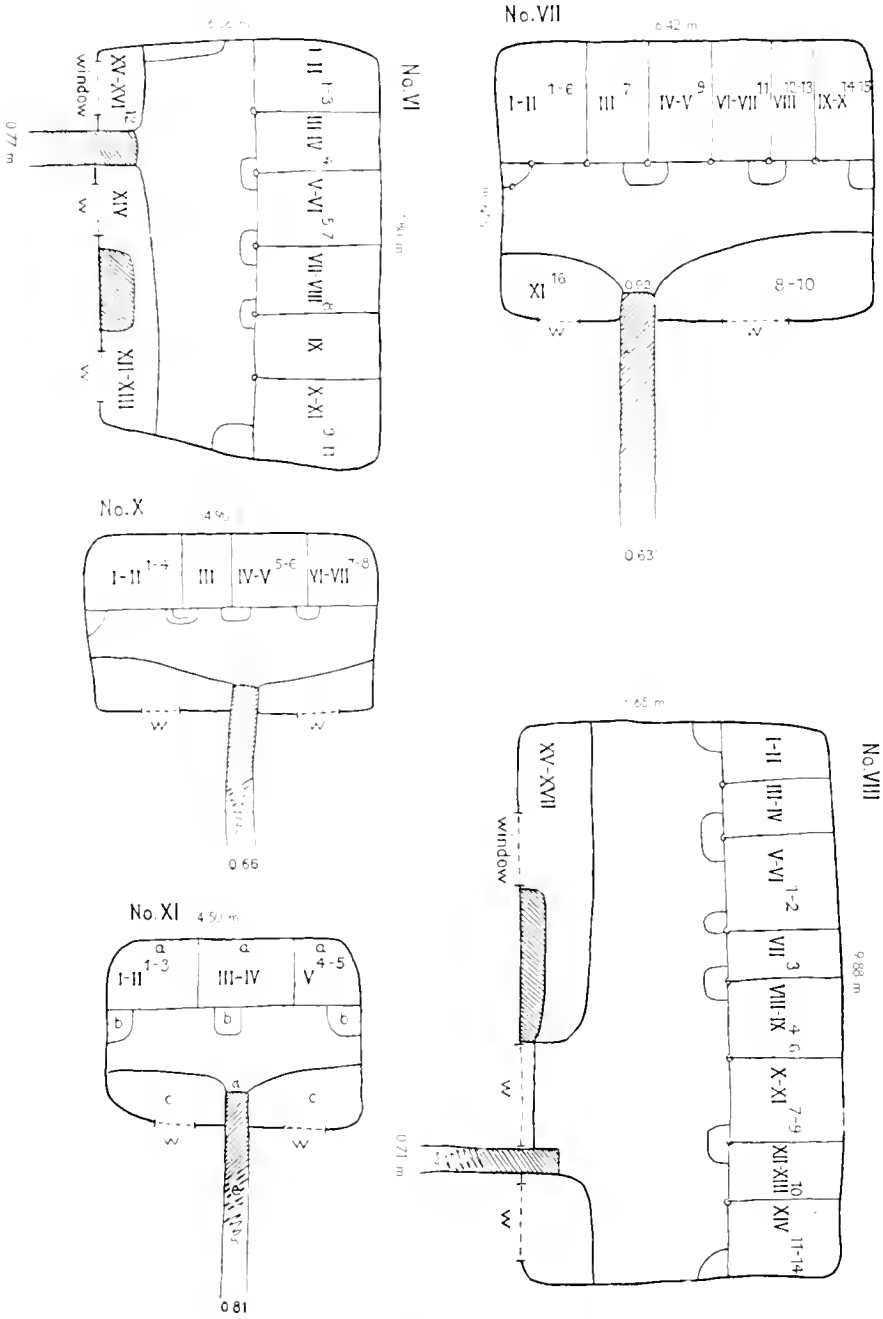

Fig. 167. Groundplans of five houses, nos. VI, VII, VIII, X, XI, see explanations on opposite pages.

Many persons were unwilling to tell me their names; others would only tell me some of them. Most of the names originally had a meaning in the language, and for many of them it is possible to catch a glimpse of the etymology.

* denotes the name usually employed; it may be a pet-name or a nickname. See also the special section on names (in a later chapter).

∼ denotes "married to".

No. VI. The house at *Sawaranaarteq.*

Number of inhabitants: 28; adults 16.

I. *Pinnerseeŋ Pikkiwarnaa^{t}l Kukkarnaaq *Paa^{w}k^{w}annak.*

II. ∼ *Kiwikarnaa^{t}l Maŋŋee^{w}ar Qeännilik Eeraaalik.*

1. *Uitsinne Kaa^{w}kajė Tookat^{s}ee Teertukko* (etc.), boy.
2. *A^{w}kko Aa^{i}nu Ki^{w}tlaale Kaalué T^{s}ippile,* boy.
3. *I^{w}eeiawik Kunúk Mallokalaak Pağararter Uiŋŋa* (or *Uinnak*) *Teqerq^{u}uaa'ilsiaq Mikilera Eesimaleq,* girl

III. *Ukkaq Qeerseeq Qatiɹeer Ersisaar Ajö *Qaartuān.*

IV ∼ *Cerqė Naammarter Killarpuluk Kooŋ^{u}aaie Peerleesaar.*

4. *Alūsakkaa^{t}l Kukku Kakkaseerloq Ammora^{t}nnaq Paa$^{r}_{ŋ}$ararluāt Takiluarnarteq Torqoakitseq Peerna Umeerin^{w}neq* (or *Umeen^{w}ne*), boy.

V. **Imaa^{w}ka Serneero Qinnalilloŋ Aaloorloŋ Oomaaseŋ Akeeŋaq Qoorqoor̃.*

VI. ∼ *Kaakaak Arqaluartaaq Acceree Usuraniaq* (etc.).

5. *Arqartsaaq Aarqeen Unalitokajee Piwaaie Cimmojooŋ Naaŋīɹaq Cānniŋālla Ikimaleq Nanik^{w}aje^{k},* boy.
6. *Imma^{t}lleŋ Napakko Peewaain Aŋŋanneekaik* (etc.), boy.
7. *Apucsuk Quesuluk Tookulàk* (or *-leq*) *Amaa^{t}naq* (etc.), boy.

VII. *Eeqe* (or *Eeĸe*) *Pilla* (etc.).

VIII. ∼ *Qàtterne Qittoràjaq Tikkaiaat* (etc.).

8. *Mamarter Kunnitse Uɹuɹaaq Ammalīkàtlàk Amaartuān Keenaaq* (etc.), boy.

IX. *Ammutlàk* (or *-làŋ*) *Saame Mikiaq Pitlokaik Puālleŋ *Nutaraa^{i}tloŋ,* woman

X. *Nusukkaliwān Akérte* (etc.).

XI ∼ *Aaqeer Sīwartiwaarnaaq Aawiaatitsuk Apucsuŋ* (etc.).

9. *Amatànner Eesimarter Aa^{w}laalān Ascee^{w}n^{u}or Unaŋilokajik Nooraik Pullilaar,* boy.
10. *Napaallun Qiwiāŋee^{w}kēllaa^{t}n Nakkaŋaleq Alameelaaiwān Nakippāltaa^{t}n Uālaa^{t}n Tikkannik Eaŋaalik,* girl.
11. *Niŋaa^{t}wān Uitsalikitseq Qinniŋaaq Eekilor Berla Uɹurooŋ Keewaiān Qallaawa,* girl.

XII *Peetartiwaq Sakkeemiaq Peemaleq Ilipaaŋ Aataaq Tusiātliŋ* (= *Iliwale*) *Sippiŋane,* boy (15 years).

XIII *Peesue Piwàlin* (etc.), boy.

XIV *Uilsaa* (etc.), young man.

XV. *Elias Kakkaaq Cippiaq Ammaŋaa^{t}naq*

XVI ∼ *Dora Ullilia Pilliwakkaaie.*

12. *Peerar̀ Amaarloq,* girl

No. VII. The house at *Immikeertwaain*.

Inhabitants: 24; adults 11.

I. *Qilertaanalik Kaakaak Aaqee Arqaluaq* (etc.), master of the house.
II. ∾ *Eaa^{w}naak Ooraarter Tee^{w}ne Pe^{r}qornia* (etc.).
1. *Nunaara Upeqayitseq Qeaanak Tookaa^{r}ee*, girl.
2. *Taaluma Aat^{l}iwar Qanäppik* (etc.), boy.
3. *Sittüiaq Aqqammee.*
4. *Tokúttayyaaq Oqootoq Appaliaq.*
5. *Aaganne Ooruarpalúkajik Paaiaa^{t}l Kakilcerloq, Qaatseqaaq*, boy.
6. *Nälaaq* (etc.), girl.

III. *Uänne Aayiwaq Quätsiwinnaq Annike Tannealilloq* (etc.), old woman.
7. *Kooŋaq Panertoqujuk Qaamise Timaiaa Qillak Utsukkuluk Killermeetoq* (etc.)

IV. *Iserqiloq Qaaqätlooaa Maarnaake Aawiakutoowa Teekaik *Killaararter.*
V. ∾ *Neoqayyitseq Innilikaik Naayujuq* (etc.)
8. *Esee^{t}yakajik Qernertuätsiaq*, boy.
9. *Napaaseelaa^{t}l Aapalutuätsiaq Aakitseq*, girl.
10. *Nukartaaq Ujarnik Tiyilluk Qaceeppik*, boy.

VI. *Pisegaaq Naqqin^{w}ayyitseq Keenaq^{w}ayyitseq *Ertaaaraaq.*
VII. ∾ *Sernääro Payätlanmiy Nakerq^{w}aai^{n}* (etc.)
11. *Ayitaayyitseq Tikkanniy Na^{t}llaaq Amareq Ayinnoon.*

VIII. *Pisérqaaq Aamaka$^{k}_{q}$ Ikkartitsaq Ukoorajuät Mittikuju^{k}*, old woman.
12. *Kooŋaq Uuŋy Upparayyitseq Iesiauvik*
13. *Kaatuarpaase Qernerleq Peenatak Kaakak* (etc.), girl.

IX. *Ayerq^{w}aai Naa^{t}naaq Picsikaai.*
X. ∾ *Kamilerleq Napa Amaamaqtlaa^{t}l Kakkiviaq.*
11. *Ujarnik Kunnitse Ooxunarpaik* (etc.), girl.
15. *Naarteewät Qil^{s}éŋ* (etc.), girl.

XI. *Serneeso Akkasiy Pusiseq Oojulikaaq* (etc.), old woman.
16. *Eqqimaa^{t}tsiaaq Ameenak Allakkaa^{t}n Kukutloq Misarlaq*, boy.

No. VIII. The house at *Sarpaq*.

Inhabitants: 32; adults 18.

I. *Nuännaarin Qilaapalik Peecsoonäk Eeyiwaq.*
II. ∾ *Eerqinórteen Peqeelaq* (etc.).

III. *Cooŋojoŋ Napa Nawee^{w}kka.*
IV. *Uviaain Naaja Tookatser Pamiältik.*

V. *Quniyye Culuko Kaaluarnaat Ilerq^{w}aaq Cerqipalla.*
VI. ∾ *Anneele Mittikujo Pikkinor.*
1. *Teerte Qiwaaqe Oŋŋunnia,*
2. *Aa^{w}palutluätsiaq Ammalokällak.*

VII. *Qatsaarin Tikeq^{w}aa^{t}lsiaq.*
3. *Makkak Asee^{w}nor Timmujoŋ*

VIII. *Tookulaq Imerpiy Arqarmeey.*
IX. ∾ *Kee^{w}rnakke Kootsukujooq.*
4. *Qimmiartik Anilaayyitseq.*
5. *Keertsaray Imaalukulsuk.*
6. *Qoaieaacilik Mallukataaq Tappiyyaajuk.*

X. *Cimme Katia Cecrqoaaitsiaq Qutturneq Qaneek^{w}itor.*
XI. ∼ (*Louisa*) *Koortse Kaaruarnaaq.*
7. (*Ola*) *Sukkayyitseq Cialitsuk.*
8. *Eniliättak.*
9. *Aaniseeraq Aa^{w}paluttuätsiaq Aagitseq Qujaariu.*

XII. *Kaa^{w}kaje Ipaawaq Tamuqattiaq Nuniaaq Arqanitsiwän Peet^{s}iyokaje.*
XIII ∼ *Eekee Maaja Pujoor.*
10. *Aa^{w}ttätta Pilikaa^{t}tsiaq.*

XIV. (*Nataania*) *Ukkaq Peetsipalik.*
11 (*Peeter*) *Ciniyaq Utorqartaa^{t}t.*
12. (*Dorteca*) *Ileekaïppaat.*
13. (*Saamuel*) *Kanee^{w}nor.*
14 (*Maaria*) *Qupaluaartik.*

XV (*Elias*) *Kakkaaq.*
XVI. ∼ (*Doora*) *Uttilia Qiltoxajaq.*
15. (*Bera*) *Paaiaa^{t}t.*
XVII. *Ulluayye Killammeertoq Uppakka.*

XVIII. *Peetaannaat Paa^{s}csuk Arqacor* (etc.).

X. *Iserpalukittoq.*

The house on the island *Qeertartuättiaq.*

Inhabitants: 15; adults 8.

I. *Siyataaq Inojooq*, master of the house.
II. ∼ *Qaarcuay Eäoway Eöoray Amitsiway.*
1. *Qernerter Kukkuy Kakkilartaain.*
2. *Ujarneq Parâttammiy Ooqaatsiy.*
3. *Naaxo Ammalokättak Naxaak Silloraain.*
4. *Oojoŋättéŋ Qernertuätsiaq Aatsüko.*

III. *Pitaráy Aart^{w}aartik.*

IV. *Nusukkaluät Epee Pinnertser Ererlaay Amareŋ.*
V. ∼ *Qimmiartik Kiwikarnaa^{w}t Paa^{w}kännäk Qajalé Ittiwän Koortse.*
5. *Meeta Nakipattaak.*
6. *Kaaluarpaase Ittiwän Nakiyitseŋ Qiwaaqe.*

VI. *Taxálse Nerqeteeroŋ Kakkaar Sawartiwarnaaq*
VII. ∼ *Itseek^{w}aï Aputsuŋ Cippiaq Qää^{r}alin.*
7. *Kaatiŋ Pilâkaattiaq Aputsük.*
8. *Qit^{s}iŋŋuaq Aneeralualik Sittoraain.*

XI. The house on the peninsula *Qeertaaulaq*

not far south of the Sermilik fjord.

Inhabitants: 11 (10 here); adults 5.

I. *Nappártuko Qataaq Utteunnaak*, master of the house.
II ∼ *Ittimayeejuk Atâamaararter* (etc.).
1. *Tikkanniy Qeete Tappiŋŋaaiuk Amattinneq Ilïwälè Mattay Kanee^{w}n^{w}or Aaisakkaain Attaka*, boy, ab. 11 years.
2. *Qilee^{w}tin Taqiwar* (etc.), girl.
3 *Perqitaaq* (etc.), girl, ab. 6 years.

III. *Keersaraq Naalaraq Qitlorajaq Kaarnin Tookutaq* (etc.), married woman.
IV. *Akʷko Aartawartik Aqqitloq*, her sister.

V. *Eártiwān*, old woman without children, sister of *Nappartuko* (I.).
4 *Ukkanaaq Nayyajak Inicsaq* (etc.), girl, ab. 12 years.
5. *Ammaraa'naq Nuliākkaakisoq* (etc.), boy, ab. 10 years.

I. is the master of the house, II. his wife; 1—3 their children.

I., II. and V. have lived earlier at *Ikaaitiaq*, to the north on the Ammassalik fjord, in *Keersaqaq*'s house. Three years ago they moved to *Qeertaaulaq*.

III. and IV. belong to the *Torqutarmeen* people to the south from where they arrived here last summer after one of them having become a widow. They are not akin to the people of this house.

Eártiwān, *Nappartuko*'s sister, "does not remember" the rest of her own names.

4. and 5. are *Nappartuko*'s children by a former wife (now dead).

The communistic fellowship does not by any means go so far as to abolish individual right to property; on the contrary, every hunter is the absolute owner of his own hunting and working implements, and both women and children have their own possessions, which, when they died, were buried with them in their graves[1].

During the short summer the inhabitants split up in smaller parties and move out, each family in its tent, in order to approach the abode of the seals and whales or following the shoals from place to place. In the summer, naturally, the Ammassalik Eskimo live more scattered than in the winter, but on the other hand, the tent-camps sometimes grow to a considerable size, on account of families and parties from many different districts meeting to hunt over the common hunting-grounds. This summer life involves the cessation of characteristic forms of the winter life; for, in the summer, no communal festivals are held, and the angakut's official activity ceases. On the other hand, it is preferably at this season that the secret training of the future angakut takes place, and the same is true of the great drum-song duels which go on near the great camping grounds preferably in the night beneath the midnight sun while it touches the northern horizon.

The heathen rules and customs which insured order, and circumscribed individual freedom, were upheld by the angakut and the elders of the house, in particular, by *ittoq*[2], that pater-familias who, by his skill and prudence, had attained a certain authority. What had even greater influence in the maintenance of domestic discipline and

[1] First Part, p. 524.

[2] *ittoq* is a nominal participle of the verb *ippoq*, meaning 'the one who is (lives, exists) there', analogously to the Old Norse: *búandi* 'the master of a farm, a peasant' from *búa* 'to prepare; occupy; to live there'.

reverence for the transmitted customs was "public opinion", within the house and the settlement. This influence was due to the direction of *ilerqoq* ('customary use') or, as the East Greenlanders say, *par^w^ŋuti-garput* 'our use and wont', i. e. the custom of our community, really meaning, as it seems, 'the thing we creep on (as our base)'[1], but without the rules being formulated in real laws, by-laws, or even proverbs. No moral code has ever been formulated, but certain myths and tales contain indications thereof.

This conservative "creeping" of the community in the old moral traces demanded, without lenity, the co-operation of every grown man and woman in acquiring a livelihood during the whole year. It demanded, moreover, the possession of certain Eskimo *virtues*, of mutual regard, politeness, and helpfulness; it also called for a virtue which is far rarer amongst the Eskimo, namely moral courage. Only occasionally, however, did the individual venture to complain of his neighbour's violation of the customs, e. g. if he violated the rules of taboo or the boundary for honesty and uprightness. In cases where indignation accumulated, the offended one or the guardian of the morals often preferred to expend his wrath in circulating an evil rumour by means of scandal, or by secret persecution with the aid of magic means. Only in cases of open scandal or hostility the offended person had recourse to open persecution before the national court of assize, viz., by the juridical drum-singing.

But the inmost, intimate motive for ranging themselves under the social "creeping" was religious awe and resignation; because any infringement of the rules of taboo involved inconvenience for the whole of the small community, and was kept in check through the activity and witchcraft of the angakoq. He who was stamped with the guilt of infringing one of the many religious injunctions which encompassed life was sorely hit by the priestly condemnation[2].

Offences against secular laws (especially if a man outraged the privileges of marriage or the vital property of his neighbour) were punished by the person transgressed against publicly reviling the accused by drum-singing and -dancing before him. This took place at his house or his tent, in the presence of a large gathering, which, by its expressions of approval or disapproval, acted as a kind of court of assize[3].

[1] Cf. *par^w^ŋutiqa'* 'he has it for the object (or ground) of his creeping'. The expression seems to be based on the idea that we creep in the foot-steps of our ancestors, *sujuluut paorŋutiqa'narparut* (cf. my book *Kalâleq*, Nûngme 1932, p. 43).

[2] Many examples are found in the tales, see First Part pp. 283–286, nos. 30 and 31: "The Moon sees that mourning rites are kept up" (Holm); and here p. 419 (end of no. 219) and pp. 450–453 (no. 229).

[3] Compare H. Rink, *Om Grønlænderne* (1882) pp. 8–11.

This juridical drum-singing is known chiefly from the southern districts of Greenland, and best from the east coast; whereas it does not seem to have had any foothold outside Greenland.

There is another feature in the social life of the Greenlanders which is more strongly defined in the reports from the Western Eskimos; while, in the older reports from Greenland, it seems to be veiled, so that its original meaning can only be conjectured. The reason for this is not that the eighteenth century authors lacked an eye for it, but rather that during the time which had elapsed since the Eskimos populated the coast of Greenland a change in the original Eskimo community had gradually taken place, at any rate in the south of the country.

I have already drawn attention to the fact that while the *qashse*[1], the common meeting and festival house, was closely connected with the social arrangement of every Eskimo settlement outside of Greenland, this institution had nearly disappeared from Greenland itself. On the southern East coast as in South West Greenland it seems to have been replaced by the "long house", which, there, had engulfed the entire settlement, combining the functions of a private dwelling and festival house in one[2]. In all probability separate *qashse*-houses existed in earlier times, both near Ammassalik and in West Greenland; but, to judge from the lack of ruins, they must have been dispensed with rather early. The qashse-institution seems, on the whole, to have flourished most vigorously in Alaska, and eastwards to Hudson Bay; but to have diminished in importance along the shores of Davis Strait.

The "long house" with as many as 10 families (10 family "stalls" on the platform) is known only from the south of East and West Greenland. Northward, the Eskimos, as far as we know, have always lived in small houses arranged for the use of two or three families[3].

General and historical view.—In early days, a denser Eskimo population was found on the central and southern parts of the coast of Alaska than was found elsewhere. It did not constitute a single,

[1] The *qagsse* of Greenland authors is the same as the "*kashim*" of Alaskan authors. Other manners of spelling it (in vocabularies etc.) are *kakse*, *karkse* (Fabricius p. 158) *kagsse* (Kleinschmidt), *kaggi-* (Bourquin p. 375).

[2] First Part, p. 721 (compare 362—363 and 636).

[3] The largest houses in Alaska could hold as many as 25 persons: E. W. Nelson, for example mentions one at Unaktolik of which the area measured 15 ft. by 20 ft. (Nelson 1899, p. 288, cf. p. 298). Cf. one mentioned by Jacobsen (ed. Woldt 1887, p. 225, cf. 214) which held 25 people and measured 12 ft. by 14 ft. As a rule the houses were smaller. Nelson mentions a house for three families, with an area of 12 ft. by 12 ft., and Jacobsen (p. 246) one for six persons, hardly 5 ft. by 5 ft., and (p. 263) a hut with room for only four persons.

united nation, but was split up into *tribes*, which often were in warlike opposition to one another, though closely akin in language and culture. The tribes around the mouth of the Yukon River—Magemiut, Ikogmiut and Unalit—are mentioned as being some of the most warlike; but northwards, at Kotzebue Sound, the Malemiuts were specially feared on account of their ferocity[1]. The cause of the feuds was most often a private "*vendetta*", practised by a member of one tribe against a member of a neighbouring one. As in Greenland, the obligation to practise the "vendetta" rested with the dead man's son, or, if he had none, with this nearest male relation (brother, father, uncle). Between Eskimo tribes themselves, or between an Eskimo tribe and a native Indian tribe, this obligation of vendetta spread from the relations of the deceased to all his fellow tribesmen. Among the Unalit Eskimos the appeal to go on the "war-path" was made by an emissary going from one settlement to another, and from kashim to kashim in the friendly settlements, and here delivering "*a song of invitation*". The tribes had no real chiefs, but each detachment followed the most esteemed hunter in his settlement. Whenever possible, the enemy was assaulted under cover of deceit, from ambush, and the attack was made with three kinds of weapons, e. g., bow and arrows, spears, and warclubs. Shields were not used, but an armour made of imbricated plates of walrus ivory was sometimes employed[2]. When one of the contending parties desired an *armistice*, a furcoat was swung to and fro on one side of a pole, as a sign of truce[3]. No quarter was given. The party or settlement assailed was exterminated; the men and boys being killed while the women were generally made slaves. It was the custom in Alaska, as in Greenland, to extract the heart of the slain enemy and devour a part of it. Here, naturally, there is talk of raids rather than of war with organized armies.

The character of the assaults calls to mind the assaults of the *Skrælings* (Eskimos) on the Norsemen in South Greenland, when the Skrælings, in the fifteenth century, assailed with stratagem the last remaining Norse settlers, burnt their houses and killed them. The local tradition has been maintained amongst the Greenlanders until the present day[4].

In Alaska these fights took place between hostile tribes within the

[1] Nelson (1889), p. 301 and 327—330. Cf. Jacobsen (1887), p. 226.

[2] For illustration see E. W. Nelson, Pl. XCII.

[3] This modern description from Alaska of swung "colours" calls to mind the description in the Old Norse sagas of the inhabitants of "*Hvitramannaland*" who "carried poles of small pieces of skin attached to them, and shouted loudly". Cf. my paper *Four Skræling Words from Markland* (18th Int. Congress of Americanists, London 1912, p. 88, footnote 5).

[4] See First Part, pp. 698—708.

Eskimo people, or between Eskimos and Tinneh-Indians, but the traditions hereon, as recorded by Nelson, scarcely date so far back as those from Greenland.

Even from these reports from Alaska it is evident that the Eskimos have once been a martial and aggressive people like the Indians in America and the Chukchis in North-east Asia. E. Petitot's pioneer description of the tribes between Mackenzie River and Anderson River also partly confirms this impression; though, here, we are already in districts where, now, the average Eskimo usually displays a more peaceful and somewhat lazy disposition. But the impression of the martial Eskimo is re-awakened by the 16th, 17th and 18th century descriptions given by French emigrants and others of the Eskimos in Southern Labrador, who formerly lived right down along the northern coast of the Gulf of the Saint Lawrence. These French accounts support the Icelanders' yet older ones of conflicts with the *Skrælings* in the same district about A. D. 1000[1].

The old reports from about the same parts (Labrador and Baffins Land) regarding the natives' "kings" were also probably due to the fact that the Eskimos here, being divided into pronounced independent tribes inimical towards one another, were obliged to attach themselves more closely to the bravest and most competent leaders, who, thereby, involuntarily acquired a kind of chieftainship, and could command their countrymen. E. W. Nelson confirms the existence of such leaders or chiefs (chiefs without fixed authority) among the Alaska Eskimos[2], discriminating between (I) "chiefs" *agaigukaak* (cf. Greenl. *agajo-* 'elder brother or sister'; also 'elders', 'parents'), (II) "headmen" *näskok* < *najqoq, cf. Greenl. *niaqoq* (< *najaqoq) 'head', and (III) "rich men", *tuku-* 'rich' or *umialik* 'owner of an umiaq'[3].

Even more surprising than this trait of former chieftaincies and a martial spirit among the Eskimos is Nelson's indication that an organization of *gens* and *totem* has existed in a rather pronounced degree among the Alaska tribes, namely from Kuskokwim River northward to Kotzebue Sound. Undoubtedly this organization did not involve any essential change in the communistic social order of these Eskimos; but, nevertheless, I think that we must ascribe actual significance to this evidence as to totem marks and gens or rather "clan" organization among the Alaska Eskimos, as it explains certain customs and reminiscenses among the Eastern Eskimos, as, for instance, their masks and religious games.

[1] See First Part, pp. 684 (683)—688 and my paper *Four Skræling Words from Markland* (cited ibidem p. 740, footnote).

[2] Nelson (1899), pp. 303—304. — Cf. also First Part, 684 (686).

[3] Nelson (1899), pp. 304—306; sundry glossaries in Barnum, Schultze and Jacobsen.

According to Franz Boas, the Cumberland Sound Eskimos (in Baffin Land) divided themselves at the Autumn Festival in honour of the sea-goddess (Sedna) into two parties, the "ptarmigans" and the "ducks". These parties represented the children of the summer and the winter, and the idea of designating them as birds and dressing them accordingly reminds us of the totem customs of the West Eskimos and actually might seem to be an imitation of such customs[1].

The tradition of the Eskimo people's descent from a woman and a dog, which is well known everywhere among the Eskimo, even in East Greenland, might also be referred to in this connection, and the *nursery songs and fables about the raven* which have been recorded in Greenland, and probably indicate the raven as a raven-god as with the Eskimos' neighbours on the Pacific[2], also point in the same direction. Further, the mark of proprietorship in Alaska—the three-forked figure known as the raven totem—seems to be found again in the Y-shaped patterns for ornamentation (on bone implements, e. g., needle-cases) and in the patterns for tatooing of the Hudson Bay Eskimos[3]. In Greenland itself, however, no trace of any mark of proprietorship is to be found on the Eskimo implements[4].

