

THE INUIT SEA GODDESS,

Nelda Swinton

A Thesis

in

The Department

of

Art History

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University
Montréal, Québec

June 1985

© Nelda Swinton, 1985

ABSTRACT

The Inuit Sea Goddess

Nelda Swinton

This thesis reviews the Inuit myth of the sea goddess, Sedna, and analyzes contemporary Inuit artists' illustrations of this sea spirit who at one time created a powerful impact on the Inuit's way of life.

The Introduction discusses the important ethnographic contributions as they relate to Inuit material culture. Furthermore, there is a review of various writings where there was recognition of the imagistic values of certain Inuit "artifacts."

Chapter one restates an historical development of Inuit art, dating back to the Dorset culture up to the present period. The various forms of the myth of the sea goddess are listed, followed by a discussion of the visual illustrations of this sea spirit in accordance with each individual Inuit artist's narrative and stylistic interpretation.

Chapter two reviews the various traditional religious beliefs of the Inuit as they related to the cult of the sea goddess.

The conclusion points to the fact that the once oral myth of the sea goddess has been altered into a visual illustration which is a consequence of a number of cultural changes.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to thank the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts who originally made it possible for me to commence my research for The Inuit Sea Goddess. I would like also to thank Laurier Lacroix for his suggestions and understanding. As well, Dorothy Carruther's patience was greatly appreciated along with her excellent dexterity at the word processor. Lastly, I would like to thank my father, George, who encouraged me to work and think harder and who helped me to see and understand the art of the Inuit.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	vi
LIST OF MAPS AND TABLES	x
INTRODUCTION	
A) Historical Analysis	1
B) The Inuit Sea Goddess	8
CHAPTER I	
THE INUIT SEA GODDESS - MYTHS AND IMAGES	
A) Historical Development of Eskimo Art	13
B) Geographic Locations and Origin Myths of the Sea Goddess	20
C) The Sea Goddess' Characteristics	33
CHAPTER II	
SOULS, THE SEA GODDESS AND SHAMANS	
A) Souls and Taboos: Their Relationship to the Sea Goddess	41
B) The Shaman's Role in Propitiating the Sea Goddess	49
C) Human Souls and the Sea Goddess' Abode	55
D) The Sedna Festival	59
CONCLUSION	64
FOOTNOTES	68
BIBLIOGRAPHY	84
ILLUSTRATIONS	91

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Lukta Qiatsuq, 1928
Cape Dorset
Sea Spirits, 1961
Linocut
29.9 x 22.9 cm
The Jacqui and Morris Schumiatcher Collection of Inuit Art, 1981, ill. 101

2. Davidialu Alasua Amittu, 1910-1976
Povungnituk
Igalunappa, 1958
Stone
10 x 38.1 cm
eskimo stories - unikkaatuat, 1969, ill. 22

3. Victoria Mumngshoaluk, 1930
Baker Lake
The Boy and His Grandmother Trick the Mean People, 1980
Linocut and stencil
63.4 x 94.0 cm
Baker Lake Prints 1980, ill. 25

4. Kenojuak, 1927
Cape Dorset
Seamaids with Owl, 1980
Stonecut
60.0 x 66.5 cm
Cape Dorset Prints 1980, ill. 10

5. Mary Koomwartok Ashoona, 1938
Cape Dorset
Seamaids, 1978
Stonecut and stencil
46.0 x 61.0 cm
Cape Dorset Prints 1978, ill. 3

6. Germaine Arnaktauyok, 1946
Igloolik
Sedna, Sea Goddess, 1981
Ink and paper
36.2 x 36.8 cm
The Inuit Sea Goddess, 1981, Surrey Art Gallery,
frontcover

7. Tungak
Repulse Bay
Untitled, 1983
Stone
13.9 x 6.6 cm
Private collection

8. Pudlo Pudlat, 1916
Cape Dorset
Taleelayo, 1963
Stonecut
30.4 x 40.6 cm
Eskimo Prints, 1967 p.69

9. Pitaloosee, 1942
Cape Dorset
Taleelayo, 1974
Stonecut
60.9 x 86.3 cm
Cape Dorset Prints 1974, ill. 30

10. Rosa Arnarudluk, 1914
Repulse Bay
Untitled, 1976
Ivory and stone
7.6 x 7.6 cm
Private collection

11. Pitaloosee, 1942
Cape Dorset
Taleelayo #2, 1974
Stonecut
60.9 x 86.3 cm
Cape Dorset Prints 1974, ill. 29

12. Mark Tungilik, 1913
Repulse Bay
Untitled, 1982
Ivory and stone
3.3 x 2.5 cm
Private collection

13. Keojuak, 1927
Cape Dorset
Talelayu, 1979
Stonecut and stencil
61.0 x 77.0 cm
Cape Dorset Prints 1979, ill. 21
14. Lucy Meeko, 1929
Great Whale River
Study, 1973
Stonecut
46.9 x 63.5 cm
Arctic Quebec Prints, 1973, ill. 26
15. Helen Kalvak, 1901
Holman Island
Sea Goddess, 1975/76
Stonecut
45.7 x 60.9 cm
Holman Island Prints 1975/76, ill. 12
16. Soroseelutu Ashoona, 1941
Cape Dorset
Taleelayu with Fish, 1970
Stonecut
60.9 x 86.3 cm
Cape Dorset Prints 1970, ill. 56
17. Pitseolak Ashoona, 1904
Cape Dorset
Lumaiyo, 1972
Stonecut
60.6 x 83.7 cm
Cape Dorset Prints 1972, ill. 30
18. Simon Tookoome, 1934
Baker Lake
Qaruhuaq Becomes a Shaman, 1979
Linocut and stencil
56.4 x 74.7 cm
Baker Lake Prints 1979, ill. 32

19. Ikana
Frobisher Bay
Untitled, 1979
Ivory and stone
27.3 x 7.6 cm
Private collection
20. Pitaloosee, 1942
Cape Dorset
Woman of the Arctic Sea, 1975
Stonecut
49.5 x 62.2 cm
Cape Dorset Prints 1975, ill. 4
21. Ananaisee Alikatuktuk, 1944
Pangnirtung
Taleelayu and Family, 1976
Stencil
38.5 x 58.5 cm
Pangnirtung Prints 1976, ill. 13
22. Victoria Mumngshoaluk, 1930
Baker Lake
Sea Family, 1971
Stonecut and stencil
33.6 x 39.3 cm
Baker Lake Prints 1971, ill. 37
23. Andrew Karpik, 1964
Pangnirtung
Taleelayu Man and Wife, 1978
Stencil
42.5 x 61.5 cm
Pangnirtung Prints 1978, ill. 11

LIST OF MAPS AND TABLES

MAP 1	ESKIMO NAME GROUPINGS ACCORDING TO GEOGRAPHIC LOCATIONS	21
MAP 2	INUIT ART CENTERS	22
TABLE 1	NAMES OF THE SEA GODDESS	23
TABLE 2	PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SEA GODDESS	34
TABLE 3	SEA ANIMALS AND FORCES UNDER THE GODDESS' CONTROL	42
TABLE 4	ABODES OF THE SEA GODDESS	58

INTRODUCTION

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

Since the early nineteenth century numerous explorers and ethnographers have documented and discussed Inuit folklore and mythology which included the myths about the sea goddess.¹ British seafarers explored the waters of the Canadian arctic searching for the North West Passage and later, in the middle of the century sought to construct Hudson's Bay Company trading posts. As a result, contact was established with the Inuit² and many Inuit customs and beliefs were documented.

Captain George Lyon (1824) was one of the first to log the Iglulik Eskimo's myth of the sea goddess.³ Other explorers also ventured into the Arctic and recorded their observations. As well, thousands of objects of the Inuit's material culture were collected and catalogued as ethnographic specimens. Carved ivory and wooden figurines, amulets, pendants, toys, games and utensils were classified as primarily functional artifacts and were not considered in terms of aesthetics. Thus, no real attempt was made to view these objects as art in a Western culture sense. However, Edward Nelson (1899) did observe that the Inuit of Bering Straits (Alaska) have "... a considerable degree of artistic taste and skill which is quite general, and that there are some districts in which the people seem to

have a greater amount of ability in this direction than the average."⁴ Yet there was still no elaboration on any of these objects as art. It was not until the second quarter of the twentieth century that people began to recognize these objects as having artistic sensibility. However, as a consequence of the early collections and descriptions by ethnographers a considerable accumulation of information had resulted. These records eventually became the foundation for a small group of contemporary art historians to analyze and interpret the visual representations of the sea goddess myth as well as of other myths and legends. Such an analysis is the purpose of this thesis as is an attempt to reconstruct the variations in the Sedna myth in relation to geographical areas. As well, it is hoped that other elements pertaining to a cult-like connection with the sea goddess can be elucidated. Before proceeding with my discussion of the sea spirit, a brief outline of the major ethnographers' contributions is necessary.

To begin with, after the Egedes,⁵ Hinrich Rink (1875)⁶ was one of the first to collect and retell systematically the many tales and traditions of the Greenland Eskimo who practised customs and beliefs similar to the Canadian Eskimo. Rink documented the myth of the sea spirit, called in this region Arnarkuagsak who rules the animals of the sea.

In Canada, Franz Boas (1888) was the first to contribute a wealth of information concerning the

intellectual as well as material culture of the "Central Eskimo" and the "Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay."⁷ By recording the important myths and legends, as well as giving a breakdown of the various spiritual beliefs and customs, Boas introduced us to the Eskimo's traditional ways of life. He discussed the sea goddess myth in detail and retold a number of versions as to her origin and her various names such as Sedna, Sana, Sydney, Aivilayoq, Aywilliayoo, Nuliayoq and Uinigumissuitung.

Soon thereafter, Ernest Hawkes (1916),⁸ Lucien Turner (1894)⁹ and Diamond Jenness (1922)¹⁰ proceeded in the same manner as Boas, collecting ethnographic information and material, describing objects, habits, beliefs and the various myths and legends of the Labrador (Hawkes and Turner) and the Copper (Jenness) Eskimo. Jenness recorded the sea goddess myth of Kannakapfaluk as she was known among the Copper Eskimo. The majority of Labrador Eskimo believed however in Torngarsoak, a male deity, who controlled and ruled over the sea animals.

Between 1929 to 1932 Knud Rasmussen's records were published from research done during 1921 to 1924 on the Iglulik, Caribou, Netsilik and Copper Eskimo's intellectual and material cultures.¹¹ Rasmussen had a great advantage over the previous ethnographers, being fluent in the Eskimo language (a result of his mother being Eskimo) thereby gaining great insights into the Eskimo's life. Because of his linguistic asset, the Eskimo respected and trusted

Rasmussen to share and record their ways and their spiritual and mythical beliefs. As a result, Rasmussen collected stories, myths and names of the sea goddess cycle in quantity and detail.

In this same period (1929) Stith Thompson's Tales of the North American Indian¹² was published in which he gave a structural overview of the many stories and myths of the Indians and Eskimos. The great accomplishment of Thompson was his addition of comparative notes and correlative listings on the various myths as they related across the North American regions including the Arctic. Thompson received his information on the sea goddess mostly from Franz Boas and Hinrich Rink as well as from Lucien Turner, Arthur Kroeber (Alaska)¹³ and Gustav Holm (West Greenland).¹⁴

Edward Weyer (1932) also gave a general overview in The Eskimos. Their Environment and Folkways¹⁵ but did not contribute any new thoughts or information about Inuit life and traditions.

Eric Holtved some twenty years later (1951) published his findings on the Polar (Greenland) Eskimo's customs and mythology where he found the sea goddess to be called Nerrivik (meaning the place of food).¹⁶

During Holtved's time, three articles were written entirely on the sea goddess myth: Newell Wardle (1900)¹⁷ Eric Holtved¹⁸ himself (1955) and Edmund Carpenter (1955)¹⁹ all elaborated on the various renditions of this important

myth as it related to the Inuit's traditional ways of life.

Wardle extended the sea goddess' myth stating that she was the symbolic manifestation of the changing seasons and that her killing was analogous to the Inuit's harsh reality of female infanticide because of fear of starvation.

Holtved gave a summary of the various Sedna myths quoting Boas and Rasmussen as well as adding his own findings from Greenland.

Carpenter's article is particularly interesting in his comparisons and analysis of the continuing belief in the sea goddess in relation to Christianity among the Aiviliks of Southampton Island in the Hudson Bay. Having become Christian (predominantly Catholic in that region), these people now hold concepts of law (commandments) and the idea of evil which are similar in both their traditional beliefs and in Christianity.

Still (as mentioned above), in all these writings as in the ethnographic reports, no one had thought of discussing visual art elements in the Inuit's carved objects. There had been archaeological interpretations of the Dorset and Thule objects, yet no one considered writing about the dolls, toys, amulets, or any other "artifacts" as art. However, in the early fifties the artistic talents of the Inuit were "discovered" and articles began to be published on the art of the Inuit. Soon (between 1958 and 1961) art co-operatives sprang up in the eastern Canadian Arctic to act as agents for the Inuit and to develop the "Eskimo Art"

market.

Eskimo art became established and, as a result, books and articles were published. James Houston (1951-1960),²⁰ George Swinton (1958 and 1965),²¹ Charles Martijn (1964)²² and Jorgen Meldgaard (1960)²³ were the forefathers of an art historical emphasis in the writings about Inuit "art" works. Houston (as well as purchasing art for the Canadian Handicrafts Guild) wrote a variety of articles on Inuit carvings and graphics with the intention of exposing the southern public to the Inuit's talent for carving. Swinton also exposed the same populus to Inuit art and to the people who created this unique art form. Swinton's book Eskimo Sculpture illustrated carvings from the Canadian Arctic and gave many detailed accounts of the artist's creative intentions. Martijn's text Canadian Eskimo Carving In Historical Perspective gave an overview of art from prehistoric times to contemporary art of the sixties. Martijn also discussed and reviewed the writings of various authors including Houston, Swinton, Meldgaard and Carpenter (who felt that Eskimo art was acculturated and not "Eskimo" art). Meldgaard, whose book was translated from the Danish version also gave a visual and didactic account of prehistoric art as well as discussing some contemporary Eskimo art from Greenland.

In 1969 Eugene Arima and Zebedee Nungak published eskimo stories - unikkaatuat²⁴ which was the first attempt to relate specific Eskimo carvings to their particular

mythological reference.

As a consequence of these above writings, and also, as a result of the maturation process in Canadian art history, a number of authors have begun to discuss Eskimo art and its mythological connections. Freelance writers and art institutions²⁵ have now realized the importance of mythological research and art historical commentaries.

I became interested in both the formal aspects of the carvings and their iconographic basis and consequently, started to research the sea goddess and many visual representations of her by contemporary artists. The result of this work was published in a catalogue for an exhibition which I assembled for the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts in 1980.²⁶ I felt that this research and my thoughts as to the artists' representations of their ideas were worthy of further analysis and clarification. I therefore reworked my catalogue in a much expanded fashion and have presented my findings in this thesis. I have concentrated my topic on Inuit culture and art only in relation to the sea goddess. I felt this approach would be important in regard to arriving at an understanding of these aesthetically rich sources of a tradition which was in the recent past, largely oral.

THE INUIT SEA GODDESS

The traditional²⁷ Inuit way of life was integrally linked with the supernatural world. Strong beliefs in spirits and powerful forces structured not only the people's moral and quasi-religious ideas but also governed such activities as hunting, household tasks, personal hygiene, birth and death. The Inuit had no single god or unified religious system but considered those forces to be spirits capable of controlling every aspect of Inuit psychic and environmental life. The Inuit had no creation myth in a traditional sense, unless one is to consider the "Sedna myth" an animal creation myth for she is the creator of all sea mammals and fish.²⁸

Among the many spirits and powers was what Westerners would call a "sea goddess" who ruled the animals of the deep. She was known and feared throughout most of the Arctic region, including Greenland and Siberia.²⁹ Between this sea goddess and the people there existed an intimate relationship based on many rules and regulations. These had to be strictly obeyed at all times in order to appease her. However, if and when a taboo or rule was disregarded, she would become enraged and cause starvation by hiding the sea animals. Bad weather and sickness, or even death also resulted from disobedience. In this way the sea goddess was the overseer of the Inuit's life; she symbolically acted as a judge and the Inuit had to adhere to particular

laws, otherwise she would have created havoc. The carvings by Josephee Kakee, Markussi Keatainak and Alek Alikatuktuk (Swinton, 1980, fig. 1, 2 and 3) illustrate this relationship where the sea spirit's presence is forever prevalent in the Inuit's daily activities.

In Whalebone Composition No. 2 (Swinton, 1980, fig. 1) Josephee Kakee has placed the various sea animals - walrus, seal, whale and fish beneath the sea spirit's figure seemingly displaying her hierarchical position over these creatures. Portraying traditional Inuit housing and hunting equipment on the opposite side of the carving appears to indicate the interaction which existed between man and sea spirit, for without food supplied by these sea animals, life would cease. By employing whalebone as his medium Josephee³⁰ almost confirms a physical and symbolic link between sea animal, sea spirit and the hunter.

Markussi's Camp Scene (Swinton, 1980, fig. 2) accurately depicts traditional Inuit life where hunters struggle with various hunting activities while the restful sea goddess hides below in the cliff which is again composed of whalebone. Again, using whalebone as a basis for illustration underlines a plausible notion of interrelationship between sea animal and sea spirit. As well, Alek Alikatuktuk's Hunter Riding above Sea Goddess (Swinton, 1980, fig. 3) eloquently embodies this crucial relationship.

