THE PORDEN POINT AND PORT REFUGE SITES, DEVON ISLAND, N.W.T.
PORDEN POINT AND PORT REFUGE:
THULE ESKIMO SITES
FROM THE
GRINNELL PENINSULA, DEVON ISLAND, N.W.T.

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ABSTRACT

An analysis is presented of collections deriving from four Thule Eskimo sites on the south coast of the Grinnell Peninsula, Devon Island, N.W.T. Three of the sites are winter habitations of three, five, and nine rock, sod, and whalebone houses respectively, while the fourth is an isolated rock cache. The artifacts found at the sites are almost all typical Thule culture types, although one Dorset culture carving and two objects of probable Norse origin were also found. Of the total of five winter houses excavated, one had structural evidence of multiple occupations. Establishment of the chronological position of the sites proved difficult, due to the necessity of rejecting the only radiocarbon dates obtained from any of the sites, and the small number of reliable temporal indicators, particularly harpoon heads. However, the sites appear to span the period from soon after the initial Thule occupation of the Eastern Arctic to the early fifteenth century.
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INTRODUCTION

During the summers of 1972, 1976 and 1977, excavations were carried out by Dr. Robert McGhee of the National Museum of Canada at a number of sites in the vicinity of the south coast of the Grinnell Peninsula, a northwesterly extension of Devon Island, N.W.T. Large portions of the findings from this fieldwork, specifically those relating to the occupations preceding the Thule culture in the area, have already been published (McGhee 1976; 1979; 1981). This report presents a study of the material deriving from the Thule culture occupations at two locations, Porden Point and Port Refuge.

Porden Point (76° 15' N, 93° 40' W) is a low gravel spit located at the southeastern corner of the Grinnell Peninsula, forming the western edge of Prince Alfred Bay. Port Refuge (76° 17' N, 94° 45' W) is a small bay located thirty kilometres to the west of Porden Point on the southern coast of the Grinnell Peninsula (Figures 2 and 3).

A single village of five Thule culture winter houses (RbJu-1) was found at Port Refuge, while three groups of Thule winter houses were found at Porden Point. The Porden Point Brook Village site (RbJr-1) was made up of nine houses, while the Porden Point Pond Village site (RbJr-4) consisted of three houses. Excavations were carried out at both of these sites, but
Figure 1. Locations of some of the principal Thule sites in the Canadian Arctic and Greenland.
a small site of two winter houses (RbJr-5) was not excavated. In addition, the investigation of a Thule cache (RbJr-7) produced a sizeable collection of artifacts (McGhee n.d.a.).

A fairly detailed description of the geology and environment of this part of Devon Island has been published by McGhee (1979:3-5). Therefore, only a brief discussion of these factors will be presented here.

Geologically, much of the Grinnell Peninsula is classified as belonging to the Cornwallis Fold Belt. Port Refuge is located near one edge of a physiographic region known as the Cornwallis-Grinnell Uplands, while Porden Point falls within a band of coastal lowlands bordering Prince Alfred Bay (Fortier et al 1963:156, 172-173).

A recurring polynya known as "Penny's North Water" appears annually in the channel separating the Sheills Peninsula, which is just west of Port Refuge, from Dundas Island twenty kilometres to the south (Lindsay 1977; McGhee 1979:4). Today this polynya acts as an attraction for ringed and bearded seals, walrus, beluga, narwhal, and bear. Land mammals presently available on Grinnell Peninsula include caribou, muskox, arctic fox, arctic hare, and wolf. Some migratory bird species are also available, as are a few fish (McGhee 1981:1; Banfield 1974).

Today this part of Grinnell Peninsula lies within a climatic region defined by J. B. Maxwell (1981: Figure 7; Table 2) as "sub-region Ic". It is characterized by mean January and
Figure 2. Devon Island and the Grinnell Peninsula.
July temperatures of \(-33^\circ\text{C}\) and \(3^\circ\text{C}\) respectively, and has only seventy days per year when the mean daily temperature remains at or above \(0^\circ\text{C}\). Precipitation averages approximately one hundred and fifty millimetres per year, of which thirty-five to forty per cent falls as rain.

This present-day data must be used with caution when attempting to interpret the archaeological record, however, as oxygen-isotope analysis from the Devon Island ice cap three hundred and fifty kilometres to the east reveals many significant fluctuations in mean temperature. Since A.D. 1200, brief warm periods have peaked at 1240 and 1380, while colder periods have peaked at 1310, 1430, 1520, and 1560 (Paterson et al 1977:510). These changes may have affected the availability of some animal resources.

Background to the fieldwork

Prior to 1972, the commencement of the Port Refuge Project, knowledge concerning the Thule culture occupation of the High Arctic was not extensive. Much of the definitive work done on the Thule culture was done among the Low Arctic Islands or on the mainland coast (Mathiassen 1927a). Almost all of the data pertaining to the High Arctic and Thule development in this area came from Holtved's (1944a; 1954) extensive excavations in the Thule district of northern Greenland and Collins' (1951; 1952) excavations near Resolute on Cornwallis Island. Other important work was that done at several sites on northern Ellesmere Island.
(Maxwell 1960) and on Bathurst Island at the Deblicquy site

The only archaeological work done on Devon Island itself
prior to the commencement of the 1972 field season involved
limited excavation of Thule and Dorset remains near Cape Hardy
and Cape Sparbo on the north coast of the island (Lethbridge
1939; Lowther 1962). A collection of artifacts from the south
coast which includes some very early Thule forms represents the
only other previously reported evidence of occupation of the
Island (Taylor 1963:458).

Thus, the Port Refuge and Porden Point excavations come
from the centre of a large and relatively unknown area
archaeologically. And the majority of the excavations that have
produced quantities of diagnostic artifacts sufficient for
reasonably valid intersite comparisons of chronological and
cultural similarity come from the Low Arctic. This makes it
difficult to assess whether observed differences between the Port
Refuge and Porden Point sites and other sites result from
chronological separation between the sites or from regional
differences within the Thule culture.

Morrison (1983:11-19) has summarized the present
understanding of Thule chronology in the Canadian Arctic and
Greenland. Following McCartney (1977:219), he feels that the
occupation of the area can be divided into a short initial
settlement period followed by two phases, Classic Thule and
Modified Thule. McCartney suggested dates of roughly A.D. 900 to 1200 for a Classic phase which included the initial settlement of the area, and dates of roughly A.D. 1200 to 1600 for Modified Thule. Morrison (1983:17) feels that the change to Modified Thule probably occurred around A.D. 1300 rather than the earlier date, based on radiocarbon evidence.

Reported sites with components thought to relate to the initial occupation of the region include the M1 site on Cornwallis Island, the Nugdlit and Ruin Island sites in northwestern Greenland, the Skraeling Island site just off eastern Ellesmere Island, Brooman Point on Bathurst Island, Nunguvik on northern Baffin Island, and perhaps Crystal II on southern Baffin Island, Naujan in Repulse Bay, and Malerualik on King William Island (Morrison 1983:11-14). However, several of these sites have later components and some are only published in a preliminary form. Classic Thule sites include Naujan, the Thule type-site, Qilalukan and Mitimatalik on northern Baffin Island, Kuk on Southampton Island, Levesque Harbour on the Boothia Peninsula, Learmonth on Somerset Island, and Umanaq, Comer's Midden and Inuarfigssuak in northwestern Greenland (Morrison 1983:15-16). Modified Thule sites include the later occupation of the Kuk site and much of Schledermann's (1975) Cumberland Sound sequence (Morrison 1983:18).

It will be against this general framework that the Port Refuge and Porden Point sites will be studied. Comparisons for
individual functional and stylistic types are presented in an attempt to illustrate the geographical and temporal range of these types but such comparisons are not necessarily exhaustive. Individual functional types have been identified as to function on the basis of similarity in form to artifacts identified in other reports, and where there is doubt as to the actual function, such identifications are offered for comparative purposes only.
Figure 4. Porden Point, showing the locations of the sites described in the text.
PORDEN POINT BROOK VILLAGE

The Porden Point Brook Village (RbJr-1) is located on the inland slope of a gravel beach ridge four metres above sea level, approximately twelve hundred metres west of the tip of Porden Point and three hundred metres from its northern coast (Figure 4). The site straddles a curved section of a shallow brook draining a lake in the centre of the point. It consists of nine semi-subterranean houses with walls of sod and rock, most of which have a fair amount of whalebone in their interiors. The bones of a minimum of sixteen bowhead whales were identified on the site. Six of the houses line the brook on one side, while the remaining three are located at the west end of the site on the other side of the brook (Figure 5).

Two houses were chosen for excavation, House 5, because it appeared to be well preserved and because it was the driest house and thus the easiest to thaw, and House 7, whose apparent rectangular shape and comparative lack of whalebone suggested that it might represent an early occupation of the site.

Ten days were spent at Porden Point in 1976 excavating these houses, a house at the nearby Porden Point Pond Village site, and surveying. However, the houses did not thaw enough during that time to permit completion of the excavation, so that the site was returned to in 1977 for five days while these
Figure 5. RbJr-1 site plan: Houses 5 and 7 were excavated.
excavations were finished. A total of two hundred and thirty-two artifacts were recovered from the site, along with numerous pieces of mica, skin, baleen, etc., and large quantities of faunal bone.

House 5

House 5 was overlain by a considerable amount of whalebone, including approximately thirty ribs, two mandibles, three maxilla fragments, eight vertebrae, two scapulae, and one skull. Some of the buried whalebone was much more weathered than the rest, suggesting that it was scavenged, possibly from abandoned houses.

Excavation of the roof fall revealed layers of peat underlying gravel, probably indicating that the roof sods had been put on upside down. The roof fall over the platform area was ten to fifteen centimetres thick. In the central floor area of the house the roof fall was underlain by a layer of clear ice.

Upon excavation, the house proved to be oval in shape, with a flagged floor which was covered with a tangle of baleen, and a single rear sleeping platform, the front edge of which was supported with large elongated boulders. The back of the platform rested on gravel. The floor was situated fifty-five centimetres below the surrounding ground level, with the platform raised above it twenty centimetres. A small cooking alcove was located to the right of the inclined entrance passage. Thirty-nine artifacts were found in House 5.
Figure 6. Porden Point Brook Village House 5 before excavation, viewed from the southwest.
Figure 7. RbJr-1 House 5: excavation plan.
Figure 8. Porden Point Brook Village House 5 after the 1976 excavations, viewed from the southwest.
A midden area of about five square metres was located approximately two metres to the southeast of House 5, associated with it and/or with House 4. Excavation of a one metre square within the midden produced large quantities of bones and cinders but no artifacts.

House 7

House 7 was chosen for study partly due to its apparent rectangular outline, but upon excavation proved to be oval in shape, with a single rear sleeping platform, flagged floor, and cooking alcove to the right of the door. However, almost all of the wall rocks had collapsed inward and the platform slabs were mostly missing. It also contained very little whalebone. The stumps of whalebone roof supports were found, but the roof form could not be determined. In the floor area, the roof fall of this house also lay on a layer of clear ice.

Removal of what remained of the platform, which had been covered with baleen strips and willow twigs, revealed a layer of mixed fill and bones one to three centimetres thick, underlain by a two centimetre layer of clean beach gravel. Beneath this was a second, well preserved platform covered with a mixture of baleen, willow twigs, and moss. Removal of this second platform revealed a third layer of platform slabs, also covered with willow, moss and baleen bedding material. This platform was underlain by a solid mass of bones, mostly seal, and some well preserved skin artifacts, all soaked in blubber.
Figure 9. Pordan Point Brook Village House 7 before excavation, viewed from the west.
Figure 10. RbJr-1 House 7: first level excavation plan.
Figure 11. Porden Point Brook Village House 7 after excavation, viewed from the east.
The first flagged floor was also underlain by a second, separated from it by five centimetres of muck, bone, and baleen fragments, and lying one metre below the surrounding ground level. Beneath this floor, in its centre, a square cavity thirty centimetres on each side was found, formed of whale phalanges. This was possibly used as a cache.

Thus, the history of House 7 involved at least three occupations, with substantial renovations occurring twice. After abandonment, most of the whalebone superstructure of the house and some of the platform slabs were removed, presumably for use in another house. A total of one hundred and ninety-three artifacts were recovered from this house.
PORDEN POINT BROOK VILLAGE ARTIFACTS

SEA MAMMAL HUNTING

Harpoon heads

RbJr-l-169 (House 7, between floors #1 and #2; Plate 1b) is a Thule type 2 harpoon head made of bone, 129 mm long. It has an open socket, drilled line hole, no inserted end-blade, and one lateral barb (broken off) on the same side as the robust lateral spur. If a barb was ever present on the other side of the harpoon head, no evidence for it remains. Lashing slots are cut through shallow lateral ridges, and a lashing of sinew is present. The base is cut obliquely, and there is a sharp base/spur margin. Harpoon heads with this exact combination of attributes are extremely rare in the literature. Ford (1959: Fig 30h) illustrates one, but, from the discussion in the text, it appears likely that this harpoon head originally had two opposed barbs. Mathiassen (1927b:15) grouped the single-barbed forms along with those with opposed barbs as Thule type 2, and harpoon heads with the same attributes as RbJr-l-169 but having two opposed barbs are common on many Thule sites.

RbJr-l-136a (House 7, wall around platform; Plate 1a) is a Thule
type 2 harpoon head, made of antler and 108 mm long. It has an open socket, two opposed barbs and a drilled line-hole. Lashing slots are cut into lateral ridges. The base of the harpoon head is cut obliquely and there is a sharp lateral spur. The base/spur margin is only moderately sharp. An end-blade slot is cut parallel to the line-hole. Proximal to this, roughly equidistant from it and from the base of the barbs, is a longitudinal slot cut through the harpoon head parallel to the line-hole, apparently for the insertion of side-blades.

Such side-blade slots cut parallel to the plane of the line-hole are known from St. Lawrence Island (Geist and Rainey 1936: Pl. 52_1, 58g, 69_1-4; Collins 1937: Fig. 24) and Point Barrow (Ford 1959: Fig. 27d, e) but only from unbarbed harpoon head types associated with Punuk and Birnirk culture occupations. This type of side-blade slot has not been reported from the Canadian Arctic. Thule type 2 harpoon heads with end-blade slots parallel to the line-hole are, however, known from other sites here. Specimens with lashing slots are known from Inuarfigssuak (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 3g) and the Late Thule component at Walakpa (Stanford 1976: Pl. 93b). Specimens with drilled lashing holes are known from Umanaq and Inuarfigssuak (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 3_18, 19), Learmonth (Taylor and McGhee 1979: Pl. 2c), Deblicquy (Taylor and McGhee 1981: Pl. 1d), Nudlukta (VanStone 1962: Pl. 5_17) and West Greenland.
RbJr-1-122 (House 7, passage; Plate 1c) is a basal fragment of a Thule type 2 harpoon head made of antler. It has an open socket, lashing slots cut into lateral ridges, and a drilled line-hole. The base is cut diagonally to a lateral spur, and the base/spur margin is well defined. It had at least one barb, on the side opposite the spur, and may have had one or more additional barbs asymmetrically placed. Thule type 2 harpoon heads with a single pair of asymmetrically placed barbs are known from Point Barrow (Ford 1959: Fig. 30f), Crystal II (Collins 1950: Pl. 5g), Memorana (McGhee 1972: Pl. 1c, d), and Clachan (Morrison 1983: Pl. 3a).

Lance head

RbJr-1-34 (House 7, central platform, levels 2-3; Plate 1d) is the distal portion of a bone lance head. Rhomboidal in cross-section, it has a thin plano-convex tang surmounted by a thickened, pointed knob, to which an end-blade would be affixed. Similar specimens have been found at Ruin Island and Nugdlit (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 71; 1954:64) and House 42 at Nunguvik (Mary-Rousseliere 1979: Pl. 1i).

Harpoon end-blades

RbJr-1-142 (House 7, wall around platform; Plate 1f) is a roughly triangular end-blade made of slate, with maximum dimensions of
37 x 25 x 3 mm. The edges have been ground smooth producing slight facets, and there is no drilled rivet hole.

RbJr-1-13 (House 5, roof fall; Plate 1g) is the distal portion of a roughly triangular end-blade made of slate, the edges of which have been ground smooth, without facets.

RbJr-1-15 (House 5, fill at edge of floor; Plate 1e) is a fragment of a triangular end-blade of slate. The edges have been ground smooth producing slight facets, and there is no drilled rivet hole.

Very similar end-blades have been found at the Comer's Midden and Umanaq sites (Holtved 1944a:195; Pl. 51-3), Naujan, Mitimatalik, Qilalukan and Kuk (Mathiassen 1927b:38-39), Silumiut (McCartney 1977: Pl. 58a-h), Memorana (McGhee 1972:27), Clachan (Morrison 1983: Pl. 5g-m), Learmonth (Taylor and McGhee 1979: Pl. 12e), and Cumberland Sound (Schledermann 1975: Pl. 6, 7). Many of these do, however, have a drilled rivet hole.

Harpoon foreshaft

RbJr-1-71 (House 5, fill in central floor area; Plate 2a) is a moveable foreshaft of bone, 191 mm long, with an oval cross-section (17 x 21 mm in diameter). It expands rapidly from its conical proximal end for a distance of 28 mm, and then tapers gradually to its rounded distal end. There is a line-hole with a diameter of 5 mm drilled through the lesser
diameter of the foreshaft 66 mm from the proximal end. This is a common Thule form and similar foreshafts have come from Qilalukan (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 41), Umanaq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 6), Learmonth (Taylor and McGhee 1979: Pl. 3), Crystal II (Collins 1950: Pl. 6), M1 (Collins 1951: Pl. 14), and Clachan (Morrison 1983: Pl. 7, e).

Harpoon ice picks

RbJr-1-99 (House 7, fill in central floor area; Plate 2c) is a small harpoon ice pick, 102 mm long and made of antler. It has an obliquely cut and roughened scarf face at one end, while the other end is rounded. One drilled hole pierces the ice pick through the scarf face and another has been drilled where the scarf face joins the body of the ice pick. Holtved (1944a: Pl. 7) illustrates a similar harpoon ice pick from Inuarfigssuuk.

RbJr-1-37 (House 7, central platform; Plate 2d) is presumably the tang from a harpoon ice pick of ivory. It is triangular in cross-section and has been roughened. Fragmentary harpoon ice pick tangs have been reported from Silumiut (McCartney 1977: Pl. 9) and from Cumberland Sound (Schledermann 1975: Pl. 17, i).

Harpoon ice picks of both the scarfed and tanged varieties are common on Thule sites and at least on occasion
occur together, as at Naujan (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 42-6),
Inuarfigssuak (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 75-8) and Learmonth (Taylor and
McGhee 1979: Pl. 3h-j).

Drag line handle

RbJr-1-74 (House 5, fill in central floor area; Plate 2e) is a
portion of a broken drag line handle made of ivory. It would
originally have consisted of two curved arms, one of which
remains, radiating out from a central knob which was pierced
laterally for the line attachment. Holtved (1944a: Pl. 162)
illustrates a similar specimen from Ruin Island.

Harrow bladder float toggle

RbJr-1-76 (House 5, fill in central floor area; Plate 2b) is a
bladder float toggle roughly carved from bone, 118 mm long and
having a maximum width and thickness of 39 and 20 mm
respectively. It takes the form of a tapered oval section
68 mm long which expands into knobs at either end. The
central section and the knobs are plano-convex in
cross-section. Holtved (1944a: Pl. 533) has a similar
specimen from Inuarfigssuak.

LAND HUNTING AND FISHING

Arrowheads

RbJr-1-114 (House 7, beneath platform #1; Plate 3f) is an antler
arrowhead, 123 mm long. The shaft is oval in cross-section and has a single lateral barb whose base forms an acute angle to the shaft. A cut dividing the shaft from the blade extends from the base of the barb roughly one half of the way to the tip of the blade. The conical pointed tang is 26 mm long and has rounded shoulders and two asymmetrically placed spurs.

RbJr-1-140 (House 7, wall around platform; Plate 3d) is an antler arrowhead 152 mm long. The shaft is oval in cross-section, with a single lateral barb whose base forms an acute angle to the shaft. The conical pointed tang is 31 mm long and has very rounded shoulders and two asymmetrically placed spurs.

RbJr-1-170 (House 7, between floors #1 and #2; Plate 3e) is an antler arrowhead 125 mm long with a 28 mm long tang, otherwise identical to RbJr-1-140.

This is a common style of arrowhead. Similar specimens have been found at the Lake site (Collins 1951: Pl. 1413), Creswell Bay (VanStone 1962: Pl. 45), Umanaq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 124), Memorana (McGhee 1972: Pl. 2c), Jackson and Vaughn (Taylor 1972: Pl. 1f; 3e, f), Deblicgy (Taylor and McGhee 1981: Pl. 3b) and Silumiut (McCarty 1977: Pl. 10g).

RbJr-1-3 (House 7, collapsed rocks above passage entrance; Plate 3a) is a large arrowhead, made of bone and 254 mm long. The stem is oval in cross-section and expands into a thin
lanceolate blade with uneven edges, 179 mm long. The conical pointed tang is 40 mm long and has rounded shoulders and two asymmetrically placed spurs. Similar specimens are reported from Umanaq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 117), Crystal II (Collins 1950: Pl. 613, 16), M1 (Collins 1951: Pl. 1416), Ruggles Outlet (Maxwell 1960: Pl. 109), and Deblicquy (Taylor and McGhee 1981: Pl. 3c).

RbJr-1-205 (House 7, beneath floor #2; Plate 3b) is an unfinished bone arrowhead similar to RbJr-1-3. The stem has an oval cross-section which expands into a lanceolate blade, the end of which is broken off. The tang has only been roughed out.

RbJr-1-125 (House 7, passage; Plate 3c) is a bone arrowhead with the tip broken off. The stem is oval in cross-section and expands unilaterally into a thin lanceolate blade. The conical tang is 29 mm long and has somewhat rounded shoulders and a single spur. Similar specimens are illustrated from Crystal II (Collins 1950: Pl. 614), Umanaq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 119), Naujan (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 84), Memorana (McGhee 1972: Pl. 2b), Nunguvik (Mary-Rousseliere 1979: Pl. 1k), Lady Franklin Point (Taylor 1972: Pl. 6f), and Cumberland Sound (Schledermann 1975: Pl. 15b).

RbJr-1-2 (House 7, collapsed rocks above passage entrance; Plate 3g) is an antler arrowhead, 133 mm long. The shaft is slightly oval in cross-section and has a single lateral barb
roughly equidistant from both ends. The tip has a slot for an end-blade and has been slimmed and roughened for lashing. The conical pointed tang is 21 mm long and has rounded shoulders and two slightly asymmetrically placed spurs.

RhJr-1-168 (House 7, between floors #1 and #2; Plate 3h) is an antler arrowhead, 134 mm long. The shaft is oval in cross-section, except for a flattened facet 30 mm long near the proximal end. The tip has a wide slot for an end-blade and encircling grooves for lashing. The conical pointed tang is 26 mm long and has rounded shoulders and two asymmetrically placed spurs.

RhJr-1-141 (House 7, wall around platform) is a bone or antler conical pointed arrowhead tang, broken off below the shoulder. It has two asymmetrically placed spurs.

RhJr-1-181 (House 7, beneath platform; Plate 3o) is a bone arrowhead, 65 mm long. It is roughly oval in cross-section and tapers to a sharp point. A 40 mm scarf face provides the means for attachment to an arrowshaft. Maxwell (1960: Pl. 10g) illustrates a similar specimen from the Ruggles Outlet site.

RhJr-1-136 (House 7, central platform; Plate 3r) is a blunt arrowhead, 53 mm long. It is oval in cross-section and tapers to a blunt point. The tang is scarfed and notched.
RbJr-l-206 (House 7, beneath floor #2; Plate 3p) is a bone object 223 mm long with a four-sided tang, a moderately blunt lanceolate blade, and is presumably an arrowhead.

RbJr-l-132a (House 7, beneath platform; Plate 3m) is an antler object 110 mm long with a crudely triangular roughened tang, expanding into a thin lanceolate blade ending in a sharp tip. This is probably an arrowhead.

RbJr-l-44 (House 7, fill in central floor area; Plate 3i) is a barbed point made of bone. It is 161 mm long and has seven barbs on one edge and nine on the other. The proximal end has a closed socket in which the remains of a wooden shaft is present. This implement was probably used as an arrowhead or centre prong, although no similar specimens could be found in the literature.

**Arrowshafts**

RbJr-l-182 (House 7, beneath platform; Plate 3k) is the distal portion of an arrowshaft, circular in cross-section and 10 mm in diameter. The tip of the arrowshaft has been hollowed out and wrapped with sinew for a length of approximately 21 mm. A 3 mm diameter hole has also been drilled through the shaft, 60 mm from its tip.