Further evidence of an organization resembling "*gens*" amongst the Eskimo, or of a feature which might contain the germ of such a social organization, might be seen in their angákoq institution, and, particularly, in the very word *angákoq*. This representative of the religion is, to be sure, without real secular power in the Eskimo community, but the name indicates that his position once was apprehended from the social point of view, in that, on the strength of his position in the family as the oldest maternal uncle, he has been its religious head[5]. This fact is in accordance with Nelson's statement that the

[1] Boas (1888) p. 605.

[2] Cf. here pp. 208—216 and 385, and my paper *Two Old Greenland Poems* in "*Vilhelm Thomsen* Festskrift (1912)", p. 126, and "Grønlandske sagn om Eskimoernes fortid" (1913), pp. 80—81.—P.S. Now also my *Die kultische Gottheiten der Eskimos* (1928), p. 411, cf. 413—414 and 426.
Compare First Part, p. 624 (with footnote).

[3] On the other hand such marks of proprietorship are found scratched on many articles originating from the ancient Norse colonization in South Greenland. I may call to mind, in addition that a couple of Eskimo implements have been found on the northern part of the Greenland east coast, viz., a comb and a needle-case of ivory ornamented with crosses scratched on the sides, cf. my *Ethnological Description of the Amdrup Collection* (1909) pp. 467—472 and 476, but these adornments have, I suppose, no connection with the original Eskimo culture.

[4] It seems that the word *angákoq* must be closely related to the word for maternal uncle (Greenl. *aŋak*). In Alaska the stem of this word signifies (according to F. Barnum, 323) both "uncle" and "chief", which implies that the maternal uncle originally was regarded as the headman of the family group.

Alaskan Eskimos designate their gentes with the word *ujohûk*[1], which must answer to the Greenland *ujoruk* 'sister's child'. From this it appears that with the original people in the west the Eskimo "gens" came into existence through a matrimonial formation of *clans* with descent through the female line (the sisters).

While Nelson emphasizes the occurrence of clans and totems with the Alaskan tribes, he also reports that no confederation exists between them, as amongst the Indians (e. g., the Iroquois), nor any headmen of clans. Therefore no chieftaincies, or political structure in the proper sense of the word. No clan-names or councils of clan or tribe. It is as if clan-organization with the Western Eskimos has only been in an embryo state.

These are the surmised remains of the Eskimo gens- or clan-organization (or the germs of such which have never quite developed?). They might seem to give the impression that the ancestors of the Eskimos lived as neighbours of people with whom clans and totems occurred as an integral part of the organization of the community, rather than that the Eskimos themselves originally had such an organization. Together with many features in the ethnography and language of the Greenlanders they bear witness that this people has at one time continued its migration from the Bering Straits, slowly altering its culture while wandering eastward to the coasts of the Davis Straits.

Furthermore, if these Greenland features are derived from the Alaskan culture and influenced by the neighbouring peoples inland[2], the conclusion seems obvious that the branch of the Eskimo people which finally reached Greenland began its emigration from Alaska sometime after the influence of the inland Indians of Alaska had commenced. How, otherwise, could these reminders of the social culture of the Indians have reached right across to East Greenland?

If this is correct, the Eskimo people must have immigrated to America later than the Indians, and have taken possession of the northern coasts at a period when the Indian culture of the North-West Territory had already developed the social organization once found there.

Postscript—Since the above was written the archeologists have been at work. Notably Diamond Jenness, Collins, Van Valin, and Geist have excavated many evidences of an ancient Eskimo culture

[1] Nelson (1899), p. 322.

[2] Just as the form and ornamentation of the oldfashioned knives and spoons in Greenland are influenced by the goods sold by the Tinneh Indians to the Eskimos in Northern Alaska. See First Part p. 730.

in several different places in the west. Wissler and Therkel Mathiassen in the east. Hrdlicka has collected skulls and bones in Alaska.

The deepest strata of the *Old Bering Sea* culture are traced at least 2000 years back by the archeologists[1]. This culture is especially represented in the finds from St. Lawrence island south of Bering Strait, whose former population presumably came from the Asiatic side. The finds hitherto made show us a special prototype of the Eskimo culture which Nelson was the first to make known in "The Eskimo about Bering Strait" (1899). Since it has not so far been possible to find the traces of other peoples on the Alaskan coast opposite the northwestern part of Asia, the inference is that *the Eskimos must have been the first human beings* to occupy these shores, the first and the only ones. It remains an enigma which way the North American *Indians* farther south have come to the regions they inhabit. They must no doubt have immigrated earlier than the Eskimos.

Another question is when the Aleutian Islands were populated, and whether the pioneer ancestor of their inhabitants were the very first to take the chance of crossing by "the stepping stones" from some places on the eastern coast of Kamchatka.

The Thule culture as described by Th. Mathiassen belongs to the arctic regions and is associated with the whaling of the extreme north. It became the lot of these people during their eastward migrations to divide into groups according to geographical lines and environment which, setting its mark on them, made them differ somewhat in character.

The first *inland* hunters speaking the Eskimo language probably adapted themselves to their surroundings in the interior of *North Alaska* towards the water shed between *Noatak* river and the rivers flowing northward to the Arctic Ocean. In there they found reindeer and mountain sheep. In there too Knud Rasmussen found the sources for his collection "Festens Gave", a collection of highly developed myths and legends of a genuinely Eskimo character.

Whaling is carried on right down to the mouth of the Mackenzie. Further eastward the catching of whales was again combined with inland hunting of reindeer, partly southward over the Barren Grounds, partly northward on the large islands of Victoria and Banks.

There is another possibility. The old inland hunters of the Barren Grounds may have come directly from the interior of Northern Alaska following the head-waters eastwards.

On the Arctic sea ice and the islands to the east bear-hunting became more and more common, and the musk-oxen in the east

[1] Th. Mathiassen (1936) p. 128. D. Jenness (1933) p. 387.

attracted hunters northward. Greenland was reached after Southampton Island had been occupied by the western Central Eskimos, who were now changed into eastern Eskimos. But here again the tribes divided, some going to the extreme north of Greenland, others wandering southward along Baffin land to Labrador, then still nameless lands. The Eskimos themselves first named them. Eskimo place names might be used to record prehistoric migrations, but unfortunately they are nearly everywhere too scantily and too inaccurately recorded.

These immigrants into the extreme north favoured dog-sledging, but unlike the Indians of the interior they had no knowledge of snowshoes or ski. They liked fixed, sheltered houses in the winter; the stone ruins of such have been recorded in fairly great numbers along the coasts of the continent, as also in the archipelago and in Greenland[1]. In the summer they always lived in their skin tents, easy to move, so they could readily choose a new winter district, farther eastward. The migration from Alaska to Davis strait could have been accomplished in less than a generation. For the Alaskan Eskimos the discovery of Greenland may have taken less than a century.

This old Arctic culture, the northernmost and probably slightly younger brother group of the *Old Bering Sea* culture, at a comparatively late date seems (according to D. Jenness) to have been supplanted in the central regions by an unknown Eskimo-speaking group which spread along the coasts and even went out on to the ice in the open sounds or on the large calm lakes between the Barren Grounds and Victoria island, a people living in snow houses in the winter[2]. The Old Eskimos supplanted by them perhaps wandered up to northern Greenland a thousand years ago.

The ethnographical connection between the Old Eskimos of Hudson bay, e. g. those of Southampton island and Iglulik, and the culture of Greenland has long since been recognised[3]. The prototype of the material culture of the Greenlanders is to be found in the almost identical culture excavated at Naujan and Mitimatik by Th. Mathiassen on the 5th Thule Expedition. The Thule culture received its name as a result of this expedition. In reality this implement culture whose uniform traces are seen to extend from Greenland to Bering strait, and even (according to Mathiassen) right over to the northern coast of the Chukchi peninsula, had already been partially discovered at the first excavation of Comers Midden near Cape York in Smith Sound

[1] See my map in M. o. G. 31, 1904. Cf H. G Simmons: *Eskimaernas forna och nutida utbredning samt deras vandringsvägar*. Ymer, Stockholm 1905.

[2] These are the ancestors of the same inland Eskimos which were ethnologically investigated in this century by Knud Rasmussen and Birket-Smith.

[3] Cf. First Part pp. 329—330 and 716 and Franz Boas (1909, pp. 535—536).

(ethnographical description by C. Wissler)[1]. *Comers Midden* was one of the great discoveries farthest north which was later more exactly determined by Th. Mathiassen's comparative investigations.

But soon after the elucidation of the Thule, Central, and Old Bering Sea cultures the picture of the number, distribution, and migrations of the Eskimo groups became more complicated. The Van Valin collection suggested an Arctic reflux in a western direction; and the Cape Dorsett find in the eastern side of Hudson bay of which an isolated trace seems to have been found high up the west coast of Greenland north of the Polar Eskimos' colony, has slightly shaken the system[2].

It has been suggested by Th. Mathiassen (and others?) that the Old Eskimos from Hudson bay exiled northward might be identical with the prehistoric *Tornit* who figure in the ancient myths. Their ruined stone houses are still shown on Victoria land, and throughout the central Eskimos refer to these legendary Tornit as particularly primitive in certain respects. The description of their fire-places or lamps and cooking-pots, which they used to carry to and from the hunting places on the ice, makes me believe that they were identical with the eastern Greenlanders' legendary people, the *Igalittin*, W. Gr. Igalitlit, sing. *Igalilik* < *igaleq* 'kitchen, cooking-place' (and *-lik*). This name means 'one that has (*-lik*), i. e. carries with him, a cooking-place'[3].

As regards the name *Tornit* (sing. *Tuneq*) a variant of which is *Tunerit* in a more primitive plural form, the Labrador Eskimos had quite similar notions of an ancient northern people[4], while as late as the 19th century the southern Greenlanders had corresponding legends (noted down by Rink) of local Tornit, people in the interior or at the heads of the fjords. As a place-name *Tunerit* occurs in the southernmost part of the east coast.

It would be difficult to explain the existence of these Labrador and Greenland Tornit in the same way as those referred to in the legends of the Central Eskimos. The supposed northward advance of the Tornit from the Barren Grounds to northern Greenland as explained by Th. Mathiassen cannot be reconciled with the South Greenland traditions.

The only living group in Greenland which shows some very striking parallels of dialect, myths, customs, and implements to the Western

[1] Clark Wissler, *Archeology of the Polar Eskimo*, APAMNH, vol. 22 N. York 1918.

[2] Th. Mathiassen, *Notes* (1928) and *The Present Stage of Esk. Archeology* (1931).

[3] Cf pp. 414—415 and 384.

[4] First Part pp. 690 and 700. Cf. F. Boas: *The Central Eskimo* p. 634—635; the vocabularies of Erdmann, p. 335; Bourquin p. 404; Hawkes, *The Labrador Eskimo* 144—150 (esp. 145).

Eskimos are the Ammassaliks. I would call attention to the myth about Asiaq (p. 402 and First Part p. 300) and the human soul migrating through animals, starting from a blade of grass (pp. 408—412; First Part 272—274); and to the *uaajeerneq* games and the drum process customs. I note likewise the special, obsolete features of their implements mentioned by Mathiassen[1], among which I would emphasize the type of the sealing stool, the leister with a turnable head, the rattles, the relief figures carved of ivory and nailed on eye-shades etc. Here it is not enough to say with Mathiassen: these obsolete features bear witness to an early stagnation in the eastern Greenland group, earlier than that which we can observe in the western culture. These and still more archaic Ammassalik features warrant the further statement that in these items the Ammassalik culture reveals such a striking resemblance to the western Eskimo culture in certain localities even as far south as southern Alaska (Venjaminov describes satirical drum singing among the Aleuts)[2] that in some way or other there must be a definite connection. An explanation is needed. We might imagine the immigration of a special group from Alaska into Greenland, skirting the homogeneous Greenland culture known to us from other places, a wedge right through the Thule culture, ending on the east coast of Greenland.

[1] Th. Mathiassen, *Prehistory of the Angmagssalik Eskimo*. M. o. G. 1933 pp. 124—26. Cf. my First Part (1914, pp. 728—730), from which even more distant features may be gathered.

[2] See also H. König: *Der Rechtbruch und sein Ausgleich bei den Eskimo* (Anthropos vol. 20, 1925, pp. 281—288); *Das Recht der Polarvölker* (ibid vol. 24, 1929, p. 661—662).

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION. ECONOMY

Division and Specialization of Work (cf. First Part. pp. 524—525).—The man's business is to hunt and procure food for the house. In addition, every man is his own carpenter, joiner, and carver, making his own weapons and other tools, his own sledge, boat, tent, etc.). The woman's task specially consists in preparing for further individual use in the daily life what the man brings home, and in taking care of the children. Every woman sews her own work-bags, skin-bags and needle-skins and cuts out her hair-ribbon.

The two sexes help each other in manufacturing certain useful articles. The man's knife as well as his wife's needle is used for the benefit of the other party. The specialization of the tasks is not fixed by the line between the sexes. The man, for example, makes the work-knife (*cakke*; W. Greenland *ulo*) and scraping-board (*qapiarpik*) of his wife, her bodkins, her toilet combs, and her ornaments carved from walrus tusk, etc.

For *common use* in the house, the man makes the large tubs for fresh water and urine, puts together boxes, dishes, and vessels, and scoops out plates, dippers, cups, etc.

On the other hand, the woman cuts with her knife and sews with her needle not only her own but also the man's clothes and footgear, also his boat and tent skins, his game-bag, and the harness for his dog team.

The women help to build the houses and to pitch the tents, and also to stretch the large skins when the framework of the umiaq or kaiak has to be covered. The *umiaq* is the property of the hunter, but it is the woman's duty to row it. The owner often leaves it to an old woman to steer, while he himself rows at its side in his kaiak. It is beneath a man's dignity to row in a woman's boat.—On the other hand it is the man's privilege to row the kaiak (*qaiâq*, in plur. *qâennat*) and to hunt on the sea; and it is mentioned as an extremely rare instance of emancipation, which perhaps had aroused painful surprise, that at one place in the southern part of the east coast it had some-

Fig 168. Two merry wives, married to big hunters. On the left Kittaararteq's wife Niaqaŋŋitteq, on the right Qeqi Sileqaawa's wife Aanooq (W. T. phot. Aug. 1906.)

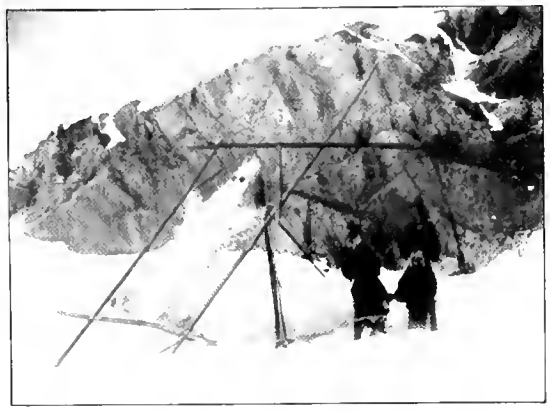

Fig. 169. Bear skin stretched on a frame of tent poles tied together subjected to the influence of the frosty air (a similar subject in fig. 29 and in the First Part, fig. 221) (April 14. 1906. W. T. phot.).

Fig. 170. Old Woman, drawn by Karaale.

Fig. 171. Poor orphan boy from Torqulaarmeen, carrying his snow goggles in his hand (May 1906. W. T. phot.).

times come to pass that women had taken to rowing the kaiak and hunting seals[1].

Orphans in particular, when they grew up, were made use of in the hut as servants (*ta'la't*, WGr. *kiwfat*). A man has seldom more than one servant. He (and his wife) uses him (or her), for example, to fetch meat or blubber from the cache outside the house, or drinking water from the river (in the winter frozen snow which is melted over the lamps). The orphans are playmates with the other children, but are often looked down on, and suffer hardship. Not until they are old enough to catch seals do they succeed in asserting their position. For several years, however, they will be dependent on their master, who will procure implements and weapons for them, and whom they will serve in return.

The specialization of work is not nearly so strongly defined as in the European community, but certain approaches to specialization are to be found. Thus it was by preference that individual persons cultivated the art of making pots and lamps from the soft, grey, soap-stone, as this material is found only at some few places[2].

As a rule, there were one or two of those living nearest the soap-stone deposit who were specially adroit at scooping out these stone utensils, and who, by reason of their special knowledge of this industry, were preferred by those who came to purchase such articles. Nappartuko, whom I visited in his hut at Qeertaalät, had a large pot made of soap-stone, an heirloom from his parents. The bottom had once fallen out of it, but it had been replaced so artfully that the repair could scarcely be noticed.

Glahn very pertinently states (as regards the West Greenlanders, 1771, p. 242) that amongst them were some who by virtue of special ability knew how to attain reputation and wealth, although they were bad hunters. He says "Yet one cannot say that those who cannot catch seals are generally looked down on (as Cranz says p. 215). We are very intimate with an old man who never catches more than two or three seals in the year, and yet he is an esteemed man, for he is such an excellent worker in wood that he thereby gathers for himself greater wealth than anyone else in the district. We have known another Greenlander who was a yet worse hunter, as he had no skill in hunting, but he was a giant in singing drum-songs, wrestling, and pulling by arm, etc.".

Ownership and Theft. Mutual Aid and Payment. Reservation and Hospitality. (First Part pp. 135—137; 141—145; 524—526). Each adult

[1] See First Part, p. 46 (G. Holm, cf. M.o.G. IX, 1889, pp. 80—87). See also in this (Sec.) Part the Tale of *Okuamaaq*, p. 511—515.

[2] First Part pp. 22, 26 and 494.

occupant of the hut has his *private possessions*, obtained partly by inheritance, partly by barter or gift, and partly by reason of the owner having manufactured them himself. It is extremely rare for anyone to own more than he or she has absolute use for, whether it be tools, clothes, amulets, or adornments.

Sigataaq, in Sermilik Fjord, who lived by the lonely Iserpalukitteq, was known to be a close man; even his own son had to buy dearly the necessaries of life from his miserly father. On the other hand, this family often pulled through the hard times of winter better than others. — In another place in the north, there were two young brothers, Ootuaŋŋe and Kättuarajee, who each had two kaiaks, whereby the advantage was gained that if one got damaged and had to be repaired the other could be used in the meantime. Moreover these men often earned money (payment) by hiring out the kaiak which they themselves were not using.

Private ownership is, then, a well known principle amongst the East Greenlanders, and is especially relevant to those possessions which serve to protect the individual (tents and clothes), or to increase production (weapons, tools, boats, dogs). In the latter respect may also be included the man's wife and children; by which, however, it is by no means to be inferred that the wife is the man's slave, but he owns her in the marriage state just as he owns his hunting holes on the ice in the fjord. In the latter he sees the chance of seals and seal flesh for the prolonging of his life, and in the former the chance of offspring for increasing his family.

In Eskimo monogamy the man asserts the monopoly of possessing his wife. But precisely in this respect the exact opposite is also found, because at certain winter festivals this family organization is dissolved on religious grounds, though only temporarily: during the game of "putting out the lamps" Eskimo communism celebrates its triumph, inasmuch as the last barrier to individual ownership is momentarily demolished, cf. p. 667 and in First Part, p. 69 (G. Holm).

Hunting-grounds are common property, both those on sea and those on land. Set traps (for foxes, etc.) are, on the other hand, the property of the individual, and what is caught in them belongs to the owner of the trap, unless the trap has been neglected by the owner, in which case the chance finder has a right to the animal caught in it[1]. He who only discovers the bear is called the owner (*e'ᵐta'*) of the

[1] Graah quotes this (1832, p. 125) and several other features of the Greenlanders' communism or ownership from west coast authors (See, in particular, Dalager, Bobé's new edition 1915, pp. 17—24), and he thinks he has found confirmation of the same customs from the east coast.

bear, as it is more difficult to discover the bear than to kill it, on account of nature's mimicry.

The seal's blow-hole through the ice—(or more correctly blow-holes, as each seal has several at a short distance from one another),—is always difficult to discover at any distance, as the hole is hidden in a little snow-knoll on the ice, caused by the seal breathing through the hole from below. Above, the hole is quite small, but it widens downwards like a funnel, being formed thus by the seal itself. The sealer who discovers the hole marks it off as his own by heaping a low wall of snow round the knoll on the ice. Then others dare not lurk by it for the seal; for it is considered despicable to catch secretly at another man's hole in the ice; and, accordingly, one does not visit a blow-hole to which the tracks of a human being already lead. If one passes a sealer lurking for his seal, one carefully steals away in order not to scare the seal by the sound of footsteps. Should a sealer by mistake catch a seal in another's blow-hole (newly fallen snow can cover the tracks leading to it), he pays the owner compensation.

The mention of theft, even the word itself[1], is a distinct proof of the recognition of individual ownership in the Eskimo community, but on closer inspection there is a significant difference between the Eskimo's and the white man's understanding of it. This difference is distinctly seen in the examples of theft quoted by G. Holm in the First Part, pp. 143—145 of this work[2]. The matter is that it is not the correct thing in the Eskimo community to complain of theft, at least not when the theft is not of vital importance for the sufferer. One must put up with this as with sickness; or, if one mentions the thief's name to one's associates, the most one dares to do is to proceed to make him appear ridiculous. Humour, making fun of the guilty, is in this as in many other matters the Eskimos' means of punishment. When it goes further, a drum-song is composed, and the thief serenaded in the midst of an assembly.

But in many, perhaps most cases one keeps silent at having been robbed, or practises witchcraft against the guilty one in secret. For the rest, theft amongst the inhabitants of the same place, is a somewhat

[1] EGr. *tilip'a'* = WGr. *tiglikpan* (Egede, Fabricius) *tigdligpâ* (Kleinschmidt) 'he steals it; he cheats him; he gets it by mistake and keeps it *bona fide*.' The Eskimo *tiL'ip'a'* (EGr. *tilip'a'*) "steals (stole) from him" includes such cases in which the "stealer" may count on the person robbed acquiescing in the theft. Therefore this expression does not always mean exactly the same as our "he stole from him". An East Greenlander who had "bought" a kayak very cheap, said: *tilitjarmi'qa''na* "I stole it from him", meaning "I got it dirt cheap" or "he allowed me to steal it from him".

[2] Cf. also Saabye's *Brudstykker af en Dagbog* (Fragments of a Journal) from West Greenland 1770—1778 (ed. 1816), p. 76.

rare experience. I myself have never been exposed to theft on the part of the natives, though they were daily admitted to our house during the winter, and we often lived amongst them in their camps.

The Eskimo and also the East Greenland conception of ownership, loans, gifts, and barter differs somewhat from our European notion. Here, as so often elsewhere, the Eskimo comprehension has its birth in the spiritual side of existence. In the thing owned there lives a soul, perhaps part of the owner's soul, and in delivering his property to another he parcels out a part of his own soul. His conscience is stimulated by this fact, and social forms are influenced by it.

It has already been mentioned (First Part, p. 49) that the Ammassalik Eskimo, when selling an entire seal, always cuts off a small piece for himself before delivery, the snout for example. Attiartertoq only sold us a common seal on the condition that after some days we would throw the cranium into the sea. This wish was naturally due to piety towards the soul of the dead animal and its community with the other animals of the sea. The seller's object is to save the soul of the animal, even, possibly, to preserve control over this, in spite of his having handed over the animal, anything to insure himself against anger on the part of the animal's genus, and the consequent poor haul[1]. In these cases the seller's thoughts are occupied with regard for the animal's soul as if his own were bound up with it.

The latter consideration—the spiritual connection with the object owned—plays a still greater role as regards the thing which the owner himself has made, or has acquired at great cost. A person tears off a part of himself by ridding himself of his accustomed property. This might perhaps explain the Eskimo train of ideas which lies at the back of the custom allowing a seller to demand that the business be cancelled if he is dissatisfied with his bargain[2].

It explains more than this. An artist's soul is inseparable from the work of art which bears his stamp and his name. A drum-song

[1] The care with which the *tamarasa'q-* custom was observed in South Greenland apparently points to a similar religious consideration (cf. pag. 641, note 3).

[2] Cf. Dalager, 1758, p. 5, employed as authority by Graah 1832, p. 125: cf. also Rink, 1871, p. 176. Dalager also mentions that in business the Greenlander was not unaccustomed to give the purchaser credit until he could furnish payment, "but if the debtor dies before this, the creditor never mentions his claim." These peculiarities in the Eskimo's conception of business were naturally not understood by the white men when trading with the natives. In W. Greenland the mode of procedure in trade between the whale-hunters and the natives was, according to Olearius, 1656, p. 175, as follows: "The natives select from the foreigners' goods what they desire, placing this to one side of them, and then place so much of their own goods as they are willing to give in exchange on the other side. Then each party adds to and deducts from until the bargain is agreed on." As regards the E. Greenlanders, also cf. First Part, p. 134 (Holm).

is "owned" (*piaʻ*) by its author, and a spell is "owned" by the person who has bought it and in whose soul it is concealed[1]. The tools which a man has made himself and has used during his life-time follow him into his grave (cf. First Part, p. 524).

On the whole, the making of presents to one another was not uncommon amongst the East Greenlanders. The donor almost always expects a return gift, even if only a trifle[2].

They distinguish between *good* people, i. e., such as often make presents, and large presents, and *bad* people, i. e., miserly or suchlike people who do not make presents. In Sermilik they laughed at Singataaq, who was so thrifty that he disliked receiving guests, and preferred to take his meals at night while the others slept, and who actually let his son, just grown up, pay for the tobacco which he lent him during the scarce times of winter. Kooitse and his brothers were praised because they were so open-handed and extravagant that after a lucky bear hunt, when their house was full of meat, they only let a few days pass before they exhausted this in distributions and gifts[3].

As a matter of fact we did not get the impression that the Ammassalikers were particularly calculating. When we visited them in their houses or tents, while travelling from place to place, they entertained us hospitably, and it was no rare thing for us to receive presents, which were certainly meant as a sincere token of liberality, there being no thought of a return gift at the back of the giver's mind. In this way, for example, the venerable, old head sealer Kittaararter came for the first time to us in our tent, when we had arrived at Sermilik, and brought us a fresh bear's heart as a present. His bearing was distinguished, but taciturn, and no doubt he would have been offended if I had understood his gift to be anything save a token of friendliness and distinction. The same holds good as regards Qilertaanalik's wife, when we met her for the first time. A fine sense of nobility and courtesy in her behaviour barred any immediate gifts in return for those presented to us.

Compensation.—If a borrowed weapon (harpoon, etc.) is spoilt during use, or is lost, by remaining embedded in the escaping animal

[1] Cf. pp. 159 (167) and 550.

[2] Cf. G. Holm in First Part, pp. 135—136.

[3] In West Greenland, when the hunter returns with a killed seal, each child in the settlement, even the youngest only one year old, is usually given a little strip of the raw skin of the animal with blubber attached. This treat is called "a chewing morsel", NWGr. *tamorassaʻq*, SWGr. *tamnässaq*, from the verbs *tamnawoq* "chews", *tamorpaʻ* "chews it", Cf. Glahn (1771) pp. 203, 220—221. Kleinschmidt Gronl. Ordbog (1871 p. 356. Knud Rasmussen (1906 pp. 118—119.— This custom was not observed on the East Coast and, according to Johan Petersen, has never been in vogue there.

for example, the owner has no claim for compensation. On the other hand, the borrower has to make good the implement if the damage is due to carelessness on his part.

Payment is made not only for material things but also for tuition, in order to become an angakoq, for example, and for songs and spells or amulets (see p. 159 and 249 ff. e. g. nos. 49, 54—55). These spiritual equivalents are regarded as private and secret property which can be bought and sold.

No real unit of value was known, no money, but all business took the form of barter[1]. Dogs, soap-stone lamps or raw material of skin, sinew thread or bone, ivory, drift-timber, pots, wooden tubs, etc. are mentioned as habitual merchandise.

The "communism" of the Eskimos only holds good where articles of food are in question, within the limits implied by the fixed inherited rules for division. Complete communism prevails only with whale hunting, when anyone who happens to turn up at the flensing has the right to cut freely and devour without stint[2].

The principle of mutual aid, then, is strong and vigorous in this community, and fraternity is vigorously active in all the conditions of everyday life. The conditions of life, moreover, are extremely alike to all.

This fact, however, has not caused the individuals to resemble one another in temperament or character; on the contrary, within this small community the physiognomies and characters of the inhabitants are exceedingly varied.

The propensity to dissimulation and reservation in the East Greenlanders' character has already been noted by Graah and Holm[3]. It is presumably an old Eskimo trait which special social conditions on the south-east coast of Greenland have only served to strengthen.