The Inuit's notion of "goddess" while contrary to the

classical (Judeo-Christian) notion of a God who is omnipotent, kind, loving, and understanding resembles the gods and spirits of classical mythology. The sea goddess and other powerful spirits such as the weather spirit, the sun spirit, the moon spirit, must be feared, as well as respected at all times, in order to sustain a secure existence in the harsh physical and psychic environment of the Arctic. Lukta Qiatsuq's Sea Spirits (fig. 1) depicts two similar looking sea spirits. Sedna (who can be identified because of her breast) is fighting with another sea spirit who has captured a fish. Although there is no particular reference to other sea spirits in ethnographic writings, the reader must realize that the Inuit believed in numerous anthropomorphic beings which could appear anywhere and at any time. The following two carvings (fig. 2 and 3) represent a variety of semi-human/aquatic creatures which inhabit the arctic waters. Iqalunappaa (fig. 2) meaning half-fish is a well known twentieth century legendary character in the Povungnituk area. The legend states that a hunter meets a semi-fish, semi-human creature washed ashore and after rescuing this half fish the hunter is rewarded with a gramophone, a sewing machine and a gun.³¹ Victoria Mumngshoaluk's (b. 1930) print of The Boy and His Grandmother Trick the Mean People (fig. 3) illustrates a young boy dressed as a seal. The print refers to the legend of a young boy and his grandmother who seek revenge on a community through the young boy's antics

of tipping over hunter's kayaks. As a result of these legends and stories the researcher and viewer are often left in a quandry to distinguish the various semi-human, semi-aquatic creatures.

One wonders whether the sea goddess had any kindly attributes. Jørgen Meldgaard in Eskimo Sculpture, quotes a hunter from the East coast of Greenland who profoundly summarizes the Inuit emphasis on evil versus the good: "I know nothing, but life constantly confronts me with forces which are stronger than myself. The experiences of generations show us that survival is difficult, and it is always the inevitable that overtakes man and woman. So we believe in evil. The good things we can neglect, for they are good in themselves, and in no need of worship. Evil, however - which lies in wait for us in the great darkness threatens us through storms and gales, and sneaks upon us in the clammy fog - evil has to be kept off the roads we walk."³²

The appeasement of the "goddess" usually required the intervention of the shaman, the mediator between the people and the supernatural world. Traditionally, the (priest-like) shaman played a vital role in the propitiation of the sea goddess discovering, through interrogation of his/her helping-spirits and the sea goddess herself, what taboos had been broken. After guilt had been established and admitted by recognizing which taboo had been broken, order would be restored and the people would be at peace with

her.

Today, there no longer exists the same sacred, deeply-rooted magico-religious relationship between the people, the sea goddess, and all the other spirits, for now the Inuit's way of life and survival techniques have greatly altered, due to the almost complete adoption of Christian beliefs, the successful uses of western machinery and technology and governmental assistance programs.

Their traditional belief in the sea goddess had stemmed from a need to understand and accept the working of nature and her elements. The sea spirit had represented the cause and basis of Inuit existence. The contemporary Inuit's survival patterns have changed drastically during this century with a resultant alteration in beliefs and ideas.

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ESKIMO ART

In the past, each Inuit created his/her own amulets to induce good fortune, give power to an individual when hunting and to help ward off evil spirits. However, they did not conceive these objects as "art" but rather as survival charms to assist and protect the people in their daily lives. Nevertheless, the white man has often ascribed the term art to these objects.¹ There is no archeological evidence (except possibly the Thule swimming figurines) that the sea goddess and other powerful spirits were represented in amulet or any other material form, as this traditionally would be seen as an attempt to capture the almighty spirit's soul. Furthermore, for fear of reprisal the Caribou Eskimo would not dare mention aloud the sea goddess's name, Nuliajuk; instead, they referred to her as Kavna, "she down there."²

Before proceeding with a discussion of the contemporary art works included in this thesis, a brief review of the prehistoric past is helpful in obtaining a basis for the art produced today. It is important to note that in the modern Inuit vocabulary there is no specific word for "art." Instead, the word sananguaq meaning "a likeness that is achieved" is spoken when referring to art objects. The prehistoric Eskimo probably did not think of the works

they produced as "art" but as objects which had their own specific functional and/or magico-religious meaning.

One can refer particularly to the magico-religious amulets/objects of the Dorset period. As well, ritualistic/ceremonial meanings are ascribed to the tools and weapons of the Dorset people which have certain decorative motifs integrated into the overall form. The design applications of the Thule phase seem to have been largely but not only decorative in their nature.

Martijn (1964) divides prehistoric art into four categories:³

1. Decorative
2. Magico religious
3. Toys and games
4. Self entertainment

Since Martijn's descriptions are so ample and well-known the reader can easily refer to them. I therefore merely wish to make some further points.

The decorative objects were utilitarian in nature, as an example, a handle on a harpoon would have linear markings or curvi-linear decorative motifs incised into the bone or ivory. In addition to the objects' characteristic shapes, one is able to distinguish between the earlier Dorset works from those of the Thule period by analyzing particular design motifs and devices. For instance, Dorset objects tend to have deep linear diagonally, horizontally or vertically incised markings made with flinted tools whereas Thule works are decorated with either string figures or curvi-linear dot motifs.

The Dorset and Thule groups referred to are the traditional peoples of the Canadian Arctic. The Dorset date back to the second millenium B.C. whereas the Thule came to the Canadian Arctic almost two thousand years later. The ancestral culture of the Dorset was known as the Arctic Small Tool Tradition, which had its true beginnings in eastern Siberia coming to North America around some five/six thousand years ago. These people migrated across the Bering Strait and subsequently ventured further into the eastern Canadian Arctic.

Jørgen Meldgaard (1960), Charles Martijn (1964) and Robert McGhee (1978) as well as most other archaeologists state that the culture known as the Denbigh Flint Complex (the prototype fo the Arctic Small Tool Tradition) was the precursor of the Pre-Dorset and Independence cultures of the Canadian and Greenland Arctic. These cultures reached as far east as northern Greenland. Pre-Dorset cultures evolved into the Dorset Culture which by about 500 B.C. reached as far east as Newfoundland. By A.D. 1300 Dorset Culture had largely disappeared; some archaeologists state that the Dorset Culture began to disappear as a result of the influx of the Thule people, the true ancestors of the contemporary Inuit entering the Canadian region from northern Alaska. These people migrated across the eastern Arctic and settled as far away as Greenland by A.D. 1200. Depending upon geographic location with the coming of the little Ice Age and as a result of the gradual disappearance

of the whales, which were a major component of the Thule's daily life, the Thule phase faded out in the sixteenth and seventeenth century .

As a result of a harsher climate, which led to an upheaval of settlement patterns from a semi-nomadic to a nomadic lifestyle and different hunting procedures, there was less time to carve and decorate utensils and paraphernalia. Close to the end of the eighteenth century the Inuit's life started to alter in yet another manner. The appearance of the white man (Kablunait) in the form of explorers, whalers, traders and missionaries changed the Inuit's entire survival and eventually their belief system. Along with religious viewpoints and technological devices the Inuit were influenced at least partially, by the Kablunait to produce souvenir art. Subsequently, throughout the nineteenth century the Inuit made small carvings of animals, birds, kayaks and people which they traded as souvenirs with these numerous whalers, traders and explorers. This phase of carving, known as the historic period of carving continued in a sporadic fashion until the 1940's. In the 1920's and 1930's the Canadian Handicrafts Guild and to a lesser extent the Hudson's Bay Company tried to stimulate the production and sale of carvings as had been done before, by the Moravian Brothers in Labrador.⁴ In 1930, the Canadian Handicrafts Guild, interested in developing Indian and Inuit arts and crafts, organized an exhibition of Inuit crafts which they

displayed at the McCord Museum, McGill University, Montreal. The Guild encouraged the Inuit to produce carvings and crafts, yet during World War II production was for local purposes only. It was not until 1948/49 that carving resumed in a more intensive and extensive manner when the Canadian Handicrafts Guild arranged to buy and sell carvings made by the Inuit; the carvings were sent to the Guild from the Hudson Bay Company posts situated in many of the northern communities. This new venture in selling Eskimo art was partially initiated by James Houston, an artist who had travelled in Arctic Quebec. Houston was impressed by small carvings which he picked up in various settlements and when he returned south, the carvings were presented to the Canadian Handicrafts Guild. Houston was then hired to journey back north to buy as many carvings as he could find. These carvings were sent to the Guild and all were sold at special exhibition. This period commencing in 1949 has become known as the contemporary period of carving.⁵

The contemporary works of art presented in this thesis are illustrations of traditional beliefs rather than expressions of a sacred magico-religious dependency on the sea goddess. Contemporary Inuit artists have visually interpreted the appearance of this deity and, as a result, modified the earlier meaning. This modification directly reflects the loss of conviction in the spirit world and is characterized by two factors. First, in the historic past,

there was no attempt to aesthetically portray the sea goddess. Instead, the myths and stories pertaining to her were relayed only by means of oral history. Consequently, these contemporary artists were confronted with the problem of transposing a traditional concept into a visual presentation. Secondly, the integration of the Western notion of art and the concerns of art production⁶ on occasion override the traditional myths which the artist has attempted to represent. As a result of synthesizing these two elements, the artist has created a new form of communication and interpretation.

Kenojuak's (b. 1927) Seamaids with Owl (fig. 4) and Mary Ashoona's (b. 1938) Seamaids (fig. 5) are two such examples where there is a sway from the original myth in order to express a personal and imaginative understanding and/or interpretation. Both artists have created works that are not bound to stereotypical rules pertaining to the myth of the sea spirit. Mary Ashoona has created multiple images of seamaids which are most likely the sea spirit yet, there is some ambiguity (regarding hairstyle and parka colour) as to whether all these seamaids are in fact the sea spirit, Sedna. The interpretation is left to the viewer. The same ambivalence exists in Kenojuak's print where the artist has illustrated two similar looking seamaids, yet each one's hairstyle is different from the other. Kenojuak has also illustrated the "sea goddess" with the sea goddess's name (fig. 13) Talelayu and she

appears similar in style to the two seamaids. (Yet we must not forget that in many instances titles are not chosen by the artists themselves but usually by the supervising staff at the Co-ops.)

There is a great deal of confusion surrounding the interpretation of many prints and carvings. In many instances it is the co-op assistant and not the artist who translates and titles many of the works of art. On occasion the artist's themselves have changed their minds or have been too quick to title a work, resulting in incorrect information. Through research, a number of historians have realized that numerous errors have been made. Consequently, one must be diligent in interpretation.

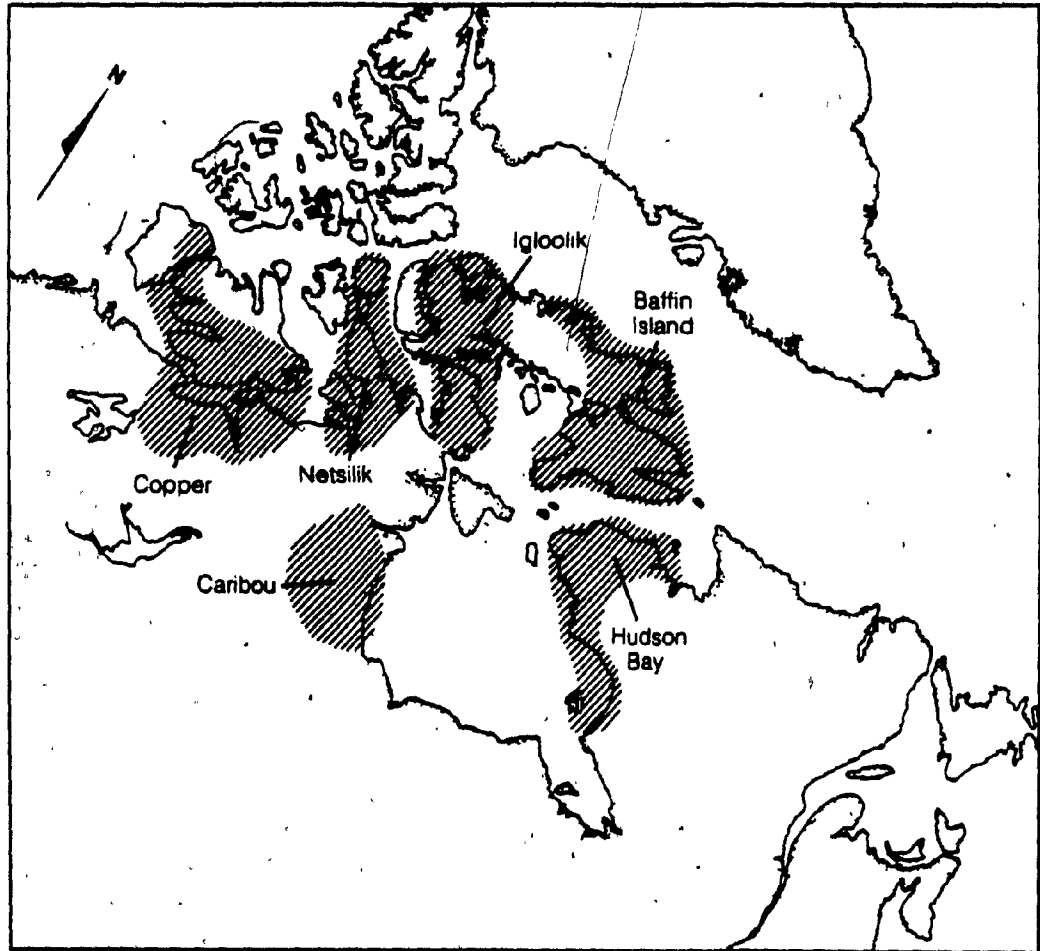
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATIONS AND ORIGIN MYTHS OF THE SEA GODDESS

Throughout the north the name of the sea goddess varied from region to region, as did the myth of her origin, albeit to a lesser extent. These legends and the goddess' various names are explained below; the geographical distribution of the names are listed in Table 1 (p. 23). One of the purposes of this thesis is to illustrate systematically the different origin myths according to the north's geographic locations. As a consequence of various anthropological studies, the Arctic people, including those of Siberia, Alaska and Greenland, were divided into twelve major groups. Ethnographers had decided that these distinctions were necessary to facilitate research and documentation on the social and material differences among the numerous scattered Inuit tribes. In a less rigid fashion the Inuit also distinguished between their various neighbours. These Eskimo name groupings were further designations identifying their geographic locations. In turn, explorers made use of these name groupings when referring to their specific research. Six of the twelve major areas have been represented in this thesis and, the accompanying map outlines the location. These include the Baffin Land, the Hudson Bay (East Coast),⁷ the Iglulik, the Netsilik, the Caribou,⁸ and the Copper Eskimo which represent the major carving areas in the Canadian Arctic.

The sculptures and prints have been selected in order

MAP 1

ESKIMO NAME GROUPINGS ACCORDING TO GEOGRAPHIC LOCATIONS



MAP 2
INUIT ART CENTERS

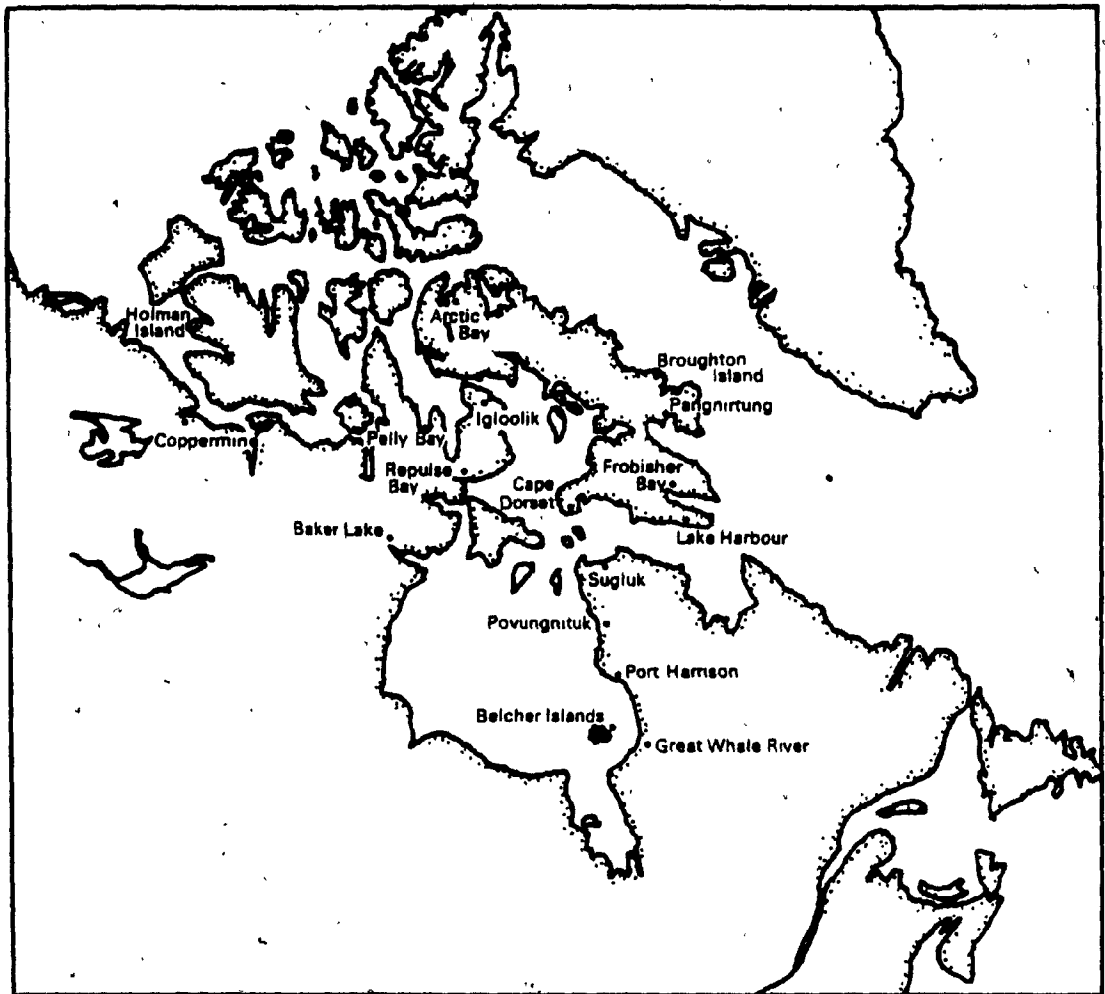


TABLE 1
NAMES OF THE SEAGODDESS

	BAFFLAND	CANADIAN	CAPTER	GREENLAND	ISLUX	LAPLAND	MACKEON	NETSUK	POLAR	SIBERIA
AIVILIAJQO — 'She who gives useful things'										
AIVILAYQO — 'She who gives useful things'										
ANAVIGAK — (UNAVIGA) †										
AVILAYOK										
ARNAKAPFALUK — 'A big bed woman'										
ARNAKAPFALUK — 'A big bed woman'										
ARNARKUAGSOK — 'The very old woman'										
ARNARKUAGSSAK — 'The very old woman'										
AYWILLIAYOQ — 'She who gives useful things'										
KANNA — 'That one which is lower'										
KANNAKAPFALUK**										
KATUMA (KUNNA) — 'The one down there'										
KAVNA — 'She down there'										
NAKORUT — 'Giver of strength'										
NERRIVIGSSUAQ — 'The great meat dish'										
NERRIVIK — 'Place of food'										
NIVIKKAA — 'The woman thrown backward over the edge'										
NOLIAYOQ (NOOLEAYOQ) — 'The women of plenty'										
NULIAJUK — 'The poor or frightful one'										
NULIAYOK — 'The ever copulating one'										
NULIAYOQ — 'The woman of plenty'										
NULIRAH — 'Old women of the sea'										
SANAQ — 'The one down on the sea bottom'										
SANA — 'The one down on the sea bottom'										
SAITTUMA UVA — 'Spirit of the sea depths'										
SASVSUMA INUA										
SEDNA — 'That thing far down there'										
SIDNE — 'The one who is before'										
SYDNEY — 'The one who is before'										
TAKANALUK ARNALUK — 'The woman down there'										
TAKANAKAPSALUK — 'The temble one down there'										
TALELAYO***										
TALLULIYUK										
UINIGUMISSUITUNG — 'She who never wished to marry'										
UINIGUMQSUICOQ — 'She who would not take a husband'										
UINIYUMISSUITOQ — 'She who would not take a husband'										

‡ Possibly derived from "amaviark" meaning a female bird.

