IN SEARCH OF THULE CHILDREN: MINIATURE PLAYTHINGS AS A MEANS OF SOCIALIZING CHILDREN

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In Search of Thule Children:
Miniature Playthings as a Means of Socializing Children

by

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Abstract

During the last decade, the study of the individual and the transmission of knowledge and learning have become an essential concern in prehistoric archaeology. However, the child, as an individual agent who participates in the entirety of social contexts, is often absent or passive in prehistoric connection. The archaeology of children contributes to make children more visible by examining the child's world through the study of the archaeological correlates of their activities. This thesis presents the assessment of child-related playthings of the Thule culture from the pre-contact period by examining miniatures, toys and games from Inuarfigssuaq settlement, Northwest Greenland, and playhouse structures from the region of Wollaston Forland, Northeast Greenland.

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Qatanngutikka Paneeraq, Aqqaluk, Nuunu, Maasi, uiga Arne, ningaaralu Svend qujaffigerusuppakka, Canadami ilinniarnerma nalaani kaammattuilluartarsimanerisa tapersersuilluartarsimanerminnillu angusaqarluarninnut sunniuteqataasimammata. Aamma aatagigaluannut aanagigaluannullu qujarusuppunga, inoqatinnut tatiginnissutsimik ataqqinnissutsimillu takutitsilluartuusartarsimanerannik. Minnerunngitsumik aamma angajoqqaakka qujaffigerusuppakka killiffinnut aqqutissiueqataasimammata.

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 General Introduction to Research

The general purpose of this research is to demonstrate the possibility of conducting an archaeological study of childhood, and to contribute an example of how such a study can enable us to explore the lives of the children of the past. This thesis presents the results of research on the child-related material culture of Thule children in Greenland and includes an investigation of miniatures, toys, and games from Inuarfigssuaq Inglefield Land, Northwest Greenland, and miniature playhouses from the area of Clavering Island and Wollaston Forland, Northeast Greenland, dating from the pre-contact Thule period (Figure 1.1).

Recently, the archaeology of children has become a popular topic and has opened up opportunities to view children from the past as active contributors to their own cultures, rather than marginalizing their roles and activities by assuming that they were passive members of society. In other words, children of the past are becoming visible. Recent research has produced some extraordinary examples of how one can access and study different aspects of children's lives including the child's environment, relationships, and cultural constructs (Baxter 2005; Derevenski 2000; Kamp 2001; Lillehammer 1989; Sassaman and Rudolphi 2001).

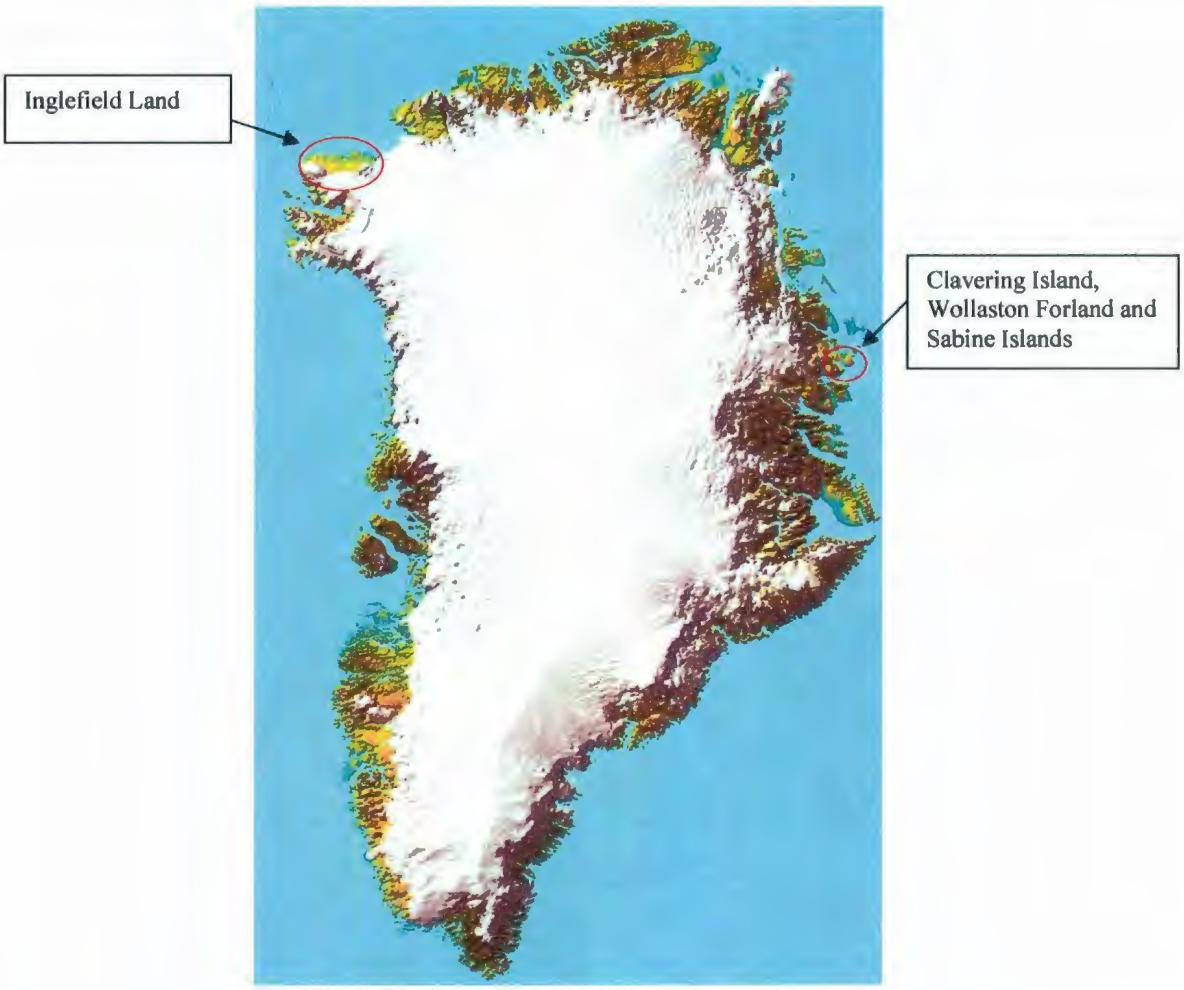


Figure 1.1 Greenland

Children play an important role in every society. Because the future rests upon new generations, it is necessary to successfully train and guide children to survive in real world settings. Therefore, socialization is important and integral to the survival of any society. Cultural knowledge, conveyed from one generation to the next, is achieved through particular forms of teaching, from carefully organized learning conditions to transfers of knowledge through the everyday influence of the members of the community (Damon 1988). The socialization process is also a mechanism of both continuity and change, whereby knowledge is created and recreated (Derevenski 1994). Therefore, this

thesis will explore children in the archaeological record by stressing the role of children as contributors to their societies and examining the socialization processes and the enculturation of Thule children.

1.2 Research Objectives

This thesis will examine archaeological correlates of the activities of pre-contact Thule children. Activities visible in the material culture will be described and analysed based on both the distribution of artefacts classified as toys, games, and miniatures found in the winter settlement Inuarfigssuaq and secondly on the distribution of miniature playhouses found in the vicinity of spring, summer, and early fall settlements in the Clavering Island and Wollaston Forland area. It will demonstrate that children are not only visible in the archaeological record, but that their activities can be interpreted as part of the childhood socialization processes in a given culture.

1.2.1 Miniatures, Toys and Games

This thesis begins with the presentation of miniatures, toys, and game assemblages from the Thule settlement of Inuarfigssuaq, which were collected by Erik Holtved during his fieldwork in Northwest Greenland between 1934 and 1936 (Holtved 1944). The main objective of this part of this thesis research is to describe and analyse the different artefacts from this region which were categorised by Holtved as child-related objects. The investigation of these objects, now located at the National Museum of Denmark and

Greenland National Museum and Archives, is contextualized using observation, field notes, survey data, photographs, and topographic contour maps.

This part of the thesis will address the difficulty inherent in the classification of child-related material culture. Since recent research has given more attention to understanding the variability of both child and adult-related objects, it is relevant to clarify whether the objects in question were purely child-related or were also used by adults. It is possible that items used during activities such as gaming, or artefacts made for spiritual purposes might be used by both children and adults. For example, miniatures might reflect certain functional, ideological, or cosmological group behaviours and beliefs and therefore used by both segments of the population. Therefore, the objects originally analysed by Holtved in the 1930s are examined in light of new theoretical models in hopes of gaining new insight into the world of children.

The second objective is to identify the common characteristics of the child-related material culture at Inuarfigssuaq using both quantifiable data, such as size and raw material preference and qualitative aspects, like shape and form, to determine whether there are any repetitive elements represented in the collection. The specific characteristics of the objects may then help to illuminate their ownership, function, and preservation. For instance, the use of specific raw materials, or the repetition of certain sizes, might reveal whether these objects were produced by unskilled workers and help to determine if children were creating their own playthings. The materials used to create these objects may also help to explain their preservation and distribution across the site.

The third objective of this analysis is to examine the distribution of miniatures, toys, and games throughout the site of Inuarfigssuaq, and determine what this distribution indicates about the seasonal pattern of childhood activities. As Inuarfigssuaq is a winter

settlement the distribution of the child-related objects throughout the site should help us to interpret the regular activities of children during this season.

The fourth objective is to clarify whether there are any gender-specific toys recognizable in the collection, and to determine if these artefacts were designed for educational purposes thereby elucidating the socialisation process. For example, some ethnographic observations indicate that child-related objects were specifically made to teach boys and girls how to survive in real life situations (Birket-Smith 1924). Therefore, if child-related material culture is gender specific it may have been used to prepare children for their future roles in Thule society.

1.2.2 Miniature Playhouses

The second part of this thesis investigates miniature playhouses recorded during fieldwork conducted in the Clavering Island area of Northeast Greenland, during the summer of 2008. The primary objective of this research is to describe and analyse the diversity in miniature playhouses, and similar structures, that were found and to determine whether these structures were built and used by children.

The number and distribution of playhouse structures is used to reveal their significance at different settlements. As well, the degree of structural variability among the playhouses is examined in order to classify the stylistic attributes of the features. If these structures differ morphologically in shape, size, or organisation, or are positioned differently in the landscape, it may also help to clarify their function, determine if these were purely child-related features, and if they had any educational value for the users. For example, if the miniature houses are always found near graves, one could imagine that

these structures were built for a religious purpose. Ethnographic analogies are used to aid in the interpretation.

1.3 Ethnographic Analogies

Since the intent of this thesis is to examine and offer interpretations of children in Thule society, and since the Thule were the cultural and biological ancestors of the historic Inuit about whom we have a rich ethnographic literature, ethnographic analogies will be employed to help interpret the material objects and features examined in this thesis.

Ethnography is generally conceived of as observations obtained first-hand about traditional life ways and may also include sources of information such as oral traditions, narratives, poems, tales, legends, and myths about the past. Within these collected ethnographic materials, gathered by European explorers, casual visitors, and scholars, one can find valuable information that can be compared with Thule archaeological data. To date, much of the research undertaken to distinguish between child-related and adult material culture has relied heavily on ethnographic material (Kenyon and Arnold 1985; Park 1998). Nonetheless, one should use ethnographic analogies with caution. It can be a mistake to assume that archaeological materials held the same significance for people in the past as they do in ethnographic observations. Further, one has to keep in mind that ethnographic observations cannot be generalized to represent Thule culture in its entirety because there is strong regional diversity. Furthermore, many early ethnographies focused on the male agents of the culture. Thus, there is much less information recorded about women and children. However, ethnographic collections contain a wealth of information that should not be overlooked.

1.4 Background of the Archaeology of Childhood

Over the last decade, there has been an increased interest in the archaeology of children. This new focus was a natural outgrowth of feminist archaeology, which reacted against the androcentric nature of archaeological inquiry and precipitated the archaeological interpretation of women's activities and roles in society (Conkey and Spector 1984).

Conkey and Spector (1984) suggested that women and men might interpret situations differently. Therefore, to understand women as individual agents in a society, one needed to look at culture from a female point of view (ibid 1984). This increasing gender awareness changed the portrayal of women, and while women were still consigned to roles associated with the domestic realm they were increasingly seen as active participants in the social economy (ibid 1984). In keeping with these developments, children also began to be recognized in the archaeological record, and similarly viewed as active participants in their societies. Traditionally, archaeology has viewed children's behaviour as passive. This is also a broadly shared Western perception of childhood (Baxter 2005:23; Derevenski 2000:11) and reflects the bias that children are passive learners, removed from economic and social responsibility. This notion of the "universalism of childhood" reflects the international effort to protect children from being exploited, and thus monitor child welfare (Kamp 2001). However, during the last decade, some archaeologists have suggested that one should look upon children as active agents and constructors of their own lives and culture, who participated in a variety of social and economic contexts (Baxter 2005; Derevenski 2000; Kamp 2001; Lillehammer 1989; Schwartzman 2004). Furthermore, the archaeology of children has emphasized that childhood can be viewed as socially constructed. "Childhood is also a culturally specific

construction that ascribes roles, activities, and behaviours to individuals, but on the basis of their position in the human life cycle" (Baxter 2005).

The archaeological conception of "child" frequently implies a universal physiological and psychological context, where children are linked to a universal biological category, more or less distinct from social life (Derevenski 2005). By relying on a biological classification, archaeology seemingly created a notion of children exempt from duties, instead of viewing children within a complete context of living: "As long as the child is defined solely through the body as a universal developmental phenomenon, it lacks elements of social or cultural difference upon which to hook a contextually specific and culturally constructed child. Archaeology is therefore forced to fall back on potentially misleading ethnocentric cross-cultural principles of interpretations" (Derevenski 2005:8).

When Kathryn A. Kamp suggested the establishment of local definitions of childhood based on empirical archaeological evidence, she underlined the presence of dynamic variability in definitions of childhood across cultures (Kamp 2001). Therefore, universal notions of childhood should not be applied, because childhood cannot be seen as static relative to adult life. In general, it seems essential to develop the archaeology of childhood also looking into categories such as differentiation based on age. However, the recognition of children in archaeology is difficult and is likely to demand an understanding of the child's world.

To date, archaeological interpretations of children have typically been paired with studies of mortuary remains, artwork, and ethnographic descriptions since this is where children are most visible. Recently, the investigations of child labour and production have become important as archaeologists attempt to understand the nature of childhood

socialization. For example, Lillehammer (1989:102) suggests that the examination of tools can reveal something about how children were kept occupied, and might also reveal the process by which children were acculturated into adult society.

Furthermore, it is not necessary to restrict the examination to children's objects, since children might be using materials made and used by adults. When moving the focus from direct association with children's artefacts, as made and used by children, to the incorporation of shared adult/child materials other aspects of the child's world may be visible: "Children are actively shaping the material world around them and are reflected in the materials and spatial patterning of the archaeological record" (Baxter 2005:79). It is a matter of identifying the material most likely used by or produced for children. This may challenge one to reinterpret material evidence that has already been collected, re-analyzing it from new angles in order to incorporate the different agents in society.

To improve our understanding of the archaeology of children, we must examine many different aspects of children's lives, not only analyzing children's material remains, but also by looking at the relationships they develop with all the agents in a given society, and examining how children themselves interpret and understand their world (Baxter 2005). By doing so, it should be possible to interpret the many roles and activities associated with children. In short, it becomes important to look at the bigger cultural picture in order to understand children's role in society.

1.5 Situated Learning/Legitimate Peripheral Participation

The theoretical framework of this thesis draws largely from Situated Learning theory (SL), which explores childhood play and learning as part of a greater socialization process.

Situated Learning theory suggests that learning is contextual, develops through social interaction, and is embedded in a social and physical context. SL takes place through participation in authentic activities, creating a notion of "learning *in situ*" (Lave and Wenger 1991). The SL method provides an analytical viewpoint on learning, and a way of understanding diverse learning strategies (ibid 1991:40). It outlines the process by which "newcomers" to a society gradually become part of the community by "learning by doing" (ibid 1991:29,113). In short, it demonstrates that learning is an inseparable aspect of social practice that takes place at the juncture of everyday interactions (Henning 2001; Lave and Wenger 1991). According to Lave and Wenger (1991:53) activities, tasks, functions, and understandings do not exist in isolation; rather, they are a part of broader systems of relations in which they have meaning so "It is important to consider how shared cultural systems of meaning and political-economic structuring are interrelated, in general as they help to co-constitute learning in communities of practice" (ibid 1991:54).

Practiced social interactions generate relations which require reciprocity, particularly in a learning and teaching environment. When learning is practice-based (e.g. apprenticeship – expert interaction), one is also dependent on methods used by fellow members of the community. Practice is thus defined by routines where the everyday activities of a group of people take place in common in a community (Henning 2001). Therefore, it is a helpful construct for studying the socialization of members of a society — both children and adults (Baxter 2005).

This theoretical model has become popular in archaeological studies, because it can be used to understand learning, to determine how materials are manufactured, and to understand how the skills of manufacturing are handed down. Furthermore, understanding the process by which skills are learned provides a means of recognizing the results of

activities undertaken by different segments of past societies (Minar and Crown 2001) and reveals something about how those activities were structured, and recognizes that learning is culturally constructed (Lave and Wenger 1991). Therefore, when examining and analysing archaeological child-related material culture, SL may help to reveal how children were perceived and included in past societies. Situated Learning is useful to this thesis because, in Thule culture, child-related objects are generally considered to represent "imitative behaviour" because they mirror adult tools in miniature (Kenyon and Arnold 1985), and are therefore likely to represent the learning experience.

However, identifying children in the archaeological record is not without problems because archaeologists do not have the benefit of directly observing the behaviours of past cultures. To gain insight about past children and their socialization processes, it is necessary to draw upon studies of the socialization process in other disciplines. Furthermore, one has to keep in mind that not all children are the same, and the socialization process may differ depending on the cultural background of the children being studied. Therefore, one should be cautioned against uncritical use of interpretations of children's behaviour that arise from other disciplines.

Even though it can be challenging to unearth the world of childhood in an archaeological context, children should not be ignored; instead, they should be examined as active agents in the cultures in which they are raised.

1.6 Thesis Organization

Since this thesis presents two distinct child-related assemblages — the artefacts recovered in the winter settlement of Inuarfigssuaq, and outdoor miniature playhouses found in the vicinity of summer settlements in the Clavering Island region of Northeast

Greenland — each will be presented in separate chapters, reflecting their equal importance.

Chapter two begins with a background description of Thule culture in general. This is followed by a summary of Thule culture in Greenland.

Chapter three introduces the Inuit concept of identity and childhood using information gathered from recent ethnographic observations of children, and oral tradition.

Chapter four presents the history of the Inuarfigssuaq settlement, and the archaeological investigation of the area undertaken by Erik Holtved. Oral tradition is also used to provide some information about the story and use of Inuarfigssuaq.

Chapter five describes the child-related archaeological materials from Inuarfigssuaq and the methodologies used to classify and analyse them. The 116 objects that were examined are presented and interpreted.

In the first part of chapter six, the previous archaeological investigations of the Clavering Island and Wollaston Forland area is presented. This is followed by a summary of the 2008 GeoArk survey and a description of the methods used to record miniature playhouses in the region. A detailed description of the variability and construction of the miniature playhouses follows. The second half of the chapter will address the interpretations of the miniature playhouses.

Chapter seven provides a summary and conclusion interpreting the child-related materials addressed in this thesis.

Chapter Two

The Neo-Eskimo Thule Culture

2.1 Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to provide insight into Thule culture. The chapter begins with a brief introduction of Neo-Eskimo culture, followed by a general overview of the origin of the Neo-Eskimo Thule culture in Alaska and Canada. Particular emphasis will be placed on the different phases and immigrations of Thule culture in Greenland from which the child-related materials examined in this thesis are drawn.

2.2 Prehistory of the Thule Culture

The origin and development of Neo-Eskimo culture, and Eskimo culture in general, has been examined through ethnography, linguistics, cultural history, archaeology, and physical anthropology, throughout the last century. The Neo-Eskimo tradition, having several cultural variants, is a broad entity that defines the general similarities of the Okvik/Old Bering, Punuk, Birnik and Thule culture groups designated as Neo-Eskimo culture (Schledermann and McCullough 2003; Gulløv 2004). Neo-Eskimo culture is generally characterized by their high mobility and flexible adaptation skills most evidenced by their adaptation to the harsh Arctic conditions.

The Thule culture, specifically, was initially defined by Therkel Mathiassen under the Fifth Thule Expedition in 1921-1922 (Mathiassen 1927). Mathiassen described in detail the intellectual culture, material culture, and linguistic phenomenon of the Inuit groups in northern North America (ibid 1927). During the expedition, the typological and functional variability of material culture was investigated via archaeological collections,

from the eastern region of Siberia, Alaska, Canada and Greenland. This information was then used to determine the geographical distribution of the Thule culture (ibid 1927). Following the Fifth Thule expedition, other pioneering research was implemented, which divided Neo-Eskimo culture into several periods and established a developmental chronology.

Present archaeological knowledge about the origin of Thule culture confirms that the Thule emanated from northern Alaska (Gulløv 2004; Mathiassen 1927; McGhee 1984). Investigation has generally focussed on the similarities and differences of the Thule culture groups as they expanded from Alaska into Canada and Greenland (Figure 2.1), thereby, elaborating the variation, development, and chronology of the Thule culture in different geographical settings.

Although regional variants of Thule culture are known, they are generally described as being coastal settlers who hunted large sea mammals using large open skin floats known as *Umiak* and a smaller skin float, the Kayak. Various types of distinctive hunting implements, such as harpoon heads, represent the diverse techniques used for exploiting different animals. Like the houses, villages also range in size. Although, several variants of house constructions have been thoroughly described the characteristic semi-subterranean winter dwelling with cold-trap entrance is generally used to best characterize the Thule dwelling.

The distinctive technology and cultural pattern of the Thule culture can be traced to the pre-Thule Old Bering Sea culture and Okvik culture localized in the Bering Strait region on the eastern Siberian coast and St. Lawrence Island (Ackerman 1984). In spite of extensive archaeological documentation of the Old Bering Sea and Okvik cultures, the cultural origin of these complexes remains unsolved (Gulløv 2004), and even the

chronological relationship between the cultures remains undecided (Ackerman 1984; Gulløv 2004; McCullough 1989). However, the two complexes are considered to be contemporaneous regional variants of a fully developed maritime culture (Ackerman 1984:108; Gulløv 2004:203; McCullough 1989:29) that flourished in the Bearing Sea area during the last few centuries BC to about AD 700. The Old Bering Sea and Okvik cultures have many similarities apparent in their art and harpoon head types. The architectural features of semi-subterranean houses have been examined thoroughly to help distinguish the cultural phases (Ackerman 1984).

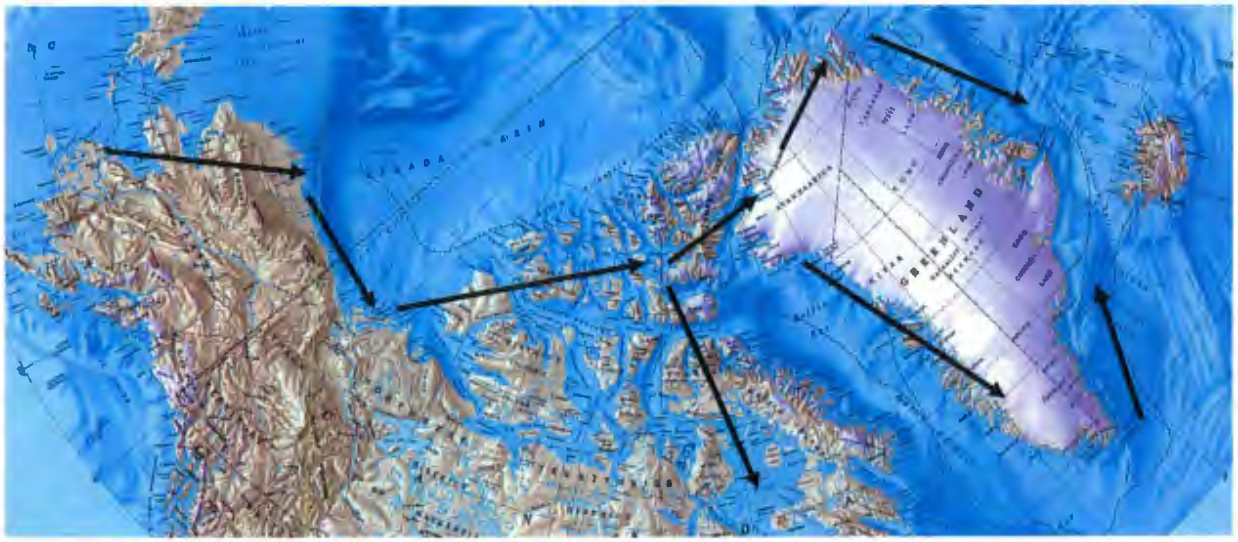


Figure 2.1 Neo-Eskimo expansion by Mikkel Sørensen, SILA

The Neo-Eskimo Birnik and Punuk groups emerged from the Old Bering Sea and Okvik cultures in the Bering Sea region (Figure 2.2) around AD 300 – 900 (Ackerman 1984; Bandi 1952; Gulløv 2004; McCullough 1989). Periodic allocation of both the Birnik and Punuk complexes has been based on changes in harpoon head morphology. Likewise, both cultures have early, middle and late phases. The two cultural populations were

different, but shared similar cultural traces and were contemporaneous (Ackerman 1984). The Birnik complex is present along the Chukchi Sea coast of north-eastern Siberia, and northern and western Alaska (ibid 1984:110). Hunting of seals was the predominant subsistence activity of the Birnik culture, though large sea mammals were also hunted. The Birnik complex reflects continuity with the Old Bering Sea and Okvik cultural traditions in many ways, although some traditions were replaced and new elements emerged.

Figure 2.2 Left: The geographical extent of the Neo-Eskimo Birnik phase from AD 500 – 1000. Right: The geographical extent of the Neo-Eskimo Early Thule culture from AD 1000 (Gulløv, 2004).

The Punuk complex is found along the Siberian coast and St. Lawrence Island (Gulløv 2004). The subsistence pattern of the Punuk was dominated by whaling (Ackerman 1984). Like the Birnik complex, the Punuk culture also introduced new cultural traditions, but maintained some continuity with late Old Bering Sea and Okvik patterns (ibid 1984: 112). As well, Punuk have some traditions that are similar to those of the Birnik complex.

The Birnik and Punuk complexes both appear to have contributed to the following Thule phases in Alaska and Canada including: Western Thule; Early Classic Thule; Clachan Thule and Classic Thule. Thule groups appear to have rapidly migrated eastward from northern Alaska across Arctic Canada to the coasts of Greenland (ibid 1984:110) during a period of climatic amelioration when a warming trend resulted in a lengthened period of open sea water, which allowed for the migration of large sea mammals along the northern coast of Alaska and into the Canadian north (Jordan 1984:540). Yet, the Thule expansion into the Eastern High Arctic regions may also have been due in part to economic and population pressures in the Bering Sea region (Schledermann and McCullough 1980), or may have been motivated by the search for metal resources e.g. iron and copper (McGhee 1989), rather than being a result of climate-warming trend.

2.2.1 Thule Culture in Greenland

Thule culture in Greenland was first described by Therkel Mathiassen (1927) based on typological and functional similarities of material culture he collected on the Fifth Thule Expedition. Mathiassen also conducted archaeological research in West and Southeast Greenland from 1929-1934 to describe the Eskimo prehistory of Greenland. Erik Holtved (1944, 1954) then advanced the research in the Thule District of North Greenland. Following this, from 1931-1933, Helge Larsen and P.V. Glob (1934-37) conducted archaeological research in Northeast Greenland, and J. Meldgaard and H.G. Bandi continued to investigate the northeastern Thule culture history in Greenland in 1948.

It is imperative to note that research into the Thule culture in Greenland is not only confined to the Danish archaeologists. Research has also been conducted by several North

American archaeologists to further elucidate the interaction between the different phases of Thule culture in Northern America and Greenland, and a thorough examination of the chronology of Thule culture in Greenland was conducted by Richard Jordan (1979, 1984).

Karen M. McCullough and Peter Schledermann (1980, 2003) investigated the Bache Peninsula of eastern Ellesmere Island, between 1977 and 1995, in order to expand our knowledge about the Ruin Island phase in the Canadian Arctic using a series of new C14 dates. McCullough and Schledermann concluded that the earliest Thule immigration to the Smith Sound region took place by the late 12th or early 13th centuries AD (McCullough 1989:456; Schledermann and McCullough 2003:124). As well, McCullough suggested that the Ruin Island population must have migrated from the Canadian Arctic to Ellesmere Island and Northwest Greenland fairly rapidly. McCullough also notes that the Ruin Island phase has similarities with the Punuk, known to have influenced early Western Thule sites in the Bering Strait, thus suggesting a southern and western rather than northern Alaskan influence for the Ruin Island phase. This research suggests that the Ruin Island population were the first Thule migrants into the Smith Sound region (McCullough 1989:456). Since McCullough's and Schledermann's archaeological investigation discussed the Ruin Island phase on the Canadian side of Smith Sound, it was prudent to extend and focus on the Thule chronology in Greenland.

2.2.2 West Greenland Thule Culture

The Thule reached Greenland at approximately AD 1200 (Gulløv 1997), and by the 15th century, Thule culture had expanded throughout the coasts of Greenland. However, only a few features representing the culture have been found in the northernmost region of North Greenland.

Therkel Mathiassen's (1936) investigation of the development of the Thule culture in Greenland led to the description of several different phases specific to this culture. He subsequently dated the excavated material relying primarily on the presence of Norse manufactured artefacts recovered in Thule sites, and using European documents about the history of the Thule culture (Gulløv 1997; Jordan 1979). Indeed, some Norse objects found at Thule settlements were used to identify the cultural phase of Thule culture called the Inussuk culture. This phase was interpreted to be a Norse influenced Thule phase which occurred after the Norse arrived in South Greenland.

Erik Holtved, who was Mathiassen's assistant during the excavations in Disko Bay and South Greenland from 1933-34, continued to investigate the Thule culture phases in Thule district, North Greenland. Eric Holtved carried out his investigations during the years between 1935-37 and 1946-47 (Holtved 1944, 1954). His findings suggested a chronology of the Thule culture in these areas which is similar to the rest of Greenland. Like Mathiassen, Holtved relied on Norse artefacts to date Thule occupations. Nevertheless, Holtved added two transitional phases to the Thule culture chronology (Holtved 1944).

Holtved divided the Thule culture continuum into five cultural periods: Thule culture dating AD 1100-1200; the Early Transitional period (indicating a short term transition from one phase to another); the Inussuk period dating AD 1200-1500; the Late Transitional period; and the Recent period dating AD 1700-1800. Holtved also suggested that there were at least three Thule migrations to Greenland (ibid 1944). These were the early migration of the Thule culture, the Ruin Island migration and a migration that took place in the Historic era at approximately AD 1700-1800 (Holtved 1944:177-78).

The transitional phases were described as local adaptations within Greenland, and were reminiscent of the Inussuk phase, which was defined by the presence of Norse artefacts. Holtved believed that the Ruin Island culture descended from the Punuk culture in Western Alaska (ibid 1944) because of similarities between harpoon head styles known as Thule class 2 and Sicco. Nevertheless, Holtved concluded that the materials recovered from Inuarfigssuaq in Northeast Greenland represented the earliest Thule immigrants to Greenland, and that this early Thule culture was succeeded by the second wave of immigrants from Alaska and Canada, who settled at the Nuulliit and Ruin Island sites in Northwest Greenland (ibid 1944).

In 1979 Richard Jordan re-evaluated Thule chronology and culture change in West Greenland, identifying stylistic changes to harpoon heads in comparison to carbon dates. In contrast to Holtved (1944), Jordan believes that Northwest Greenland was colonized by the earliest Thule. He suggests (1979) three Thule cultural phases in Greenland. The Nuulliit phase, which is confined to the Thule District in Northeast Greenland, is represented by the sites of Nuulliit, Ruin Island, and Inuarfigssuaq. This is the earliest immigration of Thule culture to Greenland dating to AD 1000-1200. The later Inussuk phase is also present in the Thule District at Uummannaq and Comer's Midden (a large midden at Uummannaq settlement excavated by Captain Comer in 1916) dated to AD 1200, and along the West Greenland coast. The third cultural phase of the Thule culture in Greenland was the Historic phase, which began around 1600 AD (ibid 1979:157-58). Although, Holtved suggested that there were three main migrations of early Thule culture, Jordan suggests that it is more likely that there was an "initial occupation of Greenland followed by in situ development and ultimate isolation from Canadian Eskimo and West Greenland influence is a more accurate assessment of the sequence" (Jordan 1984:541).

Like Holtved, Jordan stressed the close resemblance of Nuulliit to early Thule sites in High Arctic Canada and Alaska, but Jordan interpreted the Ruin Island and Nuulliit sites to predate Inuarfigssuaq and Uummannaq sites in the Thule District, thus inverting Holtved's (1944b:153) chronology.

Jordan (1979) also questioned Mathiassen's (1930) and Holtved's (1944) interpretation of the Norse artefacts and Thule copies of these artefacts recovered from Inussuk phase sites, and he reclassified these materials as oddments (Jordan 1979:155). On the other hand, Jordan speculates that there was a Dorset influence during the Nuulliit phase in Northwest Greenland (ibid 1979:157). This probably originated in Northeast Greenland where evidence of a mixture or blending of relict Dorset and Thule cultures occurs (Jordan 1979:156, 1984:542). This is substantiated by Jordan's classification of flat open socket harpoon heads (class 5 and 6) and the presence of other items which are nearly exact copies of Late Dorset forms (ibid 1979).

Hans Christian Gulløv's (1997) comprehensive work on Thule culture in Southwest Greenland enhanced previous interpretations of early Thule chronology in Greenland. Gulløv suggests that the chronology begins with the Ruin Island phase dating to AD 1200 and onwards. The Thule expansion to Disko Bay can be dated from the 13th century and subsequent migration south into the Norse Western settlement began during the early 14th century. Depopulation of the Norse settlements in the 15th century made it possible for the Inussuk culture to reach the southernmost regions of Greenland. This extended further in the 16th century along the east coast of Greenland, where Inussuk phase populations mingled with the original Thule culture in Northeast Greenland who had arrived to the region through the north of Greenland in the 14th century.

The Thule culture in Southwest Greenland was an outcome of the cultural interaction of the two earliest Thule populations that had developed "parallel traditions" since first arriving in Greenland: Classic Thule and Ruin Island (Gulløv 1997:449,475). Gulløv further states that there was also an archaic Thule tradition and an old tradition of the Thule culture, that still existed in the 15th-16th century in North and Northeast Greenland and in the 17th-18th century in the Upernavik District.

2.2.3 East Greenland Thule Culture

Over time, the Thule migrated to eastern Greenland, but it has been debated whether the Thule people entered this part of the country through the north or south. Mathiassen (1933) suggested that the Inussuk culture expanded via southern Greenland to reach East Greenland in the mid fourteenth century. However, later investigations, suggest that this expansion occurred through the northern part of Greenland (Larsen 1934; Gulløv 1997). This northern migration hypothesis was contested by Knud Rasmussen due to the absence of winter dwellings in northern-most regions of Greenland (Gulløv 1997:14).

Helge Larsen (1934) undertook Thule research in Northeast Greenland from 1931-34 in order to classify the culture in the region. Larsen distinguished three cultural phases in Northeast Greenland. Larsen proposed that the oldest culture in the region was a branch of Inussuk culture which had come from the south of the country during the sixteenth century, and another migration into Northeast Greenland bringing pure Thule elements arrived through the north of the country and settled (Larsen 1934:163). Consequently, the immigrations to East Greenland resulted in the mixing of two Thule cultures: Inussuk and pure Thule (not influenced by the Norse as the Inussuk) (ibid 1934). The blending of these

culture groups formed yet another variant named the Mixed Culture (Gulløv 1997; Jordan 1984; Larsen 1934).

Holtved went on to suggest that if any population arrived through the north of the country, it was more likely in the 14th century, when the earliest immigrants were bringing the pure Thule culture (Holtved 1944: 116-120). In 1952, Hans-Georg Bandi and Jørgen Meldgaard published the results of their research from Clavering Island, Northeast Greenland. They concluded that the Thule migration to Northeast Greenland must have occurred from the north in the late fourteenth century and then again a century later, when the Inussuk culture arrived from the south, and mingled with the Thule already occupying Northeast Greenland (Bandi and Meldgaard 1952:28-31).

In summary, archaeologists have identified several phases of Thule culture occupation in Greenland. The chronology is quite complex and includes: The Early Thule phase AD 900-1200 (Mathiassen 1933); the Nuulliit phase dating AD 1000-1200 (Ruin island material is included in this early Thule phase according to Jordan (1979)); the Ruin Island phase dating AD 1200-1400 (McCullough and Schledermann 2003; Gulløv 1997); the Inussuk phase (analogue to Modified Thule in Canada) dating AD 1250-1600 (Gulløv 1997); the "North-eastern mixed culture" AD 1400 (Bandi and Meldgaard 1952) and the Historic phase began in AD 1600 (Jordan 1979:158).

Chapter Three

Inuit Concept of Identity and Childhood

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the view of childhood and social construction of identity generally conceived among Inuit in Alaska, Arctic Canada, and Greenland to further elucidate the concept of a child as an individual person and a social entity. In order to accomplish this I draw upon ethnographic observations and socio anthropological research from the Canadian Arctic and Greenland.

3.2 Identity and Childhood

It is known through ethnographic observations that the Inuit conceptualisation of the person consists of body (*timeq),* personal soul (*tarneq),* breath soul (*anersaaq)* and name soul (*ateq)* (Egede 1818; Rink 1868; Holm 1914; Thalbitzer 1938; Rasmussen 1938; Birket-Smith 1924; Nutall 1992a). Several ethnographic studies also mention (e.g., Birket-Smith 1927), that the Inuit from Greenland have two different concepts of soul, namely shadow/reflection– *tarneq/taarneq* meaning darkness, a reflection of a person; and spirit/breath – *anersaaq/inua* which are anthropomorphic spirits. According to Nutall (1992) the: "*Tarneq* and *Anersaaq* are at once the same, but separate. *Tarneq* is passive and its exact location unknown, while *anersaaq* contains aspect of mind and is slightly more autonomous during a person's life." Therefore, *anersaaq* is independent and able to leave a person's body during life (Nutall 1992:66). However, the Christian influence should be taken into consideration when using ethnographic analogies, since the meaning of *tarneq* was reshaped by missionaries and has become synonymous with the Christian

soul (Nutall 1992; Robbe 1981). This concept is also present among Iglulik, and Netsilik (Kublu and Oosten 1999), and Alaska Inuit (Fienup-Riordan 2000).

