MULTIPLE HUMAN IMAGES IN ESKIMO SCULPTURE

by

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ABSTRACT

Although the human head is a common subject in art, the Eskimos have utilized this motif in a most uncommon manner. Sculptures consisting of a number of human heads, and only human heads, have been produced throughout the arctic, but never as consistently as by the Dorset and contemporary artists. In view of the unusual nature of this subject and its flourishing appearance 900 years apart in two distinct Eskimo cultures, one wonders what significance the motif had for the Eskimos themselves and what connection, if any, exists between its role in the art of two different, albeit Eskimo, cultures.

Investigation of these problems is complicated by the particular circumstances of both cultures, especially the Dorset. Little has been written about the multiples of either culture. And while the contemporary Eskimos are available for interview—and were very helpful in answering the queries put to them—the Dorsets have long since been replaced by the Thule Eskimos. Our only actual evidence of the prehistoric Dorsets is archaeological. In these circumstances the actual Dorset multiples themselves are especially important—they are our major source of information as to their use and significance. Although they themselves and analogy with other Eskimo cultures may suggest certain interpretations, any tentative conclusions about the multiples created by the Dorsets cannot be definitely substantiated.

Research and personal interviews in the north established that the multiples have no ulterior significance for the contemporary Eskimos.
The sculpture is made for sale in the south and continued possession of it is not necessary for the Eskimo's well-being. There was no consistent interpretation of the subject. The head motif may be used simply as a design element or the heads may represent any of the following: humans—often in a family group, mythological characters, or spirits. Most artists said the idea for the multiples was from their own head or from seeing other contemporary carvings of this subject.

Only a few of the contemporary Eskimos gave any indication of knowledge of the use of this subject by older Eskimos in historical times. However, multiples were made in the 1800's in such places as Alaska, the Ungava District, and at Angmassalik, Greenland. Between these few 19th century examples and the Dorset multiples of about 1000, there seems to be a complete break in the tradition of the subject.

Various factors indicate that the majority of Dorset art was probably used in a religious-shamanistic context. The use of heads on other religious objects as well as the occurrence of standardized multiples, with a specific number of faces, over a large geographical area indicate that the multiple was a part of this religious art. It seems likely that the multiple was used by the shaman himself as a magic staff in ceremonies and most likely in those shamanic duties associated with retaining the well-being of his charges; particularly their health. The motif of heads suggests the possible use of the multiple in that popular Eskimo means of divination—head-lifting. In any of these life-associated capacities, the beings represented on the multiple could be: successfully cured humans, the shaman's helping spirits, or even more likely, souls; either souls to be returned to the body during illness to effect the cure, dead souls of others
consulted during a illness, or souls conducted away at the death of those not successfully cured.

If the Dorset multiple functioned as a religious item, and it seems most likely that it did, the contemporary sculptors have continued the tradition of the original subject but have not retained the original significance.
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**PHOTO CREDITS**

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INTRODUCTION

Both Dorset culture and contemporary Eskimo artists have produced sculptures with the unusual motif of multiple human heads—a subject which seems to be unique to the Eskimo (figs. 1 and 2).

The number, arrangement, and distribution of the heads may vary but the subject matter is always the same; just heads. In addition, the heads tend to be equal in size; that is, all the heads on one sculpture are of similar dimension. The heads on Dorset multiples especially are not only of equal size on each sculpture but the faces on one carving are equisize to those on other Dorset multiples. Contemporary multiples show a greater variation in the size of faces on separate works however. That is, while all the heads on each contemporary sculpture are of similar size, the heads on one sculpture may be of a size quite different from those on another contemporary multiple.

These multiples are to be differentiated from those sculptures in which human heads may occur on the same object with other subjects; or multiples of subjects other than human heads. From Eskimo and other cultures come sculptures either of a single head such as in western portraiture or human head(s) together with animal parts and other motifs such as in Indian totems. In the case of the Eskimo multiples discussed herein however, the subject of the sculpture is restricted to human heads and the number of heads is always more than one or two.
These multiple heads are not decorative embellishments to another object but are the sculpted object itself. Although an item decorated with heads may continue to exist and function without those heads, the heads on a multiple are its *raison d'etre*. Take away the heads and we are left with an antler or a piece of stone.

In view of these unusual attributes the immediate question which comes to mind is: what significance do these heads have? What possible use, if any, could they have? And here, although the motif may be similar, is the distinction between Dorset and contemporary multiples. Not only is there written information about contemporary Eskimos, the artists themselves are available for direct questioning. Also because of the Eskimos' changed circumstances, those sculptures produced in the last 20 years are destined not for the Eskimos themselves but for sale in the south. This factor—of the ultimate possession of the object—is important not because of considerations of validity or quality but in respect to the significance the object has for the Eskimo himself. Continued possession of the multiple is not necessary for the contemporary Eskimo's well-being.

The Dorset Eskimo's art on the other hand was an integral, if not indispensable, part of his existence. Then too, the problem is compounded by the particular elusiveness of the Dorset peoples themselves. Our only information about them comes from archaeology; the only possible historical references to them are the Skraelings recorded by the Norse. To understand this particular dilemma one must briefly review the prehistory and history of the Eskimos in Canada.
I would like to thank George Swinton who suggested this topic to me.
CHAPTER I

THE ESKIMO IN CANADA

Prehistory

Any prehistory of the Eskimos in Canada must immediately expand outside Canada—to Alaska. The earliest known proto-Eskimos were the people of the Cape Denbigh Flint complex of northwestern Alaska, c. 3rd millennium B.C. These people had an Eskimo way of life and were adapted to the hunting economics of both inland and coastal areas of a treeless region. Although their culture shows some influence from the early Indians of the interior of North America, a number of the traits indicate that their primary origins were in the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic cultures of the Far East and the early Neolithic of Siberia. These earlier migrant cultures who crossed the Bering land bridge between 3500 and 2500 B.C. were the ancestors of the Denbigh Flint complex as well as the earliest Canadian arctic culture which spread across Canada while the Denbigh Flint peoples remained in Alaska.

These early migrants across Canada reached the central arctic coast of Canada by 2500 B.C. and the thinly spread population eventually expanded as far south as Churchill, Manitoba and to the east as far as the Ungava Peninsula and even Greenland. In Canada, this early migrant culture, the Pre-Dorset, survived until approximately 1000 to 800 B.C. The Dorset culture which replaced it developed primarily within the Canadian eastern arctic from predominantly
Pre-Dorset origins. Although the Dorset culture was similar to the Pre-Dorset in many ways, having the same adaptation, economy, and settlement pattern, it had certain traits of its own. Those traits without Pre-Dorset antecedents may have been acquired by the Dorsets from the Indians south of them or by cultural diffusion from the Eskimos of the western arctic.

Archaeological investigations have uncovered Dorset remains from Bernard Harbour and Melville Island in the west to eastern Greenland and the western part of Newfoundland. Dorset sites are most abundant in the Hudson Strait-Foxe Basin region. The Dorset people, in small, seasonally nomadic bands, lived in skin tents in the summer and partially underground pit houses in the winter. They were possibly the inventors of the snow house. They lived primarily on the coast (only one inland site has been found) where they both fished extensively and hunted such animals as caribou, seal, and walrus; but not the whale. Factors such as the coastal location of sites indicate the use of boats but no positive evidence of them has been forthcoming.

The Dorsets seem to have been without such typical Eskimo accoutrements as the bow drill and the dog. Apparently transportation without the latter was by means of a small hand-sled. They did have a smaller model of the traditional Eskimo lamp; and needle cases and bone needles indicate tailored fur clothing. They had implements made of antler, bone, ivory, and driftwood and used specialized burin-like tools for working these materials. The art of the Dorsets which was fashioned out of these same materials is particularly noteworthy. The small carvings are characterized by great competency, insight, and feeling.
The above traits indicate that the Dorsets were Eskimo peoples and skeletal remains found in their graves would seem to confirm this. They probably spoke an old variant of the Eskimo language. "Shamanism is suggested on the basis of their subsistence-hunting, semi-nomadic, small-band pattern, and by ethnographic analogy." Around 900 A.D. another Eskimo culture began to migrate west from Alaska across Canada. The Thules who had developed from Eskimo cultures in Alaska, back as far as the Denbigh Flint complex, swept across the northern arctic reaching Greenland by 1100 A.D. and later Labrador. Although very little is known about the exact nature of the transition from one culture to the other, in most districts the invaders seem to have completely displaced the Dorsets by 1300 A.D. In a few areas, perhaps, the Dorset culture may have persisted in varying degrees of admixture with the Thules.

The Thule people were classic Eskimos similar to the Dorsets in many ways but differentiated by their emphasis on whale hunting. Although they imported certain innovations of their own into Canada, such as the bow drill, dog team, and umiak, they must have had sufficient interchange with the Dorsets to learn techniques such as the mechanics of snow houses and to obtain certain artifacts which they themselves reworked.

Because of various factors, between the 15th and early 18th centuries, the Thule Eskimos changed their basic whale economy for a more nomadic way of life; the same kind of life led up until just recently by their direct descendants the contemporary Eskimos. Another new factor—the white man—arrived in the 1770's, and only at this point does the prehistory of the Eskimos become history.
History

Early historical accounts of the Eskimos were recorded by voyagers, adventurers, and whalers. Later various scientific expeditions began to gather artifacts and ethnological data. All of these people either noted or collected the art objects of their hosts, but not until the 1950's did the art of these Eskimos gain widespread and enthusiastic recognition. From that time the production of art objects has increasingly filled the lacuna left by poorer hunting and with it decreasing economic self-sufficiency.

Now it is no longer just Eskimo art in general but the works of particular, individual Eskimos whose names are known and recognized. Nor is the art as easy to characterize as it once was—subject matter, styles, size, and media have all expanded. One subject which is not new is that of the multiple human heads.
CHAPTER I  NOTES


2Ibid.


4Ibid.


7Ibid., p. 6.

8Ibid., p. 8.


CHAPTER I NOTES (cont'd)


18 Taylor, "Prehistoric Canadian Eskimo Art."


20 Swinton, Sculpture of the Eskimo, p. 111.

21 Ibid. and George Swinton, personal communication, 1974.
CHAPTER II

CONTEMPORARY MULTIPLES

During the late summer of 1972, I traveled to three Eskimo settlements on the west coast of Hudson Bay; Eskimo Point, Rankin Inlet, and Baker Lake. The majority of contemporary multiples come from this area, although I have seen the odd one from such disparate places as Hall Beach, Belcher Islands, Repulse Bay, and Broughton Island. I hoped by personal interview to gain some insight into the significance, if any, of the motif of multiple human heads. My questions to the carvers were basically: 1) where did you get the idea to carve a number of human heads? 2) who do they represent? 3) is there a story? 4) should the heads all be the right way up or do you mind if they are upside down or sideways? 5) do you draw, and if so do you draw before carving?¹ (For a complete list of artists interviewed see Appendix I.)

This last question was directed more at establishing some idea as to how they proceeded with the carving. Of the sculptors I talked with none did any sketching beforehand and only one—George Arluk—drew at all. His rather hasty sketching was done while we talked; to illustrate our discussion of his carvings. Generally my findings were that the sculptors use the configuration and aspect of the stone to suggest the theme and that at any time throughout the crafting of the stone the subject may change. In the carving of multiples, projections
in the stone will often be shaped into heads. These findings are in agreement with conclusions reached by Edmund Carpenter who states that in Eskimo sculpture the emphasis is not on setting out to make a specific item nor on forcing the medium into uncharacteristic forms but instead the carver responds to the material as it tries to be itself. The artist does not create the form, he releases it.  

While the medium or other considerations may suggest the subject of heads to the artist, in some cases he may being work with another subject in mind but end up with heads. That is, the artist may intend to make a whole human body or bodies, but because of various factors, such as especially hard stone, he may instead be content to represent only a part of the body; namely, the human head(s). (See Martha Anarasuk [Eskimo Point] and others, Appendix I and Tiktak, p. 13.)

In response to question 4, of the sculptors interviewed, only Elizabeth Nootaraaloo of Eskimo Point felt the heads should not be upside down—since we are not that way! I had included this question because both contemporary and prehistoric Eskimo carvings exhibit a lack of specific orientation. In the carvings of human heads, both modern and Dorset, the heads do not always face a particular direction; one carving may have human faces oriented in a variety of different directions. According to Carpenter:

There are several reasons why Eskimo art lacks perspective or the "favoured point of view." The primary one is lack of real literacy. As with nonliterate people generally, the Eskimo can perceive without difficulty what we regard as "inverted" figures. Another reason is their attitude toward the "given." For example, walrus tusks are carved into aggregates of connected but unrelated figures; some figures face one direction, others another. No particular
Whereas we, when looking at the carving, will turn it this way and
that orienting each figure in relation to ourselves, the Eskimo does
not.

They carve a number of figures, each oriented—by our
standards—in a different direction, without moving the
tusk. Similarly, when handed a photograph they examine
it as it is handed to them, no matter how it is oriented.

Carpenter tells of an experiment he made with a number of Eskimos:

I sketched on paper some twenty figures, each oriented in
different direction. Then I asked each individual to
point to the seal, the walrus, the bear. Without hesita-
tion, all located the correct figures. But though I had
myself made the drawings I found it necessary to turn the
paper each time to ascertain the accuracy of their selections.

He concludes:

To the lack of verticality [in Eskimo sculpture] can be
added multiple perspective, visual puns, X-ray sculpture,
absence of background, and correspondence between symbol
and size: all examples of non-optical structuring of space.

Carpenter relates that multiple perspective occurs in narrative
as well as in art—an object may be described as to how it looks
from many different angles in order to evoke a mood by juxtaposition
of discontinuous images. We might well then consider the possibility
that contemporary multiples could be the representation of one person
with different emotions or in different stages of activity.

The most frequent responses in all the settlements to my
first three questions were that the idea of the multiple human heads
was from inside their own head, that is, their own idea; or it was
from looking at someone else's carvings. They said there was no
specific story nor significance to the carvings and there was nothing
special about them. Tiktak of Rankin Inlet, who was extremely modest and self-effacing, explained that his heads represented regular Eskimo people (fig. 3) and that often, if the stone was hard to carve, he could not make the bodies as well (competently) as the heads so he would make the heads only.

R. G. Williamson, in conversation, explained that Tiktak has a very strong sense of family and this may have been instrumental in the representation of a number of people in close contact. In *Eskimo Sculpture*, George Swinton illustrates a carving of heads by Tiktak (fig. 4) which is entitled Family and describes it thus:

> In the family group, the family grows out from one unifying base resembling an ocean or a piece of land. Perhaps the entire sculpture is a symbolic portrait of his family, with the head on the left being the artist. Might the empty platform to his right represent the empty space left in his family by the death of his mother? Even if it were not, that empty space is as significant as the four heads.8

I might add that the family and interdependence are strong elements within the Eskimo community; perhaps not so much now as in earlier days when in the harsh environmental situation one's livelihood depended both materially and mentally on others as well as on oneself.

In fact, several people said their carvings represented mother and child(ren), a family, or people together. Irkotee of Rankin Inlet referred to the ideas of being together, of protection, of not being alone. One of his multiples which we discussed told a specific story, but he said others did not. The carving in question was of a group of Eskimos scared by something they had not seen before, in this instance an airplane. He said he was thinking of his older relatives who were frightened by their first sight of a plane.
George Arluk of Eskimo Point said that sculpture was very hard to talk about, but he did volunteer that at least one of his carvings represented a mother and child and also made a vague reference to other of his multiples as a family (fig. 5). Elizabeth Nootaraloo of Eskimo Point often does carvings of a mother and child and as this theme is an important one to her it might well carry over to the multiples.

Lucy Tasseor of Eskimo Point said her faces were sometimes men, sometimes women and children, and sometimes just heads (fig. 6). She said that "it's kind of nice to have all those faces." Again we might interpret nice as togetherness. Many of the Tasseor sculptures definitely titled mother and child (fig. 7) are very similar to her multiples, only to be differentiated by the slight indication of arms from one figure (sometimes larger) around the others. When asked if she had seen very old sculptures with a number of heads, she replied that her grandfather had left a drawing of heads with the recommendation that this was a way to make money from the white man. This would suggest that carvings of this sort were being made—and successfully sold—several generations ago and that there was a tradition of this subject. (I could find no record of any such carvings from the area within the 19th century.)