• The belief in the sea goddess exists only among the Cape Chidley community of the Labrador Eskimo.

** Kannakapfaluk is derived from the words "kanna" meaning "that one which is lower" and "kapiannartok" meaning "frightening." Thus, the goddess' name means "the frightful one in the lower," "lower" referring to the sea bottom.

*** Taleelayo is most likely derived from the words "talerk" meaning "arm" and "talluyuk" meaning "front flippers."

to exemplify some of the goddess' different visual representations, according to the various local and regional traditions. However, one point must again be made: these carvings, prints and paintings are the products of contemporary Inuit artists who have illustrated diverse aspects of the ancient myth of the sea goddess. The works have no magico-religious implications.

Origin Myths⁹

Generally speaking, five similar myths pertaining to the sea goddess prevail throughout the six population areas mentioned above, although versions exist in other Arctic areas. For example, the Siberian, the Greenland and the Polar Eskimo each have their own versions of this legend.¹⁰

All the stories have a number of characteristics in common. All begin with a girl or a woman who refuses to marry. Eventually the female does marry but, at this point, each tale develops in a different manner. One other important event recurs: as a result of certain circumstances, the fingers of the sea goddess are severed either by her father or by her own children. After this takes place, she sinks to the bottom of the sea where she rules over the sea creatures.

The five versions are as follows and occur at the commencement of each story:

1. A girl is forced to marry a dog through her father's unrelenting coercion.
2. A girl is seduced into marrying a tall, handsome man who, she later discovers to her dismay, is a transformed fulmar, a small seagull-like bird or
3. a petrel (another species of small seagull-like bird).
4. A girl marries a dog and then a petrel.
5. An orphan girl is deserted.

DIFFERENCES IN THE MYTH OF THE SEA GODDESS¹¹

VERSION 1

Copper Eskimo¹² - A woman marries her father's dog. The father takes them to an island where the woman gives birth to two offspring, a white and a brown bear. The father visits the daughter and is killed by the brown bear. The woman and her dog-husband then go to live under the water.

Iglulik Eskimo¹³ - Nuliayoq marries a dog and eventually gives birth to dog-children. Her embarrassed father takes his daughter, the children and the dog to an island. The

dog faithfully swims back and forth from the island to the mainland, bringing food in bags hung around his neck which the girl's father has supplied. One day the father fills the bag with stones, thus drowning the dog. In anger, the girl orders her dog-children to kill their grandfather but, just before he dies, she pretends to rescue him. However, the father dies and is washed away. Eventually the girl sends her children off to sea by placing half of them in each of her shoes; they become the ancestors of the Indians and the Europeans. The girl then descends into the sea where she joins her father and the dog.

Netsilik Eskimo¹⁴ - (Similar to the Iglulik version). A girl marries a dog and her father, ashamed, takes the dog and his angry daughter to an island, where she has children. One day, seeking revenge, she orders her offspring to kill their grandfather who had been going back and forth bringing food. After the father is killed, she sends her children away to sea in two groups: half become the Indians and the other half become the White Men. She tries to join the second group but is pushed out of their boot-boat. She grips the side of the boat but they cut off her fingers, which become fjord seals, bearded seals and walruses. She sinks to the bottom of the sea and becomes Nuliayuk.

Labrador Eskimo¹⁵ - A woman marries a dog. Her father, humiliated, decides to take her to an island. When at sea he tosses her overboard; she clings to the edge of the boat but her father systematically cuts off her thumb and two fingers, which are transformed into a walrus, a seal and a white bear. The woman sinks to the bottom of the sea.

VERSION 2

Northern Baffin Land Eskimo¹⁶ - Sedna or Uinigumissuitung marries a fulmar, a small seagull-like bird, who has promised her a good and wonderful life with beautiful furs. She soon learns that the fulmar has deceived her and she leads a miserable existence, resting on reeking fish skins. Her father visits his daughter and, upon hearing of her unhappiness, tries to rescue her by killing the fulmar. The fulmar's bird-friends avenge his death, creating a storm as the two attempt to escape by boat. The father, fearing for his life, throws Sedna overboard, but she manages to hold onto the boat. He cuts off her first finger joints, then her second and, finally, her stump hands, which change into whales, seals and ground seals respectively. Her fingernails become whalebone. However, the daughter survives to return home with her father, who is then killed on command by her dogs. As a result of these evil deeds the earth opens up and the girl and her

father sink to the bottom of the sea.

VERSION 3

Northern Baffin Land Eskimo¹⁷ - Sedna marries a petrel, a small seagull-like bird. Her father visits his daughter and, on learning of her unhappy life, wishes to rescue her from the bird. When they attempt an escape by the sea, the petrel induces a storm and the father, desperate to save himself, throws Sedna into the raging waters. She holds fast to the side of the boat but the father not only cuts off her fingers one by one, but also pokes out one of her eyes. Her severed fingers turn into whales, ground seals and common seals. She then sinks to the sea bottom where she is reunited with her father who, overcome with grief, has drowned himself.

VERSION 4

Northern Baffin Land Eskimo¹⁸ - Avilayoq or Uinigumissuitung marries a dog who had been transformed from a stone. They have many children - Eskimo, White, Ijiqat and Inuarudligat, but the din created by this large family causes her father to move them to an island. One day Avilayoq encounters a tall handsome petrel wearing snow goggles, who lures her away with promises of an opulent life replete with fine furs and skins. However, upon

arriving at the petrel's home Avilayoq discovers the ruse and leads a wretched existence until, one day, her father comes to visit. Seeing the girl's situation, he is determined to rescue her but, as they escape in a boat, they are followed by the petrel who causes a great storm in retaliation for Avilayoq's refusal to return with him. The father, in a effort to save himself, throws the girl overboard. She desperately clings to the boat but the father systematically cuts off her first, second and third finger joints from which whales, ground seals and seals are created. Her nails change to whalebone. She then sinks to the sea bottom and becomes Sedna. The father returns home, drowns the dog and then himself, thus joining Sedna.

Iglulik Eskimo¹⁹ - Takanaluk arnaluk is forced to marry a dog. She becomes pregnant and the father, in shame, conveys her and the dog to an island. The dog swims back and forth bringing food provided by the father. The girl gives birth to dog-children and human-children. Meanwhile, the father, suffering from feelings of guilt, drowns the dog. The girl, enraged, directs her dog-children to kill their grandfather but they do not succeed. One day she sends her children away in her kamiks (boots) and alaqs (a leather sole that goes under the sole of the kamik). They become the Chipewyan. Shortly after returning home to live with her father, she meets a stranger and goes away with him, only to discover that he is a petrel who had transformed himself into a human in order to woo her. Her

father eventually tries to rescue her but, in the attempt to escape, they are caught in a wild storm created by the petrel. In terror, the father flings the girl overboard. She holds onto the gunwale but the father chops off the first, second and third joints of his daughter's fingers, which turn into seals, bearded seals and walruses. The girl then sinks to the ocean floor. In time, the father drowns himself and he, the girl and the dog live together again in the water.

VERSION 5

Netsilik Eskimo²⁰ - Putulik, an orphan girl, is thrown into the sea as a group of people are moving to another settlement. She hangs onto the side of the boat but the people immediately cut off her fingers which are transformed into seals. She sinks to the bottom of the ocean and becomes Nuliajuk, a great sea spirit.

Germaine Arnaktauyok's (b. 1946) Sedna, Sea Goddess (fig. 6) and Soroseelutu Ashoona's Woman of the Sea (Swinton, 1980, fig. 32) together illustrate the entire myth of the sea goddess. In Germaine's drawing, a narrative quality exists where she consciously seeks to tell us about the legend. Visual narration is the counterpart of oral story-telling where specific sequences

of events are relayed to the viewer. Yet, in the visual dimension, time is stationary and it thus becomes the responsibility of the artist to create an environment with movement. Artists can manipulate space in their works so that the viewer can read them in a sequential manner; the various stages of a story are all portrayed by placing particular representative images within a specific area of the spatial field. Here, there is no illusion of a general three dimensional space, even though the umiak is drawn three dimensionally. In all, a narrative space is created in which various parts of a story occurring at different times are given equal importance.

Germaine illustrates the major components of the legend, that of the girl thrown overboard into the water, her fingers being chopped off, the attack of the petrel, the waves created from the storm, the sea creatures - whale, walrus, seal and the sea goddess seated at the ocean's bottom. Germaine also depicts a (female) shaman appeasing the sea goddess by braiding her long untidy hair (refer to Chapter 2, The Shaman's Role in Propitiating the Sea Goddess, footnote 30, p. 80.).

Soroseelutu's Woman of the Sea depicts part of the legend where the deity's fingers eventually become the sea beasts and in this case the fish of the sea. Even though a reference is not made to the sea mother as creating the sea fish, Soroseelutu has understood the legend to include fish. It is possible that Soroseelutu was exercising her

artistic license using fish in a broad sense to symbolize
sea bearing creatures such as seals or walruses.

THE SEA GODDESS' CHARACTERISTICS

The representation of the sea goddess varies from one art work to another. As previously stated, the contemporary artist's interpretation of the deity's physical features has deviated from the original oral versions of the myth. This derivation has resulted in a number of important extensions to the goddess' general appearance. The variations in the sea goddess' characteristics and imagery are presented in Table 2 (p. 34).

First, she is portrayed as half woman and half sea animal, the latter being either whale (Swinton, 1980, fig. 20), seal (Swinton, 1980, fig. 7 and 24), walrus (Swinton, 1980, fig. 14) or fish (Swinton, 1980, fig. 10, 12 and 18). Traditionally, the sea goddess resided in the ocean's depths however, at no time was she described as being half fish. For the modern-day Inuit artist to portray and maintain a conceptual relationship between a visual and verbal depiction, she had to become a semi-human, semi-aquatic creature.

The use of one (fig. 7 and Swinton, 1980, fig. 8, 9, 14, 18, 38, 46, 51) or two (fig. 8 and Swinton, 1980, fig. 7, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 30, 33) hair braids as adornment has become another means of partially identifying the contemporary sea goddess.²¹ The myths state that when the sea goddess was at her best and in a harmonious alliance

TABLE 2
PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SEAGODDESS

	BAFFLING	CARDON	COPPER	GREENLAND	MILK	LABRADOR	MACLEAZIE	NETSUK	PAJAN	SIBERIA
Hood of jacket is always worn up				●						
One eye, the left, is poked out	●			●						
Other eye is covered by a profusion of black hair	●			●						
One pigtail (twice the length of her arm)	●			●						
Hair is in a tuft				●				●		
No fingers	●			●			●	●		
Cannot walk	●						●			
Tall	●			●						
Big woman		●	●							
Old hag				●						
Old woman				●		●				●

WHEN IN RAGE

Hair streams above and behind her		●								
Disordered hair	●	●	●	●						
Hair is filled with "attachments"	●	●	●	●						
Dirty hair		●								
Dirt falls on her hair, face and body			●	●						
Eyes, nostrils and mouth become filled with dirt			●							
Smoke gets in her eyes				●						
Covers her face							●			
Face is turned to the wall			●	●						
Cannot see				●						
Suffocates				●						
Hands become sore	●									

with the people her hair was neat and clean.²² Bertha Qullialu's carving of the sea goddess (Swinton, 1980, fig. 6) is interesting to note as the artist has carved the sea spirit's braid into the body of a fish, thus emphasizing a marine connection.

There is a symbolic connotation attached to the tidy braid, for traditional Inuit women wore their hair in braids to maintain a sense of order while tending to daily activities. In the print, Taleelayo and Friends (Swinton, 1980, fig. 38) Jamasic Teevee uses the braid as a starting point in visually balancing the land animals. These animals become a symbolic extension of this representational braid of order and harmony. The embodiment of the perfect braid is portrayed in Peter Eyeesiak's²³ Sea Goddess (Swinton, 1980, detail, ill. 3, p. 15.) where precision and detail have assisted in creating this exquisite carving. Pitaloosee's (b. 1942) print (fig. 20) illustrates the sea goddess with her hair fashioned in hair knots, a variation of the braid, again symbolic of harmony. Furthermore, the goddess is depicted on occasion with smooth flowing hair, analogous to the idea of order (Swinton, 1980, fig. 10, 21, 22).

However, the sea goddess is also represented with disheveled hair (Swinton, 1980, fig. 23, 23, 25, 27, 28), a result of her enragement at the people's transgressions of numerous taboos. Kaka Ashoona's carving Enraged Taleelayo (Swinton, 1980, fig. 27) manifests this notion of breaking

a taboo or committing a sin, for Taleelayo is portrayed with a snake, a powerful Judeo-Christian symbol of original sin. Kaka, aware of Christian symbolism (various denominations are found widespread in the Arctic) imaginatively carves the snake and one of the sea goddess' braids as one long crawling-like attachment. Also, in Soroseelutu Ashoona's print Taleelayo with Fish (fig. 16) Soroseelutu entwines the fish around Taleelayo's head which gives a snake-like appearance similar to Kaka's snake. Emphasizing the fierceness and ominousness in the sea spirit's character, Mikigak Kingwatsiak carves his entire work (Swinton, 1980, fig. 28) in sharp angles and displays the sea goddess with very angular looking hair falling over her massive shoulders. Nuveeya Ipellie's carving of the Sea Woman (Swinton, 1980, fig. 26) illustrates the sea goddess' severe violent personality. Ipellie has used an extremely sharp boomerang-like form in carving the goddess' braid which resembles the cutting dorsal fin of a shark. The deep angular incision marks on the sea woman's cheeks and forehead add to a fearful look which assists Ipellie in creating a severe personality.

In many versions of the Inuit myths it was the shaman's role to rearrange and, in some cases, to braid the sea goddess' hair, as she was unable to do so because of her severed fingers.²⁴ After this task was accomplished and following the people's confessions of their sins, the goddess would be appeased and order would be restored. In

this manner, Germaine Arnaktauyok in her drawing Sedna, Sea Goddess (fig. 6) narratively illustrates a shaman braiding the sea spirit's untidy hair.

The carving of the sea goddess by Kiakshuk Qiatsuk (Swinton, 1980, fig. 20) depicts a highly sensuous version of this fearful spirit. Even though she was to be feared and known as a wicked being, Kiakshuk has carved her body as a smooth voluptuous form, so as to reveal her womanly attributes, perhaps symbolically illustrating her fertile qualities as mother of the sea animals.

A most notable discrepancy exists between the original myth and the contemporary artist's illustrations when the sea goddess is portrayed in many instances with fingers²⁵ (fig. 8, 9, 14, 15, 16, 20, 21, 22). Soroseelutu Ashoona's Woman of the Sea (Swinton, 1980, fig. 32) is an interesting example, as the artist illustrates the goddess' fingers transforming into fish. A possible reason for this may be her desire to indicate the symbolic significance of the fingers as the primary link to the creation of of sea animals.

Leah Quamulu's Sea Goddess (Swinton, 1980, fig. 5) is equally important as it shows the goddess' arms altogether missing, being replaced by the entire length of a fish's body from head to tail. The fish's body and the seal's flippers suggest Qumalu's understanding of the goddess' severed joints (in Qumalu's version - limbs) which represent attributes of the sea creatures. Johnniebo

Ashevak illustrates his understanding of these partial human/aquatic attributes by creating Taleelayo with Seabird (Swinton, 1980, fig. 4) where arms, hands, legs and feet are juxtaposed alongside the tail and body of a fish. Johnniebo endows Taleelayo's humanoid legs with scales to further this marine connection. Portraying the seabird on the sea spirit's hand makes a possible reference to the petrel who indirectly leads Taleelayo to her disastrous fate.