The body represents the physical and material component, while the name soul represents the spiritual, non-material entity (Robbe 1981; Nutall 1992). To become a full person, it is necessary that the *timeq*, *tarneq/anersaaq* and *ateq* are fully and equally developed, thus expressing the indivisibility of the person and the continuity of social life (Nutall 1992). Thus, a person is not an independent component, but rather intertwined components of *timeq, tarneq/anersaaq* and *ateq*. If these compositions are separated, the individual will eventually disintegrate. Together, the components form both the structural and social relations of a person's identity (Saladin d´Anglure 1977).

When death occurs, it is the visible physical *timeq* that perishes. However, the invisible, non-material *tarneq* leaves the body upon death until it is recalled to reside in a newborn child's body (Nutall 1992:67). This is when the social reincarnation of the *ateq,* the personal name soul occurs. The name is associated with personal characteristics, and is part of the person's identity; thus, newborn children given the name of a deceased person continue the identity and the personality of the deceased, as well as the status of a social person; connecting the living and the dead (Robbe 1981; Nutall 1992; Holm 1911; Kublu and Oosten 1999; Fienup-Riordan 2000; Rasmussen 1931; Guemple 1987). Pierre Robbe (1981), who has written about the personal names in Ammassalik, East Greenland, indicates that: "The name establishes a connection between the world of the ancestors and that of the living. By his name, the individual is an episode, a link on a vital chain. The name permits the continuity, the survival of the group" (Robbe 1981:1).

If the *ateq* has not yet been given to a newborn child, the name soul will wander until it is reincarnated. If the name soul is not reincarnated, it will stay "homeless" and the

soul will then manifest itself by creating problems for the living (Holm 1914; Robbe 1981; Nutall 1992; Kublu and Oosten 1999; Guemple 1979). The Iglulik Inuit believed that the name should fit the newborn child or there could be serious consequences for its health (Kublu and Oosten 1999). For example, if the newborn child keeps crying it may have received the wrong name and identity, and may need more names, or may even have received too many names (Bodenhorn 2000:138). It could likewise be that the deceased is disturbing the newborn child to be reincarnated if the deceased's name soul has not yet been given to a newborn child (Kublu and Oosten 1999).

Name souls are not gender specific, although the foetus is considered masculine and can be given to male or female infants (Robbe 1981; Nutall 1992; Fienup-Riordan 2000; Kublu and Oosten 1999). However, in West Greenland Christian influence has introduced the use of gendered and westernized names since the end of the nineteenth century (Nutall 1992). Despite these changes, Inuit communities in the Arctic maintain the traditional naming custom and beliefs, as Alexina Kublu and Jarich Oosten explain: "The introduction of the Western naming system obviously affected the traditional naming system but did not replace it" (Kublu and Oosten 1999:74).

A newborn child does not possess a soul and is thus very vulnerable since it has not received an identity. Only when receiving a correct name does the child receive an identity and a social status necessary to become a human (Robbe 1981). Therefore, the rituals of assigning a name are very important. Names are given to the child before the umbilical cord has fallen – which occurs within three to four days (ibid 1981:8). While the foetus originally has a masculine gender it could eventually choose to change gender under birth. In some parts of Canada it was believed that short labours produced boys and longer labours produced girls. This transformation is also known as *Sipiniq* which means

to split/crack (Robbe 1981; Robert-Lamblin 1981; Saladin d'Anglure 1977). In East Greenland, the *Sipineq* occurs before birth, while in the Canadian Arctic, one can also choose its gender at the time of birth. Transformation could occur for several reasons, but the most common cause was a breach of taboos or the deceased's wish to be reincarnated (Saladin d'Anglure 1994:86; Robbe 1981; Sonne 1995:10). Thus, the foetus and the newborn child were dependent of the maintenance of rituals.

Another phenomenon of Inuit identity is the "social sex change" or "third gender" (Saladin d'Anglure 1994; Sonne 1995). A child will be assimilated from its birth to behave and act like its "transformed sex"; a boy will be raised as a girl learning domestic skills, and a girl as a boy learning hunting techniques (Bodenhorn 1990; Robert-Lamblin 1981; Saldain d'Ánglure 1994). The parents may decide to raise their child in the manner for several reasons, but the most common is a particular desire for a son or daughter. The desire can be caused by a loss of a beloved family member of that gender. Thus, the newborn child not only inherits the spirit of the deceased by taking the name, but can also inherit the gendered identity (Robert-Lamblin 1981:2). In many cases the necessity of socially changing the child's gender is justified by the imbalance of sexes in the family or community. The "sacrifice" of inverting a child's gender is thus justified by the necessity to fulfil equal labour (ibid 1981:3).

The Inuit view of identity is discussed in most ethnographic literature. One general view quoted by Kublu and Oosten (1999), is that: "The social identity was primarily marked through the name and the relationships that connected a person to his kin, his ritual partners and the many networks that constituted the framework of Inuit society" (Kublu and Oosten 1999:75).

Thus, a named newborn child is a reincarnated person and therefore already has constructed relations existing in the world to which the child is entering. Therefore, the soul name connects a person directly with the deceased kin, and the newborn child is considered a relative, that may not be directly related by blood. Also known as "fictive kin", the redistribution of names helps to support a continual kinship network (Nutall 1992:77). The Inuit kinship system is, therefore, socially constructed rather than biological (Gumple 1979).

The way in which a child receives a name accounts for the specific manner of childrearing. Since the child inherits the attributes of a deceased member of family and/or community, adults cannot punish the child out of respect for the elder who may have taken residence in the child (Fienup-Riordan 2000; Nutall 1992). Furthermore, if they treated the child disrespectfully and harshly, the name soul could forsake the child, and cause illness or death (Fienup-Riordan 2000:190). Children are generally free to learn, to the limits of their capabilities, by exploration, play, and the encouragement of adults.

Children are treated with respect since they have entered the community sharing the identity, personality, and character associated with the name spirit. Lee Guemple (1979) who did research among the Qiqiqtamiut Inuit in Hudson Bay notes: "Inuit, by way of contrast, see a child as already whole having a personality fully formed at birth in latent form. All of these he will manifest and use in good time but with little assistance" (Guemple 1979:39).

Guemple stresses that Inuit children were not traditionally taught in western terms. In the past, Inuit children learned through observation and participation in tasks (Guemple 1979:50). Traditionally, children grew up with freedom to explore their world, and were nurtured by way of exploratory forays (Briggs 1995; Guemple 1979; Nutall 1992). Mark

Nutall (1992), who undertook research on the Kangersuartsiarmiit in West Greenland, explains that because of the child's awareness of significant others, adults refrain both from excessive interference and punishment of children during their upbringing. Furthermore, it is believed that intelligence/consciousness (*Sila*) and reason (*Isuma*) are inherent in the child and in the namesake the child has received (Nutall 1992:69). Nutall explains the *Sila* and *Isuma* as: "A person's *tarneq, ateq, and anersaaq* are all elements of *sila* as an eternal unitary principle" and further stresses that: "A person who achieves a state of consciousness 'is aware', 'can think', and has the capacity to 'reason' by the correct use of mind (*isuma*)" (ibid 1992). Jean Briggs (1995:25) also states that the *isuma* includes mind, thought, reason, sense, and will. Having and using *isuma* characterizes an adult, or a rational individual. Children acquire *isuma* gradually, and the achievement of it allows them to understand and implement proper behaviour. Thus, a child develops through interaction and observation by actively and passively participating in activities that are undertaken in the community. Adults and other significant individuals help nurture personality and character by joking and playing with the child. According to Briggs, this behaviour reinforces values and generates awareness of dangerous situations, so teasing and shaming helps children to understand what proper behaviour is (Briggs 1970; Guemple 1979; Nutall 1992).

Diamond Jenness (1922:169) noted that the children of the Copper Inuit on Victoria Island were essentially free to do whatever they wished; generally, all children grew up like "wild plants". Gustav Holm (1888), who led the "Konebådsekspedition," expedition to East Greenland from 1883-85, noted that infants and small children were carried in *Amaut* (the hood of the women's coat) until they were big enough to crawl and walk around. The children grew up with much care and love and were never punished.

They also grew up with complete freedom to explore (Holm 1888:92). Holm also states that when boys reached the age of twelve they were given kayaks, though this varied depending on the family's wealth. However, before getting a kayak, the boys participated in hunts by accompanying their elders (ibid 1888).

The Inuit perception of the stages of human life has been examined by Guemple (1979) (Figure 3.1). It seems that stages of childhood were marked by the gradual development of skill. Although one can assume there is regional variability and differences, this seems consistent in most ethnographic accounts. Likewise, the linguistic terminologies are consistent in any Inuit language in the Arctic, with only dialectical differences. On the other hand, there is considerable variability concerning when children are expected to achieve or perform specific tasks. Typically, these tasks cluster around the ages of ten through twelve, when the child begins to actively help their parents with what can be considered adult tasks. However, Guemple (1979:44) states that some children help their parents to perform different tasks much earlier than others. Children as young as five or six who are capable of accomplishing certain tasks, such as accompanying elders in hunting excursions, are expected to participate (ibid 1979).

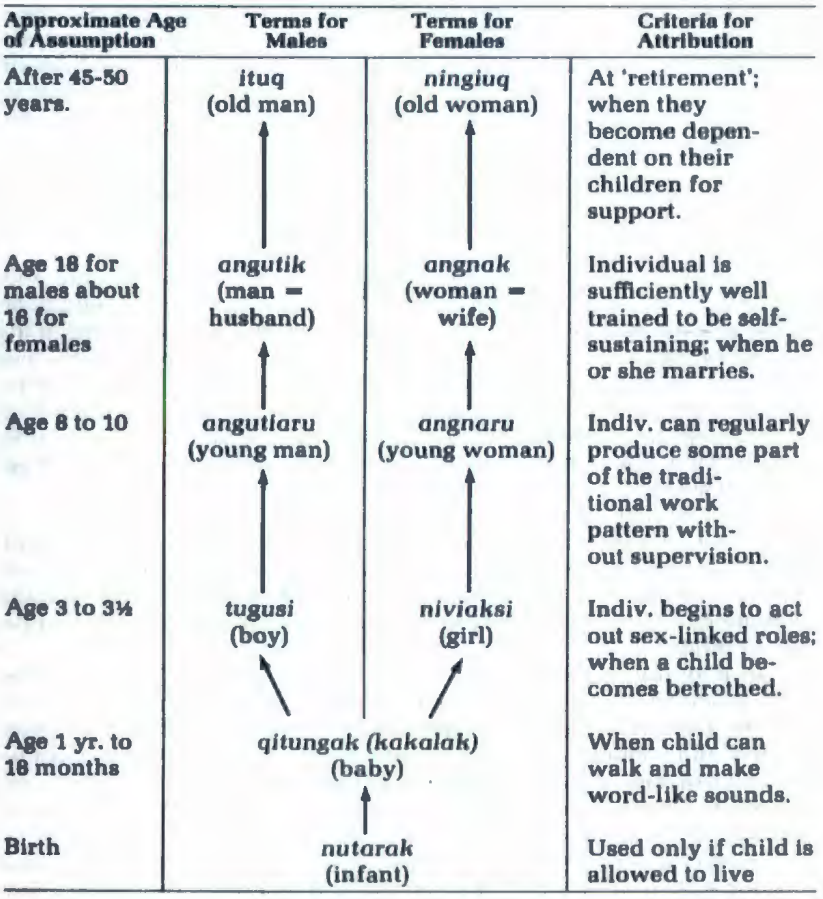


Figure 3.1 Stages of life associated with males and females among *Qiqiktamiut* Inuit of the Belcher Islands, Hudson Bay (Guemple 1979:41).

Traditional Inuit childrearing practices have greatly changed over time, since the Inuit have gradually been westernized. While many traditions are still very common (Kublu and Oosten 2000; Nutall 1992; Robbe 1981), adaptations to Christian influences and changes in social structure have to be taken into account when examining the maintenance of traditional customs. Yvon Csonka and Peter Schweitzer (2004:56-57) note: "Instead, old and new beliefs were re-integrated within a new system that was both Christian and local. In some cases, a religious tradition that was initially introduced through colonial expansion, not only became part of, but even reinforced the cultural identity of an indigenous people". Nonetheless, comparing the earliest ethnographic

accounts with the more recent accounts, it is evident that some traditional practices are consistent and are still exercised to this day.

To summarise this section, in traditional Inuit society, the concept of identity was primarily marked through the name and connected the diverse network of relationships among people. The diverse values that come with the Inuit naming system inevitably influenced childrearing. The Inuit concept of children is also interwoven within Inuit cosmology. In traditional Inuit cosmology, a newborn child was not entirely new to the world. Instead, a child received an existing and pre-established identity through a name soul. Consequently, relatives of the child have particular prohibitions against disrespectful behaviour toward the child, because a child was viewed as an established member of society with already developed social networks.

Chapter Four

Inglefield Land and Inuarfigssuaq Settlement

4.1 Introduction

The main objective of this chapter is to provide the general background for the Inuarfigssuaq settlement in Inglefield Land, Northwest Greenland. The chapter begins with a description of the Inglefield Land region and its natural resources. Following this, the settlement's history will be presented using ethnographic accounts and oral tradition. Previous expeditions to Inglefield Land will briefly be introduced in order to discuss the recent archaeological investigations of the Inuarfigssuaq area. In the last section of this chapter, a description of the Inuarfigssuaq settlement investigated by Erik Holtved in the years during 1935-1937 will be presented.

4.2 Inglefield Land – Orientation to the Region and its Natural Characteristics

Inglefield Land, also called Avangnardlît by the Inughuit (Polar Inuit) (Gilberg 1971), encompasses the north-western region of Greenland between 78° 10' N to 79° 15' N latitude and 66° W to 73° W longitude and stretches from the western-most coast of Greenland in Cape Alexander to Great Glacier Humboldt (Figure 4.1). The region covers an area of approximately 200 square kilometers (Nichols 1969).

The northern-most region of Thule District, Inglefield Land, belongs to the High Arctic zone and is surrounded by Nares Strait in Smith Sound and by the Kane Basin at the northern end of the North Water Polynya (Nichols 1969; Darwent et al. 2007). The region of Inglefield Land is narrowly separated from Canada's Ellesmere Island by a distance of only 45 km (Schledermann and McCullough 2003). Inglefield Land is noted as

the "gateway" for human colonization of Greenland in both prehistoric and historic times (Gulløv 1997; Schledermann and McCullough 2003; Darwent et al. 2007).

Figure 4.1 Inuarfigssuaq, Inglefield Land, North Greenland.

The landscape topography of the region is characterized by relatively flat terrain of Cambrian limestone (Dawes and Thomassen 1996:257), and glacial, glacio-fluvial and

periglacial deposits are widespread and common (Nichols 1969). Inglefield Land was completely covered by inland ice during the Wisconsin glaciation. Deglaciation began at Dalas Bugt in the northeast coast of Inglefield Land approximately 7800 years ago, and in northwestern Inglefield Land approximately 5900 years ago (ibid 1969).

The coastal area is typically maritime: barren with high coastal cliffs, and mountainous plateau approximately 300 m above sea level. Seven major drainages associated with glacier-outwash streams run from the ice cap to Smith Sound and Kane Basin (ibid 1969). Some portions of the coast have alluvial fans connected with major river outlets cut in the Pre-Cambrian basement that stream through the cliffs, rocky outcrops, bays, fjords and peninsulas. There are also a few smaller lakes. Thus, the terrain and landscape of the coastline varies (Darwent et al. 2007; Nichols 1969). Some parts of the coast can be considered uninhabitable, while others are suitable for habitation (Darwent et. al. 2007). Several offshore islands, relatively low-lying rocky outcrops, are also present. The interior region is a fairly flat, pre-Cambrian plain divided by many lakes and rivers (ibid 2007). In general, the geological structure of Inglefield Land is dominated by glacial deposits of sediment, with many perennial snow patches (Dawes and Thomassen 1996). Finally, the vegetation in Inglefield Land is very sparse (Dawes and Thomassen 1996; Nichols 1969).

The climatic conditions of Inglefield Land are anything but favorable. High Arctic temperatures are complemented by long, dark and cold winter periods without sunlight for approximately four months. The land is frequently disturbed by strong polar storms from the north and northeast. Heavy snowfall is frequent (Gilberg 1971; Rasmussen 1921). Ice conditions during the year are varied, since the formation of sea ice is dependent on both weather conditions and sea currents, but generally, the area of Inglefield Land is covered

by sea ice most of the year with the ice foot constantly broken due to tide conditions (Vibe 1950). The temperature rises above freezing for only a short period of the year, from May to August, with a mean temperature of 10°C (Ostenfeld 1921). However, as compensation, the summer months are bright during day and night. Precipitation is less than 200 mm per year. Therefore, the area is referred to as an arctic desert (Gilberg 1971; Ostenfeld 1921).

Important seasonal resource structures associated with the outer coast and interior, include terrestrial and sea mammals, marine and freshwater fish. As well, major seabird colonies thrive along the coast and interior of Inglefield Land. Open water polynyas in the area provide good access to marine mammals (Vibe 1950) (Figure 4.2). In these polynya areas, the walrus (*Odobenus rosmarus*) is one of the most important subsistence resources and is likewise generally present throughout the year (ibid 1950). Ringed seals (*Phoca hispidia*) are also extremely common year-round. Bearded seals (*Erignatus barbadus*) are likewise common in the region, though are more abundant during the summer in the Inuarfigssuaq area. The harp seal (*Phoca groenlandica*) is also a common summer visitor from the south and stays until October (ibid 1950). The narwhale (*Monodon monocerus*) and white whale (*Delphinapterus leucas*) appear in the district before the winter ice drifts out of Inglefield Bredning in May and June and, in some locations, for even longer. Polar bear (*Ursus maritimus*) and arctic hare (*Lepus Arcticus*) are hunted throughout the year. One of the most important terrestrial resources in the area is the caribou (*Rangifer tarandus*) which are mostly hunted in the fall (Holtved 1938). Another important animal is the musk ox (*Ovibus moschatus*) which, although extinct by the mid 19th century, has been re-introduced in the region (Dawes and Thomassen 1996). Musk ox bones from Thule settlement sites in central Inglefield Land have also been reported (Bennike and Andreassen 2005). Furthermore, it is well documented that the Inughuit subsisted by bird

hunting and salmon fishing during the spring and summer periods (Vibe 1950; Holtved 1938).

Figure 4.2 Nares Strait Polynya, North Greenland bprc.osu.edu/MODIS/

4.3 Previous Expeditions to North Greenland

Several expeditions to Greenland were undertaken by European commercial whalers and European explorers in search of the Northwest Passage, between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. Many of these expeditions left documents about the land and

people who lived far north of the western coasts of Greenland. For centuries, the Dutch whalers dominated the commercial whaling ventures and traded with the local people on the west coast of Greenland. It is known that these traders travelled extensively to the far north (Gad 1984); however, it is not clear from the ethnographic accounts how far north their contact with the Inuit extended beyond Disco Bay.

The earliest explorer to reach the coasts of south western Greenland was Martin Frobisher, an English explorer in search of the Northwest Passage. However, Frobisher did not continue to the northern regions of Greenland. Sir John Davis, one of the first British scientists to explore the Arctic, met several Inuit in 1585, en route to West Greenland (Bobé 1915). However, Davis did not manage to reach Thule District and did not encounter any Inughuit from this region. Johan and Gødert Braem from Hamburg, carried out commercial whaling off Greenland, Spitsbergen and Iceland during the 1630s for the Danish company Spitsbergske Kompagni. In the following years, they expanded their whaling area from 67° N latitude to the area of the North Pole (Bobé 1915). There is no information on whether they encountered Inuit as far north as the Thule District, but it was reported by the Dano-Norwegian missionary, Hans Egede, that there were people inhabiting the area of Thule District in 1771 (Gulløv 1997).

Two decades later, William Baffin, also in search of the Northwest Passage, reached the west coast of Greenland. But, like explorers before him, he did not encounter local people from the northern areas of Greenland (Rasmussen 1921). It was not until 1818, that European explorer John Ross, with the help of West Greenlander Hans Zakæus, reached Thule District and encountered Inughuit there (Rasmussen 1921; Gad 1984). In 1852, Commander Edward A. Inglefield travelled farther north to reach the land that today is named after him. Inglefield made contact with the people who lived on the south coast

of Thule District, north of Cape York, but he did not meet any people farther north in Inglefield region (Inglefield 1853). Inglefield mapped the greater part of the coastal region of Inglefield Land. Unfortunately, a storm prevented him from exploring the interior.

Between 1853-54 Elisha Kane (1856) wintered on the west coast of Inglefield Land in Rensselaer Bay, and for the first time, Europeans made contact with people living farther north than Thule District. Kane described the lives of the northern population in detail. In his account, he states that the settlements of Etah and Anoritôq in western Inglefield Land were inhabited, and he further notes that the people did not hunt in the areas east and southeast of Rensselaer Bay, nor inland of this region (ibid 1856:210).

In the 1860s, when the last immigrants of Inuit from Baffin Island, Canada, arrived in Inglefield Land, researchers paid more attention to the Inughuit lives and history, and began to provide information about how the people used Inglefield Land over the course of time. In the years that followed, geographic and other scientific explorations of Greenland were undertaken by several expeditions from Europe and the United States (Gad 1984). Robert E. Peary's repeated expedition at Cape York from 1891 to 1909 led to permanent contact with the Inughuit in North Greenland (ibid 1984). A trading station was established in Thule at North Star Bay in 1910 by Knud Rasmussen (Gad 1984; Rasmussen 1921). As a result of this station, Rasmussen initiated a series of scientific investigations, namely the Thule Expeditions to the northern Arctic. He contributed to the most comprehensive investigations of the northern region of North Greenland and the history of the Inuit and their migrations into Greenland (Rasmussen 1921). An American whaling captain, George Comer, accompanied Knud Rasmussen in 1916, as part of the second Thule Expedition. At the settlement of Ûmánaq near the Thule trading station, they

conducted an archaeological excavation at the site of "Comer's Midden", which initiated the study of Thule culture (Mathiassen 1927; Schledermann and McCullough 2003).

4.3.1 Archaeological Investigation of the Area of Inuarfigssuaq Settlement

Knud Rasmussen (1921) was the first to conduct an archaeological survey of Inglefield Land in 1916. However, he travelled by sledge and surveyed in the month of April when the region was still snow covered. Therefore, the scale of the archaeological finds was limited (Darwent et al. 2007). On April 16, Rasmussen and his crew arrived at Inuarfigssuaq. Here, Rasmussen and his crew encountered eighteen house ruins accompanying many tent rings and meat caches (Rasmussen 1921:56). Although the excavation was difficult because of the deep snow covering, Rasmussen found the remains of several whale, walrus, bearded seal, musk ox, reindeer, fox, and hare in the midden belonging to a recently repaired house ruin where one of his local crew had lived (ibid 1921).

The most comprehensive archaeological investigation of Inuarfigssuaq area (Figure 4.1) was conducted by Erik Holtved who, from 1935-1937 and 1946-1947, excavated several sites along the coast of Inglefield Land and in Thule District. He also investigated the folklore, linguistic, and ethnographic history of the area. Although previous explorers of Inglefield Land had recorded some observations about the area and the people who inhabited the region the area remained poorly understood in the 1930s (Mathiassen 1936; Gulløv 1997). Holtved's extensive archaeological work in the region first focused on the ruins at Inuarfigssuaq, where he found and excavated twenty-seven Thule winter dwellings.

Holtved and his local crew arrived at Inuarfigssuaq May 1, 1936 (Holtved 1942). When Holtved commenced his pedestrian survey in Inuarfigssuaq, he and his crew could not see many ruins, since they were covered with snow, and Holtved was sceptical of his crew's knowledge about the many house ruins in Inuarfigssuaq. However, Holtved soon realized that there were several snow covered house ruins (ibid 1942:117). The work at Inuarfigssuaq took longer than Holtved had anticipated, since the snow and permafrost caused delays in excavation. Thus, Holtved commuted back and forth from May-August to excavate other sites located on Ruin Island, Qáqaitsut, and Cape Kent while waiting for the snow to melt (ibid 1942:116). To a great extent Holtved's crew, local inhabitants from Thule District, excavated Inuarfigssuaq while Holtved worked in other areas (Holtved's unpublished diary). On September 26, 1936, Holtved and his crew left the Inuarfigssuaq area, heading back to Thule (Holtved 1938).

After Erik Holtved left, other archaeological features in Inglefield Land were sporadically recorded by local inhabitants and researchers from other disciplines, e.g., the geologists Dawes and Thomassen (1996). It was not until the 1990s that deliberate archaeological work in the region resumed, e.g., Diklev and Madsen (1992); Appelt, Gulløv and Kapel (1998, 1999); Appelt (1999); Darwent, Darwent, LeMoine, and Lange (2007). However, Inuarfigssuaq has not been re-examined. Darwent et al. (2007) did survey the area nearby, but they did not intensively survey the Inuarfigssuaq site due to the disturbance related to Holtved's excavation and modern land use (Darwent et al. 2007:67).

Many prehistoric and historic settlements have been found in the region of Inglefield Land, and although the region had not been permanently occupied for centuries, some old settlements are occasionally re-used in connection with seasonal hunting activity in both the interior and coastal regions (Dawes and Thomassen 1996:260). The most

prominent settlements that were re-used through the 19th and 20th centuries are Etah, Anoritôq, Aunartoq, Inuarfigssuaq, and the nearest occupied village Siorapaluk which is situated approximately 60 km south of Inglefield Land in Prudhoe Land, near Robertson Fjord.

4.4 The Inuarfigssuaq Myth

Many places in the Arctic, where Inuit have persisted, have been attributed place-names that generally refer to the physical landscape, available resources, events or activities that have occurred throughout time, or even ideological associations with the place where human activity has left its marks (Rasmussen 1921). The name of Inuarfigssuaq means "the place of the great massacre" or "Great Blood-Bath Fjord" (ibid 1921). During the second Thule expedition, Rasmussen was told by one of his local informants, Tornge, the oral tradition of Inuarfigssuaq. Inuarfigssuaq received its name after an incident which occurred when there were many people living in the region. It is told that long ago, two boys came into conflict and started to quarrel. Eventually, the boys came to blows while their grandfathers stood by and watched the fight. After a while, one of the boys' grandfathers was unable to stand by and watch his own grandson get beaten by the other boy, so he interfered and took the other boy away from his grandson and beat him. The other grandfather became enraged seeing his own grandchild beaten so he took the other man's grandson and killed him. The grandfather of the slain boy then killed the other boy to get even. The murder of the two boys divided the people who lived in the settlement. The first thing the people did was to kill the grandfathers. The whole incident made people wild and caused a senseless slaughter in the area. People fled but continued to kill in other parts of Inglefield Land. No one knows how long the insanity of the people

continued, but the rage carried them so far that people killed strangers, with whom they had no quarrel. At the end, no one could remember the reason for continuing to kill, and, heartbroken over the damage, they fled south to the land where the sun was warmer and the winter nights shorter (ibid 1921). This myth led to the naming of Inuarfigssuaq because it was the place where the incident occurred and the killing was greater here in comparison to the rest of the region (ibid 1921).

4.5 The Settlement of Inuarfigssuaq

Inuarfigssuaq is the largest of the old settlements situated in latitude 78° 53' N and 69° 5' W longitude in the north eastern region of Inglefield Land. It is located by the south estuary of Marshall Bay and north east of Glacier Bay where the two largest rivers in Inglefield Land run (Darwent et al. 2007; Holtved 1938, 1944). Inuarfigssuaq is a north-pointing cape of Pre-Cambrian rock with three rounded coves leading directly to beach terraces pointing to the west side of the cove. The coves are narrow depressions that slope west to the sea. Interior access to the east is hindered by a high mountainous peninsula. The vegetation of the coves is grassier with heather and moss compared to the rest of the coastal landscape. The three coves are, respectively, 200 and 300 meters apart (Figure 4.3).

In these three coves lie twenty-nine ruins of Thule winter dwellings. Erik Holtved (1938, 1944) designated the three coves respectively Group I, II, and III. Holtved did not discover the three coves all at once during his survey in May 1936 because the area was covered with snow. Therefore, the enumeration of the ruins reflects the order in which he worked.

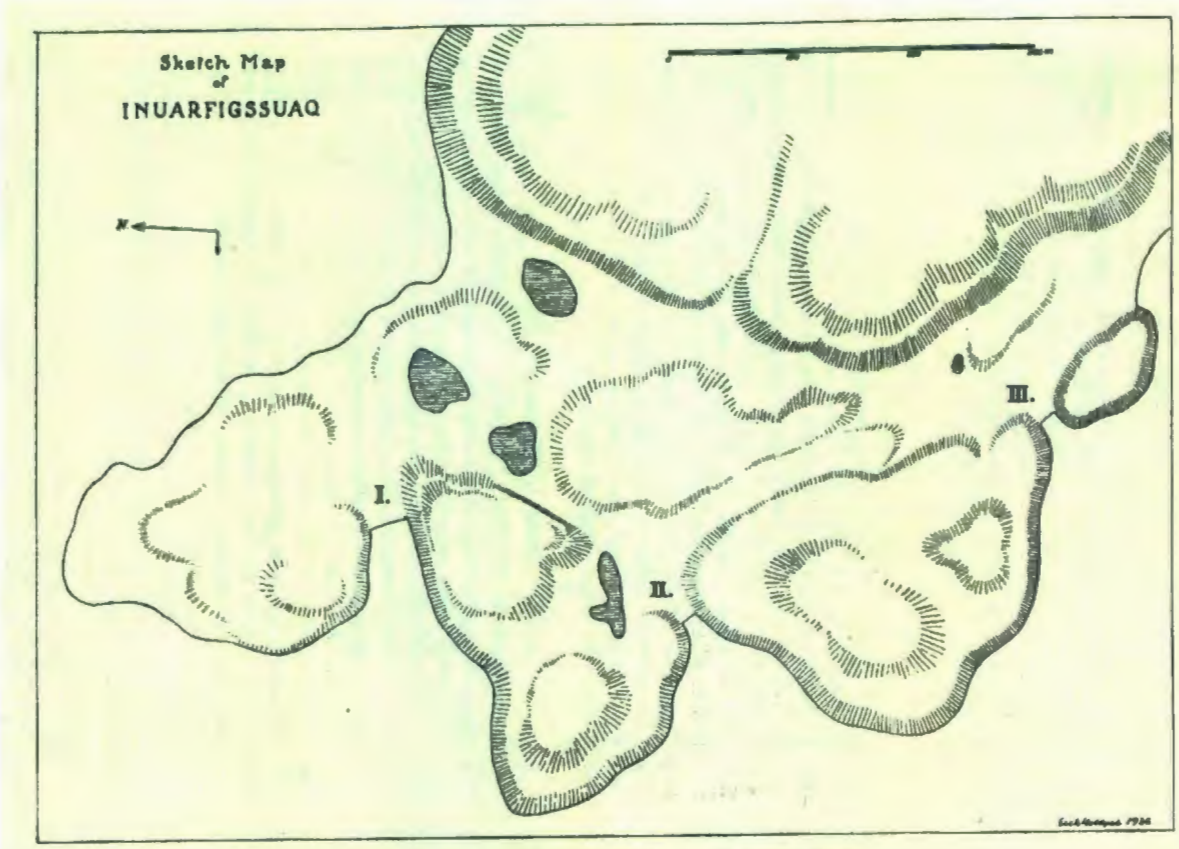


Fig. 17. Map of Inuarfigssuaq and the nearest surroundings.

Figure 4.3 Inuarfigssuaq Group I, II, and III (Holtved 1944I).

Group I lies in the northern most cove near the tip of the cape. In this cove, there are eleven dwellings situated between one and five meters above sea level (Figure 4.4). The cove is approximately twenty meters wide and lies in a smoothly falling declivity with four terraces and grassy vegetation (Holtved 1938). The interior of the cove is very arid where the ground generally consists of fine gravel and sand (ibid 1938). Holtved likewise noted that the area must have been exposed to a considerable amount of sand drift, for some of the upper ruins were covered with sand and gravel or filled with a fine grey clay deposit (possibly due to streams associated with glacial outwash from the

interior). The numeric order of the house ruins in Group I are 11-21. The ruins are oriented to face the sea to the southwest, except for one house which is situated in the upper most area which faces north (Holtved 1944). North of Group I lay vestiges of tent rings, a kayak stand, and meat caches (Holtved 1944; Darwent et al. 2007), some of which were still in use at the time Holtved worked in the area (Holtved 1944).

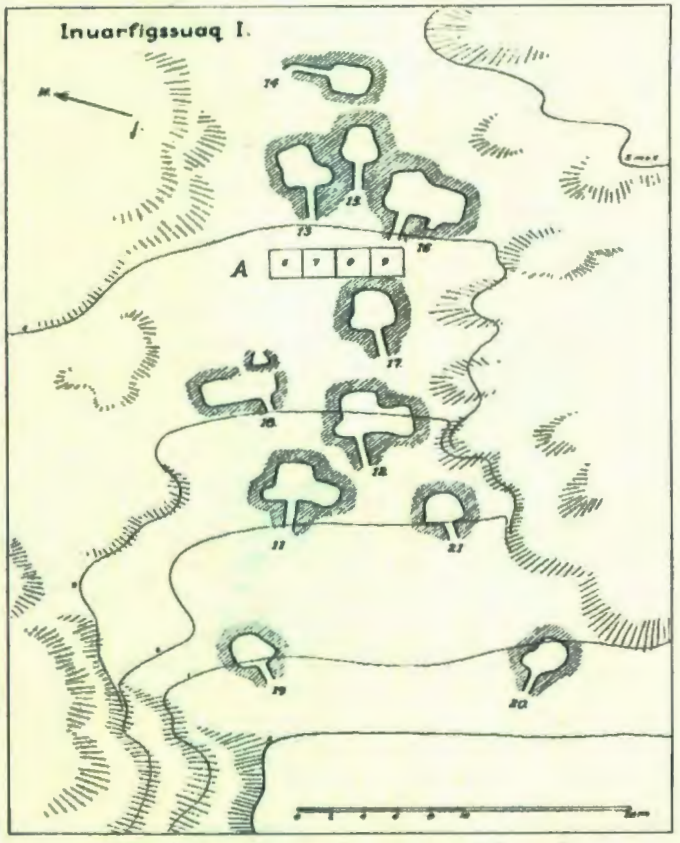


Fig. 18. Inuarfigssuaq. Survey map of Group I.

Figure 4.4 Inuarfigssuaq Group I (Holtved 1944I).

Group II is located in the middle of the cape between groups I and III and is situated between one and five meters above sea level (Figure 4.5). Group II consists of eleven house ruins on a terrain of thick moss and grass. They are located on a sloping

terrace running about fifty meters towards the interior peninsula (Figure 4.5). The rocks towards the south on the cove are more rugged and higher compared to the rounded rocks on the north side. On both sides of the rock walls to the north and the east, there are visible meat caches. Towards the beach terrace, the rock walls narrow. There are five terraces in all. On the north side of the cove the terrain is flat and includes a lake and wet meadow. The numeric order of the house ruins in Group II is 1-10, and 22.

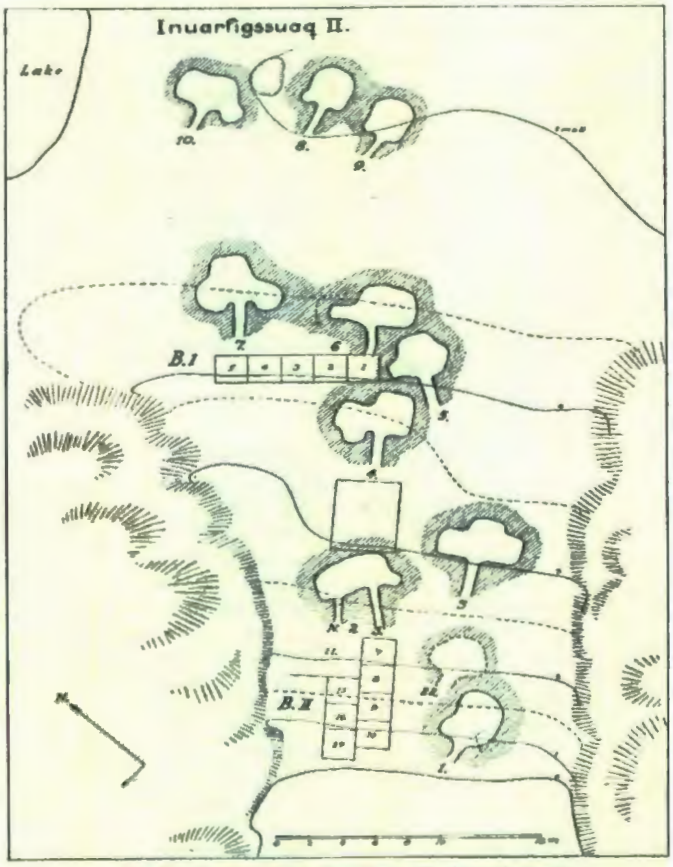


Fig. 28. Survey plan of Group II, Inuarfigssuaq.

Figure 4.5 Inuarfigssuaq Group II (Holtved 1944I).

The house ruins are more or less oriented southwest towards the sea. In the middle part of the cove, the house ruins are situated on terrain that falls steeply towards the beach.

Group III is located on the southerly side of the cape, and includes six house ruins situated between one and fourteen meters above sea level. The cove has a grassy terrain with fourteen associated terraces. The west and east sides of the cove flanked by rocks (Figure 4.6), almost enclosing the view to the sea. The numeric order of the house ruins in Group III is 24-30. The ruins face towards the sea in the southwest with the exception of house ruin 26 (Figure 4.6). On the west side of the cove in the rocky area, there are a number of meat caches and store rooms located on a steep cliff adjacent to the water.