But together with this trait which, regarded from the other side, suggests an exaggerated degree of self-restraint, intimate companionship

[1] The following may serve as an example of the Eskimo's valuation of the Europeans' goods. When the colony of Ammassalik was founded, aluminium money was introduced as a means of credit, equivalent to the Danish currency of *kroner* and *øre*. In the Danish shop by the harbour the Ammassalik native sold common seal skins at 45 øre the piece, and the whole seal, the smaller kind, for kr. 1,20. The shop prices were such that he could get a little more than two rolls of tobacco for 45 øre, or 4 pieces of plug. This tobacco sufficed him for 3—4 days. The common seal has about 75 Danish lbs of flesh and blubber, and a Greenlander who lives well personally consumes 2 to 2½ lbs of meat per diem.

[2] The custom of free communal flensing holds in Greenland even today whenever a killed whale is towed into the harbour by the public whaling vessel (p. t. the Sonya), or if a dead whale (*silo*) happens to drift ashore near a settlement. Graah (1832) p. 126. Holm (1888) p. 182. See First Part, p. 147.

has here, as everywhere amongst the Eskimos, developed a high degree of willingness to help one another. Of this there are numerous examples, and I need only refer again to the observations of Graah and Holm[1]. Also *Hansêrak*, the first Christian preacher in East Greenland, spoke with admiration of the mutual assistance of "these heathen who share all their game with one another"[2]. In earlier days, the renowned geologist *K. L. Giesecke*, got the same impression when, in 1806, he became acquainted with the East Greenlanders in the neighbourhood of Cape Farewell. "From whence comes it, he asks in his journal, that the heathen, or 'the savages' are more unselfish than the Christians; also happier, better educated, and more helpful than their countrymen on the west-coast?"[3].

Rules for the Distribution of Captured Bears and Big Seals. (*Bearded Seals, Crested Seals and Greenland Seals*), cf. also First Part, pp. 48—49.– For assistance at the killing of the animal special shares are given i. e. a certain portion (*niyéq*) to each of the four or five persons who first put in an appearance after the animal had been held up, and who planted their weapons in it, or who only *touched* it if it were already dead. In the event of the animal not having been reached by more than the one hunter, or by less than five, the rest of the animal falls to the lot of the discoverer's and real capturer's family, in accordance with certain rules, and if, then, anything is left, it falls to the remaining house-fellows. We can distinguish, therefore, between *capture* shares and *family* shares, and the former take precedence over the latter.

With bear hunting it is a question of the one who discovers the bear being the "owner" (*e'wa, e'wata'*), and having the right to the head, breast, heart, and skin; also, according to another testimony, to the upper part of the spine. The next shares fall to those who first

[1] See further Holm in First Part, pp. 141—142.

[2] Hansêrak's *Dagbog* (journal) ed. S. Rink (1900) pp. 51 and 86. New edition by Thalbitzer (1933) pp. 77 and 140—141.

[3] K. L. Giesecke's Journal, ed. Johnstrup (1878), p. 22, 2nd ed. Steenstrup (1910), p. 22. Giesecke's expression 'wohlgebildeter' is no doubt meant about the behaviour ('better educated') in the same meaning of the German word as in Goethe's Faust, Second Part, Act III where Phorkyas describes the chief of the barbarians as a "kecker, *wohlgebildeter* . . . . Mann".—Several other authors of the 18th and 19th centuries who were familiar with the southernmost Greenlanders before they had become influenced by the Europeans confirm Hansêrak's and Giesecke's impressions of them, see for instance the old missionary *N. G. Wolf*'s observations published by S. Bruun in *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger*, ser. V, vol. III (1905—07), p. 473.

[4] Dalager 1752 (ed. Bobé 1915) p. 18.

touch the bear with a weapon (knife or lance), eventually killing it, and in the following order.

Number I gets the left hind-quarter of the bear
— II — — right —
— III — — left fore-quarter
— IV — — right — —

If there be a fifth partaker, he gets the pelvic parts (*qipiŋaluaq*). The two who get the hind-quarters are called *mimertin* (cf. Labrador dialect *mim.eq* 'thigh'). If the bear is accompanied by its offspring, the head of the cub falls to the child of the discoverer. If the latter has no child, the booty is his, or hers, absolutely. The discoverer of the bear may just as well be a woman as a man. Indeed, it often happens that a child discovers the bear, and so gets the main portion, while it may happen that the following portions fall to women and children.

When the bear is hunted in winter, it is generally surrounded by the dogs, and if it is not wounded or desperate one can approach it without much danger. Only to touch the animal with the point of a weapon, sometimes, indeed, only to throw snow or a piece of wood on it, is sufficient to validate a share. In the latter case it is only a question of a ceremony which every woman or child can attempt. Even if the bear has been killed by the hunters who arrive first, yet their followers can claim a share merely by touching the dead animal with their hands; again, therefore, only a ceremony.

It is evident that the fewer there are round the bear before it is skinned or prepared to be transported home the greater the share which accrues to the fortunate discoverer and killer. He who by himself both discovers and shoots the bear gets the whole animal for himself and his family.

In big-seal hunting the rules are in all essentials the same as in bear hunting, bears being included in the sea animals. For example, the first capturer's portion of the bearded seal, the crested seal, or the Greenland seal is the animal's skin, head, breast, and heart, while the four sealers who take part in the killing get the capture portions of the seal which correspond with the portions in bear hunting: the hind and fore quarters. Even if the sealers arrive only after the animal has been killed, they can obtain a share in the animal by touching its body with their weapons or hands, but this must be done before it is prepared for towing home, i. e., before it has been inflated so that it can float upon the water. If a sealer comes too late, and the animal already floats inflated on the water, it depends only on the chief sealer's good heart whether he allows the other, notwithstanding

his bad fortune, to obtain a capture portion. Besides the chief sealer's share, there are four capture portions in all (*niye''^{w}l^{w}ät*).

With walrus hunting it is a question of the first discoverer getting a part of the skin (in bear hunting he gets the whole skin). He who first touches the dead animal gets the one thigh, *up'atin'erpa'* 'he gets a thigh of it' (corresponding to the bear hunter's *mim'erpa'*), and the next to touch it gets the other. Nos. three and four get the fore-quarters, *tät'ik'a* 'he gets the fore limbs of it' (*taleq* an arm, fore-limb, plur. WGr. *tatdlit* [*täɬɬit*], EGr. *tät'in*).

At the catching of the smaller whales (white whales, narwhal, etc.) there are also four portions. The first two partners get the tail part (*papeqip'a'* 'he gets the tail of it'), the next two get the fore limbs (*tät'ik'a'*). He who has first harpooned the whale is called the owner (*e''^{w}ta'*), and gets the heart and the remaining entrails.

The *family's shares* are cut either from the whole animal (large seals, walrus, whale or bear) which has been killed and landed before other chance hunters have yet had part of it, or from the remains of the killed animal after the chance hunters have first had their capture portions.

This family sharing evidently forms the foundation of the Eskimo communism. Unfortunately I did not obtain sufficiently minute information as to the details of the sharing. In the district of Ammassalik we might suspect certain modifications contingent on the peculiar grouping, on this coast, of the population, the crowding together of even distantly or entirely unrelated families in one and the same hut, under the roof of the longhouse.

In West Greenland and wheresoever else the Eskimos are grouped in small settlements of several houses, with two or three families in each, the rule generally prevails that each member of the settlement shall have a part, even if only quite a small one, of every seal that is brought to land at the place. Meanwhile we have no further details regarding the sharing of the seals from this coast either, and I therefore think that my imperfect information from Ammassalik about this matter is of some value, even if it bears the stamp of the locality.

The large seals which lay deposited and frozen in the snow outside the huts—I saw, for example, twelve outside Keersagaq's house at Ammassalik and eight outside the house at Sawaranaartik in Sermilik Fjord (see fig. 78)—were destined for winter supplies[1]. They had been captured in the autumn, but were first drawn upon in the middle of the winter gloom, or after New Year. According to information supplied

[1] Cf. First Part, p. 130 (G. Holm).

by the natives (Akernilik, Mitsuarniaŋŋa, and Qiwiŋataaq), a large seal was distributed in Keersagaq's house in the following family portions.

Family shares of deposit seal.

Husband's family	Portions	Wife's family	Portions
1. *Keersagaq*, husband (owner of the seal)	Head (heart, thigh, skin)	12. His wife	Thigh, etc.
2. His children	Heart, liver, lungs, intestines (thigh)	13. Wife's father 14. » mother	upper parts of back
3. » father 4. » mother	breast-pieces	15. » brothers	back pieces
5. » brothers and sisters	ribs, breast-pieces, parts of thighs	16. » sisters	fore limbs (flippers)
6. » brothers' wives	fore limbs (flippers)	17. » father's father	tail-piece
7. » father's father	pieces of back, thighs, or flippers	18. » brother's children 19. » sister's children	side pieces (ribs)
8. » father's brother	shoulder blade	20. Remaining house-fellows	Fore-arms, over-arm, side pieces, ribs, stomach, hind parts
9. » cousins (two)*	shoulder blade, pelvic portions, back pieces		
10. » mother's brother	neck		
11. *Qiwiŋataaq*'s** brothers	back-pieces, tail-piece		

Notes. * The cousins of *Keersagaq* were *Kāttuarajee* and *Uttuaŋŋe*, sons of *Teemiartissaq*.

** *Qiwiŋataaq* was the second-wife of Keersagaq's father.

The seal's head, then, remains in the possession of the killer, who is responsible for the observance of the ceremonies connected with it, e. g. for the cranium being thrown back into the sea after the lapse of three days.

The seal's skin belongs to the capturer, and the breast, heart and entrails also belong to him in the first instance, but if he so wishes,

these parts find their way to the childrens' or parents' mouths, two parts of the breast falling to his parents and the entrails to his children. In addition, the seal's *thighs* are the share of the capturer and his family (his brothers, his children, and his father's father). The *shoulder blades* are distributed to his father's brother and to his cousins, who may also get part of the back, or the tail part. The neck belongs to his mother's brother. The seal's sides and *ribs* are distributed amongst his brothers and sisters, and the children of his wife's brothers and sisters. The *back* is cut out partly for his father's father, and partly and principally for his wife's parents and brothers. The *fore limbs* (fore flippers) fall partly to the wives of the hunter's brothers and partly to his wife's brothers and sisters, and the *tail* to her father's father. Such is the distribution of the various parts of the seal, provided they have not been given away as capture portions to the hunter's fellow killers. Or to summarize it once more by way of a scheme:

The seal's head, heart and skin — devolved on the *killer* (the seal's owner)
entrails — his children
neck — mother's brother
shoulder blades — fathers brother and cousins
ribs and sides — brothers and sisters and their children
loins — *wife* and children
fore limbs — wife's brothers and sisters
back — father and mother
tail — father's father.

In this sharing of the killed great mammal the *coordination of the parts* of the animal and the members of the family is distinctly seen. The husband's family is opposed to the wife's, but in such a way that the wife's interest is closely bound up with the husband's share. The husband's family has a claim to the upper body and the forepart of the seal, viz., its head, neck, shoulder, breast, and stomach. His wife's family gets its share from the back and tail. The ribs, which form the sides of the animal, are divided partly amongst the husband's brothers and sisters, and partly amongst the wife's cousins. The thigh-pieces go mainly to the husband's immediate family. These ancient customs are full of a realistic logic.

When a sealer has caught a small seal of the ordinary kind, his wife attends to its flensing and distribution, so far as regard for taboo

permits; first and foremost, she must not be childless. A newly married woman is not allowed to touch the seal, only when she becomes mother she gets the right to flense it. Failing her, the flensing is attended to by the sealer's sister or mother, or by some other female relation who has children. When we were treated by Okusuk to a freshly caught seal, it was not his wife but his female cousin, a young unmarried girl who yet had a child, who cut off and gave us the head. Okusuk's wife was childless, and therefore she received meat, and skin for clothing, from her husband's relations, not from himself. In the same house there lived another childless couple, Qanaŋeejuk and his wife. Instead of his wife his married sister distributed the meat of his seals.

The larger animals are distributed according to other rules (as mentioned above). The men themselves flense the large seals, bears, walrusses, and narwhals which they have caught. Later, the women carry the pieces of meat round to the recipients. The same is true also of the large seals which are deposited in the snow for winter provision. The wife has nothing to do with the flensing of these.

About the new year, when darkness prevails, it is common for guests to arrive, often travelling from a long distance. In the evening the senior member in the house suggests that on this occasion a seal shall be fetched from the deposit. Then the hunter whom the visitors specially honour by their visit rises and drags one of the big seals out of the frozen snow, tugs it through the entrance, and makes the first cut in the frozen body. We witnessed this in the house at Sawaranaartik in Sermilik when, on Jan. 12, 1906, in company with ten natives we had wandered there over the mountains. *Keerte* fetched a frozen crested seal and presented it as a gift to the guests, who were allowed to cut pieces out of it, to be eaten at once or taken home, as they pleased. The pieces which they wished to take home—as aids in this hunger time—were taken out into the open air by a serving woman of the house, and placed under one of the umiaks (woman's boats) until the departure. Keerte reserved the head, heart, and entrails of the animal for himself and his family, while the other house-mates also got pieces. But it was clear that on this occasion the general, everyday regard for the family sharing had to give way.

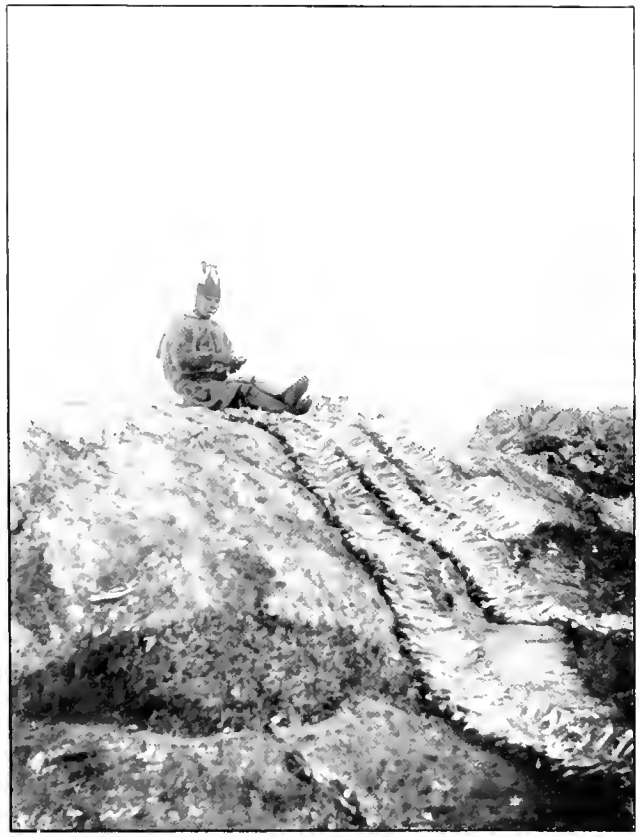

Fig. 172. Woman sitting on the ground sewing together dried caplins (*ammallât*) in long bands later to be rolled up in bales and stored (cf fig. 18 and First Part fig 222) (June 1906. W. T phot.).

Fig. 173. Mitsuarniaŋŋa's tent-place on Taseessaarsik kaŋitteq, the easternmost tent-place in the fjord. On the tent cover are seen a hunting bladder, a band of dried caplins sewn together, and two darts stuck under the upper skin of the cover. People are hurrying to the beach to receive some returning kayakers. (W. T. phot. June 1906).

Fig. 174. "The sulky boy", drawn by Kaarale in 1906.

Fig. 175. *Nannaia*. Nappartuko's daughter (August 1906. W. T. phot.)

Fig. 176. *Cimmojoon*, Nujappik's daughter (August 1906. W. T. phot.)

Fig. 177. Young mother with her child in the amaut. Drawing by Kaarale in 1906.

Fig. 178. Scene from the river valley near the colony (cf. fig. 155) (August 1906. W. T. phot.).

Fig. 179. The angakok grave with the rubbing stone near Kulusuk on Cape Dan Island (W. T. phot. in 1906).

CHAPTER V

MARRIAGE AND MATRIMONY

(First Part pp. 65—67).—Before the wedding there is generally an engagement, or, rather, and more seldom, an arrangement between the parents that their children shall have each other. The young people marry shortly after they become mature. The bridegroom (*uviċsa'*) makes ready to fetch his bride (*nuliäċsa'*) either in a woman's boat or in a sledge, according to the time of the year. The marriage has the form of an abduction or a rape, to which the young girl pretends to be greatly reluctant. But it includes sometimes a religious ceremony in so far that the father-in-law delivers a ritual of magic formulae over the newly married couple at their place on the platform in his house.

Teemiartissaq gave me a description of a wedding. After having told me that the first occasion on which the father delivers a magic formula over his son is when the latter gets his first kaiak, she added that the next time the father makes spells for his benefit is when he gets a wife. Thus she continued: — The young lad tries to stop the fleeing girl by seizing her arm. "Get away, get away! That's enough, stop, leave me alone!" she cries out. As her flight is delayed by her having to look round at him, she is at last unable to escape him. He brings her home to his platform in the house, where his father goes from his place along the foot-end (*kilé*) of the platform (i. e. along the back wall of the house) to the son's place. Here, where the newly married couple are to live, he says: "Take each others' hands", while he leans forward a little over them and touches both his son and his daughter-in-law. Then he recites two magic prayers in order that they may enjoy good health and long life (see Magic formulae, p. 272, no. 88).

Eskimo marriage is generally monogamous, and easily dissolvable so long as there are no children.

When a man has two wives there are special designations for the first and the second. At Ammassalik the first wedded wife was called *nuliarpa'q* 'the actual wife, the proper representative of a wife'; the

termination *-pa'q* signifies the supreme degree, the superlative[1]. The second was called his *qarceraq* (variants *qarcoraq*, *qacsera'q*)[2], which must mean something like 'the addition or the increase upwards'; also *nuliarsia* 'his later acquired wife'.

A remark made by Kunnaŋ, who himself had two wives, perhaps gives us some insight regarding their mutual position in the house. "My wife number one distributes the portions of the seal I have caught, after my wife number two has attended to the flensing and cutting out; the first, then, allots to the latter the portion due to her."

The wife's independence is strengthened by her bearing children. As long as she has no children she dares not cut up and distribute the meat of the man's catch. Qanaŋeejuk's wife, who was childless after several years of married life, did not distribute the meat of his seals, but his sister who lived next to them on the platform where she was married to Aa^{w}taaserarter, and had children, distributed the meat on behalf of both her brother and her husband. In other cases, where the husband has no married sister, his mother, aunt, or another female relation who has born a child attends to the cutting up of the small seals which he catches, and distributes their portions both to him and his wife.

The wife's remaining tasks in the daily life in the house and tent have already been mentioned in the First Part (60 and 503). As a rule, the Greenlandic husband treats his wife well, and as an equal[3]. The cases of maltreatment mentioned were due to the man's hot temper. Eepe, Kooitse's brother had — so his mother told me — "unfortunately killed his wife", but he hadn't meant to kill her, only to punish her because she had been unfaithful.

"How many men with two wives have you known?" I asked old Qiwiŋataaq. Without hesitating she answered from memory mentioning

[1] The suffix *-pa'q* signifies 'the supreme (in rank, etc.)' (e. g. WGr. *qut'erpa'q*), 'by far the highest of all' from *qut'eq* 'highest' (*-t'eq* is the superlative suffix). Cf. *qalipa'q* 'man's overcoat or outer coat of reindeer skin' in superlative (derived from *qalipak* 'outer clothing', 'cuticle', 'egg-shell'); also *kamip'a q* (or *kamip'ak*) 'a top-boot' or a special kind of (outer) boot of bearskin.

[2] Cf. WGr. *qacsorpa'* (in Kleinschmidt's Dictionary *kagssorpâ*) 'takes something from below and puts it up on something else, piles it up'.

[3] Glahn reports the same from West Greenland (1771), p. 249, and Dalager (1752), pp. 8—9. On the other hand, instances of maltreatment are not lacking. In a West Greenland narrative (*Kalal. Okalukt*, 1863, IV, p. 101), stress is laid on the fact, as a kind of excuse, that a man beat his second wife (concubine), because she had borne him no children. A wife who has borne her husband children is undoubtedly less liable to be beaten. It should be noted that the Greenland language possesses a verb, (*pat'orpa'*) not infrequently used, with the following alternating meanings: 1 "the man beats his wife"; 2. "The wife beats her husband". In each case the context must show which is meant.

the names of nine men who had been, or still were, married to two wives at the same time, and one of them even to three[1]. While I was at Ammassalik there were still three men who lived with two wives. I here give the names of the men remembered by Qiwiŋataaq, as having had two wives.

Husband	The Names of (Settlement)	his wives
Ajukutooq	*(Kaŋaarsik)*	*Eekeeluk* *Iqimarajik*
A^{w}gko	*(Sermiligaq)*	*Poŋorartiwän* *Ajö* *Putteqaar*
Aŋinoolai	*(Umeewik)*	*Naaŋujuk* *Nakippattaain*
Iliŋŋuakkee	*(Sermilik)*	*Aputeuk* *Kattiŋ^{w}aar*
Qaalaaioŋ	*(Sioraartik)*	*Ileekajippaain* *Aaitsiwar*
Kaa^{w}k^{w}ajik	*(Ikkättá)*	*Anóŋ* *Oorumipa'ik*
Kunnaŋ	*(Sawaraneq)*	*Nätseq* *Qiwi*
Ootuaq	*(Sermiligaq)*	*Uttuqutuk* *Qaaiuk*
Táaaka	*(In^{w}nartuaq)*	*Pinnerse* *Erqiuk*
Umeerinneq	*(Sermilik)*	*Napa* *Qaatsiarajik*

In addition I may cite the following cases from the days of G. Holm's expedition, according to Hansêrak (see First Part, List of inhabitants, pp. 192—202).

Naarqortooq	*(Kaŋaarsik)*	*Innaalik* *Utsukuloot*
Uwia	*(Noorajik)*	*Aŋileq* *Kertiaat*
Utuaq	*(Taseesaarsik)*	*Utsukuluk* *Sortuerinneq*
Artaarleq	*(Sawaranaarsik)*	*Akipé* *Imaaiané*
Iliŋiwakeeq	*(Ikaleq)*	*Tumik (Tooq)* *Apuesuk*
Kaakajik	*(Ikaleq)*	*Oqunarpajik* *Anuk*
Pappik	*(Ikaleq)*	*Qiwiŋaaaaq* *Pujooq*
Aŋinook	*(Sermilik)*	*Ineqinarteq* *Najattaarajik*

[1] Ak^{w}kho's marriage with three wives only lasted a year, after which Putteqaar left him. He survived his first two wives

The missionaries on the west coast, and others, have often testified to the Greenlanders living "in chastity and honour" with one another[1]. As regards the East Greenlanders, Graah states: "They are not loose, at least I have never been able to get evidence of that habit of exchanging wives or to find a trace of those *kakses* of which Egede tells"[2]. It is astonishing that Graah did not come across traces of the East Greenlanders' custom of exchanging wives, as it is indeed a common Eskimo custom, known from all districts[3]. In what degree they are loose, or live "in chastity and honour" cannot be easily decided, and in this respect the conditions existing among the very mixed West Greenlanders are of no use for providing a standard for the customs of the heathens[4].

Only in the case of childlessness does a man lightly separate from his wife. The wife's sterility might be a valid reason for this, but sometimes it merely gave cause for the man's taking a concubine[5]. For the rest, the reasons for separation might vary greatly: one man may be discontented because his wife is too "filthy", so separates from her[6]; another may be annoyed because his wife is incapable at sewing clothes, or because she eats too much (also in the times of scarcity), or because she cannot get on with her mother-in-law. Rüttel, in his journal[7], reports a characteristic case: Umeerinneq's daughter had asked her husband to put a new handle on her ulo, but the latter had disregarded her request and therefore, being annoyed, she went across to her father, to whose household they belonged, and

[1] For example, Hans Egede (1729), pp. 42—46, and (1741), pp. 79—80. Saabye (1816), pp. 54 and 76 (cf. 92, 112—13, 121).

[2] Graah (1832), p. 126. Probably there is a reference to Fabricius's vocable of *kakse* 'whore-house', see his edition of Egede's *Dictionarium Groenlandicum*, (1804, 2nd part, p. 158). Kleinschmidt spells the same word *kagsse*. Cf. p. 659.

[3] "Exchange of wives", cf. Franz Boas (1888), pp. 579 and 605—608 and (1901), pp. 139, 141 and 158 from Baffins Land, and Nelson (1899), pp. 292, 360 and 379 from Alaska. The former calls it *nutianititijung* and mentions it in connection with the Qailertetang episode of the Sedna feasts, and at a festival game *sulutting* or *quvictung* by name, in which two masked persons, a man and a woman (*mirqussang*), marry the rest of the men and women who take part in the game. Nelson mentions the exchange of wives at "the asking festival" and "the doll festival" and amongst other things says: "During the continuance of the festival the namesakes of dead men are paired with namesakes of their deceased wives without regard to age" etc. Mylius Erichsen mentions the exchange of wives at Cape York (Smith Sound), pp. 272, 367, 405, 433, etc.

[4] Cf. A. Bertelsen (1907), p. 17. G. Holm in the First Part of this work, p. 64.

[5] Dalager (1752), p. 8, mentions a case where the husband took a concubine at his first wife's request "because she was tired of bearing children".

[6] Glahn, *Anmærkninger* (1771), p. 192; also pp. 238—9 and 250.

[7] Rüttel, Dagbog fra Angmagssalik, *Ti Aar blandt Ostgrönlands Hedninger* (1917), p. 223.

got him to put the handle on. "But from that day she would have no more to do with her husband, and did not answer when he addressed her." Then the husband, becoming angry, went to the catechist and told him that he now wanted to be separated from his wife. The catechist reasoned with him and persuaded him to wait a while and see, so that he left in smiles. Four days later the couple were reconciled. —If once there is progeny the husband seldom leaves his wife because, as Dalager remarks[1] "in such a case the father would part with all his right to the child". Therefore it was a sore grief for Umeerinneq, when the time came for him to be baptized by the Christian missionary, that he had to renounce one of his two wives (his last wedded one) by whom he had children. We witnessed this in 1906.

Marriage between near relations was considered improper, but a few exceptional instances were to be met with at Ammassalik, e. g. Umeerinneq's parents were first cousins[2]. Nappartuko thought that children of separate parentage who were brought together by the after-marriage of their parents might very well marry, but that it would be an offence if ever a brother married his sister: (*ipinarneranik ilaŋ'a'neq ajortarput* 'they cannot sleep because of a quelling aversion').

House fellows might very well marry, but the custom was only conceivable, however, where the long-house—as in southern Greenland —had replaced the original village consisting of small, separate houses for each family or family group. The inhabitants of the long-house are often not related or only distantly so, and it is not unusual for the members of each family to change from year to year according to new arrangements (cf. First Part, p. 347)[3].

For the same reason, viz., that the long-house has absorbed not only the small family huts but also the communal festival house (*qashse*), the customs of the festival house in East Greenland have been transferred to the long-house, and this, also, applies to the game of putting out the lamps (First Part, p. 69), which custom in the original Eskimo community was of cultic significance and associated with the religious winter festivals in the qashse (as known especially from the Eskimos in Baffins Land and Alaska, see next chapter).

Distinction must be drawn between the exchange of wives which took place when the lamps were put out during a cultic festival

[1] Lars Dalager (1752) p. 8.—In the summer of 1904, however, two marriages where children had resulted were dissolved near Ammasssalik, see Rüttel, *Dagbog* (Journal), p. 228.

[2] According to the old authors from West Greenland, marriage between relations, even second cousins, was considered indecent, see Hans Egede (1729), p 46, and Saabye (1816), p. 77.

[3] For full description compare not only G. Holm (First Part, pp. 65—68) but also M. Mauss and Beuchat (Paris, 1904—05), pp. 105—110, on the Eskimo community.

and lasted for only one night, and that which was the result of an arrangement between two men with a view to the procreation of children, or because of mutual attraction, which continued for a longer period. According to the usual conception of the Ammassalik Eskimos only the latter sort of exchange influences procreation, while a short temporary copulation is not supposed to bear fruit. The determination of the parentage is especially contingent on the view that the child is not considered complete or brought to existence before it is born. Thus several men can have a share in the parentage of a single child if the mother during her pregnancy has lain with different men. The child which is procreated after the longer exchange is mentioned by both the men as their "half-and-half child", no matter which of them it most resembles; and they refer to themselves by an expression, which means "half cousins" (*awiliareen*) and might also be translated as "partners", "fellows who share half-and-half"[1]. The child, however, only has its home in the house of one of them though it inherits from both.