John Polik of Eskimo Point said that the heads always represented a family—not special in any way, just regular people (fig. 8). His heads, unlike the usual clusters, are distributed in a horizontal row. (Another variation on the multiple [not illustrated herein] is the vertical arrangement of heads one on top of another, totem fashion, by such artists as Martha Apsaitok of Eskimo Point [see Appendix I].) Polik said the number of heads depended on the size of the stone.
(The two examples I had seen both had three heads and I thought perhaps he always carved a certain number on each sculpture.) Although the heads are now on only one side of the stone, he said that he used to make them on both sides.

From Alaska come two carvings which are strikingly similar to, and a third resembling, those by John Polik both in the subject matter of heads and in their placement. This arrangement of the heads is not a common one. Of multiples from the arctic region either prehistoric or historic these seem to be the only ones stylistically similar to those by Polik. And yet for the great distance between their points of origin and the discrepancy between the time of their production--19th (Alaska) and 20th century--they are very much alike. One, collected by Jochelson (fig. 9), is of ivory c. 4 1/2" long and 1/4" wide. The ten heads rise out of a base on which an incised vertical line separates one head from the next. This carving was probably a handle or applique.

The other two were obtained by Murdoch at Nuwuk (on Pt. Barrow) between 1881-83. The first (fig. 10) is the least comparable to the Polik; the heads although horizontal are "free-standing." It is of walrus ivory, 3 5/16" long and 1 5/8" wide. Murdoch describes it as a man with a woman on each side of him. The man has labrets and a curved line of tattooing at each corner of the mouth, indicating the successful whaleman; and the women the usual tattooing on the chin. The features are incised and blackened in the usual manner. According to Murdoch:

This specimen, though apparently modern, does not seem fresh enough to have been made for sale. The seller called it "a man and his two wives" without giving them any names. It may be intended as a portrait of some celebrated whaleman.
The other carving collected by Murdoch (fig. 11), also of ivory, is 4" long and 1 3/16" wide and was apparently made from part of an old snow shovel edge. On the upper edge are four human heads between a bear's head at one end and the figure of a bear at the other. The bear's head has eyes and nostrils incised and blackened. The bear figure has ears in relief, with the eyes, mouth, and the four short lines on the obverse indicating legs, incised and blackened. The human heads have faces on both sides; those on the front have noses and brows in slight relief while those on the back are flat. The faces on both sides have eyes, nostrils and mouths incised and blackened.

Below the heads, along the base, are various scenes. On the obverse, vertical lines divide the base between each head. In each compartment are the following depictions (l. to r.): below the bear's head, a bear heading to the right; under each human head the following; an umiak with four men, a killer (Orca) whale, conventionalized whale's tails suspended from a cross-line, a killer whale with very large flukes. There is nothing below the bear. On the reverse (l. to r.): below the figure of a bear, a bear heading to the right; below each human a whale's tail with the flukes up; and below the bear's head a bear heading to the left. Attached to the carving by a short length of knotted deer sinew is a single piece of ivory carved into two little bowhead whales—head to head—with the spiracles incised and blackened.11 Murdoch states: "This object appears freshly made, but perhaps commemorates the exploits of some four hunters. It was purchased along with other objects and its history was not learned at the time."12
These latter two Alaskan carvings would seem to represent, as
do John Polik's, "regular" people and none of the objects have any
special significance as far as could be determined.\textsuperscript{13}

If a number of contemporary multiple carvings represent human
beings, yet others portray those beings in legend and myth. One of
the most popular and widespread Eskimo legends is about the adventures
of Kiviuq. During his journeys Kiviuq encounters Egooptakjuak, a
woman who eats all but the heads of her victims; these she stores in
her igloo. "Kiviuq looked about in the house and saw a great many
heads. One of these spoke to him, saying, 'The old woman eats all the
strangers who enter her house.'\textsuperscript{14} Rev. Tagoona of Baker Lake referred
to this legend in connection with my research although he does not
carve heads himself. Okoktok of Rankin Inlet, who carves faces, said
that there was no particular story to his carvings; but his wife then
suggested that the idea was from the Kiviuq myth. She had heard this
tale from her father long ago. Okoktok knew about the myth but seemed
less sure that this was the idea behind his sculptures.

In Baker Lake, I also interviewed several women who, in making
their wall-hangings, utilize the motif of human heads. Kudlok got the
idea for the heads from her mother who is now dead. She thought the
heads had to do with legends but could not remember any of them.
Ahveeleayuk remembered vaguely a legend or part of a legend in which a
lady eats bodies and stores the heads in the other room of her igloo.
She said her first wall-hanging, upon which the later hangings were
based, had a story but now she is rather vague as to what it was.

Two other legends recorded by Boas refer to human heads:
Another mythological creature--Mangegjatuakdju--had heads in her house;
these had decomposed matter running down from the noses of the skulls. The second concerns an old woman who, to get revenge, made a form like a human face out of bones. She then marked it with soot and when people saw it they nearly died of fright.

In the southern part of east Greenland, the man-eating woman did not keep the whole head: "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." East Greenlanders, south of Angmassalik, still paste silhouette figurines cut out of thin black skin on the wall over the sleeping platform.

Myths are a fairly common subject for contemporary artists and it is not surprising that several people should represent heads from the Kiviuq myth or some other tale.

At the time of my interview with Thérèse Arlutnar of Eskimo Point she had done only three sculptures of multiple human heads. Both she and her husband Levi Ahmak answered my questions and it was apparent that they discussed her sculpture in some detail. Clearly, her choice of subject matter and execution were not random, but the result of quite some thought and consideration. Both of them were very decisive and there were no vague answers. One of her motives was the centennial celebration; the idea of Canada and of people helping one another. In this multiple the faces represent Inuit, Kablunait, and Indians. It had been done around the time of the centennial and was obviously influenced by other centennial plans and discussion. However, the idea was not suggested to her by anyone.
Another of her multiples represents the Arlooayuit (fig. 12). These people live on the land (wave of her hand toward inland) and, although they have a human form, they are not human beings. She had heard the story from her grandfather and could remember that they lived in a clump. She said she had been thinking about the Arlooayuit for this carving and that the two closer to the base were shorter ones. She said her father John Polik would remember the story. (Incidentally, this is the same Polik referred to earlier. By his account none of his carvings are based on the story of the Arlooayuit.)

Polik had some difficulty recalling the story which he had heard from his father. He described the Arlooayuit as living inland in clumps and although they look human they are not. In fact, they eat human beings. These "people" are no longer seen since they have been scared away by men with guns. He did not know anyone who had seen the Arlooayuit. He recounted two short stories:

1) One day some Arlooayuit out hunting seals met a real human. One of the Arlooayuit, to scare the human away and thus have the seals to himself, showed the human his foot. This foot had had the toes cut off. The Arlooayouk then told the human that the foot killed and ate humans. Eventually the Arlooayuit did kill and eat the man.

2) The Arlooayuit, being in clumps, were so close together during a drum dance that they trompled each other to death.

A carving of heads from Greenland (fig. 13) collected by G. Holm when he was at Angmassalik in 1885, although quite different stylistically from that by Arlutnar, is also supposed to represent spirits. The faces are carved on all sides of a block of wood and are said by Holm to represent Inersuaks. According to him it was carved as a toy.
Holm relates that Inersuaks live under the sea but otherwise engage in the same occupations as do men. They are somewhat broader than men, closely cropped and have no noses. The angakoq (shaman) can see and visit them. He reports their origin as told to him:

In the beginning the earth was quite flat, and there was no water on it; but then the earth burst, the water poured fourth, and men were hurled into the cracks. All those whom this fate overtook became "Inersuaks", and now people the nether regions.

Thalbitzer, writing on the same carving, records it as having six faces all representing "innertiwin 'the fire people' from the beach among whom the angakoq often chooses his auxiliary spirits."

He considers it an amulet.

As these two carvings of spirits—one contemporary Canadian and the other 19th century Angmassalik—illustrate, men and women are not the only beings of human appearance living in the north. "All the Inuit (in sing. inuk human being, Eskimo) from Greenland to East Asia and South Alaska believe in the spiritual inhabitants or inuat ('occupants, owners, dwellers, inmates') of various objects of nature and society." These spirits, conceived in the image of the observer himself, are a sort of human being and are called by the same word which means human being. They have a strange appearance—more or less human—and are well-versed in magic. They may exist in groups or tribes and have their own tribal names such as the Igdlúkut (whose human-like body is divided lengthwise, with one arm, one leg, etc.), the Taarajuatsiait (semi-men who live under the ground close to the men's huts), and the Timerseet (who live in the interior) of Greenland; or they may be unique in their kind.
Everything in the surrounding world has its spiritual beings. "All these spirits are called inuut (their inuk), in sing. inua its inuk, in second plural inue their inuit, thus called with the same word which means 'human being', but suffixed with a common ending of possessive flexion." They live underground, in lakes, boulders, rivers, near the shore where the tide flows in and out, and on the inland ice. They inhabit every house—behind the skin hangings or in the passage way.

"Everything lives!"—said a Chukchee shaman—"The lamp wanders about; the walls of the tent have their voice, the urine tub has its special country and house. The skins which sleep in the bag talk in the evening. The antlers lying on the graves get up in the night and wander about in the burial ground."

Usually common people cannot see the spirits but they do sometimes catch glimpses of them or observe evidence of their presence. See for example the sculpture by Anowtelik of Eskimo Point (fig. 14). Greenlanders once very distinctly saw the lighted windows of the Ingnersuit at the shore across a creek and the shadows of these beings moving about behind them. And of course there are many tales about them. However, the shaman cannot only see the inue, he can converse with them and employ their aid.

The inue are not the souls of things. None of all these spirits of nature are considered as being the souls of dead ones or as belonging to the realms of the dead. The people who die go to certain places in the sky or in the ocean, but the inue, the spirits of nature, have never lived at those places and have never lost their lives or senses. The myths about the sea woman and the moon man show that these inue were formerly common beings of human kind who left their homes, indeed, in an extraordinary way, but without following the paths of the dead or arriving at their abodes.
Inue are conceived as invisible beings of human kind, or as extraordinary men who have come to live outside of the human society. The general signification of them as inue (inuk) testifies to the same fact. In some cases there are myths of how they became spirits and inhabitants of their final and permanent abodes, but in most cases there are none.\(^{39}\)

The Arlooayuit represented by Arlutnar and the Inersuaks portrayed in the Angmassalik carving belong to this class of inue. The carver has not seen the beings, but he has heard them described in legends. Not all the inue look exactly like humans but the two varieties represented in these carvings are more human-like than some of the others that exist, for example the Iserqat who have only one eye which blinks lengthwise.\(^{40}\)

In conclusion, my findings indicate there is no common interpretation to the contemporary multiples. The majority of carvers are representing something which is everyday to them—their fellow Eskimo; just as they and other carvers portray a seal, a walrus, or a caribou. We have no difficulty accepting the image of a human head bereft of its body, just as a portrait bust does not conjure up a body divided at the chest. And for the Eskimo this division seems even more natural. When representing an animal partly out of the water, the Eskimo artist will make only that part of the creature which is above the water. The rest, since it cannot be seen under the water or ice, is not shown. Sculptures "cut in half" in this manner are quite common.

Eskimos too utilize synecdoche. Hoffman writing about Eskimo graphic art states that:

In many instances in the ornamented ivory records, parts of animal or other forms are portrayed in this manner, and such
abbreviated characters are subsequently utilized and arranged in such order so as to serve the purpose of simple ornamen-
tation, the primary object or concept having but little if any further connection in its new position.\textsuperscript{41}

In this connection note the whale tails on fig. 11. Certainly the human head is the most characteristic of our parts and the obvious choice for symbol of our whole.

The Alaskan carvings, discussed in comparison with works by John Polik, are--as were his--presumably simply representations of everyday people. These Alaskan examples do not give us any further information as to the meaning of multiples and certainly do not encourage belief in a special significance for this motif.

However, several carvers were showing neither those that they knew nor mankind in general, but instead were representing in visual form people from legends--or should I say heads from legends--such as those heads of the bodies eaten by the woman in the Kiviuk myth. The subject then is not taken from this earthly realm of creatures, but that of legendary ones.

In the case of the Arlooayuit portrayed by Thérèse Arlutnar, we enter the realm of Eskimo spirits. Eskimos often represent these spirits which exist in visual form only in their own head. Some may be unique to one person--seen only by him--others may have names and live in certain places and be known to everyone by legend and tale. The Greenland carving too represents such spirits.

It is strange however that the carvers should choose to show only the heads of these spirits. Granted in the Arlutnar piece the heads do not cover the entire stone; there is a base or lower part, but it is not delineated to represent the rest of their bodies. Only the heads are indicated. On the Greenland piece the entire block
is covered with heads. Presumably, although nothing in the stories about the spirits suggest that the heads are more important than any other part of the body, their heads, like human heads, are the most characteristic part of the whole. Since the spirits portrayed in these two carvings are human-like in appearance (not all Eskimo spirits look like humans), what better choice than their heads to represent them?

We have found then that the contemporary multiples, whatever their interpretation, have no religious significance. The faces may represent no one in particular, being instead simply decorative motifs, or they may represent one of three different beings:

1) humans
2) mythological creatures
3) spirits.
CHAPTER II  NOTES

1 Unless otherwise indicated all the following information within this chapter and in Appendix I is derived from my interview notes obtained at Eskimo Point, Rankin Inlet, and Baker Lake, July 24 to August 18, 1972.


3 Carpenter, "Ivory Carvings of the Hudson Bay Eskimo," 214.

4 Ibid., 215.


6 Ibid., p. 219.

7 Edmund Carpenter, Frederick Varley, and Robert Flaherty, Eskimo (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), no page numbers.


9 George Swinton, personal communication, 1972.


11 Ibid., pp. 397-8.

12 Ibid., p. 398.

13 George Swinton suggests a possible deeper significance for the Alaskan multiples on the basis of comparison with multiple masks. G. S., personal communication, 1974.

CHAPTER II  NOTES (cont'd)

15 Ibid., p. 189.

16 Ibid., p. 255.


20 This sculpture was not identified by Thérèse Arlutnar and is not illustrated herein. Inuit and Kablunait are the Eskimo terms for Eskimos and white men, respectively.


22 Ibid., 82.

23 Ibid., 83.


26 Ibid., p. 368.

27 Kaj Birket-Smith, "Ethnography of the Egedesminde District with Aspects of the General Culture of West Greenland," Meddelelser om Grønland, LXVI (1924), 221.
CHAPTER II NOTES (cont'd)

28 Ibid., 223.


31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.

33 Birket-Smith, "Ethnography of the Egedesminde District," 432.

34 George Swinton, personal communication, 1974.

35 Birket-Smith, "Ethnography of the Egedesminde District," 224.


37 Birket-Smith, "Ethnography of the Egedesminde District," 432.


39 Ibid.

40 Birket-Smith, "Ethnography of the Egedesminde District," 222.

CHAPTER III

DORSET MULTIPLES I

Dorset Art

While as yet our actual evidence of artistic activity on the part of the Pre-Dorsets is represented by very few carvings, their descendants the Dorsets were responsible for a most distinctive and highly developed art style.¹ So distinctive in fact, that the Dorset culture was first recognized as a separate Eskimo culture by D. Jenness in 1925 at the National Museum of Canada on the basis of artifactual material which had been collected by Eskimos at Cape Dorset and Coats Island.²

Dorset art can be differentiated from that of other Canadian Eskimos not only on the basis of two specific points: deep patination and gouged rather than drilled holes (the Dorsets were without the bow drill);³ but also by certain stylistic features such as size of object, subject matter, basic technique, and function. In particular, it would seem that Dorset art was essentially magico-religious; associated with shamanism and burial rites.⁴

The art itself, characterized by great vitality and craftsmanship, is of two general categories: 1) incised decoration and 2) sculpture in the round. The former consists of simple geometric designs; mainly straight and oblique lines, crosses, X's, and chevrons.⁵ One of the most frequent linear designs is associated with the skeleton; taking the form of a skeletal design, skeletal motif, or the skeleton itself.⁶
Dorset sculptural art depicts animals, birds, fishes, humans, and mythical beasts which range from the precisely realistic to abstract, stylized forms. The artists of the naturalistic sculptures have captured the very essence of the being and the small size of the sculptures belies their impact. Sometimes the carving represents only a part of an animal such as a walrus head, caribou hoof, gull's head, or human face. Or the carving may consist of an animal part reproduced several times. Such is the case with the multiples of human heads.