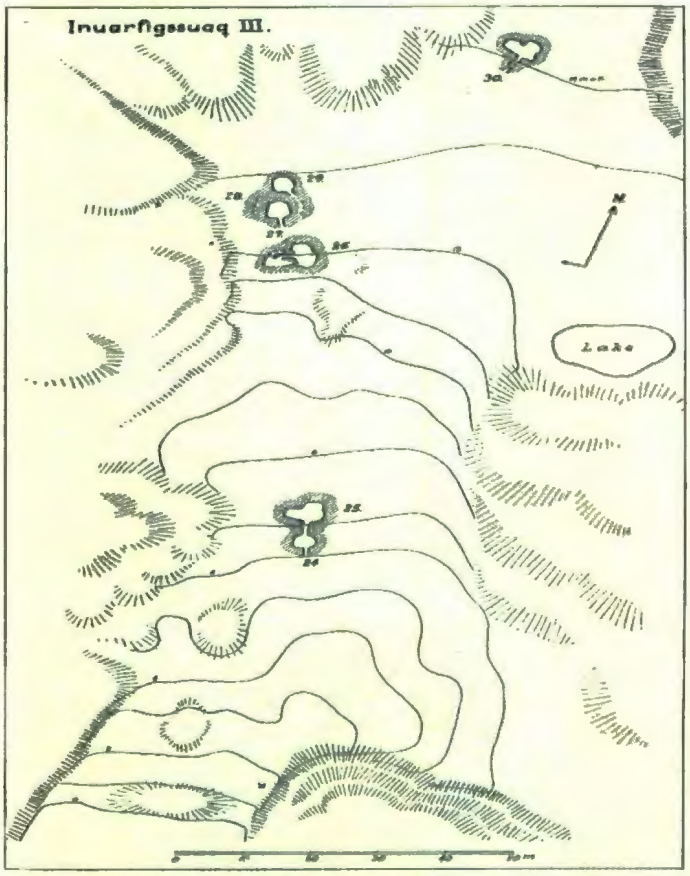


Fig. 39. Survey plan of Group III, Inuarfigssuaq.

Figure 4.6 Inuarfigssuaq Group III (Holtved 1944I).

In 1915, this cove was occupied by one of Holtved's assistants and another man who lived in house ruin no. 25 and 27. In 1936, house 25 was repaired for habitation (Holtved 1944). Therefore, Holtved did not include the artefacts from these two house ruins because they were re-used in the historic period.

Holtved attempted to shed light upon the chronological significance of the Thule culture in Thule district. In Inuarfigssuaq he developed a chronology of occupation based on the typological association of the artifacts recovered in individual house ruins, and partly on the architecture of the ruins themselves and concluded that the occupational era of the site fell within the earliest two Thule phases; namely the Thule culture and the Early Transitional Period. He also identified Dorset culture in middens B.I, B.II, and the lower midden of house 4 in Group II. Holtved associated the house ruins to the following periods:

Thule culture period: 12 – 13th century:

Group I, Houses 18, 19, 20, 21 (earliest); 17, Midden A (early); 2, 14, 16 (later).

Group II, Houses 8, 9, 22 (earliest); 1, 2, 10 (early); 4, 5, 6, 7 (later).

Group III, Houses 24, 29 (earliest); 26 (early).

Early transitional period: late 13th century:

Group I, Houses 11, 13.

Group II, House 3.

Group III, House 30

When Richard Jordan (1979), re-examined the harpoons from Inuarfigssuaq in association with radiocarbon dates (the latter not being available to Holtved at the time) he suggested that Holtved's Early Transitional Period (the Nuulliit and Ruin Island phase) occurred before the Thule culture (the sites at Inuarfigssuaq and Ûmánaq) in the Thule District, thus inverting Holtved's early chronology.

In summary, this chapter presented the cultural and natural background of the Inuarfigssuaq settlement in Inglefield Land. It demonstrated that Inuarfigssuaq settlement played an important role as the biggest winter settlement of the region. On the whole, the archaeological results from Inuarfigssuaq reveal that the site was used by several Thule culture groups over time, but is primarily related to early Thule. Likewise, Late Dorset material culture is present in Inuarfigssuaq. However, Holtved stressed that Thule culture in Inglefield Land was later and independent of Dorset culture (Holtved 1944II:61). Holtved also confirmed that the Inuarfigssuaq settlement was used in the historic era; however, Holtved purposely excluded the material culture found in the dwellings that were known to have been used until recently.

Chapter Five

Artefact Analysis:

The Categories of Miniatures, Toys, and Games from Inuarfigssuaq

5.1 Introduction

This chapter describes and analyses archaeological materials considered to be child-related objects from Inuarfigssuaq, Inglefield Land, Northwest Greenland. These child-related objects consist of miniatures, toys, and games, excavated by Erik Holtved (1944) from the three settlement groups at the Inuarfigssuaq site. The first section of the chapter outlines the methods employed to facilitate the examination of the child-related artefacts, and discusses their general state. This is followed by a section that describes the examined materials in detail. The final section of the chapter presents the interpretations given to the archaeological materials with reference to the research questions outlined in Chapter One.

5.2 Research Procedure

It should be emphasized that the materials used in this research were previously subjected to scholarly study by Erik Holtved (1944:I,II), during which 590 artefacts categorized as "Games and Toys" excavated from the Thule District were categorized. From the total number of objects 115 artefacts were excavated from the semi-subterranean winter dwellings in Inuarfigssuaq Group I, II and III. A re-analysis of these materials was necessary in order to confirm his results in light of more recent literature.

I was able to build on the previous analysis. For example, I discovered nineteen more implements contained in Holtved's unpublished notes and have included these (Table 5.1-20: L3 200, 358, 449, 598, 659, 823, 900, 1216, 1288, 1673, 1690, 1734, 1810, 1949, 1993, 2150, 2182, 2235, 2236). Furthermore, three objects of Dorset origin were found in Midden BII and House 4, thus excluded from this analysis as Dorset materials are not a part of this thesis. Nine seal phalanges (known to have been used as gaming objects) found in Midden BII and Upper Layer Midden outside House 4 are also excluded, since it is questionable whether they were used as gaming objects before being discarded. Seven objects, including: one gambling bone; four dolls; one sledge cross slat; one lamp, from Group I, House 17 are likewise excluded since the entrance passage in which they were found contained a few human bones, and these items may have functioned as grave goods. In total, 116 objects are included in this study (Table 5.1-20; Figure 5.1). A few of the 116 objects were missing from Holtved's collection and therefore impossible to examine personally. Nevertheless, Holtved's catalogue and reports were used to fill this void.

The research began with a detailed search for written sources such as Holtved's unpublished data and catalogue in the National Museum of Denmark and the Greenland National Museum's central catalogue. Of interest were materials identified as toys, games, and miniatures. The majority of the objects from Group II and III, were stored at Greenland National Museum and Archives, and the objects from Group I were stored at The National Museum of Denmark. Between April and June 2008 examinations of these materials were carried out in Copenhagen Denmark and Nuuk, Greenland.

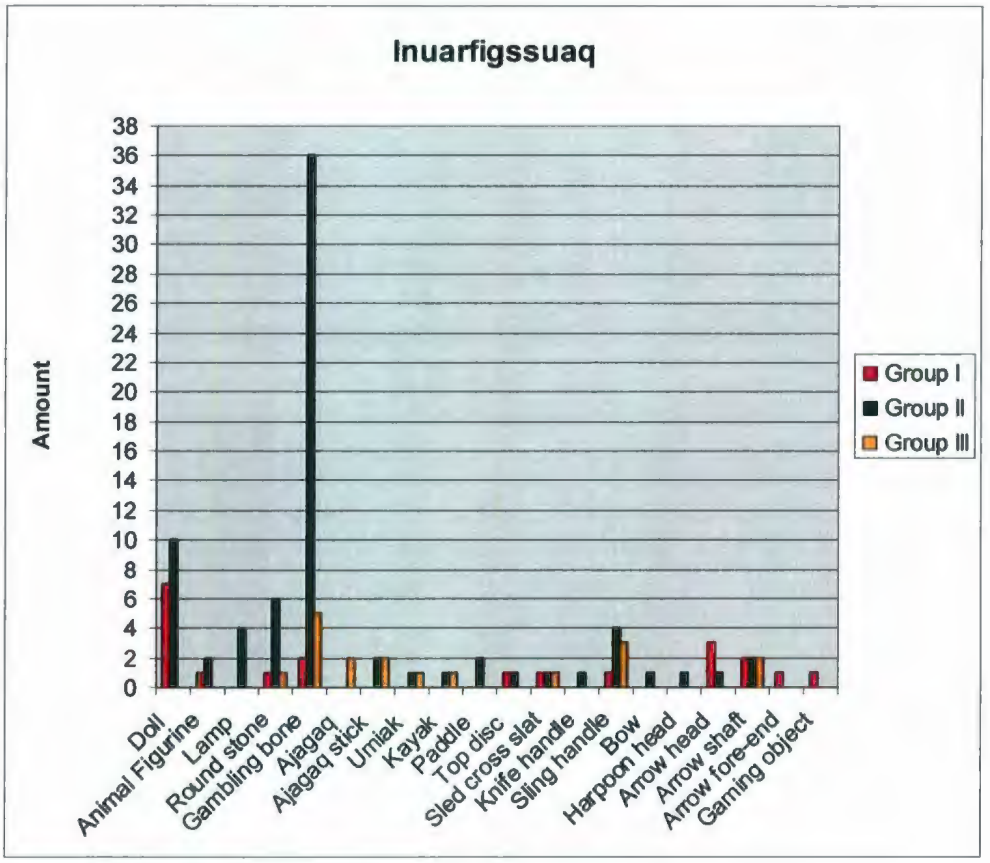


Figure 5.1 Frequency of representation of Toys and Games

Following a thorough analysis of the written data, the artefacts were collected for examination. Part of the process involved measuring and photographing the objects. This was undertaken to identify and quantify repetitive elements visible in the objects which could be used to classify them. Special attention was given to the kind of raw material used, to see if particular materials were preferentially used in the manufactured children's objects. The carving reflected in each of the implements was checked qualitatively and quantitatively by looking at the crudeness of the carved artefact. In other words, the objects were examined to establish the precision of manufacture for each implement. The criteria used included observations of the symmetry of the object in relation to the body

ratio/size of the implement, while the finesse in the curves indicated whether the carving was done by a skilled or unskilled carver.

A basic assumption was that any implement carved by young children was bound to be cruder, because children have less motor skills than an expert craftsman. To enhance the legitimacy of this examination three basic criteria were adopted during the analysis. They are (1) fine: the object being examined is fully polished and symmetrical; (2) fair: the object is partly polished and not completely symmetrical; (3) crude: the object is rough, unpolished and seems unfinished but may still be asymmetrical in shape.

Likewise, I attempted to determine the quality of the objects design. The design of an object can either be (1) detailed: if the rudiments of precision have been incorporated into the manufacture of the object then the shape of the object reflects the distinct form that characterizes the type of the object or (2) simple: if the shape of the object is plain and visibly lacking some aesthetic features then precision was absent.

Much as Holtved is widely credited for conducting a pioneering study in Inuarfigssuaq, his work suffers shortcomings because he did not identify distinct cultural layers during the excavation process. An unpleasant consequence of this oversight is that the dispersion pattern of the artefacts is unknown. Therefore, the density of the children's material culture within each house is unknown.

However, Holtved did occasionally cite the specific locations of some of the artefacts he recovered in his notes, so some artefacts are provenienced to the exact locations in the ruins such as walls, entrance and others within the limited stratigraphy of the midden. Observing patterns and illuminating the artifact distribution of the child-related objects throughout the houses could have helped to determine whether the children engaged in specific activities within or outside the house, or in random areas.

5.3 Material Object Description

Holtved (1944) classified different types of "games and toys" from Inuarfigssuaq: *Ajagaqs*, *Ajagaq* sticks, Gambling bones, Top-discs, Round stones, Gaming object, Figurines, Dolls, Harpoon head, Bows, Arrow heads, Arrow fore-ends, Arrow shafts, Sling handles, Knife handle, Sledge cross slats, *Umiaks*, Kayaks, Kayak paddles, and Lamps (Table 5.1-5.20).

Sixty objects comprise the gaming pieces category. Within this group, *ajagaqs*, *ajagaq* sticks, gambling bones, top-discs, and round stones are represented:

Elements of *ajagaq* comprise 1.7% of the total games and toys (Table 5.1; Appendix A, B). Two *ajagaq* game bones made of bearded seal were found in Group III, House 30. These *ajagaq* types are a simple version with a fastening hole for the stick. Ethnographic accounts describe these as gaming implements used by both children and adults (Larsen 1934).

Hans Egede (1741) mentioned that the *ajagaq* game is specifically used by children as a pastime. Other ethnographic accounts describe how the *ajagaq* game is used. Although the game has several variations, the common version is that the *ajagaq* bone, of seal humerus, carved caribou antler, or walrus tusk/bone, has a pointed stick attached by a sinew to the bone. The game is played by flinging the *ajagaq* into the air and catching it with the pointed stick attached to the *ajagaq* at one end like a cup-and-ball game (Holtved 1962; Mathiassen 1927). The game is generally known to be used for practicing hand/eye coordination (Mathiassen 1927).

Four *ajagaq* sticks were recovered in Groups II and III, comprising 3.5% of all games and toys (Table 5.2; Appendix A, B). They range in length between 92.0 mm and 140.0 mm.

There are forty-three gambling bones represented in the collection, in all comprising 37.1% of all games and toys. All are made from seal phalanges (Table 5.3; Appendix A, B). Gambling bones were found in all three house groups. Gambling bones are known to have been used by children and adults. In Alaska, gambling bones were used to play a game known as *Inugah* during winter months (Culin 1907). Two players would compete with each other by letting the bones fall to the ground, and those that fell with the condylar surface upward were withdrawn. The game continued until one player had no bones left and lost the challenge. In Greenland, a similar game known as *Makittarneq* was played until recently. It was mostly children and youngsters over the age of five who played (Rosing 1979). *Makittarneq* is similar to *Inugah*, but the *Makittarneq* game can be extended by the winner who will challenge "*Paagaatsanut*", meaning does someone dare to compete and fight? One of the other children who had played will try again by picking a bone similar to the one that was used in the dare. The players then simulate a fight performance, with the two gambling bones between his or her thumb and index finger to throw for the last time. If both of the gambling bones fall on the same surface the game will be played over; if they fall differently, the game is over (ibid 1979). Ethnographic accounts suggest other purposes of the gaming objects, such as the bones were used by children to depict dogs attached to miniature sledges or to depict miniature houses to play with (Hansen 1979).

Two pieces of top-discs were recovered in Groups I and II and comprise 1.72% of all games and toys found in Inuarfigssuaq (Table 5.4; Appendix A, B). Ethnographic studies have demonstrated that top-discs were also used in a gambling game by children. A stick with a rounded point made of wood would be placed in the central hole of the top-disc in order to twist the object. Hans Egede (1741) related that each child would

contribute an object to the kitty. The top-disc would then be twisted, and when the stick stopped the participant that it pointed towards would win the whole lot (Egede 1741:107).

Eight round stones, representing 6.9% of all games and toys, were recovered in Groups I, II, and III (Table 5.5; Appendix A, B). They range in size between 21.0 mm and 45.3 mm in length, and 20.0 mm and 55.0 mm in width. The round stones were used to play a ball game that required two or three stones. During the game, also known as *iglukitartut*, one stone is put in one hand and two in the other. These were then thrown into the air and caught in different hands (Mathiassen 1928:222). Small round stones were also used by younger children to throw at specific targets and thus practice motor skills (Dalager 1752:4).

One gaming object of unknown function was found in Group I, House 21 (Table 5.6; Appendix A, B). Since this object had been included by Holtved as a gaming piece and the size and shape of the object and its association with the House lends some support to this, it is included as a gaming object.

Three figurines depicting seal, represent 2.6% of all toys and games (Table 5.7; Appendix A, B). Seventeen dolls, representing, 14.7% of the total games and toys were recovered in Groups I and II. All, but one, are carved from wood (Table 5.8; Appendix A, B). The last piece is made out of ivory (L3 1503). The dolls range in length between 37.0 mm to 81.4 mm, and in width between 7.9 mm to 27.6 mm. In Group I, eleven dolls were recovered, but four specimens have been excluded because they could be associated with a burial found in the entrance passage of House 17. In Group II, eleven dolls were found. In total, twelve of the dolls are complete specimens, three dolls are fractured, and another two dolls are missing the feet. Two dolls (L3 1023, 1524) can be readily identified as female since they have a direct indication of a woman's topknot. Four dolls (L3 523, 766,

948/67, 1503) have no obvious representation of gender, since there are no male or female attributes. The remaining eleven dolls are likely to be male figurines since they do not show any female attributes and have been carved with a hint of masculine features. In general, identification of the dolls as either female or male can be difficult. However, it is possible to verify the gender of the figurine when there are direct feminine or masculine attributes (e.g., depiction of topknot, female body parts as protruding breasts or pronounced hips), or direct masculine features such as a wide chest and incisions suggesting short *kamiks*.

Many miniaturized figurines such as animal or human figures are known to have functioned as amulets for both adults and children, as grave offerings, and as the paraphernalia of shamans. As a result, some of these artefacts could have been spiritual implements. The material of manufacture and the context from which the object was recovered can help to determine whether these objects were toys or not. Ethnographic information may also help to identify objects most likely belonging to children. For example, House 17 in Group I contained human skeletal remains in the entrance passage, thus the objects found inside the dwelling could not be directly associated with children's play, since they may have functioned as grave offerings. As well, dolls or animal figures that functioned as amulets might have other marks, such as holes and sinew marks from attachments, have a superior aesthetic appearance, or be made of valuable raw material (e.g. ivory). Unfortunately, miniaturized objects are also known to have been made small so one could carry them as amulets.

Sundry toys comprise thirty-five pieces from Groups I, II, and III. Within the assemblage, several types of miniatures are represented including: harpoon heads, bows,

arrows, arrow heads, arrow shafts, sling handles, sledge cross slats, *umiaks*, kayaks, kayak paddles, lamps, and knife handles.

There is one piece of a Thule class 2 harpoon head found in Group II House 7 (Table 5.9; Appendix A, B). One single miniature bow was found in Group II House 2 (Table 5.10; Appendix A, B). Four arrow heads all carved from antler, representing 3.5% of all games and toys, were found in Groups I and II (Table 5.11; Appendix A, B). Holtved also included two pieces of arrow fore-end from Group I, House 21 in his list of specimens; however, in Holtved's catalogue, there is no description of the second piece. Therefore, only one piece was examined and included (Table 5.12; Appendix A, B). Six broken arrow shafts, all butt-ends, representing 5.2% of all games and toys were found in Groups I, II and III (Table 5.13; Appendix A, B). In Group I, two wooden arrow shafts were recovered. In Group II, two broken wooden arrow shafts were found. Two butt-ends of arrow shafts were found in Group III. Eight sling handles, representing 6.9% of all games and toys, were found in Groups I, II, and III (Table 5.14; Appendix A, B). One possible knife handle was found in Group II (Table 5.15; Appendix A, B). Four pieces of sledge cross slats representing 3.5% of all games and toys were found in Groups I, II, and III (Table 5.16; Appendix A, B). In Group I, two wooden pieces of sledge cross slats were found in Houses 12 and 17. Two pieces of kayak, representing 1.6% of all games and toys, carved in wood were found in Groups II and III (Table 5.18; Appendix A, B). Two paddles, representing 1.7% of all games and toys, were found in Group II (Table 5.19; Appendix A, B). These items are considered to be replicas of male tools and are known to have been used by children for developing physical and technical abilities through play that imitate hunting (Hansen 1979; Mathiassen 1927).

Two *umiaks* (women's boat), representing 1.7% of all games and toys, carved in wood were found in Groups II and III (Table 5.17; Appendix A, B). Four soapstone lamps, representing 3.5% of all games and toys, were found in Group II (Table 5.20; Appendix A, B). One lamp from Group I has been excluded, since it was found in House 17. The *umiaks* and lamps are replicas of women's tools and are known to have been used by children for play and to practice for future roles (Hansen 1979; Mathiassen 1927).

Table 5.1: *Ajagaq*s: N=2

House	Group	Catalogue Number	Location	Workmanship	Design	Raw Material	Gender	Picture
30	III	L3 1995	E	ND	ND	B	GN	Ajagaq's: A 1-3 Appendix A and B
30	III	L3 2027	E	ND	ND	B	GN	Ajagaq's: B 1-3 Appendix A and B

E= indoor ND= Non-determinable B= bone GN= gender neutral

Table 5.2: *Ajagaq* sticks: N=4

House	Group	Catalogue Number	Location	Workmanship	Design	Raw Material	Gender	Picture
7	II	L3 2093	M	ND	ND	T	GN	A. Sticks: Appendix B
4	II	L3 754	M	F	D	T	GN	A. Sticks: A 1-2 Appendix A and B
30	III	L3 1980	E	ND	ND	T	GN	A. Sticks: Appendix B
30	III	L3 1996	E	R	P	T	GN	A. Sticks: B 1-3 Appendix A and B

M= midden ND= Non-determinable T= wood GN= gender neutral F= Fine D= detailed E= indoor
R= Fair P= simple

Table 5.3: Gambling bones N=43

House	Group	Catalogue Number	Location	Raw Material	Gender	Picture
11; 16; 17	I	L3 1348; 1523; 1618	E	B	GN	Gambling bones: A1; B1; C1 Appendix A and B
1; 3; 4; 5; 6; 8; 9; 10;	II	L3 2150; 2182; 2200; 2235; 2236; 598 ab; 790; 849; 875; 1217; 1245; 1245;	E	B	GN	Gambling bones: B 1- O 1 Appendix A and B
24; 26; 30	III	L3 1789 x2; 1814x2; 1997	E	B	GN	Gambling bones: P 1- R 1 Appendix A and B

E= indoor B= bone GN= gender neutral

Table 5.4: Top-discs N=2

House	Group	Catalogue Number	Location	Workmanship	Design	Raw Material	Gender	Picture
19	I	L3 1706	E	F	D	S	GN	Top-discs: A 1- 2 Appendix A and B
6	II	L3 990	E	R	P	B	GN	Top-discs: Appendix B

E= indoor F= Fine D= detailed S= stone GN= gender neutral R= Fair P= simple B= bone

Table 5.5: Round Stones N=8

House	Group	Catalogue Number	Location	Gender	Picture
11	I	L3 1385	V	GN	Round Stones: A 1; Appendix A and B
2	II	L3 433	E	GN	Round Stones: B 1; Appendix A and B
2	II	L3 458	E	GN	Round Stones: C 1; Appendix A and B
6	II	L3 921	E	GN	Round Stones: D 1; Appendix A and B
6	II	L3 949	E	GN	Round Stones: E 1; Appendix A and B
7	II	L3 1158	E	GN	Round Stones: Appendix B
8	II	L3 1183	E	GN	Round Stones: F 1; Appendix A and B

30	III	L3 1973	E	GN	Round Stones: Appendix B

V= entrance passage/cold trap GN= gender neutral E= indoor

Table 5.6: Gaming object N=1

House	Group	Catalogue Number	Location	Workmanship	Design	Raw Material	Gender	Picture
21	I	L3 1734	E	R	P	T	GN	G. Object: A 1-2 Appendix A and B

E= indoor R= Fair P= simple T= wood GN= gender neutral

Table 5.7: Figurines, animal carvings N=3

House	Group	Catalogue Number	Location	Workmanship	Design	Raw Material	Gender	Picture
19	I	L3 1705	E	F	D	B	GN	Figurines: A 1-2 Appendix A and B
4	II	L3 659	E	ND	ND	T	GN	Figurines: B 1-3 Appendix A and B
4	II	L3 11972	Midden	ND	ND	T	GN	Figurines: C 1-2 Appendix A and B

E= indoor F= fine D= detailed B= bone GN= gender neutral ND= non-determinable T= wood M= midden

Table 5.8: Dolls N=17

House	Group	Catalogue Number	Location	Workmanship	Design	Raw Material	Gender	Picture
I	12	L3 1416	E	F	D	T	G	Dolls: A 1-3 Appendix A and B
I	13	L3 1472	E	R	P	T	G	Dolls: B 1-3 Appendix A and B
I	16	L3 1503	E	F	D	V	G	Dolls: C 1-3 Appendix A and B
I	16	L3 1524	E	F	D	T	G	Dolls: D 1-3 Appendix A and B
I	16	L3 1560	E	R	P	T	G	Dolls: E 1-3 Appendix A and B
I	17	L3 1636	M	R	P	T	G	Dolls: J 1-2 Appendix A and B
I	21	L3 1747	E	F	D	T	G	Dolls: K 1-3 Appendix A and B
II	2	L3 523	M	F	D	T	G	Dolls: L 1-2 Appendix A and B
II	4	L3 731	E	R	P	T	G	Dolls: M 1-3 Appendix A and B
II	4	L3 11975	M	F	D	T	G	Dolls: O 1-3 Appendix A and B
II	4	L3 766	M	R	P	T	G	Dolls: N 1-3 Appendix A and B
II	5	L3 892	E	F	P	T	G	Dolls: P 1-3 Appendix A and B
II	6	L3 947	E	C	P	T	G	Dolls: Q 1-3 Appendix A and B
II	6	L3 948/967	E	F	D	T	G	Dolls: R 1-4 Appendix A and B
II	6	L3 1023	E	F	D	T	G	Dolls: S 1-2 Appendix A and B
II	7	L3 1069	E	F	D	T	G	Dolls: T 1-2 Appendix A and B

II	10	L3 1269	E	ND	ND	T	G	Dolls: U 1-3 Appendix A and B

E= indoor F= fine D= detailed T= wood G= girls R= fair P= simple V= ivory M= midden
C= crude ND= non-determinable

Table 5.9: Harpoon head N=1

House	Group	Catalogue Number	Location	Workmanship	Design	Raw Material	Gender	Picture
7	II	L3 1079	E	F	D	T	L	H. Head: A 1-3 Appendix A and B

E= indoor F= fine D= detailed T= wood L= boys

Table 5.10: Bow N=1

House	Group	Catalogue Number	Location	Workmanship	Design	Raw Material	Gender	Picture
2	II	L3 449	E	F	D	T	L	Bow: A 1-2 Appendix A and B

E= indoor F= fine D= detailed T= wood L= boys

Table 5.11: Arrow heads N=4

House	Group	Catalogue Number	Location	Workmanship	Design	Raw Material	Gender	Picture
18	I	L3 1673	E	F	D	B	L	A. Heads: A 1-3 Appendix A and B
18	I	L3 1689	E	F	D	B	L	A. Heads: B 1-3 Appendix A and B
18	I	L3 1690	E	F	D	B	L	A. Heads: C 1-2 Appendix A and B
7	II	L3 2079	E	ND	ND	B	L	A. Heads: Appendix B

E= indoor F= fine D= detailed B= bone L= boys ND= non-determinable

Table 5.12: Arrow fore-end N=1

House	Group	Catalogue Number	Location	Workmanship	Design	Raw Material	Gender	Picture
21	I	L3 1750	E	R	P	T	L	Fore-end A 1-2 Appendix A and B

E= indoor R= fair P= simple T= wood L= boys

Table 5.13: Arrow shafts N=6

House	Group	Catalogue Number	Location	Workmanship	Design	Raw Material	Gender	Picture
18	I	L3 1695	E	R	P	T	L	A. Shafts: A 1-2 Appendix A and B
21	I	L3 1756	E	F	D	T	L	A. Shafts: Appendix B
4	II	L3 729	E	R	P	T	L	A. Shafts: B 1-3 Appendix A and B
6	II	L3 915	E	F	D	T	L	A. Shafts: C 1-3 Appendix A and B
26	III	L3 1873	E	R	P	T	L	A. Shafts: Appendix B
29	III	L3 1913	E	ND	ND	T	L	A. Shafts: Appendix B

E= indoor R= fair P= simple T= wood L= boys F= fine D= detailed ND= non-determinable

Table 5.14: Sling handles N=8

House	Group	Catalogue Number	Location	Workmanship	Design	Raw Material	Gender	Picture
I	12	L3 1428	E	F	D	T	L	S. Handles: A 1-3 Appendix A and B

II	4	L3 687	E	C	P	T	L	S. Handles: B 1-3 Appendix A and B
II	5	L3 902	E	C	P	T	L	S. Handles: C 1-3 Appendix A and B
II	6	L3 999	E	R	D	T	L	S. Handles: D 1-3 Appendix A and B
II	6	L3 1000	E	ND	ND	T	L	S. Handles: E 1-3 Appendix A and B
III	24	L3 1810	E	R	P	T	L	S. Handles: F 1-3 Appendix A and B
III	30	L3 1949	E	R	P	T	L	S. Handles: G 1-3 Appendix A and B
III	30	L3 1987	E	ND	ND	T	L	S. Handles: H 1-3 Appendix A and B

E= indoor F= fine D= detailed T= wood L= boys C= crude R= fair P= simple ND= non-determinable

Table 5.15: Knife handle N=1

House	Group	Catalogue Number	Location	Workmanship	Design	Raw Material	Gender	Picture
4	II	L3 782	M	ND	ND	T	L	K. Handle: A 1-3 Appendix A and B

M= midden ND= non-determinable T= wood L= boys

Table 5.16: Sledge cross slats N=4

House	Group	Catalogue Number	Location	Workmanship	Design	Raw Material	Gender	Picture
12	I	L3 1401	E	ND	ND	T	L	S.C. Slats: A 1-3 Appendix A and B
17	I	L3 1645	M	R	D	T	L	S.C. Slats: B 1-3 Appendix A and B

2	II	L3 450	E	R	D	B	L	S.C. Slats: C 1-3 Appendix A and B
30	III	L3 1993	E	C	P	B	L	S.C. Slats: D 1-3 Appendix A and B

E= indoor ND= non-determinable T= wood L= boys M= midden R= fair D= detailed B= bone
C= crude P= simple

Table 5.17: *Umiaks* N=2

House	Group	Catalogue Number	Location	Workmanship	Design	Raw Material	Gender	Picture
3	II	L3 631	E	F	D	T	G	Umiak's: A 1-3 Appendix A and B
30	III	L3 2028	E	F	D	T	G	Umiak's: B 1-3 Appendix A and B

E= indoor F= fair D= detailed T= wood G= girls

Table 5.18: Kayaks N=2

House	Group	Catalogue Number	Location	Workmanship	Design	Raw Material	Gender	Picture
3	II	L3 599	E	F	D	T	L	Kayak's: A 1-2 Appendix A and B
30	III	L3 1940	E	C	P	T	L	Kayak's: B 1-3 Appendix A and B

E= indoor F= fair D= detailed T= wood L= boys C= crude P= simple

Table 5.19: Kayak paddles N=2

House	Group	Catalogue Number	Location	Workmanship	Design	Raw Material	Gender	Picture
4	II	L3 649	E	C	P	T	L	K. Paddles: A 1-3 Appendix A and B
5	II	L3 887	E	F	D	T	L	K. Paddles: B 1-3 Appendix A and B

E= indoor C= crude P= simple T= wood L= boys

Table 5.20: Lamps N=4

House	Group	Catalogue Number	Location	Workmanship	Design	Raw Material	Gender	Picture
1	II	L3 358	E	R	P	S	G	Lamps: A 1-3 Appendix A and B
4	II	L3 671	E	F	P	S	G	Lamps: C1-3 Appendix A and B
5	II	L3 823	E	ND	ND	S	G	Lamps: D 1-2 Appendix A and B
8	II	L3 1216	E	F	P	S	G	Lamps: E 1-3 Appendix A and B

E= indoor R= Fair P= simple S= stone G= girls F= Fine ND= non-determinable

5.4 Utilised Raw Material

The primary raw material for implements is wood which was used to construct 41% of the total artefact assemblages (Figure 5.2). The largest plant species in Northwest Greenland is the Arctic willow (*Salih Arctica*). Since the vegetation in Inglefield Land is not evenly distributed willow stands are scattered. Because willow is the largest plant that grows in the region, old specimens can have a stem thicker than a finger and grow more than a meter long (Ostenfeld 1921:295). Some of the wooden objects in Holtved's collection are made of willow, but some may be made from driftwood, since driftwood can have very fine grains similar to willow. Presumably, driftwood which is also sparse in Inglefield Land, must have had greater value for use in the manufacture of real tools, but in some instances driftwood might have been used for crafting children's play objects. Wood must have been a material of choice because it is easier to carve and produce toys from than other substances such as stone or bone. It also preserves well and was sturdy enough to be used for play items. A closer look at the dolls shows that the raw material basically did not suffer any major defects that compromised their original nature.

Bone comprise 40% of all the implements examined. Out of these 37% are made of unmodified seal phalanges, 2% are unmodified seal humeri, and 1% whalebone (Figure 5.2). The bones used for manufacturing items are from animals that are abundant in the region. Thus, exploitation of animal bones for making miniatures, gambling bones and toys must have been a material of choice due to availability. The majority of the bones utilised for gambling and toy items are unmodified, or have been slightly modified to enhance their function (such as a drilled hole in an *ajagaq* gaming bone). Since bone is a harder material than wood, it is probable that it requires greater precision and skill to carve.

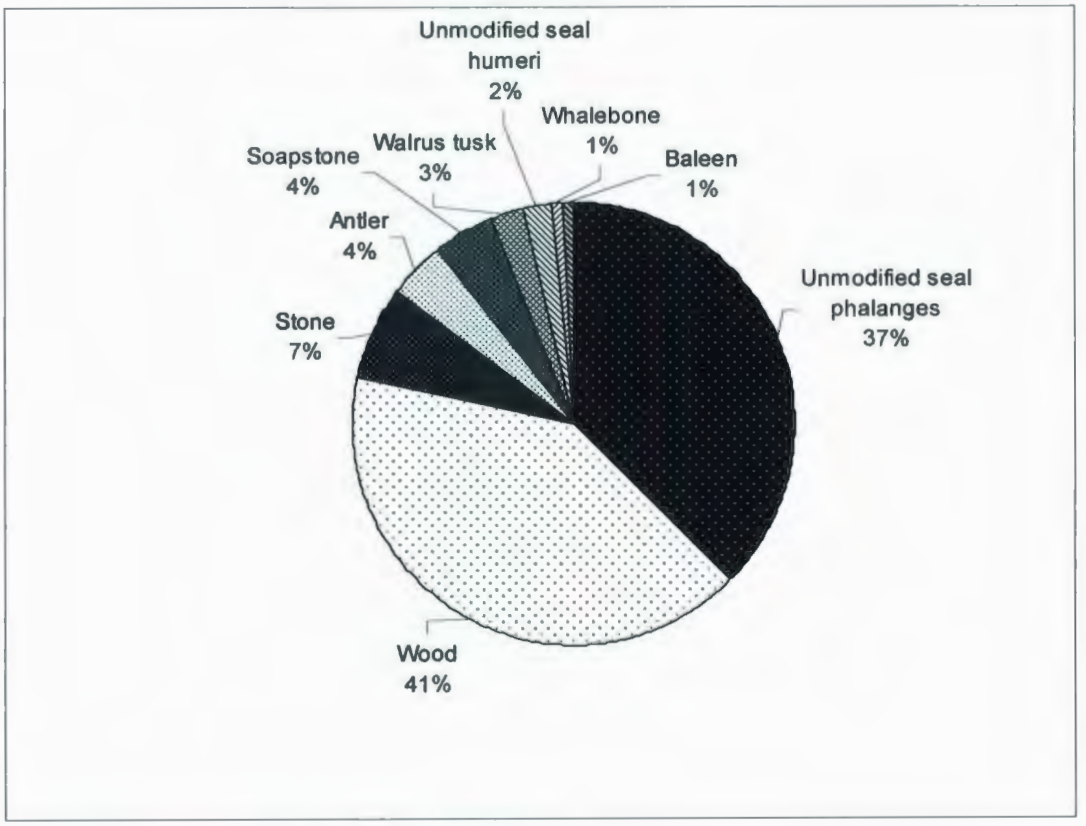


Figure 5.2 Frequency of utilized raw material

5.5 Discussion

A good number of the child-related artefacts from Inuarfigssuaq bare a striking similarity to objects which have been deemed children's playthings in Greenland and other regions of the Arctic. There are several examples of child-related material culture from Thule settlements in Greenland. Hans Christian Gulløv (1997) analyzed the toys and games from *Illorpaat* and *Itisalik* in Nuuk area in Southwest Greenland, and Therkel Mathiassen (1927, 1930, 1934) who excavated at several Thule sites in West Greenland in the 1920s examined children's toys and games. Meldgaard and Bandi (1952) also identified children's material culture in East Greenland. Mathiassen (1934:114) stressed

that children's toys often imitate items of material culture used by adults. Kenyon and Arnold (1985:348) went on to suggest that Thule children's toys can be indicators of the socialization processes in Thule culture.

Ethnographic literature informs us that several miniature versions of real objects, as well as gaming pieces, were used by both children and adults. Therefore, it is not easy to differentiate children's toys and games from those items used by adults. However, it is generally presumed that children played with scaled down versions of adult tools which often represented the tasks the grown-ups performed (Gulløv 1997; Kenyon and Arnold 1985). Many child-related artefacts from Inuarfigssuaq have full-sized counterparts. The Harpoon heads, Arrow heads, Arrow shafts, Sling handles, Throwing boards, Sledge cross slats, Knife handles, Kayak, Paddles, *Umiaks*, and Lamps are all miniature versions of adult tools.

Artefacts such as *Ajagaqs*, *Ajagaq* sticks, Top-discs, Round-stones, Gambling bones, Animal figures, and Dolls are also known to have been used by both children and adults, although for different purposes, for example, Holtved stated that: "among the Polar Eskimos it is difficult to make a very sharp distinction between sports and games. Some games, to be sure, are decidedly children's games, but others are participated in by adults as well by children" (Holtved 1944:155).

When interpreting child-related objects it is necessary to first decide whether they were intended to be functional tools. Both the type of raw material chosen for manufacture and size of the object can help reveal the possible function of the implement. As an example, the harpoon head (Appendix A: L3 1079) from Group II could not have functioned to kill an animal since it was made from wood. Thus, it did not function in the same manner as the full-sized tool it imitated. However, other miniaturized implements

were fashioned from hard organic materials and could have been functional. In those cases, the classification as toys was based solely upon the size of the artefact, because the small sizes of the object was unlikely to cause deadly harm to animals. Therefore, it is doubtful that the objects functioned as real weapons, and were most likely toys or spiritual items. As stated above (pg 57), distinguishing spiritual items from playthings requires an understanding of artefact provenience, material of manufacture, and aesthetic appearance, and can be assisted by the ethnographic record.

The examined artefacts have been identified as children's games and toys heavily based upon counterparts in the ethnographic literature. Nevertheless, it is not reasonable to assume that all these miniatures were purely associated with children's toys.

5.5.1 Carving quality

An examination of the carved attributes on 51 of the 116 implements was conducted to determine whether the items may have been produced by a skilled or unskilled carver. However, this study was not as successful as I hoped it would be. This is because the objects were recovered in various states of preservation (e.g. some are fractured, while others have deteriorated over time). Nevertheless, an attempt was made to evaluate the quality of carving, as well as the complexity of the shape and the size of many objects. Those objects that were pre-forms or in poor condition were not considered, since it was not possible to determine their original state. Furthermore, I did not include objects that I was unable to examine directly because Holtved did not describe their state of preservation.