A peculiar instance of wife exchanging is reported from the summer of 1896[2]. Perqissiŋualik and Mitsuarniaŋŋa had for the time exchanged wives, and for this reason the former had just been over to Amitsuarsik to visit the wife he had exchanged, but there he had found Mitsuarniaŋŋa with Qaarqortooq's wife and Qaarqortooq with Mitsuarniaŋŋa's wife. Angry at seeing the wife he had exchanged, with a third man—"which is not considered correct and proper"—Perqissiŋualik at once left Amitsuarsik and declared (before the priest) that in future he would keep to his own wife only.—Another instance is characteristic as showing the regard held for a father's right over his child[3]. A young wife, Ilisimaleq, who was about to be baptized by the priest, was in an advanced condition of pregnancy. She came and begged the priest to postpone the baptism till after the birth, telling him that she was pregnant by another man than her husband, as the latter and the former, named Maneekuttak, had exchanged wives. "If she were now baptized before the birth she would not [as a Christian] be able to maintain the usual taboo ceremonies, and if the child took any harm [from her breach of taboo customs] she would be blamed for it, and she dared not run the risk of that because of Maneekutlak, who also had rights over the child." In the paganism uncontrolled by the Christian priest such a conflicting state of affairs would not exist.

If a man and a woman are born of the same mother, but one

[1] In West Greenland *awiliarit* means 'two women who are married to one man' (Kleinschmidt, Ordbog p. 63).

[2] Rüttel, *Dagbog* (Journal) p. 64

[3] Rüttel, l. c. p. 131.

of them is begotten after the exchange of wives, they regard each other as brother and sister, even though they have separate houses, and they do not marry each other. The child who has two men as its father calls its legitimate father *ate'ra* ('my name-sake') and its extra father *aqa'ra* ('my charm-father', i. e. the father who charmed my mother).

In the vernacular, the designation for the "game of putting out the lamps" was *qamiŋa'rtän*, a nominal participle in the plural meaning 'the ones who play the game of putting out the lamp', from *qamiŋŋoq* 'the lamp (fire) is extinguished'; *ue'ta'ta* means 'her (the woman's) mating man' (WGr. *uviussa'rta* < *uve* 'husband' and *-ussa'r* 'plays, imitates') and *nule'tora* 'his mate-woman' (WGr. *nuliusora* cf. *nuliaq* 'wife' and some undefinable ending, perhaps *-suk*). When I stayed at Ammassalik a veil shrouded the character of the game of "putting out the lamps", as a cultic festival; it was so perhaps even before the arrival of the Europeans, and it was difficult to obtain enlightenment. The old woman Aleqaajik (christened before 1900) once, in my hearing, scornfully stigmatized the men who still wore hair-halters[1] as players at "putting out the lamps". Naturally, this was connected with a wish on her part to honour the custom of the christened men of cutting their long hair short in the European style, as a token that they had received baptism, because at this their hair-halters had become superfluous and were cast away. She understood that these young men felt that they were doing full justice to themselves as heathens so long as they wore long hair and permitted themselves the embellishment of hair-halters in the presence of their countrymen and countrywomen. As a rule, the old men who had finished with women did not wear hair-halters, as these were supposed to betoken those who were "dangerous" for women.

[1] Illustration of hair-halters seen in First Part fig. 326.

CHAPTER VI

THE FESTIVAL HOUSE (QASHSE) IN GREENLAND

Since the *qashse* (*qagsse*, *qacse*) is everywhere peculiar to the Eskimo community, it is probable that such have also at one time been part of the Greenland Eskimos' culture. But it is strange that even before the time when colonization began in the 18th century, they had evidently lost all their significance. If the converse had been the case,– for instance if the men had had meeting houses where they could retire from household worries, or if special festival houses had been built, in which the drum-singing festivals might be held in the winter,—the old Greenland authors would not have failed to relate the fact. But, instead, we find only some very scattered suggestions of the former existence of *qashses* in the Greenland community.

Along the entire west coast of Greenland occur place-names seemingly formed from the same root, e. g. *Qagsserssuaq* 'the large qashse' (or with other derivations "the small qashse", "the beautiful qashse" etc.). Collaterally, tradition has preserved in mind that certain villages had special houses where, so it is said, the young men and women lived together for a few days periodically, and that these houses were called *qashses*[1]. I heard of such houses also when at Ammassalik, but there they were called something different.

In East Greenland.—At Ammassalik I was told of a certain kind of houses, which were called *nerteelät* or *erteelät*, and had formerly served as a sort of meeting houses for young lads and girls during the late summer season. What was told me agreed fully with the tradition of the *qashse* on Disko Island in West Greenland, which was recorded by Giesecke a hundred years ago[2].

At Cioraain 'the sandy shores'—so Ajukutooq related—just east of the settlement Umeevik, on an island in the Ammattalik Fjord, lies an old tenting place, where, in old times, a great crowd of people used

[1] Cf. my paper "Cultic Games and Festivals in Greenland" (1925).

[2] During my journey in 1924 along the Greenland west coast I noted several such places where ruins of qashses are found, and some of them I have examined myself, e. g. at Awannardleet (between Klavshavn and Eqe); and at Sârdloq (opposite the colony of Godthab). Cf. the *postscript*.

to assemble in the summer for the sake of the whaling. That time, he said, was before his father Akwko's time, because he and his generation no longer carried on whaling; but during the summer he had often visited the playing-house at *Nerteelät* or *Erteelät* [*erte^{w}l^{w}ät][1] and had camped out there. It stood on a height above the camping ground facing the sea, and was a very large and high house which was only used in the summer by the Eskimo whalers. The young men and women ascended to this house from the camp, and often spent many days, at times more than a month, together in this house. "It was their playing house (*pingiwarfarpia*) and one said that it so happened that the young girl was enceinte when she returned."

This was confirmed by several old hunters giving me almost corresponding information, independent of Ajukutooq's communication. Ukuttiaq knew of a very large house without windows, situated near Umeewik, where large assemblies took place in old times. Mitsuarniangia had heard that his ancestors sometimes assembled in houses without windows[2].

Nappartuko had heard that uaajeertoq-games were played at another Erteelät on Umeewik Island, just as at Ujaaittoq near the head of Ammattalik Fjord. The players often spent a fortnight up there before they came down. Kilime stated that on the small island Ittiteeluaaraq to the west of Ceesiwaraq there stood a summer playing-house (*erte^{w}l^{w}ät* or *nerte^{w}l^{w}ät*) the ruin of which was said to be still about the height of a man and without windows, but with a very long house-passage.

The description given of these playing-houses does not perhaps entirely convince us that we are here dealing with the common Eskimo *qashse*. But, on the other hand, the use which tradition ascribes to them agrees exactly with the West Greenland conception of a qashse as quoted by Giesecke. The East Greenlanders, in contradistinction to the West Greenlanders, did not know this otherwise generally used Eskimo word; the reason for which may be that it was tabooed in old times[3].

[1] The same word is used at Ammassalik about the toy-houses which the children build from stone on the ground. Perhaps derived from *ineerteelät* (WGr. **iner-tinssät*?). Used above as a place-name.

[2] He mentioned, as an example, the house at Igalaaqangitsoq (meaning 'one without windows') in the Ammattawik Fjord, but I doubt whether the ruined house which I there examined was ever such a playing-house; as far as I could see from the ruins, it had been quite an ordinary house. But there may have been another ruin in the vicinity. Cf. First Part p. 356 and 358.

[3] In Umanak Fjord in West Greenland I recorded an old myth which began with the words "in the large *qashse*" (Phonetical Study, 1904, pp. 274—275). An old Ammassalik woman whom I induced to translate this tale in her own dialect while I wrote it down, was quite unfamiliar with the word *qashse*, but, on the other hand, not with a conception of "a house without windows".

It seems, then, as far as one can judge, as if the old-fashioned Eskimo *qashse* has undergone a change in Greenland, which is common to the inhabitants of the West Coast and of Ammassalik, whereby its significance has been greatly debased; because, from having been originally the men's house or the dancing and meeting house of the village where the men worked and held feasts, council, etc., it has been reduced to a temporary playing-house for the whale-hunters during the summer and autumn.

This would be in accordance with the fact that at the whale-hunting the old-fashioned customs of the people were tenaciously preserved[1]. On such occasions at any rate, in pursuance of old hunting customs and owing to the festive excitement of the great hunting there was a return of the people to the old temple.

It would be of great interest to get a collective investigation of these houses as they really appeared in Greenland; no doubt they may be easily discerned from the ruins.

I cannot, in this connection, omit to call to mind that, at two fairly large encampments in Scoresby Sound, Ryder found what he described as "square tent rings", a sketch of which he inserted in his book[2]. In this divergent form in the arrangement of the tent stones he assumes that he has come across childrens' playthings, e. g., their imitations of winter houses. It is curious that the word mentioned from Ammassalik, *(n)erteelät* means the playing-houses of the adults as well as the children's toy-houses.

Schultz-Lorentzen in his treatise on the immigration of the Eskimos (1904), p. 307, mentions that in the Greenland legends (and near Cape York among the Polar Eskimos) the word *qagsse* (*qacse*) is not used, but replaced by *uvdlasaut*. When, at Ammassalik, I asked if the latter word was known, it was rendered to me in the dialect as *uttisaa^{w}t*, thereby indicating in particular a trap built of green sods and wood in the shape of a small house, for the purpose of catching birds or foxes. Frozen snow is laid on the top, above the entrance hole, and on this is laid a piece of blubber, which entices the animal to sit down, when the hunter, who is on the watch within the house, can catch hold of its legs with his fists (compare First Part, pp. 106—107). The house was described as being larger than a "snow-house" (EGr. *ittiwigaq*). In the legend about Imerasugsuk, his wife, Misana, takes refuge in such a trap for foxes and ravens, throwing herself down

[1] Likewise the old-fashioned costume in whaling and the use of stone heads instead of iron ones in the whale-lances evince a particularly conservative attachment to the customs which are associated with whale-hunting (Cf. First Part, pp. 451 and 580).

[2] Ryder (1895), fig. 4, compare text p. 295—296 and 302—303.

into it through the opening (see First Part, p. 236). The word *uttisaa'''t* literally means 'a place (house) where one stays for a day, or for a few days' (compare Kleinschmidt *uvdlivok*). Here, perhaps, we really have a compensatory word for the *qashse* which may have been dropped in certain districts in Greenland owing to taboo.

In West Greenland.—A tradition of this kind from Disko Island, West Greenland, was revealed for the first time by GIESECKE, who writes in his *Tagebuch* (Diary, July 8, 1811)[1], that a *kakse* was found on the north side of Disko Island, near *Igainak*. His report hereon deserves to be quoted:

"Hier stehen auch Trümmer von einem andern kleinen Häuschen *Kakse*, wo sie bei gewissen leichtfertigen Spielen des Beyschlafes genossen und wechselseitig ihre Weiber vertauschten. Hier war ausser der Lagerstätte von Steinplatten [i. e., the platform was of stone] kein andrer Raum, auch *kein Fenster*. Der Eingang war so enge und niedrig, dass ein Mensch knapp durchkriechen konnte, und gegen 24 Fuss lang. Das platte Torfdach, von welchem aber keine Spur mehr vorhanden war, wurde von einer Basaltsäule gestützt."

Rink, to be sure, questions the value of this evidence as proof[2], but it is significant not only that Giesecke during his visit on Disko Island noted the designation of a *kakse*, i. e. a *qagsse* (Kleinschmidt), associating it with a ruin, but also that his description of the kakse received verbally from a Greenlander agrees with that of the West Eskimos, of which neither the Greenlanders nor Giesecke could have any knowledge. On the south side of Disko Giesecke noticed two places named alike *Kagsiarak*, meaning 'the little *qagsse*'[3]. But he did not examine them.

It is related from the district of Cape York (near Smith Sound) that at every settlement a small house is found temporarily inhabited by the young marriageable men and women, and "where the men selected their wives"[4]; the word or the name *qagsse* (*qashse*) not being mentioned.

In South Greenland (west coast) the name is often met with as a place-name, but without any indication as to its original meaning.

As a rule the name is used about a basin-like bay with a narrow entrance and enclosed by low, gently sloping cliffs. The meaning of

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[1] K. Giesecke: *Mineralogisches Reisejournal über Grönland* 1806—13, 2nd edition in MoG. vol. 35 (Köbenhavn 1910) p. 350.

[2] Rink, *The Eskimo Tribes*, 1887, p. 12.

[3] Giesecke, l. c. pp. 230 and 295.

[4] A. Bertelsen, *Om Födsler i Grönland*, 1907, p. 36.

the name is confirmed in some cases by the description of the locality[1].

Henrik Lund, when we met at Ammassalik, provided me with the following names which he knew from the region around his native place, in South Greenland, formed from the same root: *Qagsse*, a bay or fjord to the west of Nanortalik, about 61° N. lat.; *Qagssiarsuk* 'little beautiful qashse', in Tunulhliarfik fjord; *Qagssitsiaq* 'the not quite small qashse' in two different places; *Qagssinguaq* 'the little qashse', a little bay on Ighlitalik Island; *Qagssersuaq* 'the large qashse', also a little bay on an island; and *Qagssigssalik* 'a place suitable for a qashse'; *Qagssimiut* 'inhabitants of the qashse' also occurs as a place-name in the district of Julianehåb. It is still an open question whether the naming of these localities is due to a festival house having stood there in old times, or whether the name is given to them on account of their shape (round or amphitheatrical), which recalled that of a qashse. I do not find the explanation of the dictionaries quite convincing; it is based on the supposition that those places where the name includes the stem (qagsse, qakse, qashse) are always thus called on account of the natural shape of the bay or mountain caldron. The originator of this explanation seems to have been O. Fabricius, inasmuch as Egede's Dictionary (1750) does not contain the stem word but only (p. 69) mentions the derivative *karksimiorput*, verb without suffix and without singular, 'they sit together in the *karksi* to eat'. Fabricius, on the other hand, in his improved and enlarged Greenland dictionary (1804), gives the following explanation under *kakse* or *karkse*: "(1) a shut-in, spacious, bay in a fjord, the mouth of which is very narrow; (2) a similar enclosure inland, between the mountains, where the reindeer preferably reside; and (3) a brothel, used of yore by the heathens, a diminutive house without windows and with a narrow entrance, where both sexes used one another indiscriminately, the married men particularly in exchanging wives." Kleinschmidt, in his dictionary (1871), p. 123, essentially repeats this interpretation: "*qagsse*, (1) a mountain caldron or a bay or plain encircled by continuous heights, as a rule with a narrow aperture; (2) a circle of people who sit closely together (in this sense used in the time of the heathens about a brothel); (3) a brothel."

[1] In most cases these localities are situated on small islands, e. g. the two *Qagssit* near Holstensborg which are known by the sailors as *Riff* or *Riffkol* (see Bobé's edition of Thorhallesen, Beskrivelse over Missionerne i Grönlands söndre Distrikt, 1914, p. 100, note 5), and the locality near *Pamiagdluk* (Pamiälhluk) in the Frederikshaab district mentioned in Arctander's diary (in "Samleren" 1793, p. 1111), of which he writes: "Finally we reached a large island called *Kasse*, really *Sennernt*, where Kasse lies on the eastern side". His *Kasse* = *qagsse* (qashse).

Fig. 180. The angakok *Maneekkuttaq*'s wife drawn in red chalk by Mrs. E. Locher Thalbitzer.

Fig. 181. *Qanaycejuk*'s wife ("Mona Lisa", cf. p. 686). (August 10, 1906. W. T. phot.).

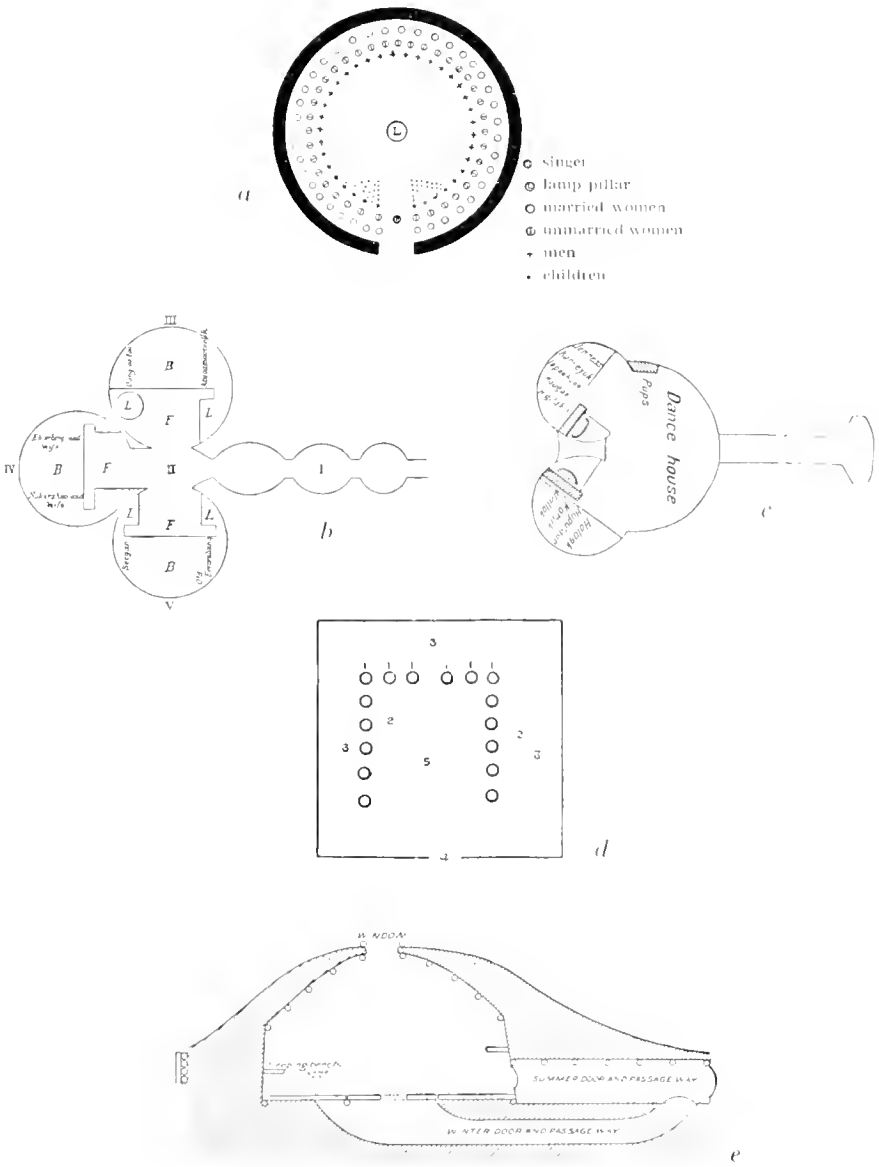

Fig. 182 ***a.*** Interior of a *qaggi* (qashse) or festival house of the East Eskimos of Baffin Land (F. Boas, *Central Eskimo*, fig. 531). ***b.*** Three snow huts around a communal house ("singing house" or *qaggi*), Hudson Bay (From Hall, cf. Boas, l. c. fig. 532). ***c.*** Two snow huts with a communal house ("dance-house") in front, Coronation Gulf, Northern Canada (D. Jenness, *Life of the Copper Eskimos*, CAE, vol. 12, fig. 14). ***d.*** Plan of a communal house in Alaska, during mortuary ceremony: 1, six drummers; 2, singers; 3, space occupied by spectators; 4, entrance (doorway); 5, vacant space under which the shades are supposed to gather (E. W. Nelson, *Eskimo of Bering Strait*, fig. 140). ***e.*** Section of a communal house at St. Michael, Norton Sound, Alaska (Nelson, l. c. fig. 77).

The zeal of the missionaries is visible in the last links of the interpretations, but the slightly more explicit explanations which Fabricius attaches to the word under point 3 and Kleinschmidt under points 2—3 are of real interest, because as flash-lights from popular tradition (as seen through the missionaries' spectacles)[1] they illuminate a corner in the night of the past when the corner-stone of the old community still lay in its place, deserted, neglected and degraded.

It is probable, then, that in Greenland also there has been a time when the men, in accordance with the custom of the western Eskimo tribes, assembled in the qashse or meeting house, where they ate together and consulted about mutual concerns, and where the bachelors slept. This was also the festival house, or their temple, where the winter festivities of the people were held, and where once or twice in the year (as in Alaska) a religious ceremony transiently dissolved the customary monogamy in favour of the ritual communion of wife-exchange (see p. 667).

The Festival House in Alaska.—In Alaska the *qashse* (*kashim*, Nelson) was the house where the men collected, worked, played, and held festivals. It was their own particular sleeping place, their sudatorium and working place, and it was the place of reception for all guests arriving from foreign parts, who here sang out what they had to offer for sale. In addition, the qashse was the usual ceremony-house of the *angakoq* (who in Alaska is called *tungralik* 'one with *tungrat* 'familiar spirits'). The bachelors always slept in the qashse; only the women and the married men slept in the private huts and in the family houses. All the men ate together in the qashse, the food being cooked in the hut, and daily carried over to the man by the wife or female relative. The women, as a rule, had admission to the qashse only during festivities, dances, and certain ceremonies, whereas they were strictly excluded when other ceremonies were performed[2].

[1] *H. C. Glahn*, the missionary, (who lived in Greenland 1763—69) had another opinion than most of his colleagues about the national customs among the heathens of the 18th century. He took an unprejudiced view of that exotic culture and had a deeper understanding of it than any of the contemporary missionaries. He speaks of the *senneliarneq* game as an episode from a cult feast: "The natives regard it as a lawful, and indeed to a certain extent as a sacred act." H. C. Glahn, *Anmærkninger* (1771) p. 323. According to Glahn's description in the passage from which we quote the game seems to be closely akin to "the lamp-extinguishing game" of the East Greenlanders. In several other respects Glahn was in advance of his age.

[2] Nelson (1899), pp. 285—287. With the arctic and central Eskimos, dome-shaped *qashses* built of snow are used.

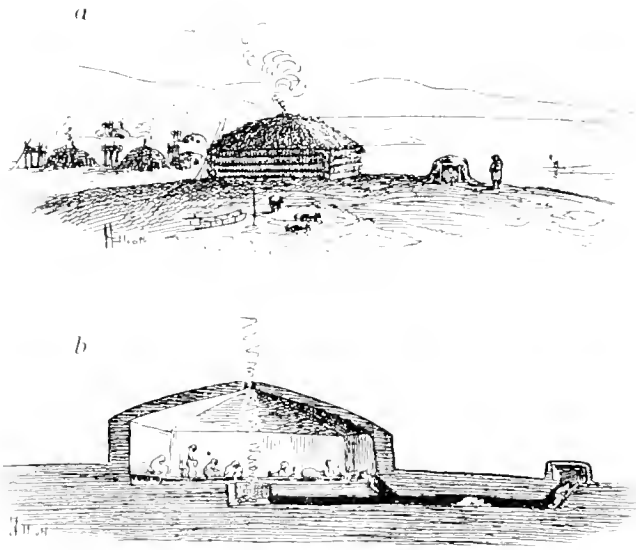

Fig. 183 **a**. Eskimo communal or festival house in southern Alaska, called a *kashga*. Elliott, *An Arctic Province* (London 1886) p. 385). **b**. Section showing subterranean entrance and interior of a *kashga* (Elliott, l. c. p. 386)

Festivals and Masks. Have the East Greenlanders formerly had yearly recurrent festivals?

We know that the West Eskimo on Baffins Land, on the Gulf of Boothia, and in Alaska had fixed festivals during the shifting periods of the winter[1].

The mimic and dramatic representations which we know from Ammassalik, called there *uaajeertut* (or *oaajeertut*) must undoubtedly be regarded as a last remains of old-time festivities of a cultic character. In West Greenland even this kind of remains is almost unknown in tradition, except in the northern part, where at Twelfth-night the so-called *mitaartut*, young people with blackened faces or wearing masks made of skin, play for amusement before their place-mates,

[1] F. Boas, Central Eskimo pp. 600—609, and in later works (e. g. 1901, p. 138—142 and 1907, p. 491); Parry (1824) p. 538—540; Nelson (1899) pp. 357—393; Murdoch (1892) pp. 365 and 373—376 (with valuable references). Barnum (1901) § 605, has some remarks on the S. W. Alaska Eskimos' masquerading time (*karatarvik*) 'month of October and drum dance season', and mentions another feast *chauyarvik* in November, and further *chorokatat*, "a special variety of native feast"; cf. also, *chioqtut* (p. 332), 'they represent by gesture or pantomime' (i. e. native dance). Barnum states further that *agiyunok* [*akaijunoq*], which was explained by Nelson as the great mask festival, has now become the name for the christianized natives' church festival, and is especially used of 'Sunday'.

sometimes grotesquely equipped with a phallos. At the Greenlandic and Danish houses they beg for gifts[1]. They hereby call to mind "the blackened men" in the *ai-ya-yâk* festival described by Nelson from Alaska, which festival is connected with the distribution of presents and exchange of wives.

From the Eskimo of all the western districts we have descriptions of festivals which seem to have almost the same character as the uaajeertut of East Greenland. I have previously pointed out (First Part, p. 663) that the *ajagaq* game, so well known everywhere in Greenland is, in the children's game, a simplified relic of the Alaska Eskimos' cultic November festival of nearly the same name. It took place in the qashse and was connected with the exchange of presents and of wives. In a similar manner, no doubt, we can see simplified relics of cultic festivals in some of the East Greenlandic *uaajeertut* games and *tiwalin* dances; most easily recognized, perhaps, by comparing them with those described from Baffin Land by Franz Boas, for example the autumnal festival with three made-up men (*Ekko* etc., Boas, 1901, pp. 141—142), and with the "amusements" from Iglulik and Winter Island described by Parry (1824, pp. 538—540).

The latter saw a woman, by name Higliuk, suddenly unbind her hair: "she platted it; tied both ends together to keep it out of her way, and then, stepping out into the middle of the hut, began to make the most hideous faces etc." "This exhibition which they call *āyokittāk-poke*", —presumably to be phonetically rendered thus ˈaioqitˈaˈrpoqˌ[2], and signifying 'he (she) gives a performance' or rather 'he (she) represents an *ajoqittaaq*, a kind of a teacher? scenic instructor?'—was the beginning of a series of changing roles or games with loud ejaculations, for example *ikkerēē—ikkeree* or *amātamā—amātamā*, cf. in my texts here (pp. 298—312) no. 123 the ejaculation *kikkee—kikkee* 'fy'; cf. no. 129 *papapa*. Parry's *pit-koo-she-rāk-poke* must mean piˈqosiraˈrpoqˌ 'he makes a fool of the others' or 'dupes them' (Greenl. *perquserpoq*), where naturally the fun and roguishness of the game is aimed at. His *keitik-poke* may be the Greenlandic *qitippoq* 'is seized with erotic frolicsomeness', 'indulges in wild hilarity'. In these and

[1] A. Bertelsen (1909) p. 30. M. Porsild (1915) p. 248. Cf. Kleinschmidt (in his Ordbog p. 213) translates *mitârpoq* thus: "makes absurd gestures or behaves absurdly, makes faces (for fun)".

[2] A game of the same name (*ajokitarpoq*) from Baffin Land is mentioned in Boas: *Central Eskimo*, 1888, p. 659. I connect this word with the Labrador *ajoqerpaa* 'teaches him', *ajoqippoq* 'quick at learning or imitating', *ajoqittaugivoq* 'he takes part in an imitation (together with others), acts in a rôle' (Erdman, Esk. Wörterbuch, 1864, p. 8—9). Cf. Greenl. *ajoqee*, or *ajoqeet* 'a teacher'; *ajoqerpaa*, 'he teaches him a behaviour, a role'; *ajoqersorpaa* 'teaches him by augmenting his knowledge'.

similar games —ancient traditions of cultic origin— the Eskimos' living sense of the art of mimicry or mocking humour has displayed itself as being of fairly unanimous nature everywhere, although with slightly varying forms from tribe to tribe. In the history of the Ammassalik Eskimos the ethic value of these customs for the maintenance of the pleasure of life— and as a counterpoise to the dark side of existence —has been great and effective right up to the arrival of the Europeans.