RbJr-l-107 (House 5, south floor; Plate 3l) is the distal portion of an arrowshaft, circular in cross-section and having a
diameter of 7 mm. The tip has been hollowed out and wrapped with sinew for a length of 39 mm.

Marline spike

RbJr-1-54 (House 7, platform; Plate 3n) is an ivory marline spike 72 mm long, worn very smooth. It is crudely notched and roughened about its middle, and its cross-section is sub-rectangular for most of its length. Its distal end is, however, flattened, producing a tongue-like projection. Similar specimens are known from Umanaq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 2912) and Kuk (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 6914).

Bird dart side prong

RbJr-1-97 (House 7, fill in central floor area; Plate 3q) is a bird dart side prong made of bone and 115 mm long. It has two pairs of slightly asymmetrically set barbs, with a ridge running on both sides from its tip back to its shaft, which is thickened. At its base it has a projecting tongue set at an angle to the long axis of the artifact. Similar specimens are reported from Umanaq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 102, 4, 5), Mitimatalik (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 4113), Memorana (McGhee 1972: Pl. 2n), and Lady Franklin Point (Taylor 1972: Pl. 7j, k).
Dart shaft butt piece

RbJr-1-108 (House 5, south platform wall; Plate 3j) is a shaft of wood, broken at one end. It is ellipsoidal in cross-section and has a maximum diameter of 17 mm. Inserted in the undamaged proximal end is a bone peg with a broad head 12 x 14 mm in diameter. In the centre of the head of the peg there is a small depression for the insertion of the hook of an atlatl. Similar dart shaft butt pieces were found at the Washout site (Yorga 1980: Pl. 3g, h), while similar pegs are known from M1 (Collins 1952: Pl. 1012), Qilalukan (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 5811), and Port Refuge (this report).

Sling handles

RbJr-1-158 (House 7, between floors #1 and #2; Plate 4a) is a sling handle of wood, 241 mm long. It is actually formed of two pieces of wood, the smaller of which was laminated to the lateral edge of the proximal end of the implement, to complete the hand grip. It was also secured in place by two thick bindings of baleen. The distal end of the sling handle tapers to a blunt end, on either side of which there are five small notches which extend 50 mm back from the distal end.

RbJr-1-78 (House 5, fill in central floor area; Plate 4c) is a crude specimen made of wood, with the proximal end damaged. The implement is biconvex in cross-section, and tapers
slightly from the proximal end to a waist near the distal end, which is slightly expanded and terminates in a rounded tip. At least one notch appears to have been present on either edge. A drilled hole pierces the sling handle 42 mm from the distal end, and another drilled hole, which does not completely pierce the implement, is present 93 mm from the proximal end.

RbJr-l-171 (House 7, between floors #1 and #2; Plate 4b) is a sling handle which is broken at the proximal end. Like RbJr-l-158 it is formed of two pieces of wood laminated together. Three notches are present on either side of the blunt distal end.

Sling handles are known from the M1 site (Collins 1952: Pl. 12_14). Ruin Island, Inuarfigssuak, Comer's Midden and Umanaq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 14_17-21), Naujan and Qilalukan (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 34_17, 18; 58_3-6), Silumiut (McCartney 1977: Pl. 43a-d, g), Cumberland Sound (Schledermann 1975: Pl. 24a-g), and Deblicquy (Taylor and McGhee 1981: Pl. 10a).

Leister prongs

RbJr-l-213 (House 7, beneath floor #2; Plate 3t) is a leister prong of antler, 100 mm long. The shaft is circular in cross-section with scarf faces on either side of the proximal end. There is a small barb on either side of the distal end,
which is broken.

RbJr-1-154 (House 7, above floor; Plate 3s) is a leister prong made of antler, 77 mm long. The shaft is circular in cross-section, with roughened scarf faces on either side of the proximal end. There were four small barbs at the distal end, two on either side, but one has been broken off.

Leister prongs of this variety are reported from the Thule district (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 13), Naujan (Mathiassen 1927b:56-57), Cumberland Sound (Schledermann 1975: Pl. 13a), Lady Franklin Point (Taylor 1972: Pl. 7h), Learmonth (Taylor and McGhee 1979: Pl. 6e, f), and Creswell Bay (VanStone 1962: Pl. 44).

Fish spear centre prong

RbJr-1-92 (House 5, fill in central floor area; Plate 3u) is a pointed bone shaft, 138 mm long. Circular in cross-section near the pointed tip, it is flattened and roughened near the squared base. Similar specimens are illustrated from Cape Kent (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 13e) and Levesque Harbour (VanStone 1962: Pl. 13, 6).

TRANSPORTATION

Trace buckles

RbJr-1-123 (House 7, passage; Plate 5a) is a trace buckle of
antler, ellipsoidal in profile with maximum dimensions of 41 x 27 x 8 mm. A hole with a diameter of 10 mm has been drilled through the flat face of the wider end, while a smaller hole (8 mm in diameter) has been drilled through the narrower end of the trace buckle.

RbJr-1-207 (House 7, beneath floor #2; Plate 5b) is made of ivory. Subrectangular in outline, it has maximum dimensions of 25 x 18 x 9 mm. Two drilled holes (diameters of 8 and 5 mm) pierce the trace buckle.

RbJr-1-106 (House 5, central floor area; Plate 5c) is a trace buckle made of ivory, 54 mm long. It has been split longitudinally but was pierced by two drilled holes, one larger than the other. Slight grooves run on either face of the buckle from the end of the smaller hole to the adjacent edge of the buckle.

Trace buckles of various shapes with two parallel holes are found on many Thule sites, including Crystal II (Collins 1950: Pl. 8, 2, 3), the Ml and Lake sites (Collins 1951: Pl. 15, 13, 14), the Thule district (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 16), Naujan and Qilalukan (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 14, 49; 45), Ruggles Outlet (Maxwell 1960: Pl. 10, 18-20), Silumiut (McCartney 1977: Pl. 39n), Memorana (McGhee 1972: Pl. 5d), Nunguvik (Mary-Rousseliere 1979: Pl. 4d), Cumberland Sound (Schledermann 1975: Pl. 21a-k), Learmonth (Taylor and McGhee 1979: Pl. 4i, j), and Levesque...
Harbour (VanStone 1962: Pl. 29).

RbJr-1-124 (House 7, passage; Plate 5d) is an ivory object, with maximum dimensions of 33 x 25 x 9 mm. A single ellipsoidal hole 15 x 12 mm in diameter pierces the centre of what is presumably a trace buckle.

Toggle

RbJr-1-146 (House 7, fill in central floor area; Plate 5e) is a piece of carved wood, 53 mm long. It has a flat cross-section and has been roughly cut at both ends. A shallow 14 mm long notch has been cut out of each lateral edge. This may be a toggle for a sledge drag line, similar to one illustrated by Holtved (1944a: Pl. 1616) from Comer's Midden.

Umik stem

RbJr-1-28 (House 7, rear of platform; Plate 4d) is a roughly triangular flat piece of wood with maximum dimensions of 343 x 110 x 34 mm. It has been pierced through its thin dimension by four holes (7 to 10 mm in diameter) and three slots (30 to 35 mm long and 8 mm wide). It is thought to be a portion of the composite stem or stern of an umiak, similar to those parts from the frame of an umiak found at Herlufsholm Strand in Peary Land, Greenland (Knuth 1952: Fig. 5).
Kayak gunwhale fragment

RbJr-1-149 (House 7, cooking area; Plate 4e) is a piece of wood broken at both ends and longitudinally split, 287 mm long and 16 mm thick. Its two sides are flat while the edge opposite the split edge is slightly convex. Set into this edge at intervals of 8 and 10 cm are three oblong slots 18 mm long and 4 mm wide, formed by drilling two holes and carving out the wood between them. The slots are approximately 7 mm deep. This fragment corresponds quite closely to a piece of wood found by Holtved (1944a:230-231; Pl. 173) at Umanaq, which has the same slots, set 9 cm apart, and which he identifies as a kayak gunwhale fragment. The slots, or more properly, the mortices, are for the insertion of the ribs of the kayak, making this edge the inferior edge of the gunwhale.

MEN'S TOOLS

Knife handles

All of the knife handles from RbJr-1 fit into one basic type, having side-blade slots on one or more edges of a handle which is roughly flat in cross-section.

RbJr-1-199 (House 7, beneath platform; Plate 6a) is a knife handle made of ivory, 158 mm long and having a baleen wrapping around the proximal end. The remains of iron blades of meteoric iron are inset in slots on both edges near the distal
end. Five blade slots are present on one edge, 8, 23, 36, 48, and approximately 63 mm from the distal end, with slot lengths of 12, 11, 8, and 13 mm for the first four slots, the fifth being hidden by the baleen wrapping. On the edge opposite this, two blade slots are present which are 11 and 13 mm long. The first begins at the distal end, the second 14 mm from it. All of the blade slots are approximately 1 mm wide. On the same edge, proximal to the two blade slots, four incised lines are present, running 32 mm from the proximal blade slot, where they meet the wrapping of baleen which covers the rest of the handle. This is formed of a strip of baleen 3 mm wide wrapped eighteen times around the handle, with the ends woven lengthwise through the wrapping on one side. The presence of the fifth blade slot under the baleen, revealed through radiographic examination, suggests that this may be the replacement of an original, shorter lashing, or that the knife originally lacked such a wrapping. A drilled suspension hole is present 8 mm from the proximal end, through which a short piece of sinew is inserted, presumably the remains of a suspension thong.

RbJr-1-4 (House 7, collapsed rocks above passage entrance; Plate 6d) is a knife handle made of bone, broken off at the distal end. Portions of two blade slots are present on one edge near the distal end, having a width of slightly more than 1 mm and a maximum depth of 6 mm. The one nearly complete blade slot
has a length of 17 mm. A drilled suspension hole with a diameter of 7 mm is present 6 mm from the proximal end.

RbJr-1-148 (House 7, cooking area; Plate 6c) is a knife handle of bone, 246 mm long. A 126 mm blade slot runs from the distal end on one edge. It has a width of slightly over 1 mm and contains the remains of a blade, perhaps made of bone, consisting of numerous individual pieces. Both sides of the knife handle above the blade slot are heavily striated, but the striations run in different directions on either side of the handle. With the handle oriented such that the proximal end is down and the blade slot is towards the right, the striations on the visible side generally run at a 45° angle from the blade slot towards the proximal end, while on the opposite side the striations run from the blade slot at a 45° angle towards the distal end. This suggests the use of the knife in at least two rather differing cutting techniques, or left- and right-handed use. A drilled suspension hole 4 mm in diameter is present 7 mm from the proximal end, with shallow grooves running from the hole to the end on both sides of the knife handle.

RbJr-1-241 (House 7, below floor #1; Plate 6e) is a knife handle made of bone, 192 mm long. Blade slots are present on both edges near the distal end. One edge, there is a single blade slot 1 mm wide and 49 mm long, with a maximum depth of
5 mm. On the opposite edge, there is a 37 mm long blade slot, slightly wider than 1 mm, set 13 mm from the distal end. There is also a 5 mm long and less than 1 mm wide blade slot placed just at the distal end. Heavy striations are present at the distal end above the blade slot, in the same configuration as those on RbJr-1-148. A drilled suspension hole 8 mm in diameter is present 4 mm from the proximal end of the knife handle.

RbJr-1-42 (House 7, fill in central floor area; Plate 6h) is a knife handle made of bone, 159 mm long. A 25 mm long blade slot is present on one edge 8 mm from the distal end, having a width of 1 mm and a maximum depth of 4 mm. Two drilled suspension holes are present, one 31 mm from the proximal end, the other 44 mm from it. Both have a diameter of 5 mm. Just distal to the second suspension hole there is an incised >—< design parallel to the long axis of the knife handle.

RbJr-1-21 (House 5, fill in central floor area; Plate 6f) is a knife handle made of bone, badly damaged at both ends. Part of a blade slot 1 mm wide and 10 mm deep is present on one edge at the distal end, and a portion of a drilled suspension hole is present at the proximal end.

RbJr-1-5 (House 7, collapsed rocks above passage entrance; Plate 6g) is a knife handle of bone, 148 mm long. A single blade slot is present along one edge, and extends 58 mm back from
the distal end of the knife handle. Where undamaged, the blade slot is 1 mm wide and has a maximum depth of 4 mm.

RbJr-1-14 (House 5, on platform slab; Plate 6b) is the broken distal end of a knife handle made of bone. Three separate blade slots are present on one edge of the fragment, slightly over 1 mm wide, 22 mm long, and having a maximum depth of 7 mm.

RbJr-1-212 (House 7, floor #2) is a fragment of the distal end of a knife handle, split along the axis of its blade slot. Striations similar to those seen on RbJr-1-148 are present on its exterior surface.

RbJr-1-146 (House 7, cooking area) is the broken proximal portion of what is presumably a knife handle, made of ivory. No blade slots are present on the portion but a drilled suspension hole with a diameter of 4 mm is present 8 mm from the unbroken end.

This form of knife handle, flat with one or more blade slots set on one or both edges of the handle near the distal end and usually having a suspension hole at its proximal end, is known from Crystal II (Collins 1950: Pl. 74), M2 (Collins 1951: Pl. 155), Comer's Midden and Umanaq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 2025-28, 32), Naujan, Mitimatalik, Qilalukan, Kuk and Malerualik (Mathiassen 1927a:167; Pl. 181-6; 469; 684; 8310), Silumiut (McCartney 1977: Pl. 18h, i), Memorana (McGhee 1972: Pl. 3d),
Cumberland Sound (Schledermann 1975: Pl. 28c; 29b, c), Learmonth (Taylor and McGhee 1979: Pl. 7e-g, l, m), Deblicquy (Taylor and McGhee 1981: Pl. 4f), and Levesque Harbour (VanStone 1962: Pl. 21, 6).

Knife blades

RbJr-1-176 (House 7, beneath platform; Plate 6i) is a knife blade made of ground slate, 110 mm long. The blade section is 85 mm long and is convex in outline. The back of the blade is thickened and ground to a flat edge. The tang of the blade is thick and crudely chipped. Similar knife blades are known from the Jackson site (Taylor 1972: Pl. 2k), Walakpa (Stanford 1976: Pl. 78a; 99b), Clachan (Morrison 1983: Pl. 13a), and Mitimatalik (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 477).

RbJr-1-22 (House 5, fill in central floor area; Plate 6j) is a smooth bone blade, 79 mm long, 13 mm wide and having a maximum thickness of 2 mm over most of its length. Its proximal end is thickened and tapered, and terminates in a blunt tang. The edges of the blade are thin and somewhat battered, and the tip of the blade is rounded. A similar knife blade comes from Corner's Midden (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 2031).

Engraving tools

RbJr-1-138 (House 7, wall around platform; Plate 5h) is an engraving tool consisting of two pieces of antler, 88 and
100 mm long, lashed together at one end with two short antler wedges, to form a secure handle for a piece of iron 9 mm wide and 2 mm thick. The lashing is of braided sinew. Parallel incised lines are present on the shorter piece of antler.

RbJr-1-243 (House 7, shelf to the right of the tunnel; Plate 5i) is an engraving tool consisting of a shaft of wood 111 mm long with a sharp sliver of iron 21 mm long lashed to one end with sinew. The wood shaft is flattened in cross-section except at its proximal end, where it tapers to a small flat tip which is circular in cross-section. This implement is similar to engraving tools from the Birnirk site illustrated by Ford (1959: Fig. 105a-c) and which he thought were not carried east with the Thule culture (p. 172).

Drill shank

RbJr-1-96 (House 7, fill in central floor area; Plate 5g) is a wooden drill shank, 83 mm long. It is circular in cross-section and has a diameter of 9 mm. The proximal end of the shank is rounded, with a diameter of 7 mm for a length of 7 mm, apparently from use in some type of drill bearing. The distal end tapers and is hollowed out unevenly for an iron bit, which is in a poor state of preservation. This specimen is similar to one illustrated from the Birnirk site (Ford 1959: Fig. 85g).
Bow drill mouthpiece

RbJr-1-55 (House 7, platform #2; Plate 5f) is a piece of ivory 34 mm long, 16 mm wide, and roughly rectangular in cross-section, having a maximum thickness of 13 mm. Both of its lateral edges have longitudinal depressions, and on one face it has a 9 mm deep drill socket, 8 mm in diameter at its lip. At the bottom of the drill socket there is another distinct socket, with a diameter of 4 mm. Similar bow drill mouthpieces have been reported from Umanaq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 2421), Naujan (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 2214), Cape Hardy (Lethbridge 1939: Fig. 152), and Ruggles Outlet (Maxwell 1960: Pl. 1118).

MANUFACTURING AND HOUSE BUILDING

Adze heads

RbJr-1-126 (House 7, passage; Plate 7a) is a bone adze head 107 mm long, tapering from a width of roughly 38 mm at the blade end to 22 mm at the butt, with a maximum thickness of 23 mm. The blade section has very slight shoulders, and both the upper and lower surfaces are convex except for the flat handle seating. Above this there are three horizontally drilled lashing holes. The blade socket is partly broken but appears to have been approximately 13 mm wide and 12 mm deep.

RbJr-1-131 (House 7, passage) is a distal fragment of a large
bone adze head, which would have had a blade at least 37 mm wide.

Adze heads of this type have been reported from Naujan (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 20_5, 9), Umanaq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 28_7), Crystal II (Collins 1950: Pl. 7_14), M1 (Collins 1951: Pl. 15_2), Silumiut (McCartney 1977: Pl. 21b), Deblicquy (Taylor and McGhee 1981: Pl. 5b, c), and Cumberland Sound (Schledermann 1975: Pl. 27d).

Hafted maul

RbJr-1-239 (House 7, below floor #1; Plate 7b) is a stone maul head measuring approximately 135 x 65 x 45 mm, with the remains of a baleen lashing, presumably for a handle, still present. Similar stone mauls are illustrated from Umanaq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 28_5) and from the M1 site (Collins 1952: Pl. 11_8).

Wedge

RbJr-1-145 (House 7, northeast wall by tunnel; Plate 7c) is a wedge made of bone. It is 160 mm long and has a maximum width of 52 mm. The butt is battered, and at the bit end the wedge tapers bilaterally to a wide battered point.

Picks

RbJr-1-52 (House 7, 2nd platform; Plate 7h) is an antler pick,
217 mm long. The butt end has been cut and is slightly battered, while the distal end has been sharpened to a point.

RbJr-1-167 (House 7, above floor #2; Plate 7d) is a bone pick, 131 mm long. The butt is battered, and the distal end tapers to a point.

RbJr-1-51 (House 7, 2nd platform; Plate 7f) is a split antler shaft, 177 mm long. It is cut and battered at the butt and sharpened at the tip.

RbJr-1-8 (House 7, collapsed rocks above passage entrance; Plate 7e) is a 144 mm long bone pick, cut and battered at the butt and pointed at the tip.

Mattock blades

RbJr-1-40 (House 7, fill in central floor area; Plate 8a) is a mattock blade made of bone, 432 mm long. It has a gouged rectangular seating for the handle 81 mm from the butt, with dimensions of 58 x 23 x 8 mm deep. Three lashing notches are present on either edge, set symmetrically about the handle socket. The blade is 63 mm wide at the bit end, and shows battering and longitudinal striations from use on both faces.

RbJr-1-18 (House 5, on platform; Plate 8b) is a mattock blade of bone, 375 mm long. It has a gouged rectangular seating for the handle 100 mm from the butt with dimensions of
52 x 27 x 11 mm deep. Three lashing notches are present on either edge, set 55, 90, and 175 mm from the butt. The blade is 95 mm wide and exhibits battering and longitudinal striations from use on both faces.

Mattock blades similar to the above have been found at Inuarfigssuak (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 302, 4), Naujan (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 211), Learmonth (Taylor and McGhee 1979: Pl. 10c), and the Porden Point Pond Village (this report).

Mattock handle

RbJr-1-93 (House 7, fill in central floor area; Plate 8c) is probably a mattock handle, made of bone. One end of the 335 mm long implement has been cut squarely, while the other end has been tapered to a point, near which an oblong lashing hole has been cut. Mattock handles are rarely reported in the literature, and those that do appear are fairly variable in form. Specimens have been reported from Inuarfigssuak (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 3011), Naujan (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 212, 6), Learmonth (Taylor and McGhee 1979: Pl. 10d), and Deblicquy (Taylor and McGhee 1981: Pl. 5a; 6d). Specimens were also found at Port Refuge and the Porden Point Pond Village (this report).

Snow probe tips

RbJr-1-49 (House 7, fill in central floor area; Plate 5j) is the
broken distal end of a bone snow probe. The shaft is roughly circular in cross-section, with a diameter of 7 mm. At the distal end this expands very slightly into a blunt knob with a maximum diameter of 9 mm.

RbJr-1-120 (House 7, beneath platform; Plate 5k) is the broken tip of an antler snow probe. What remains of the shaft is oval in cross-section, with a diameter of from 7 to 9 mm. This expands smoothly into a pointed knob with a maximum diameter of 12 mm.

RbJr-1-153 (House 7, above floor #1; Plate 5l) is the broken distal end of a bone snow probe. The shaft is circular in cross-section, with a diameter of 8 mm. This expands smoothly into an elongated knob with a maximum diameter of 11 mm.

Similar snow probe tips are reported from Inuarfigssuak and Umanaq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 17 17-19), Naujan (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 16 5), and Clachan (Morrison 1983: Pl. 16g-j). Similar specimens were also found at Port Refuge (this report).

HOUSEHOLD IMPLEMENTS

Ulu handles

RbJr-1-110 (House 5, passage; Plate 9a) is an ulu handle made of bone. Its outline is that of a flattened oval. The handle increases steadily in thickness from the blade section to the
back, which is 108 mm long. A large (48 x 18 mm) hole pierces the handle. The blade socket is 64 mm long with a maximum depth of 9 mm. Similar ulu handles are illustrated from Naujan (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 244) and the Lake site (Collins 1951: Pl. 1510).

RbJr-1-174 (House 7, beneath platform; Plate 9b) is a bone ulu handle, a flattened oval in outline. It has an expanded back 113 mm long and a centrally located hole with dimensions of 13 x 8 mm. The socket in the base of the blade section is 66 mm long and has a maximum width of 7 mm and a maximum depth of 21 mm. Similar ulu handles are reported from Learmonth (Taylor and McGhee 1979: Pl. 11a) and from Malerualik (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 843).

RbJr-1-144 (House 7, northeast wall by tunnel; Plate 9d) is a bone ulu handle. The thin blade section is trapezoidal in outline and expands into a broad curved back 85 mm long. The blade socket is 50 mm long with a width of 2 mm. A similar specimen was found at the Learmonth site (Taylor and McGhee 1979: Pl. 11f).

RbJr-1-72 (House 5, fill in central floor area; Plate 9c) is a small, crudely carved ulu handle of wood, 63 mm long. It has an iron blade inset into it, curved at one end and square at the other. The blade extends a maximum of 11 mm from the handle, which is 20 mm deep. Similar ulus with iron blades
have been found at Umanaq and Comer's Midden (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 2212, 14).

Ulu blades

RbJr-1-1 (No provenience data; Plate 9e) is a large fragment of an ulu blade made of ground slate. The blade is crescentic in outline and is smoothly ground to a sharp edge. The non-cutting edges are roughly chipped.

RbJr-1-238 (House 7, below floor #1; Plate 9f) is a fragment of an ulu blade made of slate. The edge is slightly convex and sharply ground. The edge opposite the cutting edge is roughly chipped and ground.

Ulu blades of ground slate are common finds on most Thule sites.

Composite bowls

RbJr-1-184 (House 7, beneath platform #1) is a poorly preserved oval bowl, having a base formed of a thin piece of bone with dimensions of 158 x 133 mm. The sides were formed of a single looped strip of baleen, sewn together with baleen where its ends meet. The depth of the bowl was approximately 90 mm.

RbJr-1-113 (House 7, beneath platform) is the wooden side of a composite bowl with a diameter of 55 mm and a height of 56 mm. It is formed of a single piece of wood approximately 3 mm
thick curled into a circle with the overlapping ends sewn together with baleen.

RbJr-1-89 (House 5, fill in central floor area) is a baleen bowl base, not available for analysis.

RbJr-1-67 (House 7, 2nd platform; Plate 10d) is a small oval disk of wood with dimensions of 69 x 46 x 6 mm. This is probably the base of a baleen cup or bowl.