Out of the 51 pieces examined (Figure 5.3), 11.8% were considered to be crudely carved, unpolished, unfinished or asymmetrical in shape. On approximately 35% of the

assemblage, the carving was of fair quality. The items were partly polished, and slightly asymmetrical or incomplete. The remaining 52.9% of the assemblage was of a fine quality that was fully polished and symmetrical in design. The quality of design attributes were also assessed (Figure 5.4). In 52.9% of the assemblage small, precise details were expertly incorporated into the design. The remaining 47.1% of the assemblage was simply carved and are either plain or lacking precision.

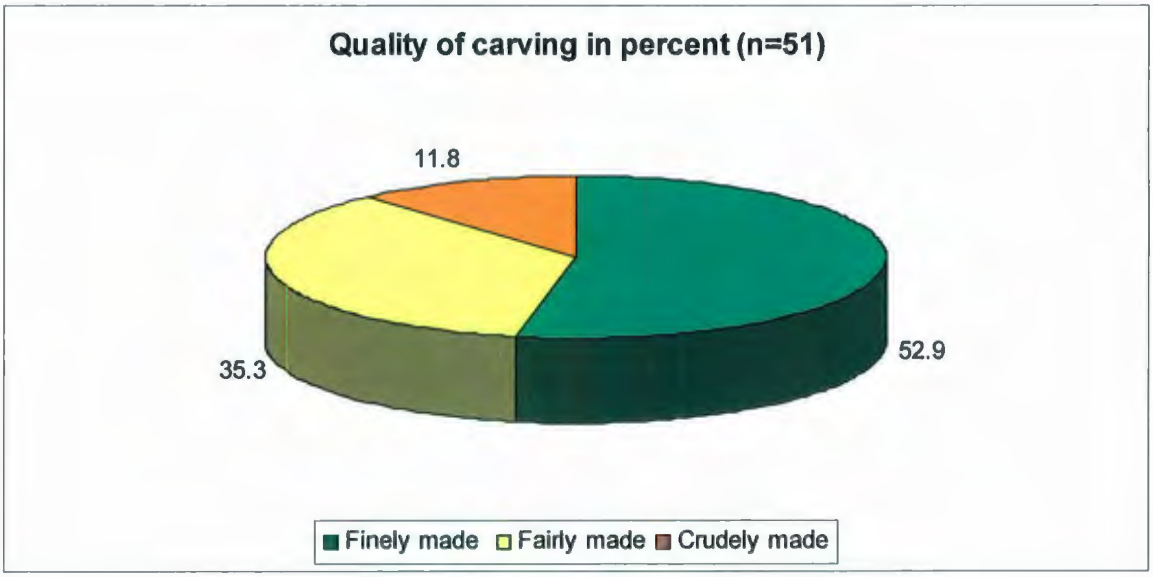


Figure 5.3 Quality of the carving of the objects

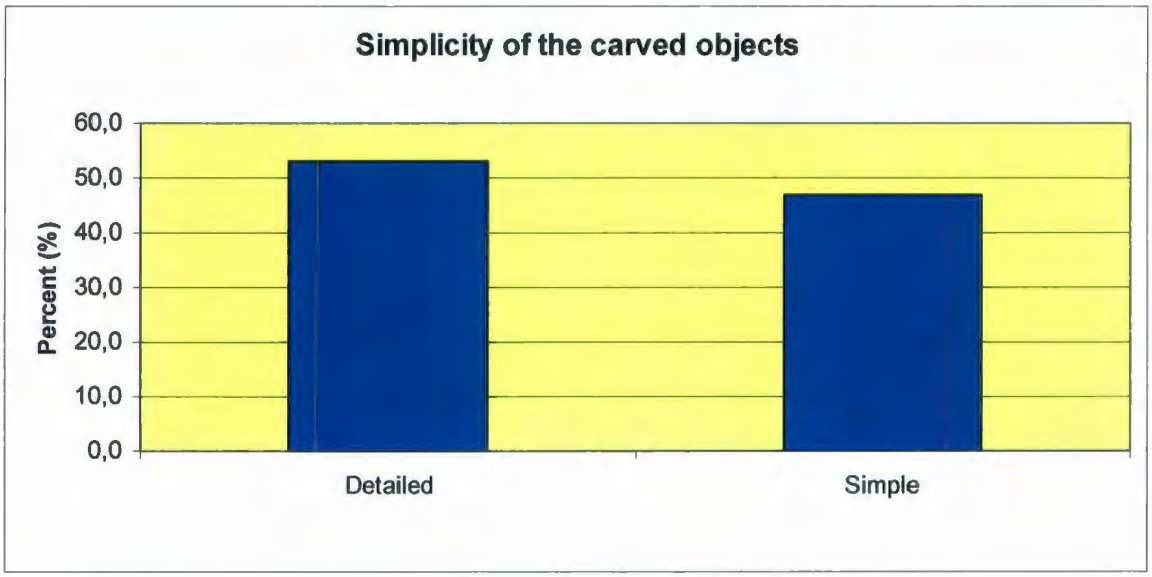


Figure 5.4 Quality of the design of the object

The results of the analysis indicate that a slight majority of the miniatures were detailed and finely carved suggesting that they were produced by skilled carvers rather than children. If adults or older children were manufacturing these objects for younger children to play with these objects reflect adult perceptions about what toys were suitable for children, and presumably indicate what skills adults want children to acquire.

5.5.2 Discussion of Gender Specific Objects

It is generally presumed that in Thule culture, male activities are represented by the implements of hunting since males undertook most of the subsistence hunting. Likewise, female activities are generally associated with domestic labour such as child rearing, harvesting plants, home maintenance, and household activities such as preparing food, tending lamps and producing clothing. Childhood activities have generally been divided along similar gender lines reflecting the activities carried out by adults, and

linking childhood play with adult activities. In this manner, the social structure and organization of Thule society was re-created during childhood through gender-specific play under the instruction of adults (Kenyon and Arnold 1985).

In this manner, the games and toys used to socialize children emphasized gendered behaviour. Since ethnographic studies of male and female activity among Inuit adults has revealed what material culture is predominantly used by each gender (Balikci 1970; Jenness 1922; Laugrand and Oosten 2008), this information can be used to interpret which objects were likely used by girls vs. those objects likely to have been used by boys.

The artefacts predominantly used by girls are thought to be dolls, lamps and *Umiak*s. These items represent 19.8% of the Inuarfigssuaq assemblage (Table 5.21). According to ethnographic literature, playing with dolls is a typical girl's activity. Kaj Birket-Smith (1945:213) states that "dolls are favourite playthings for little girls", and is common practice for girls to play with and make dolls in preparation for future "real life" activities. As Jenness (1922:219) further states "Their mothers encourage them, for it is in this way they learn to sew and cut out patterns".

Given that ethnographic accounts suggest that miniature toys such as arrow heads, arrow shafts, arrow shaft fore-ends, bows, harpoon heads, kayaks, kayak paddles, sling handles, knife handles, and sledge cross slats were traditionally used by boys I have included them as boy/male artefacts. These items comprise 25.9% of the assemblage (Table 5.21).

Since children of both genders played with games, and many of the games were imitations of those played by adults of both genders (Holtved 1944II; Mathiassen 1927; Meldgaard and Bandi 1952; Birket-Smith 1924), artefacts classified as gaming objects are interpreted as gender neutral artefacts (Table 5.21). Likewise, animal figurines are

interpreted as gender neutral artefacts since ethnographic literature suggests that animal figurines could be used by both children and adults and both genders (Jenness 1922; Mathiassen 1927). The gender neutral objects comprise 54.3% of the assemblage, and are overrepresented compared to those objects associated with specific genders (Table 5.21). The overrepresentation of the gender neutral objects might reflect adult use of these items (Holtved 1944II). Consequently, games could well be identified as community toys. However, gaming objects are known to have been used by children. They were particularly good toys for enhancing motor skills, and therefore considered important for children to play with (Dalager 1752). Given this, it would be inappropriate to exclude these gaming objects from the analysis.

Gendered behaviour is socially constructed and ethnographic data has demonstrated the diverse lifestyles of the Inuit in different regions. When attempting to classify child-related material culture it is important to be cautious because gendered behaviour can be influenced by regional traditions. Therefore, children's activities may have been affected by their local social environment. As an example, some Inuit and Iñupiat females in Alaska, Canada and East Greenland were raised to become hunters or considered "hunters" since they took overall responsibility for processing the harvest (Bodenhorn 2000). As well, some males were raised to help with domestic labour and household activities (Robert-Lamblin 1981; Saladin d'Anglure 1992). Until recently this practice was widely sanctioned, especially in instances when there was a dire shortage of men or women within the nuclear family to perform these functions (Robert-Lamblin 1981:3; Saladin d'Anglure 1992). In essence, some archaeological artefacts considered gender specific objects might actually have been used by both genders.

Gender Neutral	n	%
Ajagaq:	2	1.7
Ajagaq stick:	4	3.4
Gambling bone:	43	37.1
Gaming object:	1	0.9
Round stone:	8	6.9
Top-disc:	2	1.7
Animal Figurine:	3	2.6
	63	54.3
Female		
Doll:	17	14.7
Lamp:	4	3.4
Umiak:	2	1,7
	23	19.8
Male		
Arrow head:	4	3.4
Arrow shaft:	6	5.2
Arrow shaft fore-end:	1	0.9
Bow:	1	0.9
Harpoon head:	1	0.9
Kayak:	2	17
Kayak paddle:	2	1.7
Knife handle:	1	0.9
Sled cross slat:	4	3.4
Sling handle:	8	6.9
	30	25.9
Total:	116	100

Table 5.21 Artefacts divided into gender-based categories

Although, the gender-specific use of artefacts was by no means universal, this analysis of material culture allows for a reasonable indication of the gendered use of play items that can be quantified. The gender classification of artefacts was based strongly on analogy from ethnographic accounts of adult and child activities in Greenland, and suggests that the objects that girls and boys would play with were used to "to carry out, in miniature, some of the duties they will have to perform when they grow up" (Jenness 1922:170).

5.5.3 The Artefacts and their Relation to Houses and Gender

When interpreting the use of objects found in individual houses in each of the three groups, it is necessary to compare Group I, II, and III to see how the distribution of gender neutral, female and male objects are represented. When looking at the distribution, it is obvious that Group II has a high representation of games and toys compared to Group I and III.

Since the child-related objects were recovered inside winter semi-subterranean houses, one might assume that children typically played with these objects indoors during the winter season. Although, many types of child-related games and toys are typically found inside winter houses I do not find it pertinent to conclude that these artefacts were purely winter pastimes and that children did not play with these specific objects during the summer. Children most likely played with these objects in outdoor surroundings when favourable weather conditions made it possible for children to play outside. For example E.W. Hawkes (1916:113) states that for children in Nunavik: "The sling is a favourite amusement in summer, when myriads of waterfowl visit the shores". Therefore, it is probable that these child-related objects found in connection with winter settlements were also used in summer settlements.

Group I contains 21 pieces of toys and games: 7 pieces are considered gender neutral objects; 5 pieces represent girls' objects; and 8 pieces represent boys' objects (Figure 5.5). The objects are more evenly distributed in this group.

The Group II collection included 76 pieces out of which 47 pieces are gender neutral objects: 15 pieces are toys associated with girl's activities; and 14 pieces are objects associated with boys' activities (Figure 5.6). The gender neutral objects are the most abundant in this group. A probable explanation for the high number of the gender

neutral objects (e.g. twenty-one pieces of gambling bones from House 6), is that the game was engaged in by both children and adults (see above). It is also possible that the child participants playing the game won many bones when playing with their peers. Alternatively, it is possible that the house was the centre for the game.

In Group III toys and games comprise only 18 pieces: 10 of them can be considered gender neutral objects; 1 is a girls' object; and 7 pieces represent boys' objects (Figure 5.7). The girls' objects are poorly represented in this group, but there are also fewer houses here. Group III has only six houses, compared to Group I with ten houses and Group II with eleven houses. The percentage of gender-specific objects may also represent the number of children of both sexes at the three sites, as well as their possible play locations.

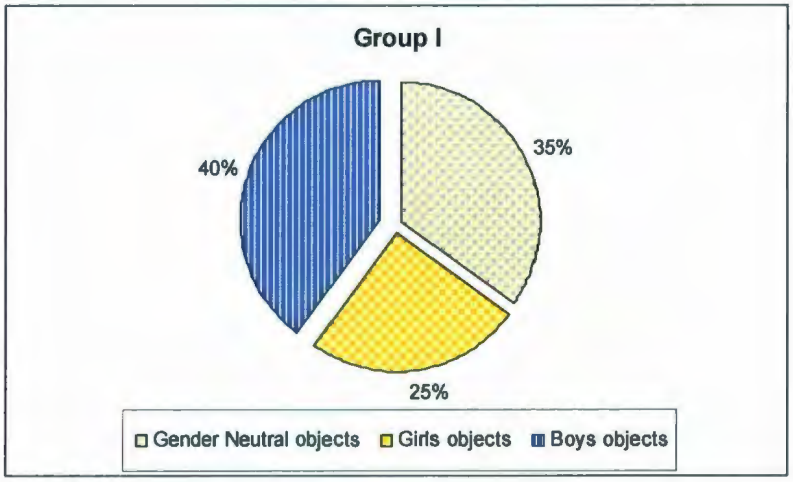


Figure 5.5 Group I Gendered objects

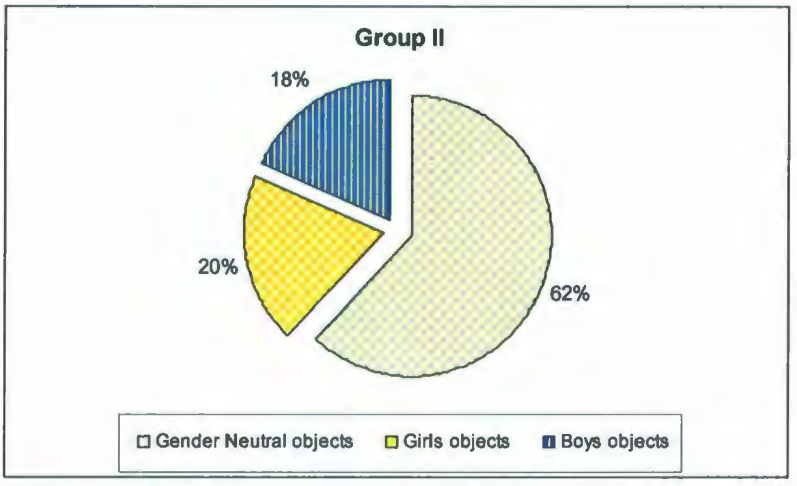


Figure 5.6 Group II Gendered objects

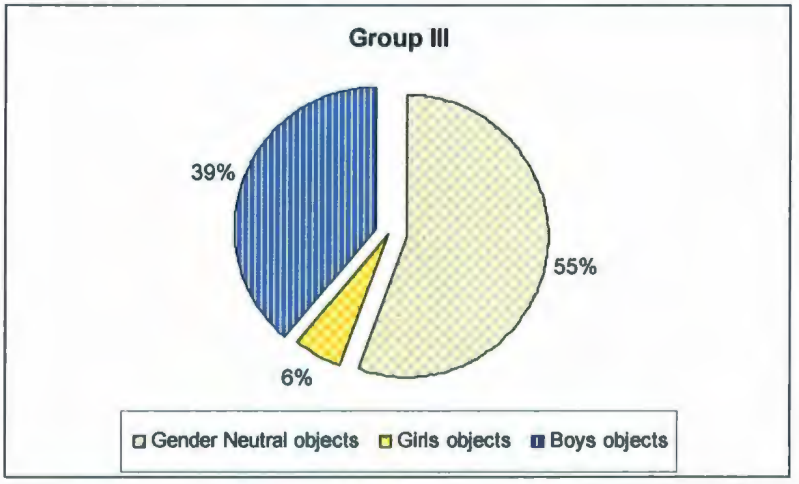


Figure 5.7 Group III Gendered objects

5.5.4 Relation of Toys and Socialization Processes

The use of toys in Thule culture has been well documented in ethnographic accounts. In 1910 Steensby made the following observations of the Thule: "The child is taught partly by play and imitation, partly by direct instruction of the father. Toys for the smaller children are made by the father from bone, in the shape of figures representing animals and human beings. It is not impossible, however, that some of the figures do duty

as a kind of pedagogic means of instruction. The larger boys make for themselves toy-harpoons; toy-sledges, toy-stools for Maapok-hunting etc., and these are true copies of the apparatus of the older Eskimo" (Steensby 1910:351).

As with other types of material culture, toys are given meaning that is dependent on their social context. The adults of the society produce toys for their children that emphasize particular tasks and attitudes. Therefore adults employ toys as important instruments to reinforce cultural messages about appropriate behaviour and status (Sutton-Smith 1986). The adults make an effort to socialize their children to become accepted members of their cultural group. The ethnographic information clearly illustrates that children played with miniatures as part of a process of learning that enabled them to prepare for future tasks to become good mothers and hunters (Laugrand and Oosten 2008).

There are several examples which demonstrate how Inuit societies passed skills to children through observing and imitating the tasks of adults (Rasmussen 1931; Balikci 1970). According to Frédéric Laugrand and Jaarich Oosten (2008:71): "Miniatures were considered to be real tools for children, and it was assumed that if a child were able to make a small object, he or she would then be able to make the corresponding object for her or his own use in the future". This statement also corresponds to observations made in Greenland in the early contact period. The missionary Hans Egede who was in Greenland from 1721-1736 observed that mothers wean their children to work from early childhood with what they will appreciate later, namely learning to practice certain skills as hunting and mothering (Egede 1925:324). Thus, male children practiced with toys that their fathers and other relatives had made for them, that were copies of adult tools such as bows, arrows, kayaks etc. The moment little boys were able to walk they would be given these toys to play and their practice motor skills. The toys selected for girls provided domestic

training (Dalager 1752:3). In this manner, the toys and games are true imitations of adult tasks with the boys playing hunters and the girls playing mothers (Birket-Smith 1924:419).

Child-related material culture from Inuafigssuaq seems to be consistent with the ethnographic accounts, with children using miniature replicas of adult tools to gain skills in preparation for future tasks. Thus, toys used in Thule culture played a dual role by providing both an entertainment for children as well as serving as a platform for socialization.

This Chapter has presented observations from the research done on 116 objects collected from Inuarfigssuaq. The research relied heavily on work done earlier by Erik Holtved. The material was critically examined in light of ethnographic data. The research suggested that certain toys and tools could be related to children, and it can be concluded that the Thule children imitated adult tasks. An effort was made to identify the items according to gender so as to understand the life of children in Thule culture, what they played with. It was established that one cannot easily categorise child-related toys on the basis of gender because gender is a social construct that is relative to community. However, by using analogies to ethnographic data, an attempt was made to classify the objects based on gender affiliations and conclusions were drawn.

Chapter Six

Playhouses from Northeast Greenland

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the examination of miniature play houses from Northeast Greenland implemented during the 2008 field season as part of the GeoArk Project. The GeoArk Project is an interdisciplinary scientific scheme undertaken by researchers from the SILA (The Greenland Research Centre at the National Museum of Denmark), the Department of Geography and Geology, University of Copenhagen, and the Zoological Museum, University of Copenhagen. The project is part of the IPY (International Polar Year) framework: "Dynamic Social Strategies in Arctic Environments". The crew of the GeoArk project conducted archaeological survey on Clavering Island and in Wollaston Forland region during their expeditions to Northeast Greenland in 2003, 2005, and 2007 and recorded several Thule summer and winter settlements. Several small structures, some depicting the Thule winter houses using brightly coloured pebbles and stones, were also discovered. In 2008, I was given the opportunity to join the GeoArk expedition to Northeast Greenland with the purpose of thoroughly examining several of the small features thought to be Thule children's outdoor playhouses.

The primary objective of this chapter is to describe and analyse the miniature play houses and other similar playthings that were examined during the 2008 field season. In the first section of this chapter, I introduce the region of study and the previous archaeological investigation of the playhouses there. Following this, I explain my methodological approach to the examination of outdoor play structures. The second half of

the chapter discusses the play structures contextualized by archaeological and ethnographic information.

6.2 Orientation of the Region of Study and its Natural Characteristics

The region of Northeast Greenland, lying between Clavering Island in the south and Sabine Island in the north (Figure 6.1), is geographically diverse (Fog Jensen et al. 2008). At 74° to 74° 30' north latitude the landscape typography of Clavering Island is characterized by rugged mountains of basalt which fall abruptly to the sea, and by stretches of sand and stone beach. The foreland possesses abundant vegetation, several small sheltered bays and valleys as well as alluvial fans connected to rivers that cut into the Pre-Cambrian basement. These rivers stream through the cliffs, rocky outcrops, and peninsulas and join with a few small lakes (Richter 1934).

Desolate and inhospitable coasts are present on the western and northern parts of the island. The vegetation and animal life is more indigent in the south and east coast of the island. The island itself stretches 60 km in length and 40 km in width (Richter 1934:65) and the interior landscape is partly covered by ice year round.

Most of the region offers conditions favorable for terrestrial and marine animals. Herds of musk-oxen (*Ovibus moschatus*) graze in the region, together with other terrestrial mammals such as arctic hare (*Lepus goenlandicus*), polar fox (*Alopex lagopus*), and polar bears (*Ursus maritimus*). Sea mammals in the region include: walrus (*Odobenus rosmarus*), that remain in the region throughout the year, but aggregate during early spring around polynya; the ringed seal (*Phoca hispida*) which was the key game species in the area; and the caribou (*Rangifer tarandus*) which was extinct by the turn of twentieth century (Fog Jensen et al. 2008).

Figure 6.1 Region of study: Northeast Greenland

To the north of Clavering Island stretches the extensive Wollaston Forland. Here, the landscape and vegetation changes abruptly. There are broad valleys adjacent to a high mountainous barren interior, and an abruptly descending outer coast with rocky cliff-like

walls. Open land is extensive on the outer east coast, but has scarce vegetation as the soil is dominated by a thick layer of clay-like mire (Richter 1934:67). Therefore, some parts of the coast are uninhabitable while others are well suited for habitation. In general, outer coastal areas were the focus of human settlement because the ice breaks early during the spring (Sørensen et al. 2009).

Sabine Island is even more desolate and barren. The island is dominated by rocky outcrops of basalt and poorly vegetated. Compared to Wollaston Forland and Clavering Island, terrestrial mammals are scarce. A few musk-ox and the occasional polar bear migrate to this area in the summer and fall when the ice breaks up. The island does not seem to offer much for human habitation; however, several settlements have been located, particularly on the southeastern coast. To the southeast of Sabine Island lies the basaltic Walrus Island. The island is a home to major seabird colonies and is 2x1 km².

In general, the climate in this region is Arctic. From the middle of November the sun sinks below the horizon and gives little light for several months (Richter 1934:81). The temperature lies between +10°C in summer and in winter up to –50°C. The region is frequently disturbed by the Arctic current that circulates southwards through the east of Greenland. In the fall, sea ice forms and remains until late June. However, in the northeast of Clavering Island, a minor polynya forms as does a larger polynya south of Walrus Island where strong sea currents, local winds, northern gales and occasional hurricanes play a larger role in keeping these sea areas open for much of the winter allowing for walrus hunting (Richter 1934:81). Thus, even desolate areas such as Walrus and Sabine Island have been inhabited.

6.3 Previous Archaeological Expeditions between Clavering and Sabine Islands

In 1823 British Captain D.C. Clavering and his crew, met a small group of Inuit on Clavering Island. Clavering met a family of twelve Inuit at a summer settlement on the south coast of the island and remained with them for four days. On the fourth day, Clavering demonstrated how to fire a gun which resulted in the Inuit fleeing from the area, and leaving them all their goods and gear behind.

No other expeditions to this region of Northeast Greenland were reported between 1823 and 1869. However, a few decades after Clavering's expedition, archaeological investigations began in Northeast Greenland. Karl Koldeway (1874), under the second German North Pole Expedition, made detailed investigations of the area between the southern shore of Clavering Island and Sabine Island and commenced archaeological excavation at several Inuit settlements between 1869-70. Research was continued by A.G. Nathorst in 1899. The next expedition to the area was undertaken by the "Danmark Expedition" of 1906-08 with the purpose of mapping the last unknown parts of Northeast Greenland. Chr. Bendix Thostrup and Thomas Thomsen were included as archaeological researchers.

It was not until the Norwegian expeditions in the 1920s that archaeological research resumed on Clavering Island (Richter 1934:86). In 1926, Dr. D. McI. Johnson, archaeologist of the British Cambridge Expedition, undertook investigations on Clavering Island. In 1930, an American expedition under Captain Bartlett carried out further archaeological work in the region (ibid 1934).

Beginning of the 1930s, several Danish archaeological expeditions were undertaken, partly to demonstrate that Northeast Greenland was inhabited by the same Thule descended Inuit as in the rest of the country and thus prove that the region belonged

to Denmark. This clashed with the Norwegian claim to the region which suggested that there was no evidence of Inuit living in the area, but that the Norwegians had been in the region for a decade for hunting purposes. This disagreement led to increased archaeological activity of the area undertaken by Therkel Mathiassen (1930), Bird (1931), Helge Larsen (1934), P.V. Glob (1946), and later by Bandi and Meldgaard (1954).

In the more recent years, Northeast Greenland has once again attracted the attention of researchers. In 1975 S.H. Andersen conducted an archaeological survey in Wollaston Forland and on the northeast coast of Clavering Island (1975). Between 1990 and 1994, British expeditions made journeys to Northeast Greenland, and these studies described sites containing "mosaics" or "children's playthings". Finally, the GeoArk project undertook fieldwork in 2003, 2005, 2007 and 2008 that focused on the Thule migration into and settlement of Northeast Greenland, between AD 1400 and 1823.

6.4 Exploitation of the Region by Thule Culture

During the last decade, archaeological expeditions to Northeast Greenland have outlined the culture history of the area, producing knowledge about the Inuit exploitation of the region and their activities. Numerous Thule settlements have been recorded (Figure 6.2).

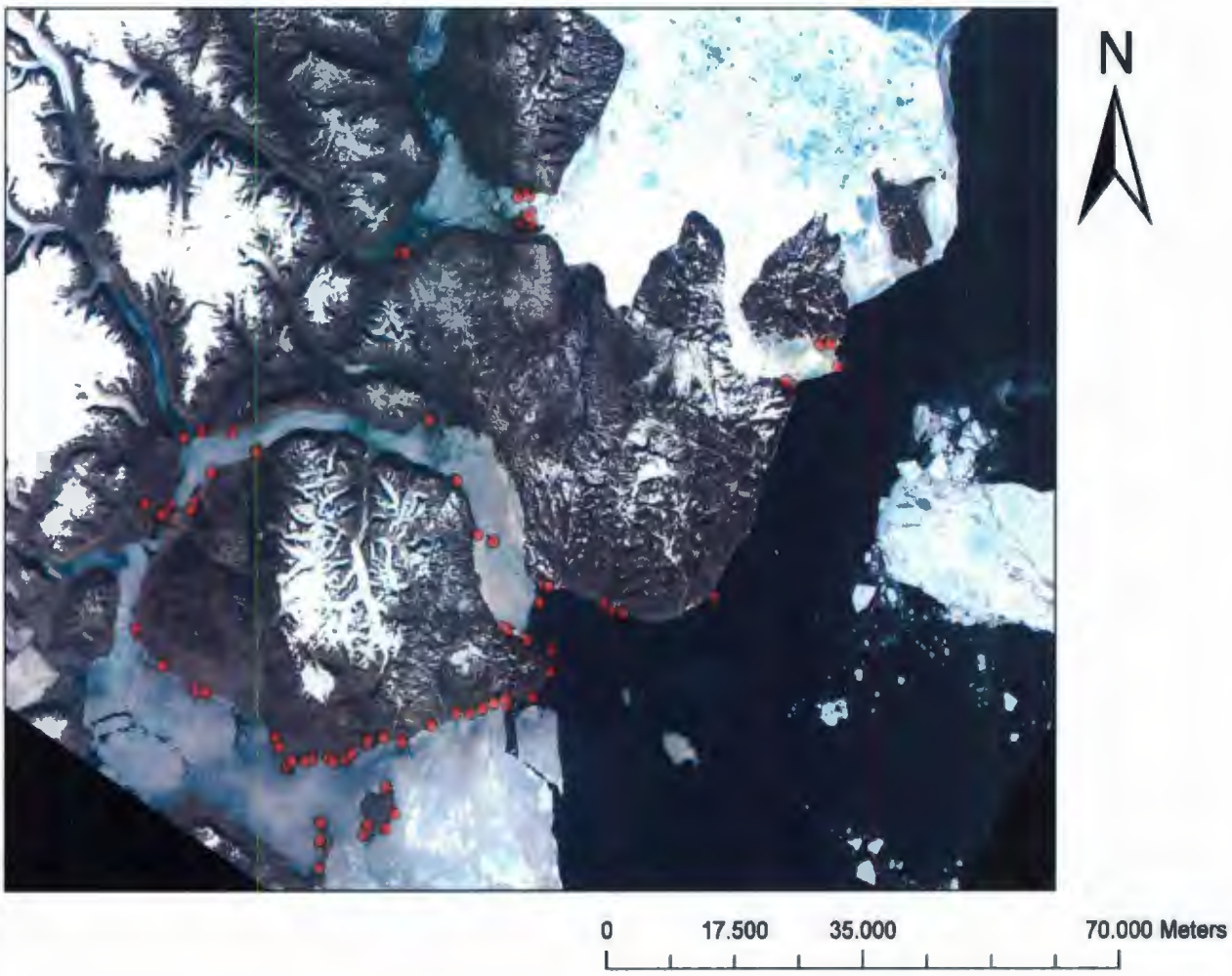


Figure 6.2 Clavering Island, Wollaston Forland, Sabine Island and Walrus Island localities of Thule settlements.

Carbon dating of *Rangifer tarandus* from Thule tent-rings in Wollaston Forland from Schumacher Ø show dates as early as AD 1440 and AD 1660 (Andersen et al., 2003), and dates from Fladstrand on Clavering Island range from AD 1434-1618 (Sørensen et. al 2009), confirming that the Thule lived in Northeast Greenland by the beginning of the fifteenth century.

The majority of the sites are situated on the outer coast where several Thule semi-subterranean dwellings, tent rings, caches, hunting shelters, hunter's beds, fireplaces, fox traps, graves, cairns, and play structures have been found. Some inner coastal sites are present, but these are mostly dominated by hunter's beds, shelters, and tent-rings. However, there have been few inland surveys, so Thule exploitation of the interior has not yet been fully explored. The Thule appear to have exploited the various eco-zones of the region in different seasons (Sørensen et al. 2009). Winter settlements were concentrated along the sheltered bays of southern Clavering Island, but during spring sites were concentrated on the outer coast where the ice breaks up earlier. Some areas such as the outer coast of Walrus Island were highly specialized hunting locales. Here, over half of the registered features were structures for meat and blubber, a result of large scale hunting at the recurrent polynya at Walrus Island where big game aggregated in early spring and summer (ibid 2009). Summer habitations are located in both the deep fiords and the outer coast.

6.4.1 Recording of Children's Outdoor Play Structures

Several structures recorded in Northeast Greenland have been referred to as "mosaics", "children's playthings", "toy houses" and "symbol houses". Some of the first recorded observations of these structures were made by Chr. Bendix Thostrup (1911) who drew attention to odd arrangements of stones on several sites. Thostrup assumed that these arrangements of white quartz and of red stones were simply random scatters, or children's playgrounds (Thostrup 1912). However, he later found these feature in places where he believed it was impossible for children to play, such as remote hunting shelters. One feature was created purely of white stones and quartz pieces, which made Thostrup

conclude that they had a superstitious or spiritual purpose. He favoured the explanation that they might be talisman for good hunting or for protection against evil spirits (Thostrup 1912:182-83). However, Thostrup also described a number of what looked to be children's playthings: stone structures on the ground which copied real shelters, caches, kayaks, and *Umiak*s with crew (Thostrup 1911:202-03).

Johnson (1927) likewise drew attention to these carefully placed groupings of white and red stones and identified them as "mosaics" during his journey to Northeast Greenland. Johnson described several mosaics ranging in size from less than one meter to two metres from front to rear. He described them in great detail: the shapes have "a compact outer border of stones enclosing a space, the back part of which is paved with flat stones; in front either side is slightly banked up with white pebbles between which there is a clear passage way, and in the front wall there is often a gap for a doorway" (Johnson 1927:259). According to Johnson, these features were too carefully arranged for children's playthings, and he also interpreted them as spiritual features (ibid).

Richter (1934) also examined numerous stone features situated in the vicinity of the summer settlements in Northeast Greenland. He described them as "stone-settings having the outlines of winter huts; they are partly filled up with small, round, chalk-white pebbles" and he considered them to be children's playgrounds (Richter 1934:92).

When Larsen spent the year in Northeast Greenland between 1931-32, he wintered on Clavering Island and made a spring journey to Wollaston Forland, Sabine Island, and Walrus Island. At Clavering Island, Larsen found several arrangements of stones representing Thule winter houses, which he referred to as toy houses. Larsen described the toy houses in Dødemandsbugten on Clavering Island as follows: "On the outside is a trapeziform outline of large stones, 1.6 metres long, 1.7 metres wide at the front, and 1.2

metres at the back. Across the middle lies a row of stones probably representing the platform edge. From this to the 'front wall' a side platform is indicated on both sides of the doorway by a mosaic of small coloured stones" (Larsen 1934:75). Some of these features had cooking pits, paved floors, side platforms, and passages. Other stone arrangements, in varying shapes, were also identified. Larsen (1934) concluded that these structures, and the mosaics recorded by earlier researchers, were most likely children's playhouses, and that there was little reason to assume that there was anything mystical about them (Larsen 1934:77).

P.V. Glob (1946) and Bandi and Meldgaard (1954) also refer to these features as toy houses and conclude that they should be considered children's playgrounds based on their general structure. Robert G. David (1995) has recently suggested that children's play structures are quite common, and that they should be interpreted as children's play grounds (David 1995: 390-91).

In 2003, the GeoArk expedition discovered several structures made of white quartz and interpreted these structures to be "symbol-houses", but unfortunately, did not elaborate any further.

6.5 Method of Recording

Pedestrian surveys were carried out in several parts of Clavering Island, Sabine Island, Walrus Island and Wollaston Forland between July 25th and September 3rd, 2008. On several occasions, the opportunity to conduct my own pedestrian survey, in the vicinity of the winter and summer settlements located by GeoArk, were made possible. It soon became evident that there would be children's playgrounds at every summer habitation site. The playhouses were generally situated at a distance from the settlement on a raised

plateau. Thus, a systematic survey of similar settings was made at every site location. Because the vegetation of the area is sparse the surface reconnaissance resulted in the discovery of several concentrations of brightly coloured pebbles registered as possible play grounds.

During our systematic pedestrian survey on Walrus Island, transects were established between ten and twenty meters in order to record individual structures. In ten days 2,094 features were recorded. Out of these, 26 were possible play structures. However, 7 are not included here since I was unable to examine them personally. A further four play structures were recorded on Clavering Island, five were recorded on Sabine Island and five on Wollaston Forland. In total, I have examined 33 play structures.

Each play structure was given a catalogue number (L1 to L33). The majority of the play structures were measured, sketched out in detail using a 1:10 or 1:20 scale, photographed, and mapped using high-precision GPS equipment.

The outline of the play structures, their use of colorful pebbles, and the density of play house representations in the different locales are elaborated on below.

6.6 Description of the Different Categories of Miniature Play Structures

Overall ninety-two miniature play structures have been recorded during GeoArk expeditions to Northeast Greenland (Figure 6.3, 6.6). Out of these ninety-two miniature play structures, I examined thirty-three, located in six different locations during the 2008 field season. Four of the play structures were discovered on Clavering Island in 2008, five on Wollaston Foreland in 2003, five on Sabine Island in 2007, and the remaining nineteen on Walrus Island in 2008 (Table 6.1; Appendix C, D).

These play structures can be classified into five different types including: replications of winter houses; replications of summer tent-rings; toy/doll house models; exploitation of previous tent-rings, and shelter formations. Besides the noticeable miniature houses, there were also less identifiable structures. These included concentrations of white pebbles; I have categorized these features as diffused play structures.

Eighteen of the playhouses, representing 54.5% of all the play structures (Figure 6.4), replicated Thule winter dwellings (Table 6.1: L2-4, L9-11, L14-15, L20-21, L23-27, L29, L31, L33). These miniature houses had platforms placed strategically at the rear side, or sides of the houses, with recess or blubber and meat caches on either the one or both side walls. The caches were depicted by red pebbles which probably represent the meat, and white pebbles might be a representation of blubber. They also had a paved front floor with a marked opening or a simple passage entrance. These miniature winter dwellings varied in size between 0.8m by 0.7m to 1.5m by 2m which is large enough for children to play inside (Appendix C, D).