In the series of *uaajeertoq* games which I have described from Ammassalik there is (as with the mitaartut) a reminiscence of the rites and games associated with the cultic winter festivals. These have now disappeared, but I saw old Akernilik and Ajukutooq made up as uaajeertoq players, showing me several of the rôles.

They were principally held in the houses during the winter and in the presence of many onlookers, most of whom were visitors. Ajukutooq mentioned, however, that formerly uaajeertoq games had also usually been played during the short summer fishing season in the Ammassiwik Fjord, where the people camp for ammassät fishing during the first part of the summer[1].

The players in this kind of games are generally men, sometimes women. They make their appearance one at a time or one after another alternately, each in his special rôles (e. g. no. 143, p. 307). Each rôle has its particular name and disguise. For example, the man might be made up as a woman with his hair done up at the top like hers, and his stomach stuffed out with a bundle of clothes, so that he might appear pregnant. The mouth is distended with a spile, which is placed between the teeth, and in such a manner that its ends thrust the cheeks outward. The corners of the mouth are straightened upwards with the aid of a thin cord led between the lips and behind the ears[2].

One evening I saw the old man Akernilik made up thus in one of the *naarteer* (pregnant woman) rôles. As he stood there in the semi-obscure hut, in the yellow gleam of an oil lamp, drumming and dancing like a woman who delivers a wild song of challenge or of lustfulness, he irresistibly compelled the spectators to compassion. Only a great and practised artist could conjure up such a telling figure. I got the same impression of several other old men who showed me examples of their talent in *uaajeertoq* rôles. From watching Ajukutooq and Marhré I got a profound impression of the dramatic talent of these people.

The uaajeertoq rôles have been handed down from old days. They are permanent mimic figures which represent types of human life seen

[1] Hansèrak (*Dagbog*, ed. 1933, pp. 95, 97, 99) also mentions the uâjèrneq games in agreement with the description given above.

[2] Cf. also G. Holm's description, First part, p. 129.

with the humour peculiar to the Eskimo. It is usually a human failing or some individual absurdity which the irony of the song lashes; for example the cowardly drum-singer who in pain and perplexity awaits the arrival of his opponent; or the drum-dancer smitten with his own charm; or the woman too lustful after men. With the real uaajeertoq rôle a game is often associated, such as when a drum-dancer seizes a burning wick-trimmer[1] and pursues his house-fellows with it inside the hut, or sucks water up into his mouth and blows it out at them in imitation of a whale.

To begin with, the rôle always has the form of a drum-dancer's monologue in song, first a long refrain and then the few words of the text, again the refrain as at first, the repetition of the words, and the whole repeated again and again with increasing solemnity or ludicrousness until the spectators are sated with enjoyment; after which the player begins another rôle. In this way pass the hours of the night in the hut. Each man has his repertoire and rôles, which it is by no means anybody's business to perform. The best impersonator is rewarded with acclamations of admiring shouts after each performance.

The women perform without any disguise, sometimes wearing their anoraks but more often naked, only wearing their short trousers. It was expressly emphasized (by Ajnkutooq) that the womens' uaajeertoq games were different from those performed by the men. There is no clear distinction between the womens' uaajeertoq games and their usual solo dances with songs (*tiwalin*). The main point is that the women, like the men, contribute to the general merriment in the hut by coming out on the floor and singing and dancing with drums in their hands before the assembly. Both young and old women can perform, and each of them, like the men, has her repertoire. The woman dances with her back turned to the platform, the man with his face towards it, not altering their position but merely wriggling their trunks and hips, and moving the drum gently with their arms.

As regards the subject of their songs I refer the reader to the examples on pp. 292–311.

If any of the uaajeertoq songs in my collection be characterized by age, and might be thought to have some connection with the old cultic festivals, then they must be these:

No. 1, *Qaqqilaajerseq*, "the bone-gnawer"—according to Ajnkutooq this figure was said to be the first uaajeertoq "player", possibly in the sense that the performer was the first to think of distending his cheeks with a stump of wood which he placed in his mouth.

[1] See First Part, p. 535, and fig. 258 b.

No. 3, *Coowit?* "What were you?", the subject of which, though rather enigmatical, gives the impression of an object implied. In the latter the player addresses a question to his house-fellows which has the appearance of an indiscretion, and evidently is intended to divide them into two classes, somewhat similarly as at the autumn festival mentioned by Boas from Baffin Land[1].

Nos. 28, *Uppamiyarter* and 30, *Nacaararter*, at which games it is essential that gifts be given to the player when he has performed his rôle.

Some of these uaajeertoq games were probably made use of in connection with the late night games of "putting out the lamps" and "exchange of wives" (cf. p. 652 with note 3).

Wife-exchanging. Two kinds of wife-exchanging must be noted as differing from each other: the temporary exchange which took place at certain recurrent periods by an arrangement between two men[2], and the indiscriminate mating connected with the festival of "putting out the lamp", which took place regularly once or twice in the winter[3].

The game of putting out the lamps naturally pertains only to the life in the winter huts, but we have no exact information as to the time in the winter when it took place. According to Hansêrak's journal (kept on Holm's expedition), the putting out of the lamps and the exchanging of wives took place, for example, about the new year, when guests arrived at the hut. It recurred (in 1885) in the middle of May, and Hansêrak, in his journal of the same date, presumes that the custom of exchanging wives was connected with the occurrence of the new moon or the full moon, (but this was perhaps only an assumption on the part of Hansêrak)[4]. From West Greenland, Hans Egede mentions a festival with drum-dancing in the hut, at which a sort of wife-exchange was said to have taken place some few days before January 15th (in 1729)[5].

The putting out of the lamp, *qamiyaartoq*, is not connected with the vocation of the angakok. Kunnaq assured me, for instance, that

[1] F. Boas, *Central Eskimo* p. 605 cf. *Esk. Baffin Land and Hudson Bay*, the tale about Qaudjaqdjuq (= Gr. Kagsagsuk), p. 188 and 310.

[2] Hansêrak mentions this custom in his Journal (*Dagbog*, ed. 1933, p. 163).

[3] Holm in First Part, p. 69—70. The sexual orgy was connected with these winter festivals, perhaps as a kind of a religious "communion", or as a communistic sacrament which concluded the festival. Cf. M. Mauss and Beuchat (1904–05) pp. 98—100 and 113—115.

[4] Hansêrak's *Dagbog*, 1933, p. 69.

[5] Hans Egede, *Relation* (1738), p. 252, and (1741), p. 78; *Perlustration* p. 78 (ed. by Bobé p. 373). Cf. Poul Egede, *Dictionarium* (1750) p. 100 under *mallikserpok* and H. C. Glahn, Journals (*Dagboger* 1763–69, ed. by Ostermann 1921, p. 66).

the angakok does not take any part in the game. The challenge is set going by one of the ordinary men of the congregation; it would be considered too ridiculous and unseemly if a woman made the first advance. When the lamps are extinguished for this part of the game, a skin curtain is hung in front of the inner end of the house passage, and one of those who take no part in the exchanging of wives rattles the curtain in such a way that it drowns the sound of what takes place in the dark. In the meanwhile the children remain on the window-platform. When, later, the lamps are lit, each man has to be back again with his wife on their common platform place, making pretence that he has not been elsewhere. But next day, the children will tattle about what they have noticed.

The masks.—I asked Akernilik, Ajukutooq, and Aleqaajik what use they made of the masks (*keeapaait*), and in the main have given their reply in the First Part, p. 639 in addition to the illustrations of the masks; but unfortunately my information was incomplete. I did not succeed in clearing up what Aleqaajik meant when she said that their forefathers had used masks, *tornar[ll]qelartulik*, "when they played at being tornaq". With those games where the masks were used there was no question of festivals of a shamanic character. It was not the angakut, said she, but the men and women in the house who played the uaajeertoq games, that sometimes used masks. Nor is it made clear whether wooden masks or skin masks were preferred or perhaps both were used indiscriminately. A few of the uaajeertoq games which I have related remind one (as already stated) of certain cultic festivals amongst the West Eskimos on the American continent.

It seems to have been the custom to cast the masks (at any rate the wooden ones) into the sea, together with the corpses of the deceased, who were buried in this manner. Both Nataaq's and Akernilik's fathers' masks were lost in this way, as both fathers were buried in the sea. No genuine masks have been found in graves on land. But the wooden double face carved on either side of a spigot in the style of the masks (illustrated in First Part, fig. 356), testifies to the art of portraiture as applied to sculpturing in wood having been employed with cultic design also in East Greenland.

The masks which Akernilik cut for me from wood, and which represented particular individuals, were also portraits[1]. He expressly stated, of the first two which he brought, that the one represented Ikerteewa, Aartuartee's wife, recognizable by her top-knot wound round with bands of seal-skin, from which depended two stems of ammassät beads, and the other her lover, who wanted to seduce her (during the

[1] Cf. the dolls mentioned in First Part p. 649.

game of putting out the lamps), by name Perkarteeliar, Isiaqittoq's son. The last-named was the son of the angakoq Ceerqiwa, and was scorned as a bad sealer but lauded as a bear-hunter. The third mask, like the first, had a hair-top with bands of seal-skin and beads, and represented the old woman Oorujuk when young, at the time she was married to Eeppia at Ammassalik (they were childless). Akernilik had nothing to say as regards the reason for sculpturing these individuals.

The treatment of the wood is characteristic of Ammassalik, especially in the deep, close grooves which follow the flats and lines of the face (representing wrinkles or tattooings). Just as characteristic, also, are the facial expressions: the open mouth without any smile, but mostly stamped with awe or pain; the small, oblique eyes; the high brows, etc.

Postscript. — Qashse once more.

In the basic myth (mentioned on pp. 396–97) of the Sun and the Moon, the heavenly brother and sister, these are termed "people of our own kind", and it says: "Once they were playing together in a snow house with a skin roof, (of the sort) which is the playing house of the young people in the winter".[1] This shows us that to the Greenlanders of the 18th century the qashse was known as a *snow house* roofed with skin (usually depilated seal skin, often discarded tent or kaiak skins). On the other hand, I do not mean to say that the Greenlanders of earlier days did not know more permanent qashses built of stone and turf, for use all the year round. Although the present-day central Eskimos are content to live in snow houses in the winter and often incorporate their qashses in them, we know from the archaeologists that the earlier Eskimo tribes in the central regions erected solid earth houses (of turf, stones, timber or whale bones). I think, therefore, that the playing houses built of snow mentioned by Poul Egede, are a secondary development, an adaptation to the climatic conditions in the high arctic regions, and that we may assume the existence of a primary arctic type of more solid qashses for the earliest immigrants, no doubt continued side by side with the snow qashses right down to and after Egede's time (though he never mentions any such). That

[1] I take it for granted that what P. Egede here calls "the playing house of the young people" was meant by the Greenlandish narrator (his source) to denote a *qashse* (probably pronounced *qaqci* in Egede's time). However, it is not certain that this word has been used by the narrator, who may have said *piŋ'iwartarfia* "the place where they play".

this is the actual state of affairs is evidenced by the discovery of ruins, not only Giesecke's find on Disko island in 1811, but several ruins discovered later on.[1]

Six years ago I was standing by two ruined qashses situated side by side near the settlement *Awannarʒeet* on the southern side of *Jakobshavn* ice fjord (*Ilulíssat* 'the icebergs'). An old man, Seelarse, told me that he had heard about them from even older people, but it was clear that he hesitated to talk frankly about them; it seemed to be difficult or perhaps disagreeable to him to divulge the secrets of the qashses. He also hinted that the qashse was a place which was once used for improper purposes, prostitution in connection with singing and dancing. In the meanwhile, directed by his wife, I found my way to the old ruined settlement. The time at my disposal only permitted me to take a photo of the ruins. The two qashses were alike, and stood beside each other on the outskirts of the settlement. Later on I received a letter from the catechist of the place, Sechman Rosback, who confirmed my observations and added what he himself had heard from "old people". The qashse was roundish, judging from the ground plan, with a semicircular lobby or entrance (*isertariâ*); it was said to be without windows as qashses usually are; "when the lamps were extinguished, it was quite dark in there. The young (unmarried) people were not allowed to go in there; it was the old (adult) people who generally used the qashse." They were not used for dramatic performances ?". Except in the lobby, there was a platform (*igdleq*) running all round the place, so that there was only very little floor space. This was the dancing place (*tiwavfik*); there "they danced, drummed, and sang" (*tiwavdlutik*). When they began all the lamps were burning, and all who were present were to sing (*ivngísâput*) while they looked at the drum dancer. When the dancing and singing were over, they continued in the dark, sometimes till the dawn of day.

In 1931 when I was staying at Godthab (*Nûngme*), I heard that on the opposite shore of the fjord, near the small settlement Sârdloq (*Saarloq*) there was supposed to be a qashse. I put across and examined the ruin which was situated on the eastern edge of the present settlement.

Josva, the carpenter at Nûk, showed me the site of the heathens' qashse now in ruins, and almost obliterated, while, as he said with

[1] Birket-Smith (MoG. 66, 1924, p. 144 (cf. 135) has pointed out that Giesecke's ruin was situated near a summer settlement, and hence, apparently, used in the summer. This would agree with what the East Greenlanders stated about their playing house, *nertee^{w}l^{w}ât*, (see p. 657), which, it was said, was in use in the whaling season, that is to say, in the summer.

a smile, he was building the first chapel for the Danish mission in this place. There is now only a circular depression in the ground, the edge of which marks the earlier wall, and the floor of which is now flush with the surrounding terrain. The stones in it have been carried away little by little to be used for new houses in process of building. The ruin is situated above or at the edge of rather a steep slope, which descends four or five metres into a small valley, perhaps

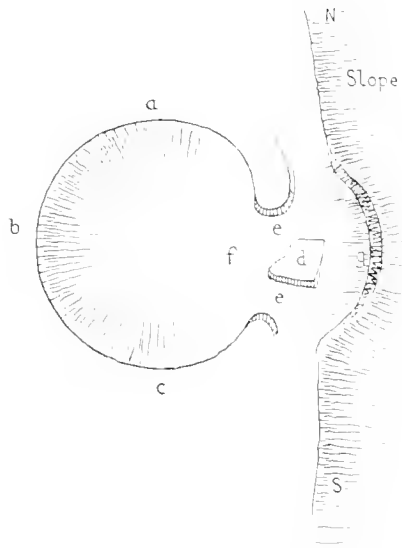

Fig. 184. Outline drawing of the *qashse* at *Saarloq*, a small village on the northern coast of Godthab Fjord.

a. b. c. The ground plan of the wall, flush with the surrounding terrain, enclosing a hollow c. 1 m deep, the diameter of the circle being c. 5 m. ***d.*** A heap of earth, perhaps a fragment of the wall. ***e.*** Probably the entrance; no remains of a house-passage were seen. ***f.*** Front part of the floor (entry or lobby?) ***g.*** A ledge in the earth some way down the rather steep slope.

a dried up river valley. The entrance to the qashse must have been just at the edge of the slope, a circumstance which seems strange, considering the difficulty of getting into it, probably as usual through a passage (tunnel). But if such a tunnel has ascended(?) the slope, all signs of it have disappeared. The entrance (*e*) is in a way the most distinct part of the ruin. It looks like a cut in that bit of the wall which is left. A couple of stones were still visible at the cut, in the ends of the wall which here rises on both sides of the opening. But in the middle of this there is a heap of earth (*d*), as if a bit of the wall had been broken off from the main part and fallen in a heap a little way down the slope. This makes it appear as if there had been two entrances, one on each side of the detached piece of earthen

wall. The following reminiscence is connected with this qashse. When Christianity was first preached in Sârdloq, Toornaarsuk was heard to fly shrieking out of the qashse. In the heathen times, said Josva, it was the custom of the inhabitants on the shortest day of the year, when the stars *Aassoolit* first appeared in the eastern sky, to dress themselves in new fur coats and proceed in couples to the festival house to celebrate the solstice.

Later I received a letter from Avgo Lynge, teacher at the training college, who stated that he knew a similar qashse near *Atangmik* north of Godthâb, and another from Kristen Mikiassen, the catechist, saying that he knew a ruin of a qashse near *Narssaq* south of Godthâb, situated by the settlement of *Qarajaq*, now deserted. This qashse stood at some little distance from the houses on the southern bank of the river.

In an account written in 1880 by Eller Dorf,[1] then a catechist near Cape Farvel, we may read what the Greenlanders in the southernmost part of the country, who really belonged to the inhabitants of the east coast, still knew about qashses, particularly the qashse after which Qagssimiut was named.

Qagssimiut 'the inhabitants of (a) qashse' is the name marked in the map for a little village (outlying settlement) in the Julianehâb district. The *qagsse* is explained as the "Eskimo assembly house, the first of its kind" (in this part) and is described thus:

"It was built with a round opening at the top and a narrow entrance". Then follows a tale about the use to which this qashse had once been put, mainly as a kind of "trap" in which "the murderer" Isigaarseraq was caught. He was a man said to be from Akilineq (the land on the other side) and seems to be identical with the famous Uiarteq, who sailed round the land (see First Part, p. 108 and pp. 242–244). Another qashse of the same kind is reported to be found to the northward near Julianehâb. This too had been built to catch the same "murderer" (the word perhaps merely denotes a hostile invader coming from the north). On both occasions, however, he evaded his pursuers by his cunning and agility, slipping out of the qashse between their legs and weapons and jumping out through the hole in the roof.

The tale seems apocryphal, especially by its reference to the hole in the roof, which is never otherwise mentioned in accounts of the

[1] *Eller Dorf*, the author of the manuscript, was a catechist at *Tuapaait* at the time when Holm & Garde's expedition sailed past the settlement. One of the members of the expedition, P. Eberlin, acquired the Greenlandish manuscript, which Holm kept. It consists of three small books in blue covers, and deals with "the faith of our ancestors", e. g. the sea woman, the moon man, angâkut and qashses. See the Gustav Holm Collection in the Royal Library, København.

East Eskimo qashses. This feature may be due to a confusion of the qashse with the dome-shaped traps often built on the east coast to catch gulls or ravens (cf. First Part pp. 406–407, and fig. 222 in this part). According to the legend about *Imerasugsuk* his wife *Misana* hid herself in such a trap. But the fact remains that the word qashse as a term for an ancient assembly-house was known down here in the far south of Greenland, and this is the only time the word is mentioned in connection with the East Greenlanders.

Finally in 1935 I discussed the matter with an old hunter by name Jakuaq Euginius[1] who belonged to the Moravian congregation at Godthab, one of the last great upholders of the tradition on the west coast. Like all Eskimos he knew his part of the country over long stretches extending towards all four corners of the globe, and carried a vivid picture of it in his imagination, so that he could at once draw a rough map on paper, with the place-names marked. He put crosses against the places where in his opinion there were still ruins of qashses. I quote the names here; and may publish his map on another occasion. I reproduce his spelling, only substituting *q* for his *k*:

Igdluverungnerit (a little north of Kangeq)
(A place between) *Qungnerit* and *Nawswitsunguaq*
Tuperssuartik (to the north on the island *Qaquk*?)
(A place between) *Upernivik* and *Pisuvfik*
Atangmik
Akungnât
Ilivilik (between *Nuvfiumaneq* and *Nijaqornarssuaq*)
Sârdloq

"At *Pisuvfik* there is a large ruined Eskimo settlement, and it is well known that near to here there is a qashse, that is to say, here it is a *temporary lodge* (*tássa ugdlasaut igdlo qaqssinaq qaqsse aqssigingmago*), a shelter of the kind called a *qashsinaq* 'resembling a qashse'".[2] What Jakuaq meant by this will in part appear from his description which we now append. "For in very old times (antiquity) all *inuit* had, in connection with their *angákut*, a sort of penal prisons put to the following use. When women gave birth under concealment their angakut shut them up in a temporary shelter where they ordered them to go in; a house without a window like this one." His manuscript has a small drawing something like a crooked beehive. "This is a temporary shelter, it also used to be called a *qaqssinaq* house. Such

[1] Jakuaq is derived from Jacob and means "Little (*-aq*) Jacob."

[2] The first time I find this word quoted is in Schultz-Lorentzen's paper on the *Eskimo immigration* (in MoG. 26, 1904, p. 307).

are also found at *Narssaq*, *Avangnâ*, *Narajat igdlútsât*, *Qarajat qerertarssuaq Aggâneuit*, *Qagssijarssuk*, *Qerertai utorqar*, *Utorqarmiut*, *Sâtut*, *Navdluvfik* (etc.)".

He added a small story told of the place *Qagssijarssuk* ('the peculiar qashse') which runs thus:

"Once in the old days, when the angakkoq of the inhabitants of the Storo was on a prowling hunt in his kaiak, out by the sea, he had to go ashore a moment to ease himself, and went up from the beach. There he had a vision. A fine big woman was sitting on a stone a little further inland gazing at him. Not knowing her, he asked, "Who are you? What is your name?" Then she spoke, saying, "When we were over yonder at *Qagssiarssuk* and I was cleaning my mother-in-law from lice, some one called out "Your husband has arrived, they say." "I did not go out, I did not hurry (as she ought to have done as his wife). After a while steps were heard in the house passage. He jumped up out of the entrance hole, came up to me, caught hold of my topknot, pulled savagely at me, and dragged me out of the house to the shelter (*ugdlasaungmut*) and forced me to go in. There I suffered great anguish (*nâgdlioqalunga*, the word is used of spiritual distress and pangs only), and when I came out I turned into an ice-loon; I turned into an ice-loon, *quvîveq*, *quvîveq*, *qâqâqulâjô*, I turned into an ice-loon (the Greenlandish words are without meaning, they simply give the call of the bird). When the great loon flew up, when it was seen from behind, it is reported, it could be seen that she was a transformed human being."

Jakuaq Euginius's dwelling on the qashse-like shelters, which had their special uses in the discipline of the community under the control of the heathen priests, is of considerable interest. But in this connection I merely adduce it as one of several examples that from the old days the Greenlanders made a distinction between qashses proper (permanent qashses) —whose function was similar to that of the West Eskimos' festival houses— and qashse-like lodges. In other words, there were two kinds of qashses.

The remembrance of the real original qashses is quite obscured in Greenland. What has been preserved by tradition is the use of smaller qashses, some square, others roundish in ground plan, some built of snow, others of stones, turf, and timber like the ordinary houses; the roundish snow qashses being in use in the winter, the others perhaps permanently in winter and summer, apparently with the function of being playing-houses for the young people, e. g. at feasts or orgies in connection with the whale-hunting season.

Lodges for temporary habitation are well known both in Greenland and in Alaska. I would remind the reader of the hastily built summer-dwellings

of the Greenlanders, often standing on the beach itself, which they use on their hunting excursions. For Alaska E. W. Nelson mentions "snowhouses as temporary shelters erected by hunters", such are there called *an-i-gu-yŭk*, which would correspond to something like Gr. *anigujaaq* (< *anigorpaa* 'escapes a danger') i. e. 'an emergency shelter'. Barnum speaks of the snowhouse as an *iglu* in contrast with *nna* 'a shelter, a nest, a couch, the place of the thing, a room', corresponding to Gr. *ina* (*ine*). But none of these lodges has the function of a qashse.

Having noted the occurrence of these old qashses on the west coast of Greenland, it would seem appropriate to quote some data from our western sources, principally E. W. Nelson (N.) and Francis Barnum (B.), both of whose publications date from about 1900. The information of the former is derived from the central part of the west coast of Alaska, chiefly from the region inhabited by the *Unalit* tribe (*Pastolik* from the mouth of the Yukon northward to Razbinsky, with two kashims for 25 ordinary houses). Barnum's locality was a little further to the south.

N

Description of the West Alaskan festival house from E. W. Nelson, *The Eskimo about Bering Strait* (1899), pp. 242—246.

"Formerly, as at present, the village was usually an irregular group of semi-subterranean houses built about a large central building, called by the Unalit, *kăj'-i-gi*. This term corresponds to the name *kashim*[1] of the fur traders, which has been used throughout this paper to designate structures of this kind.

These buildings are on the same general plan as the dwelling houses, but are much larger and are used as the central point of the village social life. They are ordinarily made large enough to contain all the villagers, besides guests that may come during festivals. In some of the villages, however, where the number of inhabitants is considerable, two or more of these buildings are constructed. Their size is necessarily limited by the material available — which is mainly drift logs cast up along the shore. The people of the lower Yukon have a tradition that there formerly existed below *Ikogmut* a village that contained 35 kashims; at present there are many villages in which there are two of these buildings.

Snow houses, so common among the Eskimo of Greenland and other eastern regions, are known in Alaska only as temporary shelters erected by hunters when out on short excursions from their village during winter; they are termed *ăn-i-gu-yŭk'*, and their use is familiar to all of the Eskimo although they are so rarely constructed . . ."

[We pass over Nelson's description of the common family house and return to his mention of the kashim on p. 215.

"*Kashims* are common everywhere among the Eskimo and have been adopted by the adjacent Tinné of lower Yukon and Kuskokwim rivers. They vary in size according to the number of inhabitants in the village. The material used for these structures is driftwood, consisting of logs and poles which float down the rivers in spring and are strewn along their banks or

[1] This term is derived from the word *kaj'-i-gim* = "my kaj'-i-gi".

carried to sea and scattered along the coast during the following summer. Spruce is the most common variety. The logs are usually deprived of their bark and are seasoned by exposure . . .

In constructing a kashim the logs are laid in the form of a square to the height of 7 or 8 feet; from thence they are drawn in on every side, in alternate courses, until the last are short, and surround a square opening in the roof, directly over the middle of the room, and from 9 to 12 feet above the floor, forming a frame for the smoke hole, which is about 2 or $2^1/_2$ feet in width. If the building is small, it is covered with a heavy layer of earth, but if large, a crib-work is built around it, held together by a frame, so as to inclose the building and form a double wall, inside of which is thrown a heavy layer of earth.

The *floor* is usually of hewed planks laid close together, and occupies about one-third of the area of the room, in the shape of a square in the center; it is laid on sills at the end so that the planks can readily be taken up; below these there is a pit from 3 to 4 feet deep, in which the *fire* is built to heat the room for sweat baths, or at rare intervals in winter; but usually the heat from the bodies of the occupants keeps the temperature so high that they remain nude, or partly so, much of the time, even in winter. Other planks usually cover the ground back to the walls, although in many places, especially where wood is scarce, the floor of this portion of the room consists merely of earth, beaten hard.—The *entrance* consists of a long, roofed passage, built of logs and covered with earth; the outer end of this is faced with planks, over which is a square, round or arched door way leading into the room in summer, when it is closed only by a bearskin curtain. In winter this entrance, which is above the ground, is closed tightly, and a round hole in the floor near the outer end of the upper passage leads through a low tunnel, along which the people pass on their hands and knees to the fire pit, and thence through a circular or oval hole to the middle of the room.

These *rooms* are from 12 to 25 feet square.

Around the inside, about 4 feet from the floor, extends a *bench*, hewed from a single log, 15 to 18 inches wide and usually from 4 to 6 inches in thickness, or left half rounded below; this heavy bench is supported by stout sticks placed diagonally across the corners of the room, and is used as a sleeping place, also as a *seat* during festivals and at other times.

At the back of the room, supported on an upright post from 2 to 3 feet high, a *lamp* is kept burning, by public contribution, at all times when the kashim is gloomy. A gut-skin cover is used over the smoke hole at all times, except when the fire is burning in the pit, or when the heat becomes too oppressive".

B

Description of the South Alaskan festival house *kazhga* from F. Barnum, *Fundamentals of the Innuit Language . . . of Alaska* (1901) §§ 809—810.

"In every Innuit village there is a communal house, termed *kazhga*, around which are grouped the private residences.

In older times, when the population was numerous, there were many villages containing from five hundred to a thousand inhabitants, and even more. There are traditions of great settlements, one of which possessed thirty kazhgas. At present it is very rare to find a village in which the population is large enough to require two . . . . The kazhga serves as the *work-*

shop, meeting place, bath house, theatre, and general *club house* for the residents of the village. It may be described simply as a cellar with a roof over it. It consists of an excavation from 12 to 20 feet square covered with a pyramidal roof of rough drift logs. The interstices are caulked with moss and the whole roof is then overlaid with a thick coating of sods and earth. In the centre of the roof a small square opening is left for light and ventilation. This is covered with a curtain made of the intestines of seal or walrus. These intestines are slit lengthwise and dried. When these thin strips of membrane are sewed together they form a covering which is translucent and impervious to cold. This opening is termed *rhalok*[1]. The frost has a tendency to form thickly on the inside of the membrane, and thus dims the light; hence frequently during the day the command *rhalok patigaluku*[2] will be given. Thereupon one of the younger inmates will go out and knock the frost down by patting gently upon the membrane covering. If the family happen to have membrane wherewith to make a rhalok curtain, then a large block of the clearest ice is selected and set into the opening. Large objects which cannot be taken in through the usual entrance of the kazhga are lowered down through the rhalok.