Lachaulassie Akesuk's Sea Goddess (Swinton, 1980, fig. 17) Caroline Kalluayuk's Sedna (Swinton, 1980, fig. 18) and Pudlo Pudlat's Sea Goddess (Swinton, 1980, fig. 50) are some of the few carvings where the artist has illustrated the stubbed fingers of the sea goddess. Rosa Arnarudluk depicts her carving of the sea goddess (fig. 10) with fingers altogether missing. Portraying the severed hands immediately reminds the viewer of the young girl desperately clinging onto the edge of the boat only to have her frightened father chop them off. Again Germaine Arnatauyok (fig. 6) illustrates this segment of the myth.

Pitaloosie's (b. 1942) print Taleelayo #2 (fig. 11) demonstrates with ambivalence, the sea spirit's partial aquatic features. Pitaloosie draws the spirit's arms as abstracted frontal fish fins and gives her the body and tail of a seal while her legs are again similar to the tail fins of a fish. The semi-lunar shapes along the rib cage area are reminiscent of Pudlo's Taleelayo (fig. 8) where

triangular forms are drawn in the same rib area. The positioning of these forms along the rib cage area refers most probably to a concept in shamanism where during initiation rites a shaman must have his body flesh picked away by birds until only his/her skeleton remains in order to see themselves as a skeleton. The skeleton-like features on the sea spirit allude to her powers symbolically equal to that of the shaman's. A great many ivory carvings of bears and birds of the Dorset culture have similar yet deeply incised markings on their rib cages thus representing shamanistic features.

Mark Tungilik's sea spirit (fig. 12) is portrayed entirely as a fish with only the eyes and nostrils referring to a sense of humanness. Thus, Tungilik (b. 1913) reflects his understanding of the spirits marine essence.

Some carvings and prints do portray the sea goddess with hands replaced with flippers of a seal (Swinton, 1980, fig. 7, 24, 25, 40) or walrus, or the fins of a fish (fig. 11 and Swinton, 1980, fig. 10) or a whale (fig. 7), thereby affirming her partial sea mammal form.

Furthermore, Pudlo Pudlat's print Sedna (Swinton, 1980, fig. 11) and Augustin Anaittuq's carving Sea Goddess (Swinton, 1980, fig. 30) show the sea goddess wearing mittens which could possibly be interpreted as one of the versions of the "Sedna myth" where the sea spirit, living in her underworld/underwater house is said to wear large mittens.

These two works accompanied by figures 4, 5, 6, 13, 22 and Swinton, 1980, fig. 29, 30, 31, 41, and 50 display the sea goddess wearing a woman's parka with the distinguishable V-shaped lower frontal extension (kinig). Outfitting the sea goddess in this traditional garment is again a means of connecting the spirit world and the goddess' previous earthly existence.

Contemporary Inuit artists have succeeded in creating visually a mythical character and in effect the totality of the myth that embodies the conceptual belief in the spirit world, at the same time, altering the original meanings and beliefs. Individual details and different symbolic features illustrating the sea goddess create a total picture of the myth understandable to all Inuit as well as to the viewers knowledgeable in Inuit myths and tradition. A detail such as a braid may at first glance seem insignificant, yet, upon further viewing and analysis it becomes the explicit means in telling an entire story or idea. Furthermore, each particular work becomes more than just an illustration of an episode within a story, it is the story itself. In fact, much Inuit art is based on this premise, where a carving or print represents a total idea relayed by the artist to the informed viewer.

CHAPTER II

SOULS AND TABOOS: THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO THE SEA GODDESS

In portrayals of the sea goddess, the contemporary Inuit artist has also included an array of sea animals (Swinton, 1980, fig. 21, 40 and 41) as well as sea birds (fig. 13 and Swinton, 1980, fig. 33) and land animals. These creatures are closely associated with the sea goddess. As indicated earlier, they were created from her transformed fingers and, according to the mythologies, they are regarded as her children. Consequently, they must submit to her unyielding power. These various sea creatures are listed in Table 3 (p. 42).

Lucy Meeko's (b. 1929) Study (fig. 14) illustrates this close relationship where seals and birds are imaginatively intertwined, the seal's lower body becomes the body of a sea bird, similar to a petrel's. Stressing this animal-spirit connection, Lucy Meeko allows the outline of a seal to represent the iris of the petrel's eye. Placing the figure of the sea goddess slightly above the entire seal/bird composition gives the impression of the sea spirit's hierarchical position over the sea creatures as well as her interrelationship amongst them. Also, Soroseelutu Ashoona's print (Swinton, 1980, fig. 37), and Timothy Narlik (Swinton, 1980, fig. 36) and Bernadette Iguptark's (Swinton, 1980, fig. 41) carvings each exemplify

TABLE 3
SEA ANIMALS AND FORCES UNDER THE GODDESS' CONTROL

	BAFFINLAND	CANADON	COPPER	GREENLAND	HELVIK	LABRADOR	MACLEOD	NETSUK	POLAR	SIBERIA
Whales	●				●	●				
White whales										●
Narwhals					●					
Walrusse	●				●	●		●		
Seals	●		●		●	●		●	●	
Common seals	●					●				
Ground seals	●				●	●				
Bearded seals					●					
Fjord seals								●		
Sharks					●					
Bears	●		●		●	●				
Fish						●		●		
Birds								●		
Trout								●		
Salmon								●		
Caribou								●		
All sea beasts			●		●			●		
All animals	●		●		●	●		●		
Other power-forces					●					
Weather	●		●					●		
Men's destinies	●				●			●		
Hunting	●		●		●			●		
Sickness and death	●				●					
Starvation	●									

the sea goddess with her array of sea companions.

Helen Kalvak's (b. 1901) Sea Goddess (fig. 15) and Soroseelutu Ashoona's Taleelayo with Fish (fig. 16) each depict the sea goddess surrounded by fish. As stated earlier, there is no mythological reference to fish as part of the sea spirit's menagerie however, both artists have chosen to connect fish with marine life.

Theresee Paolar and Madeleine Isserkut's depictions of the sea goddess with a narwhal (Swinton, 1980, fig. 40 and 41) should be analyzed and interpreted as there is a possibility of misinterpretation. This confusion results from a number of works of semi-female, semi-narwhal creatures which depict the legend of the dishonest grandmother who, through unfairness to her grandson turns into a narwhal woman (fig. 17).¹ As a consequence, it is possible to identify the semi-human/aquatic figure who is separated from a narwhal as the sea goddess (and not as the narwhal woman).

In the past, these sea and land animals were the major source of food and clothing for the Inuit. In their hunt for food, the people endured not only physical hardships but also the psychological apprehension that misfortune would occur if proper reverence was not shown these animals, particularly the sea beasts. This fear stemmed from a conviction that each land and sea animal possessed a soul requiring respect and appeasement; the sea goddess closely observed the deeds of mankind and, when displeased,

she would wreak havoc.

As the great shaman Aua explained so forcefully to Knud Rasmussen:

We fear the weather spirit of earth, that we must fight against to wrest out food from land and sea. We fear Sila.

We fear death and hunger in the cold snow huts.

We fear Takanakapsaluk, the great woman down at the bottom of the sea, that rules over all the beasts of the sea.

We fear the sickness that we meet with daily all around us; not death, but the suffering. We fear the evil spirits of life, those of the air, of the sea and the earth, that can help wicked shamans to harm their fellow men.

We fear the souls of dead human beings and of the animals we have killed.

Therefore it is that our fathers have inherited from their fathers all the old rules of life which are based on the experience and wisdom of generations. We do not know how, we cannot say why, but we keep those rules in order that we may live untroubled. And so ignorant are we in spite of all our shamans, that we fear everything unfamiliar. We fear what we see about us, and we fear all the invisible things that are likewise about us, all that we have heard about in our forefathers' stories and myths. Therefore we have customs, which are not the same as those of the white men, the white men who live in another land and have need of other ways.

The greatest peril of life lies in the fact that human food consists entirely of souls.

All the creatures that we have to kill and eat, all those that we have to strike down and destroy to make clothes for ourselves, have souls like we have, souls that do not perish with the body, and which must therefore be propitiated lest they should revenge themselves on us for taking away their bodies.

In Inuit society, many taboos were established to ensure harmony between the people and the sea goddess and other powerful spirits. These laws were also designed as a means of appeasing the souls of the animals which, in turn, would show their appreciation by allowing themselves to be captured and/or by providing animals to be hunted in the future. Many of the taboos were established to prevent the hunting and eating of sea animals with land creatures for, around the Cumberland Sound area, the sea goddess was known to dislike the land animals, especially the caribou.³ Thus these segregative laws were maintained to satisfy the goddess. Even when caribou were hunted in a lake, the hunters on the west coast of Hudson Bay would always place an offering of small sealskin sections under a stone to appease the goddess.⁴

In contrast, Salamonie Jaw and Jamasie Teevee's carvings (Swinton, 1980, fig. 38 and 39) are indicative of the goddess' association with the land animals. Both artists are concerned with the concept of size and placement, Jaw has positioned a small but mythically powerful sea spirit above the physically large muskox thus communicating her symbolic importance amongst these massive creatures. Jamasie uses the entire length of the sea goddess' body as a formal balance to weight out the print. This device can also be viewed as a connecting base. In both interpretations Jamasie alludes to a unity between land animal and sea spirit.

Other laws also regulated the hunting process. If any animal was maltreated after death, either physically or by the breach of a particular death taboo, its soul was thought to become evil and angry. In the Baffin Island area, a myth of Cumberland Sound holds that the abused souls of seals, ground seals and whales⁵ journeyed down to the sea goddess' abode. There they would importune her to remove irritating attachments representing the injustices they had suffered. Depending on the severity of the hunter's infraction, the goddess would become agitated, sometimes causing affliction to the disrespectful hunters. Bad weather was also attributed to her discontentment. On occasion she would go so far as to keep the animals from hunters who had broken a taboo.

Along the West Coast of Hudson Bay⁶ and the Iglulik⁷ areas, the sea goddess was reported to have stolen people who had violated the law; also the Inuit of Baffin Land⁸ area believed that she was capable of transforming human beings into animals.

An animal's abused soul would not only retain the memory of the people's transgressions but, in addition, it would convey its distress to the souls of future sea animals. In revenge, these creatures would not surface, creating an added problem for the hunters. One particular law observed by all Inuit groups except the Labrador people: at the moment of death the seal was always given a drink of water, as it was thought to be thirsty. This

gesture especially pleased the sea goddess.

After a sea animal's death various other interdictions were observed. For instance, a person was forbidden to scrape window frost from the igloo, to air out bed coverings, to remove drippings from the oil lamp, to de-hair skins, to melt snow for water, to work with iron, wood, stone or ivory. Women were not permitted to clean their faces, comb their hair or dry boots and stockings.⁹ Furthermore, the sea animals would be especially offended if a woman did not announce her menses or if she did not confess to having had an abortion. Persons were expected to make public any contact with a dead person. The sea beasts would see a vapour lingering around any hunter who had been exposed to any of these "unclean" people, and they would not rise to the surface.¹⁰ Thus, it was a moral duty to confess one's sins to ensure successful hunting.

The wearing of amulets, the singing of traditional songs and the uttering of magic words were other means of propitiating the sea goddess and the animals' souls. As previously stated, the amulets were worn to effect good hunting, whereas the songs and words were articulated in a reverent manner to express respect and worship.

Helping spirit Aviliajuk
You, great Aviliajuk
Of your little sewing-bag's
Torn-off caribou hair (a salmon) give me
A trout perhaps
Quickly!¹¹

The hunting songs were an enticement to the animals' souls, thus permitting their capture. They were also a dedication to the sea goddess as a humble gesture of peace. In the singing house the people ritually chanted another form of song to assist the shaman in his/her propitiation of the sea goddess.¹²

In addition, offerings¹³ were made to the sea goddess to retain her good will and to show gratitude for successful hunting and stable weather.¹⁴ Miniature objects called "kiverfautit" consisting of "harpoons, harpoon heads and seals" would be enclosed in a sealskin bag and then thrown into the sea.¹⁵ "Broken knives, worn out harpoon heads, pieces of meat and bone" were thrown into the water by the people of Cape Chidley, Labrador.¹⁶

The fastidious observance of and adherence to these rigid laws became a moral and social responsibility for each individual in order to maintain an equilibrium within the spirit world. If disobedience and neglect of confession occurred, starvation and sickness would inevitably result for the Inuit.

THE SHAMAN'S ROLE IN PROPITIATING THE SEA GODDESS

One day Rasmussen asked Qaqortingneq, one of his guides from Bootha Penninsula, what his life goals were and how to attain them, Qaqortingneq answered:

I must never offend Nuliajuk or Narssuk.

I must never offend the souls of animals or a tonraq so that it will strike me with sickness.

When hunting and wandering inland I must as often as I can make offerings to animals that I hunt, or to dead who can help me, or to lifeless things, especially stones or rocks, that are to have offerings for some reason or other.

I must make my own soul as strong as I can, and for the rest seek strength and support in all the power that lies in the name.

I must observe my forefathers' rules of life in hunting customs and taboo, which are nearly all directed against the souls of dead people or dead animals.

I must gain special abilities or qualities through amulets.

I must try to get hold of magic words or magic songs that either give hunting luck or are protective.

If I cannot manage in spite of all these precautions, and suffer want or sickness, I must seek help from the shamans whose mission it is to be the protectors of mankind against all the hidden forces and dangers of life.

Whether famine or illness pervaded the community or affected only an individual, the shaman was summoned. As the intermediary between the spirit world and the people, it was his/her responsibility to discover and cure the cause of misfortune by ascertaining which specific taboo had been broken. The sinner usually confessed their

transgressions to the shaman who would act as judge and priest. However, in crises of prolonged illness and famine with no confessions forthcoming, the shaman would appeal to the spirit world to propitiate the offended spirits, particularly the sea goddess, for it was she who had been the secondary cause of the people's predicament. At such time the community and the shaman would participate in a traditional spirit ritual in which the people chanted certain songs¹⁸ while the shaman or a special drummer would beat the ceremonial drum.¹⁹ The monotonous chanting and drumming aided the shaman's entrance into a trance-like state.

We reach out our hands
to help you up;
we are without food,
we are without game.
From the hollow by the entrance
you shall open,
you shall bore your way up.
We are without food,
and we lay ourselves down
holding out hands
to help you up.²⁰

In this hypnotic condition, the shaman would call upon his/her helping or familiar spirits (portrayed as both sea or land animals) to assist in the appeasement of the sea goddess. The Copper shamans were able to transform themselves into the form of their familiar spirits and then resume their ritual performance, with the shaman now

physically resembling a sea or land animal.²¹ There are numerous representations of the shaman/animal transformations as well as many illustrations of the journey theme of shamans riding on sea animals. Man Riding Narwhal by Qupiruala Alasua (Swinton, 1980, ill. 5, p. 22.) depicts one such journey; where the shaman descends on a narwhal to venture to the sea spirit's abode.²² Ruth Annaqtussi Tulu'rialuk's Shaman (Swinton, 1980, ill. 6, p. 22.) portrays the transformed shaman with his helping spirits and Simon Tookoome's (b. 1934) Qaruhuaq Becomes a Shaman (fig. 18) refers to a man in the process of becoming a shaman. The representation of the half fish, half man infers this shaman is capable of communicating with the sea spirit as well as associating with the fish.

The shaman descends to the sea bottom, locates the goddess and pleads for her assistance.²³ After considerable interrogation, the sea goddess would announce what prohibitions had been disobeyed. With promises to rectify the people's inconsiderate behaviour, the shaman would then return to the ceremonial house to deliver a harsh lecture. Frightened, the people would confess their sins aloud and the shaman would predict the return of good hunting or better health. Shaman Fighting Spirits (Swinton, 1980, fig. 44) by Annaqtussi typifies the idea of the shaman encountering hostile spirits including the sea spirit who is biting into the shaman's shoulder. The sea spirit's aggressive nature is also demonstrated in Peter

Nauja's Sea Goddess Attacking (Swinton, 1980, fig. 43).

In the event of poor hunting for the Inuit of Fury and Hecla Strait, Baffin Island, the shamans would aggressively question the sea goddess and then systematically remove her fingers, thereby releasing the sea animals.²⁴ If the shaman tore off her nails, the bears were freed; her first and second finger joints set loose the common and udjuq seals; her knuckles released herds of walrus and if he/she broke off the lower part of her metacarpal bones the whales would reappear. The Iglulik shamans also cut off the goddess' fingers in order to release the sea animals.²⁵

On occasion when the shamans and their familiar spirits approached the deity's abode, they encountered a fierce guard dog and other frightening beings blocking the way.²⁶ In order to continue his/her journey, the shaman had to be powerful enough to overcome these beings.

A further obstacle was the goddess' father who would attempt to torture the shaman. To prevent confusion with a dead soul coming to do penance, the Iglulik shamans would cry out "I am flesh and blood!"²⁷ After surmounting all the dangerous barriers, the shaman would finally encounter the deity in a most disarrayed state. Her hair would be unkempt and infested with parasites,²⁸ her mouth and eyes would be filled with dirt²⁹ which symbolized the breach of the taboo. It was the shaman's duty to straighten and comb³⁰ her hair; in addition, Polar shamans³¹ would braid it, as well as clean her house, wearing a disguise of

walrus tusks in order to resemble the sea animal. Among the Inuit of the West Coast Hudson Bay area, the shaman removed evil skins that made the goddess' eyes smart.³² As the shaman performed these duties, he/she demanded to know what taboos had been broken.