The Multiples

So far only five Dorset multiple carvings of human heads have been discovered. Each carving is herein reproduced along with the available information about it.

Needless to say, any discussion of the Dorset multiples in comparison with carvings from other areas is affected by the nebulous association of the Dorsets with their parent culture and the earlier cultures, both in Alaska and farther west, from which it was derived. As we know so little about the actual change over upon the arrival of the Thules in Canada, analogy with later cultures is also difficult. Dorset art as a whole was brought to an end by the Thule invasion. According to Taylor "no one has yet documented any significant relationship between Dorset and Thule art in arctic Canada." However, we cannot know what cultural elements of a non-material nature may have passed from the Dorsets to their successors. Although reference to other Eskimos is made in comparison to the Dorsets, this relationship, unless indicated, is not an established one but a suggestion for possible connections which may help explain the Dorset multiples.
size 15.2 cm. height
medium wood
origin Upernivik district, West Greenland
acquisition "Forwarded to the Danish National Museum in 1889 with the note: 'Found in old grave at the settlement of Upernivik.'"

# of faces 20

# of sides carved four
dated --

now in Danish National Museum L.c. 1154

See fig. 15, pp. 117-8.
size
4 1/2 x 2 1/5 x 9/10"16

medium
caribou antler17

origin
Abverdjar, Igloolik area18

acquisition
"This piece was collected by Father Bazin, o.m.i. (deceased 1972), between 1931 and 1940, from Abverdjar in the Igloolik Area. It was probably dug by Eskimos working under the Father's direction. It was donated to The Eskimo Museum approximately 1945."19

# of faces
16 or 1720

# of sides carved
front and back

dated
late Dorset Periods, around 1000 A.D.21

now in
Eskimo Museum, Churchill, Manitoba22

See fig. 16, p. 119.
#3

size 8 1/4 x 1 5/16 x 1"\textsuperscript{23}

medium caribou antler\textsuperscript{24}

origin Abverdjar, Igloolik area\textsuperscript{25}

acquisition Excavated by G. Rowley in 1939 at Abverdjar, Igloolik area; a pure Dorset site.\textsuperscript{26}

# of faces 28\textsuperscript{27}

# of sides carved all

dated Dorset Periods IV-V, c. 1000 A.D.\textsuperscript{28}

now in University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge\textsuperscript{29}

See fig. 17, pp. 120-1.
size 6 3/4 x 3/4 x 1/2"  
medium caribou antler  
origin Abverdjar, Igloolik area  
acquisition Excavated by G. Rowley in 1939 at Abverdjar, Igloolik area; a pure Dorset site.  
# of faces 4  
# of sides carved front and back  
dated --  
now in University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge  

See fig. 18, p. 122.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#5</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>size</td>
<td>14 x 2.9 x 1 cm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medium</td>
<td>antler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>origin</td>
<td>Prince of Wales Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acquisition</td>
<td>Collected by L. A. Learmonth on Prince of Wales Island. Mr. Learmonth, who did most of the excavation and surface collecting himself before sending the pieces off to the ROM, acquired this and other works in the central arctic while he was associated with the Hudson's Bay Company between 1939 and 1949.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of faces</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of sides carved</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dated</td>
<td>before 1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>now in</td>
<td>Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See fig. 19, p. 123.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Published Interpretations

Very little has been written about any of the Dorset multiple carvings.

Although such clusters of low relief carvings of faces have been long-known, and although several have now been recorded from Dorset sites in Canada and Greenland, no noteworthy ideas regarding their meaning or purpose in Dorset life have ever been offered in print. We are left to wonder if they are portraits, caricatures, practice sketches for more serious works or, of themselves, significant magical or religious objects.44

No Ulterior Significance

Several authors attribute no particular significance to the works; interpreting them variously as one of the first three possibilities mentioned above—portrait, caricature, or practice sketch.

According to Jørgen Meldgaard:

The Dorset man’s peculiar face may be seen in carvings in reindeer antler, and in one instance in wood. The heavily carved faces and features—ugly and mask-like—cover the whole of the surface, and could only have been produced by an artist inspired by obvious creative joy—and possessing quite a sense of humor. These pieces may bear some superficial resemblance to the well-known totem-posts from northwest America, but the character and firmness of composition are lacking; the faces are turned in all directions, and have been carved in wherever there was room. It is difficult to imagine a serious background for these carvings many of which look like caricatures; the whole thing was probably just a means of entertaining and amusing the settlement.45

And Graham Rowley describes one from Abverdjar (#3) thus:

This piece of caribou antler on which 28 faces have been carved is probably the most interesting Dorset artifact yet found. The faces are unmistakably Mongoloid. They could in fact represent a group of 28 present day Eskimos from the same area. One of the faces shows tattoo markings on the chin and forehead, but none have labrets. The purpose of the object is unknown. It was possibly made simply for the satisfaction of the artist.46
That Dorset multiples were sketches or frivolous products for the artist's own satisfaction or for the delight of his companions is questionable. Sketches are usually made in less durable form; in a more malleable material. Needless to say, even with the best of tools, carving a number of faces on an antler or piece of wood is not a task to be undertaken lightly. All the carvings exhibit signs of the care and time taken in their production. The features are minutely indicated; the unique faces are realistically carved, showing the personality and individuality of each. Note in comparison the contemporary multiples in which each artist utilizes a standard pattern. The faces on one carving may differ from those by another artist, but not those by the same carver. A Tasseor face looks very much like any other Lucy Tasseor facial representation, but not like a George Arluk.

As we have seen from the contemporary multiples, faces oriented in all directions does not necessarily denote a lack of composition on the artist's part, but illustrates a particular way of "seeing" and of approaching his material. Joan Vastokas' description of the Dorset carving in the Eskimo Museum emphasizes this close integration of medium and subject matter.

The carved forms are related visually to the shape of the antler medium out of which the work is carved. Seventeen anthropomorphic faces emerge and grow from the mass as if the carved faces were integral with the antler itself. There are no boundary lines separating individual sets of features. In Dorset style, then, the artist cooperates with his raw material, with nature so to speak, shaping his work of art in accord with the medium at hand.

Something that may seem ambiguous to us may not to those who have made it. Such seemingly ambiguous objects need not be without organization or composition. For example the Dorset carving of a man.
with a child on his shoulders (fig. 20). The man's head is upside down and his body frontally opposed to it. We do the artist little justice if we conclude these unusual orientations are a result of his ineptness.

G. Rowley would question the finished quality of at least one sculpture—that from Abverdjar (#4): "Caribou antler with four incised faces, probably unfinished, and possibly made by the same artist who made the larger piece [#3]." Although on this antler there is a greater area which is unworked, other Dorset multiples do not have every available space filled with heads. The faces may be clustered together in a compact unit, but at the same time not cover the entire surface of the antler, as on #5 which is carved only on part of one side. Or the heads may be scattered about throughout the entire surface with various spaces in between some of the heads, which do not solidly cover the surface, as for example #2 and #3. The faces on the sculpture in question are spaced over two sides of the antler—none of them touch. On the obverse especially, they are placed in strategic points; top, middle, and bottom. Their distribution would suggest choice rather than the first random beginnings of a number of heads which would eventually cover all the antler. Both conscious aesthetic choice and sensitivity to the medium can account for the heads being where they are.

All the faces on sculpture #4 are at the same stage of crafting and none of them appears incomplete. If the artist meant to put on more faces, why finish the first four before proceeding? Would we not see an indication of his intent to put on more faces by other visages—partially finished or roughed out? Note in comparison the Eskimo
Museum piece or the one from the ROM on which there is a great variety in the "finishedness" of the faces. Some are virtually three dimensional while others are simply indicated by incised lines. If anything, these two carvings seem more in the process of being worked than does #4.49

To return to the interpretation of the multiples: If the Dorsets made the multiples for fun, they would probably leave them where they made them. Even Eskimos with dogs to aid with transportation, which the Dorsets did not have, could not be bothered with extra baggage. If the object was to be left behind, it seems strange that it would be made of durable material upon which so much time had been spent. If the multiple was carried to another geographical area and if it had no particular significance, why should anyone copy it? Or if the idea rather than the sculpture was transported to another place, why should anyone else carve that particular subject again in fun?

So far we have examples of multiple sculptures from three different geographical areas. It is hardly possible that this idea was original in all three. Nor can we safely assume that the one carver covered that geographical distance himself. Surely then, the idea was a part of the Dorset's cultural equipment. The cultural continuity of the Dorset culture is an established fact. Even Dorset sites far removed from the assumed cultural center at Foxe Basin-Hudson Strait--such as the Bernard Harbour I site far to the west--do not exhibit significant regional variations in their material culture.50 "Geographic continuity or cultural consistency over the vast area involved is reflected in the occurrence of closely similar specimens at places hundreds of miles apart."51
The fact that not only the motif of the multiple appears in different places, but that the faces on these multiples are stylistically similar to those on other carvings,\textsuperscript{52} would indicate that the multiples were not just portraits but that certain established elements of depiction were a necessary part of the carving. The multiples, then, must have had some particular significance for the Dorsets to account for the continuation of the subject over an extended time and distance and for its reproduction in so similar a fashion. Although the faces carved on the multiples may be similar to others, they are not stereotyped—in each a certain individuality is portrayed. It may be that the artist, after fulfilling the established requirements for the piece, was allowed certain freedom in the execution of the subject. Perhaps the Dorset carvers were inclined to record other human beings whose facial features were unlike their own.

\textbf{Dorset-Norse Contact}

Henry B. Collins refers to two Igloolik carvings\textsuperscript{53} on which most of the faces are "short, broad, and typically Eskimo in appearance; some, however, are longer and narrower and are more suggestive of the Indian or European countenance than the Eskimo."\textsuperscript{54} He remarks especially upon the carving in the ROM:

It is of antler and contains one head and six faces carved in relief; at the top is a typically Dorset schematic face of triangular outline. The four faces in the center are short, broad, and Eskimo in every respect; they might even be described as caricatures of Eskimo physiognomy. The face at the upper left is longer, but the features are still Eskimo. Of greatest interest, however, are the two faces at the bottom and the upper right, which have not the slightest resemblance to the Eskimo. The artist seems to have attempted, with success, to portray the features of two contrasting racial types. The remarkably handsome face, or head, at the bottom—perhaps the finest example of realism in prehistoric Eskimo art—is clearly neither Eskimo nor Indian, but European. The
face, the dominant element of the whole composition, is that of a young man with strong features but pleasant and smiling. The face at the upper right is that of an older man, also with unmistakable European features. The only Europeans the prehistoric Dorset Eskimos could have seen were the Norsemen, who settled in southwest Greenland about the end of the 10th century and remained there for some 500 years. It is quite likely that the Norsemen, the most venturesome seafarers of their time, extended their explorations across Davis Strait to Arctic Canada; but, except for this carving, there is no evidence that they did. If the two faces on the carving are indeed Norse, as seems highly probable, it means that the Dorset Eskimos of the Canadian Arctic were in direct contact with the Norsemen. This carving, then, may be a document of some historical importance, a unique record that owes its existence to the talent of a Dorset Eskimo artist.

When Eirik and party arrived in Greenland in the late 10th century they met no living Eskimos.

They found there human habitations, both in the Eastern and Western parts of the country, and fragments of skin-boats and stone implements; from which it can be concluded that the people who had been there before were of the same kind as those who inhabit Vinland and whom the Greenlanders call Skraelings.

The implements and habitations they found would have been those of the Dorset people who had been in Greenland prior to this time but with whom, according to the various sagas, the Norse never had any direct contact in Greenland.

It was not until the latter part of the 13th century that the Norse had extended contact with Eskimos in Greenland. At this time the Thules, who had been moving down the western coast, settled in areas already occupied by the Norsemen. The sources indicate that the two peoples got along well together "and it would indeed have been rather strange if they [Norse] had not taken full advantage of this unique opportunity to carry on a lucrative trade."

Collins thinks that the Norse in Greenland may well have had interchanges with Eskimos earlier than with the 13th century Thules.
There almost certainly were Eskimos living in East Greenland during the Norse period, and the evidence of archaeology suggests that there had been earlier and more extensive contact between Norsemen and Eskimos on the West Coast than the few laconic statements in the sagas would seem to indicate.

If the evidence is not conclusive that the Norse met the Dorsets in Greenland, they did have the opportunity to do so elsewhere. The Norsemen throughout the centuries made various voyages to North America. Here they could acquire timber and hunt and "it is also quite possible that they wanted to make iron of bog-iron where fuel was easy to find, or trade with the natives.""61

Archaeological evidence indicates that both Indians and Dorset Eskimos occupied the areas visited by the Norse.62 These natives would account for the saga references to Skraelings in Vinland.63

At this time (c. 1000) the Dorsets were as far south as Newfoundland.64 Elmer Harp was excavating a Dorset site at Port aux Choix on the Straits of Belle Isle the same season that Ingstad, while excavating what is definitely a Norse site at L'Anse aux Meadows in northern Newfoundland (carbon dated 1080 ± 70), found Dorset implements.65 "There is much to indicate that this people [Dorset] was widely scattered along these coasts and that the Vinland voyagers could not have avoided meeting them."66

It isn't unlikely that the Norsemen also journied west of Greenland across the Davis Strait. Here they would also encounter Dorsets. Two pairs of cairns, like the pair found by Ingstad at L'Anse aux Meadows, have been discovered at two other places: one at Jones Sound 76° 30' N, and the other on Washington Irving Island east of Ellesmere Island 79° N. Ingstad believes they were put up by Norsemen. Erection of cairns of this sort was a typical Norse custom.
Evidence of what he believes to be Norse settlements—including longhouses—have been discovered by Thomas Lee in the Ungava Bay region. Ingstad, however, doubts that the Norse would have gone up the Hudson Strait:

First of all, the waters of Hudson Strait are very difficult to negotiate, owing to the ice and powerful currents—the difference between high and low tide is about sixty feet. Moreover, such a western route would have given every appearance of leading into the Arctic regions and not away from them. Ice and cold weather were among the things that the Norse Greenlanders had had enough of where they came from—their minds were set on more southerly and favourable countries.

As we have seen the most concentrated population of Dorsets was in this area. If the Norse, for whatever reasons, did journey there, they would most likely have been espied by the Eskimo residents.

There is, then, a great deal of difficulty in establishing not only what contact took place between Dorset Eskimos and the Norse, but also in determining the extent of their communication with one another. The sagas would lead us to believe that, in Vinland at least, the encounters between Norse and Skraelings were most often of a violent nature. "The archaeological record shows but very scant evidence of Norse-Dorset contact, let alone a cultural blending." Two of the Dorset multiples are dated approximately 1000. Feasibly the artists could have seen Norsemen anytime after 982, when they arrived in Greenland. There is, however, the problem of the distances involved; the ROM piece is from Prince of Wales Island which is about 900 air miles west of Greenland.
Regardless of who is represented on the multiples it remains to question why they were made originally. As Bandi says: "It is, however, somewhat strange that both in Canada and Greenland contact with the white man should have led Dorset artists to carve human faces clustered together like grapes." There is no evidence that the Norse themselves were inclined to carve multiples, so it seems unlikely that they would suggest such a motif to the Eskimos if they could—and did—converse with them. In view of these conditions, it seems conclusive that the idea of the multiples was the Dorsets' own. Perhaps, however, they thought the efficacy of the object would be increased by having on it the portrait of a stranger who came in a big boat.