Composite bowls or buckets of this type are known from Crystal II (Collins 1950: Pl. 81), Point Barrow (Ford 1959:205, 207), Umanaq and Inuarfigssuak (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 341, 2), Naujan, Qilalukan and Kuk (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 28; 53; Fig. 56; 1927b:107), Silumiut (McCartney 1977: Pl. 40a-j), Memorana (McGhee 1972: Pl. 4j), Nunguvik (Mary-Rousseliere 1979: Pl. 3f, g), Cumberland Sound (Schledermann 1975: Pl. 43e, f), Learmonth (Taylor and McGhee 1979:103), Deblicquy (Taylor and McGhee 1981: Pl. 8d), and Clachan (Morrison 1983: Pl. 22g, h).

Bone bowl

RbJr-1-38 (House 7, central platform; Plate 10a) is a portion of an oblong sub-rectangular bowl made of bone with estimated maximum measurements of 140 x 75 x 30 mm deep. The most similar objects in the literature are cup-shaped scrapers, but this implement shows no signs of having been used as such.
Beamer

RbJr-1-236 (House 7, below floor #1; Plate 10b) is the distal half of a caribou cannon bone which has had its ventral surface cut open to form a beamer. Similar ones have been found at the Crystal II site (Collins 1950: Pl. 710), the Lake site (Collins 1951: Pl. 154), Inuarfigssuak (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 275), and Clachan (Morrison 1983: Pl. 20a).

Needle fragment (?)

RbJr-1-39 (House 7, central platform; Plate 10n) is a sliver of bone or ivory 21 mm long, possibly a fragment of a bone needle. It is broken at both ends and has a square cross-section with dimensions of 2 x 2 mm.

Snow beater

RbJr-1-183 (House 7, beneath platform) is a snow beater made of baleen, 395 mm long. A broad shallow notch has been cut out of one edge of the snow beater near the proximal end to form a hand grip. Snow beaters made of baleen have been found at Umanaq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 4514), Qilalukan (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 552), and Port Refuge (this report).

Whetstone

RbJr-1-91 (House 5, fill in central floor area; Plate 10c) is a whetstone, roughly prismatic in shape, with one narrow face
smoothly polished.

**Skin bag**

RbJr-l-185 (House 7, beneath platform) is a bag made of a single piece of skin, rectangular in shape with dimensions of approximately 380 x 250 mm. The fur side of the skin forms the inside of the bag but it has been depilated. The seam running along the bottom and up one side of the bag has been ruggedly stitched, and the lip of the bag has been folded over to the inside and sewn to form a channel for a drawstring to close the bag.

**Clothing**

Four identifiable pieces of clothing were found in House 7 of the Porden Point Brook Village, all boots:

RbJr-l-112 (House 7, beneath platform) is a sealskin boot made of three pieces of skin, each with the fur side outward, although no fur remains. It consists of an oval sole stitched to an ankle section which is formed of a piece of skin rising up to the front of the ankle but slanting down to just above the heel. It was sewn up the front. Stitched to this is the leg section of the boot, which is also sewn up the front. At the top of the leg section the skin has been folded over to the inside and stitched to form a channel for a drawstring, the two ends of which project from a hole on one side of the leg.
section. Skin laces are present around the ankle section, tied in front.

RbJr-l-194 (House 7, beneath platform) is the foot of a sealskin boot, made up of a sole and ankle section similar to RbJr-l-112 but cut irregularly at the top, suggesting that it was either cut from an old boot, or is unfinished. Thick pieces of skin have been attached to the front and rear of the sole, either as a repair or to prevent its wearing out.

RbJr-l-186 (House 7, beneath platform) was in too fragile a state for examination, but is apparently also the foot section of a boot.

RbJr-l-189 (House 7, beneath platform) is also a sealskin boot made of three pieces of skin, each with the fur side outward although only a few small patches of fur remain. It is made up of an oval sole sewn to an ankle section which is triangular in shape and rises from just in front of the heel, up over the instep, and back to just in front of the heel on the other side. The leg section attaches to the ankle section and the sole, at the heel. The leg piece is sewn up the front and is longer than that of RbJr-l-112. It has a similar draw-string whose ends project from two holes at the back of the leg. The ends of laces which tie in front are stitched into the seam between the sole and ankle section on either side of the ankle.
Sealskin boots have also been found at Qilalukan (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 56), Clachan and Beulah (Morrison 1983:168, 195), Umanaq and Cape Kent (Holtved 1944a:270-271), and Nugdlit (Holtved 1954:87-89).

**ORNAMENTS AND TOYS**

**Bear canine amulet**

RbJr-1-222 (House 7, cache beneath floor #2) is a polar bear canine sewn into a sealskin case up to the top of the root of the tooth. The sealskin case tapers into a thong approximately 120 mm long. Two similar bear canine amulets were found at Qilalukan (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 57 2, 3).

RbJr-1-248 (House 7, beneath platform; Plate 11g) is a small triangular piece of skin stitched along one edge, producing a steep cone 60 mm long. The skin has the fur side outward but it has been depilated. This may be the case for a bear canine amulet similar to RbJr-1-222.

**Bear canine teeth**

RbJr-1-45 (House 7, fill in central floor area), RbJr-1-233 (House 7, below floor #1), and RbJr-1-245 (House 7, niches in shelf to right of tunnel) are unmodified bear canine teeth (Plate 11e, f).
Perforated tooth pendants

RbJr-1-137 (House 7, wall around platform) and RbJr-1-247 (House 7, beneath platform) are fox canine teeth, each with a 1.5 mm diameter suspension hole drilled through the root near its base (Plate llh, i). Perforated fox canine teeth are found on many Thule sites.

Dolls

RbJr-1-135 (House 7, wall around platform; Plate lla) is a wooden doll, 79 mm tall. The face of the doll is featureless and the arms are indicated only by short projections, while the feet are fully carved. Incised lines are present in the pelvic region, and the buttocks and calves are exaggerated. This, plus the presence of a large topknot, suggests that the doll is that of a female.

RbJr-1-136 (House 7, wall around platform; Plate llb) is a 61 mm tall wooden doll, similar in all essentials to RbJr-1-135.

RbJr-1-253 (House 7, niche in shelf to right of tunnel; Plate llc) is a wooden doll, 64 mm tall. The front of the doll, including the face, is featureless. The back of the doll is also featureless except for the buttocks, which are indicated. The shape of the head suggests that the individual may be wearing a hood.
Similar small carved dolls are known from the M1 site (Collins 1952: Pl. 1215, 16), Inuarfigssuak, Comer's Midden and Umanaq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 40), Naujan, Mitimatalik and Qilalukan (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 32.7-10; 5715-19), Lonesome Creek (Maxwell 1960: Pl. 1212, 13), Memorana (McGhee 1972: Pl. 5b, c), Clachan (Morrison 1983: Pl. 26d, e), Nunguvik (Mary-Rousseliere 1979: Pl. 5a-c), Cumberland Sound (Schledermann 1975: Pl. 48a-1), Walakpa (Stanford 1976:60), Jackson (Taylor 1972: Pl. 3j), Learmonth (Taylor and McGhee 1979: Pl. 14b), Levesque Harbour (VanStone 1962: Pl. 122), and Washout (Yorga 1980: Pl. 28a, b).

RbJr-1-198 (House 7, shelf to the right of tunnel; Plate 11d) is a well carved wooden doll, 77 mm tall. The individual is wearing mid-calf length boots, some sort of leggings, and a thick waist-length parka with a high, back-flaring collar. The face of the individual is finely carved as are the arms, held close in to the sides of the body. This is obviously a carving of an individual of the Dorset culture, as evidenced by the distinctive collar (Meldgaard 1960:25). The style of the carving is also quite different from that of the other three dolls, suggesting that it was also probably made by a Dorset craftsman. A carving of an individual wearing the Dorset type collar was also found at Inuarfigssuak (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 4020).
Toy harpoon heads

RbJr-1-246 (House 7, niches on shelf to right of tunnel; Plate 12c) is a small (66 mm long) wooden harpoon head of the Thule type 2 variety, presumably a toy. It has an open socket and two opposed barbs but no line-hole or inserted end-blade. There is a shallow lashing groove extending completely around the harpoon head, and the base is cut obliquely, to a blunt lateral spur. The base/spur margin is sharp.

RbJr-1-190 (House 7, beneath platform; Plate 12a) is a crudely carved wooden harpoon head with a baleen end-blade, 92 mm long in total. It has an open socket, lashing groove running completely around the harpoon head, and no barbs or line-hole. The lateral spur is sharp and obliquely cut. The baleen end-blade is inserted perpendicular to the plane of the open socket and is held in place with a baleen lashing. The apex of the open socket is very crudely carved out, and this, along with the absence of a line-hole, suggests that this is a toy.

RbJr-1-191 (House 7, beneath platform; Plate 12b) is a small Thule type 2 harpoon head made of baleen, 62 mm long. It has an open socket, lashing grooves on the lateral edges, two opposed barbs, a drilled line-hole and a steep lateral spur. The base/spur margin is very sharp. The distal end of the harpoon head and the sides of the barbs have been sharpened, and a baleen lashing is still present around the socket. Its
very small size probably indicates that this is a toy.

Toy harpoon heads have also been found at Cumberland Sound (Schledermann 1975: Pl. 47g, 1, m), Memorana (McGhee 1972: Pl. 5e), and Clachan and Beulah (Morrison 1983: Pl. 26g-m; 34i-o).

**Toy arrowhead**

RbJr-1-203 (House 7, beneath floor #2; Plate 12d) is a toy arrowhead made of baleen, 54 mm long and having a maximum width of 5 mm. A notch is present 32 mm from the distal end, forming a unilateral barb. A toy arrowhead of a somewhat different type and made of bone was found at Silumiat (McCartney 1977: Pl. 33).

**Toy throwing boards**

RbJr-1-79 (House 5, fill in central floor area; Plate 12e) is a toy throwing board made of wood, 95 mm long. Its width tapers from 22 mm at the proximal end to 12 mm at the distal end. A somewhat asymmetrical waist has been carved into the implement near the proximal end, forming a hand grip.

RbJr-1-33 (House 7, central platform, levels 2-3; Plate 12f) is a toy throwing board made of wood, 105 mm long. It tapers from a maximum width of 10 mm at the proximal end to 4 mm at the distal end. Notches are present on either edge of the
implement near the proximal end to form a hand grip, one being
16 mm long, the other 7 mm long.

RbJr-1-75 (House 5, fill in central floor area; Plate 12g) is a
large, well carved toy throwing board or possibly a sling
handle, made of wood and damaged at its distal end. Large
asymmetrical notches are cut into either edge of the implement
near the proximal end to form a hand grip, and small notches
have been cut into either edge near the broken distal end.

Toy throwing boards of this type are also known from the
Ml site (Collins 1952: Pl. 1214), Inuarfigssuak and Umanaq
(Holtved 1944a: Pl. 4519, 20), and Cumberland Sound (Schledermann
1975: Pl. 24e).

Toy sled slats

RbJr-1-59 (House 7, 2nd-3rd platform; Plate 12k) is a well made
toy sled slat made of wood, 59 mm long and 5 mm thick.
Swollen to a maximum width of 18 mm in its centre, it tapers
towards either end where there are slight knobs.

RbJr-1-235 (House 7, beneath floor #1; Plate 12l) is a crude toy
sled slat made of wood, 53 mm long and 8 mm thick. It tapers,
from a maximum width of 13 mm, towards either end, where
slight grooves have been cut to form rudimentary knobs.

RbJr-1-201 and 202 (House 7, beneath floor #2; Plate 12i, j) are
toy sled slats made of baleen, 46 and 38 mm long. Both are similar in outline to RbJr-1-59.

Toy sled slats made of wood are known from Comer's Midden and Umanaq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 414-10). A toy sled slat made of baleen was also found at Comer's Midden (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 4928). The runner from a toy sled was found at the M1 site (Collins 1952: Pl. 1217).

Toy baleen bucket

RbJr-1-88 (House 5, fill in central floor area) is a toy baleen bucket, not available for analysis.

Top

RbJr-1-219 (House 7, cache beneath floor #2; Plate 12m) is an oval piece of baleen with a maximum diameter of 114 mm. An 8 mm diameter hole has been cut through its centre. This is probably part of a top similar to RbJu-1-248 found at Port Refuge. Tops are known from Ruin Island, Inuarfigssuak, Comer's Midden and Umanaq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 424-9) as well as Naujan and Qilalukan (Mathiassen 1927b:120). Baleen tops in particular are also known from Comer's Midden and Cape Kent (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 4810, 11) and Deblicquy (Taylor and McGhee 1981: Pl. 10g).
Vertebrae on ribs

RbJr-1-225 (House 7, beneath platform; Plate 12n) consists of five seal vertebrae strung on two ribs. Similar finds have been made at Point Barrow (Ford 1959: Fig. 112), Walakpa (Stanford 1976: Pl. 82f), Memorana (McGhee 1972: Pl. 5m, n), and Washout (Yorga 1980: Pl. 29a).

UNIDENTIFIED ARTIFACTS

RbJr-1-7 (House 7, collapsed rocks above passage entrance; Plate 13d) is an object made of ivory, broken at one end. It is roughly circular in cross-section, tapering towards both ends from a maximum diameter of 12 mm at its centre. The unbroken end has a diameter of 4 mm and is roughened. An oblong hole 5 mm in length has been cut through the centre of the object. This artifact appears similar to one found at the Learmonth site (Taylor and McGhee 1979: Pl. 13j) which was identified as a "fish needle?".

RbJr-1-11 (House 7, beneath platform #1; Plate 13c) is the broken end of an ivory artifact, curved in cross-section and having a maximum width of 26 mm. The outer, convex surface is smoothly shaped and terminates in a square end. The inner, concave surface is only roughly finished. A drilled hole 4 mm in diameter is present 11 mm from the end of the object. A somewhat similar fragment was found at Port Refuge
RbJr-1-17 (House 5), RbJr-1-147 (House 7, cooking area), RbJr-1-157 (House 7, above floor), and RbJr-1-220 (House 7, cache beneath 2nd floor) are small pointed bone and ivory fragments, each one broken proximally. Some or all of them may be parts of hafted awls or fragments of awls (Plate 10j-m).

RbJr-1-32 (House 7, rear of platform; Plate 10g) is an ivory pin, 53 mm long. Unevenly rectangular in cross-section, it is roughened over its whole length. At the proximal end a V-shaped notch 2 mm deep has been cut in one edge.

RbJr-1-35 (House 7, central platform, levels 2-3; Plate 10f) is an ivory pin, 73 mm long. It is hexagonal in cross-section over most of its length. At one end it expands bilaterally into knobs while at the other end it expands bilaterally but a slightly uneven levels into spurs. The very tip of the pin is broken off.

RbJr-1-53 (House 7, 2nd-3rd platforms) is a crudely chipped piece of slate, 96 mm long. It is pointed at one end and slightly waisted near the other end, but none of the edges are sharp. This may be a blank for a ground slate knife blade.

RbJr-1-94 (House 7, fill in central floor area; Plate 7g) is a handle made of bone, 200 mm long. Roughly oval in
cross-section, it has a drilled suspension hole 6 mm in
diameter at the proximal end and a 21 mm wide and 9 mm deep
groove on one surface near the distal end, oriented at an
angle of 45° to the long axis of the handle. Two holes are
drilled through the groove, while a third is drilled 13 mm
proximal to it. The distal end of the handle has been heavily
battered.

RbJr-1-98 (House 7, fill in central floor area) is a smooth
hand-sized pebble, battered slightly at one end.

RbJr-1-115 (House 7, beneath platform; Plate 10i) is an ivory
peg, 43 mm long. Its stem is rectangular in cross-section and
tapers to a wedge-shaped point. The head of the peg takes the
shape of an elongated knob, with a maximum diameter of 10 mm.
Similar pegs are known from Inuarfigssuak (Holtved 1944a: Pl.
12 24) and Silumiut (McCartney 1977: Pl. 28j, m).

RbJr-1-116 (House 7, beneath platform; Plate 13f) is a bone shaft
253 mm long, circular in cross-section, with a diameter of
9 mm. One end tapers to a blunt tip 4 mm in diameter, while
the other end is bilaterally thinned into a squared tang, flat
in cross-section, which has also been roughened.

RbJr-1-119 (House 7, beneath platform; Plate 13g) is a bone shaft
similar to RbJr-1-116, broken distally. The proximal end is
flattened and roughened, and the shaft has a diameter of 8 mm.
RbJr-1-127 (House 7, passage; Plate 13e) is a flat bone object 118 mm long. Having a width of 13 mm at either end, it swells to a width of 22 mm near its centre, but near the centre of this wider portion a cut has been made around the circumference of the object, perhaps with the ultimate intention of separating it into two parts. Four drilled holes, each with a diameter of 4.5 mm, are present at either end of the object and on either side of the cut.

RbJr-1-139 (House 7, wall around platform; Plate 13h) is a section of wood shaft with an oval cross-section and a diameter of 13 x 11 mm. One end takes the form of a stepped scarf face, broken at its distal end. The other end takes the form of a scarf face 83 mm long, to which the scarfed end fragment of another shaft segment is bound with sinew.

RbJr-1-159 (House 7, between floors #1 and #2; Plate 13i) is a segment of wooden shaft with a circular cross-section, 11 mm in diameter. One end has two opposing scarf faces 55 mm long, forming a wedge-like tip. The other end is broken but consists of a scarf face to which the scarfed end fragment of another shaft segment is bound with sinew.

RbJr-1-178 (House 7, beneath platform; Plate 13b) is a thin wood shaft, 368 mm long. It is pointed at one end and flattened, possibly damaged, at the other end.
RbJr-1-179 (House 7, beneath platform; Plate 13a) is a flat baleen shaft 363 mm long and 12 mm wide. One end has been pointed while the other end is cut squarely.

RbJr-1-200 (House 7, beneath platform; Plate 12h) is a triangular piece of baleen, 50 mm long and having a maximum width of 18 mm. A steep triangular notch has been cut out of its base. This may be a baleen end-blade or the tip of a baleen projectile, possibly a toy.

RbJr-1-215 (House 7, beneath floor #2; Plate 10h) is a 37 mm long bone peg, roughly oval in cross-section. Widest at its top (8 mm in diameter), it tapers to a wedge-shaped tip. This peg is similar to some used for securing sled shoes to the sled runner, but its head shows none of the wear which would be expected from such use. Similar pegs are illustrated from Comer's Midden (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 1225) and Ruggles Outlet (Maxwell 1960: Pl. 1320-26).

In addition, the following was recovered from Houses 5 and 7 of the Porden Point Brook Village:

- 3 bone artifact fragments
- 3 bone shaft fragments
- 20 pieces of worked bone
- 3 pieces of worked antler
- 7 pieces of worked ivory
- 13 wood shaft fragments
27 pieces of worked wood
2 baleen artifact fragments
1 fragment of baleen cord
2 baleen rolls
   several baleen knots
6 unidentified skin artifacts and fragments
2 bladders
   numerous pieces of skin and fur
2 chipped slate fragments
1 drilled slate fragment
2 chipped chert fragments
   numerous mica fragments
1 piece of copper
1 fossil snail
DISCUSSION

All of the items found at the Porden Point Brook Village except for the Dorset culture doll (RbJr-1-198) clearly derive from the Thule culture. The presence of this doll, almost certainly associated with the Thule occupation, could be explained as the result of direct contact between Thule and Dorset culture individuals or as deriving from the exploration of an abandoned Dorset structure by the Thule.

As only two of the nine winter houses of the Brook Village were excavated, it is not possible to suggest how many of the houses were occupied at the same time. However, the robbed state of House 7 and the probable re-use of old whalebone in House 5 could indicate that not all of the houses were occupied simultaneously over the life of the site. In addition, the several reconstructions of House 7 indicate reoccupation of that house at least twice, although the interval between occupations, and whether or not it was by the same individuals, cannot be determined, as the artifacts that can confidently be ascribed to a particular occupation of the house are not numerous or diagnostic enough to state whether or not there were significant differences between occupations. This type of house refurbishment is also known from the Brooman Point site (McGhee 1983:25). There was no structural or artifactual evidence as to
TABLE 1. FAUNAL BREAKDOWN: PORDEN POINT BROOK VILLAGE

<table>
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<tr>
<th>SEA MAMMALS:</th>
<th>House 5</th>
<th>HS Midden</th>
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<th>% total</th>
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| LAND MAMMALS:                       |         |          |         |          |         |         |         |
|-------------------------------------|---------|----------|---------|----------|---------|---------|
|                                     |         |          |         |          |         |         |         |
| Arctic Fox (Alopex lagopus)         | 21      | 25.0     | 96      | 41.6     | 14      | 4.0     | 131      | 79.4     | 16.3    |
| Muskox (Ovibus moschatus)           | 0       | 0.0      | 0       | 0.0      | 1       | 0.3     | 1        | 0.6      | 0.1     |
| Caribou (Rangifer tarandus)         | 0       | 0.0      | 2       | 0.9      | 1       | 0.3     | 3        | 1.8      | 0.4     |
| Polar Bear (Ursus maritimus)        | 0       | 0.0      | 4       | 1.7      | 7       | 2.0     | 11       | 6.7      | 1.4     |

(Continued on next page)
(Table 1 continued)

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1 Adapted from Andrews 1978: Table 6.
2 Includes specimens from all houses on the site.
whether or not House 5 was occupied more than once.

Houses 5 and 7 resemble each other closely in form. However, additional comparisons between the houses are hampered by the fact that a much more sizeable collection of artifacts was recovered from House 7. Of the ten functional types represented from both houses (see Table 3), significant differences in form are apparent only in ulu handles which are, however, known to vary widely in shape (Mathiassen 1927b:89). The difference in representation of functional types between the houses, made up mostly of types present in House 7 and absent in House 5, is thought to represent a difference in the length of occupation of the houses and/or random chance, and does not indicate any conspicuous difference between the occupants of the houses or the activities carried out by them.

Specifically, the excavation of the two houses produced a number of artifacts pertaining to the hunting of sea mammals, although evidence pointing towards identifiable modes of hunting is limited. The presence of a bladder float toggle indicates that some form of open water hunting was carried out, while harpoon ice picks can be associated with breathing hole or perhaps ice-edge sealing (Morrison 1983:257). Moveable foreshafts are consistent with throwing rather than thrusting harpoons (Mathiassen 1927a:27-28). The overwhelming majority of the seals identified from the faunal sample were ringed seal (see Table 1).
No artifacts specifically pertaining to the hunting of whales were found except, perhaps, the fragment of an umiak, but the presence of sizeable quantities of bowhead whale remains on the site strongly suggests that this was carried out. The hunting of land mammals can be inferred from the faunal analysis which shows a high preponderance of arctic fox remains but also caribou, muskox, and bear in small numbers, and from the presence of artifacts pertaining to the bow and arrow. The hunting of birds on land and water is indicated from the presence of bird dart parts and slings. Fishing is also represented in the artifact assemblage, although no fish remains were found.

In the field of transportation, the use of dog traction is attested to by the presence of trace buckles, and perhaps by two domestic dog skulls which exhibit abnormal bone growth on the frontal bones directly above the orbits. This is interpreted as resulting from the repeated beating of the dogs (Andrews 1978:10). Fragments of an umiak and a kayak attest to the use of these means of transportation and expand the potential repertoire of sea mammal hunting techniques.

Also well represented from the site are both men's and women's tools and manufacturing implements, but identifiable items of clothing are restricted to four sealskin boots. A wide variety of toys was found, including dolls, harpoon heads, an arrowhead, throwing boards, sled parts, a bucket, a top, and evidence for the vertebrae on ribs game.
The season of occupation of the site is not directly determinable from the artifact collection or the faunal analysis. The type of boulder, sod, and whalebone semi-subterranean house found on the site is considered, mostly on the basis of ethnographic evidence, to have been occupied during the winter, perhaps from October to May (Mathiassen 1927b:132-134; Taylor and McGhee 1979:115), and it is therefore to sometime within this period that the occupation of the site is ascribed, although not necessarily to that whole period in any given year. The occurrence of a number of migratory species among the faunal remains, including several species of bird, Harp seal, and Bowhead whale (Andrews 1978:11) suggests that some occupation of the region also occurred in warmer months while these species were available. A number of Thule tent rings found on Porden Point may derive from these occupations.
PORDEN POINT POND VILLAGE

The Porden Point Pond Village site (RbJr-4) consists of three winter houses, located one hundred and sixty metres southwest of the Brook Village. It is situated in a marshy area between two ponds at an elevation of four metres above sea level. The houses appear oval in outline and all are built up above the surrounding ground level. Houses 1 and 3 each have a whale skull over the lintel of the passage entrance, and two skulls found near the front of the passage entrance of House 2 were probably similarly situated. Houses 2 and 3 have large quantities of whalebone in their interiors but House 1 appears to have been robbed of whalebone.