In contrast, when bad hunting was reported, the Netsilik³³ and Copper³⁴ shamans would conjure up the sea goddess in the ceremonial house. There the shaman would aggressively demand that she withdraw her curse on the animals. In some instances he/she would even resort to beating her.

The Copper shamans would perform their seance in a ceremonial house out on the ice where they made a hole, dropped a rope into the water and caught Kannakapfaluk by her wrists. After Kannakapfaluk relayed the various transgressions she would order Unga, the keeper of the seals, to release them. Another procedure used by the Copper shamans would be to dig a hole, place a caribou skin jacket over the hole, crawl under it and lie on their sides pretending to be a seal.³⁵ The sea goddess would approach, riding a seal up to the surface. She then possessed the shaman's body and spoke through it, telling of the broken taboos. The people immediately confessed their sins and the shaman would declare that the goddess was appeased, her hair now in order. The seals would be released and then the goddess would be stabbed. As well, a crying child and the goddess' father were sent up to the surface, screaming

that the goddess had beaten them for freeing the seals. Both Kouhajuks and Eliassiapik (Swinton, 1980, fig. 45 and 46) depict the sea goddess riding a seal. On analysis, some caution is required, as both carvings do not necessarily refer to the above segment in the Sedna myth. While there is an allusion to it, the carvings may refer to an ordinary instance where sea spirit and seal are just playing or associating together.

In the past the shaman held a position of great responsibility.³⁶ If he/she was not powerful enough to placate the sea goddess, misfortune and havoc would continue in the community.

HUMAN SOULS AND THE SEA GODDESS' ABODE

Consistent with the Inuit's belief in the existence of animals' souls was their concept of human souls. These souls would leave the person at death and travel to any number of places in the afterworld, depending on the human's conduct on earth. The Inuit of each region believed in two or three places to which the soul could journey, areas in the sky or heaven, or in the lower world or sea. For the Baffin Land and Iglulik people, one of these areas lay in the sea goddess' domain, as it was believed that the souls of those who had died of disease³⁷ or of natural causes³⁸ travelled to her abode. The people of Cumberland Sound, Baffin Island named the place Adlivum,³⁹ while the inhabitants of Fury and Hecla Strait, Baffin Island, called this afterworld Adli,⁴⁰ both names derived from the word "adli", meaning below or underneath.

To the Iglulik peoples, the souls living in the sea with Takanakapsaluk were the Qimiugarmiut or "dwellers of the Narrow Land."⁴¹ These souls belonged to people who had not died a violent death; those who had died violently dwelt in Udlormiut (heaven).⁴²

In Adlivum the diseased soul would stay for one year or longer with Sedna, the deity, and then travel to the next world, Omiktu, the equivalent of our heaven.⁴³ However, women who died during premature childbirth stayed in Alipaq, near Sedna's abode.⁴⁴

The Inuit of Baffin Land thought of Adli and Adlivum as a hell filled with miserable souls.⁴⁵ In addition, the West Coast of Hudson Bay Inuit believed that souls which had transgressed a law went down to the lower world (no name was given) to live with Nuliayoq, the sea goddess, and her father Anautalik, who tormented the souls.⁴⁶

However, in the Iglulik afterworlds no hardships were suffered at the outset.⁴⁷ Before being permitted into Takanakapsaluk's or Avilayoq's house, the souls were forced to spend time with the deity's father Isarrataitsoq or Anautalik, who punished them and then he sent them on to his daughter's residence. It was Takanakapsaluk who determined where the souls should dwell and it was she who originally directed them to her father's house. She next decided whether they would live with her or in heaven.

Given the option of having one's soul live in heaven or in hell, it is not surprising that the Inuit placed great emphasis on leading a life based on good moral conduct achieved through observance of the laws and taboos. Transgressions such as offending or showing disrespect to the powerful spirits would not be forgotten and would have their unfortunate consequences in the world to come.

Ikana's carving (fig. 19) portrays the sea goddess' abode, the world below and the earth above. The artist has visually created the delicate balance which had existed between these worlds. The figure of the polar bear is significantly placed for it is biologically both a land and

sea mammal. In symbolic terms, the polar bear is a powerful helping spirit assisting shamans in communicating with the spirit world. The two seals act as a base line from where the carving begins and at the same time they represent an allegorical ending and commencement for the seals are continuously sought for clothing and nourishment. The sea goddess' igloo represents both the division and the linkage of the two worlds.

TABLE 4
 ABODES OF THE SEA GODDESS

	BAFFINLAND	CANBON	COPPER	GREENLAND	ICELAND	LABRADOR	MACKENZIE	NETSUK	POLAR	SIBERIA
Lives at the bottom of the sea	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Lives in a stone house				●						
Lives in a stone and whale-rib house	●									
House resembles a looking glass	●			●						
Lives in a snow hut			●							
Lives in an air bubble			●					●		
Lives in a skin tent with the seals			●							
Lives on a rock			●							
Lives on the moon			●							
House has no roof				●						
Has a dirty house									●	
House is surrounded by frightening beings								●		
Has an oil lamp and a sleeping platform			●	●						
Has a vessel in her house from which the animals flow to the surface				●						
Sharks are kept in a urine vessel in her house				●						
A big black dog guards the door								●		●
A dog guards her doorway	●			●	●			●		
The dog has no tail	●			●						
Has two dogs			●							
Father lives with her	●			●				●		●
Father is covered up with skins	●			●				●		●
Father has one arm and wears a mitten	●			●						
Father is small — the size of a ten-year-old child	●			●						
Husband is a sea scorpion								●		
Has a husband			●							
Has a dog husband	●		●	●				●		
Lives with a small child, Ungaq			●					●		
Lives with a dwarf-man called Unga			●	●	●	●		●		
When angry she hides the seals under her platform			●							
Sea beasts live on the right side of her oil lamp				●						
Kataum inua, ruler of the passageway lives with her								●		
Lives with Isarrataiqoq, a woman with no arms								●		

THE SEDNA FESTIVAL

The "Sedna Festival" was a traditional event celebrated annually by the people of Baffin Land.⁴⁸ Held in late summer or late autumn, it was strictly observed by the Inuit to honour the sea goddess, Sedna, who would show her appreciation by sending good hunting and favorable weather for the approaching winter. The festival comprised two or three days of customary rites and games which would anticipate the success of the future hunt. Also a seance would be held where the shaman would communicate with Sedna.

The essential purpose of the seance was to entice Sedna to release the seals from her control and thus provide the people with their main source of winter nourishment.⁴⁹ The seals were freed for one year and only when the shaman had succeeded in wounding or slaying the goddess. The killing of Sedna was paradoxical in that it was killing without the finality of death; rather, it was an event in which the enactment of her murder represented the release of the seals. Three shamans presided over the ceremony and gathered the people into a singing or dancing house where the seance took place.⁵⁰ Of the three shamans, two were the assistants to the most powerful shaman who interacted with the sea goddess. As well, one of the shamans was responsible for chanting magical songs while the people sang spirit songs,⁵¹ all assisting the leading shaman with

the task of inducing the sea goddess to enter the ceremonial house. The principal shaman would make an opening in the floor and coil a rope around it, creating a passageway for the sea deity.⁵² On surfacing, the sea goddess was speared or harpooned by either the chief shaman or one of the assistants. The spearing was thought to appease the goddess by ridding her of attachments symbolizing the transgression of taboos. She then ascended to her abode. The shaman eventually went into a trance and symbolically travelled to the goddess' home, where he/she killed her.

At Cumberland Sound the shamans would commence the ceremony with this symbolic journey to the dwelling place of the goddess, who would indicate all the transgressed laws. The shamans, promising to improve the situation, would then return to the ceremonial house and scold the people. Sedna then surfaced and was harpooned and stabbed by the shamans.⁵³ The entire procedure of capturing and killing or wounding this spirit was analogous to a seal hunt; the opening symbolized the seal's breathing hole and the shaman represented a seal hunter pursuing the seal, portrayed by the goddess.

The following day Sedna's servant Qailertetang⁵⁴ (Swinton, 1980, ilF. 7, p. 29) was sent to observe the festival and promised good weather⁵⁵ if the people complied with the traditional rites organized for the Qailertetang. All persons wore a special amulet on their hoods to keep

away the sickness that the Qailerttang would bring if this custom was not respected.⁵⁶ The amulet consisted of the piece of skin used by their mothers to wipe them clean at birth. The people would then run and shout, going from house to house, receiving a small gift from each household. The festival continued with the people playing the game "tug of war" where those born in winter (ptarmigans) pulled against the people born in summer (ducks).⁵⁷ It was considered a good omen for a bountiful supply of food if the ptarmigans won; if they lost, a bad winter was predicted. Following this contest, the people brought water to a large basin placed alongside the Qailerttang. Taking a sip of the water, they stated the place and season of their birth. As well, they made a wish for good weather and a healthy life.

The men and women were then paired off by the Qailerttang.⁵⁸ To date the reason for this has not been clearly established. Julian Bilby has concluded that the conjoining of men and women was an accepted factor designed to enhance procreation during a time of low birth rate.⁵⁹ In Bilby's account of the Baffin Land festival it was a shaman of a lesser order who paired off the men and women.⁶⁰ Charles Francis Hall also described the shaman as being responsible for this union.⁶¹

In Frobisher Bay the Qailerttang was replaced by three masked creatures Ekko, Noonagekshown and Ekkotow (Swinton, 1980, ill. 8, p. 29) who brought the fine weather.⁶² Ekko

and Noonagekshown supervised the pairing off while Ekko pretended to strike people. Ekkotow and Ekko eventually brought the community into the ceremonial house. The clothing worn by the three figures was similar to that of the Qailertetang, who was portrayed by a man dressed as a woman. This personage wore a sealskin mask and carried a harpoon, a seal float and a skin scraper. Noonagekshown was bound in sealskins surmounted by a dogskin mask and carried a sealskin float and spear, while Ekko carried a kayak scraper. In Bilby's description of the Sedna Festival there appears to be a correlation between the shaman's appearance and that of the Qailertetang.⁶³ The shaman wore women's clothing and a black skin mask marked with tattoos, held a spear and a float and an ulu (a woman's semi-lunar shaped knife). Another less powerful shaman was relegated to directing people into the ceremonial house. Also, Ekko seems to be replaced by Mukkosaktok,⁶⁴ who held a small whip and went from house to house encouraging people to sing a song about their past hunting experiences. An additional character, Noonageeksaktoot, was covered in skins and resembled Noonagekshown.⁶⁵ Noonageeksaktoot's feet were bound with snow beaters. The people confessed their sins to him and he later relayed the confessions to Sedna.

The Sedna Festival was not what we would consider a joyous occasion but, rather, a serious trial for the people and the sea goddess. Its aggressive nature was manifested

by the tug of war and in the slaying and wounding of Sedna; these acts represented the people's hostility towards and fear of the goddess who controlled their fate. Reverence shown to Sedna throughout the year seems to have justified these forceful actions directed against her. This festival was a unique confrontation between the people and the supernatural world. As a reward for following the traditional festival procedures, the sea goddess would ensure good hunting and favourable weather for the coming year.

CONCLUSION

To the Inuit of the past, the sea goddess functioned as a fertility symbol who was responsible for the creation and control of most sea animals. This notion of fertility is manifested in figure 20 where exaggeration of the sea goddess' breasts and nipples signifies her femaleness and live-giving capacities, while Saggiassie Ragee's Sea Goddess Feeding Young (Swinton, 1980, fig. 47, p. 53.) is testimony to the goddess' nurturing capacity. Both carvings by Davidialu (Swinton, 1980, fig. 48 and 49) reveal the sea goddess' maternal nature. In the myth of the goddess there is no mention of children born half-fish, yet they could refer to her children conceived with the dog, petrel or fulmar before this woman became the sea goddess (refer to chapter 1, Origin Myths). However, they more than likely epitomize the sea mother's fertility role. Alikatuktuk's (b. 1944) Taleelayu and Family (fig. 21) also exemplifies the sea goddess' maternal nature. Victoria Mumngshoaluk (fig. 22) and Andrew Karpik (b. 1964) (fig. 23) extend this concept of fecundity to include other sea goddesses with a half-fish husband who obviously assists in the act of procreation.

The Inuit developed a sympathetic and reverent relationship with the goddess, for their sustenance largely depended on the abundance of these animals. The sea deity may be compared to Mother Nature, whose task it was to

preside over the earth, caring for God's creations; yet the sea goddess was more powerful than Mother Nature for she herself participated in the act of creation and exercised substantial control over the people. The Inuit regarded this deity with the greatest respect and fear, as she permeated their minds and characters. They based much of the social and moral structure on the belief in this commanding figure who controlled their destinies. She was their protectress as long as they obeyed the rules designed to appease her. The constant threat of unpredictable weather and scarcity of game and the resulting misfortunes were blamed on the sea goddess, whereas the cause for these disturbances lay with the disobedience of particular laws. The Inuit's relationship with and belief in the sea goddess and other powerful forces was a means of rationalizing and, ultimately, accepting this harsh existence.

One of Rasmussen's informants, Ikinilik, the oldest man from Taherjuaq (Lake Franklin), an Uthuhikjalingmiut from the Back River area profoundly summarizes this relationship:

Now that we have firearms it is almost as if we no longer need shamans, or taboo, for now it is not so difficult to procure food as in the old days. Then we had to laboriously hunt the caribou at the sacred crossing places, and there the only thing that helped was strictly observed taboo in combination with magic words and amulets. Now we can shoot caribou everywhere with our guns, and the result is that we have lived ourselves out of the old customs. We forget our magic

words, and we scarcely use any amulets now. The young people don't. See, my chest is bare; I haven't got all the bones and grave-goods that the Netsilingmiut hang about them. We forget what we no longer have use for. Even the ancient spirit songs that the great shamans sing together with all the men and women of the village we forget, all the old invocations for bringing Nuliajuk up to the earth so that the beasts can be wrested from her - we remember them no more.¹

Over the years, the Inuit's culture has altered and their survival beliefs and techniques are no longer maintained.² They have accepted the white man's hunting methods, technologies and religions. Hand-made bows, spears and harpoons have been largely replaced by mass-produced guns; skidoos have superceded the dog team and Hudson Bay stores and co-ops decrease the necessity to hunt. Hunting is no longer as arduous a task as it used to be and the sympathetic alliance between the hunter and the hunted is no longer overt. The Christian religion has turned the Inuit away from the traditional magico-religious system where people, animals and spirits were intricately connected. The old structure has vanished, its meaning and power lost.

Now the sea goddess is remembered only through the contemporary Inuit artist's illustrations and by means of the somewhat weakened and adulterated stories relayed by the elders at senior citizen meetings (in the larger communities). As previously stated, the loss of animistic and supernatural belief has led to the deterioration of the original myth. In the past, a visual characterization of

such a powerful spirit would have been sacrilegious; today the goddess has lost her true meaning and can be presented in an art form to be known, admired and appreciated. The care and meaning now lives in the object; the belief is secondary. Nevertheless, there is a transformed belief and meaning in the idea of the sea goddess. The contemporary Inuit artist is involved in creating and relaying to an audience the mythological symbols of their traditional past. Through them, the Inuit sea goddess lives on and her legend is conveyed to us and the future generation of Inuit.

Pudlo Pudlat's painting (Swinton, 1980, fig. 51, p. 55.) demonstrates this acculturation phenomenon where the Inuit have adopted and adapted much of the white man's technologies; the airplane is the sign of the new era. However, there always will remain a sense and connection with the traditional customs and beliefs. Pudlo, probably more than anyone else is witness to this link when he juxtaposes and synthesizes the old and the new: the sea spirit rides a severe looking fish which possesses the formal characteristics of a submarine, or even of the airplane, where the fish's frontal fins and decorative markings resemble the numerous landing gear and windows. Pudlo's painting is truly a metaphor for the Inuit of today: their ability to survive and create.

FOOTNOTES

INTRODUCTION

¹ I use the term sea goddess (or Sedna) as this is the more familiar term used by Westerners and now also by the Inuit. Whereas, historically speaking the more accurate term sea spirit should be designated.

² In the past, the term Eskimo was regularly applied when discussing the inhabitants of the Arctic. However, these people call themselves "Inuit," meaning "the People." It is only recently that the white man has acknowledged the term Inuit. I have used the word "Eskimo" only when referring to various name groupings.

³ George Francis Lyon, The Private Journal of Captain G.F. Lyon, of H.M.S. Helica, during the recent voyage of discovery under Captain Perry. (London: John Murray, 1824).

⁴ Edward W. Nelson, The Eskimo About Bering Strait. 18th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pt. 1. (Washington, 1899), p. 196.

⁵ Hans Egede, "Det gamle Gronlands nye Perustration eller Naturel Histoire, 1741." Meddelelser om Gronland, Vol. 54. (Copenhagen, 1925).

⁶ Hinrich Rink, Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo. (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1875).

⁷ Franz Boas, The Central Eskimo. 6th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology 1884-85. (Washington, 1888); rpt., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964.

-----, The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay, Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XV (New York, 1911).

⁸ Ernest Hawkes, The Labrador Eskimo. Geological Survey of Canada, Memoir 91, Anthropological Series no. 14 (Ottawa, 1916).

⁹Lucien M. Turner, Ethnology Of The Ungava District. Bureau of American Ethnology, Eleventh Annual Report, 1894; rpt., Quebec, Canada: Presses Comeditex, 1979.

¹⁰Diamond Jenness, The Life of the Copper Eskimos. Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913-1918, Vol. XII (Ottawa, 1922).

¹¹Knud Rasmussen, Intellectual Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24, Vol. VII, No. 1 (Copenhagen, 1929).

-----, Intellectual Culture of the Caribou Eskimos. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24, Vol. IX (Copenhagen, 1930).