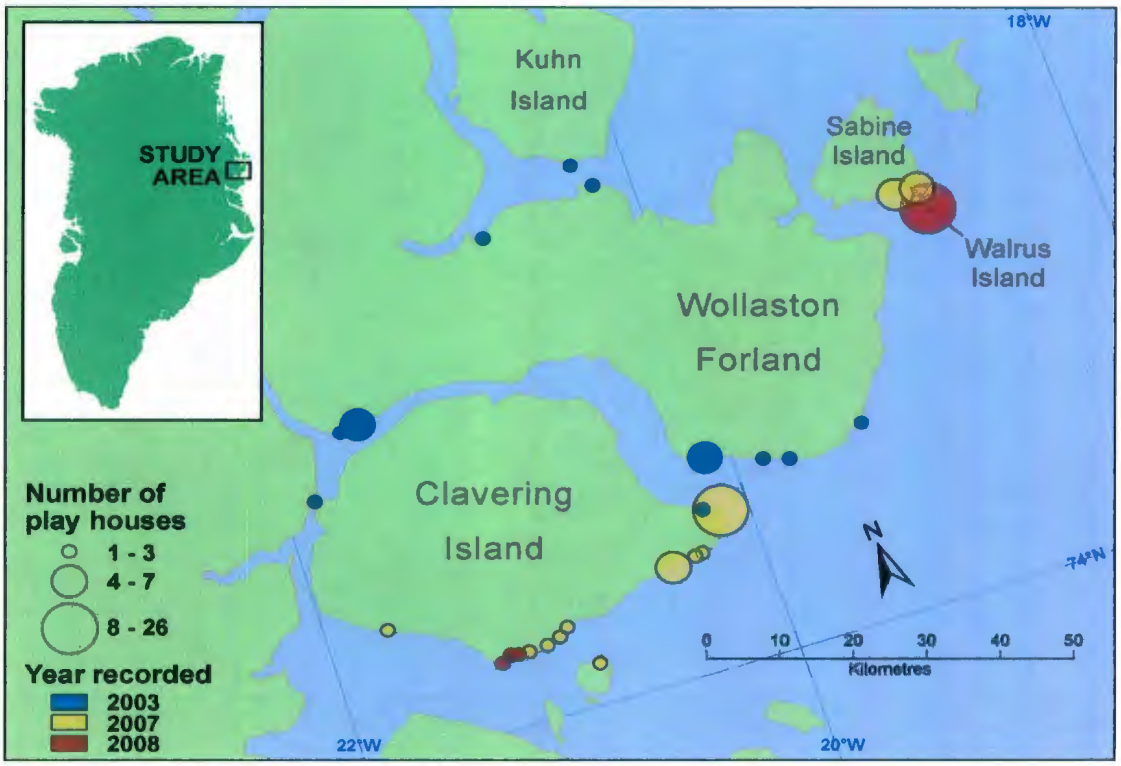


Figure 6.3 Density of playhouses recorded during GeoArk expeditions

Five playhouses, comprising 15.2% of all play structures (Figure 6.4), resembled summer tent-rings (Table 6.1: L6, L17-19, L22). They were round or oval in shape, and often had stones indicating a platform edge. Some had gaps in the border of their construction indicating an entrance. Since some of the miniature summer tent rings were outlined by large stones (Table 6.1: L17, L18) it is possible that these may have been real tent-rings or shelters originally. The miniature tent rings range from 0.9m in diameter to 1.8m by 1.4m in size (Appendix C, D).

Four of the playhouses, representing 12.1% of all structures (Figure 6.4), were definitely tent rings or shelters that were utilized by children who rebuilt them as play grounds (Table 6.1: L5, L7-8, L12), by placing brightly coloured pebbles inside the

structures at a later time. The original structural outlines were covered by lichen, suggesting that they were older than the coloured pebbles that were not overgrown with lichen. The exploited tent rings and shelter measure 2m by 1.9m to 2.4m by 2.6m in circumference (Appendix C, D).

Two miniature houses, which were too small for children to play inside, represent 6.1% of the total number of structures (Figure 6.4). They resemble Thule winter dwellings, and have been classified as miniature toy/doll houses (Table 6.1: L28, L32). These miniature toy/doll houses measure 0.6m by 0.4m and 0.7m by 0.5m (Appendix C, D).

The last category, dispersed playgrounds includes formations that seem to be patternless with no direct structural outline. These formations are classified as children's playgrounds because they were constructed from brightly coloured smaller-sized rocks and pebbles and tabular stones. Four of these features were recorded, and represent 12.1% of all the children's features (Figure 6.4; Table 6.1: L1, L13, L16, L31). The structures that were visible enough to measure range between 0.8m by 0.9m to about 2.4m by 2.6m in size (Appendix C, D).

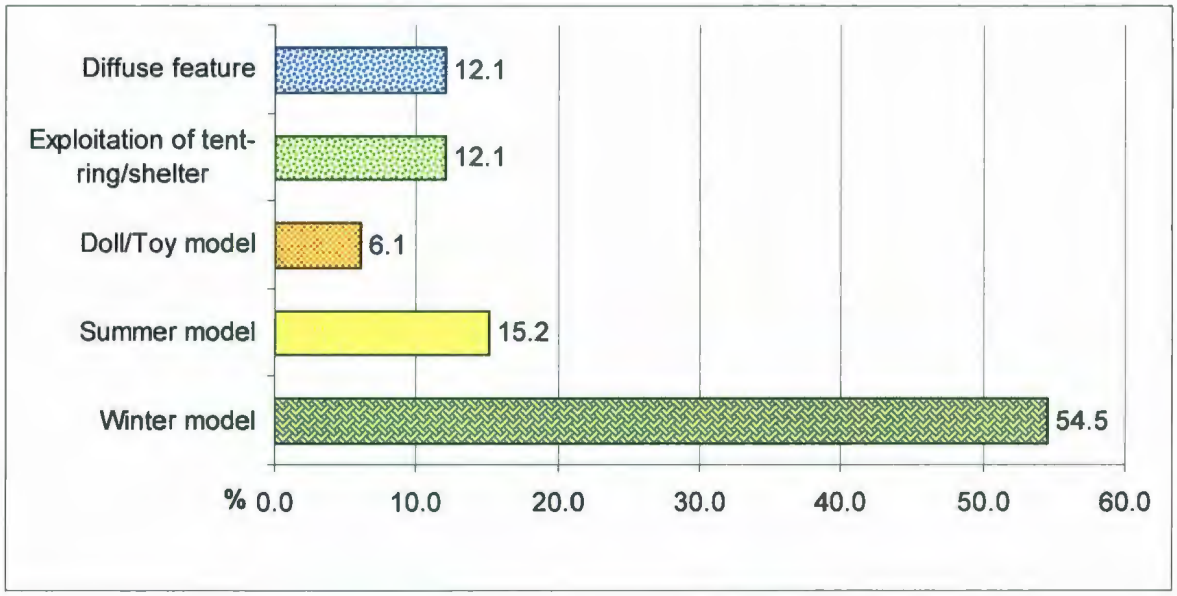


Figure 6.4 Representation of type of play structures in percentage

Table 6.1: Playhouse structures

Locality	Feature number	Type	Proximity to settlement	House size	Rock size	Altitude	Representation of colored pebbles	Figure
Clavering Island, Fladstrand	L1	E	F	1.05 m x 0.78 m	S/M		W	Appendix C and D
Clavering Island, Bådsted	L2	A	F	1.90 m x 1.48 m	S/M/L	36 m asl	W	Appendix C and D
ClaveringIsland, Bådsted	L3	A	F	1.75 m x 1.20 m	S/M/L	37 m asl	W	Appendix C and D
Clavering Island, Holmevig	L4	A	F	1.65 m x 1.35 m	M/L	40 m asl	W/R	Appendix C and D
Walrus Island, Northwest Corner	L5	C	N	1.10 m x 1.20 m	S/L	7.14 m asl	W/R	Appendix C and D
Walrus Island, Mid-West	L6	B	N	1.55 m x 1.20 m	S/M	9.8 m asl	R	Appendix C and D
Walrus Island, Mid-West	L7	C	N	2 m x 1.80 m	M/L	8.49 m asl	W/R	Appendix C and D
Walrus Island, Mid-West	L8	C	N	2.40 m x 2.60 m	M/L	8.1 m asl	W/R	Appendix C and D
Walrus Island, Mid-West	L9	A	N	1.80 m x 1.15 m	S/M/L	15 m asl	W/R	Appendix C and D
Walrus Island, Mid-West	L10	A	N	1.0 m x 1.10 m	S/M	14.24 m asl	W/R	Appendix C and D
Walrus Island, Mid-West	L11	A	N	2 m x 1.80 m	S/M	8.8 m asl	W/R	Appendix C and D
Walrus Island, South shore	L12	C	N	2 m x 1.85 m	M/L	36 m asl	W/R	Appendix C and D
Walrus Island, South shore	L13	E	N	2.60 m x 1.60 m	S/M	36.77 m asl	None	Appendix C and D
Walrus Island, South shore	L14	A	N	2 m x 1.40 m	S/M	36.64 m asl	R	Appendix D
Walrus Island, South shore	L15	A	N	1.20 m x 0.70 m	S/M	36.61 m asl	W/R	Appendix C and D

Walrus Island, South shore	L16	E	N	1.60 m x 0.40 m	S	33.79 m asl	W/R	Appendix D
Walrus Island, South	L17	B	N	1.78 m x 1.40 m	M/L	31.1 m asl	None	Appendix C and D
Walrus Island, South shore	L18	B	N	0.90 diam.	M/L	31.07 m asl	None	Appendix C and D
Walrus Island, South shore	L19	B	N	1.15 diam.	S/M	34.57 m asl	R	Appendix D
Walrus Island, South	L20	A	N	1.20 m x 0.95 m	S/M	11.7 m asl	W/R	Appendix C and D
Walrus Island, Mid-West	L21	A	N	2.50 m x 2 m	S/M	27.09 m asl	W/R	Appendix C and D
Walrus Island, Mid-West	L22	B	N	1 m x 0.90 m	S/M	10 m asl	W	Appendix C and D
Walrus Island, Mid-West	L23	A	N	1.70 m x 1.10 m	S/M	8.9 m asl	W/R	Appendix C and D
Sabine Island, Vardenæs	L24	A	N	1 m x 0.80 m	S/M		W/R	Appendix D
Sabine Island, Vardenæs	L25	A	N	1.40 m x 1.10 m	S/M		W/R	Appendix D
Sabine Island, Vardenæs	L26	A	N	2.20 m x 1.60 m	S/M		W/R	Appendix D
Sabine Island, Vardenæs	L27	A	N	2.10 m x 2.20 m	S/M/L		W/R	Appendix D
Sabine Island, Vardenæs	L28	D	N	0.70 m x 0.50 m	S		W/R	Appendix C and D
Wollaston Forland, Cape Berghaus	L29	A	N	0.85 m x 0.70 m	S		W/R	Appendix C and D
Wollaston Forland, Cape Berghaus	L30	E	N	0.80 m x 0.90 m	S		W/R	Appendix C and D
Wollaston Forland, Cape Berghaus	L31	A	N	0.95 m x 0.70 m	S/M		W/R	Appendix C and D
Wollaston Forland, Cape Berghaus	L32	D	N	0.60 x 0.40 m	S		W/R	Appendix C and D
Wollaston Forland, Cape Berghaus	L33	A	N	1.80 m x 0.90 m	S		W/R	Appendix C and D

A= replication of winter dwelling
B= replication of summer tent-ring
C= exploited tent-ring/shelter
D= toy/doll house model
E= Diffuse structure

W= white pebbles
R= red pebbles
W/R= white and red pebbles

6.7 Discussion of General Observations of Playhouses

The data gathered during the 2008 season are sufficient to make some generalizations concerning the use of playhouse formations. In this section, the data will be used to discuss why these features are considered children's playthings, their possible religious significance, location, construction, and characteristics, and their general significance as a learning tool for children.

6.7.1 Children's Playthings

Describing Inuit life, language and folklore in Greenland, William Thalbitzer (1914:187) noted that: "The mother talks to her little child about the children's toy houses on the fell, up on the little flat close to the house or the tent, where the elder children have 'built' houses and tents of stone by arranging them in squares and circles. Some large spaces between the stones represent the window" suggesting the construction of these features was a regular childhood activity.

The playhouses examined above, except for those made from extant tent-ring and shelter structures, were created from small to medium-sized rocks and tabular stones, and in some instances, boulders that would have been manageable for children to have collected. Furthermore, features are simple in design. Generally, the playhouses are well suited for children's play. Most playhouses were big enough for children to play inside, while the smaller toy/doll houses would have allowed for play with dolls. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that these structures were designed and played by children.

6.7.2 Religious Connotation

Even though the house replicas appear to have functioned as children's playthings some researchers (Johnson 1927; Thostrup 1911) have suggested that they may have served a religious function particularly when located in remote areas. If they served a religious function you would expect there to be evidence of this link (e.g. graves or shamanic implements). However, no such evidence exists, and only two of the six sites where the thirty-three play structures were examined included evidence of graves. In the sheltered bay in Holmevig on Clavering Island, six graves were recorded, and on Walrus Island there were also six graves. Between 2003 and 2008 the GeoArk project recorded twenty-four sites that included playhouses, but only four of these sites were associated with burials. Furthermore, these graves were located at distances of several meters from the playhouses and the playhouses are actually situated much nearer to the summer settlements than the graves. Therefore, I do not find it sufficient to conclude that these constructions indicate any specifically superstitious or religious pattern because of their proximity to burial features. If these playhouse constructions should be interpreted as features of superstitious or religious significance as suggested by Johnson (1933), then it should be expected that there would be other indications of spiritual behaviours to support this assumption.

Thostrup (1911) suggested that these constructions were most probably made for superstitious reasons such as in bringing good luck for hunting or protecting the hunters against evil spirits, because they were sometimes recorded in remote hunting locales where children were unlikely to venture. However, this assumes that children would not have been brought along on hunting trips. Ethnographic observations confirm that Inuit children regularly accompanied their elders and family in hunting excursions to learn how

to stalk game. It is reasonable to assume that Thule children would have participated in such excursions as well. Neither ethnographic nor archaeological data support the belief that these miniature features were used for religious or spiritual purposes. Instead, ethnographies suggest that these features were built and used by children (Birket-Smith 1927; Hawkes 1916; Jenness 1922). Archaeological data from Northeast Greenland suggest that these features were generally associated with summer settlements rather than pertaining to features such as burials. While some miniature features have been recorded in remote locales (David 1995; Johnson 1927; Larsen 1934; Richter 1934; Thostrup 1911), there is no reason to assume that children would not have been present in these locations and allowed to play as they would have at habitation sites. Since most of the features were constructed with materials easily managed by children and were sized appropriately for children's play, it seems much more likely that these features represent the activities of children than the religious engagements of the adult population.

6.7.3 Significance of Location

Data indicate that play features were generally situated in proximity (ca 50-200 m) to nearby Thule summer settlements (Table 6.1). Although many of the structures are representations of winter settlements, it is likely that the playhouses were built in the season when stones and pebbles were available to gather, and built and played with between late spring and early fall, when outdoor activities were possible.

Fascinatingly, some of the miniature houses were located on a raised plateau approximately between twenty-three and forty meters above sea level. These playhouses are separated from the actual settlement and have a remarkable view facing the ocean and the summer settlement. It is reasonable to assume that these play houses must have offered

the children a sense of peace to play freely and to imitate adult behaviour without adult interference. A well known rhyme (Thalbitzer 1914:187) describes children playing house in such a location:

> Look at them up there!
> The dearest windows of all,
> And the small rows of stone
> And the small, poor tents –
> There is the window-platform.
> Those I've rejected I got back:
> By the one way I go out,
> By the other I come in.
> You bad little,
> You dear little – Ya! Ah, ya!

Many playhouses are located level with the associated settlement, but still situated far enough away to allow for undisturbed play suggesting that children were encouraged to play autonomous without adult interference.

The density of playhouses in the region observed demonstrates that manufacturing and playing in houses and similar structures were a popular outdoor activities for children in that area (Figure 6.3; 6.6). This is especially true on Walrus Island (Figure 6.7) where the density is high. In all, twenty six possible playhouses were identified, a high number considering the size of the island (which is 2 km by 1 km). Many playhouses were also found on Wollaston Forland and Clavering Island but they were spread over a wider area (Figure 6.3). It is interesting to note that playhouses are most densely distributed in two locations: Walrus Island and the northeast corner of Clavering Island. These areas, contain the most prominent polynyas in Northeast Greenland, and therefore were locations with significant concentrations of spring and summer settlements. This most likely suggests that children carried out more independent outdoor play while grown-ups undertook labour.

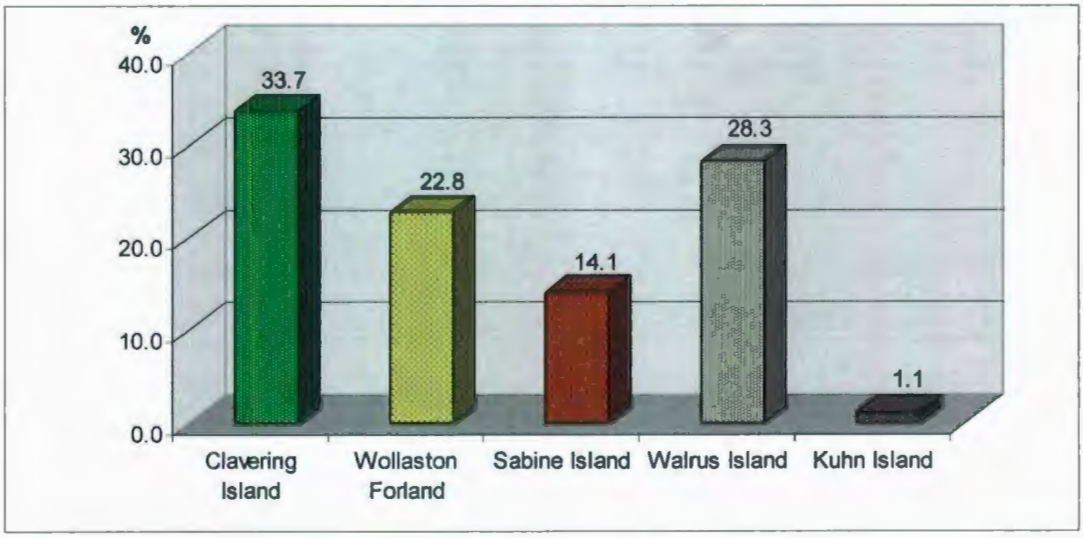


Figure 6.5 Representation of recorded play houses in the region of 74° to 74° 30' N

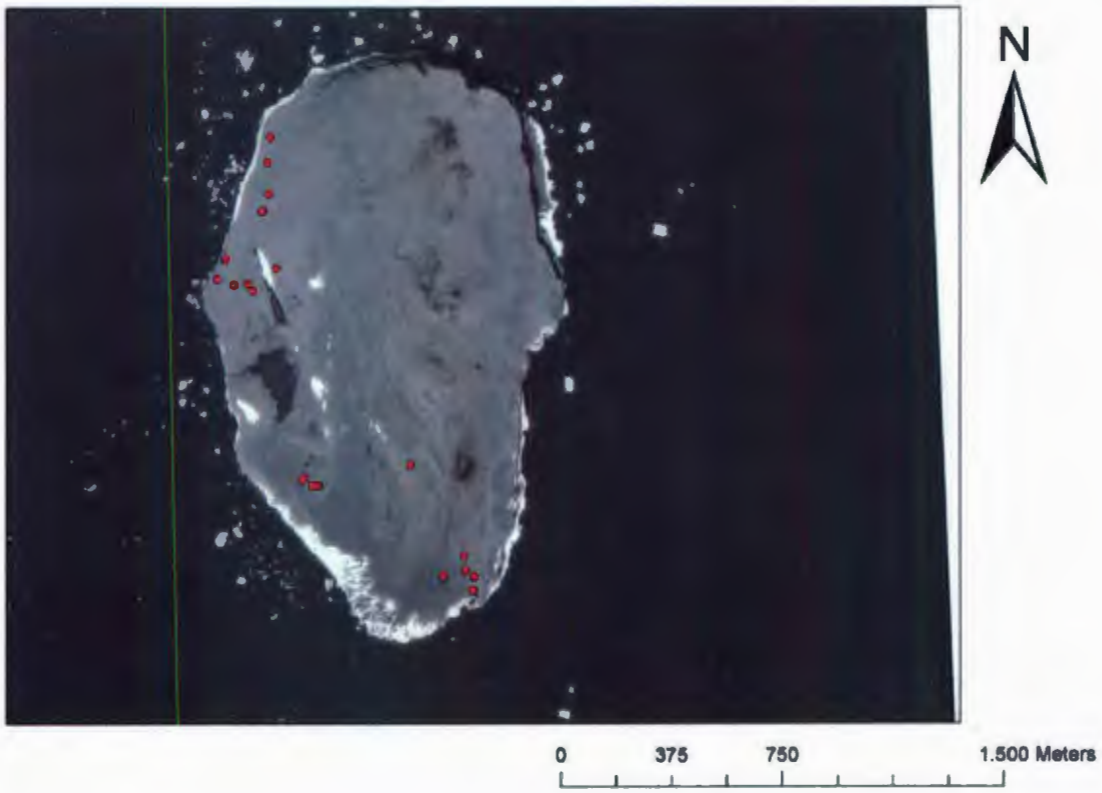


Figure 6.6 Walrus Island, density of play houses and location on the landscape

6.7.4 Playhouse Construction

Although each of the play structures examined is unique in appearance, some generalizations can be drawn. In general, the play structures do not differ much morphologically and were big enough for children to play inside, while the smaller playhouses would have allowed for playing with dolls. All five classes of playhouses that were observed depict house-forms (except for one feature that was too ill-defined to determine). Three main sizes of structure can also be classified and reflect different kinds of activities. The first is "re-use" of actual tent-rings where children modified existing structures; newly constructed playhouses where children could play inside the structure; and newly constructed toy/doll houses where miniature toys could be played with inside the structure. Finally, the majority of the rocks used for the playhouse outline are composed of basalt and gneiss.

Two playhouses were distinct because they were built entirely of white quartz, and have a more compact construction. The stones used to construct the house outline were small (approximately 5-20 cm) and several rows of stones were used to make the outline wider and more visible (Appendix C, D: L32, L33). These playhouses are situated at the same locality in Cape Berghaus, not far from each other. It is possible that these houses were used differently but, there is a quartz outcrop nearby, so it is not surprising that the quartz was used, and their difference may reflect nothing more than access to material.

6.7.5 Characteristics

Almost every play structure observed contained a cache of either or both red and white pebbles. Only three out of the thirty-three miniatures have no colourful pebbles. Eighteen of the miniature structures have both white and red pebbles; nine of the

playhouses have only white pebbles; and three of the play houses have only red pebbles (Figure 6.5; Table 6.1; Appendix C, D). While the use of coloured pebbles does not appear confined to any specific type of play structure, the majority of playhouses depicting the winter dwellings have both red and white pebbles representing 55% of all. This could indicate that the red and white pebbles used represent meat and blubber caches in play.

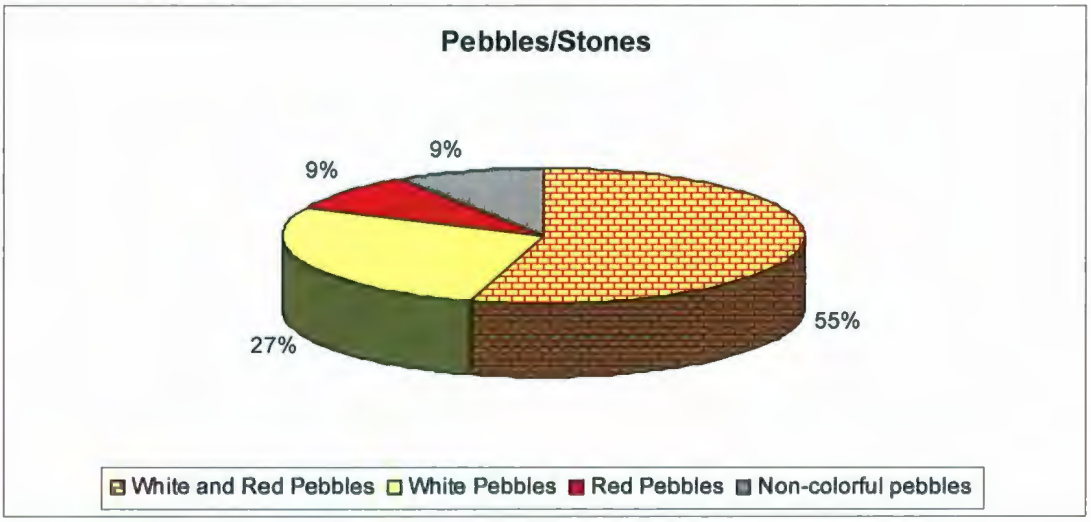


Figure 6.7 Representation of colored pebbles in percentage

6.7.6 Significance of Use

Thalbitzer (1914:607) noted that children "in their play, often imitate the life of the grown-ups by building houses and tents of stones". According to ethnographic observations, children played with miniatures to practice valued customs performed in a given society such as coordination and social skills (Birket-Smith 1924; Mathiassen 1927). It is also generally pleasurable for children to learn through play (Kenyon and Arnold 1985:348). Imitative play may consequently be a more effective way of learning

social customs (ibid 1985). Taken together, miniature houses must have played a role in transmitting and reinforcing cultural practices.

The observations made by previous expeditions to Northeast Greenland and the more recent recording of play grounds, demonstrate that children's playhouses are as common in this region as they are elsewhere in the Arctic. The construction of play houses was also a familiar activity for Inuit children who often laid out the floor plans to houses like these observed in Northeast Greenland. Diamond Jenness (1922) stated when describing Copper Inuit children on Victoria Island where: "both boys and girls play at building snow houses. In summer, with only pebbles to work with, they simply lay out the ground plans, but in winter they borrow their parents' snow knives and make complete houses on a miniature scale" (Jenness 1922:219).

Some of the playhouses seemed much simpler in design than others, and these may well have been made by younger children. Given that the stones would have been easy to gather and the borders for the structures simple to make, it is not difficult to imagine that children could make these play grounds themselves. It also seems that these play structures were strategically positioned in areas where children could play freely in peaceful surroundings. The majority of the ethnographic observations stress that Inuit societies pass skills to their children through learning experiences, observation, and imitation. Playing with toy houses must have given the children a sense of autonomy by imitating adult behaviours.

The majority of children's playhouses replicated winter dwellings by portraying an entrance passage, meat and blubber caches, and a sleeping platform. It is reasonable to assume that children were motivated to play in playhouses that replicated the winter dwellings since most of the entertaining activities and domestic tasks in real life settings

took place indoors during the winter months. Therefore, winter activities were likely to be more memorable and fun to imitate in play.

The majority of summer activities are known to have taken place outdoors. Furthermore, summer endeavours were scattered across the landscape in comparison to the concentrated activities which occurred in winter dwellings. Therefore, it would not be as realistic to imitate most activities inside a summer tent-ring.

However, it is also possible that replicating summer tent-rings and imitating activities that took place within was not a popular activity in the particular region of study, and reflects a local preference in play behaviour. There is also a strong possibility that many summer tent-rings have simply not been found or recognized in this region yet. For example, several children's playgrounds with circular miniature features have been recorded in the Inglefield Land area and interpreted as summer tent-rings, however, their shapes are simple and devoid of colourful pebbles (Darwent, personal communication).

By examining the design of the playhouses, we see that the children were not innovative when creating the play house. It may be that the diffuse structures were originally supposed to express a different type of structure; unfortunately, this is not possible to determine since these features are too disturbed to make any assumptions. However, in the majority of cases, children made these playhouses to duplicate real Thule winter houses, and the summer tent-rings, using play to imitate adult behaviour and express their conception of the world while actively constructing and practicing social skills.

This chapter provided an overview of the miniature playhouse structures from Northeast Greenland. The different types of miniature playhouse structures examined during the 2008 fieldwork were described and analyzed. I concluded that five different types of playhouse structures can be observed that replicate Thule architecture, and that playhouses are very common in the region. Furthermore, I conclude that the majority of the playhouse structures have characteristics that signify they are children's playthings rather than used for a religious purpose.

Chapter Seven

Discussion and Conclusion

7.1 Discussion and Conclusion

Childhood has been a major subject of anthropological and linguistic research for the last two decades by cultural and linguistic anthropologists (Derevenski 2000). Until recently, the field of archaeology has not shared this interest despite the notion that children comprise a part of all human social groups. Recently, the increased archaeological interest in children resulted in interesting work on children's positions in past societies and the adult's view on children. In general, the archaeology of children focuses on the relationship children have to their environment and communities emphasizing the necessity of tracing the child's world in different settings, times, spaces, and places (Lillehammer 2000). It is important to understand the roles of children, and to interpret the material record with the assumption that children were contributors, instead of marginalizing their potential roles and activities. This can be done once children's activities are seen to be part of the general activities pertaining to a society, allowing archaeologists to be more inclusive. Ultimately, the archaeology of children has much to say about the child's world and past human behaviour.

Games and play can be interpreted as an obvious part of the cognitive development of children and their eventual roles. Games and play are self-evident parts of the child's world and are one of the many aspects of the child's learning. Toys and games are not restricted to the child's world but also have a social function that is important in adult life as well. This means that games and play can be interpreted as a social strategy to maintain cultural practice. They are not only a defining part of children's lives but also an

expression of the society, and as such, contribute to the world of the collective individual which has a direct influence on the orientation and character of the play (Lillehammer 1989). This is tantamount to saying a child's play is a reflection of the nature of adult life in a particular society. Based on this games and play may be seen as a social strategy used to maintain a cultural identity (Derevenski 2000; Lillehammer 1989). The child-related objects from Inuarfigssuaq and playhouses from Northeast Greenland shed light on the perceptory level of the children and their ability to absorb their environment and learn via play to become adults.

Situated Learning is generally known to be a theoretical description of how children transform or move towards becoming experienced members of a community of practice (Lave and Wenger 1991). According to the SL theory (Chapter Two), newcomers become acquainted with the tasks and organization principles of the society via situated learning activities.

As socially oriented beings, humans have a basic need to belong to and feel part of a particular group or society, and to adapt to their environment. Childhood play serves several functions in satisfying these needs by helping to develop social and imperative life skills. Children from every culture need to be socialized to be contributing members of their respective societies. Thus, situated learning through play produces the rich experience children need in their subconscious quest to learn social skills, norms and values in a socially-oriented context. At all levels of development, play helps children to become acquainted with the socially acceptable roles developed in their society.

The function of the child-related playing objects and features presented in Chapters Five and Six did not necessarily have any direct educational intention at the moment of play when compared to practice with real tools (e.g., practicing with hunting

gear and building houses along with adult accompany). However, all of the child-related materials examined in this thesis reflect the adult world and, as a result, can be interpreted as materials that functioned as mediators, connecting the child's nascent world to the adult world; in this way, children indirectly learn and adapt to the accustomed traditions of the society.

As Brian Sutton-Smith (1994:143) expresses: "Tools have clear-cut, practical usage and consequences. Toys do not. Toys are thus designed to facilitate children to mimic the adult world without any actual consequences". However, one should keep in mind that, for children, play is often very serious, although the play itself is not real and does not necessarily signify any real setting consequences. In another sense, children's playthings can be seen as tools to learn real tasks, behaviours and attitudes that the adults want their children to become acquainted with.

According to the ethnographic analogies, Inuit societies used games and play as a social strategy to maintain a cultural identity. Based on this idea, the toys from Inuarfigssuaq and playhouses from Northeast Greenland shed light on the perceptory level and ability of children to absorb their environment, and through peripheral participation, learn to become adults. The world of the child seen through their various play regimes act a social function parallel to that of the adult world and reflects their adaptation to growing up.

The different playthings presented in this thesis imply that Inuit children were playing out the lives of adults. This can be viewed as an indirect learning process through participation of play, and play was gradually being transformed into practicing real setting tasks that would increasingly become central to the individual as well as the community. Learning through situations-in-play, children thus become acquainted with the tasks

generally executed by adults within the society. Thus, in the process of socialization, children seem to have actively constructed their world through participating in play imitating the adult postures. The presence of child-related playthings in Thule culture demonstrates that play as part of a situated learning process was a basic component to preparation for adult life, and not just as objects linked with amusement and pastimes.

This thesis focused on Thule children from Northwest and Northeast Greenland by examining their archaeological correlates of activities. It demonstrates that Thule children participated in indoor and outdoor activities, imitating their conceptions of the world and daily observation of adult behaviour, thus, actively constructing and practicing social skills through participation in play. Likewise, it demonstrates that children were actively constructing and contributing to their own culture through participation and play. However, it should be emphasized that the material culture examined in this thesis does not define conclusively the entire material culture of children in Thule culture, but instead are examples from two specific regional areas that demonstrates some elements of children's activities. Nonetheless, the socialization processes and enculturation of Thule children obviously took place through the imitation of adult manners and customs and, in themselves, had an educational value when being practiced through any embedded situated learning as such performed in play.

7.2 Summary

The primary objective of this thesis was to provide an archaeological context for the study of the lives of the Thule children of the past. It investigated miniatures, toys, and games from Inuarfigssuaq Inglefield Land, Northwest Greenland, as well as miniature

playhouses from the area of Clavering Island and Wollaston Forland, Northeast Greenland, dating from the pre-contact Thule period. The thesis sought to answer a number of research questions about archaeological correlates of Thule children's activities visible in the material culture.

It began with a background overview of the Thule culture, demonstrating that the history of Thule culture in Greenland is rather complex. Several phases have been identified as bringing the "pure" culture with them while others locally adapted and developed in Greenland.

In Chapter Three, the view of childhood and the social construction of identity generally conceived among Inuit in Alaska, Arctic Canada, and Greenland were assessed to further elucidate the conception of the individual person as a social entity. This was done by use of ethnographic observations and socio-anthropological research from Arctic areas. It demonstrated that the individual person is a social entity from the moment the child is named and receives an identity. The individual consists of several entities: a body, personal soul, breath soul, and name soul. Thus, everything intertwined within the worlds of ancestors and the living people.

Chapter Four delved into the background history of the Inuarfigssuaq settlement in Inglefield Land, Northwest Greenland. It demonstrated that the Inuarfigssuaq site was a winter settlement dominantly used by pre-contact Thule people. The site consists of three settlements that are the largest and oldest in the region, and holds an oral tradition for its history of use and abandonment.

Chapter Five presented a description of the assessed archaeological materials considered as child-related objects excavated by Erik Holtved from the three settlement groups at Inuarfigssuaq. The child-related playthings were interpreted and discussed with

reference to the research questions and propositions presented in Chapter One. The chapter discussed the different categories of miniature artefacts considered to be children's playthings. It also demonstrated that some miniatures and gaming objects could be used by both adults and children and by any gender, thus indicating that differentiating children's toys and games by age or by gender is not a straightforward task. Nevertheless, an answer was attempted by developing certain criteria as pertinent information and knowledge gathered through ethnographic observations.

In Chapter Six, the examination of children's play houses from Northeast Greenland was presented. The primary objective of this chapter was to describe and analyze children's play grounds. Some generalizations demonstrated that playhouses discovered in the 2008 field season could be separated into five different types of representations. The majority depicted Thule winter dwellings, and Thule tent-rings. Other structures were too scattered to signify the original outline and might have been representations of depictions other than houses. The chapter demonstrated that children's playhouses are very common in these areas, particularly in areas of intensive warm weather occupation.

To conclude, the overall intention of this thesis was to address the absence of children of the past, and to contribute to finding a way to access children in the archaeological record. This thesis has demonstrated the significance of playthings as a means of socializing children in Thule culture of Greenland. The presence of playthings demonstrated that they were important tools for children, since they provide several aspects of learning processes. Nevertheless, playthings encountered in an archaeological context offer a way to recognize traces of children's activities, and can be seen as implements to reinforce cultural messages about appropriate customs.