Possible Ulterior Significance

The possibility of a deeper significance for multiple carvings of this sort is considered by Birket-Smith in a report on the ethnography of the Egedesminde District:

Human figures mostly occur as dolls and other toys. Whether some of them, at one time, had a deeper significance it is impossible to say, although certain statements made by older writers may point in this direction...

The specimen Lc 1154 [fig. 15] has been found in a grave in the Umanaq District. It is made of wood, about 16 cm long and entirely covered with carved human faces. From Angmagssalik comes a similar specimen, the faces on which are to represent ingnersuit [fig. 14].

One such older writer is John Davis who, in recording his voyage along the west coast of Greenland in the 1580's, says of the natives:

They are idolaters, and have images great store, which they were about them, and in theyr boats, which we suppose they worship. They are witches, and have many kindes of enchantments, which they often used, but to small purpose.
Birket-Smith thinks that "Perhaps the 'images' here mentioned are amulet figures. Such are known from Angmagssalik and Labrador." He is referring to those amulets from Angmassalik described by Holm which included male and female figurines. In addition to the figurines, Thalbitzer thinks the one multiple carving from Angmassalik—the ingnersuit mentioned above by Birket-Smith—is an amulet.

The amulets from Labrador which Birket-Smith mentions include one multiple image (fig. 21). It was collected by Lucien Turner when he was in the Ungava District (Fort Chimo area) in the early 1880's.

Two articles selected from my collection will illustrate different forms of amulets. The first . . . is a little model of a kaiak. The other . . . was worn on the back of a woman's coat. It is a small block of wood carved into four human heads. These heads represent four famous conjurers noted for their skill in driving away diseases. The woman, who came from the eastern shore of Hudson's bay, was troubled with rheumatism and wore this charm from time to time as she felt the twinges of pain. She assured me that the pain always disappeared in a few hours when she wore it. It was with the greatest difficulty that I persuaded her to part with it. She was, however, about to return home, and could get another there.

From Eskimo Point (on the west shore of Hudson's Bay) comes a very similar contemporary carving (fig. 22)—to which no special significance was attached. See also the carving by David Ekoota of Baker Lake (too on the west shore of Hudson's Bay) illustrated in fig. 23. Note fig. 14 in comparison to the above.

Representations of humans and of human faces for use as amulets extends even to the Aleutian Islands.

As amulets, may be regarded rudely carved human figures in stone and bone [fig. 24], which I found in my excavations on the Aleutian Islands, and carved human faces on the bone sections of casting weapons [fig. 25]. Evidently these faces were intended as guardians of the weapons and to help them in striking animals.
However it must be noted that there is only one face per casting
weapon. And indeed, single facial representations occur on a number
of objects throughout Eskimo territory. These are not always simply
amulets; they may be amulets as well as having additional more prac-
tical functions. According to Jochelson the rudely carved human
figures referred to above are not only amulets but were also used in
divination. This may have been the type of divination employed in
the Doll Festival.

The festival is characterized by the placing of a wooden doll
or image of a human being in the kashim and making it the
center of various ceremonies, after which it is wrapped in
birch-bark and hung in a tree in some retired spot until the
following year. During the year the shamans sometimes
pretend to consult this image to ascertain what success will
attend the season's hunting or fishing. . . . The place
where the image is concealed is not generally known by the
people of the village, but is a secret to all except the
shamans and, perhaps, some of the oldest men who take
prominent parts in the festival.

A similar divining doll occurs in a south Greenland tale about the
last chief of the old Northerners, Ungortok.

When he had fled, his Eskimo enemies discovered him by
means of one of the wooden dolls, which an angakoq had
planted on the gull dung-hills in the mouths of the fjords.
One of the dolls, namely, had turned in the direction of
Ungortok's hiding-place.

From Angmassalik are wound and throat plugs with a facial representa-
tion on one end (fig. 26). In addition to their function as plugs
they were "used as charms to protect against misfortune, and to cure
illness." Or "the original idea behind these objects may have been
similar to the one seen in North Alaska, where the face on the wound-
plug was meant to summon the hunter should the seal drift away."

Birket-Smith records bone pegs from Jakobshavn and north Greenland
which are finished with human faces.
Other facial representations on utilitarian objects are apparently without particular significance. Such are an assortment of drum handles from Alaska collected by Murdoch at Point Barrow (fig. 27). All but one of these handles have the large end carved into a human face, each with the mouth open as if singing. Nelson records two similar drum handles from Point Hope; on one of these the face is distorted. At Chichiragamut (Cape Vancouver) Nelson sojourned in a kashim which boasted two lamp supports both carved in the form of a human face (fig. 28) "representing quite a different type from the countenances of the people.

Masks and other representations of faces are also used in more significant connection—with the dead. At Tununuk (Cape Vancouver) Nelson found a number of memorial images representing people who had been lost and their bodies never recovered (fig. 29).

I was told that among the people of this and neighboring villages, as well as of the villages about Big lake, in the interior from this point, it is the custom to erect memorial posts for all people who die in such a manner that their bodies are not recovered.

At Big Lake, not only were there memorial figures, but

In front of many of the graves at this place were large headboards, made of hewn planks about four feet long, placed across the top of two upright posts. To the middle of these were pinned from two to three wooden maskoids, representing human faces with inlaid ivory eyes and mouths; from holes or pegs at the ears hung small strings of beads, such as the villagers wear, and below the masks were bead necklaces [fig. 30].

A double mask from east Greenland (fig. 31) may have had a use similar to the Alaskan representations mentioned above. It is fashioned as a head with two faces, being carved front and back on a piece of wood.
The too narrow neck was broken off, uppermost on the head is a deep socket-like hole. I imagine that the carved furrows of the faces are meant to be tattoo markings; in this case b must be considered as the face of a women; if a is meant to be the tattooed face of a man, it does not at any rate have any of the men's tattooing designs known in more recent times. This block was found in a grave in the Ammassalik Fjord and as it is the only, really old evidence of the occurrence of masks or mask-like objects in Greenland, it is a discovery of great interest. Whether it has been an amulet or has been used in any other way is unknown. It may probably have been a memorial image like those known from Alaska belonging to a grave and representing the deceased sealer and his wife.

Usually Eskimo masks are not associated with the dead but rather are used in festivals, rituals, and performances. One type of mask—the sacred mask—was used especially in the hunting festivals of the Alaskan Eskimos and represented those spiritual beings who inhabit the world along with the human beings—the inua. For the festival, which was to please and honour the animals and the powers which controlled them in order to insure good hunting, the shaman directed the carvers in their making of the masks. "Among the Alaskan Eskimo, then, masks portraying the inua seem to have been a component of the shamanistic complex." Although among the Canadian Eskimos the use of masks was not as prevalent nor as elaborate, on Baffin Island the shamans did wear masks in festivals honouring the sea goddess Sedna. Another type of mask, the finger mask, was used by the women in ceremonial dances. From Alaska comes such a mask with smaller faces drawn on it (fig. 32). According to Nelson, who collected it, the four semi-human faces represent mythical beings.

There are numerous Dorset masks. More often than not, unlike the Alaskan ones, they are not of the size to be worn. Instead, they are very tiny. For example fig. 33 which is 3.5 cm. in height.
This early mask, radiocarbon-dated 720 B.C., "implies a well-developed art in the ancestral Pre-Dorset culture although such an art has not yet been delineated by archaeological work." The Tyara mask, like others in Dorset culture, may have depicted the spirit of the shaman or had similar magico-religious uses. There is the possibility, too, that masks may have been used as amulets. Or they were possibly memorials to the dead. Note the Dorset mask from Abverdjar (fig. 34) in comparison to that already discussed from Angmassalik (fig. 31).

The Dorsets represented human faces in other forms too. In fact the ubiquity of this motif would indicate a penchant for this subject on their part. "Human representations, in one form or another, are the most common choice of subjects in Dorset art." In addition to the multiples there are many single representations other than the masks. One outstanding example is a human harpoon head (fig. 35).

This harpoon head, carved from walrus tusk, is of a type typical of the early part of the Dorset culture continuum. Such specimens tipped the toggle-headed harpoons used to hunt seals, bearded seals and walrus. Only rarely do such implements show decoration and this specimen is the most elaborately carved example of its kind. The shallow incised parallel lines are typical of Dorset art but the human face, one of very few carved on Dorset harpoon heads of any period, earns special mention. The broad, rather flat face, strong cheek bones and epicanthic eye folds suggest the Eskimo face so familiar in the historic and modern periods. One can only speculate that perhaps the face was meant to embody, by sympathetic magic, a spirit helper to aid the anxious hunter.

A particularly intriguing single representation from Mansel Island (fig. 36) is reminiscent of the Eskimo Museum multiple.

Petroglyphs

The Dorsets also chose a more unusual form of facial representation. In 1961, Bernard Saladin d'Anglure discovered
petroglyphs (fig. 37) on the north coast of Qikertaaluk Island (near Wakeham Bay). The petroglyphs, on Cape Qajartalik which rises to about 100 feet, are between 60 to 80 feet above high water mark in a deposit of soapstone. He counted 44 carvings in all but thought there were probably more since some could be seen only under certain light conditions and the lichen growing on the surface obscured others. The carvings, in a group covering a fairly small area, are at different heights but all within human reach.

All the carvings seem to represent faces or masks, some of humans, others of animals. The size of these faces does not appear to exceed 8 inches in width and 12 inches in height, but most are much smaller. I noticed two principal types of carving: in one the features of the face were engraved giving a certain relief, in the other the faces were merely scratched on the rock.

d'Anglure divided the first type (1) into two main groups: a) oblong faces and b) round faces. The former (a), of which there are five examples, are characterized by the following (fig. 38): most stylized motifs; some faces surmounted by a hollowed-out circle and generally having a series of engraved lines descending from the chin; depth of engraved lines a little under 1/4". The round faces (b) which comprise 13 of the carvings are characterized by the following (figs. 39 and 40): not completely round but the cheeks are larger than the upper part of the face which is sometimes surmounted by a headdress; mouth rounded and more marked than those of the other group (a); and the engraving deeper. The second type (2), in which the faces are generally smaller and less elaborate than those of type 1, consisted of 26 carvings.

d'Anglure associates their style with that found on Dorset masks and those artifacts which have faces. Taylor corroborates this
conclusion on the basis of the height of the carvings above sea level, their stylistic features, the high ratio of Dorset to Thule artifacts in the collection made by d'Anglure, and Dr. R. Beschel's lichenometric dating of them at some centuries before 1460 A.D.¹⁰⁹

The contemporary Eskimos, according to d'Anglure, do not seem to attach any importance to the petroglyphs. When asked about them they said that they were the heads of devils and that they might have been carved by the old shamans.¹¹⁰ Taylor remarks:

Indeed, even an archaeologist might wonder if these petroglyph sites mark places of special supernatural consequence for Dorset culture residents of that area; are these depictions of dead people and are there graves nearby? Do they copy masks worn by shamans? I find it almost impossible to believe these petroglyphs were only for decoration or amusement. Although I cannot document it, I expect they, and most if not all Dorset art, were concerned with supernatural matters—with shamanism, burial practices, sympathetic magic.¹¹¹

Perhaps the Dorsets, like later Eskimos, venerated certain natural features of the landscape, especially particularly dangerous or unusual places. L. Turner noted that among the Koksoaymiut of Ungava Bay

Every cove of the seashore, every point, island, and prominent rock has its guardian spirit. All are of the malignant type and to be propitiated only by acceptable offerings from persons who desire to visit the locality where it is supposed to reside.¹¹²

In the Egedesminde District of Greenland, not only does every creek and every headland have its own history of resident beings or of events that took place there, but a number of sites are considered dangerous to pass unless a sacrifice is made to the spirit of the place.

One of the best known places of sacrifice of the district is Qalumâ at Kangârssuk, to the north of the outpost Manermiut. On a low, but steep wall of rock a pointed stone stands out a.
little above the water line. This is Qalumê, in all probability the same place of sacrifice as the cave mentioned by Rink. It is true that I did not see any cave there, but then I was only able to inspect the place from a boat, as it is very difficult to land. The place acquired its fame, because a young man by the name of Qalumê went out there, in order that he might in solitude qualify for a conjurer. After a long time, however, his skeleton was found. When on my journey I passed this place with an umiak crew from the primitive Sarfaq dwelling places, I noticed that a few of them, as if it were by chance, threw something into the water.

Did the Dorsets, like the Cape Vancouver Eskimos, make the petroglyph images in memory of people whose dead bodies were never recovered? Or if this were a particularly dangerous place, did they erect some kind of memorial to the dead and/or to the spirit of the spot where many others had met their fate?

On Queen Maud Gulf, among a people who do not even bury their dead, but lay them out on the bare ground, Rasmussen discovered a row of stone cairns which had been erected as monuments to the memory of dead persons lost at sea.\textsuperscript{114} Nothing was known of Dorset burial practices or skeletons until recently when graves of three types; stone vault, stone-lined pit, and gravel mound, were discovered.\textsuperscript{115} Might the late and not extensive grave sampling suggest that the Dorsets disposed of their dead in other ways too--such as sea burial at special places marked by petroglyphs or other features. In this connection it is interesting to note that at Angmassalik, Thalbitzer purchased masks which represented certain deceased persons whom the carver identified by name. Thalbitzer also interviewed an older carver who said that they used their masks for fooling or frightening the children, and "when they [owners] died the masks were thrown into the sea together with their corpses."\textsuperscript{116} Historical Angmassalik masks of this sort (fig. 46) are very similar
both to the early one from the same area (fig. 31 [which may be a memorial image]) and the Dorset mask from Abverdjar (fig. 34). Of course, too, there may be actual graves in the vicinity of the petroglyphs. Or did the Dorsets sometimes choose to end their own lives, either actively or passively, and do so in a spot that traditionally was of particular importance. Later Eskimos, especially the elderly and the ill, would often of their own accord remain behind the others so as not to be a burden. They would die by themselves alone and without subsequent burial.

While d'Anglure was at Wakeham Bay in 1961 he heard of another petroglyph site in the area—either on Torngatok Island or on the mainland across from the island. Taylor mentions yet another site found in 1965-6 but does not identify the location. One must travel far afield to find anything similar to these petroglyphs in the arctic—to Alaska. Here not only Eskimo petroglyphs, but pictographs, have been discovered at places such as Cook Inlet, Prince William Sound, and Kodiak Island.

Eskimo pictographs of human beings in various attitudes discovered by Jenness on the Tuksuk River, inland from Teller, Alaska were believed by the local Eskimos to illustrate battle scenes from the war between themselves and the Siberians who raided that coast for centuries. The paintings from this site as well as those at the other three sites mentioned above are of uncertain age. F. deLaguna considers the pictographs at Cook Inlet and Prince William Sound to be of considerable age. The pictures at these two sites, some of which are of humans and human faces, are quite similar and at both places were made in secret places "probably in connection with whaling rituals
or other hunting magic" and were therefore probably made by shamans or whale-hunters. These rock paintings as well as those from Kodiak Island are associated with Northwest Coast Indian rock carving in varying degrees. The Kodiak petroglyphs which Heizer links with those of the Northwest Coast are attributed to fairly recent Eskimos rather than the earlier occupants of Kodiak.

A number of recognizable subjects as well as indecipherable motifs are portrayed at these three sites. Some of the anthropomorphic figures may have represented spirits. On Kodiak Island in addition to representations of whales, geometric designs, and human beings there are stylized human faces.

Heizer interpreted some of the faces on Cape Alitak as masks, and this explanation might be correct for all the faces there, as well as for our Prince William Sound examples. In one Chugach story a helping spirit was described as "a little mask," and in the whole area shamans made masks to represent their familiars. Since spirits could also change their forms and often appeared in animal or bird guise, according to our informants, it is possible that all of the Pacific Eskimo pictographs and petroglyphs portray such spirit helpers. This interpretation would be consistent with Black Stepan's [a contemporary informant] statement that would-be shamans used to make offerings to the paintings.