In the centre of the *floor* there is a deeper excavation, generally 6 or 8 feet square, which serves as the *fire pit*; when not in use this is covered with hewn logs. The fire pit is only used when the inmates of a kazhga are able to indulge in the luxury of a sweat bath. Owing to the extreme scarcity of wood throughout the greater portion of the Eskimo country, fires are never used to heat their residences. The presence of a number of people shut up in these air-tight abodes suffices of itself to keep the temperature just above the freezing point, which is considered to be comfortable enough in a region where fuel is so precious. — When it is desired to convert the kazhga into a bath house the logs covering the fire pit are rolled aside. The wood is most carefully split up into long slips, which are as thin as possible. This is done in order that it may produce much flame, and also that it may all consume without leaving any coals to smoulder or poison the air.

From the level of the fire pit a narrow ditch is dug, extending sometimes twelve or fifteen feet. This ditch slants upwards to the surface of the ground, and is covered over so as to form a perfect *tunnel*. This is the *ăgpēăk*[3]. The outer opening of the agveak is enclosed in a small shelter, called *laturak*, from *lan-latum* 'out of doors'.[4] Occasionally a laturak is constructed of hard snow.

Between the fire pit and front wall of the kazhga there is a circular shaft through the floor connecting with the tunnel; this opening is known as the *pug'yarak*[5].

To enter a kazhga, a person having passed the outer vestibule, or laturak, creeps along through the dark little tunnel till he reaches the pugyarak; here he is able to stand erect, and by pressing his hands on the sides of

[1] Same word as Greenl. *igalaaq* 'a window'.

[2] Greenl. *igalaaq patiLLugo* (imperatively) 'beating (tapping, patting at) the window'.

[3] Greenl. *agpaa, agsivoq* 'moves (something) out'. Labr. *aksiviak(q)*, 'throwing-out place', *aksaarneq* 'outgoing current'.

[4] Cf. Greenl. *sila* 'out of doors, the open air'.

[5] Cf. Greenl. *puivoq* 'emerges, pops out'. *-giar, -ria* 'the way by which —'. *-raq* 'little'.

the hole can spring up to the floor. This act of emerging from the *puggyarak* is expressed by *pūgōk*[1], and it is a most abrupt and ungraceful mode of entrance. The exit is fully as ludicrous. The soft boots and fur clothing of the natives make no rustling, and one beholds the inmates of a kazhga disappear instantly and silently through the floor after the fashion of imps in a pantomime.

Around the sides of the kazhga extends a broad shelf constructed of split logs, laid with the flat sides upwards. This shelf, which is about 3 feet high, forms the usual sleeping place. The interior of a kazhga is always dark and gloomy, the sides and roof are blackened with smoke and soot, and the floor is covered with grease and dirt."

"The term for a private house is *ṅnà*[2] which always means a winter house; the various styles of summer residences have each its distinct name. — The well-known term *iglu* refers only to huts built entirely of blocks of hard snow, which are cut from the weather side of drifts. These are only erected for temporary shelter.

The *ṅnā* differs from the kazhga in the following respects. It is much smaller, and is erected upon the surface of the ground; occasionally some are to be found which are slightly excavated. — Around three sides of the interior extends the bed platform, which is about 5 feet wide, and generally 12 inches above the level of the floor. This platform is called *inglōk*[3], and is covered with mats woven from dried grass."

As far as the *Chuckchi* are concerned BOGORAS informs us that ceremony-houses are mentioned in their legends, though the people themselves do not now know any such. The scabby shaman Rintew built a "singing-house" and invited all the neighbours to a ceremony, as the Indians and the Eskimo chiefs generally did. Among the inhabitants of Kamchatka such a ceremony-house is likewise mentioned; and HOOPER describes in detail a dancing-house among the Asiatic Eskimos in the village Ŭŋisaq at Indian Point, which he saw in 1848. So here again we have material for comparison which, however, I shall not discuss more fully here, as I hope that the archaeologists may find their way to this field before the subject is to be discussed on a broader theoretical basis.

COLLINS, in his archaeological work from the western regions (1937), did not go into the problem of the qashses (kashims), but it appears from his incidental mention of them that the S.W.Alaskan qashses, besides their conformity to the common type of house, have certain peculiarities which no doubt correspond to their various social functions (as a festival house; and as the working and sleeping house of the men and their bath house). Our interpretation of the West

[1] *pugok* expresses entering a dwelling. Cf. Greenl. *pulavoq* 'creeps in' (*-lavoq* 'is in the state of'). The sense appears to be to bob up, or emerge from. When a fish leaps out of the water it is described by *pugok*. Gr. *puivoq*.

[2] Greenl. *ina(a)* 'its place, nest', 'room', (stem alternating *ine, ina*).

[3] Greenl. *igdleq* [ilhleq] 'the platform along the back wall of the room'.

Eskimo qashse must be based on our knowledge of the various house types compared with those of the neighbouring peoples. Collins emphasizes certain surprising differences.

In the first place Collins (1937 p. 267), like Therkel Mathiassen, shows that in N. Alaska the typical Point Barrow house, the ordinary dwelling-house, is only an Alaskan type exteriorly, while its interior is a pure Thule structure[1] (a rear platform and gabled roof, features resembling the longhouse type of the East Greenlanders, see G. Holm in First Part p. 35 fig. 31; cf. p. 360). But further (p. 269) the more easterly type of Mackenzie river house is entirely different from the Thule house and appears clearly "as a local and specialized form". The prototype of the Mackenzie river house, however, recurs in the more southern part of the Alaskan coast, from Norton Sound southward. Collins points out such features as "the sleeping platform extending around the sides along the floor, and the partly vaulted roof"; the latter features "agreeing with the kashims of S.W.Alaska". And in his search for the origin of the southern house type he pauses at the Koryak houses south of the Chukchi Peninsula, especially those of the maritime Koryaks (p. 272). "From Jochelson's detailed description we see that it is a large semisubterranean structure, *octagonal* in ground plan" etc. This type does not lack in its centre "four pillars" as "supports of the central roof structure which is to some extent vaulted . . . with a square opening at the top which served as smoke hole and winter entrance." (Cf. the Mackenzie river house type). There is a special summer entrance. Collins concludes that the Koryak house "resembles that of S.W. and W.Alaska (Bristol Bay to Norton Sound) . . . Furthermore, the outline of the house is octagonal, and the only octagonal structures in Alaska are the *kashims* between the mouth of Kuskokwim and Bristol Bay (observed by the present writer [Collins] at Goodnews Bay and Kulukak)."

An octagonal ground plan comes very near to the *circular* form of the qashse known to us from Fr. Boas' ground plan of the qashse from Baffin Land by Davis Strait. But it would be a bold conjecture to suppose that the qashses of the W. Eskimos were originally roundish in ground plan, seeing that all modern qashses in Alaska are described as "square".[2] On the other hand, the qashses built of snow among the central Eskimos are dome-shaped and circular, though sometimes modified by being built on to the dwelling houses (see e. g. figs. 182 a-c).

[1] Therefore Collins (1937 and previously) speaks of "*a late return*" *migration* of Thule peoples into northern Alaska, subsequent to the original eastward spread from Alaska to the central regions" (p. 267).

[2] See W. E. Nelson and Fr. Barnum, and from earlier times Adrian Jacobsen (ed. Woldt, 1887, pp. 230—234) and Elliott.

As far as Greenland is concerned, the qashse found by Giesecke in 1811 would seem to suggest the square shape of the ordinary dwelling houses.

From Labrador, finally, we have a description of a qashse through the report of one of the Moravian missionaries who stayed at Nain in 1777. I cite it from Packard's *Notes* on the Labrador Eskimo.[1]

Crantz then mentions a feature of Eskimo life, which however repugnant to the feelings of the Moravians, is of interest to the ethnologist, and has not, so far as we are aware, been observed among the Eskimo of late years. This is the erection of a temporary winter éstufá or public game-house. "A *kache*, or pleasure-house, which, to the grief of the missionaries, was erected in 1777, by the savages near Nain, and resorted to by visitors from *Okkak*, has been described by the brethren. It was built entirely of snow, sixteen feet high and seventy feet square. The entrance was by a round porch, which communicated with the main body of the house by a long avenue terminated at the farther end by a heart-shaped aperture, about eighteen inches broad and two feet in height. For greater solidity the wall near the entrance was congealed into ice by water poured upon it. Near the entry was a pillar of ice supporting the lamp, and additional light was let in through a transparent plate of ice in the side of the building. A string hung from the middle of the roof, by which a small bone was suspended, with four holes driven through it[2]. Round this all the women were collected, behind whom stood the men and boys, each having a long stick shod with iron. The string was now set a-swinging, and the men, all together, thrust their sticks over the heads of their wives at the bone, till one of them succeeded in striking a hole. A loud acclamation ensued; the men sat down on a snow seat, and the victor, after going two or three times round the house singing, was kissed by all the men and boys; he then suddenly made his exit through the avenue, and, on his return, the game was renewed."

As a set-off to this we now have my discovery of the qashse in SAARLOQ by the Godthabsfjord with a *circular* ground plan (fig. 184).

It is certain that the term *qashse* was applied to the find at SAARLOQ as well as to Giesecke's find. It is undoubtedly a wellknown and ancient word in the Greenlandish language, incorporated in the earliest dictionaries.[3]

I myself noted down the word from the living tradition in 1901

[1] A. Packard, *Notes on the Labrador Eskimo and their former range southward.* The American Naturalist 1885, pp. 471—481 and (continued) 553—560.

[2] Probably the play of *nuttutaq* (commonly spelled nuglutak) described here in First Part p. 658, also mentioned by O. Fabricius, *Grönlandsk Ordbog* under *kimmerârpok*.

[3] In O. Fabricius' Vocabulary (1804) it occurs in the forms *kakse* and *karkse* (p. 240), Kleinschmidt (1871) has *kagsse*. Paul Egede (1750) only gives the derivative *karksimio-*.

in North Greenland (*Umanak* Fjord) as the initial word in the myth about the sun and the moon, which opens as follows:

Qa^{w}s'ersuarmigo'q i'o igala'rqay'il'oq inuit pa^{w}niarta'rqigisa't . . aqutip qatay'un'e arnaq tigulugo pa^{w}niartara (etc.).

"In the big meeting house, it is related, a house without any window, the place of the inuit, where they used to play and lie with each other[1]."

A Phonetical Study of the Eskimo Language, MoG. 31, Copenhagen 1903 (p. 294); *North Greenlandic Contributions to Eskimo Folk-lore*, no 3, "Sun and Moon".

Qas^{ll}serssuarme 'in the great qashse' (spelt according to the idiomatic pronunciation). The fixed form of this tradition is probably connected with the fact that in the old days the myth was recited as part of a ritual ceremony, perhaps at a religious feast of a similar kind to those described at length by E. W. Nelson and Knud Rasmussen among the Alaskan Eskimos. Unfortunately we have no tradition or observation from Greenland or the intermediate areas of the fact known from other parts of the world that myths dealing with the supreme powers or the origin of the world may be recited at certain ceremonies of a religious kind.

The word *kashim* is the American ethnologists' or colonists' imitation of a similar word in Eskimo. In the authors from the different parts (dialects) it appears in varying forms. I take it for granted that disyllabics such as Labrador *qagge*, Gr. *qagsse*, are later developments (contractions) of the trisyllabics found in Stefánsson and Jenness from the Mackenzie river Eskimos: *kadjigi*, *qajigiq*, and in Nelson and Jenness from North Alaska: *käj-i-gi*, *qaiiyi*, *qayigi*, cf. D. Jenness from Bering Strait (K): *qaɣi*; Knud Rasmussen: *qaɣgi* (Copper Esk.).[2]

I think I am able to show a connection between these words and a nearly homonymous etymon *kashi* (or *kash*) in the *Ainu* language meaning 'a lodge, a hunter's or fisherman's lodge'; and owing to the historical- geographical connection between the Ainu and the Japanese I have extended the connection to the Japanese language in which, according to the dictionaries, the stems *kashi* and *kaji* might come into consideration.[3] The Greenlandish word must then be assumed to have passed through the following stages in the history of the language:

[1] See the Greenland dictionary under *pâvâ*.

[2] Knud Rasmussen, BFTE, IX (1932), p. 141 (note) and 310.

[3] Hepburn's Japanese-English Dictionary (4. ed. 1888) gives e. g. *kashi* 'a loan, anything lent'; *kashi zashiki* 'a prostitute house'; *kashiya* 'a house to let'. Kurt Wolff (in a letter to me) regarded Jap. *kashi* 'family property' and *kaji* 'family affairs' as loan words from the Chinese (cf. my *Cultic Games and Festivals* p. 254).

WGr. *qagsse* (qaχsse) < *qarχce* < **qaʀχje* < **qaʀdjʀe* < **qadjʀe* < *qadjike* < *qadjiγe*.

Other intermediate local forms: *qaχχe* (L.), *qaʟχi*, *qaccige*, *qaʀʀige*.

Cf. a Greenlandish analogon: Gr. *agssaq* < *arkjaq* (L. *aχχaq*) < **ardjraq* < *adjiraq*, *adjigaq* (Petitot) "hand, forearm".

Even within the Eskimo area the available data do not speak quite plainly. Let us assume a linguistic continuity between Gr. *qagsse* and Al. *qazhg*^{r,a}, but does the term therefore cover the same sociological fact?

Linguistically *qagsse* was regarded by Kleinschmidt as a purely Eskimo derivative of the same stem as *qak* and *qaa* 'surface', cf. *qagdleq* 'the uppermost or outermost (part of the surface)' *-dleq* being the superlative ending; *qagssivoq* about men or animals: "goes up or climbs on land or on to an ice-floe, common particularly about marine animals that have climbed on to the ice or on land." The (nominal) stem of this verb is the same *qagsse* with which we are here concerned (cf. p. 660 for the different connotations of the word). Kleinschmidt[2] also gives *qaqivoq* 'goes up' and *qaqitsivoq* 'saves something out of the water, pulls it up out of deep water', besides *qagssivoq*. His method, however, is somewhat invalidated by his lack of knowledge of the western forms of the word at the time when he worked. The western forms brought to our knowledge later on give us a different picture of the genesis of the word. It is true that the final element *-ge*, which is traceable far to the south cf. Labr. *qagge* (< **qarge*?), is compatible with Eskimo morphology (cf. Gr. *atigeq; nigeq*), but the whole character of the word and its inner elements would seem to indicate an influence from another language.

The Greenlandish *qashse*, however, is surely, both as a term and as an object, an offshoot of the W. Eskimo *qashge*, which in Alaska has the character of a "men's house" and club: the assembly hall and festival house of the village, a substitute for a temple. The snow qashses of the Central Eskimos are known to us chiefly as festival houses. Among the inland Eskimos west of Hudson Bay isolation shelters are mentioned[3] of a similar kind to the *qashsinaq* referred to by Jakuaq Enginius (p. 673), though with a somewhat different function. The term shows that there was a tendency to transfer the word to another kind of buildings than the large festival houses. There is no absolute continuity in the architecture of the qashses. And it must be

[1] Bogoras, *The Folklore of N. E. Asia*. — AA, vol. 4, 1902 (p. 606).

[2] Kleinschmidt, Ordbog (1871), p. 125.

[3] Knud Rasmussen, RFT Exp. VII, 1 (Iglulik) pp. 170-172 *ernivik*, *kinervik*.

left open whether *qashse* originally connoted a lodge (a hunter's shelter), the men's club-house, the village festival house, or something else.

"The playing-house of the young people", transmitted in Greenland and attested by the ruins, is then probably only one of the kinds of qashses in Greenland, connected with the festival of the great whale-hunt in the summer.

Tradition associates the myth with the idea of the Sun and Moon. The persistence of the tradition in N. Greenland is plainly evident from the fact that as late as 1901 I noted down this myth in the fjord of Umanak in North Greenland. In my version, which was written when neither the narrator nor myself knew Egede's text or any other tradition about qashses, the very word occurs in the opening phrase ("the great qashse"). The persistence of this tradition is probably connected with the fact that the myth in the old days was recited in a fixed form as a part of the ritual ceremonies at a religious feast of a similar kind to those described by E. W. Nelson and Knud Rasmussen as prevalent among the Alaskan Eskimos, or like that mentioned by Holmberg in use among the Konyag Eskimos on Kadiak Island south of Alaska. "The feast begins by their running out of the kashim with burning wooden torches in their lifted arms."[1]

Egede's account almost leaves the impression that the cult game in — or about — the qashse in N. Greenland was opened by a recitative dancing song (*tiwaneq*) in which the myth was narrated. In the myth the sun is called *Malina*, no doubt a derivative of the verb *maligpoq* 'she is pursued', the name of the persecuted woman in the cult; the name of the moon is given as *Aningat*, which signifies "their elder brother" or *Aningasinna* "their (i. e. the women's) elder brother, familiar from the myth", viz. the Moon, the spirit of the moon. The game may have consisted in an imitation of the action of the myth, "her elder brother" being understood as the symbol of any young man.

[1] H. J. Holmberg *Ethnografische Skizzen über die Völker der Russischen Amerika* (Acta Soc. Scient. Fennicae, IV, 1856) in which there is information of the Konyak Eskimos on the Kadiak Island. Holmberg describes a feast with invocation of the spirits (pp. 404—405). It would seem to be an imitation of the action of the sun and moon myth. The feast, be it said, takes the shape of a drama. The actors represent hunters going out hunting. They use oars, weapons, drums and rattling skins.

CHAPTER VII

PRIMITIVE ESKIMO ART

OLD SCULPTURE AND MODERN DRAWINGS

First of all it should be emphasised that there existed a genuine Eskimo art independently of European models.

We have treated the topic ethnographically in two preceding sections dealing with Art and Ornaments, chiefly Sculpture, Ivory Bas-reliefs on Wood, Embroidery on Skin, etc., see First Part pp. 115—124 (Holm) and 608—624, with illustrations up to p. 657. In natural connection with this follows what has been written about the music and the poetic and dramatic art of the East Greenlanders in this part (pp. 1—179)[1].

The physiognomical details reveal themselves in some of their wood carvings, especially in the wooden masks and the faces of the big dolls; note thus the wooden bust with the double face (First Part, Fig. 356). Their feeling for facial expression or for gesture may sometimes be coupled with their vivid sense of grotesque humour—as we know it from their sculptures and folklore. One thing should be kept in mind, however; to the Eskimos themselves not all is humour or grotesque style which Europeans conceive as such; to the Eskimo it seems more like a realistic gravity.

PENCIL DRAWINGS

One day, during our stay among the Ammassalikers, I distributed paper and pencils to the children in the hut, saying to them, "Now draw me some tents and houses, dogs and sledges, kaiaks, umiaks and the animals you usually see!" Some of them came with their drawings the next day, others not until some months had passed. Only a very few declared that they could not draw.

[1] Cf. also my recent publication on Eskimo Music: *Inuit Sange og Danse* (*Eskimo Songs and Dances from Greenland*) Copenhagen 1939, with a bibliography.

Many of these drawings were both imaginative and distinctive. They depicted all that I had asked for and more into the bargain: bear and seal hunts, family portraits, drum-singing men, angakut, illustrations of legends and games, etc. I also received some maps of the district drawn on paper slips and one or two carved in relief on wooden boards. The draughtsmen were mostly children from the age of four and upwards, but a few adults had also taken part in the contest. In addition to the 157 drawings I received at the time, an aftercrop was later sent me by Johan Petersen, the Danish superintendent at Ammassalik.

The illustrations subjoined here (and in other parts of my work) are selected from this material and are provided with the Eskimos' own explanations of the pictures[1].

A half-grown boy especially distinguished himself. He was a son of the lately baptised angakoq Mitsuarniaŋŋa. His name was *Kaaralé* and he was hardly 15 years old.

Kaaralé (or *Kaaralik*) was not only the most fertile inventor of motives, he also surpassed the other boys in sureness of touch. He understood how to make the picture come alive, often with quite few strokes. My wife thought she would like to try to what degree of proficiency such a child of nature could be pushed on. In the room in our wintering house where my wife herself modelled the Eskimo in wax, some Parisian school drawings she had once used hung on the wall. The boy at once copied them almost without using an india-rubber, with a sure touch and with an astonishing eye for the essential in the expression. In the course of April and May he came to us regularly to take lessons in the art of drawing. Set more and more difficult tasks, he progressed steadily. After a month's lessons he began to draw from a life model. This was not play but serious work, and each drawing showed developing talent. The little artist was not for nothing the son of one of the most intelligent and earnest figures in this Eskimo tribe.—Already before our stay at Ammassalik he had been taught by Henrik Lund from West Greenland (Pastor Rüttel's assistant) who acted as a catechist in Ammassalik and instructed the children of the settlement in reading and writing the Eskimo language. Later, after our departure from Ammassalik, Kaarale was sent to the

[1] A selection of these original drawings and a number of toys from East Greenland were exhibited at Paris in the spring of 1907 in "l'École pratique des Arts" at an exhibition arranged by "La Société d'études et de propagande pour le développement de la culture artistique et de l'enseignement du dessin" where the drawings were well received. Unfortunately my collection, when returned to me from the exhibition, had been deplorably decimated, and I never received the missing pictures.

Greenlandish training college at Godthåb on the west coast to be educated as a teacher. Over there he unfortunately soon lost his distinctive *East* Greenlandish character. The drawings reproduced here show his talent before the influence of the European school had changed his individual style (fig. 197 ff.)

Once when some Eskimos on a visit from Sermilik entered our house, they exclaimed at the sight of Leonardo da Vinci's Mona Lisa (*La Gioconda*) of which a big photograph was hanging on the wall, "Why, there is *Qanaŋeejuk*'s wife from Sermilik. What a good likeness, apart from the top-knot!"—The Eskimo Mona Lisa's husband was a lean, slim Indian type of man. He was immortalised by *Kaaralé*, who drew him one day he had come from Sermilik to pay us a visit. The reader can compare his drawing (Fig. 227) with my photos of the same celebrity (figs. 82 and 11). Eventually Kaaralé drew several other portraits from life models; a mother with her child in the amaut, another old woman, "the sulky boy" (figs. 170, 174, 177) his own father Mitsuarniánja, Maratté (the famous angakoq) etc. A lot of beautiful landscapes drawn from nature are also from the hand of Kaarale, some few coloured with chalks or in water colours. The likeness of the portraits to the models was often striking.

Kaarale was the best, but several of the other draughtsmen also showed good ability to characterise persons and animals. They were generally very successful in drawing seals, whales, and bears, while they found dogs and human beings the hardest to do.

Postscript.

As to *Kaarale's* primitive style and his later development under European influence there has been some discussion. Without doubt there was some development in his art, though at the expense of his national style. All primitive art nowadays goes into a common melting-pot. Kaarale forms no exception, though in later life he tried to utilise his early memories of his heathen past, e. g. by drawings representing the familiar spirits of the angakuts, or trolls and tupilaks. These pictures may be seen in Knud Rasmussen's books on East Greenland[1]. Some of the illustrations have an ethnological interest quite apart from the artistic aspect. A few, however, must be characterised as quite misleading, especially his figs. 12 (p. 96) and 13, representing East Greenland drum singers; they show such strong European influence in attire, physiognomy, and postures that every trace of the original picture is as it were wiped away. Kaarale's fig. 11 (p. 138) "an Erqilik",

[1] "Myter og Sagn" (1921) and "Posthumous Notes on the Life and Doings" etc., edited by H. Ostermann in M. o. G. Vol. 109 (1939).

representing an "inland dweller" (the Greenlander's legendary reminiscence of an Indian), has again fallen back on the current misconception, probably under European influence, that these creatures were a mixture of human beings and dogs, that is to say, a kind of humans created with dogs' tails and dogs' legs. The myth, it is true, tells of the offspring of a male dog and a woman. Her children (puppies) were either *Inuit* or *Qavhlunaait* or *Erqilhlit* and other kinds of inland dwellers, but surely this does not mean that to the heathen imagination these creatures had the appearance of dogs: perhaps it does not even denote anything degrading for the offspring. The origin and true meaning of the dog myth it not yet quite cleared up (cf. W. Koppers' and Fr. Kretschmar's Monographs on the dog myth), but at any rate it does not deal with such a monstrosity as Kaarale's illustration would have us believe in. The "tail" referred to in the tradition about Erqilhlit is probably part of the festive attire of the West Eskimos, a dorsal ornament belonging to the costume, sewed on to it like its feathers and fringes. The error is also known from other parts of the world, where white settlers have misinterpreted the native customs of dress and many other phenomena[1].

Kaarale returned from Godthåb to his native district on the east coast and distinguished himself there for many years as the co-operator of the Danish clergyman and the beloved teacher of his countrymen. He died of pneumonia in 1934 during a stay in Copenhagen. Dr. Knud Rasmussen had had him brought down to Denmark to act in his East Greenland film *Navarana*, shown both in Denmark and abroad. Kaarale lived long enough to make a commemorative oration in the Greenlandish language at the broadcast issued when Knud Rasmussen died[2]. Shortly after he fell ill himself and died in the foreign land.

[1] Haddon informs us that the notion on the supposed "tail-men" on the Nicobar Islands is due to the tail-like method of wearing the loincloth (l. c. 1934, p. 102).

[2] Kaarale's speech is printed in the Report on the Last Thule-Expedition in M. o. G. vol. 106, p. 265—268 (edited by Gabel-Jorgensen). København 1940.

Pencil Drawings.

Nos. 185-188 and 190-192 were drawn by Qilertaanalik's son Aaitsiwaq, aged about 10 years. He had been given the blank pieces of paper in the winter, his father bringing them back from the trading station which he had visited. I only received them several months later and the little artist had been engaged in producing these pictures, his first of the kind. He had chosen to draw the portraits of some of his families in the huge Sermilik Fjord where he lived. Characteristically enough, he has given many of the men European hats on their heads, while the women wear the national top-knot. He himself had probably only on some few occasions seen men in European hats, and not Sermiliks, for this would have been unthinkable at that time, but probably at the headquarters of the colony, and the hat must have impressed him profoundly. He told me the names of the men and families he had drawn.

Fig 185. Father is dragging a seal up to the hut, little sister is going to fetch our little sledge. Mother is looking on.

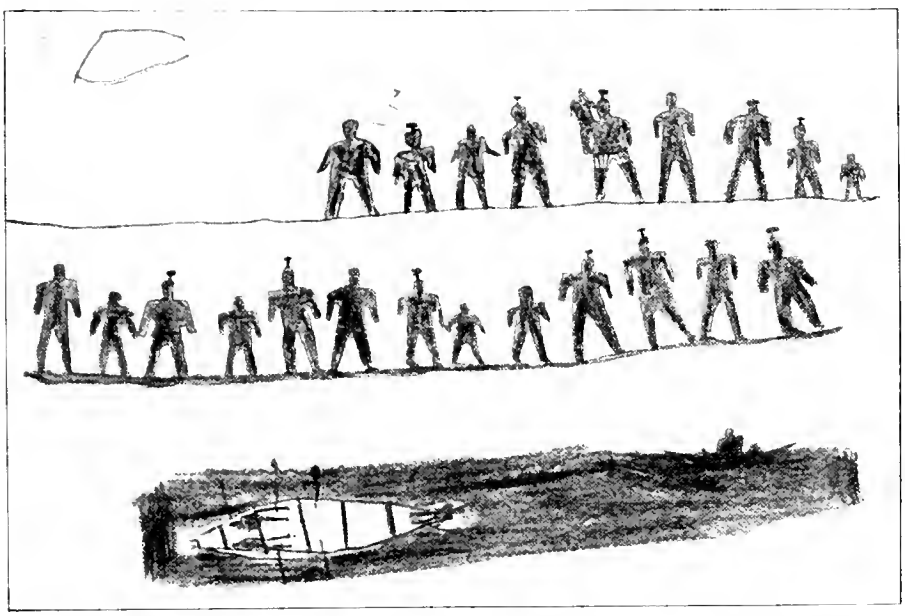

Fig 186. Down there is an umiak, outside on the sea a kayak. Above are seen our neighbours who have come up from the beach to visit us in the tent (top left); in the middle line on the left Tookutak with his wife and child, on the far right Nuânnaarin (his name means 'drum') and his wife.