Appendix A

Material Objects

Ajagaq:

A1: Gr III House 30 L3 1995 Ajagaq

A2: Gr III House 30 L3 1995 Ajagaq

A3: Gr III House 30 L3 1995 Ajagaq

B1: Gr III House 30 L3 2027 Ajagaq

B2: Gr III House 30 L3 2027 Ajagaq

B3: Gr III House 30 L3 2027 Ajagaq

Ajagaq Sticks:

A1: Gr. II House 4 Midden L3 754 Ajagaq Stick

A2: Gr. II House 4 Midden L3 754 Ajagaq Stick

B1: Gr III House 30 L3 1996 Ajagaq stick

B2: Gr III House 30 L3 1996 Ajagaq stick

B3: Gr III House 30 L3 1996 Ajagaq stick

Gambling bones:

A1: Gr I House 11 L3 1348 Gambling bone

B1: Gr I House 16 L3 1523 Gambling bone

C1: Gr I House 17 L3 1618 Gambling bone

D1: Gr II House 2 BII L3 2150 Gambling bone

E1: Gr II House 2 BII L3 2182 Gambling bone

F1: Gr II House 2 BII L3 2200 Gambling bone

G1: Gr II House 2 BII L3 2235 Gambling bone

H1: Gr II House 2 BII L3 2236 Gambling bone

I1: Gr II House 3 L3 598 ab Gambling bone

J1: Gr II House 4 Midden L3 790 Gamblingbone

K1: Gr II House 5 L3 849 Gambling bone

L1: Gr II House 5 L3 875 Gambling bone

M1: Gr II House 8 L3 1217 Gambling bone

N1: Gr II House 9 L3 1245 Gambling bone

O1: Gr II House 9 L3 1245 Gambling bone

P1: Gr III House 24 L3 1789 x2 Gambling bone

Q1: Gr III House 26 L3 1814x2 Gambling bone

R1: Gr III House 30 L3 1997 Gambling bone

Top-discs:

A1: Gr II House 6 L3 990 Top disc Baleen

A2: Gr II House 6 L3 990 Top disc Baleen

Round stones:

A1: Gr I House 11 L3 1385 Round stone

B1: Gr II House 2 L3 433 Round stone

C1: Gr II House 2 L3 458 Round stone

D1: Gr II House 6 L3 921 Round stone

E1: Gr II House 6 L3 949 Round stone

F1: Gr II House 8 L3 1183 Round stone

Gaming object:

A1: Gr. I House 21 L3 1734

A2: Gr. I House 21 L3 1734

Figurines, animal carvings:

A1: Gr I House 19 L3 1705 Figurine

A2: Gr I House 19 L3 1705 Figurine

B1: Gr II House 4 L3 11977 Figurine

B2: Gr II House 4 L3 11977 Figurine

C1: Gr II House 4 L3 659 Figurine

C2: Gr II House 4 L3 659 Figurine

C3: Gr II House 4 L3 659 Figurine

Dolls:

A1: Gr I House 12 L3 1416 Doll

A2: Gr I House 12 L3 1416 Doll

A3: Gr I House 12 L3 1416 Doll

B1: Gr I House 13 L3 1472 Doll

B2: Gr I House 13 L3 1472 Doll

B3: Gr I House 13 L3 1472 Doll

C1: Gr I House 16 L3 1503 Doll

C2: Gr I Hus 16 L3 1503 Doll

C3: Gr I Hus 16 L3 1503 Doll

D1: Gr I House 16 L3 1524 Doll

D2: Gr I House 16 L3 1524 Doll

D3: Gr I House 16 L3 1524 Doll

E1: Gr I House 16 L3 1560 Doll

E2: Gr I House 16 L3 1560 Doll

E3: Gr I House 16 L3 1560 Doll

F1: Gr I House 17 L3 1607 Doll

F2: Gr I House 17 L3 1607 Doll

F3: Gr I House 17 L3 1607 Doll

G1: Gr I House 17 L3 1608 Doll

G2: Gr I House 17 L3 1608 Doll

G3: Gr I House 17 L3 1608 Doll

H1: Gr I House 17 L3 1612 Doll

H2: Gr I House 17 L3 1612 Doll

H3: Gr I House 17 L3 1612 Doll

I1: Gr I House 17 L3 1619 Doll

I2: Gr I House 17 L3 1619 Doll

J1: Gr I House 17 Midden L3 1636 Doll

J2: Gr I House 17 Midden L3 1636 Doll

K1: Gr I House 21 L3 1747 Doll

K2: Gr I House 21 L3 1747 Doll

K3: Gr I House 21 L3 1747 Doll

L1: Gr II House 2 BII L3 523 Doll

L2: Gr II House 2 BII L3 523 Doll

M1: Gr II House 4 L3 731 Doll

M2: Gr II House 4 L3 731 Doll

M3: Gr II House 4 L3 731 Doll

N1: Gr II House 4 Midden L3 766 Doll

N2: Gr II House 4 Midden L3 766 Doll

N3: Gr II House 4 Midden L3 766 Doll

O1: Gr II Midden LP L3 11975 Doll

O2: Gr II Midden LP L3 11975 Doll

O3: Gr II Midden LP L3 11975 Doll

P1: Gr II House 5 L3 892 Doll

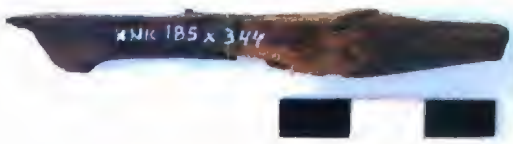
P2: Gr II House 5 L3 892 Doll

P3: Gr II House 5 L3 892 Doll

Q1: Gr II House 6 L3 947 Doll

Q2: Gr II House 6 L3 947 Doll

Q3: Gr II House 6 L3 947 Doll



R1: Gr II House 6 L3 948, 967 Doll

R2: Gr II House 6 L3 948, 967 Doll

R3: Gr II House 6 L3 948, 967 Doll

R4: Gr II House 6 L3 948, 967 Doll

S1: Gr II House 6 L3 1023 Doll

S2: Gr II House 6 L3 1023 Doll

T1: Gr II House 7 L3 1069 Doll

T2: Gr II House 7 L3 1069 Doll

T3: Gr II House 7 L3 1069 Doll

U1: Gr II House 10 L3 1269 Doll

U2: Gr II House 10 L3 1269 Doll

U3: Gr II House 10 L3 1269 Doll

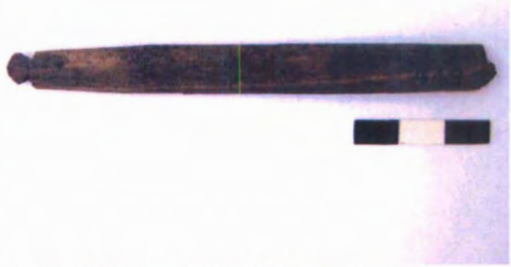
Harpoon head:

A1: Gr II House 7 L3 1079 Harpon head, Type 2

A2: Gr II House 7 L3 1079 Harpon head, Type 2

A3: Gr II House 7 L3 1079 Harpon head, Type 2

Bows



A1: Gr II House 2 L3 449 Bow Wood

A2: Gr II House 2 L3 449 Bow Wood

Arrow head:

A1: Gr I House 18 L3 1673 Arrow head

A2: Gr I House 18 L3 1673 Arrow head

A3: Gr I House 18 L3 1673 Arrow head

B1: Gr I House 18 L3 1689 Arrow head

B2: Gr I House 18 L3 1689 Arrow head

B3: Gr I House 18 L3 1689 Arrow head

C1: Gr I House 18 KBH L3 1690 Arrow head

C2: Gr I House 18 KBH L3 1690 Arrow head

Arrow fore-end:

A1: Gr I House 21 L3 1750 Arrow fore-end

A2: Gr I House 21 L3 1750 Arrow fore-end

Arrow shaft:

A1: Gr I House 18 L3 1695 Arrow shaft

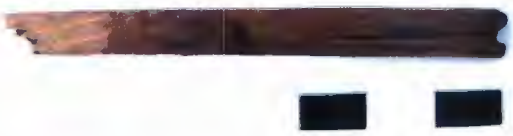
A2: Gr I House 18 L3 1695 Arrow shaft

B1: Gr II House 4 L3 729 Arrow shaft Wood

B2: Gr II House 4 L3 729 Arrow shaft Wood

B3: Gr II House 4 L3 729 Arrow shaft Wood

C1: Gr II House 6 L3 915 Arrow shaft Wood



C2: Gr II House 6 L3 915 Arrow shaft Wood

C3: Gr II House 6 L3 915 Arrow shaft Wood

Sling handle:

A1: Gr I House 12 L3 1428 Sling handle end

A2: Gr I House 12 L3 1428 Sling handle end

A3: Gr I House 12 L3 1428 Sling handle end

B1: Gr II House 4 L3 687 Sling handle end

B2: Gr II House 4 L3 687 Sling handle end

B3: Gr II House 4 L3 687 Sling handle end

C1: Gr II House 5 L3 902 Sling handle Wood

C2: Gr II House 5 L3 902 Sling handle Wood

C3: Gr II House 5 L3 902 Sling handle Wood

D1: Gr II House 6 L3 999 Sling handle Wood

D2: Gr II House 6 L3 999 Sling handle Wood

D3: Gr II House 6 L3 999 Sling handle Wood

E1: Gr II House 6 L3 1000 Sling handle Wood

E2: Gr II House 6 L3 1000 Sling handle Wood

E3: Gr II House 6 L3 1000 Sling handle Wood

F1: Gr III House 24 L3 1810 Sling handle

F2: Gr III House 24 L3 1810 Sling handle

F3: Gr III House 24 L3 1810 Sling handle

G1: Gr III House 30 L3 1949 Sling handle

G2: Gr III House 30 L3 1949 Sling handle

G3: Gr III House 30 L3 1949 Sling handle

H1: Gr III House 30 L3 1987 Sling handle part

H2: Gr III House 30 L3 1987 Sling handle part

H3: Gr III House 30 L3 1987 Sling handle part

Knife handle:

A1: Gr II House 4 Midden L3 782 Knife handle handle

A2: Gr II House 4 Midden L3 782 Knife

A3: Gr II House 4 Midden L3 782 Knife handle

Sledge cross slat:

A1: Gr I House 12 L3 1401 Sledge cross slat

A2: Gr I House 12 L3 1401 Sledge cross slat

A3: Gr I House 12 L3 1401 Sledge cross slat

B1: Gr I House 17 Midden L3 1645 Sl. cr. slat

B2: Gr I House 17 Midden L3 1645 Sl. cr. slat

B3: Gr I House 17 Midden L3 1645 Sl. cr. slat

C1: Gr II House 2 L3 450 Sl. cr. slat wh.bone

C2: Gr II House 2 L3 450 Sl. cr. slat wh.bone

C3: Gr II House 2 L3 450 Sl. cr. slat wh.bone

D1: Gr III House 30 L3 1993 Sledge cross slat

D2: Gr III House 30 L3 1993 Sledge cross slat

D3: Gr III House 30 L3 1993 Sledge cross slat

Umiak:

A1: Gr II House 3 L3 631 Umiak

A2: Gr II House 3 L3 631 Umiak

A3: Gr II House 3 L3 631 Umiak

B1: Gr III House 30 L3 2028 Umiak

B2: Gr III House 30 L3 2028 Umiak

B3: Gr III House 30 L3 2028 Umiak

Kayak:

A1: Gr II House 3 L3 599 Kayak

A2: Gr II House 3 L3 599 Kayak

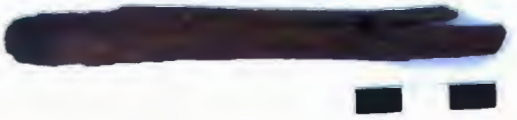
B1: Gr III House 30 L3 1940 Kayak

B2: Gr III House 30 L3 1940 Kayak

B3: Gr III House 30 L3 1940 Kayak

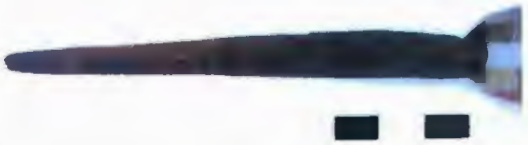
Kayak paddle:

A1: House 4 L3 649 Paddle



Gr II

A2: Gr II House 4 L3 649 Paddle



A3: Gr II House 4 L3 649 Paddle

B1: Gr II House 5 L3 887 Kayak paddle

B2: Gr II House 5 L3 887 Kayak paddle

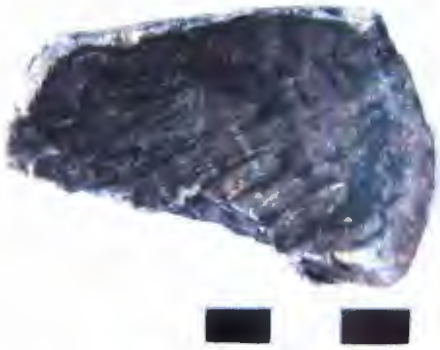
B3: Gr II House 5 L3 887 Kayak paddle

Lamp:

A1: Gr I House 17 L3 1604 Lamp w.part.ledge

A2: Gr I House 17 L3 1604 Lamp w.part.ledge

A3: Gr I House 17 L3 1604 Lamp w.part.ledge



B1: Gr II House 1 L3 358 Lamp

B2: Gr II House 1 L3 358 Lamp

B3: Gr II House 1 L3 358 Lamp

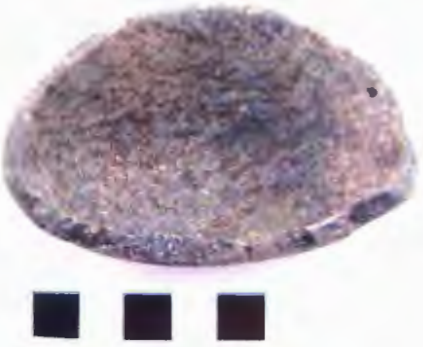
C1: Gr II House 4 L3 671 Lamp

C2: Gr II House 4 L3 671 Lamp

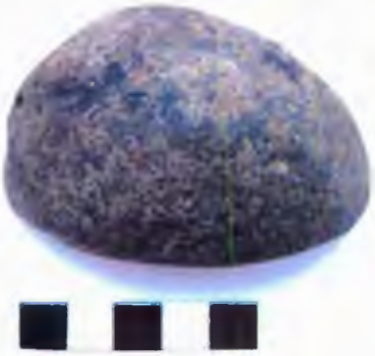
C3: Gr II House 4 L3 671 Lamp

D1: Gr II House 5 L3 823 Lamp

D2: Gr II House 5 L3 823 Lamp



E1: Gr II House 8 L3 1216 Lamp



E2: Gr II House 8 L3 1216 Lamp

E3: Gr II House 8 L3 1216 Lamp

Appendix B: List of Material

		House no.	Amount	Cat. no.	Length	Width	Thickness	Raw material
Gaming pieces:	N = 60							
Ajagaq:								
	Gr.III	House 30	1	L3 1995	166.0 mm	64.3 mm	25.4 mm	Unmodified seal humeri
	Gr.III	House 30	1	L3 2027	67.7 mm	19.4 mm	16.0 mm	Unmodified seal humeri
Ajagaq stick:								
	Gr.II	Midden BI	1	L3 2093	92.0 mm	11.0 mm		Wood
	Gr.II	Midden UP House 4	1	L3 754	140.0 mm	16.1 mm	6.3	Antler
	Gr.III	House 30	1	L3 1980	110.0 mm			Wood
	Gr.III	House 30	1	L3 1996	116.0 mm	17.4 mm	9.0 mm	Wood
Gambling bone:								
	Gr.I	House 11	1	L3 1348	47 mm			Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.I	House 16	1	L3 1523	46 mm			Unmodified seal phalanges
	(Gr.I	House 17	*	L3 1618	50.5 mm			Unmodified seal phalanges)
	Gr.II	House 1	1	L3 408	52 mm			Unmodified seal phalanges
	(Gr.II	Midden BII	*	L3 2150	56.5 mm	10.5 mm	11.4 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges)
	(Gr.II	Midden BII	*	L3 2150	53.3 mm	10.9 mm	9.2 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges)
	(Gr.II	Midden BII	*	L3 2150	47.6 mm	9.0 mm	9.5 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges)
	(Gr.II	Midden BII	*	L3 2150	43.5 mm	7.8 mm	7.1 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges)
	(Gr.II	Midden BII	*	L3 2182	52.1 mm	10.1 mm	10.4 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges)
	(Gr.II	Midden BII	*	L3 2200	49.3 mm	8.3 mm	10.0 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges)
	(Gr.II	Midden BII	*	L3 2235	55.0 mm	9.4 mm	9.3 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges)
	(Gr.II	Midden BII	*	L3 2236	39.7 mm	8.7 mm	9.1 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges)
	Gr.II	House 3	1	L3 598	49.9 mm	9 mm	10.0 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.II	House 3	1	L3 598	47.7 mm	9.0 mm	10.0 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.II	House 4	1	L3 688	51.0 mm	9.2 mm	8.5 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.II	House 4	1	L3 779	46.3 mm	8.3 mm	9.2 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.II	House 4	1	L3 780	50.4 mm	8.4 mm	9.7 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	(Gr.II	MiddenUPH4	*	L3 790	44.5 mm	9.3 mm	8.1 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges)
	Gr.II	House 5	1	L3 849	57.4 mm	9.4 mm	10.1 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges

	Gr.II	House 5	1	L3 849	51.4 mm	9.4 mm	9.9 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.II	House 5	1	L3 849	44.2 mm	8.8 mm	8.7 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.II	House 5	1	L3 875	50.2 mm	9.0 mm	9.1 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.II	House 6	1	L3 964	36.8 mm	7.6 mm	8.8 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.II	House 6	1	L3 964	42.7 mm	9.8 mm	10.0 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.II	House 6	1	L3 964	45.5 mm	8.8 mm	8.5 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.II	House 6	1	L3 964	47.6 mm	8.3 mm	8.7 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.II	House 6	1	L3 964	48.4 mm	9.0 mm	9.4 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.II	House 6	1	L3 964	48.7 mm	8.3 mm	9.4 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.II	House 6	1	L3 964	49.7 mm	8.6 mm	8.9 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.II	House 6	1	L3 964	49.8 mm	8.5 mm	9.9 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.II	House 6	1	L3 964	50.2 mm	9.3 mm	9.0 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.II	House 6	1	L3 964	50.6 mm	9.2 mm	8.6 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.II	House 6	1	L3 964	50.6 mm	7.6 mm	10.2 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.II	House 6	1	L3 964	50.7 mm	8.9 mm	9.9 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.II	House 6	1	L3 964	51.0 mm	9.5 mm	10.8 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.II	House 6	1	L3 964	51.9 mm	8.6 mm	9.3 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.II	House 6	1	L3 964	52.0 mm	9.1 mm	9.3 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.II	House 6	1	L3 964	52.4 mm	7.7 mm	9.0 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.II	House 6	1	L3 964	53.3 mm	8.8 mm	9.3 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.II	House 6	1	L3 964	53.4 mm	8.5 mm	8.9 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.II	House 6	1	L3 964	54.9 mm	9.8 mm	10.5 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.II	House 6	1	L3 964	55.1 mm	9.4 mm	9.8 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.II	House 6	1	L3 964	59.2 mm	10.1 mm	9.4 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.II	House 8	1	L3 1217	45.3 mm	8.8 mm	8.5 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.II	House 8	1	L3 1217	42.7 mm	6.6 mm	8.2 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.II	House 9	1	L3 1245	38.9 mm	8.2 mm	8.4 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.II	House 10	1	L3 1268	49.5 mm	8.8 mm	9.3 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.II	House 10	1	L3 1268	40.7 mm	7.4 mm	9.3 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.III	House 24	1	L3 1789	46.6 mm	8.5 mm	9.0 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.III	House 24	1	L3 1814	51.2 mm	7.6 mm	8.4 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.III	House 26	1	L3 1849	51.6 mm	8.0 mm	9.0 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.III	House 26	1	L3 1850	48.1 mm	8.2 mm	9.2 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
	Gr.III	House 30	1	L3 1997	52.1 mm	8.3 mm	10.2 mm	Unmodified seal phalanges
Top-disc:								

	Gr.I	House 19	1	L3 1706	46 mm	39.5 mm	2.0 mm	Soapstone
	Gr.II	House 6	1	L3 990	21.6 mm	17.6 mm	1.0 mm	Baleen
Round stone:								
	Gr.I	House 11	1	L3 1385	34 mm	31 mm		Stone
	Gr.II	House 2	1	L3 433	45.2 mm	40.5 mm	32.8 mm	Stone
	Gr.II	House 2	1	L3 458	45.3 mm	40.2 mm	32.0 mm	Stone
	Gr.II	House 6	1	L3 921	40.1 mm	29.4 mm	19.8 mm	Stone
	Gr.II	House 6	1	L3 949	44.1 mm	49.8 mm	38.5 mm	Stone
	Gr.II	House 7	1	L3 1158	75 mm	55 mm		Stone
	Gr.II	House 8	1	L3 1183	21 mm	20 mm		Stone
	Gr.III	House 30	1	L3 1973	34.9 mm	30.2 mm	28.5 mm	Stone
Gaming object:								
	Gr.I	House 21	1	L3 1734	75.6 mm		7.8 mm	Wood
Figures:	N = 20							
Animal Figurines:								
	Gr.I	House 19	1	L3 1705	71.7 mm	17.2 mm	10.8 mm	Walrus tusk
	Gr.II	House 4	1	L3 659	61.1 mm	14.1 mm	10 mm	Wood
	Gr.II	Midden LP	1	L3 11977	112.5 mm	22.1 mm	17.0 mm	Wood
Human Dolls:								
	Gr.I	House 12	1	L3 1416	62.5 mm	14.8 mm	11.3 mm	Wood
	Gr.I	House 13	1	L3 1472	79.7 mm	23.8 mm	13.5 mm	Wood
	Gr.I	House 16	1	L3 1503	47.3 mm	18.5 mm	11.0 mm	Walrus tusk
	Gr.I	House 16	1	L3 1524	64.3 mm	16.8 mm	9.5 mm	Wood
	Gr.I	House 16	1	L3 1560	36.9 mm	7.8 mm	4.3 mm	Wood
	(Gr.I	House 17	*	L3 1607	87.5 mm	21.3 mm	9.9 mm	Wood)
	(Gr.I	House 17	*	L3 1608	50.0 mm	15.2 mm	14.0 mm	Wood)
	(Gr.I	House 17	*	L3 1612	115.8 mm	33.9 mm	22.4 mm	Wood)
	(Gr.I	House 17	*	L3 1619	64.0 mm	17.0 mm	10.5 mm	Wood)
	Gr.I	House 17M	1	L3 1636	59.8 mm	16.9 mm	11.2 mm	Wood
	Gr.I	House 21	1	L3 1747	78.0 mm	23.8 mm	13.2 mm	Wood

	Gr.II	Midden BII	1	L3 523	57.5 mm	7.9 mm	13.5 mm	Wood
	Gr.II	House 4	1	L3 731	81.4 mm	27.6 mm	12.3 mm	Wood
	Gr.II	Midden UP House 4	1	L3 11975	53.2 mm	14.6 mm	6.7 mm	Wood
	Gr.II	Midden LP House 4	1	L3 766	46.5 mm	11.8 mm	6.5 mm	Wood
	Gr.II	House 5	1	L3 892	60.0 mm			Wood
	Gr.II	House 6	1	L3 947	60.2 mm	20.9 mm	10.1 mm	Wood
	Gr.II	House 6	1	L3 948/967	61.2 mm	8.0 mm	10.5 mm	Wood
	(Gr.II	House 6	*	L3 967/948	61.2 mm	8.0 mm	10.5 mm	Wood)
	Gr.II	House 6	1	L3 1023	40.0 mm			Wood
	Gr.II	House 7	1	L3 1069	47.1 mm	14.5 mm	6.8 mm	Wood
	Gr.II	House 10	1	L3 1269	62.5 mm	8.3 mm	11.6 mm	Wood
Sundry Toys:	N = 35							
Lamp:	(Gr.I	House 17	*	L3 1604	36.8 mm	26.1 mm	17.1 mm	Soapstone)
	Gr.II	House 1	1	L3 358	54.7 mm	36.7 mm	8.1 mm	Soapstone
	Gr.II	House 4	1	L3 671	31.4 mm	15.7 mm	6.5 mm	Soapstone
	Gr.II	House 5	1	L3 823	55.4 mm	23.5 mm	8.5 mm	Soapstone
	Gr.II	House 8	1	L3 1216	75.6 mm	53.7 mm	7.2 mm	Soapstone
Umiak/Boat:	Gr.II	House 3	1	L3 631	156.5 mm	36.7 mm	26.6 mm	Wood
	Gr.III	House 30	1	L3 2028	192.9 mm	40.0 mm	23.6 mm	Wood
Harpoon head:	Gr.II	House 7	1	L3 1079	54.0 mm	13.3 mm	4.8 mm	Wood
Bow:	Gr.II	House 2	1	L3 449	103.6 mm	10.5 mm	3.9 mm	Wood
Arrow fore-end:	Gr.I	House 21	1	L3 1750	134.7 mm	11.4 mm	7.6 mm	Wood
	(Gr.I	House 21	*	L3 Error?)				
Arrow head:	Gr.I	House 18	1	L3 1673	102.0 mm	8.3 mm	4.3 mm	Antler
	Gr.I	House 18	1	L3 1689	57.2 mm	7.8 mm	4.9 mm	Antler
	Gr.I	House 18	1	L3 1690	66.0 mm		4.1 diam.	Antler

	Gr.II	Midden BI	1	L3 2079	80 mm		4 diam.	Antler
Arrow shaft:	Gr.I	House 18	1	L3 1695	142.3 mm	7.45 mm	5.1 mm	Wood
	Gr.I	House 21	1	L3 1756	100.3 mm	10.41 mm	4.1 mm	Wood
	Gr.II	House 4	1	L3 729	93.1 mm	8.01 mm	8.1 mm	Wood
	Gr.II	House 6	1	L3 915	72.7 mm	6.98 mm	5.0 mm	Wood
	Gr.III	House 26	1	L3 1873	67.4 mm	11.74 mm	3.2 mm	Wood
	Gr.III	House 29	1	L3 1913	22.0 mm			Wood
Sling handle:	Gr.I	House 12	1	L3 1428	61.9 mm	22.14 mm	13.5 mm	Wood
	Gr.II	House 4	1	L3 687	121 mm	16.25 mm	8.9 mm	Wood
	Gr.II	House 5	1	L3 902	78.0 mm	10.06 mm	5.0 mm	Wood
	Gr.II	House 6	1	L3 999	183.0 mm	23.2 mm	12.5 mm	Wood
	Gr.II	House 6	1	L3 1000	92.3 mm	25.0 mm	12.0 mm	Wood
	Gr.III	House 24	1	L3 1810	118.1 mm	24.2 mm	7.2 mm	Wood
	Gr.III	House 30	1	L3 1949	97.8 mm	13.9 mm	8.3 mm	Wood
	Gr.III	House 30	1	L3 1987	40.0 mm	21.5 mm	10.8 mm	Wood
Sled cross slat:	Gr.I	House 12	1	L3 1401	75.0 mm	20.4 mm	3.4 mm	Wood
	Gr.I	House 17M	1	L3 1645	89.6 mm	11.4 mm	7.5 mm	Wood
	Gr.II	House 2	1	L3 450	101.4 mm	18.9 mm	7.7 mm	Whalebone
	Gr.III	House 30	1	L3 1993	148.4 mm	19.0 mm	7.5 mm	Antler
Kayak:	Gr.II	House 3	1	L3 599	137.0 mm	13.0 mm	9.2 mm	Wood
	Gr.III	House 30	1	L3 1940	98.0 mm	13.3 mm	10.5 mm	Wood
Kayak paddle:	Gr.II	House 4	1	L3 649	100.4 mm	11.6 mm	9.9 mm	Wood
	Gr.II	House 5	1	L3 887	103.3 mm	13.5 mm	7.5 mm	Wood
Knife handle:	Gr.II	MiddenUPH4	1	L3 782	51.6 mm	12.0 mm	8.7 mm	Walrus tusk
			116					

(*) = Not included

Appendix C

Pictures of Playhouses and Similar Structures

L1 Clavering Island, Fladstrand

L1 Clavering Island, Fladstrand

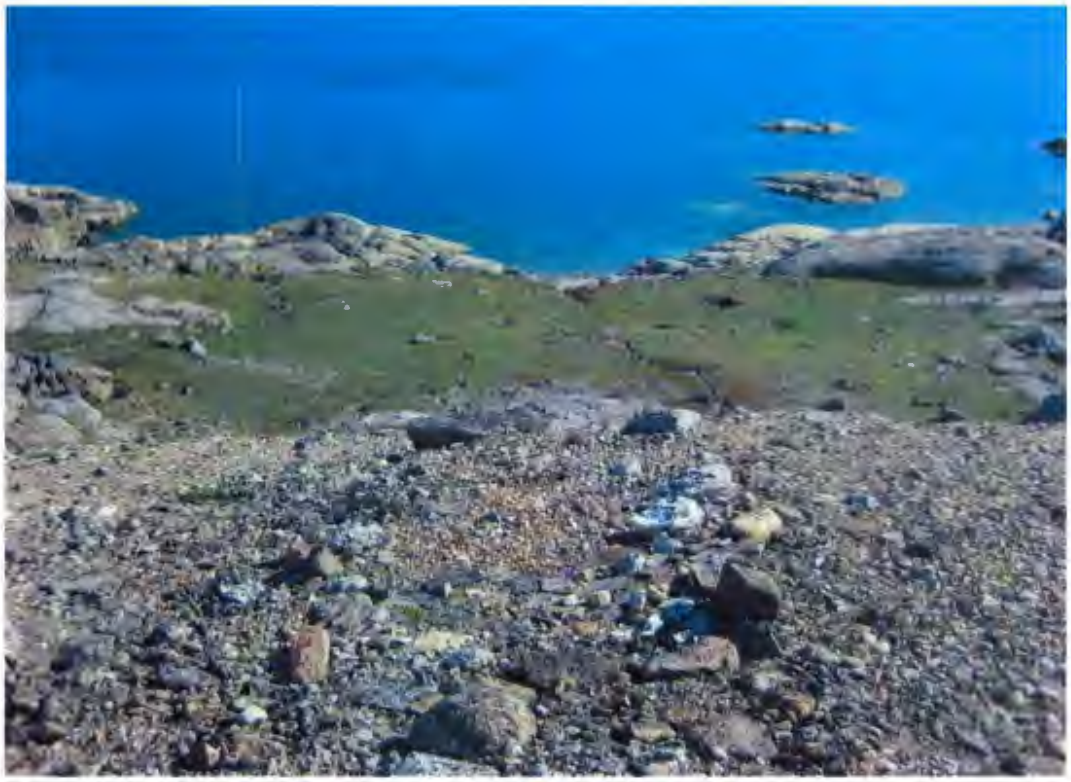
L2 Clavering Island, Bådsted

L2 Clavering Island, Bådsted

L2 Clavering Island, Bådsted

L3 Clavering Island, Bådsted

L4 Clavering Island, Holmevig (Niche)