According to d'Anglure, these Alaskan faces "are not very close" in style of execution to the Dorset ones at Wakeham Bay.

Taylor, d'Anglure, and Swinton all remark on a stylistic similarity between the petroglyphs and the facial representations on various Dorset items—especially the masks. What are those similarities that the three remark upon? Taylor and Swinton both find the petroglyphs reminiscent of the Dorset multiples. And Swinton suggests that the petroglyphs because of their shapes and their massing, could relate to the mysterious face clusters found at Igloolik and Upernavik
(West Greenland). This last point, however, seems to me somewhat tenuous at present, but not altogether outside the realm of possibility.134

Further support for a theory of similarity between the petroglyphs and the multiples is suggested by the actual distribution of the petroglyph faces. According to Bruemmer: "More than half the petroglyphs we discovered were 'arranged' in groups, the rest were scattered singly over the width and height of the soapstone outcrop."135

Taylor gives a number of specific examples of Dorset sculptures which resemble the petroglyphs. They are:

1) miniature ivory mask from early Dorset Tyara site on Sugluk Island (fig. 33)
2) miniature ivory mask from Igloolik (fig. 42)
3) small wooden figure from Bylot Island (fig. 43)
4) Dorset figurine from Inuarfigssuaq, northwest Greenland (fig. 44)
5) miniature soapstone Dorset mask from Igloolik (fig. 45).
6) multiple from Prince of Wales Island (fig. 19)

All the above and some of the faces on the

have the same distinctive concave upper line of mouth region and a suggestion of alveolar prognathism—a blowing or pursing of lips.136

Although various attributes of the petroglyphs may occur in widely separated places, two wooden carvings, a mask (fig. 46) and a figurine (fig. 47) with the oval gaping mouth and protruding lips, collected at Angmassalik, east Greenland, are of special interest as they date to the nineteenth century.137

Angmassalik occupies a position of particular significance in respect to the Dorset culture. Both archaeological investigations and Angmassalik art itself show strong Dorset elements within this east Greenland culture. Swinton considers the Angmassalik Eskimos to be direct descendants of the Dorsets;136 Meldgaard that they were much
influenced by the Dorset culture, a connection to be particularly noted in regard to Angmassalik art;\textsuperscript{139} Collins that a Dorset origin may be supposed for certain aspects of Angmassalik art, precisely: wooden dolls, wooden carvings with grotesque representations of mythological animals and monsters having tattoo marks and skeleton designs, and wooden masks and other carvings with tattoo marks;\textsuperscript{140} and Taylor that the number of strikingly similar traits of Angmassalik and Dorset art leads to the speculation that Angmassalik art may have perpetuated some Dorset period art styles, and if this were so, then perhaps the Angmassalik culture was in some part derived from Dorset culture.\textsuperscript{141}

**Conclusion**

Historically the Eskimos decorated various objects with representations of human heads. Singly, these were either simply decoration without any ulterior significance or they were of a more serious nature for use as amulets, memorials to the dead, or in divination. In multiple, both historical and contemporary heads were representations and pictorial records of humans—albeit sometimes special ones, of spirits, or of mythological creatures. The contemporary multiples as we have seen are without special significance. Only two historical multiples were anything more than just representations of beings: the amulet which the Eskimo lady with rheumatism wore to ease her pain and the Angmassalik multiple which was thought by Thalbitzer to be an amulet.

Several factors such as the care taken with sculpting, the standardization over time and area, analogy with other Eskimo cultures as well as with both Dorset and other art indicate that the Dorset
multiples had a special significance for their owners. By analogy with historical facial representations, they might have been memorials for the dead, been used in divination, or functioned as amulets. In view of the general consensus that Angmassalik art is associated with that of the Dorset people, is the Angmassalik multiple amulet a late example of the Dorset multiples used for that same purpose? We might note that the Dorset multiples are rather large to be attached as amulets. Then too, they do not have any holes for suspension from clothing, although amulets do not always have such means of attachment. On the other hand, a number of other Dorset artifacts do have appropriate holes and the like. In addition we, like George Swinton, must make a distinction between ceremonial, ritual objects and purely magical objects such as amulets. An amulet may be the actual piece of an animal or it may be a carved representation. Certain animals are known as good helping spirits and often the efficacy of the amulet is determined by which part of the animal is used or represented. These actual parts of the animal or the representations are the symbol of the spirit of the animal or being who will aid and assist one. "An amulet, therefore, is a personal and private magical object that protects the wearer, endows him with special qualities, and enables him to propitiate the necessary spirits who enable him to live life more successfully." Thus the four conjurers on the amulet from Ungava who eased the woman's rheumatism and the spirits on the Angmassalik amulet who would come to the assistance of the owner. (Perhaps the latter belonged to a shaman if, as Thalbitzer suggests, the beings represented on it are the innertiuwin who were chosen as auxiliary spirits by the angakoq.) The same factors that indicate the Dorset multiples were of some special significance also indicate that they were
not amulets but religious; that is, shamanistic, objects. One major point is their complexity. Amulets are simple and private; usually a representation of one or two beings and certainly not 28.

Our analysis of the Dorset multiples is of course further complicated by their stylistic resemblance to the petroglyphs. Are they similar in use and significance or do these resemblances indicate a standardized motif which was used on various religious objects? The Alaskan petroglyphs in comparison were thought to be made in connection with whaling rituals or other hunting magic. The faces at both Kodiak Island and Prince William Sound may have been made by shamans to represent their spirit helpers. Conceivably not only the Dorset petroglyphs, but the multiples (and even the Angmassalik multiple) could be representations of the shaman's helping spirits. Although analogy does suggest various interpretations, we have still to analyse the actual multiples of the Dorsets.
CHAPTER III NOTES

1 Taylor, "Prehistoric Canadian Eskimo Art."


4 Taylor, "Prehistoric Canadian Eskimo Art."


9 Taylor, "Prehistoric Canadian Eskimo Art."


11 Ibid.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.


15 Meldgaard, Eskimo Sculpture, p. 43.

CHAPTER III  NOTES (cont'd)

17 Ibid.


19 Ibid.


21 George Swinton, personal communication, 1974. Note that all the dates for multiples are estimated ones. None of the Dorset multiples has been radiocarbon dated.


24 Taylor and Swinton, "Prehistoric Dorset Art," 45.

25 Ibid.

26 Rowley, "Notes on the Cambridge University Collection," 116. The specimens acquired at Abverdjar were dug on a sloping bank of turf which rises from a height of 23 to 40 feet above the level of the highest tides. Below the turf is a layer of soil, it in turn rests on beach sand, below the sand is white clay. "Specimens were scattered over every part of the bank in the layer of soil above the sand and on the sand itself but not within it, nor in the uppermost layer of turf." Graham Rowley, "The Dorset Culture of the Eastern Arctic," *American Anthropologist*, n.s. XLII (1940), 491.

27 Rowley, "Notes on the Cambridge University Collection," 120.


29 Ibid.
CHAPTER III NOTES (cont'd)

30 Rowley, "Notes on the Cambridge University Collection," 120.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid., 116.

33 Ibid. Also see note 26 above.

34 Ibid., 120.


36 Sculpture/Inuit (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Canadian Eskimo Arts Council, 1971), note to illus. 363.


38 Ibid.

39 Ibid.


42 Sculpture/Inuit, note to illus. 363.


44 Masterpieces of Indian and Eskimo Art from Canada, note to illus. 6.

45 Medlgaard, Eskimo Sculpture, pp. 25-6.

46 Rowley, "Notes on the Cambridge University Collection," 120.

CHAPTER III  NOTES (cont'd)

48 Rowley, "Notes on the Cambridge University Collection," 120.

49 Incidentally, on comparison of #3 and #4 I can see nothing to support Rowley's suggestion that the two were possibly made by the same artist. From the style—as little as one can determine from such a small sampling—it is doubtful. Certainly they are from the same settlement, but not necessarily by the same hand.


51 Taylor and Swinton, "Prehistoric Dorset Art," 38.

52 Ibid., 45.

53 Collins writes: "Of the Canadian examples, two are from the Igloolik area, Melville Peninsula. Both are of antler, one with seven and one with 28 faces." "Eskimo Cultures," 25. None of the Dorset carvings from the Igloolik area has seven faces. At the time Collins wrote this (c. 1961), only two of the Igloolik carvings, #2 and #3, had been published. As Collins in personal communication (June 12, 1973) did not indicate knowledge of any multiples from Igloolik other than those listed within this paper, and as #2 has seven faces on one side—the side usually published, we can conclude that he is referring to the carving in the Eskimo Museum.

At this point I would like to point out another discrepancy which causes some confusion as to the number and origin of Dorset multiples. In his article "The Origin and Antiquity of the Eskimo," Smithsonian Institution Report for 1950 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1951), p. 446 Collins refers to two Greenland carvings which are possibly Dorset. One is from the Egedesminde district and the other from the Angmassalik district. However in "Eskimo Cultures," 25, he refers to two Dorset Greenland multiples, one from the Umanak district and one from Disko Bay. Birket-Smith first published the one from Upernivik, or Umanaq as he calls it, in the "Ethnography of the Egedesminde District," 124. We have already discussed the one from Angmassalik. This still leaves the Disko Bay one to be accounted for. Neither personal communication with Collins (1973) nor research has resolved this problem.


55 Ibid., 25-6.
CHAPTER III NOTES (cont'd)

56. The Vinland Sagas, trans. with an intro. by Magnus Magnusson and Hermann Palsson (New York: New York University Press, 1966), p. 27. This excerpt is taken from Ari Thorgilsson's Íslandengabók (Book of Icelanders), written around 1127—the earliest extant work on Icelandic history. Ibid., p. 22.

Note that the Eastern and Western settlements of the Norse are both on the west coast of Greenland. The western one was farther north and west. Helge Ingstad, Westward to Vinland, trans. by Erik J. Friis (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1969), p. 15.


58. Jones, Norse Atlantic Saga, p. 60 and Ingstad, Westward to Vinland, p. 22.

59. Ingstad, Westward to Vinland, p. 22.


61. Ingstad, Westward to Vinland, p. 222.


63. Ingstad, Westward to Vinland, p. 205.

64. Ibid., pp. 167–8 and Jones, Norse Atlantic Saga, p. 91.

65. Ingstad, Westward to Vinland, pp. 135 and 151.

66. Ibid., p. 151.

67. Ibid., p. 141.

68. See for example Thomas E. Lee, Archaeological Findings, Gyrfalcon to Eider Islands, Ungava, 1968, Travaux divers 27 (Université Laval, Québec: Centre d'Études Nordiques, 1969).

69. Ingstad, Westward to Vinland, p. 179.

CHAPTER III NOTES (cont'd)


75. Birket-Smith, "Ethnography of the Egedesminde District," 448.


77. See p. 20.


82. Thalbitzer, "Ethnographical Collections from East Greenland," 636 footnote.

83. Meldgaard, Eskimo Sculpture, p. 45.

84. Ibid., p. 33.

CHAPTER III NOTES (cont'd)

86 Murdoch, "Point Barrow Expedition," p. 386.


90 *Ibid*.


95 *Ibid*.


98 *Masterpieces of Indian and Eskimo Art from Canada*, note to illus. 1.

99 *Ibid*.

100 *Ibid.*, note to illus. 4.

101 *Ibid.*, note to illus. 3.


CHAPTER III NOTES (cont'd)

104 Fred Bruemmer, "The Petroglyphs of Hudson Strait," The Beaver (Summer, 1973), 35.


106 Ibid.

107 Ibid.

108 Ibid., 11.


110 d'Anglure, "Petroglyphs near Wakeham Bay," 11.

111 Taylor and Swinton, "Prehistoric Dorset Art," 44.


113 Birket-Smith, "Ethnography of the Egedesminde District," 220.


117 Taylor and Swinton, "Prehistoric Dorset Art," 44. See also Bruemmer; "Petroglyphs of Hudson Strait," 33.

118 d'Anglure, "Petroglyphs near Wakeham Bay," 11-12.


CHAPTER III NOTES (cont'd)


125 Ibid.

126 Ibid., p. 109.

127 Heizer, "Petroglyphs from Kodiak Island," pp. 284 and 293.


130 deLaguna, *Chugach Prehistory*, p. 108.

131 d'Anglure, "Petroglyphs near Wakeham Bay," 11.


133 Taylor and Swinton, "Prehistoric Dorset Art," 44-5.

134 Ibid., 45.

135 Bruemmer, "Petroglyphs of Hudson Strait," 35.


137 Ibid.
CHAPTER III NOTES (cont'd)


142 Taylor and Swinton, "Prehistoric Dorset Art," 37.

What about the actual multiples themselves? We find in size they range from 4 1/2" to 8 1/4" in height with three of them in the general area of 5" to 6". However, they do vary in shape; three are long and narrow while the Eskimo Museum piece and the one in the National Museum, Copenhagen are more block-like, although the latter's mass is broken by the strong vertical thrust of the lone head rising above the others.

All the carvings are of antler with the exception of #1 which is wood. Certainly on those of antler the faces have been applied to the antler without altering its original shape. We do not know what the original configuration of the wood was, but the artist did not try to emulate the antler shape.

Three of the carvings are from Abverdjar. Two were systematically excavated while the one in the Eskimo Museum was acquired under less scientific conditions as were the two from Prince of Wales Island and Upernivik. We know that Rowley found #3 and #4 in situ while excavating a pure Dorset site. In view of their mode of acquisition only these two can assuredly be considered Dorset. By association #2 can be classified with certainty since it was collected at the same Dorset site. In publication and discussion #5 is considered Dorset with the possible exception of the Sculpture/Inuit catalogue where it is
listed simply as "before 1939." Stylistically all the Canadian multiples are similar and one would not hesitate to group #2, 3, 4, and 5 together.

Stylistic grounds seem to be the only justification for dating the carving from Greenland as Dorset. Even so, the carving is less a solid mass than the Canadian ones. The one lone head rising up out of the mass of the others in the base is disturbingly different from the antler multiples. In the latter the faces are treated in a similar manner; the people are individual but equal, whereas in the Upernivik sculpture there is an emphasis on the head that rises above the others. In fact, it is the only head in full three dimension on any multiple; all the others are faces in varying degrees of relief. The terminal faces at the top of #2 and the bottom of #5 are not defined on the sides nor the back and are to be viewed from the front only.

Amongst the various carvings there are also a number of approaches to the utilization of the surfaces of the medium; both in how the faces are distributed and how much of the surface they cover. #5 is carved on only one part of one side while the concave back is left blank. The faces on the side worked are all close together in one unit—almost as though they were arranged into first one face, then three pairs, then one more face. #2 and #4 have two sides, a definite front and back, both of which are carved. On #2 the faces appear to be scattered and not all of the surface on either side is utilized. #4 has three faces one above the other at the bottom, middle, and top with unworked antler between each. The fourth face is on the other side, behind and a bit above the bottom face.

The surfaces of #1 and #3 are essentially covered with faces except for the odd small area and on #3 a narrow vertical strip. The
faces on #3 are not all in rows but there is a general inclination to arrange them so. #1 also shows organization into several rows although the rest of the faces are scattered about and fitted in here and there. As we can see there is not a consistent approach to the medium in any of the sculptures and although several of them at first look as though every available space was filled—on all of them there are unworked areas.

Particularly noteworthy is the number of faces. In some cases as on #1 and #2 they are difficult to distinguish. And in fact #2 is recorded variously as having 16 or 17 faces. When I first analysed the carvings I was using the former figure and on comparison with the other multiples was struck by the fact that the number of faces on all of the carvings was four or some multiple of that number; that is, 20, 28, and so on. Not only does it seem most unlikely that this is fortuitous; historically, the number four has been recorded to have special significance among the Eskimos.¹ "The number four seems to possess some mystic virtue, especially in Alaska."²

The Number Four

Various tales tell of its connection with the belief in supernatural powers.