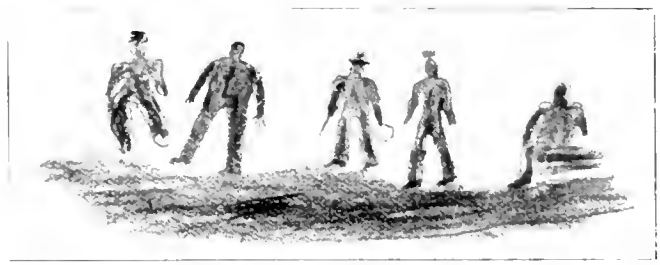

Fig. 187. This picture here represents two men meeting for a drumming match. Why is there only one drum? "The two men take it in turns to use it". The rest are spectators.

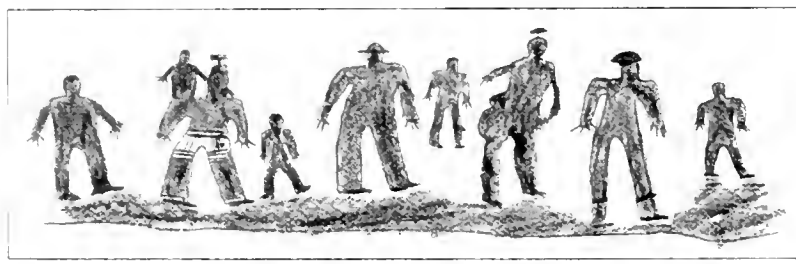

Fig. 188. This represents the big man Kunnang Qartseerarter Ikeerqoq (in the middle) with his wives, his first wife on the right, his extra-wife on the left; further, their relatives.

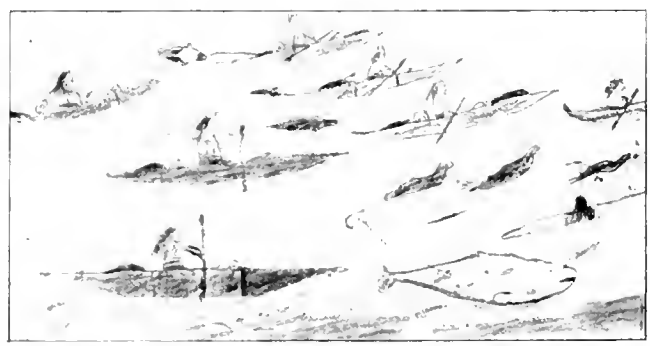

Fig. 189. Drawing by a younger man aged 18. Kayaks on the sea, some of them with a seal in tow; below, a kayak attacking a white whale

Fig. 190. Two winters ago Aaitsiwaq had seen this couple, whom he now drew. They are an old widow in the north by name Akkitsekujooq standing beside her tent, and her son approaching land in his kayak with a seal in tow.

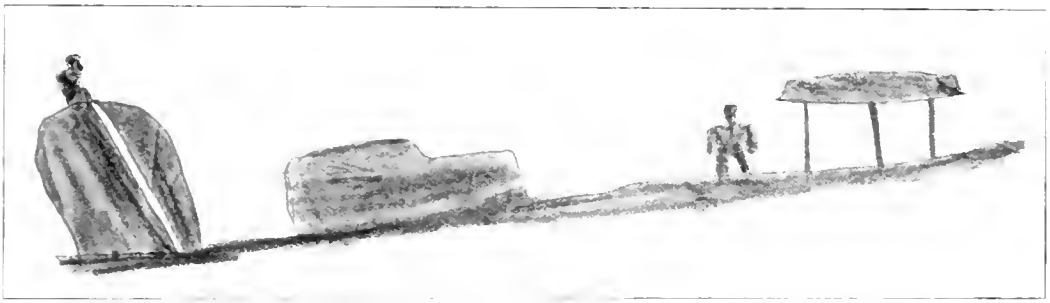

Fig. 191. A man is seen on the lookout on a small cliff rising behind the hut with the strange light vertical crevice; another man is standing below the upturned umiak lying on its staging outside the entrance to the house.

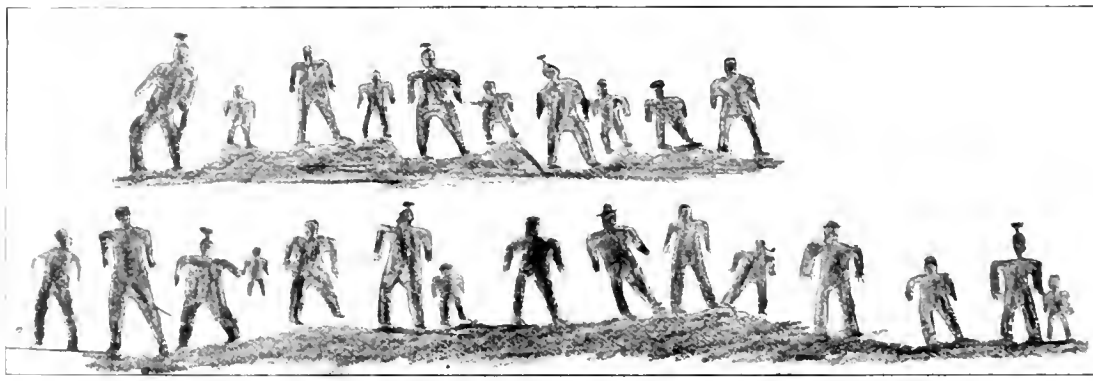

Fig. 192. In the bottom line is seen our little (youngest) brother on the far right, held by the hand by our mother. The youngest but one (unasiwia) is standing to the left of her; then comes the handsome big hunter of the Sermilik Fjord Qilertaanalik (also seen in figs. 19 and 22). The next man, wearing a hat, is his brother Poortarterarter. The most important man stands to the left in the picture, the last but one. This is the proud and dignified Kit"taararter with his wife and their son Aŋŋeeun.

Many features link up with those suggested— it is not easy for us to get to the bottom of the draughtsman's intimate conception, the innumerable impressions he connects with each person he has drawn. We can merely guess at the ten year old boy's habitual human view of his fellow Eskimos in the Sermilik Fjord, and of the earth on which they all live— the personal gestures and the interchange of words which we can merely guess at but which the draughtsman himself must have felt and known intensely. Drawing these figures from his imagination he creates a kind of language.

The rest of the drawings continue in other styles. Each draughtsman reveals his personality in line and composition. His personality is undoubtedly grounded in the isolated Eskimo tradition. This is the first time he has been faced with the novel task of reproducing pictures of their own lives on the surface of paper with a pencil in hand. Epic pictures in a modern Eskimo fashion.

Fig. 193. Kayak man on a rough sea.

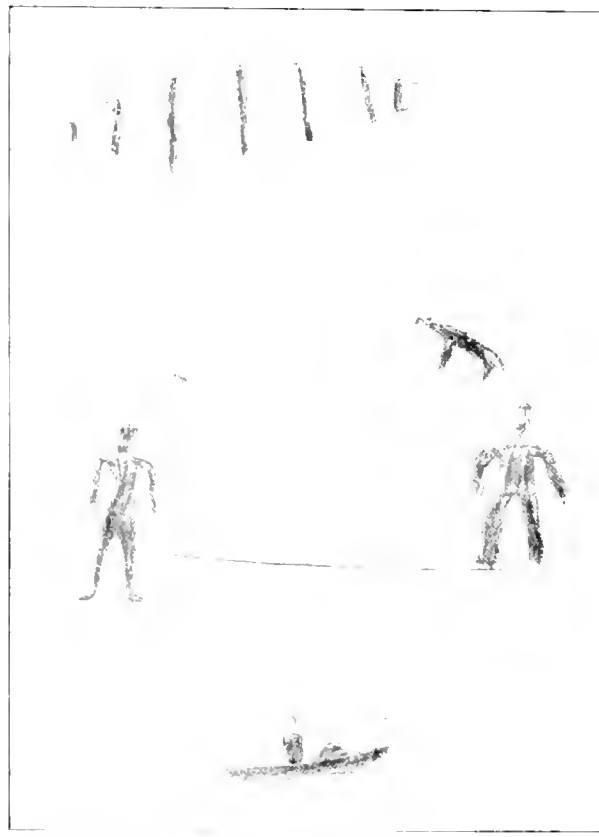

Fig. 194. Ten year old girl's drawing of a tent, two persons and a dog; at top, an umiak seen from above; at bottom, a kayak on the sea.

Fig. 195. Two kayak men on the sea with white kayak skirts (half-jackets, akiwilisaq) but without paddles. In front of each man is seen the receptacle for the harpoon line, behind him the inflated bladder float ready to be used.

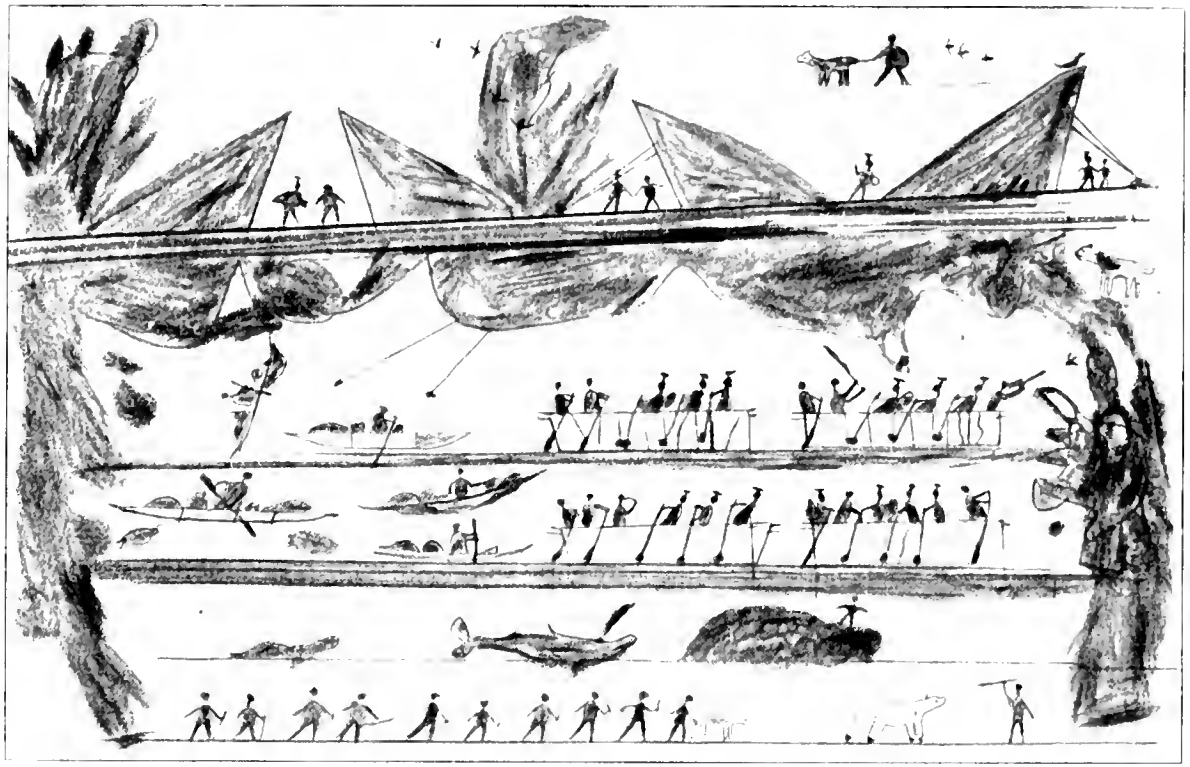

Fig 196. Drawn by an adult man Kaakajik (27 years old). Above, tents pitched between two high cliffs; birds (like little crosses) flying up from one of them. Below the line marking the surface is drawn another landscape reversed, apparently continuing the first with coast line, islands, bays, and nesses. Along the coast are seen two umiaks followed by a kayak. Two of the rowing women have a child in the amaut. In the front part of the boat a man is seen shooting a bird on the wing. In the next (third) field after this are again seen two umiaks followed by three kayaks loaded with the catch (seals); the woman steering the first umiak has a child in the amaut; but men are steering the other boats (figures without top-knots). In the fourth field below this is seen a man standing on an island watching a spouting whale (a killer-whale) in the sea and a swimming seal. In the bottom field a man is throwing his spear at a bear which is being chased by a dog and a number of hunters (*ut a ra t*[0]).

Figs. 197–207. **Hunting scenes drawn by Kaarale.**

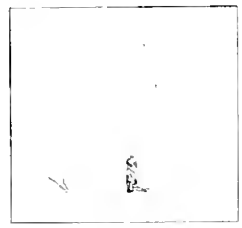

Fig. 197.

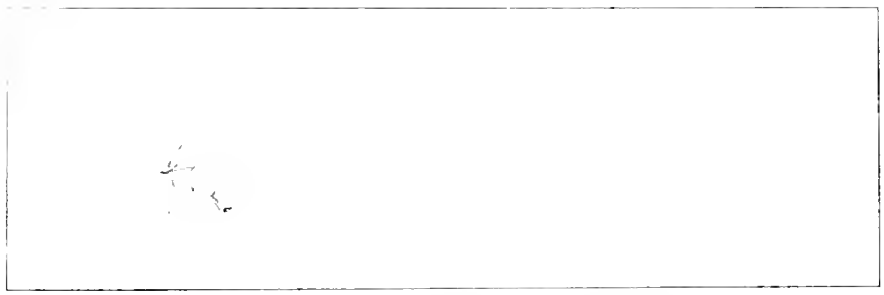

Fig. 198. The hunter is snaring a bird (grouse).

Fig. 199. On the sea ice he is stealing up to the blow hole of a seal with the ice hunting stool[1] in his left hand.

[1] Cf. First Part p. 423, figs. 127—129.

Fig. 200. The seal killed is dragged home on the ice by the hunter's son.

Fig. 201. The hunter is creeping towards two spotted seals which have come up on to the ice; the one in front raises its head; the hole from which it has come up is seen in the ice (*kik'dud*).

Fig. 202. Bear hunt. The bear is pursued in a dog-sledge

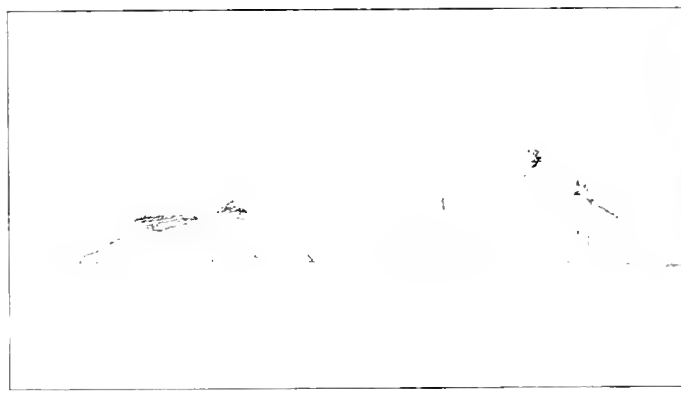

Fig. 203. The bear is surrounded by the dogs.

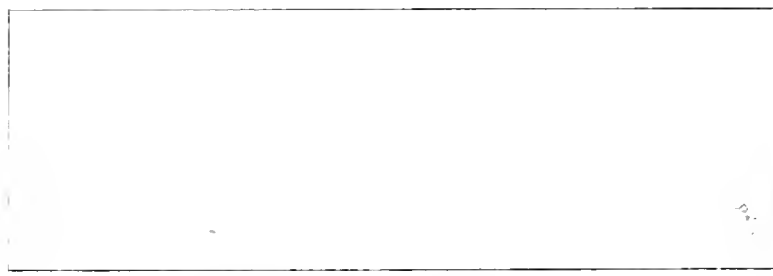

Fig. 204. The bear is killed by the hunter.

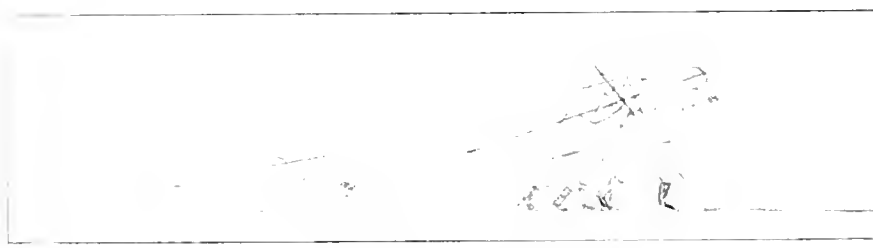

Fig. 205. The bear is dragged home.

Fig. 206. The hunter stalking his prey (cf fig. 201). Imitating the movements of a seal, he creeps over the ice towards the seal lying on it. The latter has risen from its resting position and turned its head towards him. The hole through which it has come up is seen near the seal.

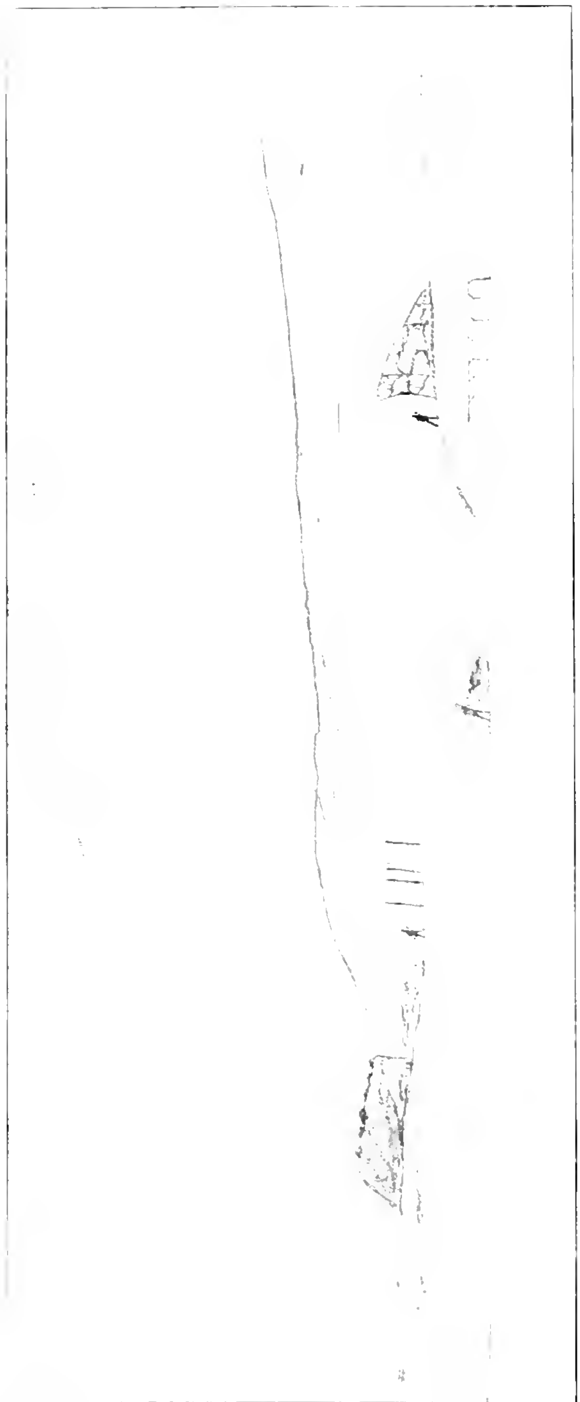

Fig. 207. (Kaarale). Moving in the early spring from the winter house into the tent (*a'luisisinadiⁿ*), for the time being on a little island on the other side of the sound. The umiak has already been taken across on the sledge and is now standing on the ice near the tent. A boy comes out to fling a spear at a grouse. "This land is Qernerter".

Figs. 208 – 210. Drawings by Okusuk (baptised Jonathan), a young man aged about 25

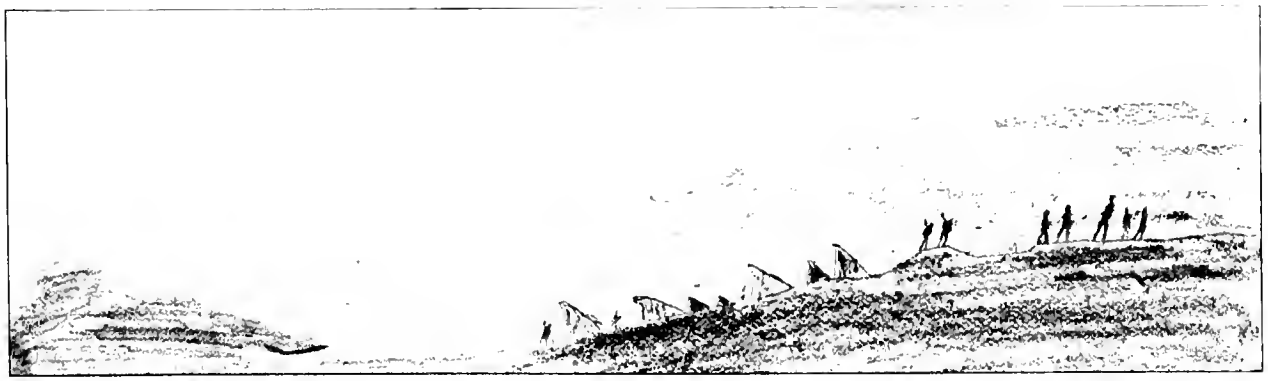

Fig. 208. The Nunaartit land in the south, where they live in tents part of the summer

Fig. 209. Departure for the next camping place. Tent poles and other objects are being carried down to the boat. "This land is Atarpiqitsèr, the good carrying down place" (south of Sermilik).

Figs. 210–221. Drawings by Okesuk and Kaarale illustrating old tales.

Fig. 210. Illustrating the tale Apaapapaa. (Okusuk.)

Fig. 211. Double illustration for the tale about Ninaanilaat who was carried through the air (to the left) on his bladder float and is seen returning home (on the right) carrying his burden from a band fastened round his forehead (Okusuk).

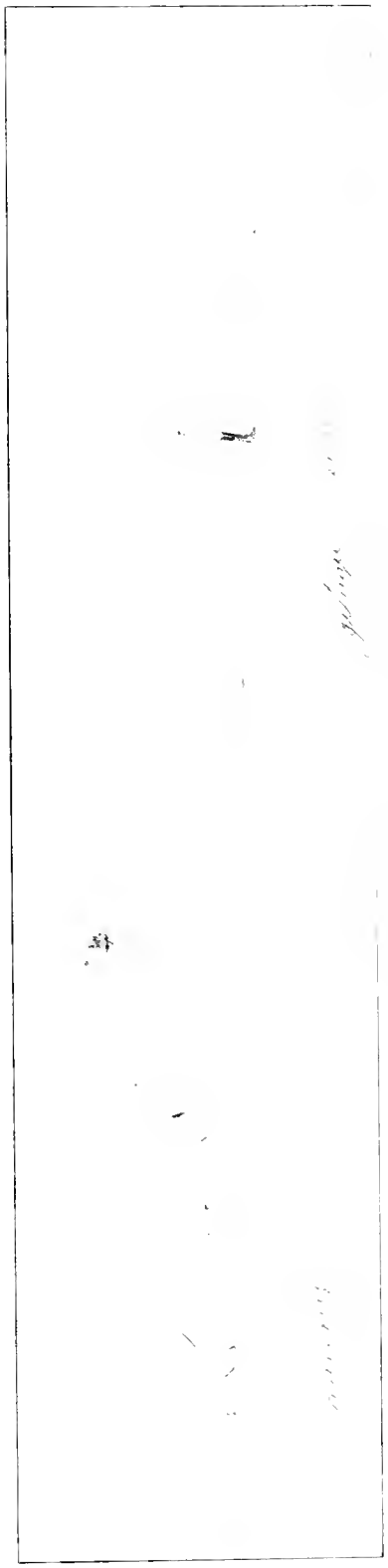

Fig. 212. Pituko's son and the monster bear nanerujak (Kaarale)

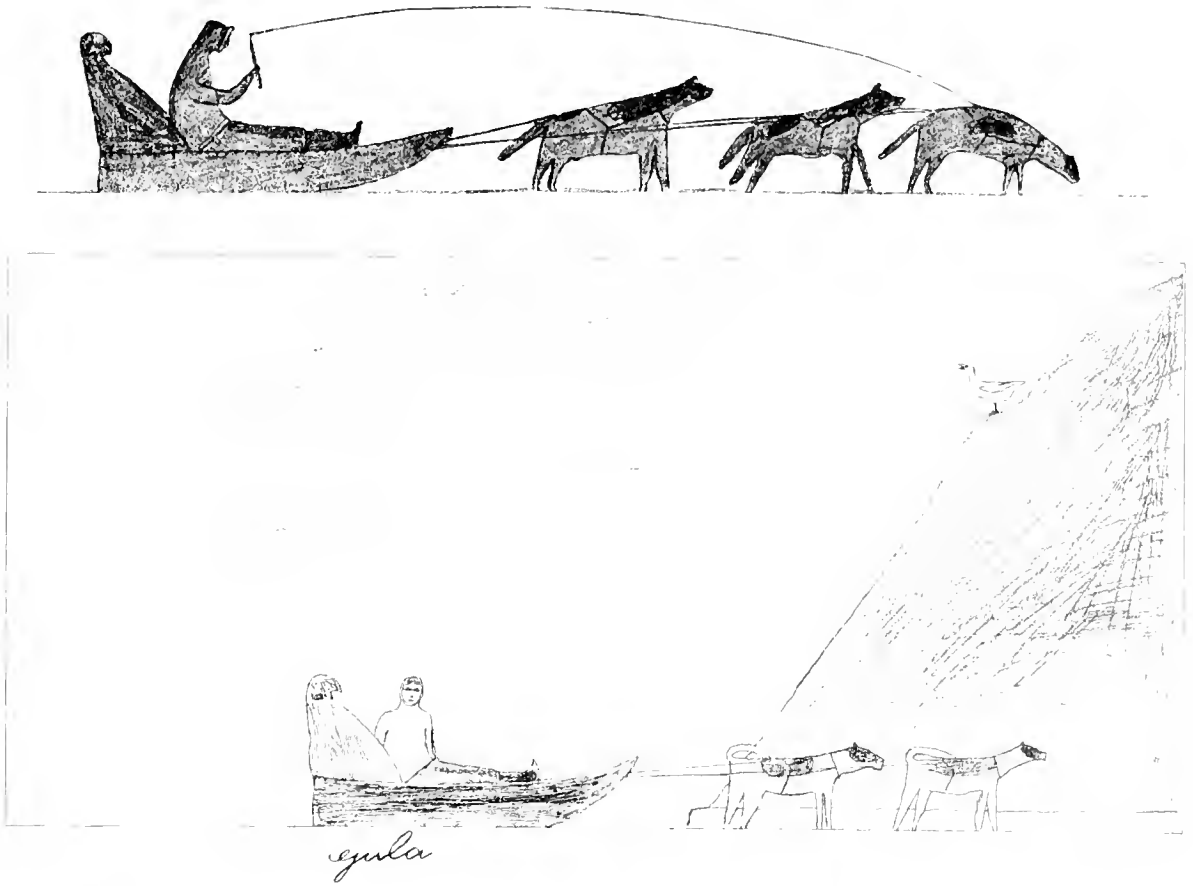

Fig 213–214 The doubting Kuta ("Gula") who would not believe the hunting stories of his fellows, sledging out to verify them. He is seen by the mountain where the talking bird lives. In West Greenland Rink wrote down a tale about the doubting Qatigagse, who did not believe in the angakuts but at last had the belief in them confirmed to such a degree that after his conversion he was seized with fear and trembling and dared not be present at their incantations (cf Rink, l c 1866 no 32 (p. 127) (Kaarale)

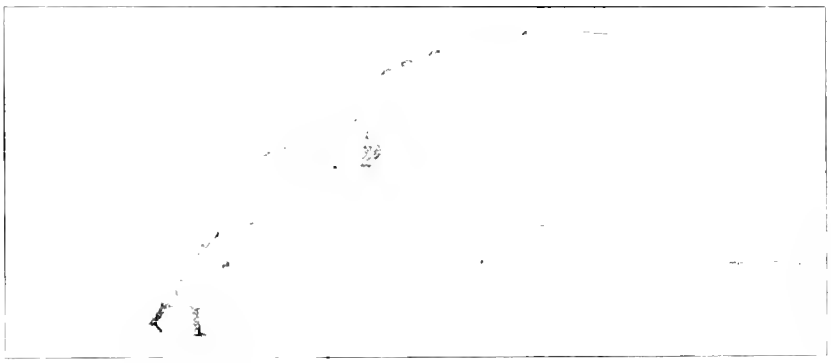

Fig. 215.