L4 Clavering Island, Holmevig

L4 Clavering Island, Holmevig

L5 Walrus Island

L6 Walrus Island

L7 Walrus Island

L8 Walrus Island

L9 Walrus Island

L10 Walrus Island

L11 Walrus Island

L12 Walrus Island

L13 Walrus Island

L15 Walrus Island

L17 Walrus Island

L18 Walrus Island

L20 Walrus Island

L21 Walrus Island

L22 Walrus Island

L23 Walrus Island

L28 Sabine Island, Vardenæs

L29 Wollaston Forland, Kap Berghaus

L30 Wollaston Forland, Kap Berghaus

L31 Wollaston Forland, Kap Berghaus

L32 Wollaston Forland, Kap Berghaus

L33 Wollaston Forland, Kap Berghaus

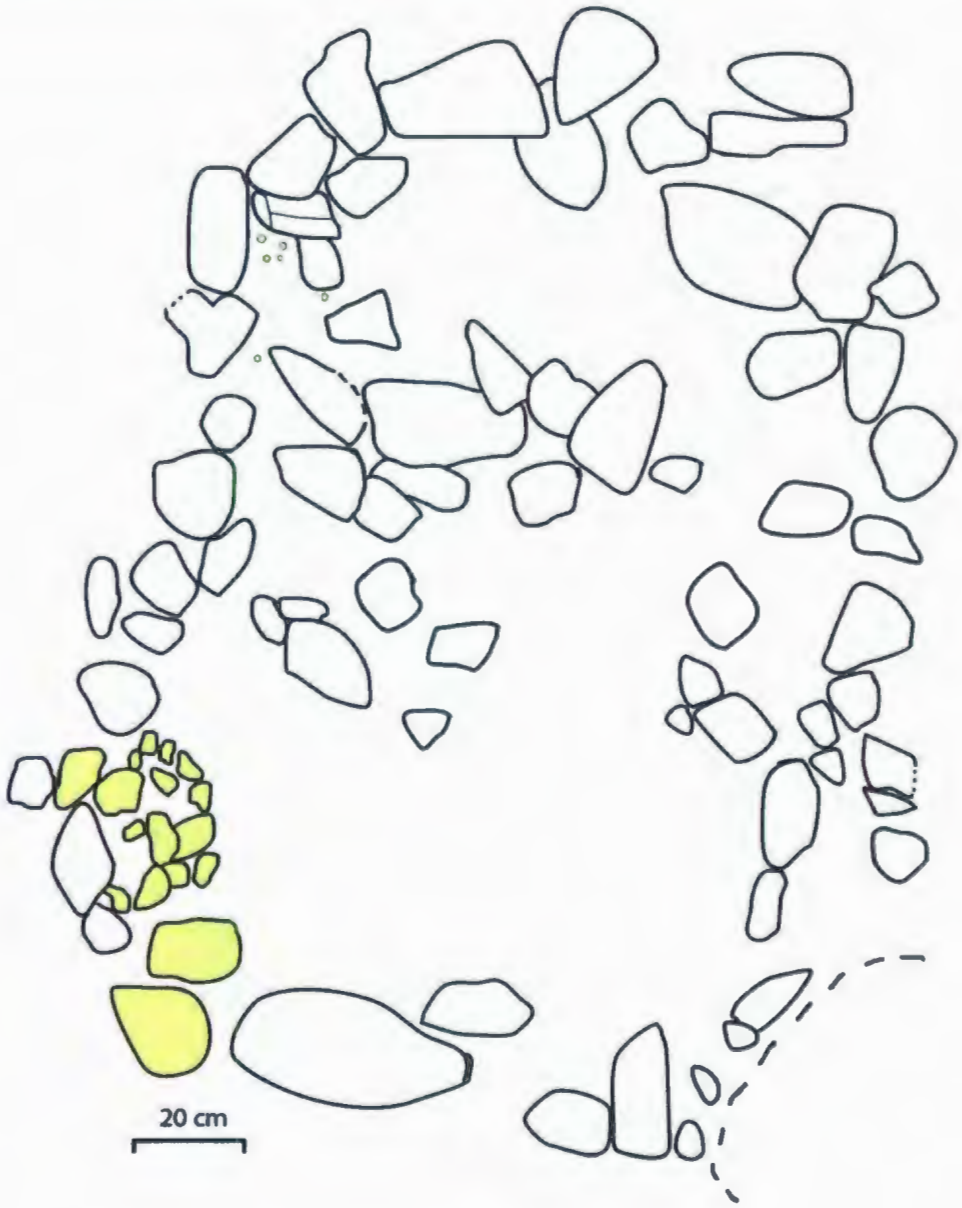
Appendix D

Detail Sketches of Playhouses

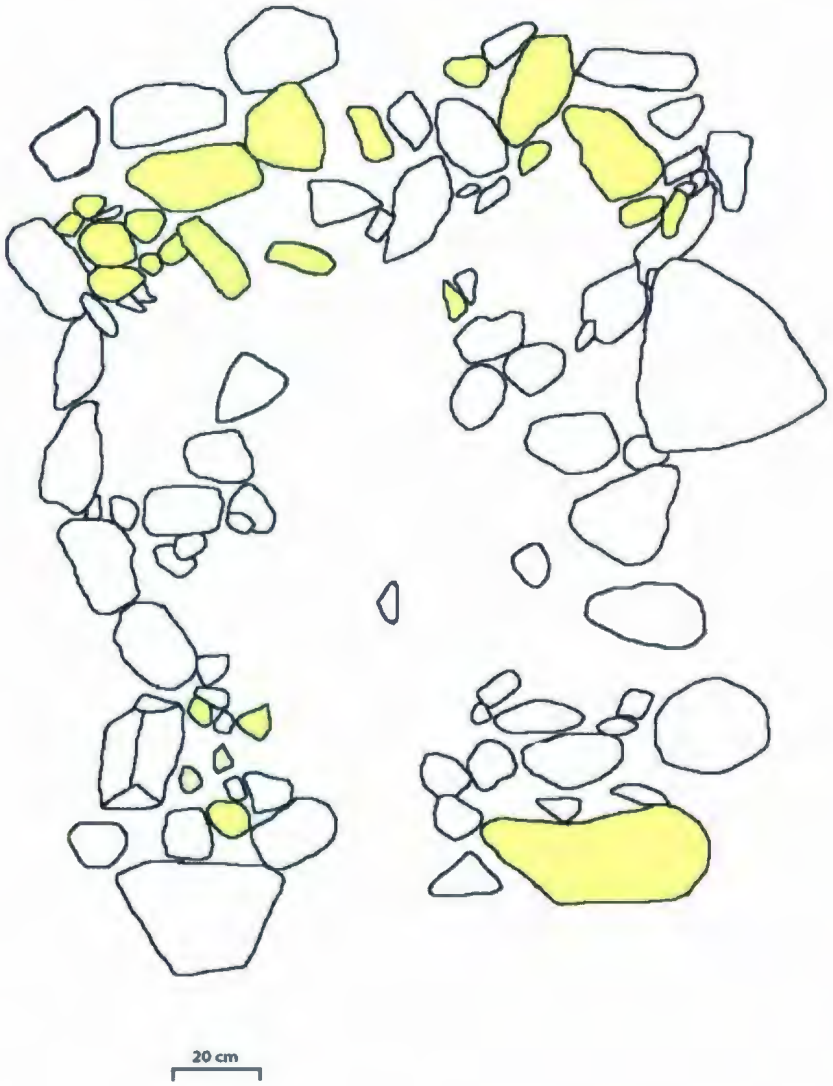
=White Pebbles/Stones

=Red Pebbles/Stones

Replication of winter dwelling



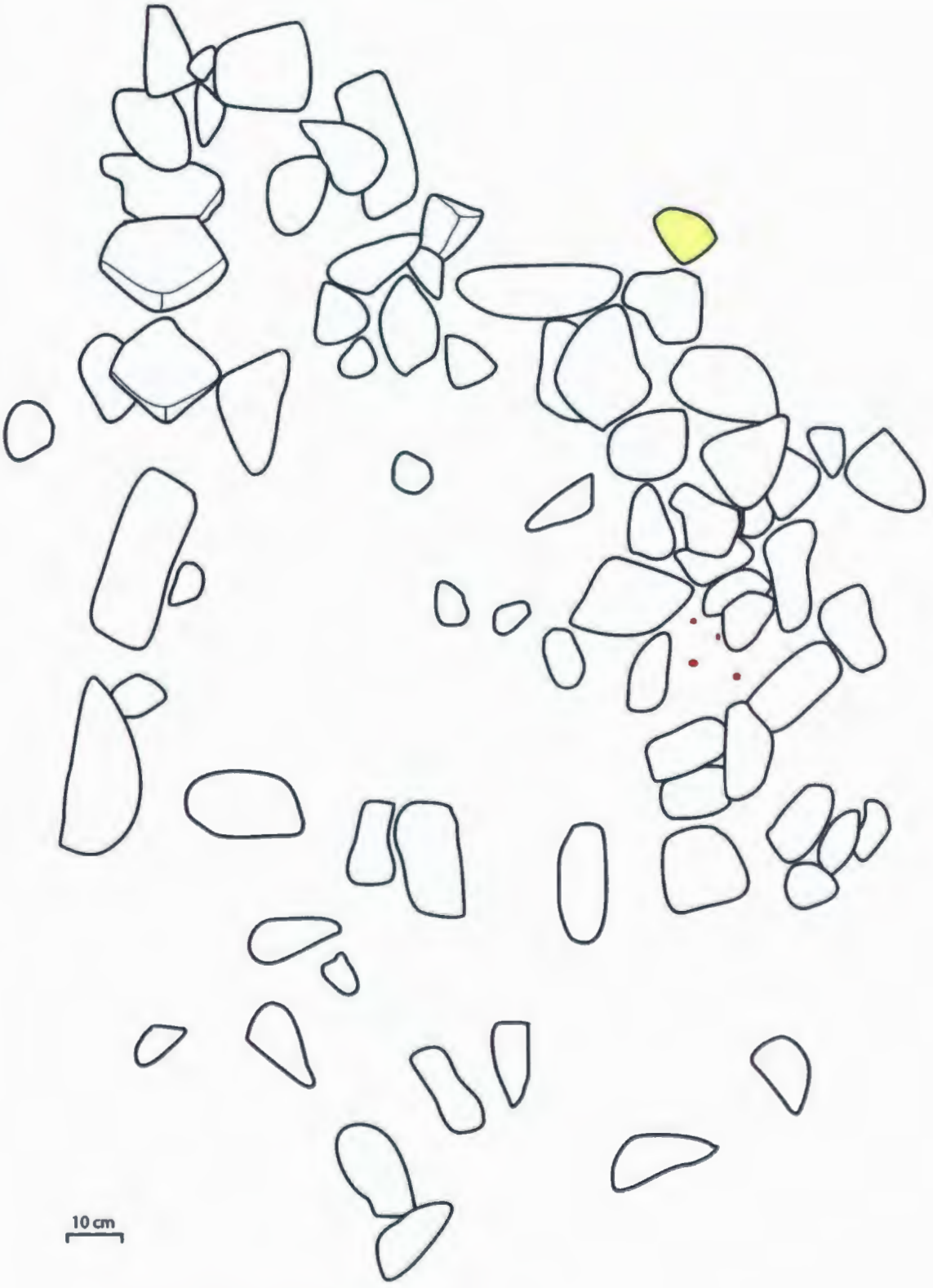
Feature L2, Bådsted, Clavering Island



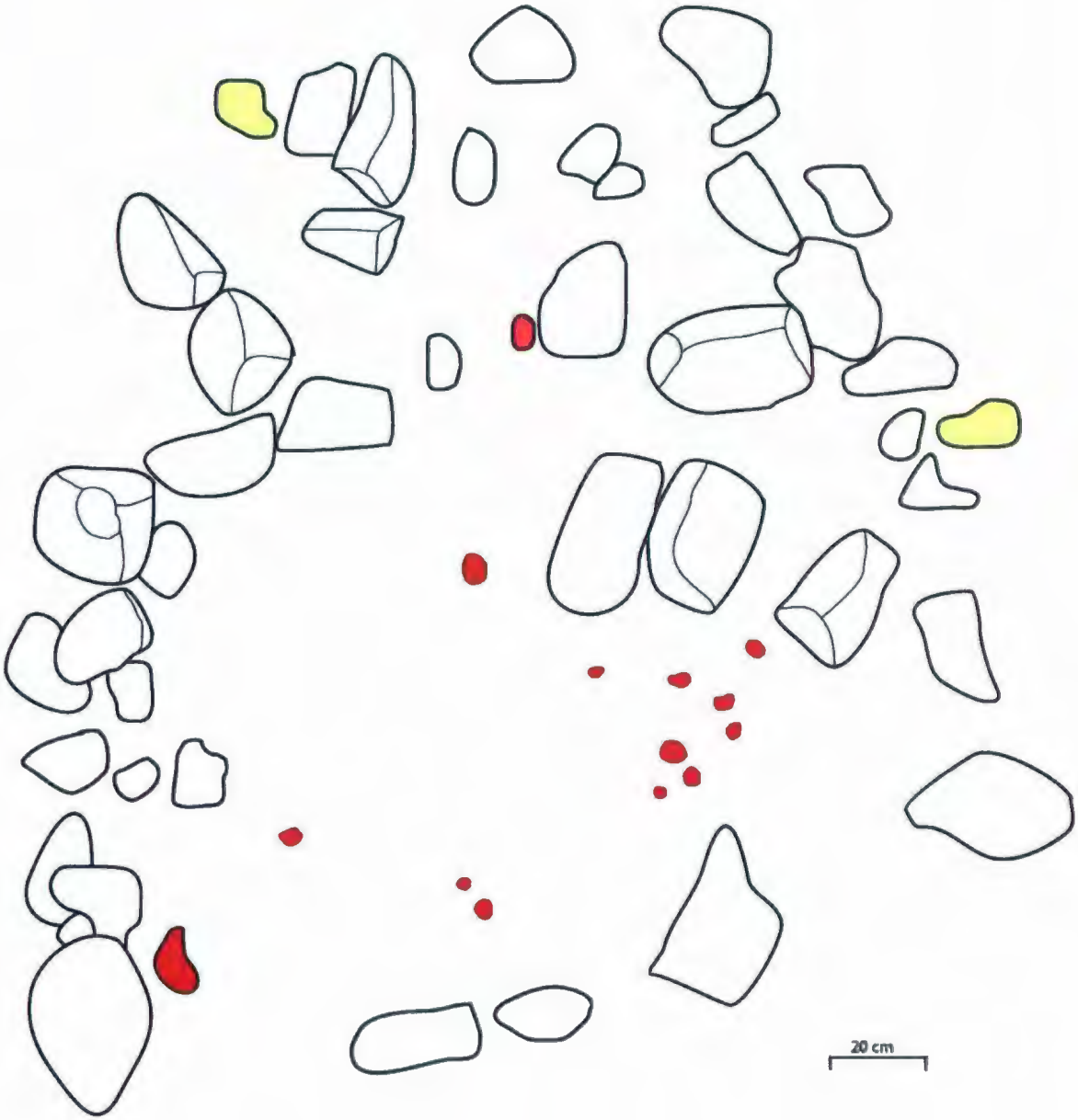
Feature L3, Bådsted, Clavering Island

Feature L4, Holmevig, Clavering Island

Feature L9, Mid-West, Walrus Island

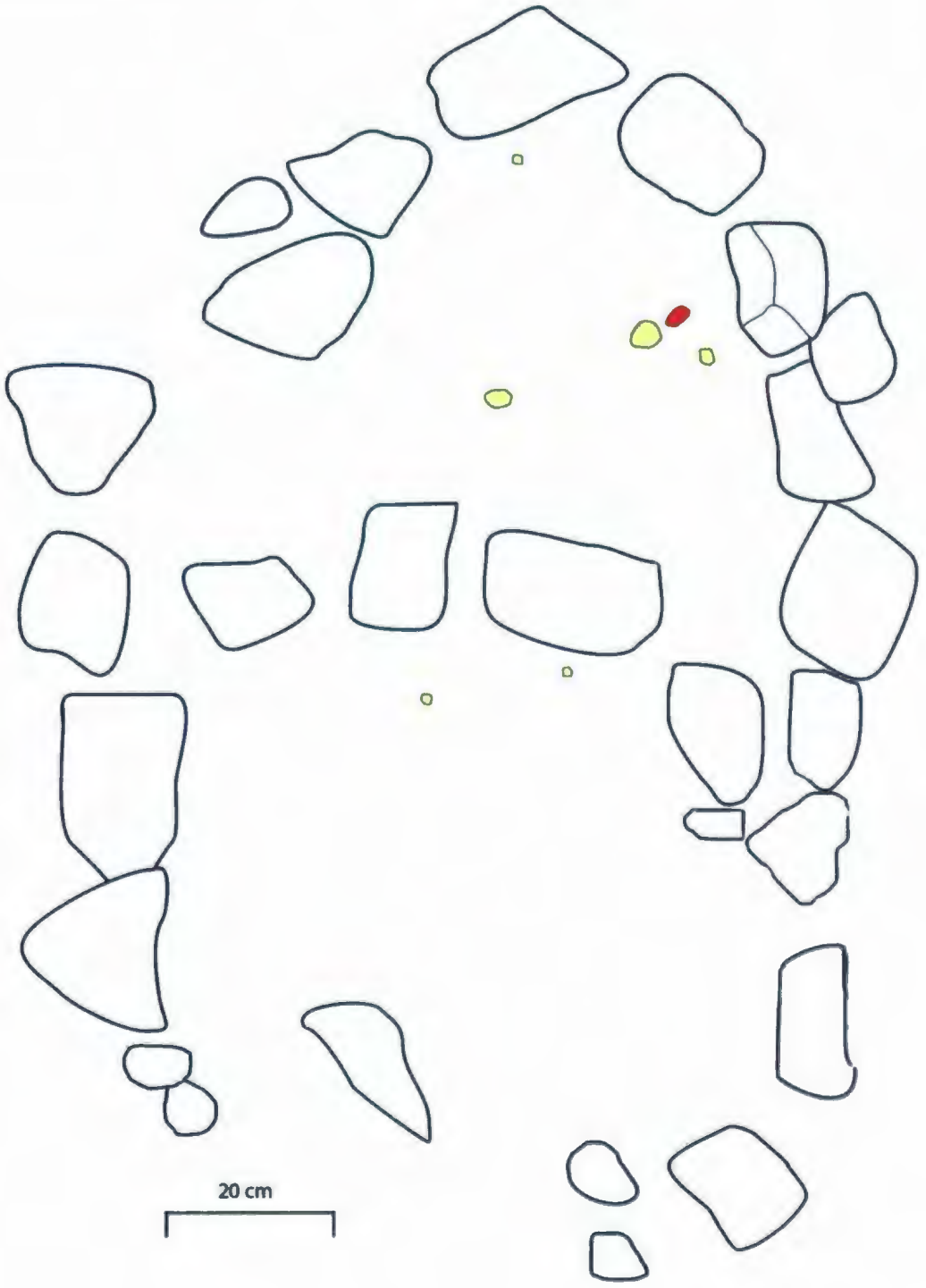


Feature L10, Mid-West, Walrus Island

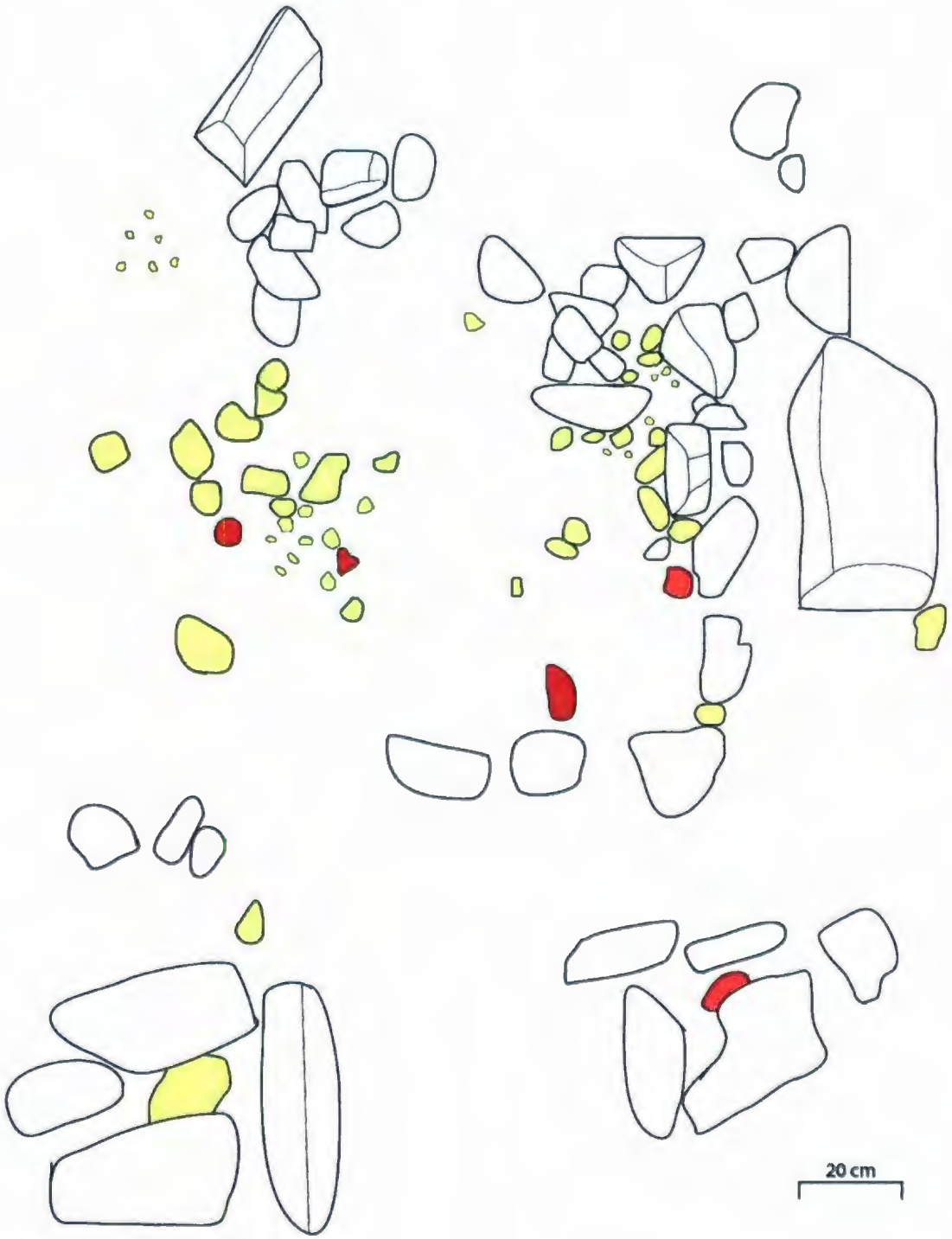


Feature L11, Mid-West, Walrus Island

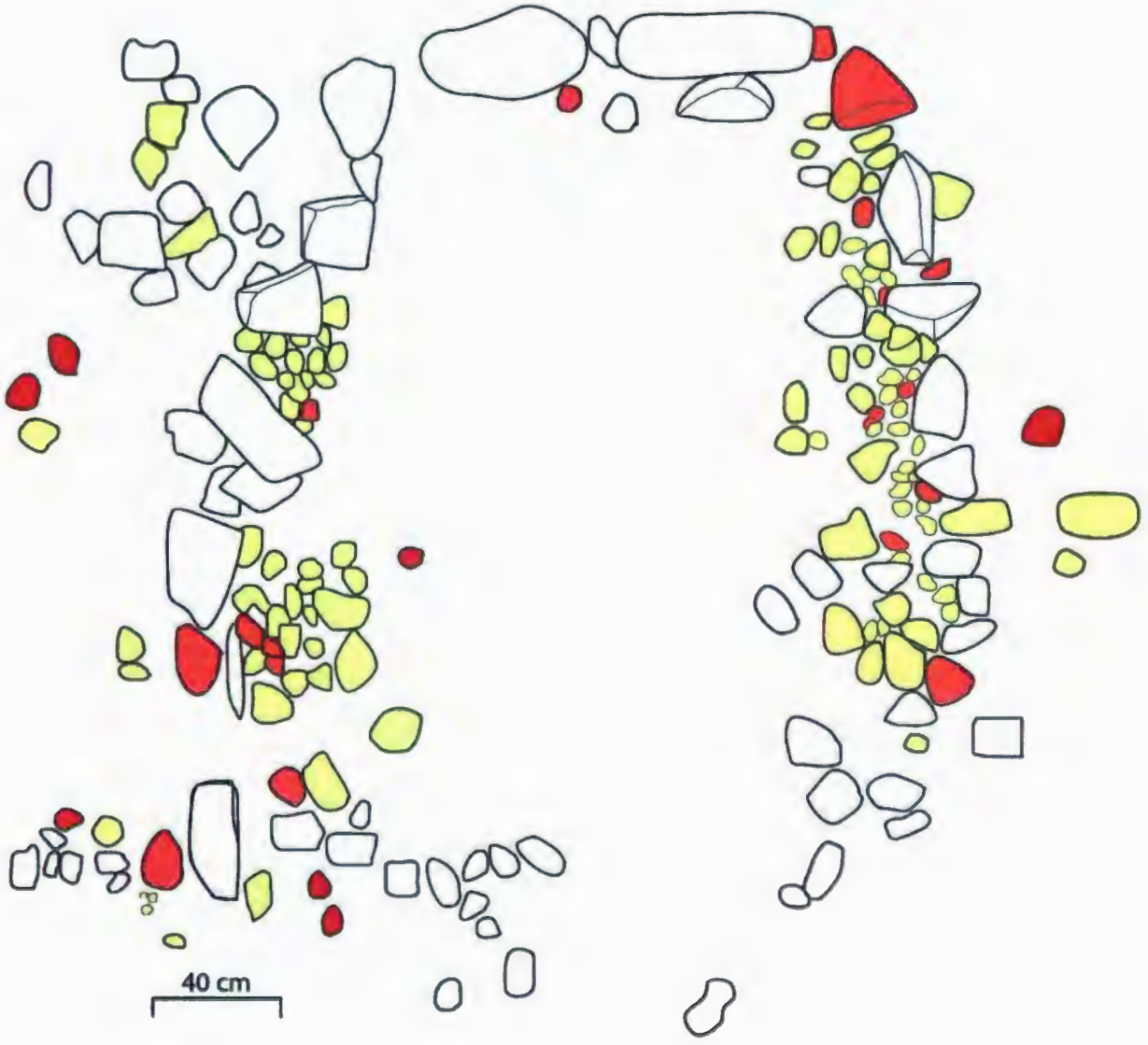
Feature L14, South shore, Walrus Island



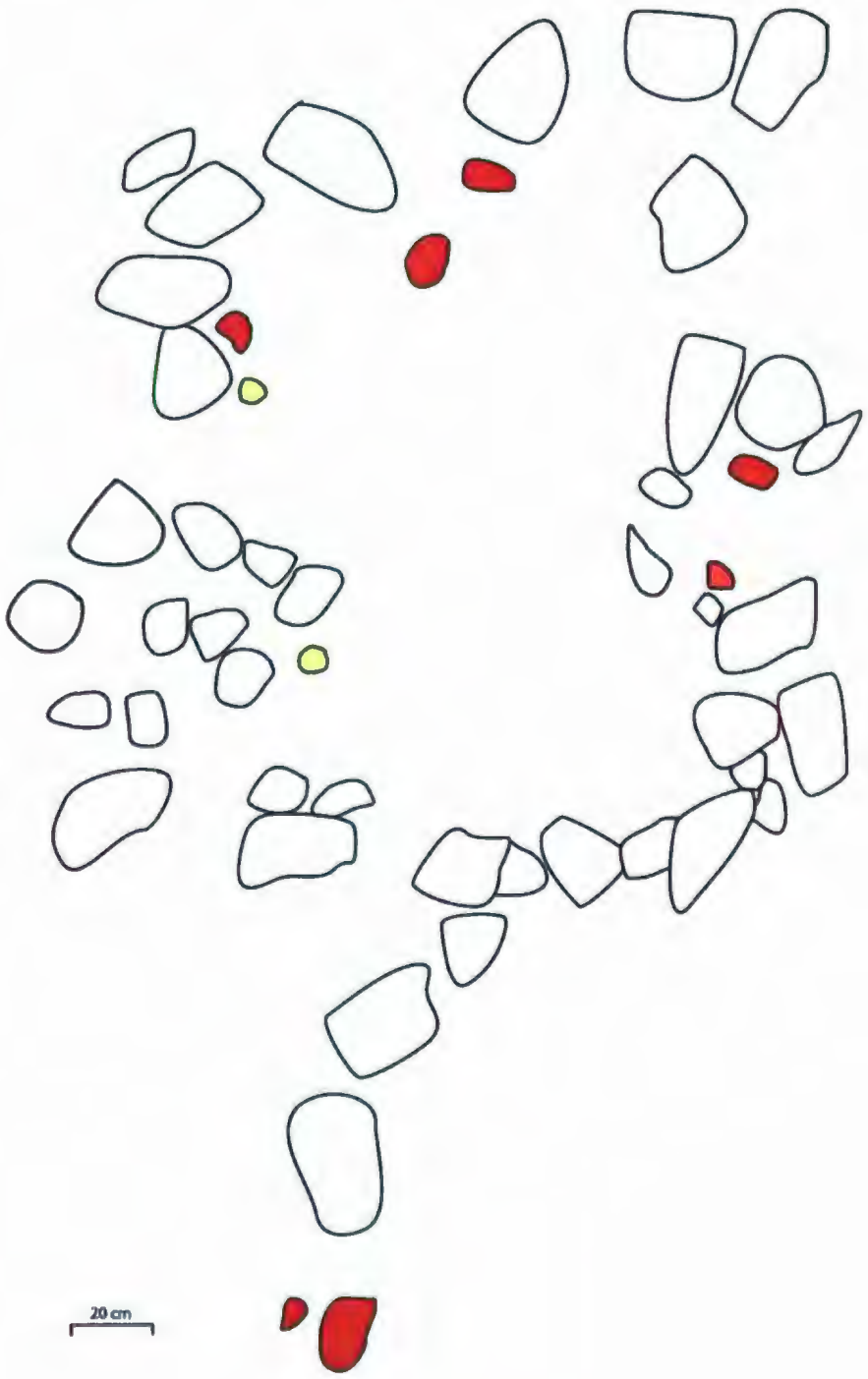
Feature L15, South shore, Walrus Island



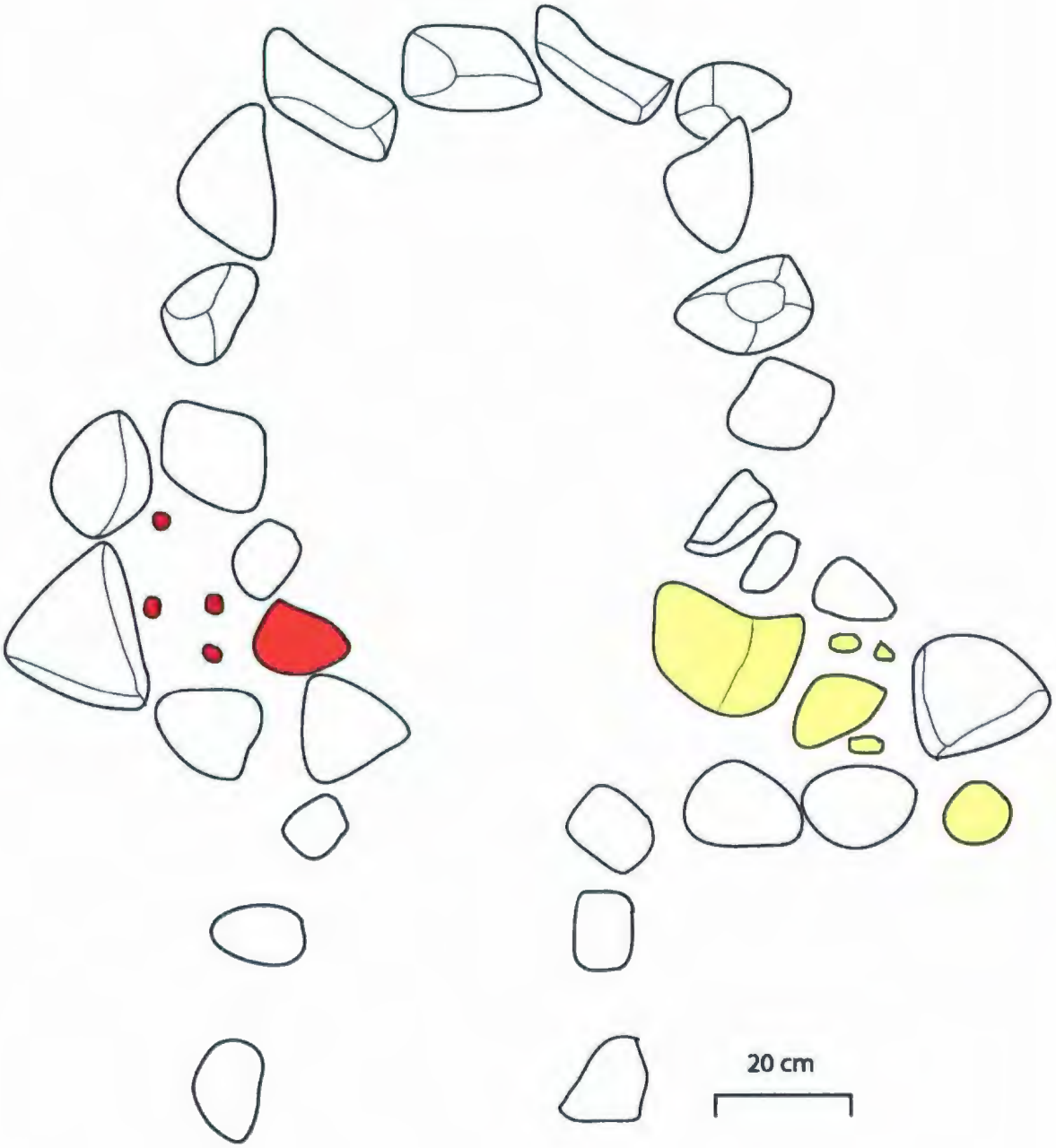
Feature L20, South, Walrus Island



Feature L21, Mid-West, Walrus Island

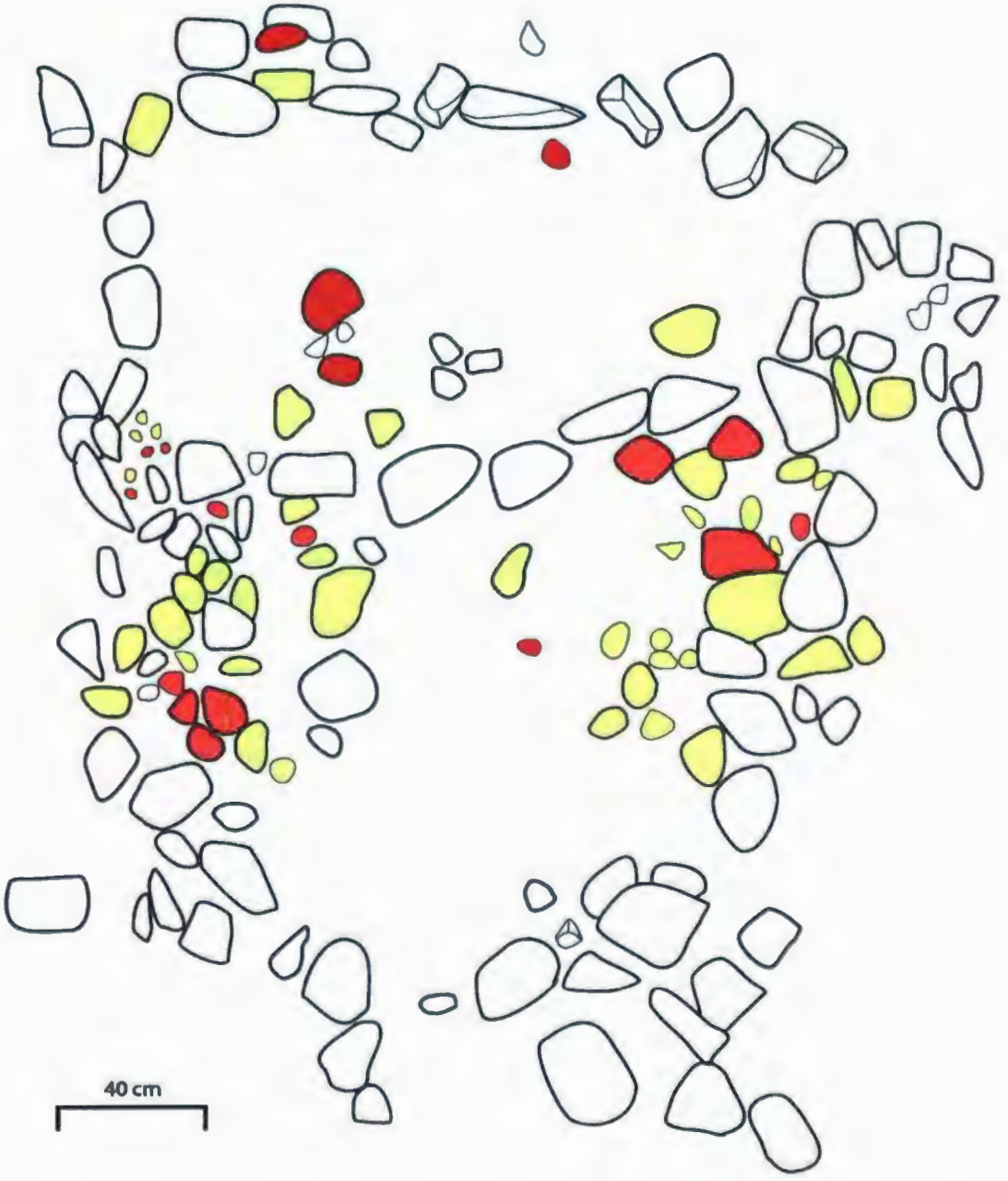


Feature L23, Mid-West, Walrus Island

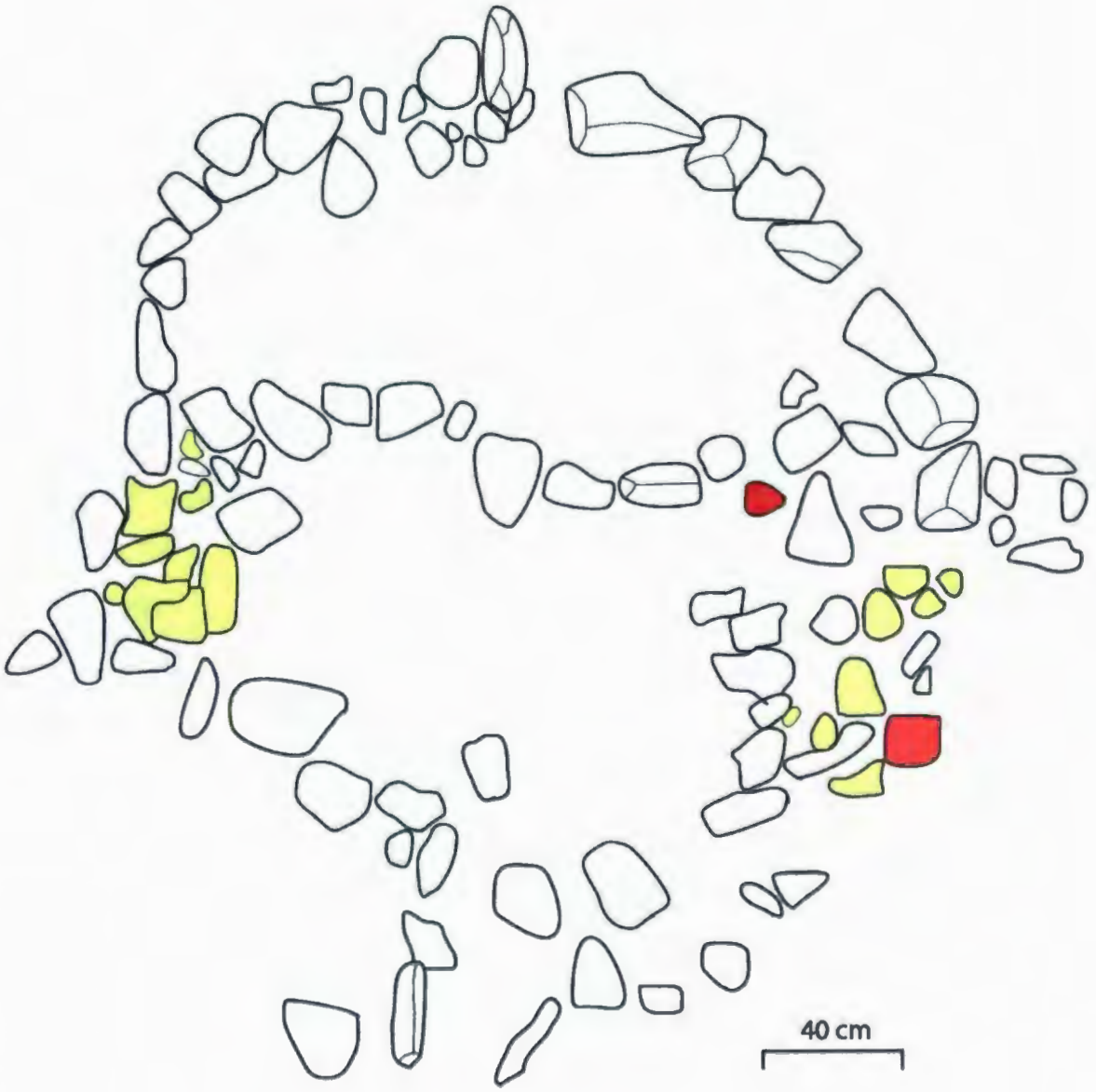


Feature L24, Vardenæs, Sabine Island

Feature L25, Vardenæs, Sabine Island



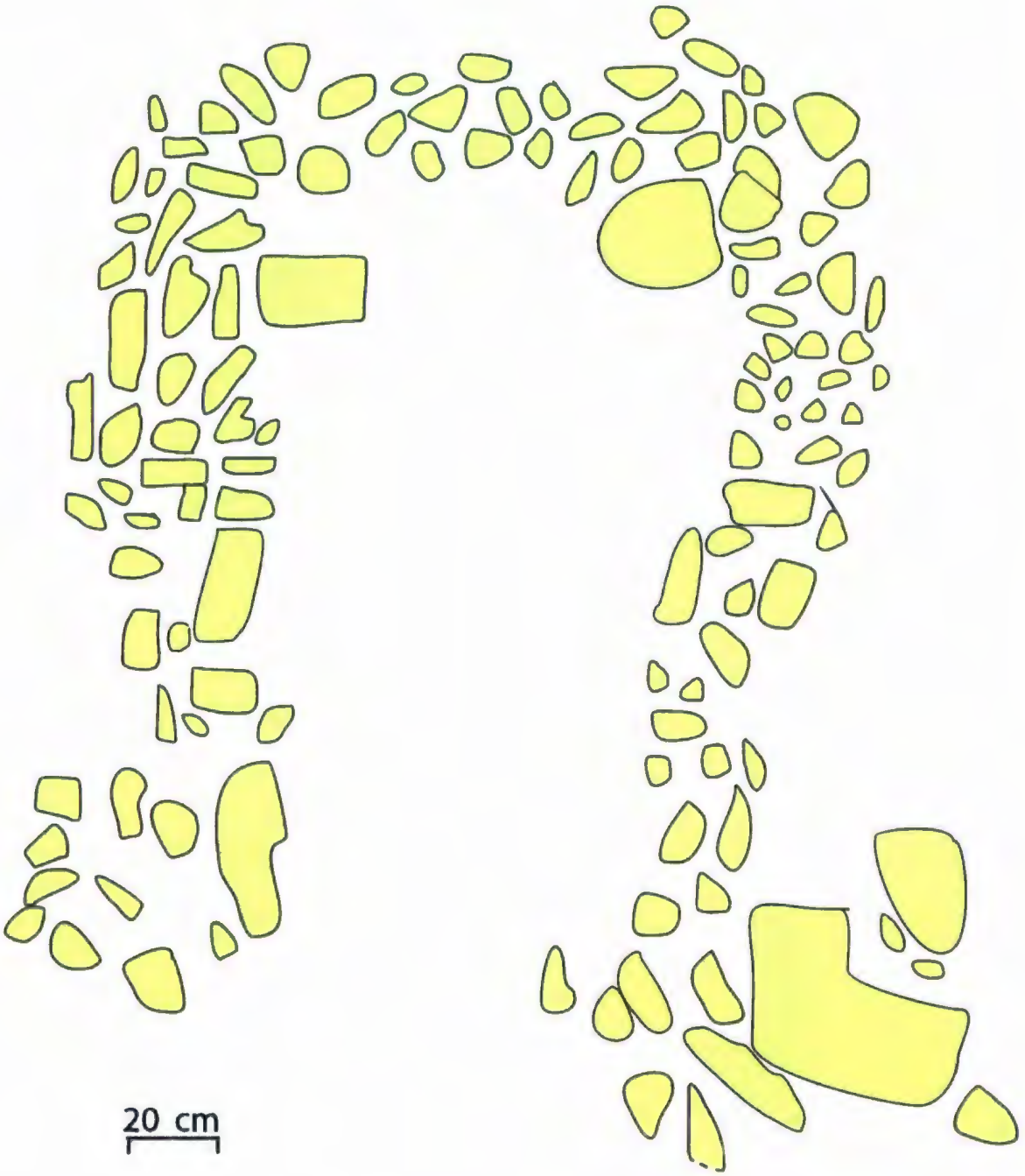
Feature L26, Vardenæs, Sabine Island



Feature L27, Vardenæs, Sabine Island

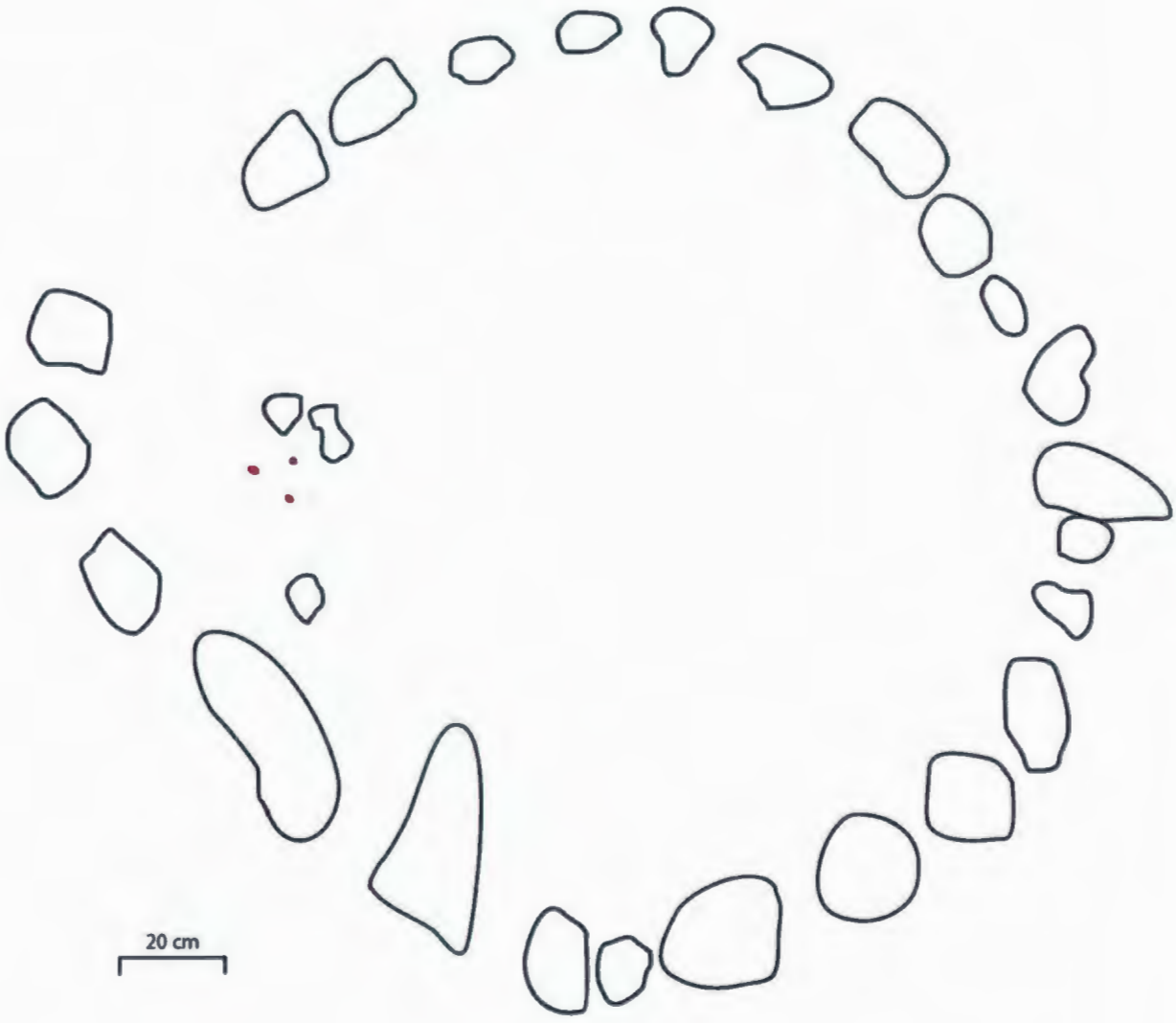
Feature L29, Cape Berghaus, Wollaston Forland