In the creation legend the Raven waved his wing four times over the clay images to endow them with life. The first man in the same legend slept four years at the bottom of the sea. The Raven was absent four days in the sky-land when he went to bring berries to the earth. The Whale in which the Raven entered, in another tale, was four days in dying. In the tale of the Strange Boy, from the Yukon, the hero slept in the kashim every fourth night. The woman in the tale of the Land of Darkness, from Sledge island, was told to take four steps, and these transported her to her home from a great distance.³

In various Eskimo ceremonies there were strict ritual observances of actions, events, clothing, props, and so on. Four was a
prominent ritual choice. For example on Little Diomede Island during the umiak launching event "the crew [usually four] howled like dogs or wolves four times." For the Bladder Festival at Kushunuk there were dances by sets of four men. These men, each carrying a kayak paddle, entered the kashim and went to the four corners and then marched about. They also brought in four dishes of food and waved flaming parsnip stalks toward the four cardinal directions. On the fourth day of the Bladder Festival at St. Michael the bladders were put back into the sea and a circuit made of the room four times.

Most western Eskimos had two ritual numbers: four or five. Four was more literally the ritual number, as shown by the marching or dancing in a circle four times in some of the boat-launching rites and Bladder Festivals and the groups of four dancers in Hunting Festivals. Five was observed in life-crises and religious belief, but rarely in ceremonials.

A distinction in the use of four and five was also made on the basis of sex. In the wolf ritual observed by the Noatak and Utorquq River inland Eskimo:

In this wolf ritual the most prominent single element is the distinction between the numbers for male and female, a characteristic of northwest Alaska, applying to human beings and animals. If a male wolf had been taken, everything was done four times; if a female, then five times.

Four was also a favourite choice in delineating the duration of tabus. The Eskimo observed an elaborate system of tabus in the hopes of eliciting favour from the spiritual forces which controlled his life. The tabu was observed for a certain period of time; usually four or five days. Although a great number of tabus had to do with hunting—that which supplied practically all his material needs—the Eskimo also had to treat the spirits of the dead with great caution.

The phenomenon of death, with its suggestion of the flight of some invisible spirit entity, life, into another sphere, offers a ready answer as to how the spirit world becomes
peopled. The departing soul enters a sphere where it can take part in the governing of unpredictable and inexplicable events of worldly life.\textsuperscript{11}

The duration of mourning for the dead was for a specific length of time—generally four or five days.\textsuperscript{12} During this time a rigid system of tabus and requirements controlled the Eskimo's activities.\textsuperscript{13} Usually the longer period was observed in the event of a woman's death as she was considered to have an especially dangerous capacity to cause contamination.\textsuperscript{14} Also the length of time that the soul was believed to sojourn in the body or on this earth, or in some other sphere determined the duration of the mourning. That might be four days (years) or four or five depending on the sex of the deceased or other circumstances.

On the lower Kuskokwim river [Alaska] the Eskimo believe that the shade of a male stays with the body until the fifth day after his death; the shade of a female remains with the body for four days. On the Yukon and among the Eskimo to the north the shades of men and women alike are believed to remain with the body four days after death.\textsuperscript{15}

Among the Koksoagmiut (Ungava Bay, Hudson Strait) "if death results from natural causes the spirit is supposed to dwell on earth after having undergone a probation of four years' rest in the grave."\textsuperscript{16}

In North America, not only the Eskimos but the Indians too observed four or five as sacred numbers.\textsuperscript{17} Among the Asiatic Eskimos and the Ob Ugrians of Siberia, it was believed that men had five souls and women four.\textsuperscript{18} This distinction was evident in many Ugrian rites and concepts. In the bear festival ritual, the she-bear had four and the he-bear five clasps on the fur coat; they played at being a she-bear four nights and a he-bear five; four or five songs respectively were sung at the beginning of each night's activities.\textsuperscript{19}

From this we see that historically at least four was a number of special significance for the Eskimo. This number was of prominent
importance in rituals and festivals but was also connected with mourning for the dead. Might the Dorset multiples, then, be associated with the dead and/or death?

Graves, Grave Furnishings, and Death

Although the multiple from Greenland was associated with a grave—as none of the others apparently were—we know only that it was an "old grave" at Upernivik. As the carving was not found by excavation, but simply forwarded to the museum, we do not know the age, context, nor significance of the actual grave. That the other multiples are not associated with graves is not surprising. According to Taylor, art pieces and human bones are very rare in Dorset sites. He mentions only one other instance of grave furnishings being found in a Dorset context in addition to his find at Tyara; Meldgaard's excavation at Kapuivik. 20 The Tyara site yielded three small carvings of bear's heads and foreparts, two of which were found in a fragmented ivory sheath, in the same trench, at the same level and square as human bones. 21 Harp records Dorset grave furnishings from Port aux Choix, Newfoundland which included such items as amulets, bone artifacts, and implements but nothing at all resembling a multiple. 22 The fact that not only are Dorset grave furnishings most unusual but that the furnishings found so far are not multiples (the Upernivik piece may be Dorset, but we do not know whether the grave was) 23 would indicate that Dorset multiple carvings were not associated with the actual burials.

However from another, perhaps related, culture comes a variety of multiple which does occur in a burial context. The Ipiutak culture of Alaska, c. 300 A.D., 24 has been associated with the Dorset culture by Birket-Smith, Larsen, and others 25 for a number of reasons including;
similarities in economic orientation, various implement types, and absence of the following; bow drill, whale hunting, and dog sleds. The art of these two cultures also exhibits certain similarities. According to Taylor:

If Dorset art, like the bulk of Dorset culture, grew out of Pre-Dorset, then there surely must have been an ancestral art form in Denbigh Flint complex. As there is some manner of cultural continuity over the 2,000 years from the Denbigh to Ipiutak perhaps, then, Ipiutak art is the final Alaskan culmination of an art tradition nurtured by Denbigh hunters. If these too-facile explanations be approximately correct, then the parallels between old Alaskan and Dorset art would be explainable by their having had a common ancestry in the Denbigh Flint complex and its religious art.

Larsen and Rainey's excavations at Ipiutak disclosed, in Burial 21, four antler tubes resting on the chest of the buried body (figs. 48 and 49).

All the tubes have anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figures incised on the surface; two also have geometric designs. Schematic human faces are the most frequently repeated motive. Some of the faces, with realistic eyes and an open mouth with teeth are easily recognized as such; the others are more or less conventionalized, but have some or all of the following features: eyes, nose, mouth, tattoo marks, and labrets.

Although nothing in the actual burial indicated the function of these tubes, a similar undecorated tube found at the same site contained arrowheads. Hollowed antlers of this sort, often with incised decoration, were used as containers by Alaskan Eskimos in historical times. Nelson and Murdoch recorded them as fungus ash boxes and trinket boxes respectively.

Similar faces occur on other objects from Ipiutak, including: 1) an ornamental band (fig. 50), 2) a pendant, 3) a human head (fig. 51), 4) a fragmentary tube, and 5) a piece of walrus tusk. The significance of these faces represented either singly or in multiple is not known.
Larsen and Rainey assume that the single heads were shamanistic paraphernalia. "That they have some spiritual significance is evident because one carving [fig. 52 #4] definitely represents a human skull." And they think it improbable that the faces incised on the antler tubes are purely decorative. For one reason the faces on the tube represented on the left in fig. 48 do not fit in with the geometric design. "They seem to have been superimposed regardless of the basic pattern which they definitely disturb." According to Larsen and Rainey the faces on the antler tubes exhibit a noticeable similarity to petroglyphs on Kodiak Island (fig. 41). The majority of these petroglyphs also represent human faces, not outlined, and consist of eyes, nose, mouth, and labrets, as do the Ipiutak faces. We also find the characteristic Y-shaped figure on the nose and forehead. The nose on some of the Kodiak figures ends in a circle, for which we have no parallel at Ipiutak. They suggest that the Kodiak petroglyphs are an intermediate link between the Ipiutak schematic faces and petroglyphs from southeastern Alaska and British Columbia. As we have seen, the Dorset multiples—especially that in the ROM—are also associated with petroglyphs; but in contradistinction to the Ipiutak carvings, they are similar to petroglyphs of that same culture (Dorset) rather than a later one. Coincidentally this same ROM piece is cited by Jenness as a Dorset parallel to the human heads from Ipiutak illustrated in fig. 52. What about the actual faces on the Dorset multiples? As already mentioned, at least one carving (#3) has a face with tattoo marks on the chin and forehead in the traditional Eskimo fashion. And certainly all the faces on this carving, as Rowley remarks, look like typical Eskimos. Whether we accept Collins' identification of some
of the faces as Indian and/or Norse or not, it seems that the majority—if not all—of the faces could only be representations of Eskimos.

Previously we established that for a number of reasons the multiples were of some particular significance and the faces not just portraits. In other Eskimo art sculptural reproductions may represent certain people but the sculpture is not a portrait per se. The carving may be identified either verbally or in context as one particular person, but it is not a photographic representation. The memorial images from Alaska and the masks from Angmassalik represent dead people but from the masks we would not recognize the particular person if we saw him in person. As we have seen, multiples were not burial furnishings; but is it possible that they were in some such similar way associated with the dead. That is, were they memorials for the dead? Perhaps they commemorate those whose bodies were not recovered and therefore could not be buried in the proper fashion. In this case the multiples would tie in with the petroglyphs—which too might be memorials—to which they are stylistically similar.

There is the possibility too that the multiples did not depict the dead but those whom one wanted to be dead. Hunters of the Angmassalik culture had certain helping spirits known as tupilaks. Only recently have the Greenlanders made actual sculptures of them (fig. 53). Originally they were constructed of odd animal bones, peat, and bits of blanket. After having given this construction life by means of a few magical words, the owner sent it off to harm the enemy. Magic of this sort, however, seems to have taken a different form among the Dorsets. A number of wooden carvings of animals from Button Point have slits cut into the body between the shoulder blades into which a sliver of wood has been pushed (fig. 54). "It clearly suggests the widespread tribal belief in
sympathetic magic—killing an effigy of the animal to assure hunting success." Carvings of humans from the same site had a slit at the throat or in the chest (fig. 55). Perhaps then, the Dorsets had an established means of this sort for controlling or harming others—a means not foreign to a number of hunting peoples.

Swinton suggests that these wooden figures of animals and humans "do not simply imply hunting or similar sympathetic magic, but should be considered protection against animal spirits and against humans (or shamans) that 'had to be killed'." As we note, all of these images are singular ones with no particular emphasis on the head of the creature; and the intended damage is actually committed on the sculpture itself. As the multiples are so different stylistically and as they have no obvious markings on them other than facial features, it seems unlikely that they were used in a manner similar to that of these wooden animal and human figures—whatever it may have been.

Head-Lifting

Another aspect of the possible association of the multiples with death—albeit a more positive aspect—is suggested by the human faces represented on the shoulders of the Greenland tupilak (fig. 53). "On each shoulder is a face, probably spirits, which according to old beliefs were present in all joints, and looked like small human beings the size of a thumb." The Eskimos believed that the departure of the soul from the body resulted in illness and eventual death. The Polar Eskimos always attributed a person's illness and death to the loss of the soul. The Angmassalik Eskimos believed that "in every part of the human body
(particularly in every joint, as for instance, in each finger joint) there resides a little soul, and if a part of the man's body is sick, it is because the little soul has abandoned that part." Like other inexplicable misfortunes, sickness was attributed to the machinations of supernatural agencies who were evilly disposed toward one or who were punishing one for some offence such as breach of tabu, sacrilege, and so on. These higher powers drove out or removed the soul from the body and death would result unless the missing soul was reinstated.

As the shaman was the one who could communicate with these spiritual beings who had such control over man's life, it was part of his job to heal the sick—it was he who had to find the departed soul. To do this he consulted with his helping spirits to determine what had caused the soul to depart and enlisted their aid in effecting its return to its home. Among the Igloolik Eskimos:

As long as a shaman is treating a sick person, he must devote himself entirely to this work, and at certain definite times of the day ... he invokes his helping spirits. This is done as a rule four times during the twenty four hours: morning, noon, evening and night.

To ascertain what offence (religious not social) the person had committed to provoke this soul removal, certain supernatural signs were observed. The outstanding means of divination used by the Eskimos clear across the arctic was the process of head-weighing.

By this method the Eskimos sometimes seek to determine guilt or innocence in the matter of breaking taboos, often with the aim of determining the cause of illness. "Head-weighing" is not limited to these purposes, however, but is applicable for other sorts of divination.

The usual method was to pass a strap or thong around the head of the recumbent person by which a second person lifted the head up and down. Whether the head felt heavy or light determined the answer to the question
asked. (Out of nine references to head-weighing from the Chukchi of Siberia to the Eskimos in Labrador, Weyer found seven cases in which a heavy head meant an affirmative answer, light negative, while the other two had the opposite interpretation.)

If this means was used in the case of illness, it was usually the sick person's head which was weighed. Often the shaman himself did the lifting but in other cases some qualified person might weigh the head. Boas includes the description of a head-lifting event attended by Captain Comer.

One evening he entered a snowhouse where the performance was in process. The lights had not been turned out, but all the children had been sent away. The wife of the house-owner lay on her bed, covered with a blanket. A strap was tied around her head, which was held by her husband, who was sitting on the edge of the bed-platform. It was said that the spirit of the man's grandfather had entered the woman, and that he would answer any questions put to her. If the answer was in the affirmative, the head would prove to be heavy, but otherwise it would be easily lifted. The strap used to raise the head was one worn by an angakok. There were attached to it a number of pieces or strips of skin, which show the number of diseases which the angakok has cured. The questions put generally referred to the transgression of taboos.

In some cases such as among the Eskimos of Bering Strait and Cumberland Sound, the thong passed around the person's head was attached to the end of a special stick which was held by the shaman. Among the Eskimos of the latter area divination took the following form:

A thong is placed around the head of a person who lies down next to the patient. He is called the "keleyak." The thong is attached to the end of a stick which is held in hand by the angakok, called in this case the "keleyew." Then the latter summons the soul of a dead person. As soon as it appears, the head of the keleyak becomes so heavy that it cannot be lifted. Now he asks, "Is the soul of so and so present?" If he mentions the correct name, the head cannot be lifted. Then he continues to ask questions as to the nature and outcome of the disease, which are supposed to be answered by the soul of the dead person, which makes it impossible for the head to be lifted if the answer is affirmative,
while the head is raised easily if the answer is negative. As soon as the soul of the departed leaves, the head can be moved without difficulty. In Greenland also a stick was employed. Here the head-weighing was done by a shamaness of a secondary status. The female priest-doctor, called *gilasoq* or *gilalik*, was a woman who had a subterranean, oracular spirit (*qila*). Her *quila* stick was fastened in a band wound about the head of one of the housemates of the patient. She then lifted and weighed the head.

While she recites her spells to call and consult the spirit under the floor of the hut she lifts and lowers alternately the other's head by means of the stick. If the head is easily lifted it is a sign that the patient will recover. But if it seems heavy to lift the illness is dangerous.

Thalbitzer describes one such *quila* stick (fig. 56):

It is a short stick of bone, cleft above, and at the other end supplied with a screwthread probably to enable it to be screwed into the basal end of a wooden handle. The cleft or Y-shaped end of the stick is made of a forked reindeer antler.

For divination by weighing other parts of the body such as a leg or foot could also be used. Even a coat bundled up would suffice. Among the Copper Eskimos the spirits might speak not through a human, but a special spirit stick. That is, a stick was lifted and weighed rather than a human part. Both the shamans and the uninitiated could commune with the spirits by weighing this spirit stick. Another variant of this method was used by the Caribou Eskimos.

Besides ordinary shamanizing, these people also know the usual qilaneq, only here they use a special qidlât staff, an ordinary stick to which the shaman belt is tied [fig. 57]. A piece of skin is then laid over the shaman belt itself, and the spirit comes up in the usual manner through the ground. When a spirit, for instance qaluheraut, was to be summoned, the charm for this form of qilaneq was: "... you must now enlighten these people who wish to know what is hidden; come here, qaluheraut, come". This was repeated time after time until the staff became so heavy that one could no longer lift either it or the shaman belt, quite in the same manner
as a qilineq proceeds by lifting another person's head with a thong. As soon as the shaman staff becomes heavy, it means that the spirit is present, and its advice may then be asked.58

From the preceding we can see to what a great extent the Eskimos relied on that most popular method of divination—head-weighing. The head itself, some other part of the body, or some other item might be lifted with a thong or with a thong/stick apparatus. In other cases a special stick—used especially for this purpose—might be weighed.