-----, Iglulik and Caribou Eskimo texts. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24, Vol. VII, No. 3 (Copenhagen, 1930b).

-----, The Netsilik Eskimos: Social Life and Spiritual Culture. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24, Vol. VIII, Nos. 1 and 2 (Copenhagen, 1931).

¹²Stith Thompson, Tales of North American Indians. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1929).

¹³Arthur Kroeber, "The Eskimo of Smith Sound," Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XII (1899), pp. 265-327.

-----, "Tales of the Smith Sound Eskimos," Journal of American Folklore, Vol. XII (Cambridge, 1899a), pp. 166-182.

¹⁴Gustav Holm, "Ethnological Sketch of the Angmagsalik Eskimo," Meddelelser om Gronland, Vol. XXXIX, pt. 1, 1914.

¹⁵Edward Weyer, The Eskimos. Their Environment And Folkways (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932).

¹⁶Erik Holtved, The Polar Eskimos, language and folklore, Meddelelser om Gronland, Vol. 152, Nos. 1 and 2 (Copenhagen, 1951).

¹⁷Newell Wardle, "The Sedna Cycle: A Study in Myth Evolution," American Anthropologist, Vol. 2 (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1900), pp. 568-580.

¹⁸Eric Holtved, "The Eskimo Myth about the Sea Woman," Folk, Vol. 8/9, 1966/67, pp. 145-153.

¹⁹Edmund Carpenter, "Changes in the Sedna Myth Among the Aivilik," Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska, Vol. 3(2), May 1955, pp. 69-73.

²⁰James Houston, "Eskimo Sculptors," The Beaver, June 1951, pp. 34-39.

-----, "In Search of Contemporary Eskimo Art," Canadian Art, Vol. IX, No. 3, Spring 1952, pp. 99-104.

-----, "Contemporary Art of the Eskimo," Studio, Vol. 147, February 1954.

-----, "Eskimo Carvings," Royal Architectural Institute of Canada Journal, Vol. 31, April 1954.

-----, "Art from the Arctic," Design, Vol. LVIII, No. 2, Nov./Dec., 1956, pp. 77,81,84.

-----, "Eskimo Graphic Art," Canadian Art, Vol. XVII, January 1960, pp. 8-15.

²¹George Swinton, "Eskimo Carving Today," The Beaver, (Spring, 1958), pp. 40-47.

-----, Eskimo Sculpture (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965).

²²Charles Martijn, "Canadian Eskimo Carving in Historical Perspective," Anthropos, Vol. LIX, 1964, pp. 546-596.

²³Jørgen Meldgaard, Eskimo Sculpture (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1960).

²⁴Zebedee Nungak and Eugene Arima; eskimo stories - unikkaatuat, The National Museums of Canada, Bulletin No. 235 (Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1969).

²⁵The Winnipeg Art Gallery has published a number of exhibition catalogues on mythology from the writings of their past and present Inuit Art curators. Also, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, La Federation Des Coöperatives Du Nouveau Quebec as well as other public Canadian art galleries and museums have and are publishing catalogues on particular Inuit art and its mythological references.

²⁶Nelda Swinton, The Inuit Sea Goddess. Exhibition Catalogue (Montreal: The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1980). Throughout this thesis reference will be made to this catalogue in the following manner: (Swinton, 1980, fig.).

²⁷By traditional, I refer to a way of life that was at first based solely on hunting and since the nineteenth century also on trapping. The Inuit peoples totally relied on hunting, in fact, "traditional" activities refer to a particular subsistence economy as opposed to a contemporary lifestyle with a trading and monetary economy within the process of acculturation. The Inuit's acquaintance with the barter economy resulted from trapping activities which began in the early nineteenth century with European whalers, traders and explorers. Furs, skin, seal and walrus blubber, and later on, tiny souvenir sculptures were traded for guns, ammunition, tea, tobacco, sugar, pipes, and bread. Boas, Central Eskimo, p. 58 states that "as soon as the whalers began to winter in the sound (Cumberland Sound) and to employ the natives, the latter received firearms and European boats in exchange for their wares, and then their modes of living became materially changed."

²⁸Eliade speculates on the idea of fertility and the life-giving force of certain mythological spirits and I would like to include the sea goddess myth as one of these fertility-creation myths. Wendell Beane and William Doty, editors, Vol. 2, Myths, Rites, Symbols: A Mircea Eliade Reader, (New York: Harper and Row, 1975) and Rasmussen states that no creation myth exists in the Canadian Arctic with two minor exceptions which are also fertility myths, Igulik Eskimos, p. 252.

29 The Alaskan Eskimo of Hooper Bay believed in the King of the Seals who ruled over the sea animals; they did not believe in the sea goddess. Charles Gillham, Medicine Men of Hooper Bay-Eskimo Folk-Tales from Alaska (London: The Batchworth Press, 1955), p. 139. The Eskimo about Bering Strait believed that the sea and land animals had control over themselves, Edward Nelson, The Eskimo About Bering Strait, p. 427. The Eskimo of Port Clarence, Alaska, know the myth where a girl, thrown overboard by her father, has her fingers cut off by him. Her fingers are transformed into salmon, seals, walruses and whales, Franz Boas, "Notes On The Eskimo of Port Clarence, Alaska," The Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. VII (1894), p. 205.

30 Throughout this thesis and in fact most writings on Inuit artists, there is a great deal of misunderstanding when referring to the names of these artists. The reason is simple, generally speaking Inuit artists are known by their given names which have been originally recorded on labels and in catalogues. However, during the "project Surname" initiated to better facilitate birth registration, welfare payments and other bureaucratic processes, wives and children were given the surname of their husbands which in turn derived from the father's given name. For example, the famous Cape Dorset artist Pauta and his wife Pitaloosie were known and listed under their own name; now they are listed under Saita, Pauta and Saita, Pitaloosie, Saita derived from Pauta's father's name. In view of this phenomenon, I have used the names by which these artists have become most widely known:

31 Zebedee Nungak and Eugene Armina, Eskimo Stories - Unikkaatuat, p. 53.

32 Jørgen Meldgaard, Eskimo Sculpture, p. 8.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER 1

THE INUIT SEA GODDESS - MYTHS AND IMAGES

¹As is generally known, art historians ascribe the word "art" to these objects because of their aesthetic appeal, their formal and ostensibly spiritual and or decorative qualities, as well as their imagistic power. See Meldgaard (1960) and William Taylor and George Swinton, "Prehistoric Dorset Art," The Beaver, Autumn, 1967, pp. 32-47.

²Knud Rasmussen, Intellectual culture of the Caribou Eskimos, p.48. As well, the people at Pond's Bay call the goddess Kunna or Katuma; they do not mention the name Aivilayoq, Franz Boas, The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay, p. 492.

³Charles Martijn, Eskimo Carving, p. 557.

⁴Diamond Jenness, Eskimo Administration: III. Labrador. Technical Paper No. 16 (Montreal: Arctic Institute of North America, 1965).

⁵Charles Martijn, Eskimo Carving, p. 583. For a detailed report see Swinton, Eskimo Sculpture, pp. 48-52 and Watt, Canadian Guild of Crafts, introduction.

⁶Eskimo sculpture, has often been equated with souvenir art or the cottage craft industry. To refer to all Eskimo art as "souvenir art" is unjust and disparaging of the term. Many people creating these carvings are highly individualistic and original artists who do not adhere to the limitations of making an assembly-line product. There are always mediocre carvers who tend to reproduce in great quantities, the same smiling seals and birds, as they know this type of carving will bring in a few dollars. While these carvers are most likely unable to do any better this situation is not entirely caused by them alone; many of the south's souvenir shops request large orders of refined, well-polished seals, birds or bears, so that the tourists and a large segment of the Canadian public can collect these curios made in the Canadian North. However, these souvenirs, serving as reminders of the Canadian Eskimo do not typify the significant works produced by the Inuit and represented in this thesis where care, time and thought have gone into the creation of a work of art.

This phenomenon of creating 'souvenir' works exists in other parts of the world, Africa and Mexico are but two examples where there exists an ethnographic art industry. This art produced today is entirely for the commercial market. All religious meanings are lost and what exists are reproductions of "traditional" art. In this regard contemporary Canadian Inuit art differs somewhat for it is not based on former ethnographic and visual tradition. It is also true that these countries produce mediocre works which invariably find their way into many tourists' collections. As well, the Western world produces a great quantity of souvenir art where European masterworks are copied to make posters, prints and "original" oil masterpieces; and what about the velvet paintings and all the black panthers and teary-eyed children sold as art in department stores.

⁷The East Coast Hudson Bay Eskimos acquired many of the legends and beliefs belonging to the Labrador, Iglulik and Baffin Land people who lived to the east and the north. Various groups from these areas migrated to the west, east and south, eventually residing along the east coast of Hudson Bay. Search for wood and trade necessitated the frequent migrations. As well, the stories travelled and fused with the Labrador mythology. However, the myths that survived with the East Coast Hudson Bay Eskimo have been generally grouped under the Labrador Eskimo. Telephone interview with Bernard Saladin d'Anglure, March 26, 1980.

⁸The Caribou Eskimo believed "Pinga, the one up in the Sky," to be the most powerful force. However, Pinga did not rule over the sea and land animals for they had control over themselves. Nevertheless, in Baker Lake, Sedna is known and portrayed in contemporary Inuit artists' work. One reason for acknowledging the sea goddess was due to the migration of many tribes from the Netsilik area who resided to the north of the Caribou Eskimo. As a result of the Netsiligmiut's strong faith in the sea goddess, their beliefs became intermingled with those of the Caribou people.

⁹In order to obtain a comprehensive overview of the so very complex versions and subtle interfaces of the "Sedna" myth, I have integrated the various renditions obtained from the following sources:

Franz Boas, The Central Eskimo.

-----, The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay.

Ernest W. Hawkes, The Labrador Eskimo.

Diamond Jenness, The Life of the Copper Eskimos.

-----, Eskimo Folklore - Myth and Traditions from Northern Alaska, The Mackenzie Delta and Coronation Gulf. Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913-18, Vol. XIV (Ottawa, 1924).

Knud Rasmussen, Intellectual Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos.

-----, Intellectual Culture of the Caribou Eskimos.

-----, Iglulik and Caribou Eskimo Texts.

-----, The Netsilik Eskimos: Social Life and Spiritual Culture.

Lucien M. Turner, Ethnology of the Ungava District.

¹⁰The myths of the Siberian, Greenland and Polar Eskimos can be found in the following:

Henry Rink, Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo.

Erik Holtved, The Polar Eskimos, language and folklore,

-----, "The Eskimo Myth about the Sea Woman."

A.L. Kroeber, "The Eskimo of Smith Sound."

-----, "Tales of the Smith Sound Eskimos."

¹¹Please refer to Table 1 for a listing of the numerous names of the sea goddess.

¹²Rasmussen, Copper Eskimos, p. 241.

¹³Rasmussen, Iglulik and Caribou Eskimos texts, pp. 120-121.

¹⁴The Utkuhikhalingmiut, Inuit considered to belong to the Netsilik Eskimo, resided between the boundaries of the Netsilik and Caribou Eskimo. They believed in Nuliajuk who controlled the land and sea animals. The same origin myth existed; however, the girl's original name was Putulik which later changed to Nuliajuk. Rasmussen, Netsilik Eskimos, pp. 227-228.

¹⁵Hawkes, The Labrador Eskimo, p. 152.

¹⁶Boas, The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay, pp. 175-177.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 119.

¹⁸Boas, The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay, pp. 163-165.

¹⁹Rasmussen, Iglulik Eskimos, pp. 63-66.

²⁰Rasmussen, The Netsilik Eskimos, pp. 498-500.

²¹This analysis and interpretation is a result of my own research.

²²The Baffin Land Eskimo of Cumberland Sound and Davis Strait and the Iglulik Eskimo believed the sea spirit to have neat hair made up in one pigtail, Boas, The Central Eskimo, pp. 177-178 and George Francis Lyon, The Private Journal of Captain G.F. Lyon, pp. 363-364. The Copper Eskimo believed the sea goddess wore her hair in a tuft, Rink, Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo, p. 326.

²³This carving was originally identified to Kiakshuk however, I have changed the attribution after personal communication with George Swinton June 21, 1984 who has attributed the work to Peter Eyeesiak, b. 1937.

²⁴The Greenland shamans either braided the sea spirit's hair or tied it in a hairknot, Rink, Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo, p. 326. The Polar shamans tied the sea spirit's hair in a hairknot, Holtved, Polar Eskimos, p. 23 and Kroeber, "Tales of the Smith Sound Eskimos," p. 306.

²⁵The sea goddess is represented with human fingers in the following carvings and prints in Swinton, 1980, fig. 4, 8, 9, 12, 19, 20, 21, 23, 27, 28, 29, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 46, and 47. The fingers may also express the partial human characteristics of this great spirit who was once a woman.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER 2

SOULS, THE SEA GODDESS AND SHAMANS

¹An example of the narwhal woman is illustrated in the 1972 Cape Dorset Print catalogue, ill. 30.

²Rasmussen, Iglulik Eskimos, p. 56. Aua, one of the great Iglulik shamans spoke to Rasmussen on behalf of his community regarding the Inuit's fears.

³Boas, The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay, p. 122.

⁴Ibid., p. 149.

⁵Boas, The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay, p. 120.

⁶Ibid., from the West Coast of Hudson Bay. p. 150.

⁷Rasmussen, Iglulik Eskimos, p. 100, 124.

⁸Boas, The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay, p. 517. As well, the Iglulik sea goddess is known to change people into sea animals, Rasmussen, Iglulik Eskimos, p. 100.

⁹From the Cumberland Sound area, Boas, The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay, pp. 121-122.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 121.

¹¹Rasmussen, Netsilik Eskimos, p. 287.

¹²The singing house, dancing house or qagge was a large igloo used for special ceremonies.

¹³From the West Coast of Hudson Bay, Boas, The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay, p. 149.

¹⁴From the Cumberland Sound area, Boas, The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay, p. 128.

¹⁵Rasmussen, Netsilik Eskimos, p. 242.

¹⁶Hawkes, The Labrador Eskimo, p. 126.

¹⁷Rasmussen, Netsilik Eskimos, p. 225.

¹⁸Rasmussen, Iglulik Eskimos, p. 126 and Rasmussen, Copper Eskimos, p. 25.

¹⁹Boas, The Central Eskimo, pp. 193-194 and Jenness, Copper Eskimos, p. 195.

²⁰Rasmussen, Iglulik Eskimos, p. 126. This song was sung by the elder tribe members,

²¹Jenness, Copper Eskimos, pp. 193-194.

²²Or is it perhaps Kivioq? Kivioq is the epic hero...the Eskimo orpheus...who rides into the underworld searching for his lost wife.

²³Rasmussen, Iglulik Eskimos, pp. 127 and 128.

²⁴Boas, The Central Eskimo, pp. 177-178.

²⁵Lyon, The Private Journal of Captain G.F. Lyon, p. 362.

²⁶Rasmussen, Netsilik Eskimos, p.227.

²⁷Rasmussen, Iglulik Eskimos, p. 127.

²⁸Boas, The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay, p. 358 and Rink, Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo, p. 40.

²⁹Rasmussen, Iglulik Eskimos, p. 127, 173 and Rink, Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo, p. 326.

³⁰Rasmussen, Iglulik Eskimos, p. 127 and Kroeber, "Tales of the Smith Sound Eskimo," p. 306.

³¹Holtved, Polar Eskimos, p. 23.

³²Boas, The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay, p. 497.

³³Rasmussen, Netsilik Eskimos, p.226.

³⁴Jenness, Copper Eskimos, p. 188.

³⁵The interaction between the shaman and the sea goddess is comparable to the procedures encountered in the Baffin Land Sedna Festival. This ceremony was performed when the people needed more seal and blubber for their oil lamps. Rasmussen, Copper Eskimos, pp. 24-26.

³⁶The Caribou shamans were not able to procure games, as the animals controlled themselves.

³⁷Boas, The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay, p. 130. People who had broken taboos went to the sea goddess' abode in Adlivum, Boas, The Central Eskimo, p. 182.

³⁸Rasmussen, Iglulik Eskimos, p. 94.

³⁹Boas, The Central Eskimo, p. 180, 182.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 182.

⁴¹Rasmussen, Iglulik Eskimos, p. 94.

⁴²Ibid., p. 94.

⁴³Boas, The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay, p. 130. The people from Frobisher Bay called heaven "Qudliparmiut," Boas, The Central Eskimo, p. 181.

⁴⁴Boas, The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay, p. 130.

⁴⁵Boas, The Central Eskimo, p. 181 and Julian W. Bilby, Among Unknown Eskimo (London: Seeley Service & Co. Limited, 1923), p. 207.

⁴⁶Boas, The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay, p. 146.

⁴⁷Rasmussen, Iglulik Eskimos, pp. 94-95.

⁴⁸Bilby, Among Unknown Eskimo, pp. 202, 210-223 and Boas, The Central Eskimo, pp. 195-201 and Boas, The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay, pp. 138-142.

⁴⁹The Copper people held a similar ceremony when more seal and blubber for the oil lamps were needed. A parallel confrontation existed between the shaman, the people and the sea goddess. Refer to The Shaman's Role In Propitiating The Sea Goddess, Chapter 2.

⁵⁰Boas, The Central Eskimo, p. 192. The singing house was also called "qaggi."

⁵¹Ibid., p. 196.

⁵²Boas, The Central Eskimo, p. 196 and Bilby, Among Unknown Eskimo, p. 214.

⁵³Boas, The Central Eskimo, p. 196 and Boas, The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay, p. 139.

⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 139-140. As well, in The Central Eskimo, p. 197, Boas states that at Cumberland Sound the Qailertetang are two sealskin-masked, tattooed people, wearing large boots, carrying seal spears, scrapers and a seal float on their backs. They were responsible for pairing off the men and women and for invoking good weather. It is interesting to note that in the illustration of the Qailertetang, this personage wears a woman's parka which can be distinguished from the man's parka which does not exhibit the v-shaped lower frontal extension (kiniq). By wearing the woman's parka, a

symbolic correlation is made between the sea spirit, her female attributes and the Qailerttang's outfit. Also it is important to realize that shamans incorporated attributes of the opposite sex in their garments in order to emphasize their ability of hermaphroditic transformations.

⁵⁵Boas, The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay, p. 140.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 140 and Boas, The Central Eskimo, p. 196.

⁵⁷Boas, The Central Eskimo, p. 197 and Boas, The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay, p. 141 and Bilby, Among Unknown Eskimo, pp. 216-217.

⁵⁸Boas, The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay, p. 141.

⁵⁹Bilby, Among Unknown Eskimo, p. 214.

⁶⁰Ibid., pp. 212-214.

⁶¹Boas, The Central Eskimo, pp. 198-199.

⁶²Boas, The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay, pp. 141-142.

⁶³Bilby, Among Unknown Eskimo, pp. 211-212.

⁶⁴Ibid., pp. 219-220.

⁶⁵Bilby, Among Unknown Eskimo, p. 222.

FOOTNOTES

CONCLUSION

¹Rasmussen, Netsilik Eskimos, p. 500.

²Traditional Inuit life began to change with the appearance of the whalers and explorers who brought with them various implements which altered the Inuit's survival mechanisms and also the white Christian influence brought changes to their religious beliefs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Inuit Art in the 1970's.
Exhibition Catalogue. Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art
Centre, 1979.

Balikci, Asen. The Netsilik Eskimo. Garden City, New
York: The Natural History Press, 1970.

Beane, Wendell and William Doty editors. Myths, Rites and
Symbols: A Mircea Eliade Reader. Vol. 2. New York:
Harper & Row, 1975.

Bilby, Julian W. Among Unknown Eskimo. London: Seeley
Service & Co. Limited, 1923.

Blodgett, Jean. The Coming and Going of the Shaman -
Eskimo Shamanism and Art. Exhibition Catalogue.
Winnipeg: The Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1978.

----- Eskimo Narrative. Exhibition Catalogue.
Winnipeg: The Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1979.

----- Grasp Tight The Old Ways. Selections from the
Klamer Family Collection of Inuit Art. Exhibition
Catalogue. Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1983.

Boas, Franz. "Notes on the Eskimo of Port Clarence,
Alaska," The Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. VII,
1894, pp. 205-208.

----- The Central Eskimo. 6th Annual Report of the
Bureau of American Ethnology 1884-85. Washington,
1888, rpt., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, c.
1964.

----- The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay.
Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History,
Vol. XV. New York, 1901.

Carpenter, Edmund S. "Changes in the Sedna Myth Among the Aivilik," Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska, Vol. 3(2), May 1955, pp. 69-73.

----- Eskimo Realities. New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, c. 1973.

Cowan, Susan, and Ruth Innuksuk. We don't live in snow houses now. Reflections of Arctic Bay. Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Producers, c. 1976.

Driscoll, Bernadette. Inuit Myths, Legends and Songs. Exhibition Catalogue. Winnipeg: The Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1982.

Egede, Hans. "Det gamle Gronlands nye Perustration, eller Naturel Histoire, 1741." Meddelelser om Gronland. Vol. 54. Copenhagen, 1925.

Gillham, Charles E. Medicine Men of Hooper Bay - Eskimo Folk-Tales from Alaska. London: The Batchworth Press, 1955.

Goetz, Helga. The Inuit Print. Ottawa: National Museum of Man and National Museums of Canada, c. 1977.

Hall, Charles Francis. Narrative of the Second Arctic Expedition made by Charles F. Hall. London: Trubner & Co., 1879.

Hawkes, Ernest W. The Labrador Eskimo. Geological Survey of Canada, Memoir 91, Anthropological Series no. 14. Ottawa, 1916.

Holm, Gustav. "Ethnological Sketch of the Angmagsalik Eskimo," Meddelelser om Gronland, Vol. XXXIX, pt. 1, 1914.

Holtved, Erik. The Polar Eskimo, language and folklore. Meddelelser om Gronland, Vol. 152, Nos. 1 and 2. Copenhagen, 1951.

----- "The Eskimo Myth about the Sea Woman," Folk, Vol. 8/9, 1966/67, pp. 145-153.

Houston, James. "Eskimo Sculptors," The Beaver, June 1951, pp. 34-39.

----- "In Search of Contemporary Eskimo Art," Canadian Art, Vol. IX, No. 3, Spring 1952, pp. 99-104.

----- "Contemporary Art of the Eskimo," Studio, Vol. 147, February 1954.

----- "Eskimo Carvings," Royal Architectural Institute of Canada Journal, Vol. 31, April 1954.

----- "Art from the Arctic," Design, Vol. LVIII, No. 2, Nov./Dec., 1956, pp. 77, 81, 84.

----- "Eskimo Graphic Art," Canadian Art, Vol. XVII, January 1960, pp. 8-15.

----- Eskimo Prints. Barre, Massachusetts: Barre Publishers, 1967.

Jenness, Diamond. The Life of the Copper Eskimos. Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913-1918, Vol. XII. Ottawa, 1922.

----- Eskimo Folklore - Myth and Traditions from Northern Alaska. The Mackenzie Delta and Coronation Gulf. Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913-1918, Vol. XIV. Ottawa, 1924.

----- Eskimo Administration: III. Labrador. Technical Paper No. 16. Montreal: Arctic Institute of North America, 1965.

Kroeber, Arthur L. "Tales of the Smith Sound Eskimo," The Journal of American Folk-lore. Vol. XII. Cambridge, 1899, pp. 166-182.

----- "The Eskimo of Smith Sound," Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XII. New York, 1899, pp. 265-327.

La Federation Des Cooperatives Du Nouveau-Quebec.
Davidialuk 1977. Montreal: La Federation des
Cooperatives du Nouveau-Quebec, 1977.

Lyon, George Francis. The Private Journal of Captain G.F. Lyon, of H.M.S. Helca, during the recent voyage of discovery under Captain Perry. London: John Murray, 1824.

Martijn, Charles. "Canadian Eskimo Carving in Historical perspective," Anthropos, Vol. LIX, 1964, pp. 546-596.

McGhee, Robert. "Ivory for the Sea Women: The Symbolic Attributes of a Prehistoric Technology," Canadian Journal of Archaeology, no. 1, 1977, pp. 141-149.

----- Canadian Arctic Prehistory. Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold Ltd., 1978.

Meldgaard, Jørgen. Eskimo Sculpture. London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1960.

Myers, Marybelle, editor. Things Made by Inuit. Exhibition Catalogue. Montreal: La Federation Des Cooperatives Du Nouveau-Quebec, 1980.

Nelson, Edward W. The Eskimo About Bering Strait. 18th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pt. 1. Washington, 1899, pp. 3-518.

Nungak, Zebedee and Eugene Arima. eskimo stories - unikkaatuat. The National Museums of Canada, Bulletin no. 235. Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1969.

Pitseolak, Peter and oral biography by Dorothy Eber. People from our side. Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1975.

Rasmussen, Knud. Intellectual culture of the Iglulik Eskimos. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24, Vol. VII, No. 1. Copenhagen, 1929.

----- Intellectual culture of the Caribou Eskimos. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24, Vol. VII, No. 2. Copenhagen, 1930a.

- Iglulik and Caribou Eskimo Texts. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24, Vol. VII, No. 3. Copenhagen, 1930b.
- The Netsilik Eskimos: Social Life and Spiritual Culture. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24, Vol. VIII, Nos. 1 and 2. Copenhagen, 1931.
- Intellectual culture of the Copper Eskimos. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24, Vol. IX. Copenhagen, 1932.
- Rink, Hinrich. Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1875.
- Eskimo Tales and Songs," The Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. II, 1889, pp. 123-131.
- "Eskimo Tales and Songs," The Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. VII, 1894, pp. 45-49.
- Roch, Ernst, editor. Arts of the Eskimo: Prints. Montreal: Signum Press, 1974.
- Saladin D'Anglure, Bernard. La parole changee en pierre. Vie et oeuvre de Davidialuk Alasuaq, artiste inuit du Quebec arctique. Quebec: Gouvernement du Quebec, 1978.
- Smith, Harlan I. "Notes on Eskimo Traditions," The Journal of American Folklore, Vol. VII, 1894, pp. 209-216.
- Sobey, Regitze Margrethe. "The Eskimo Animal Cult," Folk, Vol. 11/12, 1969/70, pp. 43-75.
- Surrey Art Gallery. The Inuit Sea Goddess. Exhibition Catalogue. Surrey, British Columbia: Surrey Art Gallery, 1981.
- Swinton, George. "Eskimo Carving Today," The Beaver, Spring, 1958, pp. 40-47.

----- Eskimo Sculpture. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965.

----- "Eskimo art reconsidered," artscanada, No. 162/163, Dec. 1971/Jan. 1972, pp. 85-94.

----- Sculpture of the Eskimo. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972.

Swinton, Nelda. The Inuit Sea Goddess. Exhibition Catalogue. Montreal: The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1980.

----- The Jacqu and Morris Shumiatcher Collection of Inuit Art. Exhibition Catalogue. Regina: The Norman MacKenzie Art Gallery, 1981.

Taylor, William and George Swinton. "Prehistoric Dorset Art," The Beaver, Autumn, 1967, pp. 32-47.

Thalbitzer, William. "Cultic Deities of the Inuit (Eskimo)," Proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Americanists, Rome, 1928a, pp. 367-391.

Thompson, Stith. Tales of North American Indians. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1929.

Turner, Lucien M. Ethnology Of The Ungava District. Bureau of American Ethnology, Eleventh Annual Report, 1894, rpt., Quebec, Canada: Presses Comeditex, 1979.

Vallee, Frank G. Kabloona and Eskimo in the Central Keewatin. Northern Co-ordination and Research Center, Ottawa; and Canadian Research Center for Anthropology, St. Paul's University, 1962 and 1967.

Wardle, Newell H. "The Sedna Cycle: A Study in Myth Evolution," American Anthropologist, Vol. 2. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1900, pp. 568-580.

Watt, Virginia, editor. Canadian Guild of Crafts Quebec: The Permanent Collection. Montreal: Canadian Guild of Crafts, 1980.

Weyer, Edward Moffat M. The Eskimos. Their Environment
And Folkways. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932.

PRINT CATALOGUES

Arctic Quebec Prints, 1973. Ville St. Laurent: La
Federation Des Cooperatives Du Nouveau-Quebec.

Baker Lake Prints, 1971, 1979, 1980. Baker Lake: Sanavik
Cooperative.

Cape Dorset Prints, 1970, 1972, 1974, 1975, 1978, 1979,
1980. Cape Dorset: West Baffin Island Cooperative.

Holman Island Prints, 1975/76. Holman Island: Holman
Island Cooperative.

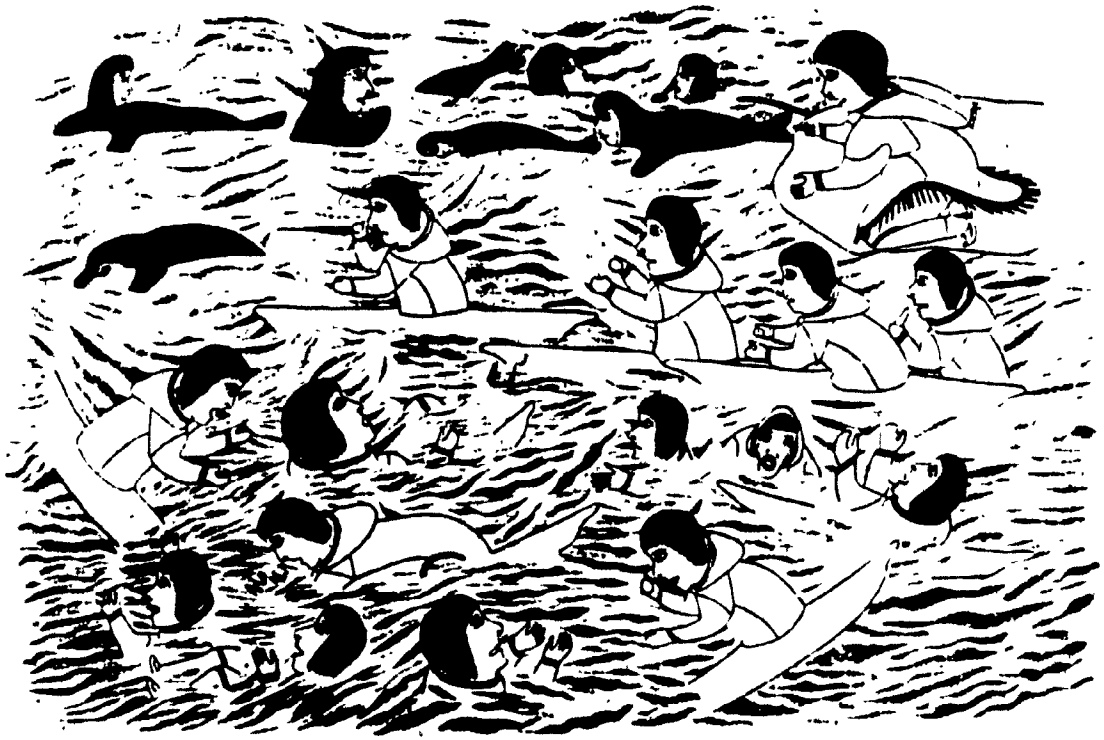
Pangnirtung Prints, 1976, 1978. Pangnirtung: Pangnirtung
Eskimo Cooperative.



- 1 Lukta Qiatsug, 1928
Cape Dorset
Sea Spirits, 1961
linocut
29.9 x 22.9 cm
The Jacqui And Morris Shumiatcher
Collection Of Inuit Art, 1981, ill. 101



2 Davidialu Alasua Amittu, 1910-1976
Povungnituk
Iqalunappa, 1958
stone
l. 38.1 cm
Eskimo Stories - unikkaatuat, 1969, ill. 22

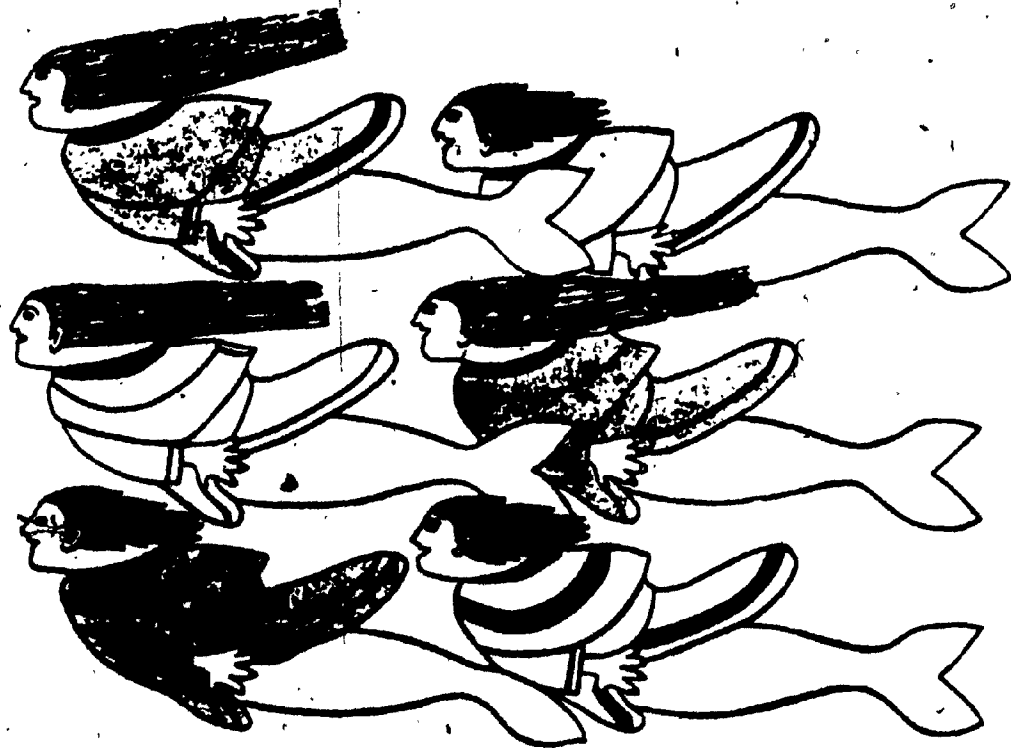


3 Victoria Mungshoaluk, 1930
Baker Lake
The Boy and His Grandmother Trick
the Mean People, 1980
linocut and stencil
63.4 x 94.0 cm
Baker Lake Prints 1980, ill. 25

KENOJUK



4 Kenojuk, 1927
Cape Dorset
Seamails with Owl, 1980
stonecut
60.0 x 66,5 cm
Cape Dorset Prints 1980, ill. 10



5 Mary Koomwartok Ashoona, 1938
Cape Dorset
Seamaiids, 1978
stonecut and stencil
46.0 x 61.0 cm
Cape Dorset Prints 1978, ill. 3



- 6 Germaine Arnaktauyok, 1946
Igloolik
Sedna, Sea Goddess, 1981
ink and paper
36.2 x 36.8 cm
The Inuit Sea Goddess, 1981, front cover