House 2 was chosen for excavation and proved to be oval in outline with a single large rear platform twenty centimetres above the level of the flagged floor, which is approximately twenty centimetres above the surrounding ground level. The walls were made of heaped boulders and sod, up to one metre thick. A large quantity of whalebone was found in the interior of the house, including roughly fifty ribs, three skulls, four mandibles, four maxilla fragments, one scapula, and several vertebrae. The stumps of two whale mandible roof supports were found but the roof form could not be determined. A possible cooking place and storage larder was identified to the right of
Figure 12. RbJr-4: site plan. House 2 was excavated.
the passage entrance.

Along with the Porden Point Brook Village site, the excavation of House 2 spanned ten days in 1976 and five days in 1977. A total of eighty-eight artifacts were recovered from this house, along with quantities of mica, skin, baleen, etc., and faunal remains.
Figure 13. Forden Point Pond Village House 2 before excavation, viewed from the south. House 3 is in the background.
Figure 14. RbJr-4 House 2: excavation plan.
POREDEN POINT POND VILLAGE ARTIFACTS

SEA MAMMAL HUNTING

Whaling harpoon head

RbJr-4-6 (House 2, fill in central floor area; Plate 14a) is a whaling harpoon head made of bone, 226 mm long, with a closed socket and an end-blade slot perpendicular to the plane of the line-hole. Robust ridges or keels run from the line-hole to the distal end of the harpoon head on both sides, where they form a slight thickening. The lateral spur expands into a thin blunt edge. This specimen fits the standard type of whaling harpoon head of the Thule culture. Similar specimens have been found at the M1 site (Collins 1952: Pl. 103), Umanaq (Holtved 1944a:191), Naujan and Mitimatalik (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 48; 3716; Fig. 47), Walakpa (Stanford 1976: Pl. 84a), Deblicquy (Taylor and McGhee 1981: Pl. 1f), and Cumberland Sound (Schledermann 1975: Pl. 12b).

Harpoon end-blade

RbJr-4-37 (House 2, platform; Plate 14b) is a triangular end-blade made of slate, 38 mm long, with a proximal corner broken off. The edges have been ground, producing a narrow facet. There is no drilled rivet hole. The comparisons made
for the Brook Village end-blades are applicable here as well.

**Harpoon ice pick tang (?)**

RbJr-4-28 (House 2, fill in central floor area; Plate 14e) is a roughened bone object, triangular in cross-section, which tapers to a point and may be the tang from a harpoon ice pick. The comparisons made for RbJr-1-37 are also applicable here.

**Harpoon bladder float toggle**

RbJr-4-25 (House 2, fill in central floor area; Plate 14d) is a harpoon bladder float toggle made of wood. It is 136 mm long and roughly oval in cross-section, with a diameter of from 21 to 24 mm. The ends are expanded into thin knobs which have been somewhat damaged. Similar specimens are known from Point Barrow (Ford 1959: Fig. 37j), Inuarfigssuak (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 533), Naujan (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 49), Silumiut (McCartney 1977: Pl. 44r-w), Cumberland Sound (Schledermann 1975: Pl. 13n), Levesque Harbour (VanStone 1962: Pl. 212), and Learmonth (Taylor and McGhee 1979: Pl. 4b).

**LAND HUNTING AND FISHING**

**Bolas ball**

RbJr-4-29 (House 2, fill in central floor area; Plate 14c) is a bolas ball made of bone, with maximum dimensions of 38 x 28 x 27 mm. It is roughly rectangular in profile and
elliptical in cross-section. Holes drilled from either side of its apex meet at an angle to form a suspension hole. Bolas balls of this general form occur on most Thule sites, including Port Refuge and RbJr-7 (this report).

**Fish spear side prong**

RbJr-4-32 (House 2, floor; Plate 14f) is a bone fish spear side prong, 266 mm long. The shaft has a roughly triangular cross-section, and there is a 107 mm long scarf face on the inner surface of the proximal end. The distal end has an obliquely-cut facet on its inner surface for the attachment of the barb, but there is no evidence of any means of securing it, suggesting perhaps that this implement is unfinished. Fish spear side prongs of this type are known from the M1 site (Collins 1952: Pl. 10 16), Inuarfigssuak and Umanaq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 13 1-4), Naujan, Qilalukan, and Kuk (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 12 1-5; 42 6; 43 1; 71 2, 3), Archer Fjord and Ruggles Outlet (Maxwell 1960: Pl. 9 18-20), Learmonth (Taylor and McGhee 1979: Pl. 6a-c), Deblicquy (Taylor and McGhee 1981: Pl. 2g), and Levesque Harbour (VanStone 1962: Pl. 1 4).

**TRANSPORTATION**

**Toggle**

RbJr-4-40 (House 2, floor; Plate 15b) is a toggle made of ivory, 41 mm long. It is grooved around its centre where it has a
maximum diameter of 12 mm, and tapers towards either end. This artifact is similar to one from the Ruggles Outlet site, identified as a sled trace line toggle (Maxwell 1960: Pl. 1021).

Sled shoe fragment

RbJr-4-26 (House 2, fill in central floor area; Plate 15a) is a fragment of a sled shoe made of ivory, 34 to 36 mm wide and broken at both ends. Its exterior surface is convex, while the surface which would attach to the runner is flat except for a central groove which is a natural depression in the ivory. Two complete and two partial peg holes are present, 7 to 8 mm in diameter and arranged longitudinally. A strand of baleen is knotted through one of the holes, but this presumably postdates its use as a sled shoe. Sled shoes affixed to the runners by pegs have been reported from Umanaq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 159), Naujan (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 131, 3, 4), Lonesome Creek and Ruggles Outlet (Maxwell 1960: Pl. 144-8), Silumiut (McCartney 1977: Pl. 32a, c-e, g), Cumberland Sound (Schledermann 1975: Pl. 19c, g), Lady Franklin Point (Taylor 1972: Pl. 7f), and Levesque Harbour (VanStone 1962: Pl. 216).
MEN'S TOOLS

Knife handles

RbJr-4-42 (House 2, floor; Plate 15c) is a knife handle made of antler, 98 mm long and flat in cross-section. The socket for an end-blade is set in one end of the knife handle. The socket is 9 mm long, 1.5 mm wide and 6 mm deep. The proximal end of the knife handle is unevenly cut. This specimen belongs to a common form of knife handle, which is known from Crystal II (Collins 1950: Pl. 75), M1 (Collins 1951: Pl. 153), Inuarfigssuak and Umanaq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 2017-20), Naujan, Qilalukan, Malerualik, and Kuk (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 189, 10; 7314; 1927b:71), Ruggles Outlet and Lonesome (Maxwell 1960: Pl. 111-4), Silumiut (McCartney 1977: Pl. 18f, g), Memorana (McGhee 1972: Pl. 3b, c), Cumberland Sound (Schledermann 1975: Pl. 29d, f), Lady Franklin Point (Taylor 1972: Pl. 6n), Learmonth (Taylor and McGhee 1979: Pl. 7i-k), Deblicquy (Taylor and McGhee 1981: Pl. 4b-d, g), Levesque Harbour (VanStone 1962: Pl. 25), Clachan (Morrison 1983: Pl. 13g-r), and Port Refuge (this report).

RbJr-4-41 (House 2, floor; Plate 15g) is the broken distal end of an ivory knife handle, similar to the type found at the Brook Village. Part of a side-blade slot 4 mm deep is present on one edge.
RbJr-4-7 (House 2, fill in central floor area; Plate 15h) is the broken tip of a knife handle made of bone. A 1 mm wide and 3 mm deep blade slot is present along one edge, running the length of the fragment.

MANUFACTURING AND HOUSE BUILDING

Adze head

RbJr-4-13 (House 2, fill in central floor area; Plate 15d) is an adze head made of antler, 101 mm long and having a maximum width of 27 mm and a maximum thickness of 9 mm. The blade end is biconvex in cross-section with parallel sides, while the proximal end takes the form of a plano-convex tongue 52 mm long and has a maximum width of 22 mm. The blade slot is partially broken, but appears to have been approximately 24 mm wide and 10 mm deep. A somewhat similar specimen is illustrated by Holtved (1944a: Pl. 2813) from Umanaq.

Wedges

RbJr-4-12 (House 2, fill in central floor area; Plate 15f) is a small wedge made of antler, 62 mm long and having a maximum width of 22 mm. Its distal end is thinned to just over 1 mm thick, while its robust proximal end is markedly battered.

RbJr-4-43 (House 2, floor; Plate 15e) is an irregularly shaped piece of ivory 59 mm long. Its distal end has been thinned to
approximately 1.5 mm thick and is slightly convex in outline. The wide proximal end of the wedge has been battered.

Snow shovel

RbJr-4-27 (House 2, fill in central floor area; Plate 17a) is a proximal fragment of a snow shovel made from a whale scapula. Seven lashing holes (6 to 7 mm in diameter) are present, and in one of them the remains of a lashing is knotted. Snow shovels of this type are known from Kuk and Button Point (Mathiassen 1927a: Figs. 69, 80), Umanaq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 17), Learmonth (Taylor and McGhee 1979: Pl. 10e), and Deblicquy (Taylor and McGhee 1981:39).

Mattock blades

RbJr-4-16 (House 2, fill in central floor area; Plate 16a) is a mattock blade made of bone, 328 mm long. It has a gouged rectangular seating for the handle 75 mm from the butt, with dimensions of 63 x 32 x 22 mm deep. Three lashing notches are present on either edge, set 45, 100, and 170 mm from the butt. On the dorsal (convex) surface, the blade has been thinned from a thickness of 33 mm at the base of the handle seating to a thickness of 10 mm at the tip of the blade, which is 59 mm wide.

RbJr-4-2 (House 2, roof fall; Plate 16b) is a mattock blade made of bone, 370 mm long. It has a shallow oval seating for the
handle 40 mm from the butt, with maximum dimensions of 60 x 18 x 7 mm deep. Three shallow lashing notches are present on either edge of the mattock, 15, 65, and 110 mm from the butt on one side, and 25, 75, and 115 mm from the butt on the opposite side. The blade is 85 mm wide and shows battering and striations from use.

This type of mattock blade, with a shallow gouged seating for the head of the mattock handle, is similar to that found at the Brook Village, and the same comparisons can be made.

RbJr-4-15 (House 2, fill in central floor area; Plate 16c) is a bone mattock blade, 375 mm long. It has a sub-rectangular hole for the attachment of the handle 75 mm from the butt, with dimensions of 75 x 25 mm. Three lashing notches are present on one edge, 25, 110, and 180 mm from the butt, while on the other edge there are two lashing notches, 35 and 180 mm from the butt. The blade is 93 mm wide just above its tip, which is almost circular and has been thinned on the dorsal surface.

RbJr-4-3 and 49 (House 2, roof fall; Plate 16d) are two fragments of a mattock blade of bone, which had a hole 92 mm from the butt for the attachment of a handle, with dimensions of 40 x 22 mm. Two lashing notches are present on either edge, 40 and 160 mm from the butt. The mattock blade apparently split along the line of the handle hole, and one of the
fragments (RbJr-4-3) was subsequently sharpened into a pick 315 mm long.

Mattock blades with holes for the seating of the handle are known from Inuarfigssuak (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 303), Naujan and Mitimatalik (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 213, 5; 4511), Silumiut (McCarterney 1977: Pl. 3la-c), Cumberland Sound (Schledermann 1975: Pl. 27f), Deblicquy (Taylor and McGhee 1981: Pl. 6c), Cape Hardy (Lethbridge 1939: Pl. 124, 12), and Port Refuge (this report).

Mattock handles

RbJr-4-1 (House 2, roof fall; Plate 17d) is a mattock handle made of bone, 510 mm long. Two shallow notches are cut into the thin inferior (concave) edge of the artifact to form hand holds. The first is from 35 to 140 mm from the proximal end, and the second is from 180 to 265 mm from that end. An oblong lashing hole is also present, 90 mm from the distal end.

RbJr-4-17 (House 2, fill in central floor area; Plate 17b) is a small handle, possibly for a mattock. It is 229 mm long and made of bone. One end has been cut squarely, while the other is tapered to form a hand grip. An oblong hole has been cut through the thin diameter of the handle 40 mm from the flat distal end.

RbJr-4-18 (House 2, fill in central floor area; Plate 17c) is a fragment of a mattock handle made of bone, with the proximal
end broken off. The distal end is irregular, but has been squared somewhat, presumably for insertion into a mattock blade with a hole rather than a gouged seat. An oblong lashing hole has been cut through the handle 80 mm from the distal end.

Mattock handles have already been discussed in relation to that found at the Brook Village.

**HOUSEHOLD IMPLEMENTS**

**Needle case**

RbJr-4-35 (House 2, floor; Plate 18a) is a small winged needle case made of ivory. It is 48 mm long and has a double-drilled hole with a diameter of 5 mm running its whole length. At the upper, wider end of the needle case the hole is counter-sunk, forming a wider opening. Encircling the needle case at either end are two pairs of hatched incised lines. Very similar needle cases which are, however, about twice as big as this one are reported from Ruggles Outlet (Maxwell 1960: Pl. 12₁₀), Cumberland Sound (Schledermann 1975: Pl. 46b), and Inuarfigssuak (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 36₁₈). A specimen slightly smaller than this one was found at Silumiut and identified as a toy due to its small size (McCartney 1977:267; Pl. 33).
Composite bowl base

RbJr-4-20 (House 2, fill in central floor area; Plate 17c) is a portion of an almost circular disk of wood 152 mm in diameter and having a maximum thickness of 11 mm. It is formed of two pieces of wood of slightly differing sizes joined by baleen stitching through six pairs of holes. This would have formed the base of a composite bowl. The comparisons made for the Brook Village specimens are applicable here as well.

Pyrites

RbJr-4-39 (House 2, floor) is a roughly spherical lump of iron pyrites 30 mm in diameter. Pyrites has been reported from the Resolute Bay sites (Collins 1951:51), Utkiavik and Birnirk (Ford 1959:175, 178), Inuarfigssuak and Aunartoq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 31, 18, 20), Nauján and Qilalukan (Mathiassen 1927b:109), Silumiut (McCartney 1977:311), Learmonth (Taylor and McGhee 1979:104), and Deblicquy (Taylor and McGhee 1981:42).

ORNAMENTS AND TOYS

Birdskin amulet

RbJr-4-54 (House 2, floor; Plate 18b) is a small ball of birdskin with feathers attached, to which a twisted thong is connected and with which two other pieces of braided and twisted cord
were found. This is presumably an amulet similar to ones found at MI (Collins 1952: Pl. 13), Ruin Island (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 39), and Naujan, Qilalukan, and Malerualik (Mathiassen 1927b:125).

Toy ball

RbJr-4-23 (House 2, fill in central floor area; Plate 18g) is a 33 mm long piece of wood shaft 27 mm in diameter, which has been shaped at both ends into a rough spheroid. A number of wooden balls are reported from Silumiut (McCartney 1977: Pl. 43h-o) and one was found at Port Refuge (this report).

UNIDENTIFIED ARTIFACTS

RbJr-4-4 (House 2, roof fall; Plate 17f) is an unfinished implement of bone, perhaps a snow knife. The hand grip has been roughed out, and has a unilateral end knob. The shaft section of the implement is unmodified except for its end which is cut and broken, which may account for the unfinished state of the implement.

RbJr-4-9 (House 2, fill in central floor area) and RbJr-4-33 (House 2, platform) are small pointed pieces of antler and ivory respectively, the proximal ends of which are broken. These may have been parts of awls (Plate 18d, e).

RbJr-4-19 (House 2, fill in central floor area) is a 540 mm long
cut section of whale rib, flattened on one edge and having a slight knob at one end.

RbJr-4-34 (House 2, platform; Plate 18f) is a bone peg 21 mm long. It is cut obliquely at its wide end where it has a diameter of 5 mm and terminates in a somewhat blunt point.

RbJr-4-45 (House 2, floor; Plate 15k) is a 107 mm long piece of wood, irregular in shape and somewhat charred, around one end of which a strand of sinew has been repeatedly wound.

RbJr-4-46 (House 2, floor; Plate 15j) is a 154 mm long piece of wood lashed with sinew, similar to RbJr-4-45 except that it has not been charred.

RbJr-4-50 (House 2, floor) is an almost spherical stone with a maximum diameter of 53 mm, with some slight pecking at one end.

RbJr-4-51 (House 2, floor; Plate 15i) is a 75 mm long section of wood shaft which is circular in cross-section and has a diameter of 7 mm. Its ends have been cut by notching and an asymmetrical notch is present in the centre of the object, almost dividing it in two.

RbJr-4-52 (House 2, floor) is a 320 mm long section of rather gnarled wood, cut at one end and somewhat charred. Two drilled (?) holes pierce it near its centre, and a thong of
baleen remains inserted in one of them.

RbJr-4-61 (House 2, floor; Plate 18c) is a bipointed object of bone, 65 mm long. It is oval in cross-section and has a maximum diameter of 5 mm. A shallow 4 mm long notch is present on one edge of the object 18 mm from one end.

In addition, the following was recovered from House 2 of the Porden Point Pond Village:

- 5 pieces of worked bone
- 1 piece of cut and drilled ivory
- 38 pieces of worked wood
  - several baleen knots
  - several pieces of sewn skin
  - numerous pieces of skin and fur
- 4 feathers
- 2 chipped chert fragments
  - numerous mica fragments
- 1 piece of iron
DISCUSSION

Like the Porden Point Brook Village, the Pond Village appears to represent a Thule culture winter occupation. The house styles and artifact types all clearly derive from the Thule culture and, as noted for the Brook Village, this house style is thought to be associated with winter occupations. Only one house was excavated but one piece of evidence, the apparently similar placement of whale skulls over the lintel of each house, suggests some degree of cultural uniformity between the occupations of the three houses, either simultaneous habitation or, as evidenced by the lack of whalebone in House 1, some form of sequential habitations.

Unfortunately, the excavation of House 2 produced few artifacts. Evidence for sea mammal hunting is restricted to a whaling harpoon head, an end-blade of a size to fit a smaller harpoon head, a bladder float toggle, and what may be the tang from a harpoon ice pick. Other types of hunting are represented by a bolas ball and a fish spear side prong. However, a faunal sample quite comparable to that from the Brook Village (see table 2) suggests that this under-representation of many types of hunting equipment does not reflect any basic difference in adaptation.

The use of the dog sled is evidenced at the Pond Village
### TABLE 2. FAUNAL BREAKDOWN: PORDEN POINT POND VILLAGE

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1Adapted from Andrews 1978: Table 7.
by a piece of a sled shoe and possibly by a small toggle, but no dog remains were found in the faunal sample. Men's and women's tools are poorly represented, but house manufacturing and maintenance tools in the forms of mattocks are numerous.
RbJr-7

RbJr-7 is located approximately two kilometres west of the tip of Porden Point on the rocky slope overlooking Wellington Channel, at an elevation of approximately twenty-two metres (see Figure 4). It takes the form of a cache, built of approximately sixteen rocks piled against a large boulder to create a cavity approximately one hundred centimetres long by thirty to fifty centimetres wide. Its top had been pulled off, presumably in Thule times. In the interior, under a very thin cover of dry moss, a collection of sixty-six objects, mostly hunting implements, was found. Two line buckles carved in the form of bear's heads were found under a large boulder at one end of the cache. Similar caches on the same slope were examined but yielded no artifacts. RbJr-7 is located three hundred metres northwest of RbJr-5, a Thule culture site consisting of two small rectangular winter houses and several other structures, and may be associated with it.
Figure 15. The RbJr-7 cache, viewed from the south.
Harpoon heads

RbJr-7-15 (Plate 19c) is a Thule type 2 harpoon head, 103 mm long and made of antler. It has two opposed barbs, no inserted end-blade, a drilled line-hole, open socket, and lateral ridges into which lashing slots have been cut. The base is cut obliquely, at a slight angle to a shallow lateral spur.

RbJr-7-16 (Plate 19b) is a Thule type 2 harpoon head, 98 mm long and made of antler. It has two opposed barbs, no inserted end-blade, and a drilled line-hole, just distal to which there is a longitudinally incised line which diverges into a Y-pattern at both ends. The harpoon head has an open socket and lateral ridges into which lashing slots have been cut. There is a steep lateral spur and the base, although damaged, appears to have been cut obliquely.

RbJr-7-17 (Plate 19d) is the distal portion of a Thule type 2 harpoon head made of antler. It is broken off at the base of the two opposed barbs. There is no inserted end-blade.

Thule type 2 harpoon heads similar to these and having
the incised Y-pattern are known from Crystal II (Collins 1950: Pl. 5g), Lake (Collins 1951: Pl. 145), M1 (Collins 1952: Pl. 101), Inuarfigssuak (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 32), Naujan (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 12-5), Memorana (McGhee 1972: Pl. 15), Clachan (Morrison 1983: Pl. 3b), Vaughn, Jackson, and Lady Franklin Point (Taylor 1972: Pl. 1d; 2a, c; 6a). Thule type 2 harpoon heads with the same attributes but lacking the Y-pattern are also known from the Ruin Island and Umanaq sites (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 31, 10), M1 (Collins 1951: Pl. 144), Mitimatalik (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 391, 5), Silumiut (McCartney 1977: Pl. 1a), Nunguvik (Mary-Rousseliere 1979: Pl. 1d), Levesque Harbour (VanStone 1962: Pl. 113, 14), and Storm Pond (Schledermann 1977: Pl. 3h).

Rbjr-7-14 (Plate 19a) is a Thule type 4 harpoon head, 88 mm long and made of bone. The socket is closed and has been drilled, as has the line-hole. There is a 16 mm deep end-blade socket cut perpendicular to the line-hole, and on both sides of the harpoon head a strong ridge or keel runs from the line-hole practically to the distal end. The base is cut diagonally, and is very slightly concave. Thule type 4 harpoon heads are also known from Crystal II (Collins 1950: Pl. 518), Lake (Collins 1951: Pl. 146), M1 (Collins 1952: Pl. 106), Ruin Island and Inuarfigssuak (Holtved 1954:62), Naujan and Kuk (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 21, 2; 694), Silumiut (McCartney 1977: Pl. 3a-j), Nunguvik (Mary-Rousseliere 1979: Pl. 1f),
Cumberland Sound (Schledermann 1975: Pl. 2f-k), Walakpa (Stanford 1976:21), Levesque Harbour (VanStone 1962: Pl. 116), and Port Refuge (this report).

Wound pins

RbJr-7-25 (Plate 19g) is a slender wound pin made of bone, 139 mm long. It is triangular in cross-section, sharpened at one end, and has a knob at the other end, set off by a narrow neck 10 mm long.

RbJr-7-24 (Plate 19h) is a 76 mm long wound pin, made of bone. One end takes the form of an expanded blade 40 mm long, while at the other end there is a 5 mm long neck surmounted by an irregular knob.

RbJr-7-23 (Plate 19f) is an ivory splinter 101 mm long, sharpened at one end and having a broken knob at the other end.

Wound pins of this type are known from the M2 site (Collins 1951: Pl. 1412), Comer's Midden and Umanaq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 93-6), Smith Island (Manning 1951: Pl. 2016, 21), Naujan, Mitimatalik, Qilalukan, and Maleraluk (Mathiassen 1927b:40-41), Memorana (McGhee 1972: Pl. 2f-h), Nunguvik (Mary-Rousseliere 1979: Pl. 4h), Lady Franklin Point (Taylor 1972: Pl. 6o), Learmonth (Taylor and McGhee 1979: Pl. 5k), Levesque Harbour (VanStone 1962: Pl. 1g), and Clachan (Morrison 1983: Pl. 91-r).
Seal scratcher

RbJr-7-37 (Plate 19e) is a seal scratcher made of wood, 170 mm long. Two prongs project from its distal end. On the inferior surface of the scratcher behind the prongs there is a raised ridge of wood pierced by a double-drilled hole for a lashing to secure seal claw sheaths to the prongs. Another drilled hole pierces the scratcher just proximal to one of the prongs. The handle portion of the scratcher is expanded at its proximal end and is pierced by two holes, presumably for suspension. Seal scratchers are known from the Resolute Bay sites (Collins 1951:51), Nunagiak (Ford 1959: Fig 45h), Walakpa (Stanford 1976: Pl. 50b, d), Comer's Midden (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 87), Qilalukan (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 419, 10), Silumiut (McCartney 1977: Pl. 43e, f), Learmonth (Taylor and McGhee 1979: Pl. 4d), and Washout (Yorga 1980: Pl. 3f).

Line buckles

RbJr-7-1 (Plate 22b) is an ivory line buckle 39 mm long, carved in the shape of a bear's head. Two holes 6 mm in diameter have been drilled through the posterior section of the buckle, which is set at an obtuse angle to its longitudinal axis. The undersurface of the buckle has been carved out to complete these holes. The mouth, nostrils, eyes, and ears of the bear have been carved and each has been coloured with red pigment, traces of which remain.
RbJr-7-2 (Plate 22a) is an ivory line buckle 50 mm long, also carved in the form of a bear's head, and similar in most particulars to RbJr-7-1. The eyes and ears have been carved, along with a crease bisecting the forehead, and a hatched design around the posterior end of the buckle, resembling a collar.