It was established earlier that a nomadic peoples, living under the conditions that the Dorsets did, would not burden themselves with frivolous items. Surely they might make objects which were neither functional nor religious, but they certainly would not standardize them nor cart them about.

At first sight the multiples do not look like they could possibly be used for anything. They have no holes, no prongs, no attachments. Each is an unaltered piece of antler (wood) with an incised decoration. If the original shape was not changed, could the Dorsets have had a use for varying shaped pieces of antler? I think the answer here is not the antler or wood shape but the decoration; that is, that which is standard to them all. All of the multiples are decorated with human heads. In functional or religious items the symbolism is often associated with the particular use of that object. What more suitable decoration for a head-lifting stick than heads? We know that historically, the Eskimos resorted to divination and that head-weighing was the most popular means. Granted, the historical head-lifting sticks were not decorated. But we must keep in mind the fact that the Dorsets were more decoratively inclined than their successors, especially on objects of magico-religious significance. Could the Dorsets, then, have employed these multiples
for head-weighing or for divination by lifting? Although the historical examples of weighing sticks do not exhibit a striking similarity to Dorset multiples, the possibility of the latter being used in this context is feasible. Technically, the multiples—both antler and wood—would be strong enough to be employed in lifting a human head. Strength of the stick is of no concern in the divination with a special stick such as used by the Caribou and Copper Eskimos when it was just the stick that was lifted. Then too, the Dorsets may have originally used the stick for head-weighing and eventually as they changed over to stick-lifting, continuing to use the same stick, the decorative motif remained the same. What is the difference between weighing a head and weighing a stick with heads on it? Especially as it is the Eskimos' practice to animate inanimate objects.

If this is the case, the multiples were used for supernatural purposes rather than everyday matters of physical survival. They are a part of the shaman's or shamaness' paraphernalia; they are religious items and functional in that other world which affects one's physical survival—the spiritual. Certainly religion plays a significant role in later Eskimo life.

It is a notorious fact that Eskimo culture and daily life is pervaded throughout by a spirit of religion. Not only is the greater part of the unwritten Eskimo literature of a mythical and ritualistic character, but we find a religious atmosphere haunting even their profane legends and historical or semi-historical tales. Living under the conditions that they did, their livelihood influenced by so many unknown and inexplicable things, we are not surprised that they should deal with the unknown through magic, tabus, and other religious observances. And the shaman was their go-between with the spirits. It was he who dealt with these spirits to get back the lost
souls of those who were sick. What were these souls that the shaman had to keep in order?

The North American Eskimos in their religious beliefs generally distinguish only three sorts of human souls.

One of them is the immortal spirit which leaves a person's body at death and goes to live in the future world; a second, which is conceived as the vital breath and warmth of the body, ceases to exist at death; and a third sort of soul is thought to abide in the person's name. Though the name-soul is not exactly a soul in the usual connotation of the word, it is thought to possess abstract traits of the person to whom it refers and to persist after his death.  

This second soul is of particular importance when one recalls that the blowing gesture is a facial configuration common to the Dorset petroglyphs, a number of Dorset carvings (including multiples), and two Angmassalik carvings.

The identification of the breath as the spirit of life is a concept which the Eskimos hold along with many other peoples. It might be mentioned that this concept and the association of the idea of the soul with bodily warmth might naturally be reinforced in a region where the climate is cold most of the time.

One of the Ob Ugrian's souls, which appears primarily only after death, is rarely visible during the person's life. If it is seen—by moonlight is easiest—it appears in varying aspects as a person, bird, or mosquito. The head is frequently cited as the dwelling place of this soul, either on the brow or in the head. If it resides in the latter, when the shaman brings this soul back in his clenched fist (for the soul may leave the person's body during his life and the person cannot live for long without it) he blows it in through the patient's right ear.

George Swinton mentions the open mouth which frequently occurs on Dorset bear figures, a tradition that he observed to exist (or persist)
in the contemporary Canadian Eskimo carvings of several areas such as Arctic Bay, Povungnituk, and Repulse Bay. "The open mouth of the shamanic 'bear-human' obviously refers to the expression *ani'ksa'tuk*—he breathes, relating to *ani'nit*—the soul, and to the *angakok* (the spirit man), the shaman who on his 'spirit journey' has assumed the soul form—the permanent form of being."\(^{64}\)

Another interesting possibility in this connection would be that those Kodiak petroglyphs which represent faces with the nose ending in a circle (fig. 41) could have the same interpretation; that is, a blowing gesture which was associated with the soul and with life.

In view of the above information, one might reasonably conclude that the multiples were 1) associated with and represented the souls lost during illness or the spirits responsible for the soul loss or, perhaps more likely, the spirits who aided with the soul's return 2) and that the head- or stick- (shaman's stick) weighing done during illness to determine what offences had been committed to incur this loss of soul was with the multiple and 3) that the blowing motion of the mouths was associated with a type of soul which was the vital breath and warmth of the body, either to hasten its return or to replace it in the body. The Dorsets, like the Ob Ugrians, may even have identified the head as the dwelling place of this soul and/or visualized the soul to look like a human as did the Greenlanders in their representations of spirits (souls) on tupilaks. Since it is the spirits who take or remove the souls and other spirits who return them, and since historically spirits are associated with certain aspects of the natural landscape, might the petroglyphs have some similar function in propitiating certain spirits in the area where the glyphs were incised?
Religious Significance

If we can never know for certain whether the Dorsets did do head-lifting or stick-weighing and that the multiples were used in this context, the evidence indicates that the carvings were inextricably connected with the religious concepts of the Dorset people. To reiterate: the multiples have been found in three different places extending over 10,000 square miles. Certain stylistic similarities connect not only the multiples, but the multiples with petroglyphs at yet another place. If one may make a comparison with the iconography of other art—western or eastern, primitive or not—we note that those symbols and motifs which are most constant over a large geographical area and/or an extended period of time are the religious ones.

Just the fact that they are quite elaborately decorated indicates a particular significance; and among the Dorsets, like other Eskimos, that would most surely be religious. Even the mouth formation itself associates the carvings with religious concepts if we accept the connection, previously postulated, between the breath and one of the human souls.

Another very particular factor is the number of faces. The number four had ritual significance for the Eskimos in historical times, not only in their ceremonies and festivals, but in mourning tabus and other religious connections. Having an event take place a specified number of times, or for a particular length of time, or representing a motif an established number of times makes things part of a system, a ritual; it makes them more effective. Incidently in this connection; according to Larsen, in the decoration of Ipiutak objects: "Four parallel, equally spaced, longitudinal lines are so common that they could be called the trademark of the Ipiutak culture."65
If various factors, such as their widespread and standardized occurrence, their very probable connection with souls, and the ritual number of faces, indicate association of the multiples with Dorset religion; the use of the human face along with other motifs of a religious nature and/or on religious objects confirm this association. One such example is not Dorset; but from the Enets of Siberia. The Enets are a small group of eastern Samoyeds who even in the 1930's (when the items discussed were acquired) still retained ancient animistic concepts in their religious beliefs. Part of the Enets shamaness' costume consisted of a breastpiece onto which were fastened five crescent-shaped plates, 14 to 23 cm. in length. Three of them in brass, have a stamped ornamentation. "Two of them (one of iron, the other of copper) have seven projections, portraying the seven faces of seven 'sky people' (nga kasa, kikho)." (See fig. 58.)

On flat, stylized, semi-abstract Dorset "bears in flight" from Ellesmere and Mansel Islands are appropriate holes or projections to represent the eyes, nose, and mouth of human faces (fig. 59). "The human face on the inverted bear shapes might well personify the shaman on a spirit flight or might also refer directly to the bear-spirit-helper." This bear-spirit-helper might be the mystic bear Tornatâik or Tõrnârussuk of the Greenlanders which they held to be the most prominent helping spirit. He manifested himself in numerous forms, sometimes man, sometimes bear, sometimes other combinations of creatures.

Single human heads are very common in Dorset art but there are also cases where more than one head occurs on an object. Unlike the multiples, these heads are used together with other decorative motifs on the same object. Such is the case with the shaman utensil kits.
Two intact examples have both human faces and animals partly or wholly represented. They each have two walrus heads with the tusks meeting on the top of the kit. In addition, the kit from southern Ellesmere Island (fig. 60) has two human faces chin to chin on each side of the kit, making four in all. The other kit (fig. 61), which incidently is made of walrus tusk, has in addition to the walrus heads on top, one human face and a seal on one side; another face and a spread-eagle bear on the other. 71 Two utensil kit fragments have, like the complete ones, what appear to be walrus heads on the top and one of the kits has a hole on the side of the type used on other kits to represent human facial features.

The walrus, bear, and seal are all important animals of the hunt and, perhaps because of this, animals which received particular attention from the Dorsets.

The sculpture of the Dorset artists is more stylised when it reproduces the important beasts of the chase. Here magic appears to play a role; the objects have a function. Walrus, seal and polar bear take on more rigid and conventional forms, and are decorated, with a Christmas-tree design to represent the skeleton. 72

This skeletal motif most certainly was magical. 73 After human representations, those of bears are the most numerous. 74 In some cases they are stained with red ochre which was utilized in other instances by shamans and has occurred in Dorset burials. Historically the bear had a prominent role in shamanism and Bear ceremonialism occurs circumpolarly. 75 With the walrus there seems to be an emphasis on the head, both in sculpture and in burial. In a Dorset grave at Alarnerk the upper jaw bones and halved tusks of a walrus were found near a fireplace containing ashes, burned animal bones and red ochre. 76
In view of these particular examples of heads—either singly or in multiple—used on religious objects, and in view of those attributes of the actual multiples which indicate religious connotations, it seems conclusive that the multiples of human heads, like so much of Dorset art, were religious items. As Swinton states:

I am reasonably convinced that most, if not all, Dorset art is not only magical, but probably highly specialized (and "professional") shaman's art... In this connection, we should also like to suggest that the highly developed and exquisitely shaped objects are not the work of occasional carvers, far less mere whittlings, but the carefully planned and considered work of specialists (either the shamans or their helpers), who knew the traditions of form as well as of content, and who applied them in a carefully handed down traditional manner. It is by no means unreasonable to conceive of a Dorset artist-shaman (or a shaman-artist) as the main producer of such art.77

Other Possible Uses

Certainly a multiple used for head-lifting would be part of the shaman's professional equipment, but perhaps the multiple had other different or additional functions of a religious nature. We have already seen the procedures undertaken by the historical Eskimo shaman in his healing of the sick, including the use at times of his special shaman's stick. From the Enets of Siberia comes an interesting example of such a shaman's stick. The Enets shamans, like their North American Eskimo counterparts, mediated between the people and the spirits of the sky and earth who were responsible for luck in hunting, health, and the life of man.78

The shamans of the highest category had also a staff or wand . . ., which was forged of iron [fig. 62]. At the tip of the handle a face was depicted—the "master" of the staff. The lower end usually was fashioned like a deer hoof. The staff was used by shamans for treatment of the sick and for conducting the souls of the dead to the next
world," i.e., in all instances in which the shaman was faced with taking the "road to the lower world," especially when there was the prospect of "crossing the icy road, separating the visible world from the lower, invisible world." There, "it is cold, and the shaman went bent forward, covering his face with the handle of the staff so that the cold wind hit the face of the spirit-master of the staff. 79

Although it is noted above that the Enets shaman staff was used for the treatment of the sick, the exact nature of its function in this capacity is not given. Perhaps then the Dorset multiple, instead of, or in addition to, its use as a divining object, was used in other unknown procedures as part of the healing process. In this case, the beings represented on the multiple could be—in a manner similar to the Enets wand—the spirit-masters of the staff. They would be those beings, those helping spirits, who came to the shaman's assistance in his treatment of those humans that were ill. Another possibility however is that, if the staff was used for the treatment of sick people, perhaps those beings represented on the multiple were the actual patients the shaman had successfully cured. 80 The Hudson Bay Eskimo shaman, we recall, attached various strips of skin to his shaman belt to record the diseases he had managed to cure. 81 And in fact, the shaman's belt itself suggests further support for the use of the multiple in some fashion by the shaman. The shaman's belt had attached to it such items as little joint bones and teeth. In Greenland, this belt was worn about the head. 82 Of course too, since the shaman himself must remain in good health in order to aid others, perhaps the multiple was used by the shaman as a means of insuring his own continued health and well-being. 83 One further point is that the Enets shaman staff was used for conducting the souls of the dead to the next world. Perhaps the multiple was used by the Dorset shaman to conduct souls, especially those
associated with the breath of life (blowing action of lips), either away from the body to another place such as after death (or even as a malevolent gesture during the person's life) or back to the sick person to affect a cure.

The multiple might also have functioned as a shaman's staff with duties in addition to that of healing the sick. In this case, the beings represented may have been the shaman's helping spirits who came to his assistance not only in the treatment of the sick, but who were available to come to his aid in other circumstances. The multiple, then, could have functioned as a shaman's staff or wand in its broader sense, such as the Enets staff or that used by the Indians of southern Alaska and northern British Columbia. These staffs were supposed to possess magical powers and were carried by the shaman during ceremonies.

**Conclusion**

Since the multiples are of varying sizes, we can conclude that their actual shape was not the determining factor in whatever function or significance they may have had. The one thing that is common to them all is their subject matter of human heads. Although the distribution of the faces on the multiples is not standardized, the number of faces suggests the Dorset's ritual utilization of certain numbers—based on four. In view of the continuity of content and number symbolism over such a great geographical area, it seems highly likely that the multiples were a significant aspect of the Dorset culture. The use of the same subject, even in multiple, on certain religious items either alone or with other motifs, and analogy with other cultures indicate that the multiples were significant to the Dorsets as religious items. In fact, much of Dorset art would seem to be religious and the multiples, which are some of the
most intricate and complex of the Dorset artifacts, would rightly fit into that category of religious-shamanistic art.

Although there is a possibility that the multiples and petroglyphs, to which they show a certain stylistic resemblance, were memorials to the dead, both this and the possibility of the multiples functioning as grave furnishings seems remote. The multiples, instead, possess a vitality which suggests life and their active duty as religious items utilized by the shaman in his life-retaining function as a mediator between man and the unknown elements which control him; as a healer, a restorer of souls; and as a human familiar and conversant with the spirits. He may, then, have used the multiple as a shaman staff or wand in the performance of his duties in rituals and ceremonies.

The facial configuration of some of the heads, not only on the multiples and the petroglyphs but on other objects, is reminiscent of a blowing action. We know that historically the Eskimos associated one of their souls with the breath of life. The shaman, then, may have used the multiple in conducting this and/or other souls back to the body during illness (and even into the head if the Dorsets thought the soul resided there), or he may have weighed the multiple or a head with the multiple to divine any of the following: where the soul had gone, why it had done so, who was responsible for its departure, and whether the patient might be expected to recover. And if the patient did not recover, the shaman may have used the multiple as a wand or staff to lead the dead person's soul to its final abode. If the multiple was used in any of these contexts, the faces on it could represent any, some, or all of the following: souls (either a soul associated with the breath of life or one which left the body after death to live in the future world), spirits
(probably the shaman's helpers), people (those successfully cured or even famous shamans).
CHAPTER IV NOTES

1. It is impossible to tell from the photographs exactly how many faces there are on #2. If there are in fact 17, it is still most unusual that four of the five multiples have what would appear to be a particular number of faces, all based on the number four.


6. Ibid., pp. 381-2. This refers to the fourth day of the ceremony proper, that is, from the time when the bladders were first brought into the kashim. Lantis, Alaskan Eskimo Ceremonialism, p. 54.