7 Tungak
Repulse Bay
Untitled, 1983
stone
13.9 x 6.6 cm
Private collection

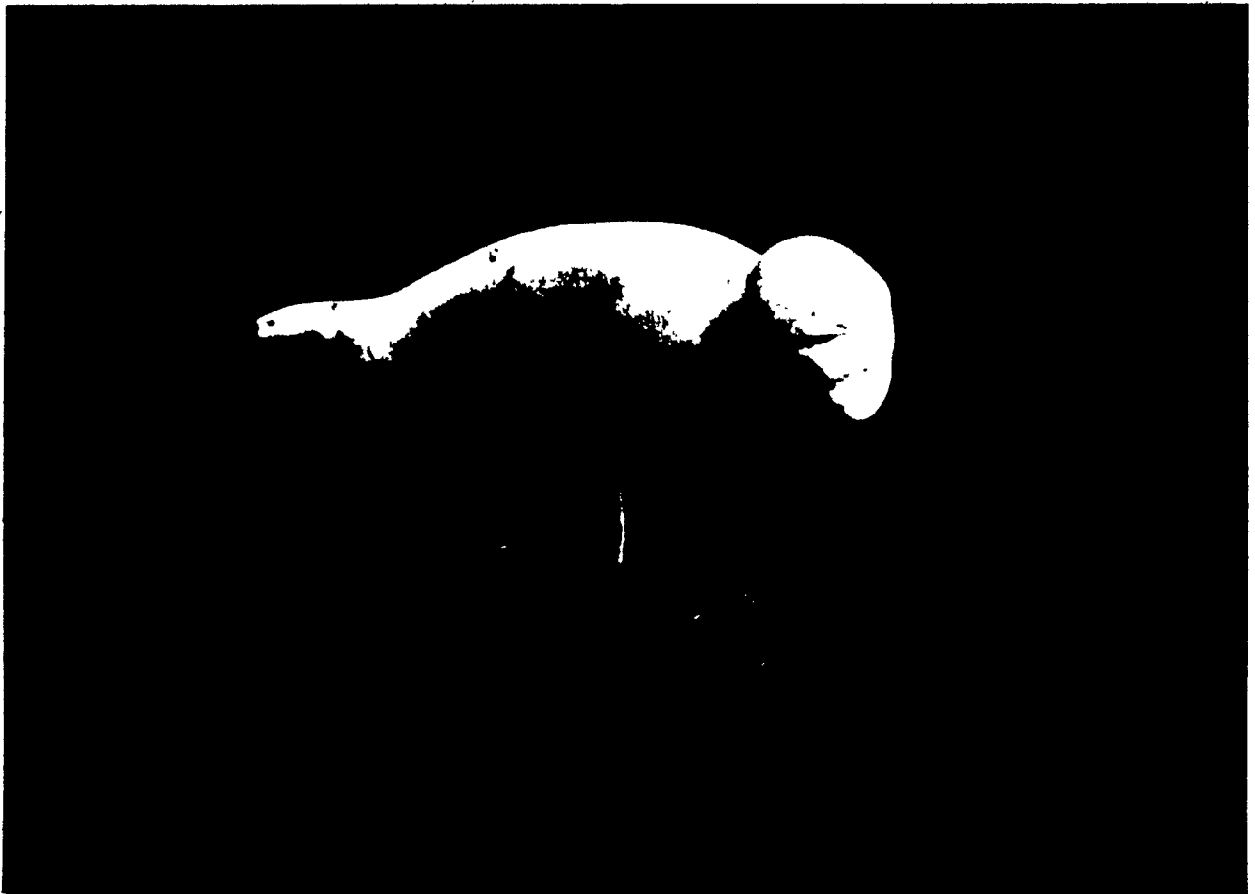


8 Pudlo Pudlat, 1916
Cape Dorset
Taleelayo, 1963
stonecut
30.4 x 40.6 cm
Eskimo Prints, 1967, p. 69



30 Taleelayo
24-34
orange green
stonecut of
Pitaloosee

9 Pitaloosee, 1942
Cape Dorset
Taleelayo, 1974
stonecut
60.9 x 86.3 cm
Cape Dorset Prints 1974, ill. 30



10 · Rosa Arnarudluk, 1914
Repulse Bay
Untitled, 1976
ivory and stone
7.6 x 7.6 cm
Private collection



11 Pitaloosee, 1942
Cape Dorset
Taleelayo #2, 1974
stonecut
60.9 x 86.3 cm
Cape Dorset Prints, 1974, ill. 29



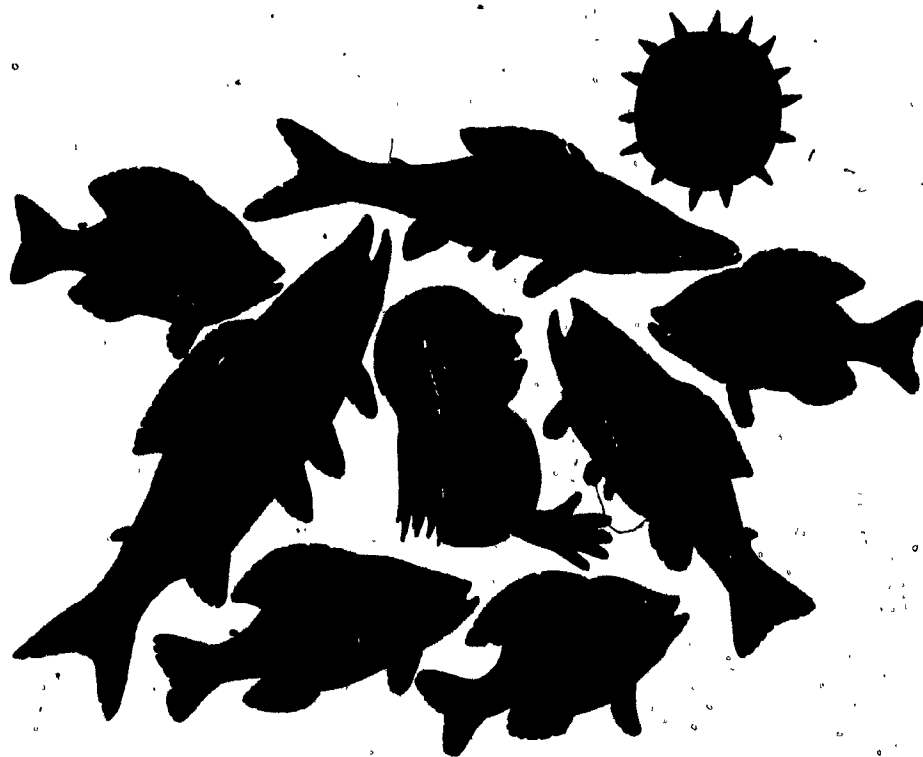
12 Mark Tungilik, 1913
Repulse Bay
Untitled, 1982
ivory and stone
3.3 x 2.5 cm
Private collection



13 Kenojuak, 1927
Cape Dorset
Talelayu, 1979
stonecut and stencil
61.0 x 77.0 cm
Cape Dorset Prints 1979, ill. 21



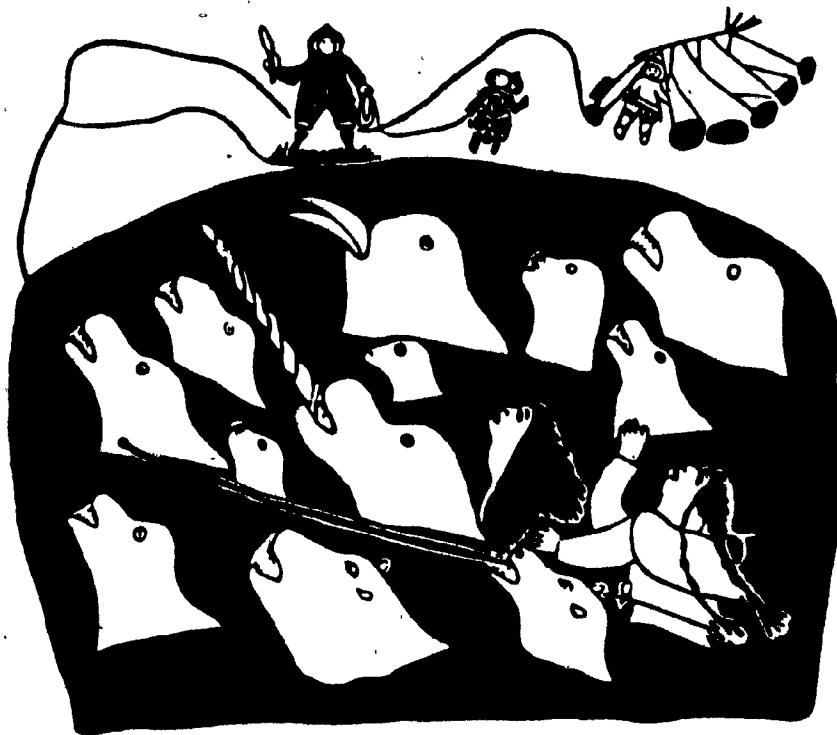
14 Lucy Meeko, 1929
Great Whale River
Study, 1973
stonecut
46.9 x 63.5 cm
Arctic Quebec Prints 1973, ill. 26



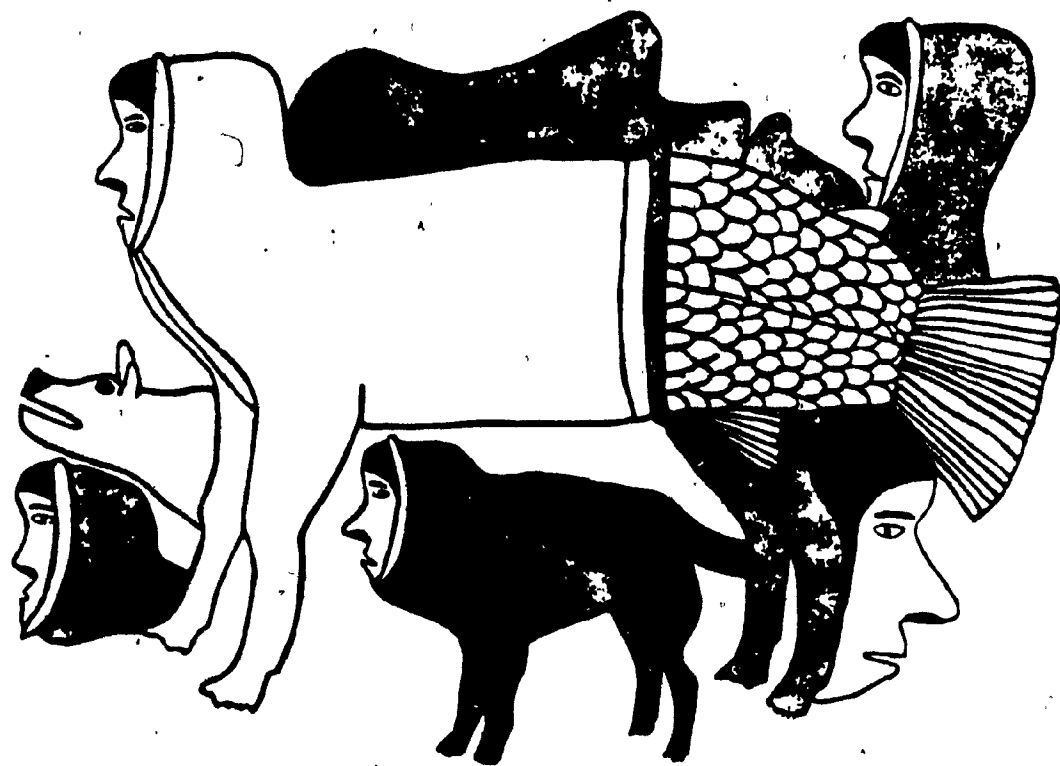
15 Helen Kalvak, 1901
Holman Island
Sea Goddess, 1975/76
stonecut
45.7 x 60.9 cm
Holman Island Prints 1975/76, ill. 12



16 Soroseelutu Ashoona, 1941
Cape Dorset
Taleelayu with Fish, 1970
stonecut
60.9 x 86.3 cm
Cape Dorset Prints 1970, ill. 56



17 Pitseolak Ashoona, 1904
Cape Dorset
Lumaiyo, 1972
stonecut
60.6 x 83.7 cm
Cape Dorset Prints 1972, ill. 30



18 Simon Tookoome, 1934
Baker Lake
Qaruhuaq Becomes a Shaman, 1979
linocut and stencil
56.4 x 74.7 cm
Baker Lake Prints 1979, ill. 32



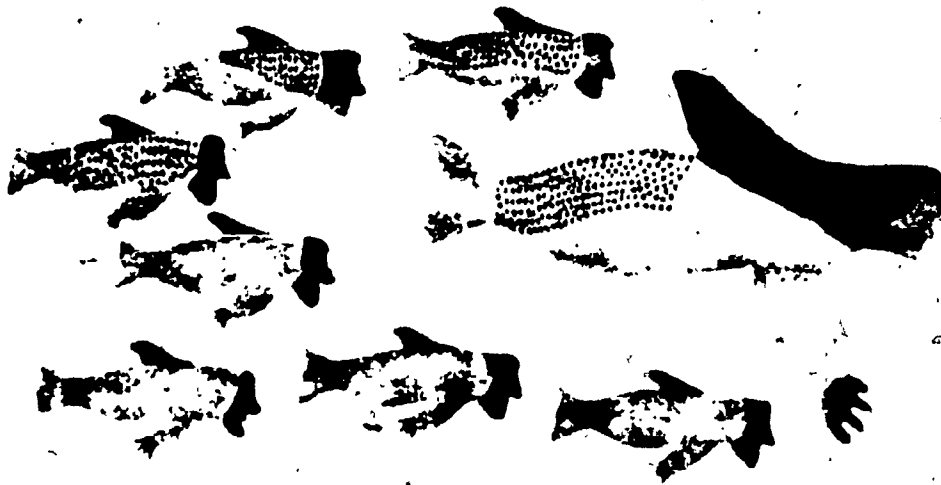
19 Ikana
Frobisher Bay
Untitled, 1979
ivory and stone
27.3 x 7.6 cm
Private collection



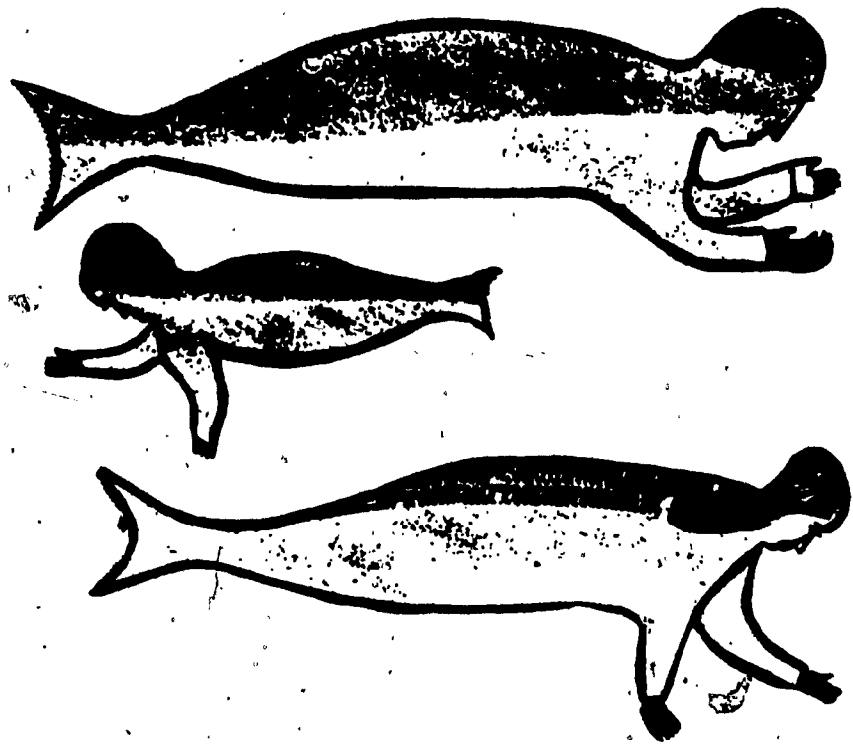
19 Detail



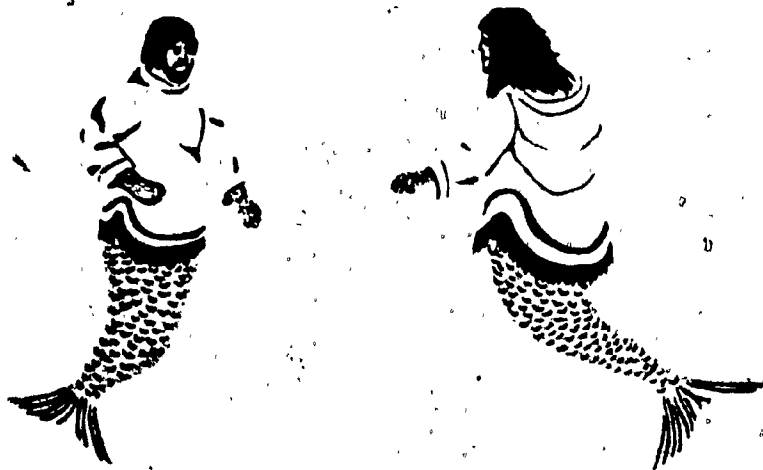
20 Pitaloosee, 1942
Cape Dorset
Woman of the Arctic Sea, 1975
stonecut
49.5 x 62.2 cm
Cape Dorset Prints 1975, ill. 4



21 Ananaissee Alikatuktuk, 1944
Pangnirtung
Taleelayu and Family, 1976
stencil
38.5 x 58.5 cm
Pangnirtung Prints 1976, ill. 13



22 Victoria Mumngshoaluk, 1930
Baker Lake
Sea Family, 1971
stonecut and stencil
33.6 x 39.3 cm
Baker Lake Prints 1971, ill. 37



23 Andrew Karpik, 1964
Pangnirtung
Taleelayu Man and Wife, 1978
stencil
42.5 x 61.5 cm
Pangnirtung Prints 1978, ill. 11