Fig. 216.

Fig. 215—216. Angakasia 'mother's brother', who helped his sister's son to revenge himself on the murderers of his father. The drawing shows the house, the man on the way out on to the ice where he sits waiting at the blow hole of the seal, and the murderers approaching from behind.

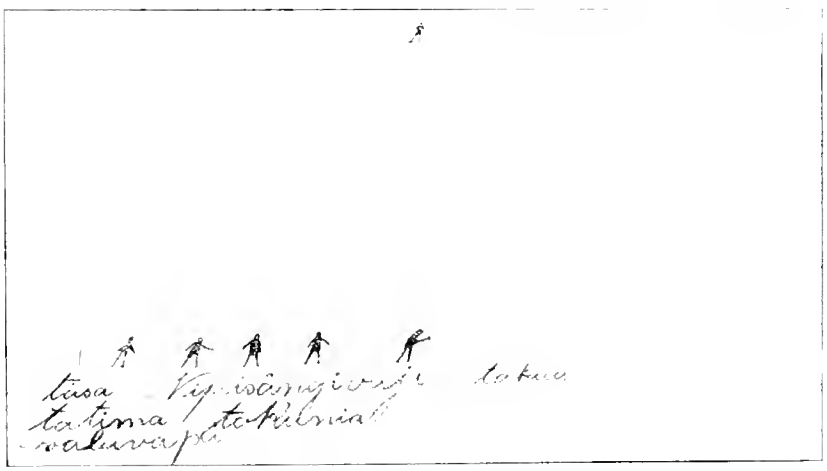

Fig. 217. Nipisaanjiwajik has fled to the top of the berg, while the five men close in upon him to kill him (Kaarale).

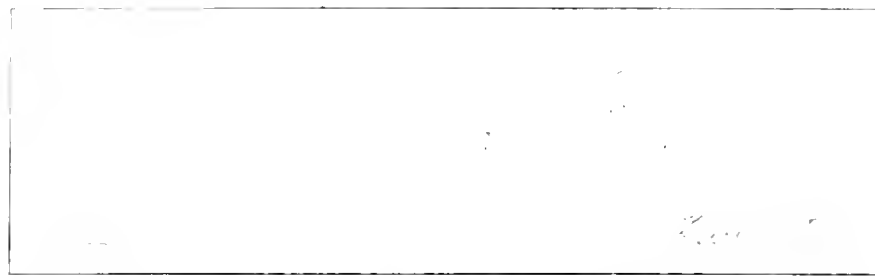

Fig. 218. Scene from the tale of *Qasiättla* (W. Gr. Qasiagssaq), the Greenlanders' narrator of incredible hunting stories, or bragging hunter. The fellow inmates of his house are welcoming him at the landing place.

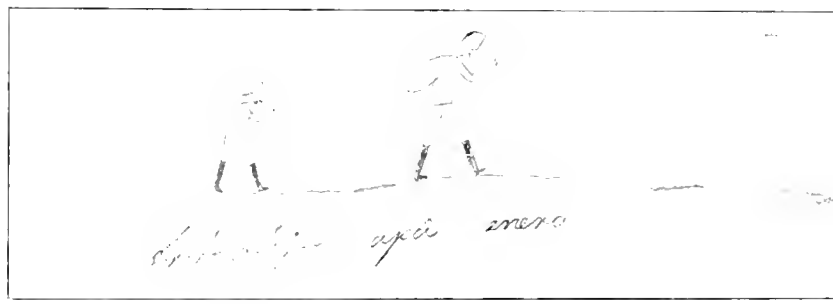

Fig. 219. The tale about Arqatia and his son.

Fig. 220 shows the woman *Nuanaayuaraat*, an East Greenlandish imitation of the West Greenlandish name Navaranak, on the woman who was dragged to death on account of her treachery (Okusuk del.).

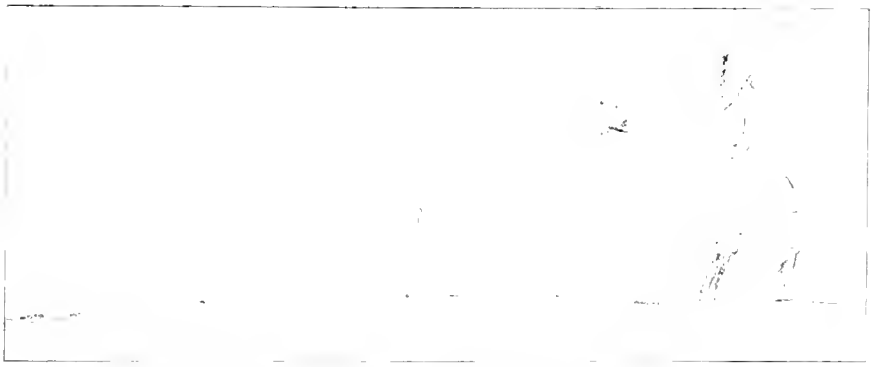

Fig. 221. The tale of the tame bear who protected the old woman (Kaarale)

Fig 222. Dog kennel (E Gr *qiguip it iva*, W Gr -igdlua, 'the dog's house'), built of snow. It is otherwise generally called *it iviyaq* and is rarely used for this purpose, but more as an occasional hunting lodge on journeys or as a trap for gulls and ravens. Cf First Part, pp 406–407 (Kaarale del.)

Figs 223–233. **A series of pictures with subjects from the cult.**

Fig. 223. Asertagak means a sacrifice made to a stone god; the picture shows a sacrificial stone in the shape of a bear to whom the man is sacrificing blubber or dried meat. The sacrificing hunter who is passing the stone on a hunting excursion says: "This piece, a gift for you, you shall requite by a bear I shall get" or "by a seal" (*uanuiaesanuk aguaesanuk akilera uijaruma rputin* or (without mention of requital) *miaruiaruma tparma* "you will, I hope, be so good as to give me a bear (or seal) home with me" ("from your store", corresponding to W Gr. *uinar-*) Thus explained by the draughtsman Kaarale.

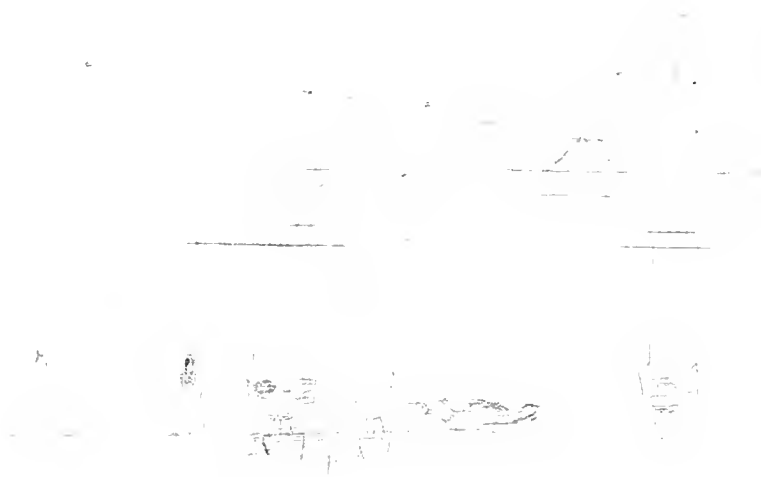

Fig. 224. This house interior (a drawing by Kaarale) shows an examination by a *qila quercer*, a man or woman who is consulting his or her private familiar spirit (*qila*). Here we are not concerned with head-raising (cf. pp. 464 - 465), but it is the method where the patient sits up on the platform in the neighbouring stall (see picture), with his back turned towards the room, while the consulting "doctor" lies on his back on the innost part (*kile*) of the platform covered by a seal skin (plainly seen in fig. 228).

Fig. 225. An angakoq seance developing in the hut. We see the front wall of the room facing the beach. The shaman is sitting with his face turned towards the dried seal skin hung up in front of the inner door opening (*katak*) to the house passage; over which is seen a small middle window over the passage extending between the two larger ones). His hands are tied on his back; on the left his drum. On each of the two platforms by the window is seen one of the angakok's assistants (young boys).

Fig. 226. An ilisecisoq (man) is seen making a tupilak (*tupit iler*) made up of the body of a seal and the head of a dog (Kaarale), cf. First Part, fig. 365.

Fig. 227. *Qanayeejuk*, "Mona Lisa's husband" (cf. p. 686), drawn by Kaarale.

Fig. 228. The shaman, lying on the platform under a skin, consulting a *qila*-spirit (*qila tuerercer*), cf. fig. 217.

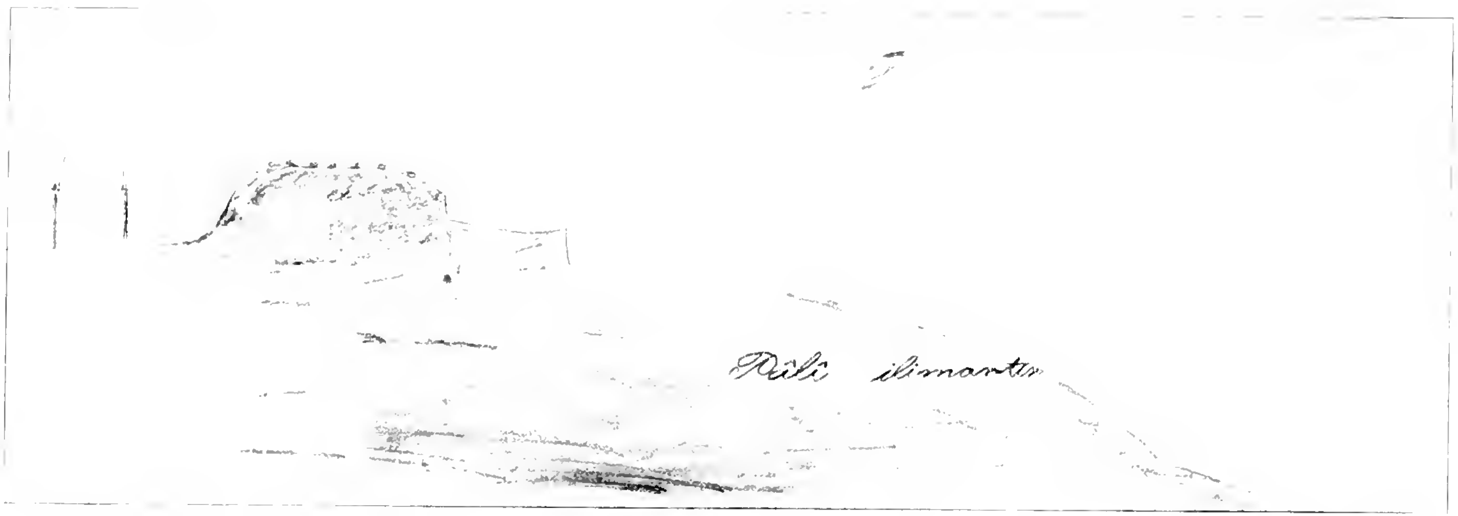

Fig. 229. The angakok Paatee's flight through the air (*ilim'arter*) during his trance. The house where he is sitting in trance stands on a slope facing the sea; in the background is seen an upturned umiak placed on four props.

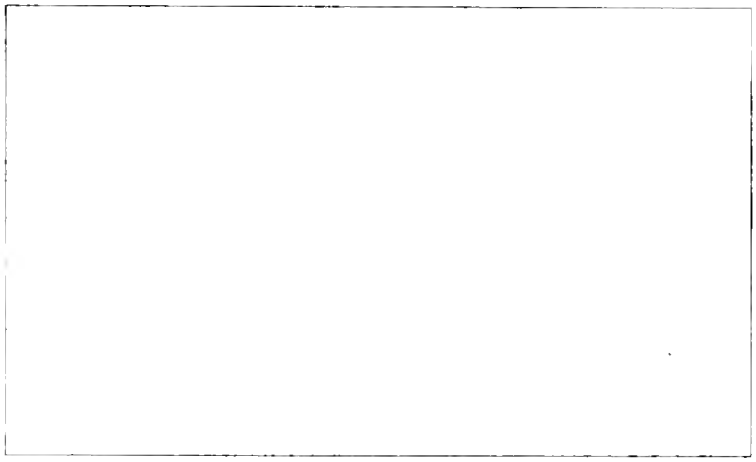

Fig. 230

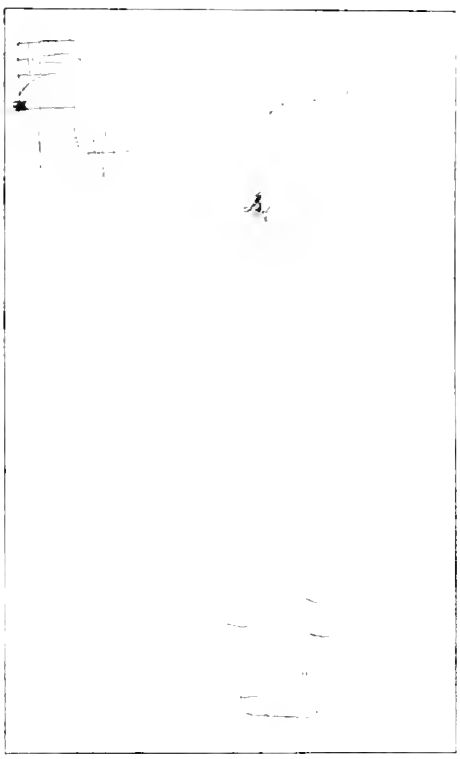

Fig. 231.

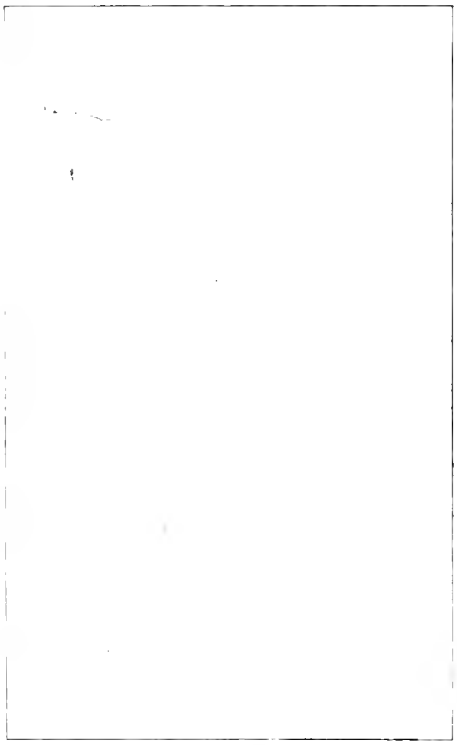

Fig. 232

Figs 230—233. An angakok's way to the house of the moon-man in the sky. Mitsu-arnianga first drew for me the drawing to the left, with his own house below by the beach, that of the moon above, and the way to it across the sea to the horizon and from there mounting along the vault to the moon. Then he drew that to the right, on the long side of the paper, the ascending road from the horizon being thus

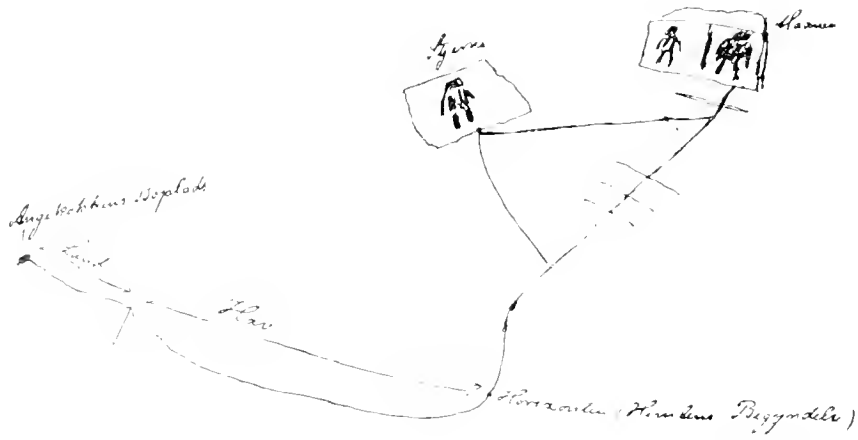

Fig. 233.

prolonged, and the moon's house moved apparently nearer to the earth or the sea, but actually up above the house on earth, nearer the zenith. This drawing has more details than the other one, some lakes near each of the houses (in which the moon catches whales); three transverse lines shortly before the ascent to the moon denote some difficulties. On the way a star has to be passed where "the woman who tears out the intestines" (Erhlaweersissoq) has her house. This is one of the greatest dangers on the way.

The ink drawing in fig. 233 I have borrowed from the Rev. Ruttel's diary.[1] He has the following note on it. From the dwelling-place of the angakok the road runs down to the sea, thence *under* the water to the beginning of the sky, where there is again land and rock. You pass a byway leading to a star, the house of Erhlaweersissoq (the tearer out of intestines), which is not worth visiting; therefore you go on along the road to the moon. But on this you come to three dangerous cracks which, however, the angakok easily crosses for he hovers above the ground, only touching it now and then. Later you again come across another road leading to the same bad star creature and then you come to some props where the moon-man has his sledge. Finally you come to the Moon himself. He lives in a house and has a woman to cook his food. The house has two rooms and between these there is a prop with a crack in it. On one side of the crack there are little boy children, on the other side girl children. If a man wishes his wife to bear him a boy the angakok may prevail upon the moon-man to throw down a man-child to his wife who must then give birth to it. The moon-man has a peep hole through which he can survey all land. Near by his house there are many narwhales etc. These, too, he throws down as he pleases, so that men may catch them. Such a journey takes a whole night until the dawn of day.

1. C. P. Ruttel, Et Aar blandt Østgrønlands Hedninger. Copenhagen 1917 (ed. by L. Bobé, pp. 39—40).

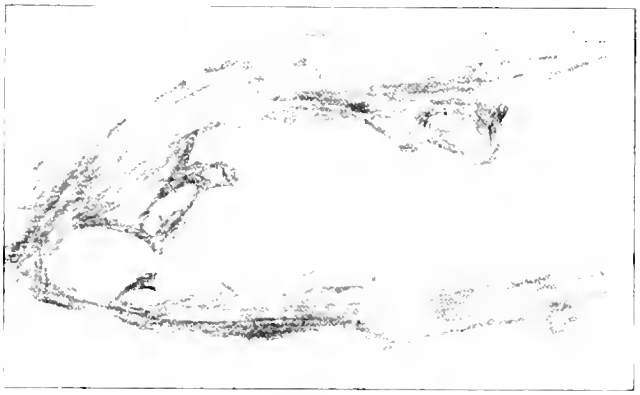

Fig. 234

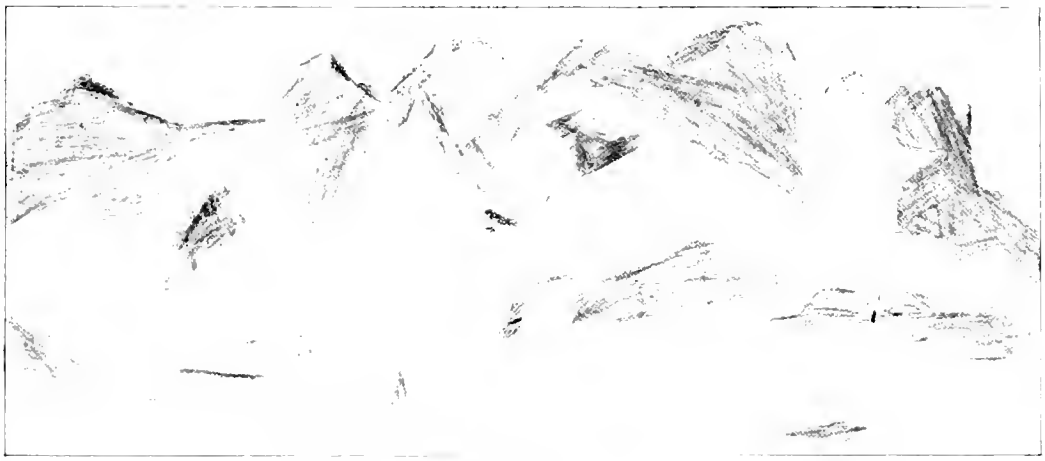

Fig. 235

Fig. 234–235. Two "maps" drawn by Okusuk. The first represents the interior of the Sermilik Fjord, the second represents his residence further north at Igtaain (W. Gr. Ighlerajik). N above, S below. Cf. the wooden maps in Holm's collection, First Part, pp. 665–666, figs. 390–391.

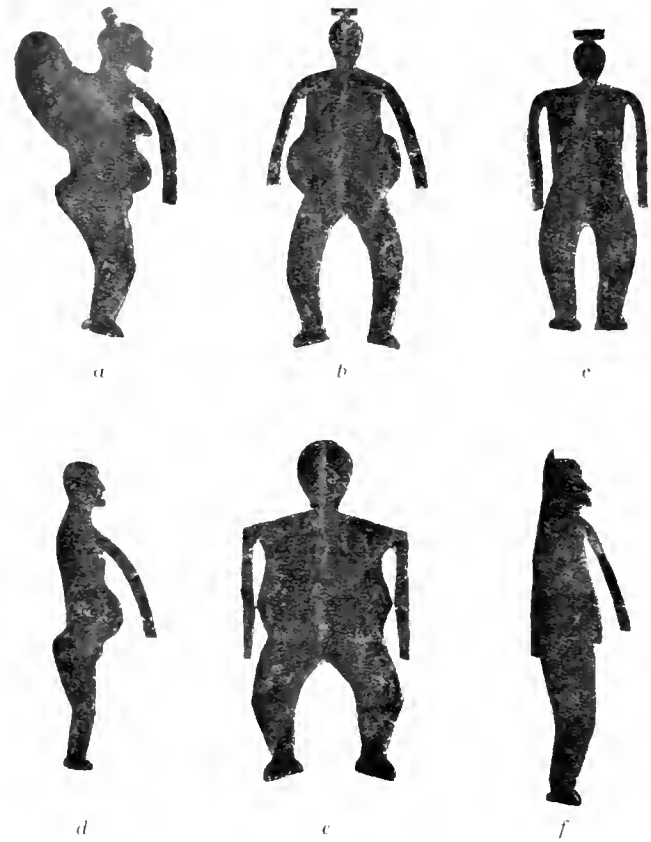

Fig. 236. *Skin Pictures for Decoration of the Walls.* [1]/3 natural size.

The East Greenlanders inhabiting the southern part of the coast, but not those in the north at Ammassalik) had the custom of cutting out silhouettes in thin black skin and putting them up on the walls; according to Gräh they represented men and women or animals (cf. First Part, p. 618, Note 1). I received those shown here (fig. 236) from Aawtaaritaa who lived at Sammisoq. He called them *aesiliät*, "made *aesil*, artificial pictures", and told me that they were cut out with a pair of scissors and stuck on the wall over the sleeping platform. "They were our wall pictures", he said.

a) represents a pregnant woman carrying a child in the amaut on her back
b) Front view of a pregnant woman.
c) Woman without child.
d–e) Side and front views of big-bellied men.
f) Man in profile wearing an okuenk hood with a "point" at the top. Its significance in the cult will be mentioned later

Knud Rasmussen has the following passage in the tale of the man-eating woman from the southern part of East Greenland where legends were told of inland dwellers: When he looked about the house he discovered that she had his former lost housemates as pictures in her house, having stuck up the skin(s) of their faces on the wall. Knud Rasmussen Under Nordenvindens Svøbe, 1906, p. 152).

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continued.

Cf. First Part, List of works consulted, pp. 733—741 (reaching up to 1913).

A. Abbreviations.

Aarb.nord.Oldk.	Arboger for nordisk Oldkyndighed. Kobenhavn.
AfAn.	Archiv für Anthropologie (Völkerforschung). Braunschweig.
AfR.	Archiv für Religionswissenschaft. Leipzig-Berlin.
Act.Arch.	Acta Archaeologica. Kobenhavn.
AmAA.	American Anthropological Association. U. S. A.
AmGS.	The American Geographical Society. New York.
AmA.	The American Anthropologist. Lancaster, U. S. A.
AMNH.	The American Museum of Natural History. New York.
AmSPR.	American School of Prehistoric Research. Old Lyme, Conn.
AmCongr.	Amerikanisten-Kongress. Congress of Americanists. Congrès des Américanistes, etc.
An.	Anthropos. Mödling bei Wien.
l'An.	l'Anthropologie. Paris (etc.).
ann.	annals; annual etc.
an. ser.	anthropological series.
ASSF.	Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae. Helsinki.
BAE.	Bureau of American Ethnology (Smithsonian Inst.). Washington.
BaeA.	Baessler-Archiv. Berlin.
BCLC.	Bulletin du Cercle Linguistique de Copenhague. Kobenhavn.
BoasAV.	Boas Anniversary Volume . . . . in honor of Franz Boas. New York (1906).
bull.	bulletin.
CGS.	Canada. Geological Survey. Ottawa.
CIP.	Carnegie Institution Publications. Washington.
DVS.	Det kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Kobenhavn.
exp.	Expedition.
FoF.	Folkminnen och Folktankar. Göteborg.
FFC.	The Folklore Fellows Communications. Helsinki.
FUF.	Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen (für Sprach- und Volkskunde). Helsinki (Helsingfors) und Leipzig.
GSAa.	Det gronlandske Selskabs arsskrift. Kobenhavn.

GSSkr	Det grønlandske Selskabs skrifter. København.
GR.	Geographical Review (publ. by the American Geographical Society of New York). New York.
GT.	Geografisk Tidsskrift (ed. by Det Kgl. Geografiske Selskab). København.
Greenland	published by the Commission for the Direction of the Geological and Geographical Investigations in Greenland, vols. I—III. Copenhagen and London 1928—29.
Grønland	Grønland i 200-aret for Hans Egedes landing, ed. by a Committee (G. C. Amdrup, L. Bobé, Ad. S. Jensen, H. P. Steensby), in MoG. 60—61. København 1921.
HandbookAm.Ind.	Boas (etc.) Handbook of American Indians. BAE bull. 30, pts. I—II (1907). Washington.
HandbookAm.L.	Boas (etc.) Handbook of American Indian Languages. BAE bull. 40, pts. I—II (1911—1922). Washington.
HandbookCal.	Handbook of the Indians of California, by A. L. Kroeber. BAE bull. 78 (1925). Washington.
IAE.	Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie. Leiden.
IJAmL.	International Journal of American Linguistics. New York.
INMAmI.	Indian Notes and Monographs. Museum of American Indian, Heye Foundation. New York.
ISK.	Institutet for sammenlignende Kulturforskning. Oslo.
JAmF.	Journal of American Folklore. Boston-New York.
JAmOS.	Journal of American Oriental Society. Baltimore.
JesNPExp.	Jesup North Pacific Expedition. Leiden.
JSAmP.	Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris. Paris.
JSFOugr.	Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne. Helsinki.
MAGW.	Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Wien.
MNAW.	Mededeelingen der Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen (Afdeeling Letterkunde). Amsterdam.
MoG. (or M.o.G.)	Meddelelser om Grønland. København.
MSFOugr.	Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne. Helsinki.
mem.	Mémoires; Memoirs.
n. r.	ny række; nieuwe reeks.
n. ser.	new series; nouvelle série.
NT.	Nordisk tidsskrift för vetenskap, konst och industri (Letterstedtska föreningen). Stockholm.
NV.	Naturens Verden. København.
PM.	Petermanns Mitteilungen. Gotha.
RBAE.	(Annual) Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE). Washington.
RCAExp.	Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition (1913—18). Ottawa.
RCNM.	(Annual) Report of the National Museum of Canada. Ottawa.
RFTExp.	Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition (1921–24).
rep. or R.	report(s).
SMSR.	Studi e materiali di storia della religioni. Roma.
TRSC.	Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada. Ottawa.

UCP.	University of California. Publications. Berkeley.
UWPA.	University of Washington, Publications in Anthropology. Seattle.
v. or vol.	volume.
WS.	Wörter und Sachen. Heidelberg.
Ym.	Ymer (A Geographical Journal ed. by Svenska Sällskapet f. Anthropologi och Geografi). Stockholm.
YUPA.	Yale University, Publications in Anthropology. University Press. Oxford, U. S. A.
ZfE.	Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Berlin.
Zfvrgl.S	Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung (Kuhn's). Göttingen.
ZDMG.	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Leipzig.
ZVE.	Zeitschrift f. Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie. Leipzig.

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