Similar line buckles carved in the shape of bear's heads have been found at Ruin Island (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 38 5) and Nugdlit (Holtved 1954: Pl. 118), while at Clachan one was found in the form of a seal or walrus head (Morrison 1983: Pl. 9h).

LAND HUNTING AND FISHING

Arrowheads

RbJr-7-27 (Plate 20c) is an antler or bone arrowhead, 166 mm long. Its stem has an oval cross-section, and expands unilaterally into a thin lanceolate blade 71 mm long. The conical tang is 33 mm long and has rounded shoulders. The single spur on the tang has been broken off.

RbJr-7-26 (Plate 20d) is an arrowhead made of antler, 129 mm long. Its stem has an oval cross-section, and expands unilaterally into a thin lanceolate blade 64 mm long. The conical pointed tang is 29 mm long and has rounded shoulders and two asymmetrically placed spurs.
RbJr-7-26 and 27 represent a type of arrowhead known from Crystal II (Collins 1950: Pl. 64), Umanaq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 119), Naujan (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 84), Memorana (McGhee 1972: Pl. 2b), Nunguvik (Mary-Rousseliere 1979: Pl. 1k), Cumberland Sound (Schledermann 1975: Pl. 15b), and Lady Franklin Point (Taylor 1972: Pl. 6f).

RbJr-7-29 (Plate 20b) is an arrowhead made of antler or bone, 161 mm long. The shaft is very nearly circular in cross-section while the distal end of the arrowhead is expanded laterally and has been cut to form an end-blade slot. A drilled hole for a rivet to secure the end-blade is present. The conical pointed tang is 28 mm long and has weak shoulders and two asymmetrically placed spurs. Similar arrowheads with end-blade slots are reported from M1 (Collins 1951: Pl. 1415), Comer's Midden and Umanaq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 1120, 21), Ruggles Outlet (Maxwell 1960: Pl. 1012), Memorana (McGhee 1972: Pl. 2a), Nunguvik (Mary-Rousseliere 1979: Pl. 1j), Cumberland Sound (Schledermann 1975: Pl. 15c), and the Brook Village.

RbJr-7-41 (Plate 20e) is an antler arrowhead with its tang broken off just below the rounded shoulders. The stem is oval in cross-section and expands bilaterally into a thin lanceolate blade 75 mm long. Similar arrowheads are known from Crystal II (Collins 1950: Pl. 613, 16), M1 (Collins 1951: Pl. 1416),
Umanaq and Cape Kent (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 117, 11), Ruggles Outlet (Maxwell 1960: Pl. 109), and Deblicquy (Taylor and McGhee 1981: Pl. 3c).

RbJr-7-31 (Plate 20f) is an arrowhead made of antler, 102 mm long. Its shaft is roughly oval in cross-section, with a single short and steep lateral barb whose base forms an acute angle to the shaft. The conical pointed tang is 26 mm long and has very rounded shoulders and a single spur; a second spur may have weathered away. Two somewhat similar specimens are illustrated from Naujan (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 93, 4).

RbJr-7-28 (Plate 20g) is an antler arrowhead, 115 mm long. Its shaft is oval in cross-section, tapering to a sharpened point. The conical pointed tang is 27 mm long and has rounded shoulders and two asymmetrically placed spurs. Holtved (1944a: Pl. 111) illustrates a similar specimen from Inuarfigssuak.

RbJr-7-30 (Plate 20h) is an arrowhead made of antler, 107 mm long. Its shaft is oval in cross-section, terminating in a blunt end which is badly weathered and possibly does not represent the original form of the tip. The conical pointed tang is 21 mm long and has moderately sharp shoulders and two asymmetrically placed spurs. Arrowheads similar to RbJr-7-30 in its present form are known from Cape Kent (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 112) and Naujan (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 82).
RbJr-7-32 (Plate 20j) is a small (61 mm long) arrowhead, crudely fashioned out of a splinter of bone. A 27 mm long blade expands unilaterally from the stem. The conical pointed tang has been crudely shaped and lacks spurs. A similar specimen is reported from the Jackson site (Taylor 1972: Pl. 3f).

RbJr-7-34 (Plate 20k) is a 61 mm long antler object, circular in cross-section. It has a conical point at the distal end and tapers to a blunt tang at the proximal end. There are no spurs and just a suggestion of shoulders. This is presumably an arrowhead.

RbJr-7-33 is a conical pointed arrowhead tang with two asymmetrically placed spurs, broken off just below the shoulder.

**Bow end piece**

RbJr-7-35 and 50 (Plate 20l) is a bow end piece made of wood, 198 mm long. It tapers slightly from a width of 25 mm at the inner end towards the outer end where there is a small knob set on square shoulders. The inner end is apparently broken. There is an oblong perforation through the narrower dimension of the end piece 170 mm from the knobbed tip. Similar bow end pieces are reported from Aunartog and Comer's Midden (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 1018, 20), Silumiut (McCartney 1977: Pl. 45o), Mitimatalik (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 421), and Clachan (Morrison
Sinew twister

RbJr-7-20 (Plate 20i) is an ivory sinew twister, broken at the level of a rectangular longitudinal hole through its narrow diameter, 64 mm from the end. The remaining end is slightly asymmetrical, and curves upward. Sinew twisters of this type are known from Naujan (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 8g, 9) and from Ruggles Outlet (Maxwell 1960: Pl. 1122).

Bird dart side prong

RbJr-7-38 (Plate 20a) is a bird dart side prong made of ivory, broken at the distal end. Barbed on one side, it tapers abruptly to a conical base just above which there is a drilled hole. Similar bird dart side prongs are known from Crystal II (Collins 1950: Pl. 610), M1 (Collins 1952: Pl. 1017), and Memorana (McGhee 1972: Pl. 2k-m).

Bolas balls

RbJr-7-3 through 10; 66, and 67 (Plate 21h) are bolas balls made of bone, with maximum dimensions averaging 45 x 33 x 28 mm. All are roughly elliptical in shape, with holes drilled from either side of each apex, meeting at an angle to form a suspension hole.
Fish lure

RbJr-7-18 (Plate 22d) is a fish lure carved of bone, 88 mm long. Suspension holes have been carved in its dorsal and ventral surfaces. The gills and lateral lines of the fish are replicated by hatched lines, and the eyes are represented by small carved depressions. Roughly similar fish lures have been found at Crystal II (Collins 1950: Pl. 6_6), M2 (Collins 1951: Pl. 14_21), Inuarfigssuak (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 14_10, 11), and Clachan (Morrison 1983: Pl. 11u).

MEN'S TOOLS

Knife handle

RbJr-7-36 (Plate 21a) is a bone knife handle 189 mm long. It has a flat cross-section and a maximum thickness of 8 mm. Blade slots are present on either edge, five on one edge extending 105 mm from the distal end, and three on the other edge extending 59 mm from the distal end. The blade slots average 18 mm in length, with a maximum depth of 6 mm. A drilled suspension hole 5 mm in diameter is present 7 mm from the proximal end. This knife handle is similar to the type found at the Brook and Pond Villages as well as Port Refuge (this report), and the comparisons made for those are applicable here.
Bow drill mouthpiece

RbJr-7-40 (Plate 21g) is a caribou astragalus which has had the natural depression on its ventral surface greatly deepened through its use as a bow drill mouthpiece. Caribou astragali that have been thus used are known from Crystal II (Collins 1950: Pl. 7 11), Birnirk (Ford 1959: Fig. 84e), Umanaq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 24 24, 25), Naujan, Mitimalik, Qilalukan, and Kuk (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 22 15; 496; 65 12; 1927b:79), Ruggles Outlet (Maxwell 1960: Pl. 11 19), Cumberland Sound (Schledermann 1975: Pl. 35b), Learmonth (Taylor and McGhee 1979: Pl. 7n), Levesque Harbour (VanStone 1962: Pl. 120), and Clachan (Morrison 1983: Pl. 21f, g).

HOUSEHOLD IMPLEMENTS

Marrow spatula

RbJr-7-65 (Plate 21b) is a marrow spatula made of bone, 143 mm long. Its shaft is circular in cross-section and has a diameter of 5 mm. It terminates at one end in a flattened area 65 mm long, which at its tongue-shaped tip is just over 1 mm thick. The other end of the implement has been cut squarely. A rectangular groove 10 mm long bisects the upper side of the spatula at this end. This specimen is similar to one from the Memorana site (McGhee 1972:34; Pl. 4f).
ORNAMENTS

Drilled bear canines

RbJr-7-12 and 13 (Plate 21d, e) are bear canine teeth which have had suspension holes drilled through their roots.

Carving

RbJr-7-19 (Plate 22c) is a piece of carved ivory 56 mm long. It takes the form of a tapered section 47 mm long surmounted by a small knob, and could conceivably be an unfinished human figurine.

In addition to the above, the following was also found in the cache:

1 piece of worked bone
8 fragments of apparently unworked bone
2 pieces of worked ivory
1 piece of wood shaft
12 pieces of worked wood
2 unmodified bear teeth (Plate 21c, f)
DISCUSSION

The collection of artifacts recovered from RbJr-7 consists almost exclusively of hunting and manufacturing implements. Sea mammal hunting is represented by the harpoon heads, wound pins, seal scratcher, and line buckles. Land mammal hunting is evidenced by a variety of arrowheads, a bow end piece, and a sinew twister. The hunting of birds is indicated by a bird dart side prong and ten bolas balls, while fishing is attested to by a fish lure. Three other implements were found, a man's knife handle, bow drill mouthpiece, and marrow spatula. Two drilled bear canines and a carved piece of ivory complete the collection.

The intended function of the RbJr-7 structure is unknown. Its shape and proportions and the nature of the collection of artifacts found in it suggest a grave, but its internal dimensions are rather smaller than many known adult graves (e.g., Mathiassen 1927a:90-98), and no human bones were found in it. If, on the other hand, the artifacts were simply cached here for later use, and the recovered collection represents all of the artifacts originally deposited here, then some explanation is required for the eclectic nature of the collection, which contains incomplete inventories of sea mammal hunting equipment, land hunting equipment, and fishing equipment.
Figure 16. RbJu-1 site plan. Houses 4 and 5 were excavated.
PORT REFUGE

The Thule site at Port Refuge (RbJu-l) is located at the southeastern corner of the bay at the base of the bird cliffs, at an elevation of fourteen metres above sea level. It consists of five semi-subterranean houses with walls of rock and sod, each containing numerous whale bones in its interior. Four of the houses are arranged linearly, parallel to the coast, while the fifth is centered behind them. All face southeast, towards the shoreline. The houses have all been subject to some disturbance, part of which was probably done by Sir Edward Belcher's crew in 1853 (McGhee 1979:5).

Two houses were chosen for excavation, House 4, which is located at the southwestern end of the line of four houses, and House 5, which is above and behind the other four. The excavation of these two houses and part of a midden spanned three weeks in 1972, during which a great deal of other excavation and survey was also carried out. A total of one hundred and ninety-seven objects were found.

House 4

House 4 was built on the gently sloping ground facing the bay. It is somewhat irregular in outline but has maximum internal dimensions of four by four metres. The rear platform is divided, the west portion being ten centimetres higher than the
larger east portion, which is eighty centimetres below the level of the surrounding ground. The remains of a baleen platform mattress was found on the platform. The flagged floor is set one hundred and ten centimetres below the surrounding ground level. A portion of the floor on the northeastern side of the house is raised ten centimetres above the rest of the floor and may represent a lamp platform. A raised pantry is present to the right of the passage entrance. Excavation of this house produced one hundred and forty-five artifacts. A midden in front of and presumably associated with House 4 was also excavated and twenty-eight artifacts were recovered from the nine squares dug.

House 5

House 5 is located behind the other four and appears to have had less whalebone in its interior. Upon excavation it proved to be oval in shape with a single rear platform, flagged floor, and a slightly raised cooking area located to the left of the passage entrance. It is considerably smaller than House 4, having maximum internal dimensions of 3.5 by 2.5 metres. The platform is situated fifty centimetres below the surrounding ground level, thirty centimetres above the level of the floor. Excavation of this house produced only twenty-four artifacts.
Figure 17. The Port Refuge Thule site, viewed from the bird cliffs to the northwest.
Figure 18. Port Refuge: House 4 in the foreground before excavation, viewed from the southwest.
Figure 19. RbJu-1 House 4: excavation plan.
Figure 21. RbJu-1 House 5: excavation plan.
PORT REFUGE ARTIFACTS

SEA MAMMAL HUNTING

Harpoon heads

RbJu-1-793 (House 4, east floor area; Plate 23a) is a Thule type 3 harpoon head made of antler, with a triangular, sharpened 41 mm long baleen end-blade. Its total length is 119 mm. It has an open socket, drilled line-hole, and paired lashing holes in which the baleen lashing is still present. The diagonally cut base extends into a pointed lateral spur. The end-blade slot is parallel to the line-hole, and there is a drilled hole perpendicular to it for a rivet to secure the end-blade. No rivet is present, however, and the baleen end-blade has not been pierced for one.

RbJu-1-1069 (House 4, under west platform; Plate 23b) is the proximal half of what is probably a Thule type 3 harpoon head made of ivory. It has an open socket, drilled line-hole, and paired lashing holes which are joined by grooves on the dorsal surface. The base is cut obliquely, and there is a sharp lateral spur. The base/spur margin is sharp. The distal portion of the harpoon head is broken off at the level of an end-blade slot parallel to the line-hole. There is an incised
groove from the line-hole to the base of the end-blade slot on both faces, and a vestigial side-blade slot on the lateral edge opposite the spur, just above the level of the line-hole.

RbJu-1-796 (House 4, east platform; Plate 23c) is an unfinished harpoon head, most probably of the Thule type 3 variety. It has an obliquely cut base and robust lateral spur. Single shallow drilling scars are present on the dorsal and ventral faces and on the base. Those on the dorsal and ventral surfaces might both be for the line-hole, but they would meet at a very steep angle. It seems more likely that those on the base and on the ventral surface represent the beginnings of an open socket, while that on the dorsal side is for the line-hole. An end-blade slot has been cut parallel to the projected plane of the line-hole, and a rivet hole has been drilled for the fastening of an end-blade. The distal end of the harpoon head has broken off at the level of the rivet hole.

Thule type 3 harpoon heads are known from most Thule sites. A Thule type 3 harpoon head with drilled lashing holes and a vestigial side-blade slot and thus similar to RbJu-1-1069 was found at Malerualik (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 82.2).

RbJu-1-221 (House 4, east room; Plate 23d) is a Thule type 4 harpoon head, made of ivory. The socket is of the closed type, and both it and the line-hole are drilled, the socket to
such an extent that it has penetrated the line-hole slightly. The base is cut diagonally, to a sharp spur through which a 4 mm diameter hole has been drilled 7 mm from the end, perhaps for a thong to facilitate removal of the harpoon head from the wound (Holtved 1944a:189). The slot for an end-blade was cut perpendicular to the line-hole, and a rather large (8 mm diameter) hole for a rivet to fasten the end-blade is present. A robust keel runs from the line-hole to the rivet hole, probably on both sides of the harpoon head, although one side is sheared off from the level of the end-blade slot. While no Thule type 4 harpoon head with the same exact combination of attributes appears in the literature, the general comparisons for the Thule type 4 harpoon head found at RbJr-7 should also apply here.

RbJu-1-795 (House 4, east platform; Plate 23e) is an unfinished Thule type 2 harpoon head. Made of antler, it is 138 mm long. It has two opposed barbs and an obliquely cut base meeting a steep lateral spur at a moderately sharp angle. Neither the socket nor the line-hole has been started. An end-blade slot has been cut perpendicular to the projected plane of the line-hole.

RbJu-1-1052 (House 5, floor and west wall area; Plate 23i) is a Thule type 2 harpoon head, made of antler. It has two opposed barbs, open socket, and a drilled line-hole. The base is cut
obliquely, meeting the steep lateral spur at a sharp angle. Two pairs of lashing holes are drilled through lateral ridges, almost meeting on the dorsal side. Perpendicular to the plane of the line-hole there is a slot for an inserted end-blade which would have been held in place by a rivet, for which there remains part of a drilled hole.

RbJu-1-1053 (House 5, floor and west wall area; Plate 23j) is a blank for a Thule type 2 harpoon head, 186 mm long and made of bone. Although in an early stage of manufacture, it is apparent that it would have had two opposed barbs, an obliquely cut base and steep lateral spur, presumably with an open socket.

Thule type 2 harpoon heads with a blade slot perpendicular to the plane of the line-hole are known from M1 (Collins 1952: Pl. 105), Umanaq and Comer's Midden (Holtved 1944b:42), Naujan and Qilalukan (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 374; 396), Cumberland Sound (Schledermann 1975: Pl. 1a, c, k), and the Smith Island settlement on southeastern Ellesmere Island (Bentham and Jenness 1941: Pl. 13).

RbJu-1-1501 (House 5, floor and west wall area; Plate 23g) is a bone harpoon head of Mathiassen's (1927b:12) type AIIC1, also called Barrow closed socket (Morrison 1983:92-93). Both the line-hole and socket are drilled, and the base is cut diagonally, to a markedly bifurcated spur. The slot for an
end-blade is cut parallel to the line-hole, and the end-blade was fixed in place with a rivet, the drilled hole for which defines the level at which the distal end of the harpoon head has broken off. Stains in the end-blade slot indicate that an iron blade was used.

RbJu-1-658 (House 5; Plate 23h) is a harpoon head of the same type, made of bone and identical to RbJu-1-1501.

RbJu-1-809 (House 5, east wall area; Plate 23f) is a harpoon head of the same type, made of antler. It is identical to RbJu-1-1501 and 658, except that its lateral spur comes to a single sharp point.

Harpoon heads of this type with bifurcated spurs but varying in size are known from Comer's Midden and Umanaq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 419-21), Nugdlit (Holtved 1954:62-63), Kuk (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 695), Deblicquy (Taylor and McGhee 1981: Pl. 1a), Igloo Point (Bentham and Jenness 1941: Pl. 3 16), and Point Barrow (Ford 1959:93). Similar specimens lacking bifurcated spurs are known from Inuarfigssuak and Umanaq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 4 11, 12, 17, 18), Nugdlit (Holtved 1954:62-63), Qilalukan (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 64 11), Vaughn and Lady Franklin Point (Taylor 1972: Pl. 1c; 6j), Point Barrow (Ford 1959:93), Walakpa (Stanford 1976:22), Clachan (Morrison 1983: Pl. 2d-h), Learmonth (Taylor and McGhee 1979: Pl. 1g), Deblicquy (Taylor and McGhee 1981: Pl. 1b), Levesque Harbour, Fort Ross, and the Thom Bay
Grave (VanStone 1962:23, 26; Pl. 18).

**Harpoon foreshafts**

RbJu-1-803 (House 4, west platform; Plate 24a) is a moveable foreshaft made of bone, 240 mm long. It has a sub-rectangular cross-section (22 x 16 mm in diameter), with its thickest point 30 mm from the proximal end, from which point it tapers gradually to the distal end. There is a line-hole drilled through the lesser diameter 50 to 57 mm from the proximal end. This foreshaft is very similar to RbJr-1-71, and the comparisons made for it are also applicable here.

RbJu-1-1070 (House 4, under west platform; Plate 24b) is the proximal end of what is probably an unfinished foreshaft made of bone, similar to RbJu-1-803. There is no line-hole and the bone has only been roughly smoothed. It is oval in cross-section (24 x 16 mm in diameter) with its thickest point 50 mm from the proximal end.

RbJu-1-642 (House 4, floor; Plate 24c) is the distal end of a harpoon foreshaft made of bone. It has a sub-rectangular cross-section (16 x 14 mm in diameter), and the distal end tapers unilaterally for 23 mm to a blunt tip. There is a line-hole 176 mm from the distal end, through the lesser diameter of the foreshaft.

RbJu-1-262 (House 4, floor; Plate 24f) is a small fixed foreshaft
made of bone. It is 133 mm long with an ovoid cross-section (12 x 15 mm in diameter), scarfed and roughened for approximately 60 mm from the proximal end. A drilled hole 6 mm in diameter pierces the scarf face 25 mm from the proximal end. The distal end is flattened into a wedge shape and has been battered. Similar fixed foreshafts are known from Naujan (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 35, 6).

**Harpoon shaft (?)**

RbJu-1-656 (House 4, west wall) is a possible harpoon shaft, not available for study.

**Harpoon ice picks**

RbJu-1-1054 (House 5, floor and west wall area; Plate 24d) is an ivory harpoon ice pick, 226 mm long. Its roughly triangular proximal end has been extensively roughened for 100 mm. Distal to this section the ice pick is plano-convex in cross-section, tapering gradually to the tip, which is sharpened. This ice pick is similar to ones found at Inuarfigssuak (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 75), Crystal II (Collins 1950: Pl. 64), and Cumberland Sound (Schledermann 1975: Pl. 17e).

RbJu-1-2028 (House 4, midden; Plate 24e) is a bone ice pick, 154 mm long. The 50 mm long tang is triangular in cross-section and roughened. It expands into the body of the
ice pick which is plano-convex in cross-section and tapers through its length to a sharp tip. Similar ice picks have been reported from Learmonth (Taylor and McGhee 1979: Pl. 3j), Naujan (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 42), and Cumberland Sound (Schledermann 1975: Pl. 17b).

Drag line handle

RbJu-1-620 (House 4, west wall; Plate 24g) appears to be an unfinished drag line handle made of bone, 113 mm long. Its upper surface is convex with a central triangular notch 6 mm deep cut out of it. Its ventral surface has been carved out at one end parallel to the upper surface, producing a downward curving arm, but the other end has not had this done. This is apparently an unfinished version of roughly the same type as RbJr-1-74.

LAND HUNTING AND FISHING

Arrowheads

RbJu-1-792 (House 4, east room; Plate 25a) is an antler arrowhead, 156 mm long. The stem is oval in cross-section, expanding into a thin lanceolate blade 105 mm long. The conical blunt tang is 29 mm long and has square shoulders and two asymmetrically placed spurs. This arrowhead is similar to ones found at Crystal II (Collins 1950: Pl. 613, 16), M1 (Collins 1951: Pl. 1416), Umanaq and Cape Kent (Holtved 1944a:
Pl. 117, 11, Ruggles Outlet (Maxwell 1960: Pl. 10g), and Deblicquy (Taylor and McGhee 1981: Pl. 3c).

RbJu-1-1059 (House 4, under east platform; Plate 25c) is a small antler arrowhead whose stem is circular in cross-section, expanding into a thin lanceolate blade 63 mm long. The tang has been broken off, just proximal to its rounded shoulders.

RbJu-1-242 (House 4, east platform; Plate 25b) is a small antler arrowhead 78 mm long. Its stem is circular in cross-section, expanding into a thin lanceolate blade 45 mm long. The conical pointed tang is 19 mm long and has rounded shoulders and two asymmetrically placed spurs.

RbJu-1-623 (House 4, west platform; Plate 25d) is an antler arrowhead, 79 mm long. The distal end is oval in cross-section and terminates in a sharp point. The proximal end takes the form of a 26 mm long scarf face. The exterior of the proximal end has been roughened for lashing.

Blunt arrowheads

RbJu-1-1115 (House 4, under west platform; Plate 25e) is a crudely carved wooden object 92 mm long, probably an arrowhead. It is circular in cross-section and tapers from its widest point 15 mm from the distal end, to its proximal end. The distal end takes the form of a blunt point.
RbJu-1-1049a (House 5, floor and west wall area; Plate 25f) is a slender wooden object 216 mm long. It is broken at its proximal end and terminates in a swollen, blunt tip at the distal end.

**Arrowshafts**

RbJu-1-241 (House 4, east platform; Plate 25g) is a wooden arrowshaft 238 mm long. It is slightly flattened in cross-section and expands proximally into a broad flat base with a circular notch, with two small lateral notches for lashing just distal to it. The distal end is hollowed out to form a socket and is discoloured for a length of 12 mm from the tip due to the former presence of a lashing.

RbJu-1-252 (House 4, west platform; Plate 25i) is a wooden arrowshaft, 129 mm long. It is circular in cross-section and has an expanded and flattened base with a central notch, and two small lateral notches for lashing just distal to it. The distal end consists of a scarf face 32 mm long.

RbJu-1-650 (House 4, floor; Plate 25k) is a distal fragment of an arrowshaft, circular in cross-section and 9 mm in diameter. A hole, presumably for the insertion of an arrowhead, is present in the distal end of the shaft, as are the remains of an organic lashing.