7. Lantis, Alaskan Eskimo Ceremonialism, p. 98.

8. Ibid., p. 47.


10. Lantis, Alaskan Eskimo Ceremonialism, p. 98.


12. Ibid., p. 319.

13. Ibid., p. 270.


19. Ibid., p. 6. Chernetsov says of this ritual use of four and five by the Ob Ugrians:

"It seems to me incorrect to explain all this as proceeding from the number of souls, the more so since it is precisely this fifth soul that is the least clearly defined and since the semantics of numbers as they pertain to sex—even numbers being female and odd numbers (usually those greater than one) male—occurs rather widely the world over . . .

I think that in our case it will be more correct to consider the concept of four female and five male souls not as a primary one which later entered into numerical symbolism, but, on the contrary, as a secondary concept conditioned by this unclear but apparently sufficiently universal symbolism." Ibid.


22. Elmer Harp, Jr. and David R. Hughes, "Five Prehistoric Burials from Port aux Choix, Newfoundland," Polar Notes, VIII (June, 1968), pp. 7-17.

23. George Swinton suggests that the grave may well have been a Thule one. The Thule people reworked various Dorset objects and may have considered Dorset objects especially effective as grave furnishings. G.S., personal communication, 1974 and Swinton, Sculpture of the Eskimo, p. 117.


CHAPTER IV NOTES (cont'd)


27. Taylor and Swinton, "Prehistoric Dorset Art," 42.


29. Ibid., p. 123.

30. Ibid., p. 122.

31. Ibid., p. 124.

32. Ibid., p. 136.

33. Ibid., p. 122.


35. One face on the Upernivik multiple seems to have labrets.


38. Ibid., pp. 36 and 38.


CHAPTER IV NOTES (cont'd)


47. Ibid., p. 230.

48. Ibid., p. 453.


53. Ibid., p. 286.


57. Rasmussen, "Intellectual Culture of the Copper Eskimos," p. 32.


61. Ibid., p. 291.


63. Ibid.

64. Taylor and Swinton, "Prehistoric Dorset Art," 43.


Several authors point out that the Eskimos traditionally were unable to deal with large numbers. They used the five-system and their counting was done on fingers and toes up to 20. Holm, "The Angmagsalik Eskimo," 112. "This inability to deal with numbers is connected with the difficulty of the Eskimos to work with abstract notions. In Eskimo there are ordinary numerals up to twenty, but where school or trading intercourse has not made matters clear, there is as a rule the wildest confusion as soon as they get beyond ten—and sometimes before that."

Kaj Birket-Smith, The Eskimos (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1936), p. 53. Thalbitzer records the use of bigger numbers such as 30 and 40 by the Angmassalik. "30 is called 'a man counted to the end and 10 on the other man.' 'Two men counted to an end' indicates 40." But he agrees that anything beyond 20 is a hazy notion. William Thalbitzer, "Language and Folklore," Meddelelser om Grønland, XL (1921), 148.

Surely since the faces on the multiples were real rather than abstract, the Dorsets—if they had this same difficulty—would be able, even on those with 20 and 28 faces, to keep track of the groups of four.


67. Ibid., p. 139.
CHAPTER IV NOTES (cont'd)

68 Taylor and Swinton, "Prehistoric Dorset Art," 45.
69 Ibid., 44.
70 Ibid., 45.
71 Incidentally, one multiple—that at the ROM—has in addition to the eight easily distinguished faces, two and possibly three tiny representations between the faces near the tip of the antler. From the photograph, it is impossible to decipher these creatures because of their very small size. One—directly above the bottom-most face—looks almost like a spread-eagle animal.
73 Taylor and Swinton, "Prehistoric Dorset Art," 41.
74 Masterpieces of Indian and Eskimo Art from Canada, note to illus. 19.
75 Ibid.
79 Ibid., pp. 152-3.
80 George Swinton, personal communication, 1974.
81 Boas, The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay, p. 512.
82 George Swinton, personal communication, 1974.
83 Ibid.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The recurrent appearance of sculptures of multiple human heads both in numerous places across the arctic and at various times throughout the Eskimos' residence in that area presents the intriguing question of the possible function and significance of these sculptures.

The contemporary multiples, of which the majority are produced on the west coast of Hudson Bay, do not have a common interpretation and are not considered by their makers to be significant items of a religious nature. Whoever is represented on the sculptures—and that may be human, mythological, or spiritual beings; the sculptures are commodity items and their continued possession is not necessary to the Eskimos' well-being.

A few scattered incidents indicate that the subject of the multiple does have continued historical precedent back as far as the 19th century: 1) the sculpture from the east coast of Hudson Bay representing the four famous conjurers, 2) the three sculptures from Alaska, and 3) Lucy Tasseor's report of her grandfather who knew and drew the multiple motif. But between the above sculptures (and drawing) of the 19th century and the Dorset multiples of the 11th century, there seems to be a lengthy break in the tradition of this motif. Certain other Dorset subjects such as the shamanistic bear have managed to survive to the present; and although the intervening gap between the Dorset and the 19th century multiples is not only lengthy but so far (archaeologically) devoid of any
sculptures vaguely reminiscent of multiples, the subject could have been transmitted through the centuries in a non-material manner; that is, verbally.

The subject matter of multiples, but not their significance, seems to have managed to weather the break in Eskimo culture and tradition which was caused by the replacement of the Dorset Eskimos by the Thule Eskimos in the 12th to 13th centuries. We know the contemporary multiples do not have a religious significance, but we concluded in Chapters III and IV that the Dorset multiples were religious items, although their exact function in this connection is not certain. It is conceivable that the multiple was a staff used by the shaman in the pursuance of his religious duties; possibly for head- or stick-lifting divination and/or for other rituals.
SWINTON, Sculpture of the Eskimo, p. 110.
Fig. 1 Faces carved on antler
Dorset culture Abverdjar site
height 20.1 cm.
Fig. 2 Faces carved on black stone
Lucy Tasseor, Eskimo Point
1969
13.5 x 13.5 x 7 cm.
Fig. 3  Faces carved on black stone
Tiktak, Rankin Inlet
1967
24 x 68 x 32 cm.
Fig. 4  Family
Tiktak, Rankin Inlet
1961
length 11"
Fig. 5  Faces carved on grey stone
George Arluk, Eskimo Point
1972
4 3/4 x 2 1/4 x 6 1/2"
Fig. 6  Faces carved on black stone
Lucy Tasseor, Eskimo Point
1972
3 3/4 x 1 1/2 x 2 3/8"
Fig. 7  Mother and children
Lucy Tasseor, Eskimo Point
1972
grey stone, 3 1/4 x 1 1/8 x 2 1/2"
Fig. 8  Three faces
John Polik, Eskimo Point
1972
grey stone, 2 3/8 x 1 1/8 x 4 1/2"
Fig. 9  Ten faces carved in ivory
Alaska
length 4 1/2"  width 1/4"
Fig. 10 Three faces in ivory
Nuwúk, Alaska
c. 1880's
length 3 5/16" width 1 5/8"
Fig. 11  Ivory carving
Nuwuk, Alaska
C. 1880's
Length 4"  width 1 3/16"
Fig. 12  **Arlooayuit**
Thérèse Arlutnar, Eskimo Point 1968
grey stone, 11.5 x 8 x 4.5 cm.
ig. 13 Six faces carved on wood
Angmassalik
C. 1885
Height 1 7/8" Width 1 1/8"
Fig. 14  Untitled
Luke Anowtelik, Eskimo Point
1970
caribou antler, length 9 3/4"
Fig. 15  Faces carved on wood
Dorset culture  Upernivik
height 15.2 cm.
Fig. 15  Faces carved on wood
Dorset culture  Upernivik
height 15.2 cm.
Fig. 16  Faces carved on antler  
Dorset culture  Abverdjar site  
4 1/2 x 2 1/5 x 9/10"
Fig. 17  Faces carved on antler
Dorset culture  Abverdjar site
8 1/4 x 1 5/16 x 1"
Fig. 17  Faces carved on antler
Dorset culture  Abverdjar site
8 1/4 x 1 5/16 x 1"
Fig. 18  Faces carved on antler
Dorset culture Abverdjar site
6 3/4 x 3/4 x 1/2"
Fig. 19  Faces carved on antler
Dorset culture  Prince of Wales Island
14 x 2.9 x 1 cm.
Fig. 20  Man with child
Dorset culture  Abverdjar site
2 x 5/8 x 1/4"
Fig. 21  Four faces carved on wood
Ungava District
C. 1880
Fig. 22 Four faces on stone
Kattoo, Eskimo Point
1972
1 1/2 x 1 x 1 1/4"
untitled
David Ekoota, Baker Lake
1965
stone, height 4 1/4"
Fig. 24  Human figures in stone  
Aleutian Islands  
(Jochelson by excavation)
Fig. 25  War harpoon heads
Aleutian Islands
(Jochelson by excavation)
Fig. 26 Throat plugs and a wound plug
Angmassalik
wood, longest throat plug 26.3 cm.
Fig. 27 Drum handles  
Pt. Barrow, Alaska  
1880's  
walrus ivory, all c. 5"
Ig. 28 Carved lamp support
Chichiñagamut, Alaska
1880's
Fig. 29 Memorial images
Cape Vancouver, Alaska
1880's
wood, 6 to 7'
Fig. 30 Monument board at grave
Big Lake, Alaska
1880's
length c. 4'
Fig. 31  Double-faced head
Angmassalik Fjord
wood, height c. 4"
ig. 32 Finger mask  
lower Kuskokwim River, Alaska  
1880's  
primarily wood, 6 1/2 x 2 3/4"
Ivory mask
Dorset culture  Tyara site
c. 700 B.C.
height 3.5 cm.
Fig. 34 Mask
Dorset culture Abverdjar site
caribou shoulder blade
2 1/2 x 1 3/8 x 1/4"
ig. 35 Harpoon head
Dorset culture Igloolik region
c. 500 B.C.
walrus tusk, height 6 cm.
Fig. 36  Face carved on bone
Dorset culture  Mansel Island
3 1/2 x 3/10 x 2 1/5"
Fig. 37 Petroglyph in soapstone
Dorset culture  Wakeham Bay
8 to 10"
ig. 38 Wakeham Bay petroglyph design
Tyle 1a
ig. 39 Wakeham Bay petroglyph design
Type 1b
ig. 40 Wakeham Bay petroglyph design
Type 1b
Fig. 41 Petroglyph designs
Cape Alitak
Kodiak Island, Alaska
ig. 42 Mask
Igloolik area
ivory, height 1 7/8"
Fig. 43 Figure carved in wood
Button Point
Fig. 44 Man
Dorset culture Inuarfigssuaq, Greenland
walrus tooth, height 6 cm.
Fig. 45  Mask
Dorset culture  Igloolik area
soapstone
height 4.5 cm. depth .9 cm.
Fig. 46 Mask
Angmassalik
end of the 19th century
wood, height 37 cm.
Fig. 47  Man with spear
Angmassalik
1884-5
wood, height 8.7 cm.
Fig. 48 Decorated antler tubes
Ipiutak site Pt. Hope, Alaska
Fig. 49 Schematic face on antler tube
Ipiutak site Pt. Hope, Alaska
Fig. 50 Ornamental band
Ipiutak site Pt. Hope, Alaska
Fig. 51  Face carved in antler  
Ipiutak site  Pt. Hope, Alaska
Fig. 52  Human heads
Ipiutak site  Pt. Hope, Alaska
Fig. 53  Tupilak
Angmassalik
c. 1900
wood, length 15.4 cm.
Fig. 54  Two bears  
Dorset culture  Button Point site  
wood, largest 2 3/16 x 5/8 x 1/4"
Fig. 55  Small human figures
Dorset culture Button Point site
wood, largest 3 1/8 x 11/16 x 3/8"
Fig. 56  Head-lifting sticks with handle 
central west Greenland 
(2) bone, c. 20 cm. 
(3) wood, c. 34 cm.
Fig. 57  Shaman stick
Caribou Eskimos
c. 1920
wood
Fig. 58  Enets shaman pendant
Siberia
1938
between 14 and 23 cm.
Fig. 59  Perforated faces on bears in flight
Dorset culture
(a) and (b) southern Ellesmere Island
(c) and (d) Mansel Island
height 1 5/8 to 2 15/16"
Fig. 60  Shaman's utensil kit
Dorset culture  Button Point site
bone, 4 1/8 x 2 5/16 x 1"
Fig. 61  Shaman's utensil kit
Dorset culture
walrus tusk, 9.2 cm.
Fig. 62 Enets shaman stick
Siberia
1938
iron
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APPENDIX I

The following is a list of artists interviewed. Information obtained from those artists not discussed in the text is included here. (Artists included within the text are marked by an asterisk.) Baker Lake seamstresses and graphic artists are marked as such; otherwise, the artist is primarily a sculptor.

ESKIMO POINT

Alyak, Mary: No story.

Anarasuk, Martha: No information as to the source of the idea of heads. Sculpture K2927 started out as a mother with child but because the stone was too hard to finish she put on only (two) heads. Does other sculptures with animal heads as well.

Apsaitok, Martha: The heads represent everyman, no one special.

Arluk, George*

Arlutnar, Thérèse*

Kanakshi, Susan: Recently started carving. Her father-in-law, who died about three months before our discussion, taught her to carve and apparently also to do heads. She did not know the idea behind his sculptures of heads nor could she say anything special about the idea behind hers. Heads were what she could do. Mothers and babies represented, but no men.

Komak, Jean: No story.

Idea from her mother (Lucy Tasseor). But she said the idea of one head on top of another was her own; that is, at least not from her mother. People on carvings are those she sees around her.

Nootaraloo, Elizabeth*

Okootark, Susan: No explanation.

Polik, John*

Tasseor, Lucy*
RANKIN INLET

Irkootee*

Okoktok*

Tiktak*

Udjuk: No particular story; but he could tell one if he had a carving to look at.
No precedent for heads. Older members of his family did not carve or have carvings of heads.
Does not draw before carving.
Thinks about what he is going to do beforehand but sometimes forgets while carving and it ends up as something else.
Would not bother him if heads were upside down.

Udliak, Gene: Idea from own head, not from father Okoktok.
People not special.
Makes sculptures of other subjects too, for example seals.

BAKER LAKE

Ahvalakiak (seamstress): Makes human and animal heads by themselves, without the bodies and also puts these heads onto other bodies; that is, human head on a bird, caribou, or fox. She sees into the caribou, bird, or fox and each has a human head and they are saying "wouldn't it be nice to have a head like yours?" (that is, a human head which is exactly what they do have). Making a joke that each of the animals (bird, caribou, and fox) has a human head--instead of their own--and they look at other human heads with admiration; yet the other human heads are not any better than their own, which are also human. Also thinking back to the time when caribous could talk. Wall-hangings do not illustrate legends or stories; done more by design and feel. Human head is like other heads in her sewing, it has no special significance. A human head has more character. Human heads also easy to sew, sell very well. Encouraged to do weird ones. (By the crafts officer.)

Ahveeleayuk (seamstress)*

Angaktaaryuaq: The people represented are not special, there is no story.
He does not know where he got the idea; perhaps from his own head. Multiple heads are easier than whole body.
Erkolik: No story to the carving. Represent men, women, children; but not special people.
Idea from other carvings; perhaps his brother Tikeayak of Rankin Inlet.
Heads upside down, sideways, right side up; all okay.
When asked about multiples referred to a book he had (according to Ruby Angrna'naaq either a George Swinton book or an artscanada). Also carves other things including human with whole body.

Itow: When asked about old ones he said he may have heard about them or he may not have.
Money a factor in his making this subject. He made one multiple and it sold so he made more (the subject usually sells well).
Faces easier to make than other things.

Kookeeyout (graphic artist): She illustrates neither legend nor story.
Heads are just an aspect of the whole; they mean nothing special, are nothing special. They are the same as other motifs.
Heads can be at any angle.
She looks for ideas for her drawings in such places as the sky, on floor in the dirt, and on the wall.
Encouraged to do weird drawings. (By the crafts officer.)
Says the things she draws scare her sometimes.

Kudlok*

Mummooksoarluk (seamstress): No story.
Fits heads in as part of the design--to fill in empty spaces.