Feature L31, Cape Berghaus, Wollaston Forland

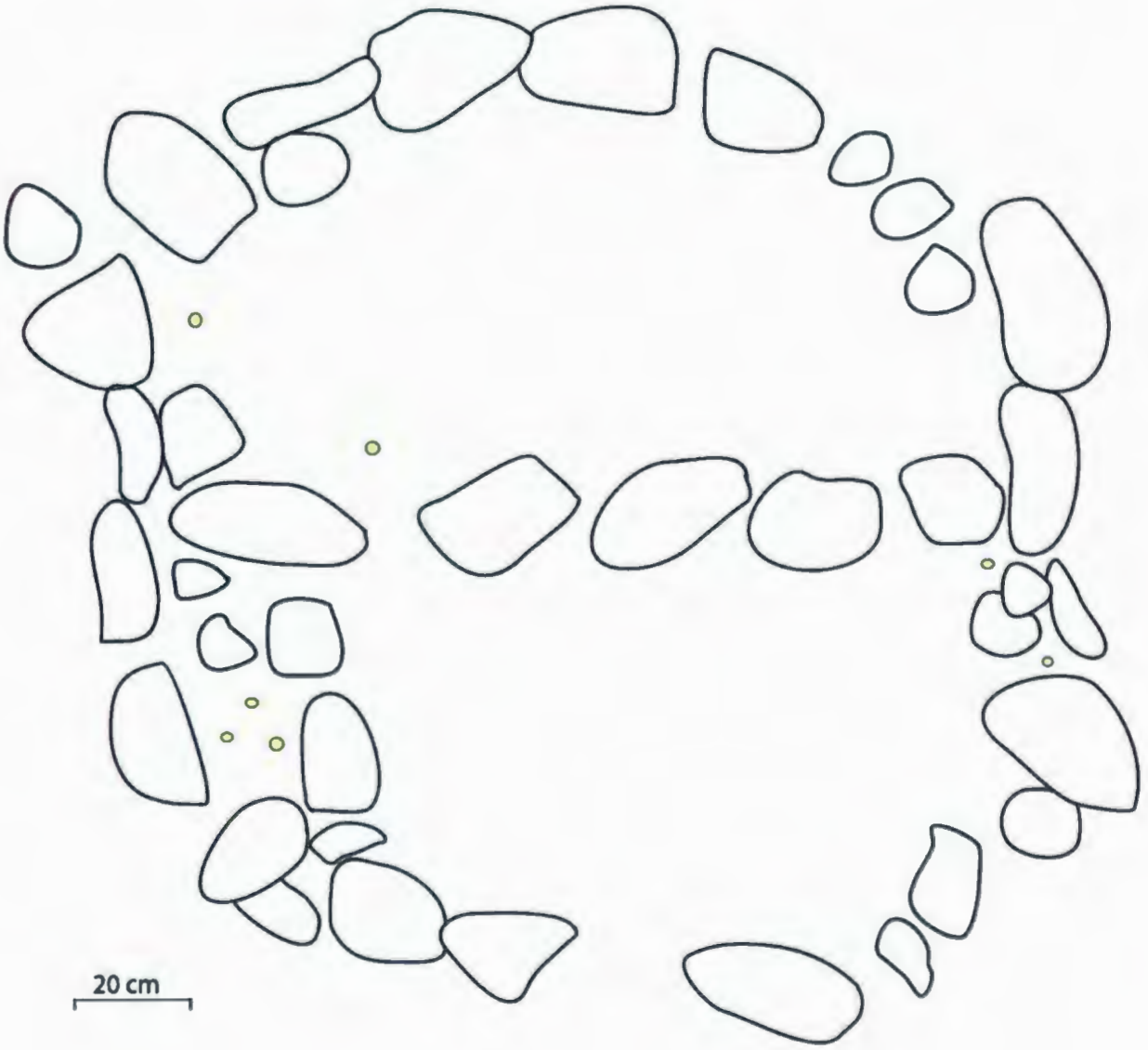


Feature L33, Cape Berghaus, Wollaston Forland

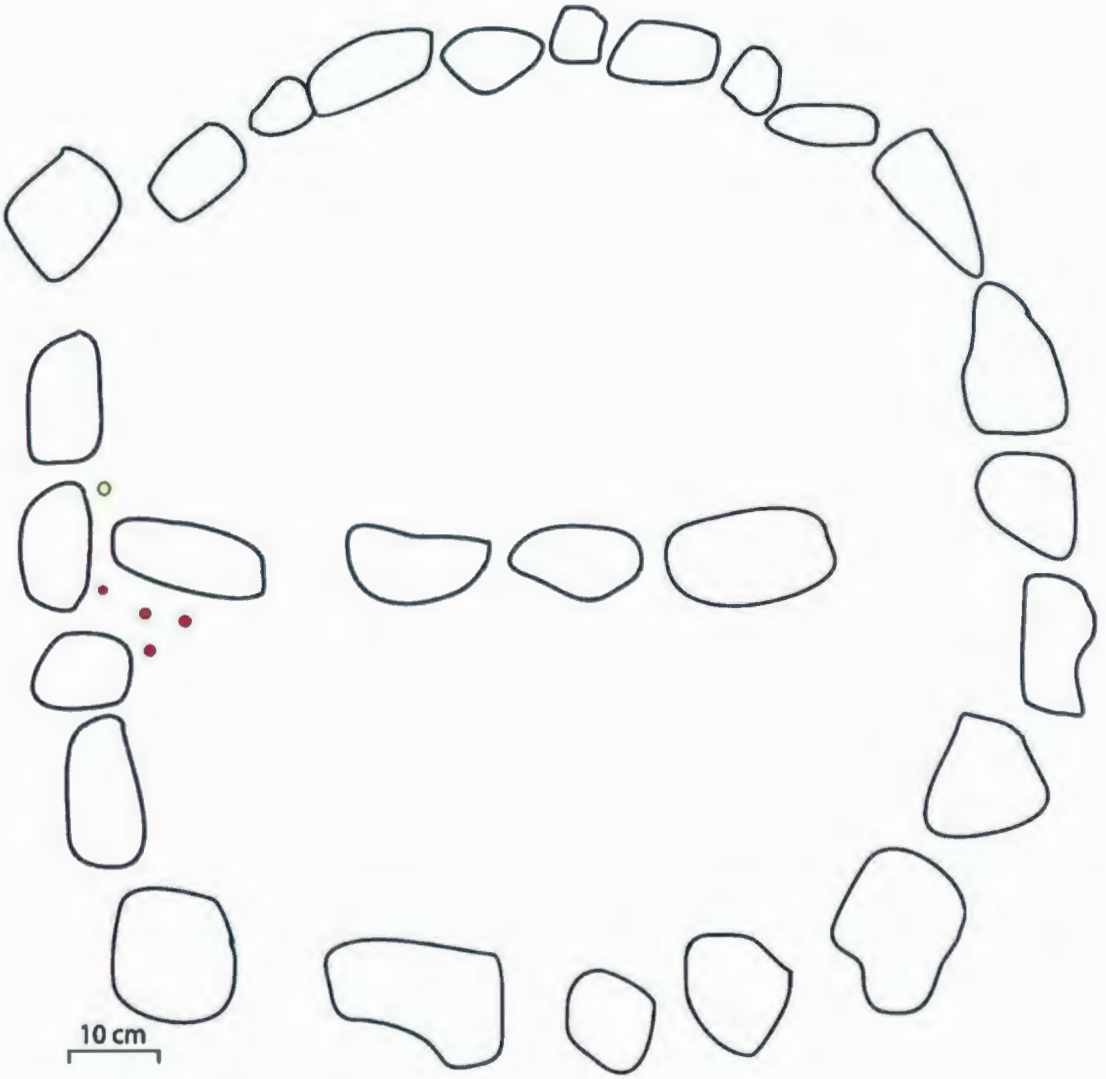
Replication of summer tent-ring



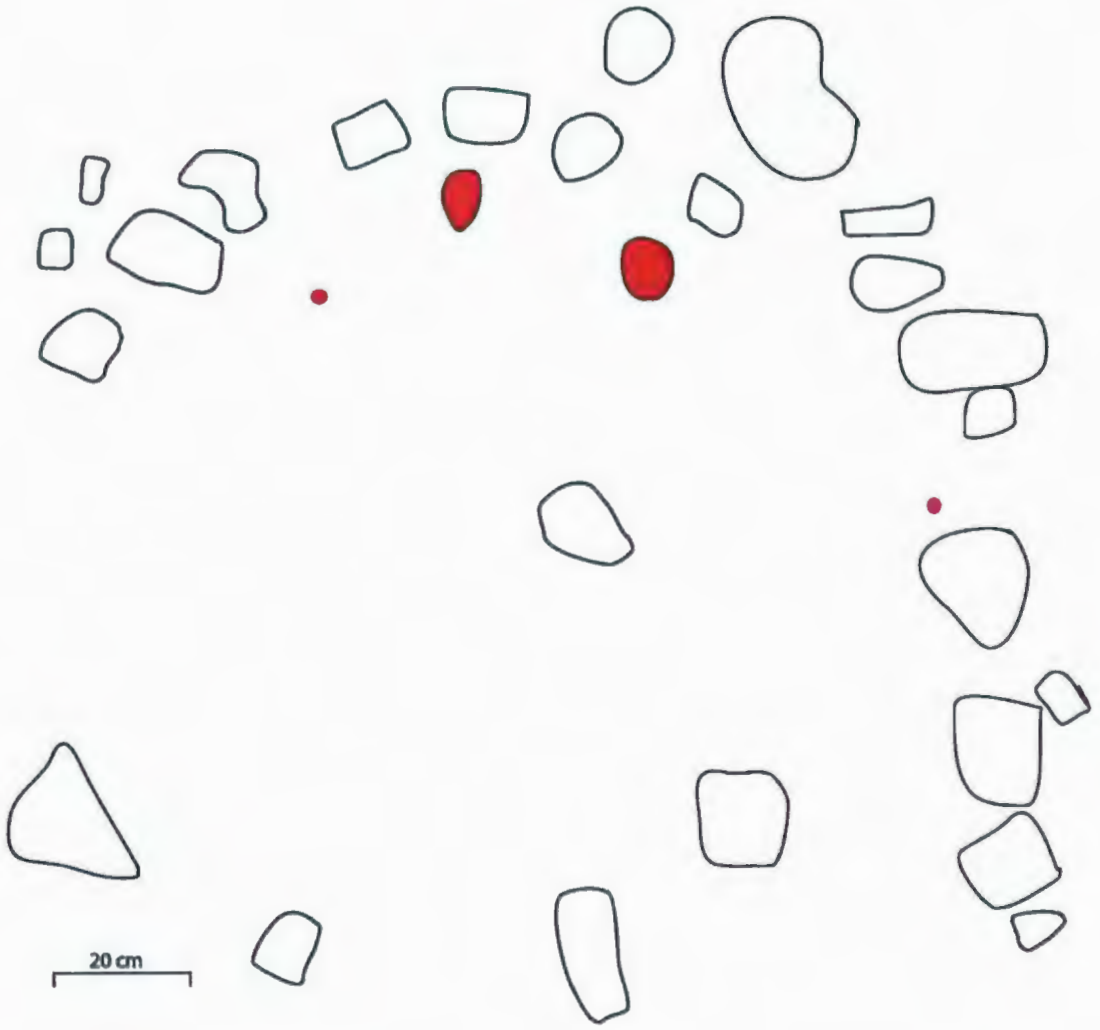
Feature L6, Mid-West, Walrus Island



Feature L17, South, Walrus Island



Feature L18, South Shore, Walrus Island

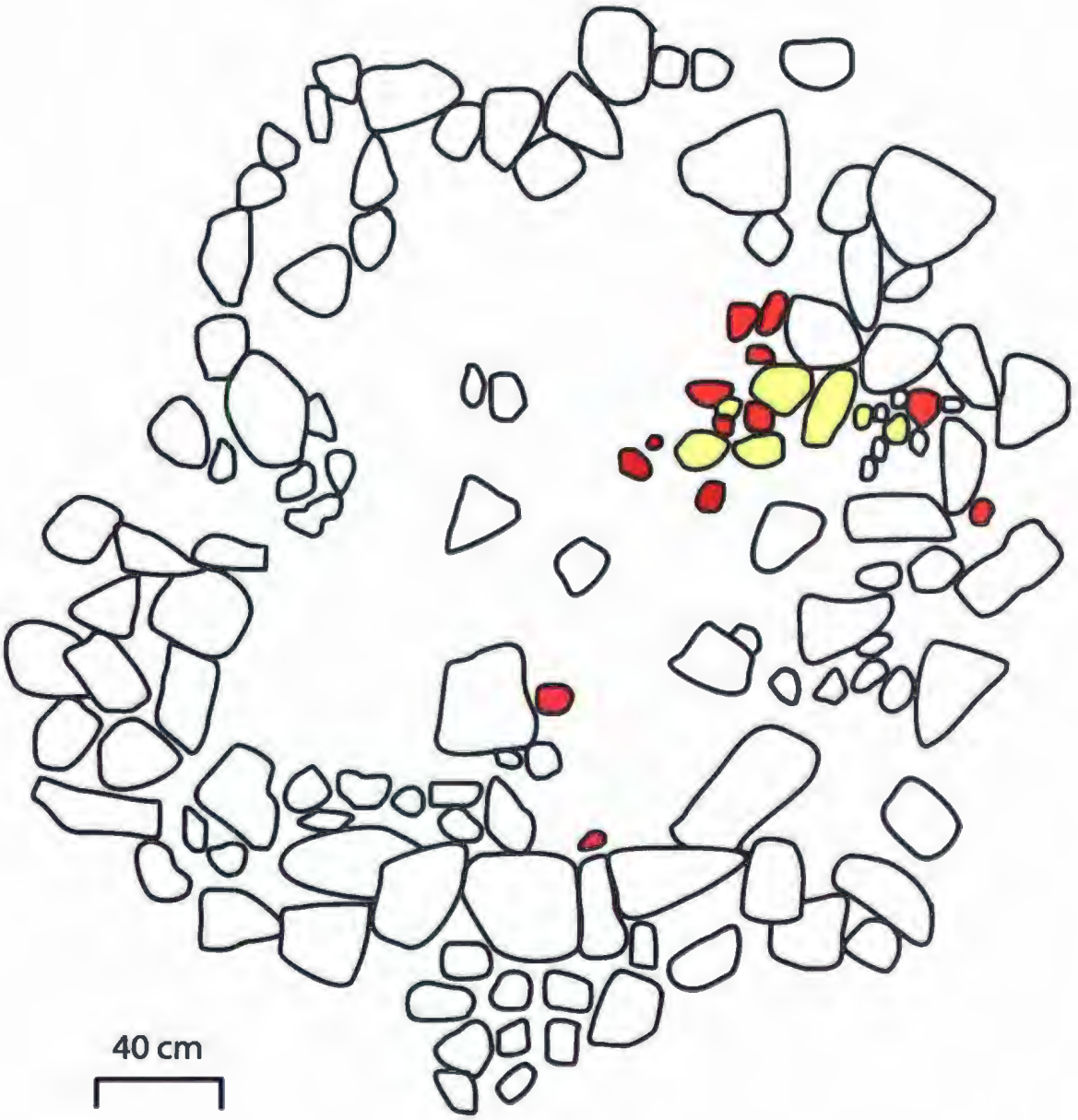


Feature L19, South shore, Walrus Island

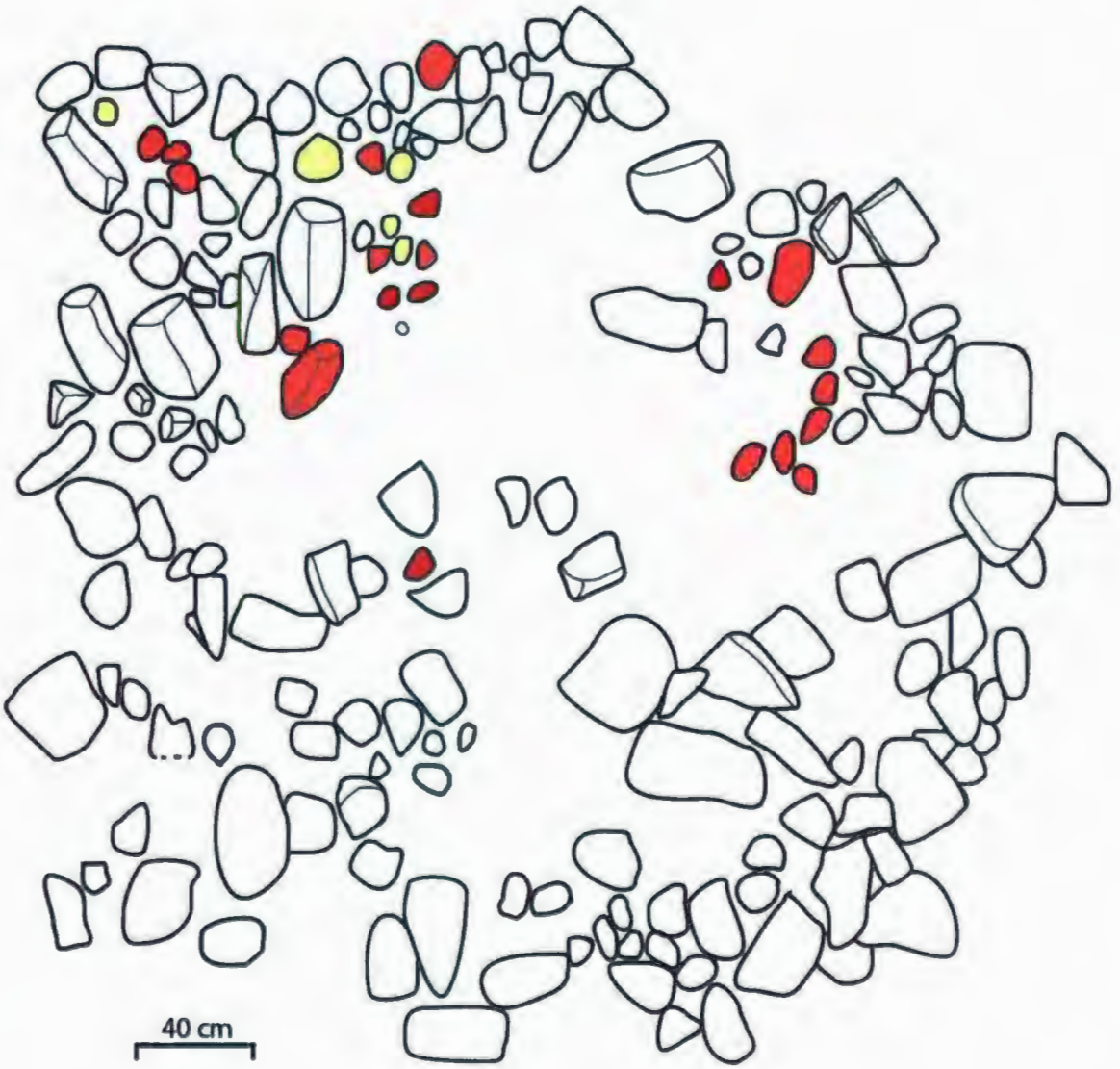
Feature L22, Mid-West, Walrus Island

Exploited tent-ring/shelter

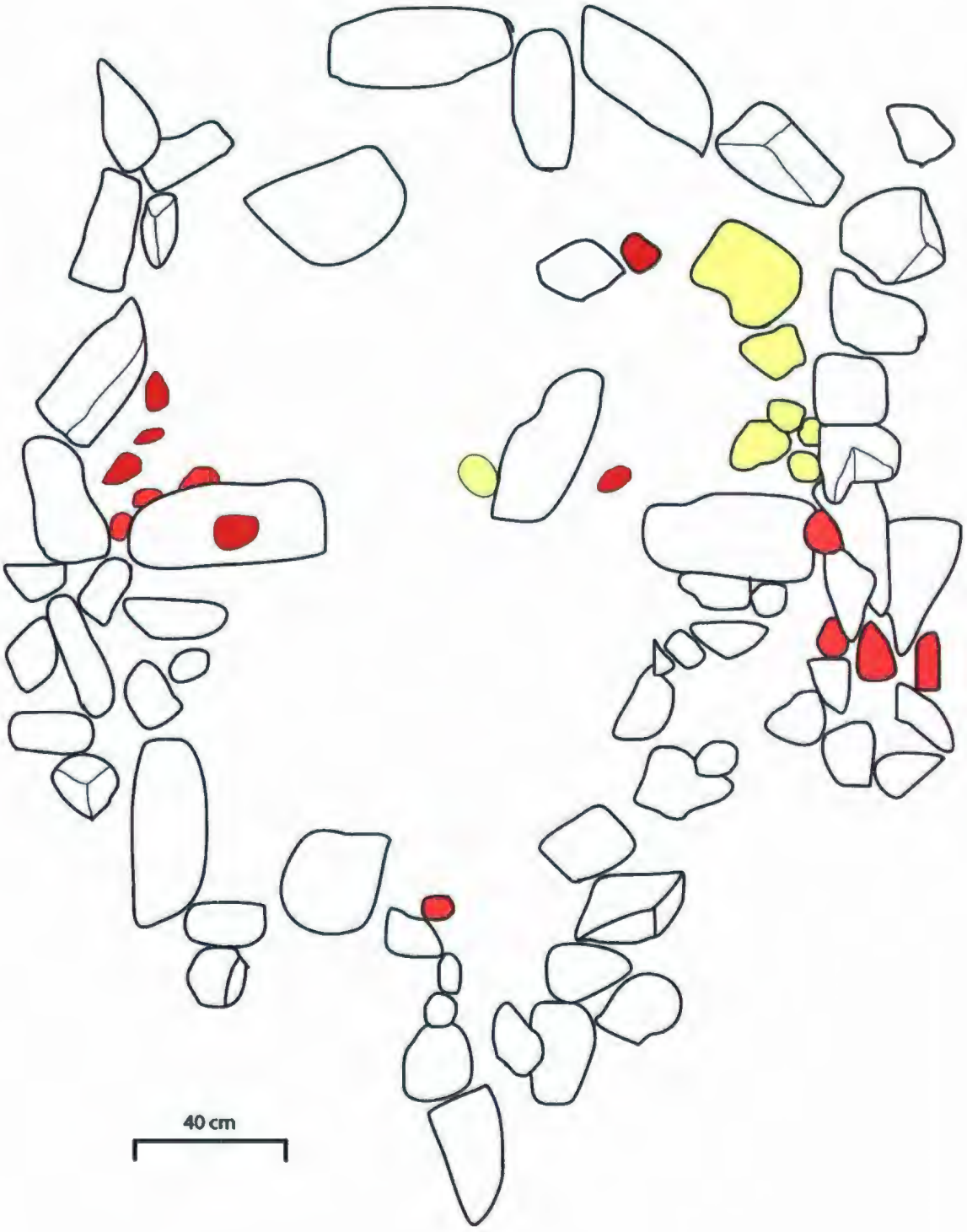
Feature L5, Northwest Corner, Walrus Island



Feature L7, Mid-West, Walrus Island

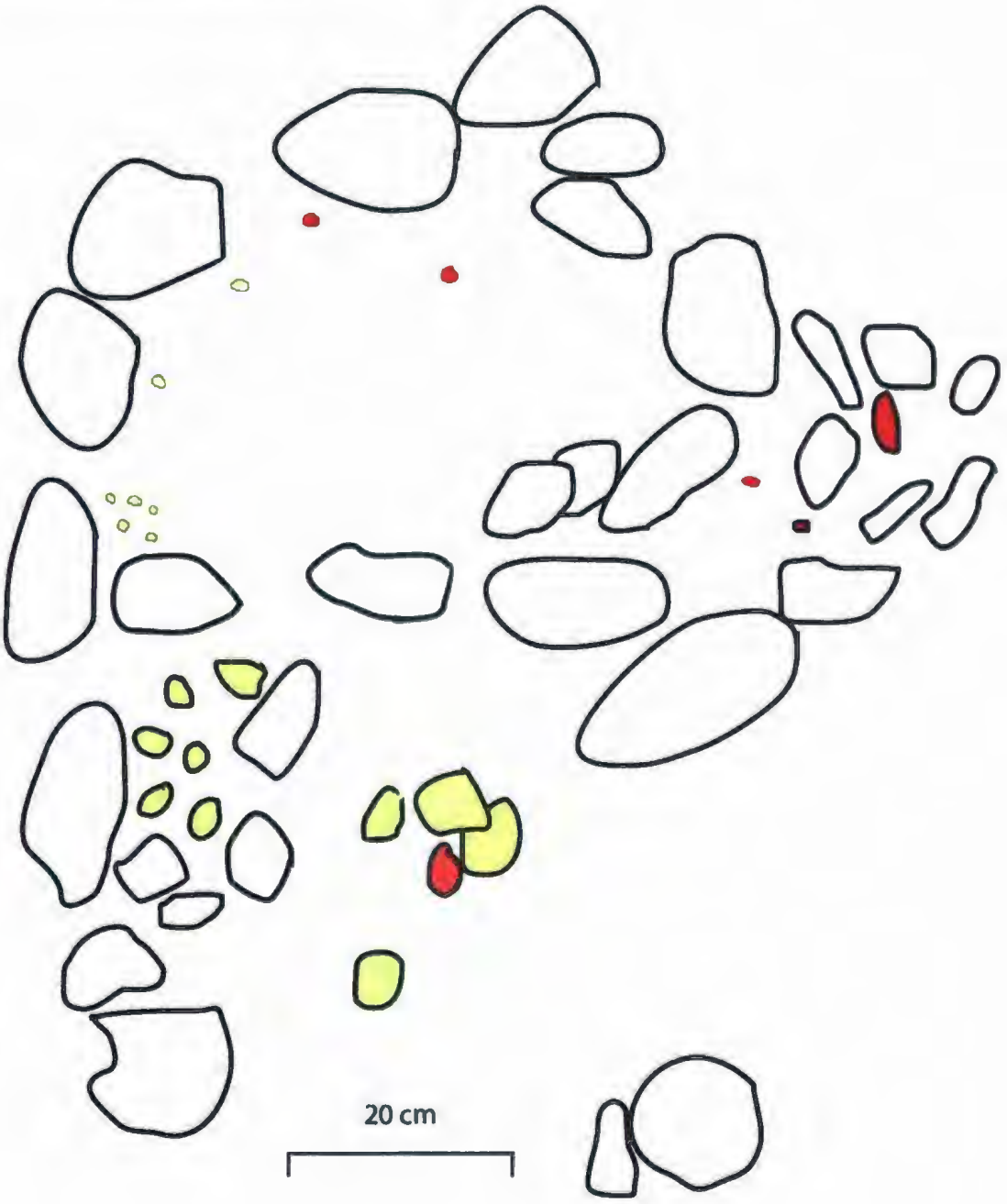


Feature L8, Mid-West, Walrus Island

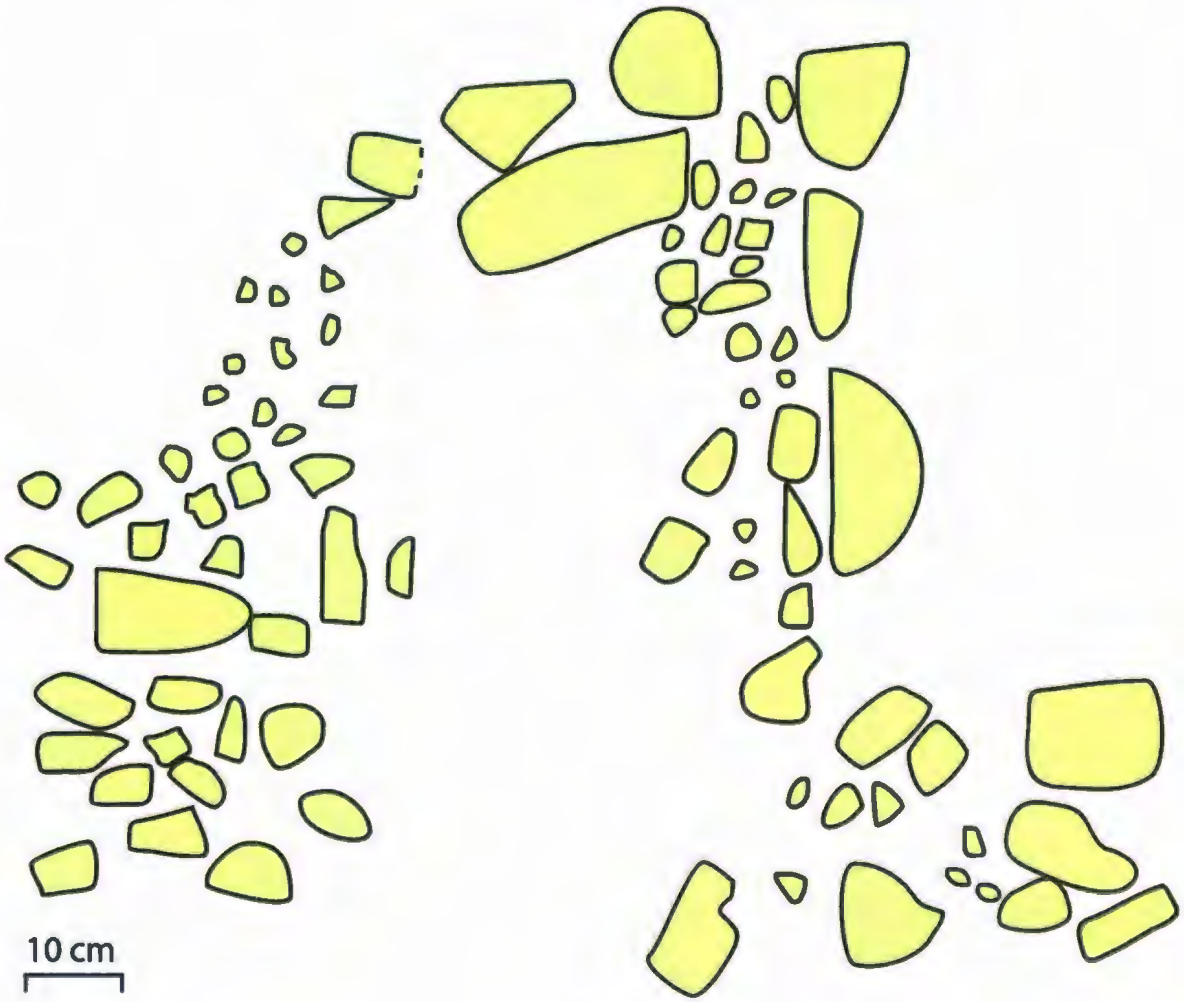


Feature L12, South shore, Walrus Island

Toy/doll house models

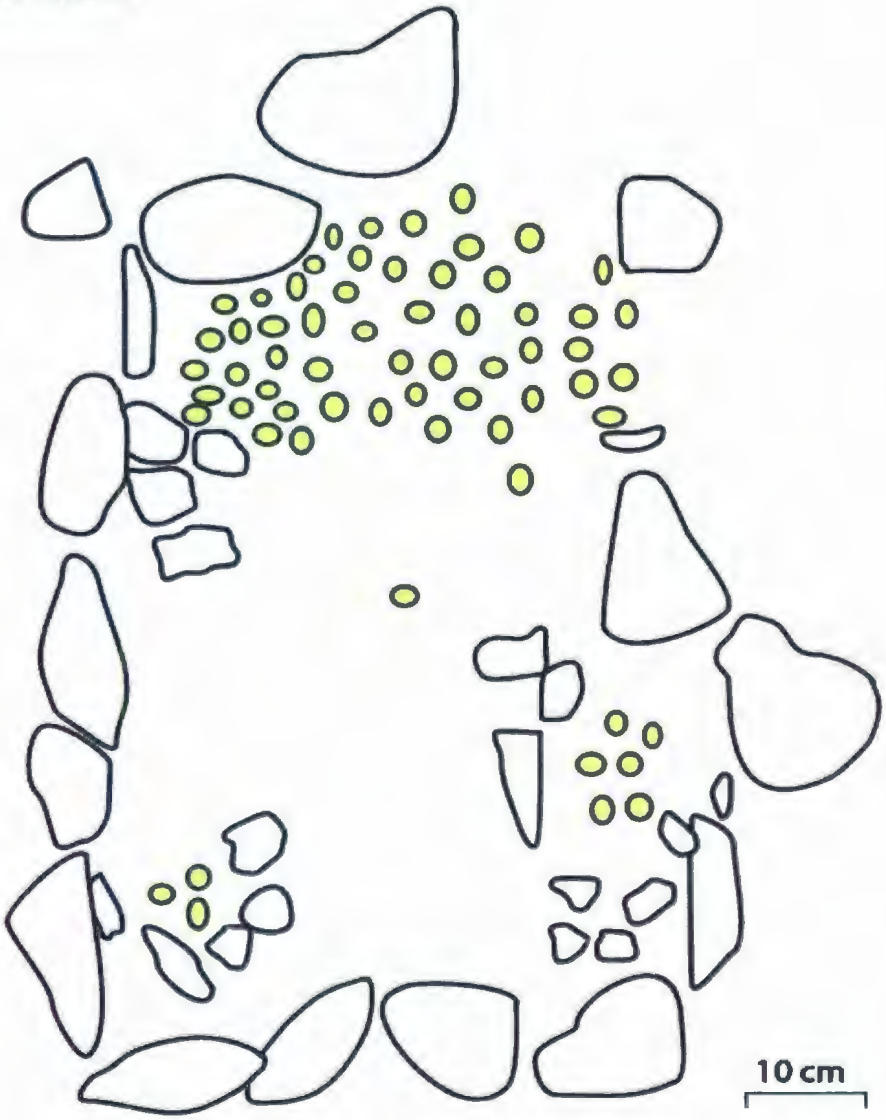


Feature L28, Vardenæs, Clavering Island

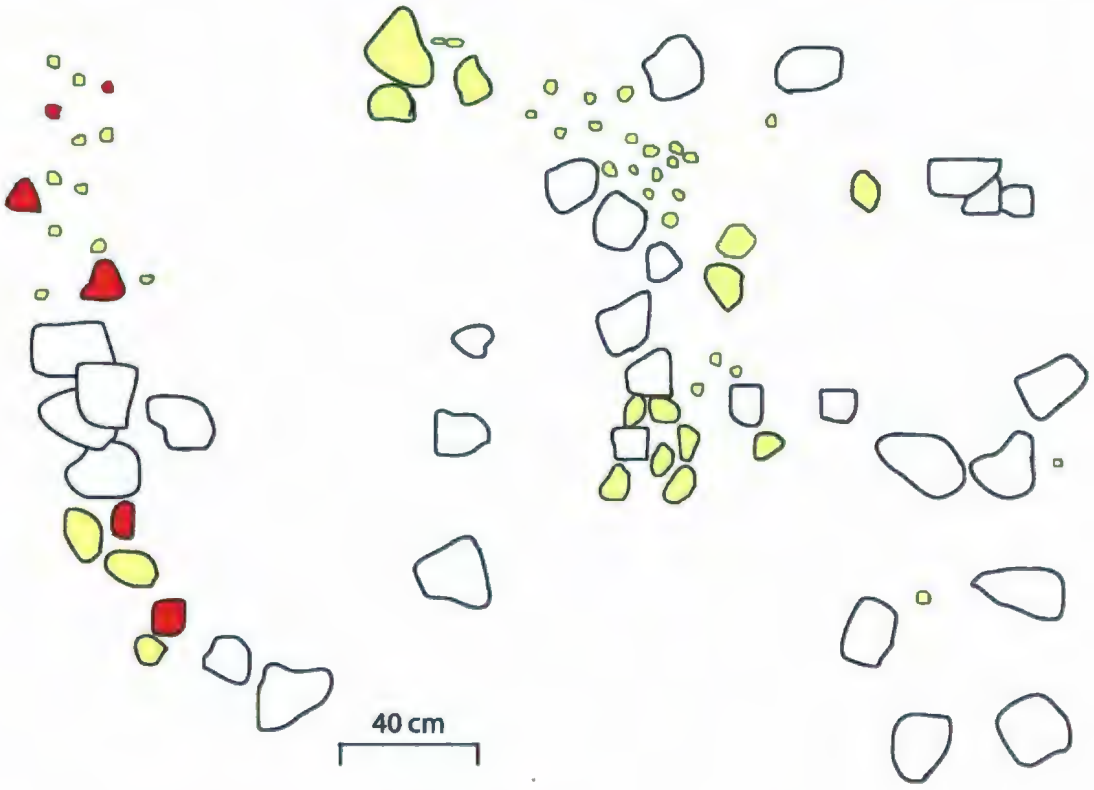


Feature L32, Cape Berghaus, Clavering Island

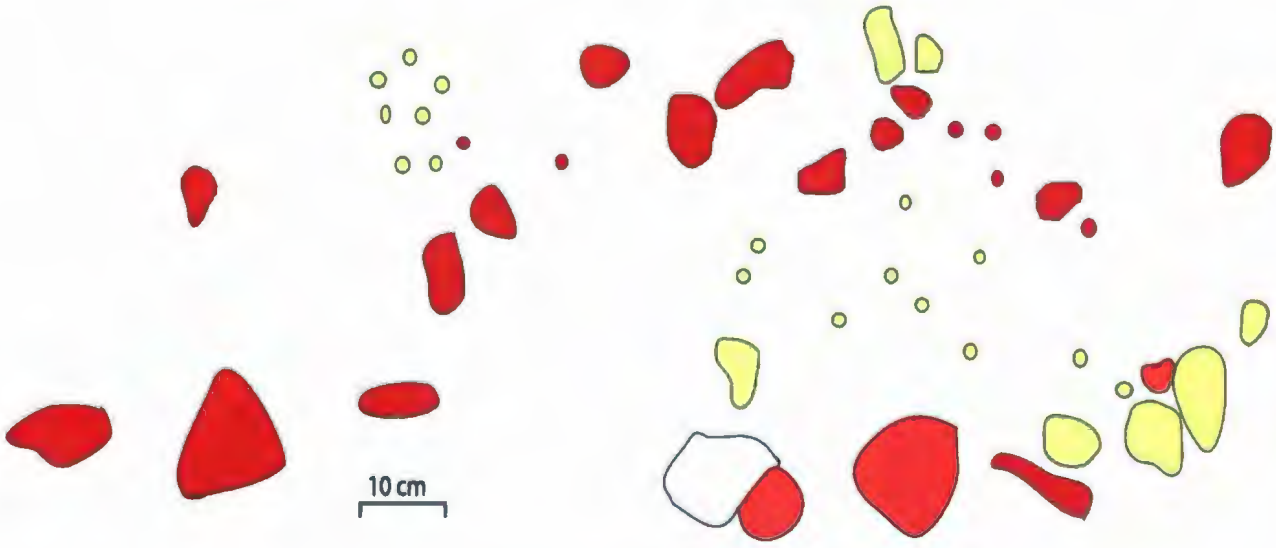
Diffuse structure



Feature L1, Fladstrand, Clavering Island



Feature L13, South shore, Walrus Island



Feature L16, South shore, Walrus Island

Feature L30, Cape Berghaus, Wollaston Forland

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