RbJu-1-1049b (House 5, floor and west wall area; Plate 25n) is a
fragment from the proximal end of a wooden arrowshaft. It is slightly expanded at one end and broken at both ends.

RbJu-l-802 (House 4, east platform; Plate 25i) is the flattened and expanded proximal end of an arrowshaft with a triangular notch in the butt end.

RbJu-l-1075 (House 4, east room; Plate 25m) is the flattened and expanded proximal end of an arrowshaft with a semi-circular notch in the butt end.

RbJu-l-800 (House 4, east platform; Plate 25h) is a proximal fragment of an arrowshaft, broken off distally. The cross-section at the proximal end is square, while at the distal end it is rectangular. A semi-circular notch has been cut out of the proximal end.

RbJu-l-801 (House 4, east platform; Plate 25j) is a portion of a wooden arrowshaft, slightly tapered at one end and broken at the other.

Arrowshafts have been reported from Umanaq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 126-8, 10), M1 (Collins 1952: Pl. 1018), Naujan and Qilalukan (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 810-12; 4211), Silumiut (McCartney 1977: Pl. 48e), Cumberland Sound (Schledermann 1975: Pl. 15e, f), Washout (Yorga 1980: Pl. 4i), and Walakpa (Stanford 1976: Pl. 102h).
Bow

RbJu-1-1047 (House 5, floor and west wall area; Plate 27d) is a 435 mm long piece of wood, averaging 25 mm wide and having a plano-convex cross-section with a maximum thickness of 11 mm. Both ends of the object are cut rather unevenly. This is thought to be the central portion of a composite bow.

Bow end piece

RbJu-1-1071 (House 4, east room; Plate 26j) is a bow end piece made of wood, 107 mm long. One end takes the form of a steep wedge, while the other end has squared shoulders supporting a slightly outflaring knob. Similar bow end pieces are known from Inuarfigssuak (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 1017), Naujan (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 81), and Jackson (Taylor 1972: Pl. 3b).

Bow brace

RbJu-1-222 (House 4, east room; Plate 26i) is an elliptical bow brace made of antler, 152 mm long and 33 mm wide. Convex in cross-section, its outer face has three longitudinal facets while its inner face has two. Bow braces of this type are known from Inuarfigssuak (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 1022, 23), Crystal II (Collins 1950: Pl. 617), and Ruggles Outlet (Maxwell 1960: Pl. 1114).
Quiver handle (?)

RbJu-1-235 (House 4, floor area; Plate 26f) is a 120 mm long piece of bone, flat in cross-section, with one end cut squarely and the other end cut unevenly. A drilled hole 7 mm in diameter pierces the handle 16 mm from one end, while a roughly diamond-shaped hole 9 x 14 mm is present 11 mm from the other end. A similar quiver handle was found at Cape Kent (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 1217).

Bolas ball

RbJu-1-1072 (House 4, east room; Plate 26g) is a bolas ball made of bone, with maximum dimensions of 35 x 26 x 18 mm. Its shape is that of a flattened cylinder. Holes have been drilled from either side of the narrow longitudinal edge, meeting at an angle to form a suspension hole.

Bird dart side prong

RbJu-1-1050 (House 5, floor and west wall area; Plate 26a) is a bird dart side prong made of antler and 144 mm long. It has three unilateral barbs near its distal end, and its proximal end is squared. Bird dart side prongs of this type are known from Inuarfigssuak and Cape Kent (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 108, 10) and from Levesque Harbour (VanStone 1962: Pl. 15).
Peg for butt end of a dart

RbJu-1-1555 (House 4, midden; Plate 26h) is a bone peg 34 mm long, with a diameter of 15 mm. The tapering spike section of the peg is 26 mm long and is surmounted by a flattened knob in the centre of which there is a small depression for the insertion of an atlatl hook. The dart shaft butt piece from the Porden Point Brook Village is fitted with a similar peg, and the comparisons made for it apply here as well.

Fish lure

RbJu-1-1073 (House 4, east room; Plate 32b) is a fish lure made of ivory, 73 mm long. It has gouged suspension holes on its dorsal and ventral sides as well as a central slot passing from side to side. The eyes are represented by a drilled hole, the gills by carved lines, and the lateral lines by hatched lines. A vaguely similar fish lure with a central slot was found at the Memorana site (McGhee 1972: Pl. 2t).

Fish spear centre prongs

RbJu-1-1060 (House 4, under east platform; Plate 26d) is a pointed bone shaft 144 mm long. It is circular in cross-section and tapers to a sharp point at the distal end. Proximally, it is flattened and has a circularly notched base. The flattened area at the base is roughened for lashing.
RbJu-l-261 (House 4, floor; Plate 26e) is a pointed bone shaft 114 mm long. Circular in cross-section over most of its length, it has a maximum diameter of 6 mm but has been bilaterally flattened for a length of 20 mm at its proximal end.

Similar fish spear centre prongs are known from Cape Kent (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 135), Levesque Harbour (VanStone 1962: Pl. 16), and the Porden Point Brook Village.

**Leister prongs**

RbJu-l-1556 (House 4, midden; Plate 26c) is a leister prong made of antler, with its base broken off. Both sides of the prong have been flattened. There are three barbs on either side of the tip of the prong, asymmetrically placed. A hole has been drilled through it 58 mm from the tip.

RbJu-l-798 (House 4, east platform; Plate 26b) is also a leister prong made of antler. Two small barbs are present on either side of the distal end, and the tip is broken, while the base is squared. One side of the prong has been flattened for 57 mm above the base, while the other side has been flattened for a length of 120 mm.

Leister prongs similar to the above are known from Umanaq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 1326), Naujan (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 29), Lady Franklin Point (Taylor 1972: Pl. 7h), and Learmonth (Taylor
and McGhee 1979: Pl. 6f).

TRANSPORTATION

Sled cross-slat

RbJu-1-2029 (House 4, midden; Plate 27h) is an end-fragment of a sled cross-slat made of bone. A notch is present on each flattened lateral edge approximately 20 mm from the end, forming a knob. Two drilled holes 7 mm in diameter are present approximately 100 mm from the end. Pieces of sled cross-slats similar to this one have been found at Inuarfigssuak (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 1510), Cumberland Sound (Schledermann 1975: Pl. 23b), and Learmonth (Taylor and McGhee 1979: Pl. 49e).

Sled shoes

RbJu-1-231 (House 4, floor area; Plate 27g) is a sled shoe section made of bone, 390 mm long and from 37 to 48 mm wide. Its outer surface is slightly convex in cross-section while its inner surface is flat. A total of twelve peg holes are present, with the remains of bone and ivory pegs still inserted. The single complete peg is 19 mm long, made of bone, and tapers to a blunt point at the end where it would attach to the sled runner.

RbJu-1-228 (House 4, entrance passage; Plate 27f) is a sled shoe
fragment of bone, from 38 to 45 mm wide. Its outer surface is
convex in cross-section and smooth, while its inner surface
has been flattened. The lateral edges have been squared in
places. Two complete and three partial peg holes are present,
7 mm in diameter. A broken bone peg is still in place in one
of the holes.

The comparisons made for the pegged sled shoes from the
Porden Point Pond Village are also applicable here.

Trace buckle

RbJu-1-219 (House 4, west platform; Plate 28e) is a trace buckle
made of ivory with maximum dimensions of 53 x 25 x 12 mm.
Holes 7 mm in diameter have been drilled through it
approximately 10 mm from either end. A similar trace buckle
was found at the M1 site (Collins 1951; Pl. 1513).

MEN'S TOOLS

Knife handles

RbJu-1-807 (House 5, north wall; Plate 28a) is a knife handle
made of bone. It is 122 mm long, 22 mm wide, and
sub-rectangular in cross-section. An end-blade socket 15 mm
long, 2 mm wide and 14 mm deep is present in the distal end.
This socket was apparently formed by drilling two holes, the
scars of which remain, and cutting a slot between them. A
drilled and counter-sunk suspension hole with a diameter of 4 mm is present 7 mm from the proximal end.

RbJu-l-1057 (House 4, under east platform; Plate 28b) is a portion of a knife handle, 85 mm long. It has been split longitudinally, along the plane of end-blade slots which are present at both ends. It may, however, be one half of a composite handle which was bound together to hold the blades. Two parallel incised lines 3 mm apart run from end to end on the side of the handle. They are crossed at one end by four incised lines, and by several other lines, possibly unintentional, in the centre of the handle.

These knife handles are similar in type to RbJr-4-42, and the comparisons made for it also apply here.

RbJu-l-661 (House 5; Plate 28d) is the broken proximal portion of a bone knife handle, flat in cross-section and having a maximum width of 20 mm. The proximal end of a blade slot is present on one edge of the handle at the point where it is broken.

RbJu-l-1560 (House 4, midden; Plate 28c) is the broken proximal end of what is presumably a knife handle, made of bone. A drilled suspension hole with a diameter of 6 mm is present 31 mm from the proximal end of the handle, which is also roughened on either edge for a distance of 70 mm from the
proximal end.

These knife handles appear to be similar in type to the specimens found at the Porden Point Brook Village, and the comparisons made for them also apply here.

MANUFACTURING AND HOUSE BUILDING

Snow probe tips

RbJu-1-636 (House 4, east platform; Plate 29f) is a snow probe tip made of bone, 331 mm long. The shaft is circular in cross-section with a diameter of 10 mm and, beginning 60 mm from the proximal end, tapers into an irregular, pointed tang. At the distal end the shaft expands smoothly into an elongated knob with a maximum diameter of 13 mm.

RbJu-1-1554 (House 4, midden; Plate 29e) is a snow probe tip made of bone, 162 mm long. The shaft is circular in cross-section with a diameter of 7 mm. It tapers very slightly at the proximal end, and is expanded into an elongated knob with a maximum diameter of 10 mm at the distal end.

These snow probe tips are similar to RbJr-1-120 and 153, and the comparisons made for them also apply here.

Snow knives

RbJu-1-225 (House 4, entrance passage; Plate 29a) is a bone snow
knife, 310 mm long and crescentic in outline. The handle is short and has a unilateral end-knob. On the concave edge of the implement the handle is separated from the blade by an oblique 10 mm shoulder, while on the outer edge they are only separated by a shallow angle. The blade tapers from a width of 40 mm at the handle to a width of 12 mm at the rounded tip. Both edges of the blade are sharpened.

RbJu-1-234 (House 4, floor area; Plate 29b) is similar to RbJu-1-225 in most respects, being 265 mm long and made of bone. The shoulder separating the blade from the handle on the inner edge is 25 mm long, and the blade tapers from 58 mm at the handle to a rounded tip. There is a drilled suspension hole 5 mm in diameter in the centre of the blade, just distal to the shoulder.

Snow knives similar to these are known from Nunguvik (Mary-Rousseliere 1979: Pl. 2h), Learmonth (Taylor and McGhee 1979: Pl. 9a, b), and Deblicquy (Taylor and McGhee 1981: Pl. 6a).

RbJu-1-794 (House 4, east platform; Plate 29d) is the ivory blade from a composite snow knife. It is 239 mm long and tapers from 45 mm in width to 20 mm at its squared tip. On one surface of the blade there is a tongue-shaped, roughened area extending 70 mm from the blade's proximal end. This, and four drilled holes 6 mm in diameter, are for the attachment of a handle.
RbJu-1-2027 (House 4, midden; Plate 29c) is the bone blade from a composite snow knife. It is 270 mm long and crescentic in shape, tapering from a maximum width of 62 mm to 25 mm at the rounded tip. On the inner (concave) edge there is a marked shoulder, 25 mm high, 18 mm from the proximal end of the blade. This suggests that the composite implement would have resembled RbJu-1-225 and 234 in outline. The handle was affixed by lashing, for which eight holes 5 mm in diameter were drilled. Two of the holes are joined by a groove on one face of the blade.

Snow knife blades from composite snow knives of this type are known from Inuarfigssuak and Umanaq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 188, 9), Silumiut (McCartney 1977: Pl. 20b), and Cumberland Sound (Schledermann 1975: Pl. 25c).

RbJu-1-665 (House 5) is possibly the broken handle for a snow knife, made of bone and having a unilateral end-knob.

Adze handle

RbJu-1-1557 (House 4, midden; Plate 30e) is an adze handle 280 mm long and roughly plano-convex in cross-section. The butt end of the handle has a unilateral knob and a drilling scar on either surface but at unequal levels, such that if completed they would not meet. This would appear to represent a botched attempt at a double-drilled suspension hole. The handle
expands somewhat towards the distal end, to a maximum width of 40 mm. Three lashing holes 8 mm in diameter have been drilled through the handle in the configuration of an inverted triangle. Adze handles of this type are known from Umanaq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 2819), Naujan and Qilalukan (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 2011; 483), Cumberland Sound (Schledermann 1975: Pl. 26a-c), and Silumiut (McCartney 1977: Pl. 22c, d).

Maul

RbJu-l-1558 (House 4, midden; Plate 30b) is a bone maul head, 173 mm long. It has a roughly oval cross-section with a diameter of 60 x 42 mm at its distal end. A seating for the handle is present on the inferior surface at the proximal end, 55 mm long and approximately 8 mm deep. Above and distal to it there are three drilled lashing holes, 8 mm in diameter. Similar mauls are known from Cape Kent (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 281), Button Point (Mathiassen 1927a: Fig. 68), and Cumberland Sound (Schledermann 1975: Pl. 33c).

Wedges

RbJu-l-227 (House 4, entrance passage; Plate 30h) is a large wedge made of bone, with maximum dimensions of 225 x 81 x 34 mm. The butt has been cut squarely and is somewhat battered. Both lateral edges have been flattened. The wedge has been thinned bilaterally at the bit end, forming
a chisel-like cutting edge.

RbJu-1-664 (House 4, floor; Plate 30g) is a wedge made of antler, 124 mm long, battered at the butt and tapering laterally to the bit end, which is damaged.

RbJu-1-254 (House 4, west platform; Plate 30f) is a wedge made of bone, 107 mm long. The bit end has been thinned on both sides and the lateral edges of the wedge have been flattened, giving it a width of 23 mm. The butt has been battered.

**Picks**

RbJu-1-2 (House 4, looter's backdirt; Plate 30c) is a split bone shaft 163 mm long, battered at the square butt and sharpened at the tip.

RbJu-1-257 (House 4, floor) is an object made of antler, 364 mm long. It is tapered slightly and battered at the tip, and was presumably used as a pick.

**Mattock blade**

RbJu-1-643 (House 4, floor; Plate 30a) is a mattock blade made of bone, 445 mm long. It has a rectangular hole for the attachment of a handle 50 mm from the butt, with dimensions of 38 x 22 mm. One lashing notch is present on either edge, 115 mm from the butt. The blade is 66 mm wide and has been thinned slightly on the ventral surface at the tip. This type
of mattock blade is similar to RbJr-4-15 and RbJr-4-3/49, and the comparisons made for them are also applicable here.

**Mattock handle**

RbJu-1-226 (House 4, entrance passage; Plate 30d) is the broken distal portion of a mattock handle made of bone. The distal end is cut, while the break occurred at a constriction in the handle. An oblong hole 36 x 13 mm has been cut through the thin diameter of the handle 88 mm from the distal end. Mattock handles were also found at the Porden Point sites and the comparisons made for them apply here as well.

**HOUSEHOLD IMPLEMENTS**

**Snow beaters**

RbJu-1-218 (House 4, west platform; Plate 27c) is a snow beater made of baleen, 470 mm long. It is 50 mm wide at the proximal end, narrowing to 31 mm for the handle section and then expanding into the blade section, which has a maximum width of 43 mm, and tapers gradually to a blunt tip 20 mm wide.

RbJu-1-259 (House 4, floor; Plate 27b) is a baleen snow beater similar in shape and proportions to RbJu-1-218 and 458 mm long.

A baleen snow beater was found at the Porden Point Brook Village and the comparisons made for it also apply here.
RbJu-1-232 (House 4, floor area; Plate 27a) is presumably a snow beater, made of bone and 472 mm long. The handle has a unilateral end-knob, and blends smoothly into the straight blade, which is 46 mm wide. Similar implements have been found at Umanaq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 311) and Kuk (Mathiassen 1927b:112).

Bronze bowl fragment

RbJu-1-269 (House 4, beneath east platform) is a fragment of a shallow bronze bowl. It has a maximum thickness of approximately 2.5 mm, tapering externally to a sharp lip. A small ridge parallels the lip on the external surface of the bowl approximately 10 mm from the lip. A black organic coating is present on the interior and exterior surfaces of the fragment. Analysis of the bronze failed to locate its source, but a Norse origin is most probable.

Stone vessels

RbJu-1-3 (House 4, looter's backdirt) and RbJu-1-217 (House 4, west platform) together form one end of a large sandstone pot, rectangular in outline. It is approximately 85 mm deep and expands from a basal width of roughly 115 mm to 155 mm at the lip. The sides of the pot are approximately 15 mm thick. It is encrusted with black organic material on both its interior and exterior surfaces. A similar pot is illustrated from the
Spence Bay site (VanStone 1962: Pl. 111).

RbJu-1-621 (House 4, east wall; Plate 34f) is a curved rim fragment of a shallow soapstone vessel, possibly a lamp.

RbJu-1-246 (House 4, east platform; Plate 34e) is a small irregular soapstone sherd.

**Composite bowls**

RbJu-1-260 (House 4, floor; Plate 31a) is an oval bowl with a base formed of two pieces of wood, joined along the centreline with a lashing of baleen. The sides of the bowl are formed by a looped piece of baleen, sewn together with baleen where its ends meet. The basal dimensions of the bowl are 189 x 90 mm, and it is approximately 65 mm deep.

RbJu-1-1113 (House 4, under west platform; Plate 31c) is an oval bowl with a base formed of a single piece of wood with a maximum thickness of 13 mm, and with sides formed of a looped strip of baleen sewn together with baleen where its ends meet. The bowl has basal dimensions of 193 x 100 mm, but its depth cannot be estimated.

RbJu-1-236 (House 4, floor; Plate 31b) is a small oval bowl with basal dimensions of 104 x 67 mm, and an estimated depth of 45 mm. The base is formed of a single piece of wood, irregularly convex on its lower surface and slightly concave
on its inner surface. The sides are formed of a single looped strip of baleen, sewn together at its ends with baleen.

The comparisons made for the similar composite bowl found at the Porden Point Brook Village are also applicable here.

**Pot hook**

RbJu-1-641 (House 4, floor) is a cut section of antler, very worn, having two holes 7 mm in diameter drilled through one of the two remaining tines, presumably for suspension. Pot hooks of roughly this sort are reported from Cape Russell and Umanaq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 30-18-21), Naujan, Mitimatalik, Qilalukan, and Button Point (Mathiassen 1927b:108), and Ruggles Outlet (Maxwell 1960: Pl. 121, 2).

**Baleen platform mattress**

RbJu-1-1109 (House 4) is the remains of a baleen platform mattress, similar to those found at Qilalukan (Mathiassen 1927a:182; Pl. 54; 551, 4), Silumiut (McCartney 1977:284), and Cumberland Sound (Schledermann 1975: Pl. 43d).

**Whetstones**

RbJu-1-808 (House 5, west platform; Plate 34g) is a roughly rectangular whetstone, with maximum dimensions of 79 x 30 x 27 mm. Each of its long faces has been abraded smooth, and continued abrasion has resulted in each surface
being slightly concave.

Rbju-1-245 (House 4, east platform; Plate 34i) is a roughly oblong whetstone, with maximum dimensions of 72 x 38 x 19 mm. One of the long edges has been smoothly polished through use.

Rbju-1-4 (House 4, looter's backdirt; Plate 34h) is a piece of slate, plano-convex in cross-section, that has been crudely chipped around some of its edges and has striations on its flat surface, probably from its use as a whetstone.

**ORNAMENTS AND TOYS**

**Ivory disk**

Rbju-1-2024 (House 4, midden; Plate 32a) is a smooth oval disk of ivory, 39 x 31 mm in diameter and having a maximum thickness of 4 mm. A drilled hole 6 mm in diameter pierces the centre of the disk. On one surface it is decorated with thirteen incised dots around its perimeter, inside of which incised carvings of two persons and eight swimming birds encircle the central hole. Immediately surrounding the hole there are six dots, connected to it by incised lines. On its other face the disk is decorated with sixteen dots around its perimeter, just inside of which there are two incised hatched circles, one within the other. These are divided by eight lines radiating from the central hole, which is also encircled by eight dots. The purpose of the disk is unknown.
Bear canine teeth

RbJu-1-249 (House 4, west platform; Plate 33h) is a large polar bear canine with a drilled suspension hole with a diameter of 3 mm piercing the root near its tip.

RbJu-1-648 (House 4, floor; Plate 33i) is similar to RbJu-1-249, having a 5 mm diameter suspension hole drilled through the root near its tip.

RbJu-1-250 and 251 (House 4, west platform) are unmodified bear canine teeth.

RbJu-1-1068 (House 4, under west platform; Plate 33j) is a piece of skin, approximately 105 mm long and 60 mm wide at one end, with the other end being only 25 mm wide. Its edges have been joined with sinew stitching, producing a skin tube that tapers sharply 53 mm from its wide end to a narrow, constricted end. The fur side of the skin is outward, although the fur has been removed. This may be the wrapping for a bear canine amulet similar to RbJr-1-222.

Perforated tooth pendant

RbJu-1-244 (House 4, east platform; Plate 33k) is a caribou incisor with a 1.5 mm diameter suspension hole drilled through its root near the tip. Caribou incisor pendants are known from M1 (Collins 1951: Pl. 16.12), Naujan (Mathiassen
1927a: Pl. 29), Lady Franklin Point (Taylor 1972: Pl. 6m), and Washout (Yorga 1980: Pl. 25b, c).

Dolls

RbJu-1-657 (House 5; Plate 33g) is a doll made of wood, 127 mm tall. The front of the doll, including the face, is featureless. The back is also featureless except for slightly projecting buttocks. The doll has no feet and the arms are indicated only by small protuberances. A small topknot suggests that this doll may be that of a female.

RbJu-1-2022 (House 4, midden; Plate 32c) is a small doll carved of ivory, the head of which is damaged. The doll has no feet and the arms are only indicated by small protuberances. On the front of the doll there are incised lines around the shoulder and pelvic regions.

The occurrence of dolls of this type has already been discussed for those from the Porden Point Brook Village site.

Toy harpoon head

RbJu-1-1056 (House 4, under east platform; Plate 33a) is a small (66 mm long) wooden Thule type 3 harpoon head. The socket is open and has penetrated the drilled line-hole. A lashing of sinew is present, although there is no lashing groove. The diagonally cut base extends smoothly into a strong lateral
spur. An end-blade slot is cut parallel to the line-hole, and an abortive attempt has been made to drill a rivet hole. This specimen is presumably a toy, due to its small size. Toy harpoon heads were also found at the Porden Point Brook Village site, and the comparisons made for them also apply here.

Toy bow

RbJu-1-1048 (House 5, floor and west wall area; Plate 27e) is a piece of wood 342 mm long, roughly flat in cross-section. It tapers slightly in width towards both ends from the middle, where it is 21 mm wide. Both ends are surmounted by small, outflaring knobs. Toy bows have been found at Umanaq and Cape Kent (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 4118-22), Memorana (McGhee 1972: Pl. 2i), Nunguvik (Mary-Rousseliere 1979: Pl. 6b), Walakpa (Stanford 1976:63), and Jackson (Taylor 1972: Pl. 3d).

Toy throwing boards

RbJu-1-638 (House 4, west floor; Plate 33b) is a wooden toy throwing board 137 mm long, with an average width of 25 mm. A notch 18 mm long is cut into one edge 50 mm from the proximal end, while on the opposite edge a notch 65 mm long is present 15 mm from the proximal end. These together form a hand grip.

RbJu-1-797 (House 4, east platform; Plate 33c) is a toy throwing board made of wood, 133 mm long and tapering from a maximum
width of 13 mm at the proximal end to a width of 5 mm at the distal end. An irregular notch 23 mm long is cut into one edge of the throwing board near the proximal end, and on the edge opposite there is also a notch, 13 mm long.

RbJu-1-253 (House 4, west platform; Plate 33d) is a damaged wooden toy throwing board similar to RbJu-1-797.

RbJu-1-1064 (House 4, under east platform; Plate 33e) is also a damaged wooden toy throwing board similar to RbJu-1-797.

Toy throwing boards were also found at the Porden Point Brook Village site, and the comparisons made for them are also applicable here.

Toy kayak

RbJu-1-1117 (House 4, under west platform; Plate 33f) is a toy kayak carved of wood, 70 mm long and 8 mm deep. Flat-bottomed and topped, the bow and stern curve upward slightly. A small shallow hole is present on its upper surface 30 mm from one end. Toy kayaks are known from Inuarfigssuak, Comer’s Midden, and Umanaq (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 4215-19, 21), Naujan and Qilalukan (Mathiassen 1927a: Pl. 1410, 11; 52-7), Silumiut (McCartney 1977: Pl. 41g), Cape Hardy (Lethbridge 1939: Pl. 1213), and Walakpa (Stanford 1976: Pl. 69e).
Toy baleen platform mattress

RbJu-l-1063 (House 4, under east platform; Plate 33m) is a piece of a toy baleen platform mattress. It is made from a strip of baleen 8 mm wide, folded back on itself in extended loops 75 mm long which are each tied to the next loop with baleen.

Toy ball

RbJu-l-1074 (House 4, east room; Plate 33n) is a piece of wood which has been shaped into a somewhat oblong ball. A wood ball was also found at the Porden Point Pond Village site, and the comparisons made for it also apply here.

Tops

RbJu-l-248 (House 4, west platform; Plate 33l) consists of an oval disk of baleen having a maximum diameter of 100 mm, through a hole in the centre of which a thin wooden spindle 120 mm long has been inserted.

RbJu-l-247 (House 4, west platform; Plate 33o) consists of an epiphyseal plate from a whale vertebra with an average diameter of 105 mm, which has had a 6 mm diameter hole drilled through its centre. Into this has been inserted the end of a bone shaft approximately 150 mm long, the other end of which takes the form of a large knob. Mathiassen (1927a: Pl. 517) illustrates a similar whale epiphysis top from Qilalukan.
RbJu-1-224 (House 4, east room) is a large epiphyseal plate from a whale vertebra, approximately 180 mm in diameter. A 10 mm diameter hole has been drilled through its centre. This may be part of a top similar to RbJu-1-247.

The occurrence of tops on sites has already been discussed for the one found at the Porden Point Brook Village site.

**UNIDENTIFIED ARTIFACTS**

RbJu-1-1 (House 4, looter's backdirt; Plate 34j) is a 335 mm long bone shaft, broken at one end. It is sub-rectangular in cross-section with a maximum diameter of 21 mm. A square bilateral knob is present at the unbroken end.

RbJu-1-263 (House 4, floor) is the broken end of a crudely carved bone shaft, the tip of which takes the form of an elongated knob. This may be an unfinished snow probe tip.

RbJu-1-639 (House 4, west floor; Plate 28g) is an antler peg 35 mm long and roughly square in cross-section. Its distal end takes the form of a wedge, while its proximal end is flat and slightly battered.

RbJu-1-659 (House 5; Plate 34b) is a flat carved piece of ivory, consisting of a central section approximately 80 mm long, out of the centre of which a large notch has been cut. A single
prong extends at an oblique angle from either end of the central section. This is possibly a drag line handle similar to RbJu-l-620.

RbJu-l-663 (House 5; Plate 34c) is the broken end of a bone artifact, 21 mm wide and plano-convex in cross-section, which tapers in thickness to a semi-circular tip. It has been roughened over its whole surface, and a drilled hole 3 mm in diameter is present 7 mm from its tip. Except for this roughening, this object closely resembles RbJr-l-11.

RbJu-l-804 (House 4, west platform; Plate 28f) is a bone peg 44 mm long, roughly hexagonal in cross-section. Its distal end is crudely wedge-shaped, while its proximal end is cut and somewhat crushed.

RbJu-l-806 (House 4, east floor) and RbJu-l-1062 (House 4, under east platform) are small pointed bone and ivory shafts, both broken proximally. These may be the tips of awls (Plate 28h, i).

RbJu-l-1079 (House 4, east room; Plate 34a) is a 200 mm long and approximately 13 mm wide piece of wood, broken at both ends. Thin strands of baleen are tied to either end.

RbJu-l-1559 (House 4, midden) is a bone bar 80 mm long and rectangular in cross-section. Its lateral edges have been roughened, and a 5 mm deep drilling scar is present on one
side of the object, 32 mm from one end.

RbJu-1-2026 (House 4, midden; Plate 28j) is a small bone peg 17 mm long. It is circular in cross-section with a diameter of 6 mm. Its distal end is rounded, while the proximal end is cut somewhat obliquely.

In addition, the following was recovered from Thule Houses 4 and 5 at the Port Refuge site:

- 6 bone shaft fragments
- 19 pieces of worked bone
- 4 pieces of worked ivory
- 6 wood shaft fragments
- 25 pieces of worked wood
- 1 baleen roll
- 20 pieces of worked skin
- 2 pieces of skin cord
- 1 fragment of smelted iron
DISCUSSION

Like the Porden Point Brook and Pond Village sites, the cluster of five rock, sod, and whalebone structures at Port Refuge appears to represent a Thule culture winter occupation. The house styles and artifact types all clearly belong to the Thule culture, except for the fragment of a bronze bowl and the piece of smelted iron which, it can be assumed, derived through trade or some other kind of interaction with the Norse. And, as previously noted, this style of structure is commonly thought to be associated with winter use.

The excavation of Houses 4 and 5 produced somewhat differing results. House 5, situated slightly above and behind the other houses, is oval in shape with a single rear platform. It is also considerably smaller than House 4, which is somewhat squarish in outline and has a divided rear platform. The other, unexcavated houses appear similar in size to House 4.

The artifacts found in House 4 and its associated midden proved considerably more numerous and varied than those from House 5, but one class of artifacts, harpoon heads, proved to be reasonably well represented from both. Five harpoon heads were found in each house, and while both houses produced Thule type 2 harpoon heads with an end-blade slot set perpendicular to the line-hole, House 4 also contained Thule type 3 and 4 harpoon
heads while House 5 contained Mathiassen's type AIIc1 harpoon heads. The degree to which this difference may be considered to represent a temporal difference between the occupations of the two houses will be discussed in a following section on chronology, but, for the moment, there seems to be little basis for assuming that Houses 4 and 5 represent simultaneous occupations, or sequential occupations by the same group.

House 4 produced a number of artifacts pertaining to the hunting of sea mammals, including harpoon heads, moveable and fixed foreshafts, and a drag line handle. A tanged ice pick was recovered from the midden. The fixed foreshaft and the harpoon ice pick presumably indicate breathing hole sealing (Mathiassen 1927a:27-28; Morrison 1983:256-257). Hunting on land is evidenced by equipment pertaining to the bow and arrow and a bolas ball. The midden produced a part of a dart shaft. Fishing gear in the form of a leister prong, fish spear centre prongs and a fish lure was recovered from House 4, while the midden produced another leister prong.

In the area of sea mammal hunting, House 5 produced harpoon heads and a tanged ice pick. Land and water hunting implements include bow and arrow parts and a bird dart side prong. House 5 produced no evidence for dog traction, but a trace buckle and sled shoe fragment were found in House 4, and a fragment of a sled cross-slat came from its midden.

Men's tools were not well represented from either house,
but both side- and end-bladed knife handles were found in House 5. House 4 produced an end-bladed knife handle while in its midden was found what may be a side-bladed knife handle. House 4 and its midden also produced a large variety of manufacturing and house building implements, none of which were found in House 5. Such was also the case with household implements. Ornaments and toys were well represented from House 4 and its midden, while House 5 produced only a doll and a toy bow.

The difference in representation of the various functional types between Houses 4 and 5 can most conservatively be interpreted as resulting from random chance in the deposition of the artifacts and/or from the length of habitation of the houses, rather than reflecting any basic differences between the activities performed by the occupants of the houses.

The exact process of accumulation which produced the midden associated with House 4 is unclear. The artifacts found in it are for the most part apparently unbroken, suggesting that they were not individually discarded there as they became unserviceable. It may be that they were unintentionally swept up with other refuse during a periodic or seasonal cleaning of the house. This might therefore be contrasted with the midden associated with House 5 of the Porden Point Brook Village where no artifacts were found, although only one square metre was excavated.
CHRONOLOGY AND COMPARISONS

A number of problems present themselves when an attempt is made to establish the chronological and cultural position of these or any Thule sites. Two main approaches are commonly used, chronometric, through the use of radiocarbon dating, which has been done for only a small number of extensively excavated sites, and comparison of structural and artifactual styles. The latter approach must needs be subjective due to the generally small sample sizes often recovered from Thule sites, where the usual pattern of investigation involves the excavation of a small number of winter houses and perhaps a few square metres of associated midden (Taylor and McGhee 1979:114; 1981:51). The Porden Point Brook and Pond Village sites and the Port Refuge site represent excavations of this type, and no functional or stylistic types were collected from them in sufficient numbers to allow for any real statistical measurement of similarity with other collections, which are, for the most part, similarly constituted and only approximately dated. Bearing in mind these caveats, the results of these two approaches will be presented.

Radiocarbon dates

The only radiocarbon dates obtained from these sites come from House 7 of the Porden Point Brook Village site. A series of five samples of separate materials was dated, in part to test the
congruency of dates run on different arctic materials (McGhee, in Rutherford et al 1981:121). Three of the samples came from the remains of a platform mattress composed of twigs, leaves and moss, from the third (lowest) sleeping platform. Each of the materials was dated separately. The fourth sample consisted of seal bones from beneath this sleeping platform, while the fifth sample was a section of whale rib recovered from between the flagstones of the second (lowest) floor. Thus, the dates from these samples should relate to an early habitation of House 7, if there was any significant lapse of time between occupations. The dates arrived at are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lab Code</th>
<th>Material</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S-1420</td>
<td>Willow twigs</td>
<td>550±70 years: A.D. 1400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-1421</td>
<td>Leaves (Dryas sp.)</td>
<td>1380±90 years: A.D. 570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-1422</td>
<td>Sphagnum moss</td>
<td>1000±110 years: A.D. 950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-1423</td>
<td>Whale rib section</td>
<td>1340±70 years: A.D. 610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-1424</td>
<td>Seal ribs</td>
<td>1310±70 years: A.D. 640</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Rutherford et al 1981:120-121)

These results present some problems of interpretation, especially as the dates from the three materials comprising the platform mattress span approximately eight hundred and thirty years. It is generally accepted that the Thule culture had entered the Canadian Arctic and occupied many parts of it by sometime between A.D. 1000 and 1100 (McGhee and Tuck 1976:14; McCartney 1979:21; Schledermann and McCullough 1980:840). Given that there is little reason to suspect that this site represents a very early Thule occupation on stylistic grounds (see below),
the date from the leaves must be considered aberrant and the date from the sphagnum moss is very probably too early as well.

The date of 550±70 years from the willow twigs is not necessarily inconsistent with the stylistic evidence from the site which would, however, fit better at the early end of this range. But no adequate explanation can be offered to explain the large difference between these three dates, which come from terrestrial materials which were unquestionably associated with each other and treated identically. All were well preserved, and while the sphagnum moss might conceivably have been dug from an old deposit, it showed no evidence of humification and appeared as if recently picked (McGhee, in Rutherford et al 1981:121).

Given this, the interpretation of this data is difficult. This pattern of results may have been dictated by some unknown unique set of circumstances, but it may also represent a general problem with the radiocarbon dating of Arctic materials. One conclusion might be that for some reason different terrestrial Arctic materials may produce differentially distorted dates, as suspected by McGhee and Tuck (1976:14). Some corroboration for this might be found in the fact that Schledermann and McCullough (1980:840) discovered what appears to be a consistent discrepancy between dates run on willow and heather, with the willow dates averaging over one hundred years earlier. They feel that the heather dates are probably more accurate, but suggest no explanation for the phenomenon.
A factor which may have something to do with this could be the differential contamination of materials with sea mammal oil, which has been used to explain unacceptably early dates run on wood samples from the Clachan site (Morrison 1983:206). Assuming that there really is some such distorting process at work, there is no reason to believe that the date from the willow twigs, in spite of its very general consistency with stylistic evidence based on accepted Thule chronology, is not similarly affected. This consistency should not be unexpected since a sizeable percentage of the radiocarbon dates from Thule sites come from local wood, especially willow (McGhee and Tuck 1976: Table 1). The only real conclusion to be drawn from these results is that where possible different terrestrial materials should be dated from Arctic sites to test whether this problem actually exists, and to permit the elimination of distorted dates.

Turning to the dates run on seal and whalebone, early dates were not unexpected as it has been recognized for some time that dates run on sea mammal materials are subject to a number of distorting factors (McGhee and Tuck 1976). One proposal made to remedy this problem has been to avoid the use of any dates run on sea mammal materials (McGhee and Tuck 1976:13-14). However, more recently, an attempt has been made to provide an adjustment whereby the factors distorting sea mammal dates, primarily fractionation and reservoir effect, can be compensated for
Using the recommended bone fractionation correction of 145±35 years and the average reservoir effect correction of 430±50 years (Arundale 1981:250, 255, Table 6), the two sea mammal dates change as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Material</th>
<th>Uncorrected age</th>
<th>Corrected age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whale rib</td>
<td>1340±70 years</td>
<td>1055±93 years: A.D. 895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seal ribs</td>
<td>1310±70 years</td>
<td>1025±93 years: A.D. 925</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, the use of the same fractionation correction and a mean reservoir effect correction value of 750±50 years obtained from a nearby location in the High Arctic (Arundale 1981:255) produces the following changes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Material</th>
<th>Uncorrected age</th>
<th>Corrected age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whale rib</td>
<td>1340±70 years</td>
<td>735±93 years: A.D. 1215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seal ribs</td>
<td>1310±70 years</td>
<td>705±93 years: A.D. 1245</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This latter set of dates is not inconsistent with stylistic evidence from the site. However, the practice of selecting a degree of correction for individual sea mammal dates in order to bring them into agreement with prevailing notions of chronology is inherently dangerous, in that it would tend to provide unwarranted confirmation for established chronologies. Without a simple means of correction for reservoir effect such as that proposed by Arundale (1981:255) but also able to take into account the documented geographical variation of this factor, the use of dates run on sea mammal materials must, as concluded by McGhee and Tuck (1976), be considered of very dubious value, and apparently dates run on terrestrial materials must be regarded
with some skepticism as well. Therefore, all of the dates from House 7 must be rejected.

Stylistic comparisons

Turning to stylistic comparisons as a basis for the assessment of chronological and cultural relationships, a different set of problems appears. The material culture of the Thule Eskimo, as it has been reconstructed, contained a very large number of functional and/or stylistic types, and the excavation of one or two winter houses in a site is unlikely to produce a complete or representative inventory of the types possessed by the occupants of the site, even allowing for near perfect preservation (Taylor and McGhee 1979:115). This could be due to differences in the nature of the seasonal and/or final abandonment of the house, the random pattern of loss of objects within the house, the thoroughness with which the house was periodically cleaned and lost artifacts found, and the storing and forgetting of items within the house. The occurrence of artifacts in associated midden deposits should be governed by similar, related factors.

This problem is compounded by the fact that the length of occupation of any individual house or site can only be guessed at (Taylor and McGhee 1979:114). Estimates have been made on the basis of the amount of deposits left at sites (e.g., McCartney 1977:25; Taylor and McGhee 1979:116; McGhee 1983:25), but without some way to assess what contribution whales made to the diet at
any given site, and without the questionable assumption that artifacts should tend to collect in winter houses and middens in direct proportion to the amount of time spent there, such estimates are of dubious use (Taylor and McGhee 1979:114). Therefore, the artifacts found associated with a house may derive from one season or from one or more generations of continuous or intermittent occupation. And when the total collection of artifacts from a large site such as Naujan may be derived from occupations over several centuries (Schledermann 1979:138), then some stylistic changes over that length of time may be invisible for the purpose of chronological comparison.

A final possible problem relates to our lack of understanding of the functions of the various harpoon head types as they have been defined. While it is thought that functional differences exist between at least some types (e.g., Taylor and McGhee 1981:51), functionality, when proposed at all, is usually ascribed on the basis of harpoon head size, given the lack of ethnographic information relating to most of the types (e.g., Mathiassen 1927b:15, 17, 19; McCartney 1977:226, 228, 230). This cannot take into account the large amount of variability in size within types, and necessarily leads to conclusions such as that of McCartney (1977:228, 230) who suggests that both Thule type 3 and type 4 harpoon heads were used for hunting seal, walrus and beluga. If this is so, then the long term co-occurrence of these two rather different types needs to be explained. Were they for
### TABLE 3. ARTIFACT TYPE DISTRIBUTION

<table>
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<tr>
<td>Wound pins</td>
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<tr>
<td>Line buckles</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

| Land Hunting and Fishing                |                  |                  |                |                 |         |
| Arrowheads (conical tang):             |                  |                  |                |                 |         |
| Barbed                                 | -                | 3                | -              | 1               | -       |
| Lanceolate                             | -                | 3                | -              | 5               | 3       |
| End-bladed                             | -                | 2                | -              | 1               | -       |
| Blunt                                  | -                | -                | 1              | 1               | 1       |
| Arrowheads (scarfed)                   | -                | 2                | -              | 1               | -       |
| Arrowshafts                            | 1                | 1                | -              | 7               | 1       |
| Bow                                    | -                | -                | -              | -               | 1       |

(Continued on next page)
(Table 3 continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>RbJr-1</th>
<th>RbJr-4</th>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>Quiver handle</td>
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<td>Bird dart side prongs</td>
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<td>Fish spear centre prongs</td>
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**Transportation**

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<td>Umiak part</td>
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<td>Kayak part</td>
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**Men's tools**

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<th>RbJr-7</th>
<th>RbJu-1</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Knife handles - side-bladed</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>Knife handles - end-bladed</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>Transverse knife blades</td>
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<td>Engraving implements</td>
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<td>Bow drill mouthpieces</td>
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(Continued on next page)
(Table 3 continued)

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<th>RbJr-7</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>House 5</td>
<td>House 7</td>
<td>House 2</td>
<td>(cache)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Manufacturing and House Building</strong></td>
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<td>Adze parts</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wedges</td>
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<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picks</td>
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<td>-</td>
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use in specific modes of hunting or was their use a matter of individual preference or tradition? The answer to this question would necessarily affect chronological interpretations based on samples containing varying proportions of the different types.

These problems are all applicable in establishing the chronological position of the Porden Point and Port Refuge sites. The only harpoon head found at the Porden Point Pond Village site was of the whaling type, which has a considerable temporal and geographical distribution and is thus of little use in establishing chronological or cultural placement (Mathiassen 1927b:27; McCartney 1980:521). Much of the rest of the small collection from this site is rather non-diagnostic as well. At the Brook Village site, House 5 produced no harpoon heads and few artifacts, and its collection will therefore be grouped along with that from House 7 which itself produced only three harpoon heads. However, enough was found from the two houses excavated at Port Refuge for them to be treated separately.

RbJr-7

When an attempt is made to place the sites chronologically, it becomes apparent that the RbJr-7 cache derives from an early occupation, mostly on the basis of harpoon head seriation. Attributes thought to be early for Thule type 2 harpoon heads include cut lashing slots set in lateral ridges, a sharp angle between the base and spur, and incised decoration distal to the line-hole (Schledermann 1975:241; McCartney
1977:226-227). The two complete Thule type 2 harpoon heads from the cache, particularly RbJr-7-16, exhibit most of these attributes. An additional indication that this collection derives from an early phase of the Thule culture in the Canadian Arctic comes from the presence of the two bear's head line buckles. Very similar artifacts were found at the Nugdlit and Ruin Island sites (Holtved 1954: Pl. 118; 1944: Pl. 385), thought to represent occupations from between A.D. 1000 to 1300 (Jordan 1979: Figure 8).

RbJr-1

The indications regarding the chronological placement of the Porden Point Brook Village site, specifically House 7, are somewhat confusing. While it is the only site with radiocarbon dates, these are of little use, as has already been shown. And assessment of age on the basis of the three Thule type 2 harpoon heads is also uncertain. All exhibit cut lashing slots set in lateral ridges and a noticeable angle between the base and the spur, already mentioned as attributes thought to be early. RbJr-1-136a also has side-blade slots cut parallel to the line-hole, although it is not known whether side-blades were ever actually inserted. This is an attribute known from cultures predating Thule in the Bering Sea area, but apparently never appearing on barbed harpoon heads there. The finding of Thule artifacts in the Canadian Arctic stylistically similar to ones known from the Bering Sea area from the time immediately preceding
the Thule migration is usually thought to represent evidence of the earliest occupation of the Canadian Arctic by the Thule culture (e.g., Collins 1950:29; Schledermann and McCullough 1980), and this harpoon head can probably be interpreted in this fashion. However, the fact that this particular western attribute appears on a harpoon head along with attributes with which it appears not to have been associated in the Bering Sea region, including an end-blade slot, which is often regarded as a later development on Thule type 2 harpoon heads (Mathiassen 1927b:17), might be taken to indicate that some subsequent development had taken place. The fact that this attribute is otherwise unreported from the Canadian Arctic also suggests that it was quickly dropped from the repertoire of commonly used attributes.

Few of the other functional types found at the site have a demonstrated or suspected chronological significance. Arrowheads with scarfed tangs are generally thought to be more recent than ones with conical tangs (Mathiassen 1927b:46) and two scarfed arrowheads were found in House 7, but those with conical tangs predominate. The particular type of lance head found at the Brook Village site may represent a relatively early form, as similar ones are known from Ruin Island and Nugdlit (Holtved 1944a: Pl. 71; 1954:64), and House 42 at Nunguvik (Mary-Rousseliere 1979: Pl. 11). But most of the other individual artifact types from the site cannot be shown to have
changed over time in any consistent way. Therefore, one is restricted to rather subjective comparisons with collections from other sites, which have been dated largely on the basis of harpoon head seriation. This process is hampered by the fact that the size of the collections and the thoroughness with which they have been published will affect the degree to which such comparisons can be accurate.

Given this, the Porden Point Brook Village site collection seems to bear the most similarities to the collections from Umanaq, Inuarfigssuak, and Naujan, although there are a number of differences in each case. However, the actual significance of the similarities is not certain. They could indicate occupations by closely related groups over a fairly long period or chronologically close occupations from within a stylistically unified but changing Thule culture. The generally accepted interpretation and the one to be followed here is that they represent chronological contiguity, and it is therefore suggested that the occupation of House 7 of the Brook Village site occurred sometime between the late twelfth and early fourteenth centuries.

Not enough was recovered from the Porden Point Pond Village site to allow for any real assessment of its chronological placement. One piece of evidence which might tie it to the occupation of the Brook Village site is the placement
of whale skulls over the lintels of the houses in the Pond Village site, which may also have been the case for House 6 of the Brook Village site. However, a trait which places the Pond Village site in an intermediate position between the Brook Village and Port Refuge sites is the means of attachment for mattock handles. Mattock blades were found here with the shallow gouged seating known from the Brook Village site, along with specimens with a hole for the handle like the one found at Port Refuge. Whether this trait has any chronological significance is not known.

Turning to the Port Refuge site, there appears to be some reason to believe that Houses 4 and 5 represent chronologically separated occupations or perhaps occupations by different groups, particularly on the basis of the harpoon heads found in them. Both houses produced Thule type 2 harpoon heads with end-blade slots perpendicular to the line-hole. However, House 4 also contained Thule type 3 and type 4 harpoon heads, while House 5 produced Mathiassen's type AIIc1. This latter form is one which is known from Early Thule sites in Alaska and from the Greenland sequence (Stanford 1976:22; Holtved 1944a: Pl. 419-21; 1954:62-63) as well as in small numbers from other Thule sites in the Canadian Arctic. However, its relative importance as a type increased over time, particularly in the Western Arctic (Mathiassen 1927b:21), so its chronological significance in this
case is not absolutely certain. Nevertheless, given the fact that iron end-blades were employed, secured by a rivet, which is a late development, at least in the Alaskan sequence (Ford 1959:92), and assuming that the collections from both houses are representative samples, an occupation of House 5 somewhat later than that of House 4 would seem likely. The fact that two of these AlIc1 harpoon heads also have a bifurcated spur may indicate that House 5 has closer ties to the north and west, since this trait is known from Point Barrow in Alaska, the Umanaq, Comer's Midden and Nugdlit sites in Greenland, the Igloo Point site on southern Ellesmere Island, and the Deblicquy site on Bathurst Island. The one notable exception to this distribution is a specimen found in an early house at the Kuk site on Southampton Island.

One other line of evidence that can be drawn upon to support an argument for the non-contemporaneity of Houses 4 and 5 involves house form and placement. Houses 1 through 4 are arranged in a line facing the bay, while House 5 is placed above and behind the others. It is also smaller than House 4 and its internal arrangement is rather less complicated. None of this evidence is particularly convincing taken on its own. However, the combination of the artifactual evidence along with the house structure evidence would seem sufficient to argue for chronologically separated occupations or perhaps occupations by different groups.
Comparing the Port Refuge collections with the ones from the Porden Point sites, it becomes apparent that those from Porden Point probably represent the earlier occupations. All of the open socket harpoon heads from Porden Point have cut lashing slots while those from Port Refuge have drilled lashing holes, which are generally thought to be characteristic of a later stage of Thule development (Taylor and McGhee 1981:1). The fact that the Thule type 2 harpoon heads from both houses at Port Refuge have end-blade slots perpendicular to the line-hole may also be indicative of a later occupation (Mathiassen 1927b:17).

However, one harpoon head from House 4, RbJu-1-1069, has attributes thought to be "early": a vestigial side-blade slot and incised decoration distal to the line-hole; and another harpoon head, RbJu-1-1052, has the lateral ridges which Schledermann (1975:241-242) finds to be lacking from his Cumberland Sound sequence, but which are present on harpoon heads from sites thought to be earlier. However, assuming that these attributes are indeed early, and were not in use after an early phase of the Thule culture in the Canadian Arctic, then as these are the only indications which might argue for an early occupation and given that there are some other indications, such as the absence of barbed arrowheads, which would suggest that this is not a particularly early site (Mathiassen 1927b:47), one might consider the possibility of curation, particularly for RbJu-1-1069.

Stylistically, the total collection from the Port Refuge
site would appear to be more recent than such early occupations as the M1 site, Crystal II, House 42 at Nunguvik, Nugdlit, Ruin Island, and at least the earlier part of the occupations of Naujan and Inuarfigssuak. It would, however, appear to pre-date much of the Cumberland Sound sequence and probably the occupation of the Deblicquy site as well. Sites with which it shows a fair degree of stylistic similarity and with which it may be roughly contemporaneous include Umanaq, the earlier levels of Comer's Midden, and perhaps the Learmonth site.

McGhee (1976:23) has suggested a fifteenth century date for the Port Refuge site. While this would seem to be probable for the occupation of House 5, it seems likely that House 4, which may represent a late Classic Thule occupation, derives from the fourteenth century. Morrison (1983:17) actually places the end of the Classic Thule phase at A.D. 1300, but this seems somewhat early, and a fourteenth century date for House 4 would seem to fit the evidence. The harpoon head with a vestigial side-blade slot (RbJu-l-1069) might, however, be indicative of an even earlier occupation.
DISCUSSION

This analysis of the results of the excavations of the Port Refuge and Porden Point sites must unfortunately leave a number of questions unanswered. The first of these is the question of whether the polynya located fifteen kilometres to the south of Port Refuge had any impact on the placement of the sites in the area. This cannot properly be answered, due in part to the fact that the faunal material recovered from Port Refuge has not been analyzed. However, the faunal analysis of the material from the Porden Point sites, located approximately forty kilometres from the polynya, suggests that this resource did not play an important role in subsistence there. The almost complete absence of walrus and bearded seal remains seems quite inconsistent with exploitation of the polynya (Schledermann 1980:300; McGhee 1981:1), unless the winter sites were abandoned for a location nearer the polynya when it opened in the spring.

It cannot, of course, be known for sure whether the polynya was in fact seasonally present during the time covered by the occupation of the sites, but, whether or not it was present, one must seek some other factor(s) which would explain why Porden Point actually proved a more popular location than Port Refuge for the Thule, at least in terms of numbers of winter houses (although again our inability to determine how many of the houses
in a site were occupied at any one time renders this criterion ambivalent).

The faunal analysis from the Porden Point sites provides no real hint as to why this should be. The dearth of large land mammal remains suggests that they could not have been the attraction of Porden Point for occupation. Rather, the faunal remains would seem to indicate that the people living there subsisted primarily on seals and whales, although the relative contribution of these two food sources is probably moot. If the hunting of whales during the season of open water was an important activity for the people who occupied these sites during the winter, did they camp and conduct their whale hunting in the immediate vicinity of the winter sites, to obviate the necessity of transporting the whale meat any great distance? This might suggest that winter sites would be located near good whale hunting locations.

A factor which McGhee (1981:1) suggests would make Port Refuge attractive to hunters who spend a significant amount of time hunting on the ice or at the ice-edge is the fact that the ice in the sheltered bay at Port Refuge lasts longer and probably freezes earlier than the ice outside the bay. However, it appears that the ice around Porden Point and Prince Alfred Bay also tends to last longer than the ice just outside Port Refuge (Lindsay 1977), so this factor, while possibly accounting in some part for the attraction of the two sites to the Thule, cannot
explain the difference in degree of occupation between the two locations. It can only be concluded that not enough is known about the Thule settlement pattern as it relates to the placement of winter villages.

Another question which still remains relates to the issue of regionality within the Thule culture in the Canadian Arctic and Greenland, and whether the occupations at Porden Point and Port Refuge show evidence of closer relationships to the Thule occupations of northern Ellesmere Island and Greenland or to those further south, or whether they are simply part of a Thule continuum encompassing most of the Canadian Arctic and Greenland. The sites are well situated to allow this question to be studied, but a number of factors hamper this process. Artifacts thought to be somehow diagnostic, particularly harpoon heads, were found in small frequencies at the sites and are normally considered useful primarily as chronological indicators within the Thule phase. Some attributes, such as the bifurcated spur on AIICl harpoon heads, may exhibit a recognizable geographical distribution, but exceptions to these can usually be found. Therefore, given the already outlined problems of dealing with most Thule collections and with Thule chronology in general, statements regarding regionality are tentative at best.

Lastly, there is the question of the chronological placement of these sites, which is somewhat tenuous. Almost all of the chronological inferences possible concerning these sites
are based on what Taylor and McGhee (1981:51) refer to as untested generalizations, mostly concerning harpoon heads. Without reliable stratigraphic or radiocarbon data against which these "generalizations" can be tested, conclusions based on them will remain extremely subjective. Much of the variability which is seen in the material culture of the Thule cannot at present be interpreted as reflecting either change over time or regional diversity, and until some steps are taken in this direction, the potential of sites such as these will remain unrealized.
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Jordan, Richard H.

Knuth, Eigil

Lethbridge, T. C.

Lindsay, D. G.

Lowther, G. R.

Manning, T. H.
Mary-Rousseliere, Guy

Mathiassen, Therkel


Maxwell, J. B.

Maxwell, Moreau S.

McCartney, Allen P.


McGhee, Robert


McGhee, Robert, and James A. Tuck

Meldgaard, Jorgen

Morrison, David A.

Paterson, W. S. B., et al

Rutherford, A. A., Juergen Wittenberg, and Roscoe Wilmeth

Schledermann, Peter


Schledermann, Peter, and Karen McCullough

Stanford, Dennis J.

Taylor, William E. Jr.

Taylor, William E. Jr., and Robert McGhee


VanStone, James W.
PLATES
**Plate 1**

Sea mammal hunting equipment: RbJr-1

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**Plate 2**

Sea mammal hunting equipment: RbJr-1

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Land hunting and fishing equipment: RbJr-1

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<td>e. RbJr-1-170</td>
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<td>f. RbJr-1-114</td>
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<td>g. RbJr-1-2</td>
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<td>h. RbJr-1-168</td>
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<td>i. RbJr-1-44</td>
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<td>j. RbJr-1-108</td>
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<td>l. RbJr-1-107</td>
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<td>m. RbJr-1-132a</td>
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<td>n. RbJr-1-54</td>
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<td>o. RbJr-1-181</td>
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<td>p. RbJr-1-206</td>
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<td>q. RbJr-1-97</td>
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<td>Bird dart side prong</td>
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<td>r. RbJr-1-136</td>
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<tr>
<td>s. RbJr-1-154</td>
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<td>Leister prong</td>
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<tr>
<td>t. RbJr-1-213</td>
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<tr>
<td>u. RbJr-1-92</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Fish spear centre prong</td>
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</table>
Plate 4

Sling handles and boat fragments: RbJr-1

a. RbJr-1-158  House 7  Sling handle
b. RbJr-1-171  House 7  Sling handle
c. RbJr-1-78  House 5  Sling handle
d. RbJr-1-28  House 7  Umiak stem piece
e. RbJr-1-149  House 7  Kayak gunwhale fragment
### Plate 5

*Miscellaneous equipment: RbJr-1*

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<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>RbJr-1-207</td>
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<td>Trace buckle</td>
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<td>c.</td>
<td>RbJr-1-106</td>
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<td>Trace buckle</td>
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<td>d.</td>
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<td>RbJr-1-46</td>
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<td>f.</td>
<td>RbJr-1-55</td>
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<td>Drill bearing</td>
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<td>g.</td>
<td>RbJr-1-96</td>
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<td>h.</td>
<td>RbJr-1-138</td>
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<td>Engraving tool</td>
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<td>i.</td>
<td>RbJr-1-243</td>
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<td>Engraving tool</td>
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<td>j.</td>
<td>RbJr-1-49</td>
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<td>Snow probe tip</td>
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<td>k.</td>
<td>RbJr-1-120</td>
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<td>l.</td>
<td>RbJr-1-153</td>
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Plate 6
Knife handles: RbJr-1

a. RbJr-1-199  House 7  Knife handle
b. RbJr-1-14   House 5  Knife handle
c. RbJr-1-148  House 7  Knife handle
d. RbJr-1-4    House 7  Knife handle
e. RbJr-1-241  House 7  Knife handle
f. RbJr-1-21   House 5  Knife handle
g. RbJr-1-5    House 7  Knife handle
h. RbJr-1-42   House 7  Knife handle
i. RbJr-1-176  House 7  Knife blade
j. RbJr-1-22   House 5  Knife blade
Plate 7

Construction implements: RbJr-1

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<td>b</td>
<td>RbJr-1-239</td>
<td>House 7</td>
<td>Maul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>RbJr-1-145</td>
<td>House 7</td>
<td>Wedge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>RbJr-1-167</td>
<td>House 7</td>
<td>Pick</td>
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<td>e</td>
<td>RbJr-1-8</td>
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<td>Pick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>RbJr-1-51</td>
<td>House 7</td>
<td>Pick</td>
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<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>RbJr-1-94</td>
<td>House 7</td>
<td>Handle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>RbJr-1-52</td>
<td>House 7</td>
<td>Pick</td>
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Plate 8

Mattocks: RbJr-1

a. RbJr-1-40 House 7 Mattock blade
b. RbJr-1-18 House 5 Mattock blade
c. RbJr-1-93 House 7 Mattock handle
Plate 9
Ulus and ulu blades: RbJr-1

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<td>Ulu handle</td>
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<td>b</td>
<td>RbJr-1-174</td>
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<td>Ulu handle</td>
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<td>c</td>
<td>RbJr-1-72</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ulu with iron blade</td>
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<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>RbJr-1-144</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ulu handle</td>
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<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>RbJr-1-1</td>
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<td>Ulu blade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>RbJr-1-238</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ulu blade</td>
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Plate 10

Miscellaneous objects: RbJr-l

a. RbJr-l-38    House 7    Bone bowl
b. RbJr-l-236   House 7    Beamer fragment
c. RbJr-l-91    House 5    Whetstone
d. RbJr-l-67    House 7    Cup base
e. RbJr-l-180   House 7    Notched bone pin
f. RbJr-l-35    House 7    Ivory pin
g. RbJr-l-32    House 7    Ivory pin
h. RbJr-l-215   House 7    Bone peg
i. RbJr-l-115   House 7    Ivory peg
j. RbJr-l-157   House 7    Pointed ivory object
k. RbJr-l-17    House 5    Pointed bone object
l. RbJr-l-147   House 7    Pointed ivory object
m. RbJr-l-220   House 7    Pointed ivory object
n. RbJr-l-39    House 7    Needle fragment (?)
### Plate 11

**Dolls and ornaments: RbJr-l**

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<td>RbJr-l-135</td>
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<td>b.</td>
<td>RbJr-l-136</td>
<td>House 7</td>
</tr>
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<td>c.</td>
<td>RbJr-l-253</td>
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<td>d.</td>
<td>RbJr-l-198</td>
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<td>e.</td>
<td>RbJr-l-45</td>
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<td>f.</td>
<td>RbJr-l-245</td>
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<td>g.</td>
<td>RbJr-l-248</td>
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<tr>
<td>i.</td>
<td>RbJr-l-247</td>
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- 216 -
Plate 12
Games and toys: RbJr-1

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<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>RbJr-1-191</td>
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<td>c</td>
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<td>RbJr-1-203</td>
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<td>Toy arrowhead</td>
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<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>RbJr-1-79</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Toy throwing board</td>
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<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>RbJr-1-33</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Toy throwing board</td>
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<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>RbJr-1-75</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Toy throwing board</td>
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<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>RbJr-1-200</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Baleen object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>RbJr-1-201</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Toy sled slat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>RbJr-1-202</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Toy sled slat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>RbJr-1-59</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Toy sled slat</td>
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<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>RbJr-1-235</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Toy sled slat</td>
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<td>m</td>
<td>RbJr-1-219</td>
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<td>RbJr-1-225</td>
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<td>a</td>
<td>RbJr-l-179</td>
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<td>Baleen shaft</td>
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<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>RbJr-l-178</td>
<td>House 7</td>
<td>Wood shaft</td>
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<td>c</td>
<td>RbJr-l-11</td>
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<td>Ivory object</td>
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<td>d</td>
<td>RbJr-l-7</td>
<td>House 7</td>
<td>Ivory object</td>
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<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>RbJr-l-127</td>
<td>House 7</td>
<td>Bone object</td>
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<td>f</td>
<td>RbJr-l-116</td>
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<td>g</td>
<td>RbJr-l-119</td>
<td>House 7</td>
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<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>RbJr-l-159</td>
<td>House 7</td>
<td>Wood shaft</td>
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Plate 14
Hunting equipment: RbJr-4

a. RbJr-4-6 House 2 Whaling harpoon head
b. RbJr-4-37 House 2 Harpoon end-blade
c. RbJr-4-29 House 2 Bolas ball
d. RbJr-4-25 House 2 Bladder float toggle
e. RbJr-4-28 House 2 Harpoon ice pick tang (?)
f. RbJr-4-32 House 2 Fish spear side prong
### Plate 15

**Miscellaneous objects: RbJr-4**

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<td>RbJr-4-40</td>
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<td>Toggle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>RbJr-4-42</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Knife handle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>RbJr-4-13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Adze head</td>
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<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>RbJr-4-43</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Wedge</td>
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<td>f</td>
<td>RbJr-4-12</td>
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<td>Wedge</td>
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<td>g</td>
<td>RbJr-4-41</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Knife handle fragment</td>
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<td>h</td>
<td>RbJr-4-7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Knife handle fragment</td>
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<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>RbJr-4-51</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Notched wood object</td>
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<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>RbJr-4-46</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Wood and sinew object</td>
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<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>RbJr-4-45</td>
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Plate 16
Mattocks: RbJr-4

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<td>RbJr-4-2</td>
<td>House 2</td>
<td>Mattock blade</td>
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<td>c</td>
<td>RbJr-4-15</td>
<td>House 2</td>
<td>Mattock blade</td>
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<td>RbJr-4-3 &amp; 49</td>
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Plate 17

Miscellaneous objects: RbJr-4

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<td>b</td>
<td>RbJr-4-17</td>
<td>House 2</td>
<td>Mattock handle</td>
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<td>c</td>
<td>RbJr-4-18</td>
<td>House 2</td>
<td>Mattock handle</td>
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<td>d</td>
<td>RbJr-4-1</td>
<td>House 2</td>
<td>Mattock handle</td>
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<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>RbJr-4-20</td>
<td>House 2</td>
<td>Composite bowl base</td>
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<td>f</td>
<td>RbJr-4-4</td>
<td>House 2</td>
<td>Unfinished bone implement</td>
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### Plate 18

Miscellaneous objects: RbJr-4

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<td>d.</td>
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<td>e.</td>
<td>RbJr-4-9</td>
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<td>Pointed antler object</td>
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<td>f.</td>
<td>RbJr-4-34</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bone peg</td>
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<td>g.</td>
<td>RbJr-4-23</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Toy ball</td>
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Plate 19

Sea mammal hunting equipment: RbJr-7

a. RbJr-7-14  Harpoon head
b. RbJr-7-16  Harpoon head
c. RbJr-7-15  Harpoon head
d. RbJr-7-17  Harpoon head fragment
e. RbJr-7-37  Seal scratcher
f. RbJr-7-23  Wound pin
g. RbJr-7-25  Wound pin
h. RbJr-7-24  Wound pin
Plate 20

Land hunting equipment: RbJr-7

a. RbJr-7-38 Bird dart side prong
b. RbJr-7-29 Arrowhead
c. RbJr-7-27 Arrowhead
d. RbJr-7-26 Arrowhead
e. RbJr-7-41 Arrowhead
f. RbJr-7-31 Arrowhead
g. RbJr-7-28 Arrowhead
h. RbJr-7-30 Arrowhead
i. RbJr-7-20 Sinew twister
j. RbJr-7-32 Arrowhead
k. RbJr-7-34 Arrowhead
l. RbJr-7-35 & 50 Bow end piece
Plate 21

Miscellaneous equipment: RbJr-7

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<td>RbJr-7-36</td>
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<td>Marrow spatula</td>
<td>RbJr-7-65</td>
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<td>c</td>
<td>Bear canine</td>
<td>RbJr-7-11</td>
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<td>d</td>
<td>Drilled bear canine</td>
<td>RbJr-7-12</td>
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<td>e</td>
<td>Drilled bear canine</td>
<td>RbJr-7-13</td>
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<td>f</td>
<td>Bear molar</td>
<td>RbJr-7-22</td>
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<td>Bow drill mouthpiece</td>
<td>RbJr-7-40</td>
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<td>h</td>
<td>Bolas balls</td>
<td>RbJr-7-3 through 10, 66, 67</td>
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Plate 22

Miscellaneous objects: RbJr-7

a. RbJr-7-2  Line buckle
b. RbJr-7-1  Line buckle
c. RbJr-7-19  Ivory carving
d. RbJr-7-18  Fish lure
Plate 23
Harpoon heads: RbJu-1

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<th>Inventory Number</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>RbJu-1-793</td>
<td>House 4</td>
<td>Harpoon head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>RbJu-1-1069</td>
<td>House 4</td>
<td>Harpoon head fragment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>RbJu-1-796</td>
<td>House 4</td>
<td>Unfinished harpoon head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>RbJu-1-221</td>
<td>House 4</td>
<td>Harpoon head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>RbJu-1-795</td>
<td>House 4</td>
<td>Unfinished harpoon head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>RbJu-1-809</td>
<td>House 5</td>
<td>Harpoon head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>RbJu-1-1051</td>
<td>House 5</td>
<td>Harpoon head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>RbJu-1-658</td>
<td>House 5</td>
<td>Harpoon head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>RbJu-1-1052</td>
<td>House 5</td>
<td>Harpoon head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>RbJu-1-1053</td>
<td>House 5</td>
<td>Harpoon head blank</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Plate 24

Sea mammal hunting equipment: RbJu-1

a. RbJu-1-803 House 4 Harpoon foreshaft
b. RbJu-1-1070 House 4 Unfinished foreshaft
c. RbJu-1-642 House 4 Harpoon foreshaft
d. RbJu-1-1054 House 5 Harpoon ice pick
e. RbJu-1-2028 House 4 Harpoon ice pick
f. RbJu-1-262 House 4 Fixed foreshaft
g. RbJu-1-620 House 4 Unfinished drag line handle
Plate 25

Land hunting equipment: RbJu-1

a. RbJu-1-792 House 4 Arrowhead
b. RbJu-1-242 House 4 Arrowhead
c. RbJu-1-1059 House 4 Arrowhead
d. RbJu-1-623 House 4 Arrowhead
e. RbJu-1-1115 House 4 Blunt arrowhead
f. RbJu-1-1049a House 5 Blunt arrowhead
g. RbJu-1-241 House 4 Arrowshaft
h. RbJu-1-800 House 4 Arrowshaft
i. RbJu-1-252 House 4 Arrowshaft
j. RbJu-1-801 House 4 Arrowshaft
k. RbJu-1-650 House 4 Arrowshaft
l. RbJu-1-802 House 4 Arrowshaft base
m. RbJu-1-1075 House 4 Arrowshaft base
n. RbJu-1-1049b House 5 Arrowshaft section
Plate 26

Land hunting and fishing equipment: RbJu-1

a. RbJu-1-1050  House 5  Bird dart side prong
b. RbJu-1-798   House 4  Leister prong
c. RbJu-1-1556  House 4  Leister prong
d. RbJu-1-1060  House 4  Fish spear centre prong
e. RbJu-1-261   House 4  Fish spear centre prong
f. RbJu-1-235   House 4  Quiver handle (?)
g. RbJu-1-1072  House 4  Bolas ball
h. RbJu-1-1555  House 4  Dart butt peg
i. RbJu-1-222   House 4  Bow brace
j. RbJu-1-1071  House 4  Bow end piece
### Plate 27

**Miscellaneous objects: RbJu-l**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Object Code</th>
<th>House</th>
<th>Item</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>RbJu-1-232</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Snow beater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>RbJu-1-259</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Snow beater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>RbJu-1-218</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Snow beater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>RbJu-1-1047</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>RbJu-1-1048</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Toy bow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>RbJu-1-228</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sled shoe fragment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>RbJu-1-231</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sled shoe fragment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h.</td>
<td>RbJu-1-2029</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sled cross-slat fragment</td>
</tr>
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</table>
**Plate 28**

Miscellaneous objects: RbJu-1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Item Number</th>
<th>House</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>RbJu-1-807</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Knife handle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>RbJu-1-1057</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Knife handle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>RbJu-1-1560</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Knife handle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>RbJu-1-661</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Knife handle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>RbJu-1-219</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Trace buckle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>RbJu-1-804</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bone peg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>RbJu-1-639</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Antler peg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h.</td>
<td>RbJu-1-806</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Pointed bone object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.</td>
<td>RbJu-1-1062</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Pointed ivory object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j.</td>
<td>RbJu-1-2026</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bone peg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Plate 29

Snow knives and snow probes: RbJu-1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>RbJu-1-225</td>
<td>House 4</td>
<td>Snow knife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>RbJu-1-234</td>
<td>House 4</td>
<td>Snow knife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>RbJu-1-2027</td>
<td>House 4</td>
<td>Snow knife blade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>RbJu-1-794</td>
<td>House 4</td>
<td>Snow knife blade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>RbJu-1-1554</td>
<td>House 4</td>
<td>Snow probe tip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>RbJu-1-636</td>
<td>House 4</td>
<td>Snow probe tip</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Plate 30

**Construction equipment: RbJu-1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>House</th>
<th>Tool</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>RbJu-1-643</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mattock blade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>RbJu-1-1558</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Maul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>RbJu-1-2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Pick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>RbJu-1-226</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mattock handle fragment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>RbJu-1-1557</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Adze handle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>RbJu-1-254</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Wedge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>RbJu-1-644</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Wedge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>RbJu-1-227</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Wedge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Plate 31
Composite bowls: RbJu-1

a. RbJu-1-260  House 4  Composite bowl
b. RbJu-1-236  House 4  Composite bowl or cup
c. RbJu-1-1113 House 4  Composite bowl
Plate 32

Miscellaneous objects: RbJu-1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Item Code</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>RbJu-1-2024</td>
<td>House 4</td>
<td>Incised ivory disk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>RbJu-1-1073</td>
<td>House 4</td>
<td>Fish lure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>RbJu-1-2022</td>
<td>House 4</td>
<td>Ivory doll</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Plate 33
Toys and ornaments: RbJu-1

a. RbJu-1-1056  House 4  Toy harpoon head
b. RbJu-1-638  House 4  Toy throwing board
c. RbJu-1-797  House 4  Toy throwing board
d. RbJu-1-253  House 4  Toy throwing board
e. RbJu-1-1064  House 4  Toy throwing board
f. RbJu-1-1117  House 4  Toy kayak
g. RbJu-1-657  House 5  Doll
h. RbJu-1-249  House 4  Drilled bear canine
i. RbJu-1-648  House 4  Drilled bear canine
j. RbJu-1-1068  House 4  Bear canine amulet case
k. RbJu-1-244  House 4  Drilled caribou incisor
l. RbJu-1-248  House 4  Top
m. RbJu-1-1063  House 4  Toy baleen mattress
n. RbJu-1-1074  House 4  Toy ball
o. RbJu-1-247  House 4  Top
Plate 34

Miscellaneous objects: RbJu-1

a. RbJu-1-1079  House 4  Wood and baleen object
b. RbJu-1-659  House 5  Ivory object
c. RbJu-1-663  House 5  Bone artifact fragment
d. RbJu-1-629  House 4  Baleen roll
e. RbJu-1-246  House 4  Soapstone sherd
f. RbJu-1-621  House 4  Soapstone sherd
g. RbJu-1-808  House 5  Whetstone
h. RbJu-1-4  House 4  Whetstone
i. RbJu-1-245  House 4  Whetstone
j. RbJu-1-1  House 4  Bone shaft